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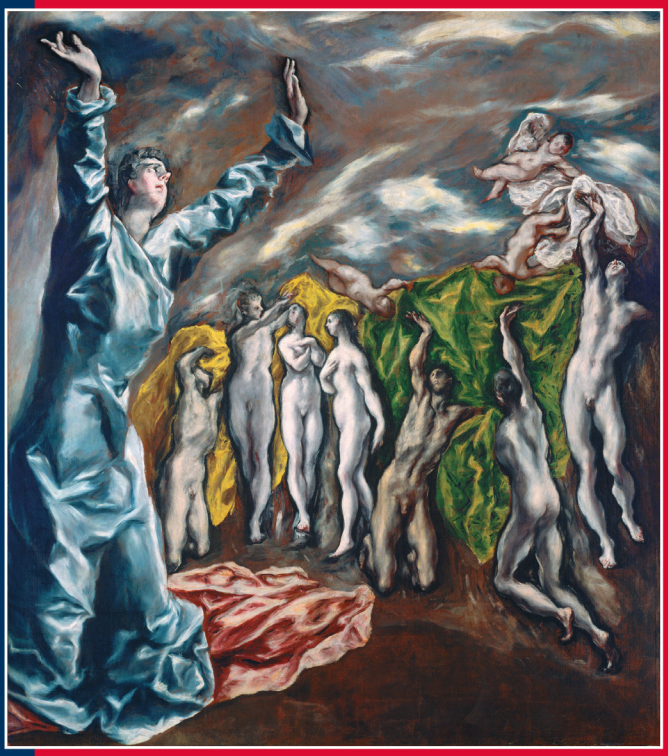
Volume Four: Resistance and Reform



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Introduction

Kevin Ingram

All New Christians were, to a greater or lesser degree, non-conformists. Some rejected Christianity itself, a religion that they or their ancestors had been forced to adopt. Others, the majority by the sixteenth century, accepted Christianity but rejected the accusation, legitimated by the *limpieza de sangre* statutes, that they were inferior Christians and, by extension, second class Spaniards. It is evident, however, that most New Christians confined their objections to private expression, or subtle acts of everyday resistance. Only a few went public with their concerns, and even then they usually did so not as Converso or Morisco activists but as generic moralists, mystics, humanists and evangelicals, subsuming, to varying degrees, their New Christian disquiet within their calls for social and religious change.

Most New Christian voices of resistance and reform have this commonality: they attempt to confront the injustices of their society while stifling an important facet of their own militancy, their *mancha* or social taint. This, I would argue, holds true for all of early modern Spain's great reform voices, among which are those of Juan Luis Vives, Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, Juan de Ávila, Luis de León, Benito Arias Montano, and Teresa de Jesús. It also holds true for Spain's most celebrated writer and perhaps its most astute social commentator, Miguel de Cervantes, as he attempted, surreptitiously, through his mad knight, to point up the moral and physical impoverishment of a society predicated on worthless conceits, including blood purity. "I'm an Old Christian and that's enough ancestry for a count," says the Castilian peasant Sancho Panza, who has eagerly bought into the lie of his superior blood. To which his master Don Quijote replies laconically, "And more than enough" (*Don Quijote*, Part 1, Chapter 21). Here, Cervantes not only draws the reader's attention to the absurdity of blood purity but also, in Don Quijote's throwaway line, to Spain's self-inflated, under-achieving society, spawned out of the *limpieza* prejudice.[1] Later, in the second book, Cervantes uses Sancho Panza's governorship of the

1 Cervantes returns to his attack *limpieza de sangre* and its stultifying effects on Spanish culture in his *entremes* "El retablo de las maravillas" (1615) in which two conmen fleece a group of village dignitaries by convincing them that they have a machine that conjures up wonderful visions, albeit only apparent to those with pure Christian blood. Although old-school *Cervantistas* continue to insist upon Cervantes' Old Christian provenance, many of their colleagues now acknowledge that his family background (medical and mercantile) strongly suggests Converso roots, and that this assessment is corroborated by his works, which reveal

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island of Barataria to further satirize a society in which blood had become a synonym for merit:

> Sancho asked: "Who here is my secretary?"
>
> And one of those standing by answered: "I, sir, for I can read and write, and I'm a Basque."
>
> "With the last qualification," said Sancho, "you could well be secretary to the Emperor himself. Open this envelope and see what it says" (*Don Quijote*, Part 2, Chapter 47).

The scene exploits both the Basques' arrogant pride in their noble ancestry, untainted, so they claimed, by Muslim and Jewish blood, and their reputation for provinciality, illiteracy, and an impaired Castilian tongue. This stark contrast between image and reality was highlighted over a hundred years previous to the publication of Cervantes' novel by the Converso *letrado* Fernando de Pulgar, in a letter to his friend and patron Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, the archbishop of Seville. The occasion was the 1482 Guipuzcoan ordinance banning Conversos from Basque territory. "Isn't it risible," wrote Pulgar, "that all of them, or most, send their sons down here to serve us [Converso letrados] … yet do not care to be the in-laws of those they wish to serve …"[2]

Pulgar was himself an active critic of *limpieza de sangre* laws, his *Claros varones de Castilla*, published in 1485, a response to the claim that social status was dependent upon Old Christian blood. In this work Pulgar takes twenty two of his generation's most politically influential noblemen and clerics and demonstrates that their illustrious names were based not on their ancestry but on their "virtues and abilities, both in learning and in arms" [*en las virtudes y en las abilidades que tovieron, asi en ciencia, como en armas*]. Pulgar states directly that three of these figures, the prelates Alonso de Cartagena, Juan de Torquemada, and Francisco de Toledo, were Conversos, making plain his view that Old Christian blood was not a *sine qua non* for religious office or noble status.[3]

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pro-Erasmian and anti-*limpieza* sentiments. See Alberto Sánchez, "Nuevas Orientaciones en el Planteamiento de la Biografía de Cervantes," in *Cervantes*, Madrid, 1995, pp. 19–40.

2 Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, p. 125, note 102.

3 Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros Varones de Castilla*, ed. Robert Brian Tate, Oxford, 1971. While Tate's introduction to the study provides a useful historical backdrop to Pulgar's work, it does not explore his Converso background and its implications for his writing. For a discussion of Pulgar's defense of the Conversos, see Francisco Cantera, "Hernando de Pulgar y Los conversos," *Sefarad*, Madrid 1944, Fasc. 2, pp. 295–348. Pulgar was an outspoken critic of the

Pulgar was writing in the wake of the famous *Sentencia-Estatuto* of Toledo (1449), which outlawed Conversos from public positions in the city on the grounds of their Jewish ancestry. While this was not the first piece of *limpieza* legislation in Spain, it was certainly the most serious so far, as Spain's Converso elite were well aware. It was thus unsurprising that the likes of Alonso de Cartagena, Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, Fernán Díaz de Toledo, and Diego de Valera responded to the affront in works defending the Conversos as bona fide Christians and Spaniards. However, as *limpieza* statutes proliferated it became clear that placing oneself out on a limb as a militant Converso apologist was not the only, or even best, strategy for combatting Old Christian prejudice. Many wealthy Conversos began to use their wealth and networks to neutralize the effects of the legislation itself. And so we see the arrival of Converso agents at the papal court, who, through access to the highest echelons of the Church, were able to secure otherwise prohibited clerical positions for their wealthy Converso clients in Spain.[4] At the same time, many ambitious Conversos began to revise their family trees, aided by highly creative genealogists, establishing an Old Christian profile for themselves and their descendants.[5]

However, taking on an Old Christian persona did not necessarily ameliorate the psychological effects of being classified as genetically impaired, as becomes clear from reading Spanish picaresque fiction, a largely Converso genre, in which protagonists, claiming to be Old Christian, make sly, and not so sly, allusions to their Jewish ancestry. The revelation is both comic and cathartic, fulfilling a need to conform to or, at least, collude with the status quo and a desire to subvert it. Thus, in his *Crónica*, Francesillo de Zúñiga writes, "in the mountains of the Asturias (which forms part of the kingdom of Galicia) our Lord Jesus nurtured a poor boy called Pelayo of Visigothic lineage, from which I descended." However, in another part of the book he makes a clear reference to his Jewish lineage, when he writes that he is "Duke of Jerusalem by direct succession, Count of Ruben and Tiberiades."[6] In *La Pícara Justina*, another

Inquisition and its attacks on the Converso community. For these opinions he was dismissed, at least temporarily, from the royal court.

4 See Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, "Purity of Blood and the Curiel Market in Iberian Cathedrals," *eHumanista/Conversos* 4 (2016), pp. 38–63. For an examination of the Portuguese Converso agents in Rome and their efforts to prevent an Inquisition being formed in Portugal, see James Nelson Novoa, *Being Nação in the Eternal City. New Christian Lives in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, Peterborough, 2014.

5 For an examination of this phenomenon, see Enrique Soria Mesa, *El cambio inmóvil. Transformaciones y permanencias en una elite de poder*, Córdoba, 2000, and idem. *La nobleza en la España moderna. Cambio y continuidad*, Madrid, 2007.

6 See Victoriano Roncero López, "El tema del linaje en el Estebanillo González: la 'indignitas hominis'," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, LXX (1993), p. 416. Sanford Shepherd notes that

Converso author, Francisco López de Úbeda, describes his heroine as "la pícara montañesa," a humorous oxymoron, combining *pícara* (invariably a Conversa) with the adjective mountain-dwelling (an allusion to the Old Christian mountain dwellers of the Asturias). Later in the novel, Justina herself exposes the deceit, revealing that she is indeed a New Christian.

As coming from the mountains (the north of Spain) was recognized as a sign of Old Christian genealogy, many Conversos attempted to parry rumors of their Jewish roots with proclamations of mountain-dwelling ancestry. For example, the Córdoban poet Juan de Mena, accused by contemporaries of having Jewish roots, insisted that his ancestors came from the Valley of Mena "in the land they call the Mountains" (Vizcaya).[7] Similarly, the Seville humanist Francisco Pacheco in his *limpieza de sangre* examination to become a canon, linked his family name with the village of Villasevil de los Pachecos in the Cantabrian mountains,[8] while Pacheco's friend, the humanist Benito Arias actually added Montano to his family surname. Benito Arias was indeed born in a mountain town, but this was Fregenal de la Sierra in southern Extremadura, renowned for its large Converso population, many of whom with the surname Arias. One assumes that Benito Arias added the name Montano as a means of dissimulating his background, while, in a sense, proclaiming it, at least to a discreet circle of friends.[9]

The ingenious Miguel de Cervantes offers his own parody of ancestral cleansing in the opening lines of *Don Quijote*, informing us that, like the brave knight Amadis of Gaul, Quijote decided to add the name of his country to his own, calling himself Don Quijote de la Mancha, "which in his opinion proclaimed his lineage and native land perfectly."[10] The general reader would, of course, assume that Cervantes wished merely to convey that Quijote's people

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the terms Portuguese, Gallego, Asturiano and Montañes were used by Converso authors as euphemisms for New Christians of Jewish descent. See Sanford Shepard, *The Lost Lexicon*, pp. 78–80, 101–4 and 135–7.

7 *Memorias de algunas linajes antiguos e nobles de Castilla*, Biblioteca Nacional ms. 3390, citad in Florence Street "La Vida de Juan de Mena," *Bulletin Hispanique*, 55. 2 (1953), p. 151, note 2. Mena claimed that his ancestors came south to take part in the thirteenth-century *Reconquista*.

8 Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain: Bad Blood and Faith from Alonso de Cartagena to Diego Velázquez*, London, 2018, pp. 148–149.

9 The surname Arias figures prominently in the Llerena Inquisition tribunal's prosecution of the large Converso population of Fregenal de la Sierra. See Fermín Mayorga, "La comunidad judía en Fregenal al final del siglo XV," *Alcántara* 67 (2007) pp. 25–88. For an examination of Arias Montano's Converso humanism, see Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism*, pp. 118–147.

10 Miguel Cervantes, *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, Barcelona, 2002, p. 43. My translation.

were from the region of La Mancha. However, the discreet reader would recognize that *mancha* (or stain) was a term applied by Old Christians to Conversos, whose blood was considered tainted, and that "de la Mancha" (of the stain) "perfectly" proclaimed the ancestry of Cervantes' alter ego, without necessarily locating it geographically.

While New Christians were considered to have stained backgrounds, Old Christians' ancestry was invariably described as pure (*limpio*). For this reason Conversos often employed the term *limpio* to describe their own ancestors, giving the impression that they were from Old Christian families, when, in fact, they were merely stating that they were from clean ones, a subtle reference to the Jews' and the Muslims' religious ablutions. In this way Conversos were able both to disguise their Jewish roots while surreptitiously defending them to a group of intimate readers. This attack on the Old Christian notion of purity is clearly evident in Fernando de Pulgar's *Claros varones*, in which he describes his fellow Converso Alonso de Cartagena as "very clean in his person, his dress and his table, and whatever he touched he did so with great cleanliness, loathing those men who were not clean; because, he said, a man's outward cleanliness was a sign of his interior."[11]

These subtle attacks on Old Christian society were constantly replicated in day to day interactions between Old and New Christians, as William Childers notes in his chapter on Morisco resistance. However, while these quotidian jibes may have been satisfying to their authors and their friends, they were of little use in combatting Old Christian prejudice, increasingly reinforced by the latter group's obsession with *limpieza de sangre*. In order to address this problem, it became clear to certain members of Spain's Converso elite that they needed to abandon their detached or speciously conformist attitude to Old Christian religious and social practice, and fashion a Christian culture that they could genuinely uphold. If we are to understand Spain's early modern reform movement—its great humanists, evangelicals and mystics—we need to explore it within the context of Spain's Converso issue and, especially, the *limpieza de sangre* phenomenon that lay at its core.

Religious reform in sixteenth-century Spain was, to a large extent, promoted by Conversos who wished to create an egalitarian and intimate Christian religion, one that they could genuinely follow. For many, I would argue, this was not merely a campaign for religious change; it was a veritable conversion process, as the Converso reformer moved from a passive and perfunctory observance of a religion foisted upon himself and his ancestors to an evangelical Christianity reminiscent of that practiced by the first Christians, the Jewish

11 Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros Varones de Castilla*, p. 10.

followers of Jesus. Indeed, it is evident that some New Christians made sense of their own or their parents' forced conversion as a providential act: they had been chosen to restore Christianity to its early pristine, Jewish, state.

This is certainly the case of Spain's most famous Medieval convert, rabbi Salomón Ha Levi, better known as Pablo de Santa María, who is usually presented as a zealous Christian and vicious antagonist of Judaism, his *Scrutinium scripturarum* (1432) cited as proof of his anti-Jewish fervor. However, *Scrutinium* is more than an anti-Jewish diatribe; it is an attempt to situate the Conversos within Christianity as distinguished protagonists. Jews were the original followers of Christ and leading figures in the early Church, Santa María noted, citing Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and this status was now assumed by the modern converts. For as Paul had stated: "If the first fruit is holy, then the whole batch is holy; and if the root is holy, then the branches are holy also."[12] According to Santa María, the Conversos were not only bona fide Christians, they were special ones, a new force that would revive Christianity, repairing the damage of the Medieval Church. This view was one that many other Conversos would latch on to as they attempted to combat Old Christian blood prejudice and allay their own insecurities, creating a discrete role for themselves within Christianity.

However, while *limpieza de sangre* legislation helped turn relatively passive middle-sort New Christians into religious activists, it had an opposite effect on their Old Christian counterparts, for whom it brought both economic and social advantages. First, *limpieza* statutes enabled Old Christians to compete at an advantage with New Christians, at least theoretically, for advancement in church and state bureaucracies. Second, the statutes created a society in which Old Christian blood became synonymous with superiority, honor and nobility, as Sancho Panza made clear. However, these advantages, or privileges, came at a price. For as Jewish and Muslim ancestry had come to equal impure Christianity, so too could impure Christianity, that is to say unorthodox Christian views, become associated with Jewish taint. It was a perverse corollary, but one that Old Christian society was supremely conscious of: holding unorthodox religious views potentially placed them within a Jewish camp, threatening their honor and social status. Thus, *limpieza de sangre* functioned not only as a tool to control Converso access to state and religious office, it also acted as a deterrent against Old Christian criticism of the socio-religious status quo. This is not to say that Old Christians were less irreverent, blasphemous

12 Cited from Yosi Yisraeli, "Constructing and Undermining Converso Jewishness: Porfiat Duran and Pablo Santa María," in Ira Katznelson and Miri Rubin eds., *Religious Conversion: History, Experience and Meaning*, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 2016, p. 202.

or anti-clerical than their Converso neighbors. But their criticisms usually stopped short of attacking dogma or advocating a new socio-religious system based on equality and merit, a concern that animated New Christian activists.

It is no coincidence that most of Spain's foremost humanists, evangelicals and mystics came from Converso backgrounds; it was they and not their Old Christian antagonists who were most offended by the mores of their society and who had most to gain from transforming them. This phenomenon continued throughout the sixteenth century, fuelled by the proliferation of *limpieza de sangre* acts and the increasing focus on pure Christian status as a mark of honor. If anything, *limpieza* prejudice intensified in a post-Tridentine environment, in which the Spanish Crown and Church, ever more sensitive to a religious enemy within, looked for culprits within the Converso and Morisco minorities. And thus, paradoxically, Converso disquiet did not diminish the further a family moved from its point of conversion. There was always a chance that the barely hidden taint would come to light, possibly destroying a career, certainly exposing the person and his family to social opprobrium.[13]

The view that Conversos were a major presence in early modern Spain's intellectual environment, including religious reform, is not one that has ever been universally acknowledged by scholars of early modern Spain. Indeed, up until Américo Castro's publications on the subject, the Conversos barely entered into Spanish historiography at all. When they did, it was usually as crypto-Jews, the protagonists of Inquisition inquiries. Before Castro, it was generally taken for granted that Spain's great Golden Age figures were illustrious Old Christians, their celebrated status taken as proof of their Old Christian character, such that biographers added "Old Christian" to their subjects' names as a formality, without bothering to question the validity of the claim.

In any age Castro's views would have caused controversy. Coming in a period in which a right-wing military dictatorship was actively promoting the purity of the Spanish race (*la raza*), they caused a furore, with their author pilloried for both his ignorance of Spanish history and his betrayal of the nation.[14] It soon became clear that the modern Spanish academy was as little disposed

13 Writing in 1798, José María Blanco White claimed that everyone in his native Seville knew who were the families that lacked pure blood. Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo en España: La imagen del judío (1812–2002)*, Madrid, 2002, pp. 77–78.

14 In his autobiographical *Mi testamento histórico-politico* (1975) the medievalist and Castro antagonist, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz stated, without offering any proof, that Castro was himself of Jewish background, and that was why he spoke "the voice of the blood." See Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, *Antisemitismo en España*, p. 434. For a brief examination of the reaction to Castro's work, see Kevin Ingram, *Converso-Nonconformism in Early Modern Spain*, pp. 231–241.

towards Conversos as the early modern Church and State. And while these academic prejudices and prevarications were toned down in later years, they remained sufficiently active to arrest the development of Converso studies, as scholars opted to side-step an assessment of Converso involvement in Spanish culture, including its humanist reform movement. This tacit compromise has even encouraged some scholars to claim that it represents an historical reality, namely that the Conversos had a voice in early modern Spanish reform but this was no more in evidence than that of Old Christians, thus largely dismissing the division, or dialectic, created in Spanish society by the *limpieza* phenomenon, and its consequences.[15] Others, animated by post-colonial theories of hybridity, have posited an Old Christian recognition and acceptance of Jewish and Muslim culture to a degree that simply never existed.[16]

I would suggest, whatever our individual predilections or prejudices, that we turn to the reformers themselves for guidance, re-examining their lives, ancestries and works in order to assess our hypotheses. If we genuinely wish to discern the character of Spain's early modern intellectual environment, including its reform movement, then the obvious place to begin is with a close examination of the protagonists. While this may not end the debate on the importance of the Converso and the Converso issue for early modern Spanish culture, it will, at least, give it an empirical focus. And this in itself is an important step forward.

• • •

15 See, for example, Mercedes García-Arenal, "Creating Conversos: Genealogy and Identity as Historiographical Problems (after a recent book by Ángel Alcalá)," *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 38.1 (2013) pp. 1–19. For an assessment of García-Arenal's claims, see Kevin Ingram *Converso Non-Conformism*, pp. 239–241.

16 In his essay "Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions," Adam Beaver writes that the promotion of the Hebrew Bible and culture in Counter-Reformation Spain was determined by "what we might call (paraphrasing Barbara Fuchs' work on 'maurophilia') the profoundly enduring 'Sephardic habitus' of Iberian attitudes to the Bible … This 'Sephardic habitus' did not require the bonds of biological genealogy; it need not be traced back to any particular scholar's status as a Converso, or descendant thereof. It was, rather, a legacy of the intellectual history of the Iberian Peninsula." Unfortunately, Beaver does not test his ecumenical "Sephardic habitus" theory by examining the post-Tridentine apologists for the Hebrew or Sephardic culture themselves, or the hostile environment in which they were making their defence. Adam G. Beaver, "Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions: Sephardic Legends? Journey from Biblical Polemic to Humanist History," in Mercedes García-Arenal ed., *Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, Leiden, 2016, pp. 21–65.

The present collection of essays, the outcome of a 2017 conference held at the University of Alcalá,[17] focuses on the strategies adopted by Spain's New Christians to combat the detrimental effects of the pure blood legislation. Their response, as I have noted above, was varied, ranging from the disguise of tainted ancestry to attempts to transform their society's socio-religious mores through a humanist and evangelical reform program. The collection begins with Carlos Gilly's examination of the "Neophytis" decree, passed at the famous Basel ecumenical conference of 1434. Gilly notes that this measure was introduced into the conference by Spanish New Christian delegates who wished to emphasise the Conversos' authenticity as Christians in a period in which this was being questioned by Old Christian society. The decree was later employed by Conversos in their bid to contest *limpieza de sangre* legislation, starting with the *Sentencia-Estatuto* of 1449.

Among those defending the Conversos' equal status as Christians and Spanish subjects was the wealthy and politically influential Santa María family, led by its patriarch Pablo de Santa María. In "Reforming the Church and Re-Framing Identity," Nicola Jennings shows how this family's interest in religious renewal was manifested both through literary works and the establishment of religious houses. Highly conscious of their tainted ancestry, the family used these religious foundations as propaganda tools to emphasise their Christian character and noble status, hoping to minimize the detrimental effects of *limpieza de sangre*.

Surviving *limpieza de sangre* investigations could prove a costly process, with the candidate very often required to bribe those undertaking the inquiry or those submitting testimony so that there would be no detrimental revelations. The process was often complicated by *linajudos*, men who made a living out of blackmailing wealthy Conversos involved in *limpieza* investigations with threats to reveal the true nature of their ancestry. In "The *Linajudos*: Genealogy, Conversos and Urban Conflict in Early Modern Spain," Enrique Soria examines the backgrounds, motives and modus operandi of those people who specialized in exploiting the social pretentions of a Converso elite.

Although an expensive and stressful process, the *limpieza de sangre* examinations, as Soria notes, were more often than not successfully negotiated by Converso candidates. However, despite the statutes' ineffectuality, they still

17 The exceptions are Enrique Soria Mesa, "Genealogy, Conversos, and Urban Conflict in Early Modern Spain: The *Linajudos*" and William Childers, "The Moriscos' Double Resistance," both solicited directly by the editor, and my "Juan de Malara's Converso Humanism," which was originally designated for inclusion in my *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain*.

stood as a reminder to Conversos and Moriscos alike that they were considered inferior members of society. As a counter offensive against this prejudice, many Converso intellectuals embraced a humanist credo, in which social worth was predicated on intellectual and ethical criteria rather than the notion of pure blood. Spain's humanist movement caught fire at the new university of Alcalá de Henares in the first decades of the sixteenth century, producing a generation of Converso reformers. Among these young activists was Constantino de la Fuente who, prior to being exposed as a clandestine Protestant, became a celebrated preacher in the Seville cathedral. In his chapter, "Doctor Constantino's *Doctrina Cristiana*," Michel Boeglin focuses on Constantino's most famous work, arguing that its Erasmian or Christian humanist message was influenced by his Converso background.

One of Constantino's more vocal supporters was the Seville humanist Juan de Malara. In "Juan de Malara's New-Christian Humanism," Kevin Ingram examines Malara's *Philosophia vulgar*, a work based on Erasmus's famous *Adagia*. Malara's exegeses of popular Spanish proverbs not only reveal his Erasmian principles, however. They also contain an underlying animosity towards his intolerant society, and a respect for Jewish learning and enterprise that, in Ingram's view, reveal Malara's Converso sensibilities. An examination of Malara's family background indicates that his ancestors were members of the Converso community of Ciudad Real, devastated by Inquisition investigations in the 1480s.

The humanist (or Christian humanist) movement was attractive to Converso professionals for obvious reasons: it challenged Christian practice through its focus on moral reform; it offered an accessible, minimalist religious credo rather than a complex, alien doctrine; and it championed the view that nobility was conveyed by *virtud* (or merit) not ancestry. Humanism had yet a further appeal for many Conversos: it emphasized the importance of Hebrew philology for penetrating the mysteries of the ancient Judeo-Christian tradition. Not only did this help promote religious synergism, it also gave Converso scholars a license to explore their ancestors' religion and culture. However, this interest became increasingly dangerous as the Catholic Church began to associate Biblical philology with the Protestant heresy of *sola scriptura*. In "Hebrew Bible, Jewish Tradition, and the Redefinition of Catholicism," Francisco Javier Perea charts the growth of Hebrew Biblical scholarship in sixteenth-century Spain and the consequences for its practitioners as they became regarded as both Judaizers and quasi Protestants.

The post-Tridentine Catholic Church met the Protestant affront of *sola scriptura* with an emphasis on tradition, obsessively unearthing ancient chronicles that would give credence to the acts of the early saints and martyrs.

Taking advantage of this fixation, certain Converso chroniclers produced histories that highlighted the Jewish contribution to Spanish sacred culture. In "The Converso Issue and Early Modern Spanish Historiography," Kevin Ingram examines this phenomenon, arguing that in linking Spain with an ancient Hebrew culture these Conversos were exploiting their society's obsession with sacred history to advance a message of cultural syncretism and socio-religious assimilation.

Far from abating in late sixteenth-century Spain, the New Christian issue intensified, as the Spanish Crown and Church became increasingly sensitive to homegrown heresy. These tensions were exacerbated by a Morisco rebellion in Granada in 1567 (the Second Alpujarras War), which led to the majority of the province's Morisco population being forcibly and aggressively relocated to other areas of Spain. Many of these destitute individuals now entered Seville society, where they formed a vilified underclass. The memory of these sad immigrants undoubtedly formed the basis of Mateo Alemán's story of the lovelorn Muslims Ozmín and Darraja, separated when Darraja is captured by Christians and taken to Seville. Alemán's story is not set in the Spain of the Second Alpujarras War, however, but eighty years previously, on the eve of the Catholic Monarchs' conquest of Muslim Granada. And Ozmin and Darraja are not Moriscos, but members of Granada's Muslim elite, who, after their vicissitudes, are reunited, embrace Christianity, and live happily ever after in a tolerant Christian environment. The story had nothing in common with that of those Moriscos who found themselves destitute in late sixteenth-century Seville. That was clearly Alemán's point, which he reinforced by his subtle intertextual allusions to the reality of Spain's Morisco situation, as Mohamed Saadan notes in his chapter, "The Morisco in Alemán's Ozmín and Darraja."

The tensions and uncertainties facing Counter-Reformation Spain's Morisco community are also highlighted by Patrick O'Banion in "Román's Garden." The title refers to the grounds of a large country house on the outskirts of Deza (province of Soria), tended by the Morisco gardener, herbalist, and charlatan Román Ramírez. With the noble landlords absent, Román makes this rural oasis a meeting place, refuge, and clandestine political space for the town's large and increasingly anxious Morisco denizens. However, the land is not theirs, and can be withdrawn at any time by their noble lord. Román's garden thus becomes a metaphor for the Moriscos' tenuous socio-political situation, as royal and church authorities debate their expulsion from Spain itself.

Was Román Ramírez resentment of Old Christian society the result of his adherence to Islamic belief and culture, or was his Islamic identity fashioned in response to an oppressive Old Christian society? Was he simply interested in creating a private space in which he could follow his own credo? Or did

he also wish to taunt his Old Christian neighbors with the possible subversive activities that were taking place behind garden walls? Ramírez was certainly a complex personality, but not unique. Morisco resistance was itself a complex phenomenon, as William Childers acknowledges in his chapter "The Moriscos' Double Resistance." Through applying the theoretical approaches of James C. Scott (minority resistance), Pierre Bourdieu (the concept of habitus), and Michel Foucault (the dynamics of power), Childers attempts to explore the intricacies of Morisco resistance, compliance, and assimilation.

The Spanish Crown justified its 1609 expulsion of the Moriscos by presenting them as dyed-in the-wool Muslims, incapable of adapting to Christian society. However, Morisco religiosity, like Morisco resistance, was much more complex, as Bernabé Pons points out in "The Moriscos and Christian Spirituality." The Moriscos often mixed religious elements from both Christianity and Judaism. There is also evidence that Moriscos incorporated Protestant ideas to create a hybrid religiosity that both satisfied their need to challenge a despised Catholic Church and to forge a unique religious path. The Moriscos may not have been sincere Christians, but neither were they uniformly orthodox Muslims, although the nuances of their religious situation, Bernabé Pons argues, remain largely unexplored.

In the final chapter of the collection, Stephanie Cavanaugh looks at the mass Morisco expulsion from Spain between 1609 and 1614 and the investigations undertaken into the lives of those Moriscos who claimed exemption due to their ancestors' early, pre 1502, Christian conversion and/or their own devotion to the Christian faith. These attempts to resist deportation were, however, mostly doomed to failure. The Spanish Crown had already decided that the vast majority of Spain's Moriscos would be expelled, the justification being that they were congenitally incapable of being either sincere Christians or good subjects. One hundred and fifty years after the first *limpieza de sangre* statutes were established, blood had become the ultimate test for religious and social legitimacy.

CHAPTER 1

The Council of Basel's "De Neophytis" Decree as Immediate Cause of and Permanent Antidote to the Racial Purity Statutes

Carlos Gilly

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> And since by the grace of baptism they have been made citizens of the saints and members of the household of God, and since regeneration in the spirit is of greater worth than birth in the flesh, we determine by this law that these conversos should enjoy all the privileges and immunities and exemptions of the cities and places where they received holy baptism which the other Christians enjoy and should enjoy for reason of their birth.
>
> COUNCIL OF BASEL, session XIX

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On Tuesday 7 September 1434, the Ecumenical Council of Basel, in its nineteenth session, passed a double decree regarding the Jews and the Conversos. While this document endorsed oppressive measures against those Jews who continued to resist the call to convert, it also constituted a solemn and universal statement for the full and equal rights of the New Christians and their descendants as accepted members of the society.[1] This is how it was

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* Translated by Marjory Hutchison. A first version of this work, entitled Die *Judenfrage auf dem Baselr Konzil* was presented in the conference on history of the University of Basel, during the academic year of 1969–1970. ("Übungen zur Geschichte des Baselr Konzils") and copied for the participants' use, by the specific wish of Professor Werner Kaegi. Part of it was later incorporated into my book *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600*, Basel, 1985, pp. 41–48.

1 For the Basel decree, see "De Judeis et neophitis aliud decretum in eadem sessione," in Juan de Segovia, *Historia Gestorum generalis Synodi Basiliensis, libri I–XVIII*, ed. Ernst Birk et al, (Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium saeculi decimi quinti, t. II–IV; de ahora en adelante MCG II–IV), Viena-Basilea 1873–1936, cit. II, 757–760, 762, 1212; repr. digital en http://147.231.53.91/src/index.php?s=v&cat=35 , ed. rec. in Giuseppe Alberigo, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, Bologna, ISR, 1973, 484–485; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta: editio critica*, vol. II/2, *The General Councils of Latin Christendom from Basel*

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interpreted and used by those writers, theologians and jurists who addressed the 'Converso Problem' in the tens and hundreds of years following the decree, both within Spain and outside. In the following pages I will examine the character of the Basel decree and its authors, a group of men, for the most part from Converso backgrounds, who had the foresight to create a legal measure of support for future generations of New Christians and their equal status within Spanish society.

1 Aim and Scale of the Council of Basel Decree

After the relative respite achieved by the protective bulls of Pope Martin V (1417–1431), the 1434 Basel decree returned to the harshness of earlier anti-Jewish dispositions: Jews were forbidden to employ Christians as servants, maids or wet-nurses for their children, while Christians were forbidden to attend Jewish weddings and celebrations, share baths or have regular relations with Jews. Christians were also forbidden to employ Jews as doctors and intermediaries, appoint them to public positions, allow them access to any kind of academic degree, or lease to them church goods. In turn, Jews were forbidden, under pain of confiscation, to borrow or buy books, chalices, crosses or other sacred objects, or to dress like Christians. Furthermore, to prevent regular contact, they were forced to live in separate neighborhoods, as far away as possible from the churches. Finally, they were no longer permitted to open their shops on Sundays, or work outside their houses. However, what marked the Basel decree from earlier, and often more restrictive anti-Jewish legislation, was its demand that Jews and other nonbelievers listen to sermons from time to time, against their will, with the pretext of making them recognize the errors of their ways and accept the truth of the Catholic faith. In order to assist in this conversion process, the Council decreed that the bishops of the dioceses should send erudite theologians to preach these sermons several times a year in places where the Jews and other nonbelievers lived, to attract them to the true religion. Attendance at these sermons was compulsory for all nonbelievers of either sex who had reached the age of reason, under pain of preventing them from conducting businesses if they did not attend.

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to Lateran V (*1431–1517*), ed. F. Lauritzen et al, Turnhout, 2013, pp. 947–951; English: https://www.ewtn.com/library/COUNCILS/FLORENCE.HTM#13 ; French : http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait30351/ and http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait30392/ There is no complete translation into Spanish. There is a good bibliography on the Council and its members in Markus Wesche, *Geschichtsquellen des Mittelalters. Concilium Basileense—Konzil von Basel 1431–1439* in http://www.repfont.badw.de/Concilium%20Basileense.pdf. For more recent studies, consult http://opac.regesta-imperii.de/lang_de/query.php.

In contrast to its punitive attitude towards the Jews, however, the Basel decree could not have been more favorable for the neophytes or newly converted. If a Jew chose to convert to the Christian faith, he was guaranteed the inviolability of all his possessions. Only property acquired through usury or illicit business would be returned to its legitimate owner. If it proved impossible to locate the owners, the Council permitted the converts to keep those gains, as a reward for the baptism they had undertaken, prohibiting any religious or secular person from complaining about this, and advising the latter to be content with the knowledge of having won them for Christ. If the Conversos were poor at the time of their conversion, the Council exhorted all civil and ecclesiastical people of note to help them, and following the Scriptures, not only to extend a generous hand to them, but as far as possible, to use the rents from the Church to do so, and to defend them with fatherly love against insults and offences, no matter where they came from.

The decree then states in a solemn and categorical manner ("hac edictale lege") the principle of the equality of all Christians, whether New or Old, without exception. And it is expressed in masterly phrasing, whose mere use would for more than 200 years mark the dividing line between the opponents of the racial purity statutes and their staunchest defenders.

> Et quoniam per gratiam baptismi cives sanctorum et domestici dei [1. Eph. 2:19] efficiuntur, longeque dignius sit regenerari spiritu quam nasci carne, hac edictali lege statuimus, ut civitatum et locorum, in quibus sacro baptismate regenerantur, privilegiis libertatibus et immunitatibus gaudeant, quæ ratione duntaxat nativitatis et originis alii consequuntur (MGC II, 759).

Or, as the influential bishop, Friar Lope de Barrientos, (a known and self-confessed descendant of Jews) translated, or had translated for him, 15 years later:

> Since by the grace of baptism converts are made citizens of the saints and members of the household of God, and since it is of greater worth to be reborn in spirit than to be born in the flesh, with this law we order that the Conversos enjoy all the privileges and immunities and exemptions of the cities and the places where they received holy baptism, which the other Christians on account of their birth enjoy and should enjoy.[2]

2 "Respuesta de D. Lope de Barrientos a una duda," in Tomás González Rolán and Pilar Saquero Suárez-Somonte eds., *De la Sentencia-estatuto de Pero Sarmiento a la Instrucción del Relator*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 167–191 (pp. 189–190).

The decree goes on to state that before and after baptism the priests and godparents must diligently instruct the Conversos in the faith, customs and rites of the Church and at the same time forbid them regular relations with their previous co-religionists, at least for a long period of time. In fact, even frequent mutual contact and conversations among the Conversos themselves could be dangerous. This led to another innovative formula of the decree, which would often be referred to in later controversies about racial purity: the recommendation of mixed marriages between New and Old Christians.

> And since experience shows that mutual contact and conversations among new converts weakens their faith and places their salvation in danger, this Holy Council recommends the ordinary people of every place to ensure that and make a special effort for these Conversos to join in marriage with old or original Christians (MGC II, p. 759).

The rest of the decree lists not only the duties of the newly converted, like visiting the churches, attending sermons, and becoming used to the Christian way of life, but also prohibitions, such as burying their dead according to Jewish rites and observing the Sabbath and other ceremonies.

Those who did not comply would be the object of an investigation into heretical pravity by the bishop or the Inquisitors, and if they were found guilty of having Judaized, proceedings would be started against them, and if necessary they would be handed over to the secular branch, to be punished in a manner that would set an example for others. The last provision of the decree is aimed at ensuring its diffusion:

> To guarantee the perpetuity and memory of this holy decree, and so that no one may claim ignorance, the Council orders that it be read in all the cathedrals and collegiate churches in which there are the greatest number of faithful, at least once a year.

It is not known to what extent this latter provision of the Council was carried out. But even if it lacked general dissemination, the decree did not go unnoticed either by those most immediately concerned, or by those whose lives were most affected, as this essay will show.

2 The Decree and Historiography

In 1864, the first great modern historian of Judaism, Heinrich Graetz, asked: Who instigated the Jewish question in the heart of the Council of Basel, which

was so removed from it?[3] The fact that Alonso de Cartagena and Gonzalo García de Santa María, sons of the former rabbi and later bishop of Burgos, Pablo de Santa María, were present in the Council led Graetz to the conclusion that these two brothers had brought up the Jewish question and formulated it in a manner that referred only to the situation of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula. Four years later, the Spanish historian José Amador de los Rios came to the same conclusion: "Once there, whether because it followed his father's precepts, or because his neophytic zeal stimulated it, [...] Don Alonso labored successfully to obtain the approval of the Fathers for the Anti-Pope Benedict's bull, in the nineteenth session of the Council."[4]

Later historiography continued to attribute to Alonso de Cartagena a role in the preparation and phrasing of the decree; yet, for reasons of simple chronology, he definitely could not have had that role. In the first place, the Jewish question, or rather that of the abolition of the privileges granted to the Jews by Pope Martin V, "in praejudicium fidelium el fortasis fidei," was inherited from the previous Council of Siena; it had been proposed there by the French and formed part of the initial programme of Reform, "in capite et inmembris," of the Council of Basel.[5] And secondly, when the variegated embassy of the king of Castile and with it Alonso de Cartagena, his brother, Gonzalo García de Santa María,[6] and their cousin, Juan Díaz de Coca, made their solemn

3 Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von Maimuni's tod (1205) bis zur Verbannung der Juden aus Spanien*, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 185 ff.

4 José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal*, vol. III, Madrid, 1876, p. 43; Francisco Fernández y González, *Instituciones jurídicas del Pueblo de Israel en los diferentes estados de la Península Ibérica*, Madrid, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 291–293; Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews*, III, New York, 1969, p. 304; Salomon Grayzel, "Jews and the Ecumenical Councils," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 57 (1967), pp. 287–311, (p. 304).

5 Max Simonsohn, *Die kirchliche Judengesetzgebung im Zeitalter der Reformkonzilien von Konstanz und Basel*, Breslau, 1912, p. 37; Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena*, Münster, 1968; Peter Browe, "Die kirchenrechtliche Stellung der Juden und ihrer Nachkommen," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 121 (1941) pp. 3–22, 165–191, n. 121; idem., *Die Judenmission im Mittelalter und die Päpste*, Rome, 1973, p. 168. Within the "Avisamenta pro inchoando reformationem ecclesie in capite, per nationem Gallicanam tradita" during the Council of Sienna, 1423, the next Council was urged to prohibit the pope from granting "privilegia et libertates quascumque" to the Jews and other non-believers (MCG 1, 32), to revoke the privileges already granted to those same Jews (MCG 1, 40), to modify the privileges conferred by the Roman Curia to the "judaicae perfidiae in obprobrium, vilipendium et damnum fidei Christianae et Christicolarum preiudicium" (MCG I, 55), and finally to eliminate once and for all of the "Iudeorum exaltationem."

6 Juan de Segovia writes that in November 1433 one "Gundisalvus Placentinus episcopus," in other words González García de Santa María in person, joined the Council "personaliter" (MCGII, 517). Since there is no further trace of him either in the *Historia Gestorum* or in the protocols of the Council until his official arrival in Basel nine months later, it must be admitted that it was either a sporadic visit or a mistake in the memory of the Council's chronicler.

entrance to Basel on 26 August, the decree was already written out and ready for publication.[7] Furthermore, not being officially part of the Council, Alonso could not attend the last meeting of the deputies, "super materia judaeorum et neophytorum," on 3 September, in the presence of the Legate Cardinal Cesarini, in which the changes and corrections were specifically permitted.[8] Not even the final work of Cartagena's father, Pablo de Santa María, the celebrated anti-Jewish tract, *Scrutinium scripturarum*, brought precisely by the family for publication at the Council, arrived in time to influence the writing of the decree. This was principally the work of a group of Conversos and sympathizers connected with the Cardinal of San Pedro ad Vincula, Juan de Cervantes, who very quickly took over the presidency and thus the control of the *deputatio* on faith, where religious matters were discussed and for which the negotiation of the "materia judeorum" was exclusively responsible.

To fulfill its mission correctly, the Council had organized itself into four work groups, or *deputations*, on faith, work, reform and common concerns.[9] One of the main members in the group on common concerns was the Converso Juan de Torquemada; the one on peace contained Cardinal Alfonso Carrillo and the bishop of Cadiz, Juan González; while the venerated Pedro de Córdoba presided over the group on reform, until he was moved to the group on faith.[10] One

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The incorporation into the Council of González, like that of his brother and all the other members of the Castilian embassy, took place on 22 October of the following year. But he did not remain there for long; already in March of the next year he asked for permission to withdraw from the Council (CB III, 337).

7 On the arrival and solemn entry of the Castilian Embassy, see Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "La embajada de Castilla en el Concilio de Basilea y su discusión con los ingleses acerca de la precedencia," *Hispania sacra* 10.19 (1957) pp. 5–31. Beltran quotes at length the story from Alvaro and Gonzalo's uncle, Alvar García de Santa María. (*Crónica de Don Juan II de Castilla* in CODOIN, vol. 100, 1891, pp. 392–400).

8 CB III, 195: (3.9.1434): "Lecta forma per dominos diputatos super materia Judeorum et neofitorum dominus cardinalis legatus (Cesarini) conclusit in eadem materia, ita tamen quod si sint aliqua adenda vel corrigenda, possint addi vel corrigi, etc." Both Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, Madrid, 1942, p. 17, and Nicolás López Martínez, *Los judaizantes castellanos y la Inquisición en tiempos de Isabel la Católica*, Burgos, 1954, p. 72, do not attribute an active role in the wording of the decree to Cartagena, while Benzion Netanyahu, in *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, New York, 2001, p. 1219 n. 98, does not rule out the possibility that Cartagena, informed of what was being planned, could have introduced some changes.

9 On the *deputationes* and their tasks, see Hans-Jörg Gilomen, "Bürocratie und Korporation am Basel Konzil. Strukturelle und prosopographische Aspekte," *Konstanzer Arbeitskreis. Vorträge und Forschungen*, 67 (2007) pp. 205–255 (pp. 211–221).

10 Gilomen, "Bürokratie …," p. 235. On the Castilians present at the Council before the arrival of the official embassy of Castile and their activities, see Denise Hackett Kawasaki, *The Castilian Fathers at the Council of Basel* (PhD diss., Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008),

of the matters that the group on faith had to deal with was the "materia judeorum," under the direction of Cardinal Juan de Cervantes himself, as "unicus judex fidei,"[11] with the cardinal's "domesticus" Juan de Segovia, the future historian of the Council, presiding,[12] and his secretary, one Johannes Roderici, acting as auditor. The said Roderici, incidentally, spent his free time writing poetry in Castilian, or composing a treatise on the nobility, the famous *Cadira de Honor*, since he was none other than the Galician poet Juan Rodríguez de la Camara or del Padrón.[13] As for the "venerable varón" Pedro de Córdoba, mentioned in the Council proceedings cited below, we know nothing, save that he gained a bachelor's degree in legal decrees in 1433, a doctor's degree in the same in 1436, and that he was Papal Auditor in Germany from 1439.[14]

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with a few mistakes of identification, but more complete than the previous works of Loy Bilderback, *The Membership of the Council of Basel* (Phd diss., University of Washington, 1982), Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "La embajada …," and José Goñi Gaztambide, "Presencia de España en los Concilios Generales del siglo XV," in R. García-Villoslada, *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, Madrid 1980, vol. III–1, pp. 25–114. See also, Oscar Villarroel González, "Eclesiásticos en la diplomacia castellana en el siglo XV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 40 (2010), pp. 791–819. Ibid., *El rey y el papa. Política y diplomacia en los albores del Renacimiento* (*el siglo XV en Castilla*), Madrid, 2009.

11 MGC II, 358: "Cardinali autem sancti Petri concessum fuit, vt vnicus in concilio iudex esset fidei. Itaque sancta synodus omnes et singulas lites et controuersias, statum fidei quomodolibet concernentes, motas vel mouendas ex officio, vel alio quouis modo contra quascunque personas, tam ecclesiasticas quam seculares, cuiuscunque status etc." CB II, 407 (16 May 1433): "Placuit quod dominus cardinalis sancti Petri ad vincula sit iudex unicus in causis fidei …"

12 MGC II, 461: "de quo testimonium perhibet huiusmodi auctor collectionis [Segovia himself], qui tunc domesticus erat iudicis fidei cardinalis sancti Petri ad vincula [Juan de Cervantes]."

13 As the editors of the CB had already done, Kawasaki, op.cit., p. 182, identifies the two successive secretaries of Cardinal Cervantes with the clergyman from Plasencia, Rodrigo de Carvajal. In fact the first was Juan Sánchez, abbot of the monastery of Arbas in el Puerto de Pajares (MGC II, 287; CB II, p. 300: "Placuit quod pro negociis concilii auditor domini Cardinalis S. Petri ab vincula transeat ad partes Yspanie"), who left on 19 December 1432 as the Council's Ambassador for Spain, and seems not to have returned. See Joseph Toussaint, *Les relations diplomatiques de Philippe le Bon avec le Concile de Bâle*, Louvain, Bibl. Université, 1942, p. 255. The second was the until now unidentified Johannes Roderici, i.e. the well-known poet Juan Rodríguez of la Cámara or el Padrón, see Gilly, *Spanien*, p. 4, and Florence Serrano, "Juan Rodríguez del Padrón au Concile de Bâle," *Atalaya. Revue d'études médiévales romanes* 13 (2013). The Cardinal's servant, the graduate in decrees Alfonso de Solis, likewise belonged to his family, as did the Franciscan and Master in Theology Juan López; other companions or relations were González Martínez de Medina, Alfonso de Cervantes and the Knight of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem Alfonso de Bocanegra (CB II, 279–281).

14 MGC II, 325: "Petrus de Corduba et Rodericus de Carvajal, baccalarii cursati"; CB II, p. 344: "Petrus de Corduba licenciatus in decretis"; CB IV, p. 290: "Petro de Corduba decretorum

With regard to the drafting of the Council's decree on the Jews and Neophytes, an examination of the protocols and of the *Astoria Gestarum* by Juan de Segovia provides us with the following information:

16 April 1434: Juan de Segovia now presides over the group on faith;

4 May: the group agrees to deal with the material in the file on the Jews.

5 May: a German, a Frenchman, an Italian and the Spaniard, Juan Rodrigo del Padrón, Cardinal Juan de Cervantes' secretary, are appointed to study the "materia judeorum."

7 May: Pedro de Córdoba is moved from the group on peace to that on faith.

9 August: the text on the Jews and the Conversos is presented and the majority of those present are pleased with it.

27 August: general meeting: after days of deliberation by the deputies and the deputations, the wording of the decree is finished and they proceed to the final reading. Juan de Segovia defends the original wording, referring to his own experience with Vicente de Ferrer and to the example of the king of Castile.

3 September: the deputies in charge of the wording of the decree read the definitive version to the assembly, receiving the approval of Cardinal Cesarini, the Papal Legate. Immediately afterwards, Juan de Cervantes, the president of the group on faith, announces his departure and that of all his retinue, including Juan de Segovia, to Italy.

7 September: proclamation of the decree during the 19th session.

9 September: Pedro de Córdoba provisionally leaves the Council.

10 September: Juan de Cervantes, Juan de Segovia and all the retinue of the Cardinal leave Basel and set off for Italy to receive the pope's ratification of the decrees from the 19th session. They remain there for a year and a half, until their return to Basel at the end of March 1436.

3 The Authors of the Decree

As noted above, the theme of the Jews in the Council of Basel was monopolized from the beginning by Cardinal Juan de Cervantes and a group of

doctore." Between 1339 and 1342 he appears as Papal Auditor in various ecclesiastical trials in the north of Germany, www.hamburg.de/contentblob/1538948/data/111-1-band-01.pdf. For his relations with England, see August Zellfelder, *England und das Baselr Konzil*, Berlin, 1913, passim.

Spaniards around him, who instead of repeating and summarizing the existing anti-Jewish legislation, searched and found a solution to the problem that was of greater urgency to them: the social situation of the Conversos or New Christians in their own country.

It is known that an important proportion of the Spaniards present at the Basel Council were from Converso families, or related to a greater or lesser degree to persons of that ilk.[15] They were part of the first generation, after the mass conversions at the end of the fourteenth century, who had been allowed to study in schools or universities, and who, as a result of a greater intellectual capacity or ability to work, had obtained enviable positions and offices both in the Church and in the civil society.[16] Cardinal Juan de Cervantes has himself been included in this group, albeit without firm evidence.[17] However, it is true that there were Conversos in the Cardinal's family: His nephew of the same name, the King's Guard and Alderman of Seville, Juan de Cervantes, had married Aldonza de Toledo, daughter of Alonso Álvarez de Toledo, the chief accountant of Castile, and Catalina Núñez de Toledo, both of Converso origin.[18] Also his other two nephews, who were with him in Basel, the Knight of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Alfonso de Bocanegra, and the counselor to Juan II and Dean of Cuenca, Pedro de Bocanegra, were related to Converso families.[19] Another person from Seville in the service of Cervantes, the poet

15 According to Bilderback, *The Membership of the Council of Basel*, p. 148, Spaniards had joined the Council between 1432 and 1440. Another 20 or 22 of those who attended the Council had Spanish names, although they are not identified as such. Some 50 among these were officially incorporated before the promulgation of the decree on the Jews and Neophytes on 7 September 1434. On the "Jewish density" and the ruling clases see, among others, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *De la España judeoconversa. Doce estudios*, Barcelona, 2006.

16 This Converso upward mobility was noted by the Jew-hating curate Andrés Bernáldez in his attack on Converso heresy, which, he stated, "grew and flourished thanks to the great riches and arrogance of many wise men and doctors, bishops, canons, friars, abbots, accountants, secretaries, kings' factors and great lords." Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, Sevilla, 1870, p. 124; Américo Castro, *La realidad histórica de España*, reedition, Mexico, 1971, p. 48, and p. 68 note 30; idem., *De la edad conflictiva*, 3. ed., Madrid, 1972, pp. 146–148.

17 Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, Madison, Wisc., 2002, p. 95. Roth refers to the inclusion of the surname "Cerbantes" in the list of great Converso families catalogued by Alonso Díaz de Montalvo in the *Instrucción del Relator*, cfr. González Rolán/Saquero Suárez, *De la Sentencia-estatuto*, p. 114.

18 Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, escrita e ilustrada con varias noticias y documentos inéditos pertenecientes a la historia y literatura de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1819, pp. 236–237.

19 *Tizón de la Nobleza de España*, (http://www.hispanista.org/libros/alibros/15/lb15.pdf), which names "los Cervantes de Sevilla" (p. 32).

and graduate in Law Gonzalo Martínez de Medina, son of the Chief Treasurer of Andalusia, certainly was from a Jewish background.[20] However, a close friend of the latter does not seem to have been one, the previously mentioned Juan Rodríguez del Padrón or de la Cámara, author during his time in Basel of a treatise on the nobility, the *Cadira de honor*.[21]

Juan de Segovia, on the other hand, presumably came from a Converso family. Signs of this are found in his false genealogy (a strategy employed by many Conversos to disguise their Jewish roots), in which he claimed to be the son of the Hungarian Princess Angelina of Greece and the Segovian Juan de Contreras, when in reality there is no record of when or where he was born, or whether he belonged to a religious order or he was a secular cleric.[22] The only time that Johannes de Segovia—which is what he called himself—refers to his native town, he does so without even naming it ("sed in adolescentia mea, decem annis quibus in ea fui de inhabitantibus ciuitatem a qua sum oriundus").[23] According to his own story, Juan de Segovia started to study Grammar towards 1407, in Salamanca, and it was in that city that, in 1412, he must have heard the sermons of Vicente de Ferrer, becoming for more than a year one of his disciples and a member of his company ("dum per annum vel amplius minimus fui discipulorum suorum [...] qui in eius constituti eramus

20 Charles F. Fraker, "Gonzalo Martínez de Medina, the Jerónimos and the Devotio Moderna," *Hispanic Review* 35 (1966), pp. 197–217; ídem., *Studies on the Cancionero de Baena*, pp. 28–30; Rafael Sánchez Saus, *Caballería y linaje en la Sevilla medieval. Estudio genealógico y Social*. Sevilla y Cádiz, p. 292 ff.; José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y génesis del estado moderno en Castilla* (1369–1480), Madrid, 1993, pp. 208–209; Oscar Perea Rodríguez, "Enrique IV de Castilla y los conversos," *Revista de poética medieval* 19 (2007), pp. 131–175; ídem., "Minorías en la España de los Trastamara (II) judíos y conversos," *El Humanista* 10 (2008), pp. 353–468 (with a very complete bibliography); ídem., *"Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos : Los conversos en los primeros cancioneros castellanos medievales (1396–1454)," in Lo converso: orden imaginario y realidad en la cultura española (siglos XIV–XVII)*, Madrid, 2013, pp. 19–54.

21 Gilly, *Spanien*, p. 4

22 Juan Román y Cárdenas, *Noticias genealógicas del linage de Segovia*, pp. 473–477; Juan de Contreras, *Doña Angelina de Grecia. Ensayo biográfico*, Segovia, 1913, pp. 35–40. The sister of Angelina, Catalina of Hungary, was named as mother of another famous participant in the Council: Rodrigo Sanchez de Arévalo, see *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, vol. 1, ed. Mario Penna, Madrid, 1959, lxxii–lxxv. Even the well-known Converso and also participant at the Council, Juan de Torquemada, was given a false genealogy, as stated by Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, vol. 2, Rome, 1696, pp. 187, protesting against "the ingenious custom of our time," "which denies honors to the descendants of Jews who have converted to Christianity," while two centuries previously "they were well regarded and praised for their gifts and their literary works."

23 Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, Madrid, 1952, p. 36; Fromherz, *Johannes de Segovia*, p. 18.

societate").[24] Segovia had fond memories of the time he spent following Ferrer, as he states in *Historia gestorum* (MGC II, 750) or in the *Liber de magna auctoritate Episcoporum* (ed. De Kegel, 494–495), but he does not reveal whether he participated actively or not in the campaign of forced evangelization of the Castilian Jews conducted by Ferrer.

I do not at all share the opinion of Anne Marie Wolf in her recent book *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, according to which Segovia, in contrast to Ferrer, had never shown the least interest in the conversion of the Jews.[25] Neither do I agree with Wolf's view that Segovia ignored the public arguments between Christians and Jews, like that at Tortosa,[26] since the tenth and longest "animadvertentia" or chapter of his *Liber de magna auctoritate Episcoporum in Concilio Generali* (134 pages) in itself is the equivalent of one of these "disputations." As Santiago Madrigal has rightly pointed out, that is where Juan de Segovia approaches and goes deeply into "that question which is the basis of the separation between Christianity and Judaism: Why and in what way does the grace of the Scriptures operate and lead to the end of the observation of the Law of Moses?"[27]

Segovia uses the sequence "the natural law, the law of Moses and that of grace, or of the Scriptures" to explain the three successive phases of the history

24 Juan de Segovia, Carta a Guillaume d'Orlyé (BUS, MS 202, fol. 182r), quoted in Jese D. Mann, "Juan de Segovia's 'Epistola ad Guillielmum de Orliaco,'" *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 62 (1992), pp. 175–193 (185–186); Madrigal Terrazas, *El pensamiento eclesial de Juan de Segovia*, p. 108; Jesse D. Mann, "The Bible in the fifteenth Century: The case of Juan de Segovia," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 43 (2017), pp. 115–134. Juan de Segovia's name does not appear in the list of "the companions that San Vicente de Ferrer of the Order led in the course of his apostolate," Andrés Ferrer de Valdecebro, *Historia de la vida maravillosa y admirable del* [...] *S. Vicente Ferrer*, Madrid, 1682, pp. 179–180.

25 Anne Marie Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace: Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century*, Notre Dame, 2014, pp. 67, 211, 219.

26 Ibid., p. 68: "It is interesting, especially since the Tortosa disputations were followed by many baptisms, that he did not refer to these public debates with Jews in his argument." In fact, Segovia does refer to that kind of disagreement between learned Christians and Jews, contrasting them with the absence of similar discussions with the "Saracens" which, they being the majority, would be counter-productive, as many Christians think that where there is power there is truth: "namque si, ut Iudei faciunt, disputacioni intendere Sarraceni vellent, cum multitudine prevaleant. quamplurime fortassis mutarent mentes fidelium existimantes eos favere veritatem," Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, p. 379 (X 6 §5).

27 Santiago Madrigal Terrazas, "Judíos, moros y cristianos. La visión teológica de Juan de Segovia (1393–1458) acerca de las tres culturas ibéricas," in Matthias M. Tischler y Alexander Fidora eds., *Christlicher Norden.—Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, Münster, 2011, pp. 489–504 (493–500).

of the "populis fidelis." This was marked, according to him, by two fundamentally important moments: when God disclosed to Moses "his great name Adonai," which he had not done with Abraham, Isaac or Jacob (Exodus 6;3), and the Synod held by the Apostles in Jerusalem (Acts 15: 1–32), when the end of the observation of the law of Moses was agreed on for the Gentiles who were accepted into the Church, without detriment to the Judeo-Christians, who were still permitted to follow it for a long time. The problem was of great topicality, as Segovia recalled, referring once again to Vicente de Ferrer's campaigns in Italy, France and Spain: Why were the New Christians not allowed to follow both the Scriptures and the Law of Moses?

> Eorum plurimi confabulantur inquirentes sepe, quare simul cum evangelio legem Moysi christianis non licet observare (X 42 §5).

That was a question that Juan de Segovia had already asked himself: "Why is following the Law of Moses forbidden, when among Christians it is held in such high veneration, since it is recorded in all the chapters of the Holy books?" But because the theme was so important, our theologian saved the answer for a separate text, which he never actually wrote, restricting himself to a recommendation to all Christians to become acquainted with the law of Moses, and especially to those theologians whose task it was to explain and defend that divine law against all censors who wished to expunge it.

> Quare videlicet lex Moysi, si eam non licet observare, *manet apud christianos in tanta veneracione* capite sane scripta omni librorum sacri canonis. Alio profecto *loco differtur* hoc exponendum. Etenim compendio nequit declarari quam honesta, quam utilis, quam delectabilis atque summe *necessaria est noticia legis Moysi* omnibus christi fidelibus, permaxime autem professoribus sacre pagine, quibus incumbit divinam explanare legem eamque *defensare contra omnes purgatores*. Quocirca specialem amplamque requirit indaginem, ut, quanta sit necessitas eius noticie, *exponatur perspicue* (X 41 §15).

There is no room here for further reflections on the theme of the Jews and the Conversos laid down in this tenth "animadvertentia" of the *Liber de Magna auctoritate Episcoporun*; however, it is important to highlight Segovia's admiration for the history of the Jewish people as the assumed inventors of letters and the laws, as the ancient learned men and authors of the first books (X 5 §1), as faithful archivists of the books of law and the prophets, and so devoted to them that they would lose their children, wealth and all their other possessions, or

even die on the gallows rather than relinquish them. (X 5 §5). This respect for the Jewish people did not prevent Segovia from repeating again and again that the time of the validity of their law had ended, resorting to parabiblical texts such as, "The law of Moses was pregnant with Christ but, when He came, that pregnancy had ended" (X 18 §5) and "When the Lord of Lords comes, your unction will end" (X 17 §3).[28] Furthermore, Segovia was an advocate for enforced preaching to the Jews (X 26 §3), as he had already demonstrated through collaboration in the drafting of the "De Judeis et neophitis" decree at the Council of Basel.[29]

4 The First Reactions

The first attack on the Basel decree, and that which had the greatest consequences, came from an old acquaintance of Juan de Segovia: the founder of the College of Saint Bartholomew of Salamanca (1414) and recently reinstated archbishop of Seville, Diego de Anaya Maldonado. Anaya had been nominally incorporated into the Council one and a half months after the passing of the decree, and was therefore aware of what was happening there.[30] His reaction was swift. In 1435, two years before his death, Anaya changed the old "constitutiones et statua" of the College founded by him twenty years previously, introducing the clause about the lineage and the racial purity of future students for the first time.

> XIV: De genere eligendorum. Item, quia intencio, et voluntas nostra semper fuit, ut nullus, qui de Genere Judaeorum originem duxerit ad dictum

28 Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, p. 418: "Quia igitur lex Moysi *gravida Christo erat* [*Augustinus*], nato Christo, cum iam impletum esset tempus pariendi, cessavit pregnatura eius, hec est figura atque significacio sacramentarum legis gracie." Ibid., p. 414: "Sic enim alia inquit translacio: cum venerit Sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unccio vestra" (Quodvultdeus).

29 Ibid., p. 437: "Rursus ex secunda expediencie causa, que erat, ut per medium disputacionis cum Iudeis ad gentiles verbum Dei perveniret, noticia temporis haberi potest. Etenim *quando magna* multitudo gentilium iam conversa fuerat ad Christum, ita quod Iudei potentes non erant prohibere predicacionem, quin pocius gentiles conversi auctoritative poterant cogere Iudeos, *ut venirent audituri* verbum Dei, utique necesse non fuit decens vel utile aut expediens ex tunc *amplius servare legem Moysi*. Sicut nec hodie, nam quia per medium principum ecclesia potest compellere Iudeos ad predicaciones venire, qui illis predicaturus est verbum Dei, non propterea servare debet legem Moysi."

30 CB III, p. 233. The incorporation took place on 2 October 1434, at the same time as that of the members of the Castilian embassy.

> Collegium habere ingressum; ideo, ne hoc per temporis cursum oblivioni dari contingat statuimus, et ordinamus, ut nullus qui de praedicto genere, sive ex utroque latere vel altero tantum fuerit, in Collegialem, Capellanumve in dicto Collegio admittatur; in hoc non attento, an in gradu remoto vel propinquo sit.[31]

There is a lot of controversy about the exact date of the inclusion of the anti-Converso clause (whether it was 1414 or later), which Benzion Netanyahu settled to a large extent by verifying in the Vatican archives that Benedict XII's foundational bulls of 1414 and Martin V's of 1418 do not contain the words "ex puro sanguine procedentes" or "puri sanguinis," which were inserted later, in the printed versions of the bulls.[32] Nowadays, the prevalent opinion among historians is that the clause was inserted around 1450, whether as a negative reaction to the events in Toledo in 1449, or for other reasons. But in fact, Netanyahu was also right when, on analyzing the clause in the Constitutions and Statutes of 1507, he concluded that Archbishop Anaya had personally written the clause and that it was inserted in the years 1435–1437.[33] These data are corroborated by Joan Roco de Campofrio in his *Discurso de un Inquisidor sobre los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* (c. 1625), which states: "And the Colegio Mayor (Hall of Residence) of Saint Bartholomew in Salamanca, known as The Old, founded by Don Diego de Anaya, archbishop of Seville, was one of the first to use the Statute of Racial Purity, in 1453, and the colegios mayores that were founded afterwards did so in imitation."[34] They are also corroborated by the editor of

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31 Francisco Ruiz de Vergara, *Historia del Colegio Viejo de San Bartolomé*, Madrid, 1766, p. 44.

32 Netanyahu, *The Origins*, pp. 272–275, 1103–1105; ídem., *Los orígenes de la Inquisición*, pp. 245–247, 1000–1002; A. Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, 1955, p. 57; Albert A. Sicroff, *Les statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, Paris, 1960, pp. 96–97, Luis Sala Balust, *Constitutiones, estatutos y ceremonias de los antiguos colegios seculares de la Universidad de Salamanca*, vol. III, Salamanca 1963, pp. 45–64; I. S. Révah, "La controverse sur les statuts de pureté de sang," en *Bulletin Hispanique* 73 (1971), pp. 263–306 (p. 265); Eugenius Asensio, "Notas sobre la historiografía de Américo Castro," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 8 (*1972–1973*), pp. 349–392; Baltasar Cuart Moser, "Los estatutos de San Clemente," in E. Verdera y Tuells eds., *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, vol. 4, Bolonia, pp. 579–696, (p. 602); Max S. Hering Torres, *Rassismus in der Vormoderne: die "Reinheit des Blutes" im Spanien der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt / New York, 2006, pp. 65–67; Salustiano de Dios de Dios, "Los juristas de Salamanca en el siglo XV," in S. de Dios and Eugenia Torijano eds., *Cultura, política y práctica del derecho: juristas de Salamanca, siglos XV–XX*, Salamanca, 2012, pp. 13–70, (38ff).

33 Netanyahu, *The Origins*, pp. 273–274; idem., *Los orígenes*, pp. 245–246.

34 [Juan Roco de Campofrío], *Discurso de vn Inquisidor, hecho en tiempo de Felipe 4° sobre los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre de España y si conviene al servicio de Dios, del Rey y*

the constitutions and statutes of 1507 himself, Francisco Ruiz de Vergara, who openly declared in a footnote that Clause 14 (De genere Eligendorum) was the work of Archbishop Anaya and dated from the year 1437:

> XIV. Jews or Moors cannot be students. Item, complying with the wishes of *the archbishop* our lord, as far as we know, and *we know from the students who saw his letter*, we confirm the statute which states that no one descended from Jews or 'Sarracens' can be a student. ((a) Stat[utum] 14. Rever[endissimi] Arch[iepiscopi] anno 1437).[35]

The *limpieza* clause was, therefore, a clear response from Diego de Anaya to the decree "De Neophytis" from the Council of Basel, and at the same time a challenge to its immediate authors and protectors, all friends of one of his worst adversaries: the reformer of the Jeronimos, Friar Lope de Olmedo, whom the pope had appointed administrator of the diocese of Seville during the years preceding the reinstatement of Ayana to his previous see.[36]

The conflictive situation which Cervantes, Segovia and their collaborators tried to prevent, from Basel, with the decree "De Neophytis" in 1434, was produced 15 years later in Toledo and in the worst way possible: with an authentic pogrom.[37] The cause of this "uproar" as Juan de Mariana called it, was the introduction of a tax on the people of Toledo of one million 'maravedís' by the Constable of Castille, Alvaro de Luna, who, as Mariano relates in his vivid narrative:

> gave the care and responsibility of collecting this money to [the Converso] Alonso Cota, a rich neighbor of the city. The citizens opposed it … Nevertheless Don Alvaro ordered the collection to go ahead. The people rioted and rang the call to arms, from a bell in the main church. The main agitators were two canons called Juan Alonso [of Loranca] and Pedro [López] Gálvez … They charged against Alonso Cota's house and

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Reino moderarlos, Madrid, BN, ms. 13043, 132r–171v (135v). Also Rèvah, "La controverse …" p. 265, suggests, without evidence, the date of 1435. The problem is that the version of the *Constituciones y estatutos* of the University, dated 1435 (Sala Balust, pp. 45–64; Hering Torres, *Rassismus*, p. 67) does not yet contain the anti-Converso clause.

35 Ruiz de Vergara, *Historia del Colegio Viejo de San Bartolomé*, p. 69.

36 Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck*, pp. 114–115.

37 The most complete narratives about the riot in Toledo and the application of the statutes of 1449 can be found in Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, Madrid, 1961; idem., *Los orígenes del problema converso*, Barcelona, 1976 (http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/los-origenes-del-problema-converso-o/html/); Netanyahu, *The Origins*, pp. 296–714; idem, *Los orígenes*, pp. 317–568.

> set fire to it, and since they were passing in front of the neighorhood of La Magdalena it was burned also, the home of the rich merchants of the city; they plundered the houses, and not content with that, threw into prison all those who were there, miserable people, without respect or forgiveness to women, old people or children. This ugly and cruel act took place on 26 January … The rioting was especially concentrated against those whom, because they were of the Jewish race, the people called New Christians. The hatred towards their ancestors was paid for by the descendants, and for no other reason. The Mayor, Pedro Sarmiento, and his lieutenant the Graduate Marcos García (who the common people to this day scornfully call Marquillos de Mazaramboz), who should have calmed down the uproar, instead stirred it up and blew on the flame … With the arrival of the king, Pedro Sarmiento took the opportunity to commit more cruelties and excesses: he arrested many citizens who had tried to hand over the city to the king. He tortured them, and many of them confessed more than they were asked, because of the terrible pain they suffered. Their possessions were stolen and many of them were killed … On 6 June they passed a statute which banned New Christians from holding public office and positions; it was specifically ordered that they could not be scribes or solicitors, according to a law by king Alfonso The Wise, in which, they said and claimed, he granted that in the city of Toledo no one of the Jewish race in that city or land could hold public office or have ecclesiastical benefices …[38]

The Toledo anti-Converso party, led by Pedro Sarmiento, wrote four texts in justification of their actions: *La Suplicación y requerimiento*, which Pedro

38 Juan de Mariana, *Historia general de España compuesta primero en latin, despues buelta en castellano*, Toledo, 1601, vol. 2, pp. 440–442 (Libro XXII, ch. 8; quoted here in the edition: Valencia, Benito Monfort, 1791, vol. 7, pp. 253–258). The first Latin version is called *Historiae De Rebus Hispaniae libri XXX*, Toledo, 1592, pp. 1018–1021. Mariana's attitude to the Converso phenomenon in Spain is reflected in a sentence from *De Rege et regis institutione libri tres* de 1599, Madrid, P. Rodríguez, 1599, (III,4) "All the families who nowadays are admired for their approved ancestry came from low and obscure beginnings; if the door had been closed to commoners and Conversos ["novi homines"], we would have no nobles today," Harald E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought*, London, 2013, pp. 93–94; Mariana also returns to this theme in his *Historia* (XXI, 6), referring to the Spaniards in the Council of Basel, he considers it a miracle—unrepeatable in the Spain of his time—that a Converso from Judaism like Alonso de Cartagena should have "surpassed in virtue the insults and the hatred for that lineage and that nation." Mariana, *Historia general*, vol. 2, p. 149; ídem., *Historiae De Rebus Hispaniae*, p. 976.

Sarmiento sent to King Juan II (1 May 1449),[39] the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, by Pedro Sarmiento and the whole City Council of Toledo (5 June 1449),[40] the *Apelación y suplicación* by the graduate Marcos García de Mora (end of November 1449)[41] and, finally, the document that precedes them and which they all refer to: an *Investigación* into those who had converted from Judaism in the city of Toledo. None of these writings makes the slightest mention of the Council of Basel's "De Neophytis" decree. Rather, the authors traced and scrutinized the minutes of the most remote councils and anti-Jewish canons of ecclesiastical and civil legislation in search of discriminatory precedents with which to justify the exclusion of the Conversos.[42] Not even in the papal bulls, like the "Humani generis" of 24 September, 1449, with which Nicholas V entered the fray, banning all types of discrimination and excommunicating the rebels, is the decree mentioned, although the bull follows the lines set out by the Council of Basel.[43] The reason is fairly simple: those of the anti-Converso party had not the slightest interest in recalling a council decree that was completely opposed to their aims; while Nicholas V, who in that very summer of 1449 had just closed amicably what was left of the Council of Basel, had no wish to re-evaluate it by specifically referring to one of its decrees again.

For those who defended the Conversos, however, the "De Neophytis" decree became a required point of reference, and almost a common denominator. The first to use it was Fernán Díaz de Toledo in *Instrucción del Relator para Don Lope de Barrientos, obispo de Cuenca, sobre la çiçaña de Toledo contra Pero Sarmiento y el bachiller Marcos Garçía de Mora*.[44] The Basel decree is here placed on a par with Nicholas V's "Humani generis" Bull, Gregory IX's [*Eam*

39 See the excellent critical edition of these three texts, in González Rolán/Saquero Suárez, *De la Sentencia-estatuto de Pero Sarmiento a la Instrucción del relator*, pp. 1–12.

40 Ibid., pp. 13–31; Eloy Benito Ruano, "La Sentencia-Estatuto de Pero Sarmiento contra los conversos toledanos," *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 6 (1957), pp. 277–306; idem., *Los orígenes del problema converso*, Apéndice 1.

41 Ibid., pp. 193–242; E. Benito Ruano "El Memorial contra los conversos del Bachiller Marcos García de Mora," *Sefarad*. 17 (1957), pp. 314–351; idem., *Los orígenes del problema converso*, Apéndice 2.

42 The most important discovery was a privilege granted by Alfonos XII to the city of Toledo in the first half of the XIII century: "ut nullus iudeus, nullus nuper renatus, habeat mandamentum super nullum christianum in Toleto nec in suo territorio." See González Rolán /Saquero Suárez, *De la Sentencia-estatuto*, XCVI–CI, pp. 16–19.

43 Ibid., pp. 243–299 (Spanish translation), pp. 245–251; Beltrán de Heredia, "Las bulas de Nicolás V acerca de los conversos de Castilla," pp. 40–44; Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, pp. 935–937.

44 Fernán Díaz de Toledo, *Instrucción del Relator*, pp. 93–120. For the importance of this text, see Nicholas G. Round, "Politics, style and group attitudes in the Instrucción del relator," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 46 (1969), pp. 289–319.

te] *de rescriptis decree*[45] and the *Leyes de las Partidas*, documents which, according to the narrator, "wish and order that this be maintained and talked about, and become custom for all times in these kingdoms and in all of God's Church."[46] With regard to the "De Neophytis" decree, the *Instrucción* repeats and paraphrases in particular the parts dealing with the concession of advantages and benefits which make conversion easier:

> That those who are outside the faith, mainly the Jews, have to be invited and attracted by means of complements and pleas and other methods of good, gentle and gracious teaching, to win them over and make them children of God, and that Christians should help and save and honor them, and deal with them as brothers, and charitably, with love, without making differences or distinctions between the old and the new. In fact, in some things they should favor them and give them more advantages than others who are settled and based in the Holy Faith, as one does with novices in the religion. In this way everything is in full accordance with *the decree from the Council of Basel*, the transcription of which you showed to my lord the bishop, it being then consolidated by Pope Eugenius's bull, and the embassadors of our lord King Juan being then a part of the Council.[47]

At the end of the *Instrucción*, the author offers to place a transcript of all the documents, including the papal bulls and "the decrees of Basel," in the hands of Bishop Lope de Barrientos, in order that he should show them to the king, as proof of the veracity of everything mentioned in the *Instrucción*.

It is not clear here if the word "transcript" refers to a simple copy or a translation of these documents into the common language. In any case, Barrientos had at his disposal a version of the decree partially or wholly in Castilian, which he himself quotes in the texts with which he contributed to the debate on the Toledan statute of 1449. The first of these was entitled *Lo que escribió el muy reverendo, e magnífico señor Don Lope de Barrientos, obispo de Cuenca e chanciller mayor del rey nuestro señor e del Consejo, Contra algunos çiçañadores de la nación de los convertidos del pueblo de Israel*. Barrientos here uses the very documentation which Díaz de Toledo had sent him and repeats the same words the latter had used: "I read the decree *Eam te* [y no *Quantum*] *de rescriptis*,

45 Decretales Gregorii IX 1, 3. 7 (sobre el derecho de acceder un converso "de gente judeorum" a oficios eclesiásticos).

46 Fernán Díaz de Toledo, *Instrucción del Relator*, pp. 102, 119.

47 Ibid., pp. 105–106.

and the decrees of Basel, and the *Leyes de las Partidas*, and decided that in this case they order and wish that this be maintained and talked about …"[48] He then also repeats the idea of not "making any difference or distinction between the old and the new, but rather that in some things they should favor them [New Christians] and give them more advantages than others … All of this is in accordance with *the decree from the Council of Basel*, which was then consolidated by the bull and the authorities …" In the following paragraphs Barrientos returns to the Basel decree once more, to determine the degrees of punishment that could be applied to those Conversos who apostatized their new faith, before moving on to what interested him most: a comparison of the Toledo rebels ("despicable slanderers, rustic troublemakers, and those who are not God-fearing") with the nobility of their Converso victims. Among the latter, according to Barrientos, are: "Sons of kings and princes," "knights and the oldest and most important people," "Counts and rich men and other great lords," "the most noble men of Toledo, Córdoba and almost all the ancestral homes of Castile, or the greater part of them," "archbishops and bishops and other prelates and ecclesiastical men, who were and are today men of religion."

> I know there are others living today [Barrientos continues] from many lineages in Castile, sons and grandsons and great-grandsons and descendants of the Israelites, as clerics, or nobles, citizens and knights, to all of whom no little harm is done by the words and deeds of their adversaries and by those whom their adversaries favor. From them proceed many poisons and damnifications, both against God and against all correct behaviour and virtue. It would be better for them [the adversaries] to dig, plow, prune and dry the vine stems and work at the same things as their fathers and grandfathers and ancestors did,[49] than to speak sacrilegiously against the ancestry of our Lord, which is like wishing to harm themselves and insult themselves with envy and greed, proscribing and slandering not only good people, but also the very family of the Lord, of the Holy Blood. And not only Our Holy Lady Mary, but the Holy Humanity of her Son, and the apostles and saints of the Heavenly Court.[50]

48 Lope de Barrientos, *Contra algunos çiçañadores de la nación de los convertidos del pueblo de Israel*, en González Rolán/Saquero Suárez, *De la Sentencia-estatuto*, pp. 121–141 (p. 128).

49 Malicious allusion to the peasant background of the graduate Marcos García de Mora and a play on words with the name of Pero Sarmiento.

50 Ibid., pp. 137–140.

One small work of Bishop Lope de Barrientos on the Converso problem, in Latin and in Castilian, has been preserved. It is the response he gave to a question from the scholar Alfonso González de Toledo, a relative of his, about an ambiguous passage in the *Decretum Gratiani* (based on a prohibition from the fourth Council of Toledo on allowing the descendants of Jews access to public positions), which in the original Latin version was simply called *Ad Quaesitum responsio* and in Castilian *Respuesta a una duda*.[51] Both versions once again combine the content of "*Eam te*" [and not *Caute*, which is a mistake][52] with the Council of Basel's "De Neophytis," with the addition that here for the first time the central point of the theological argument in the edict of the Council of Basel is repeated word for word.

Et quoniam per gratiam baptismatis ciues sanctorum et domestici dei (1. Eph. 2.19) efficiuntur, longeque dignius sit regenerari spiritu quam nasci carne, hac edictali lege statuimus, ut ciuitatum et locorum, in quibus sacro baptismate regenerantur, privilegiis libertatibus et immunitatibus gaudeant, quæ ratione duntaxat dignitatis et originis alii consequuntur.

And since by the grace of baptism they have been made fellow citizens of the saints and members of the household of God, and since it is of greater worth to be regenerated in the spirit than to be born of the flesh, with this law we order that those Conversos should enjoy all the privileges, immunities and exemptions that the other Christians by reason of birth, enjoy and should enjoy.

This Council text, which remodels a verse from Saint Paul (Ephesians 2.19), from then on became the required reference for all the detractors of the racial purity statutes, until well into the sixteenth century.

The first person to re-use the Castilian text from the Basel decree was the jurist Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, in a work for King Juan II on the events that happened in Toledo and which he himself incorporated as a commentary on the word "Tornadizo" (convert) in his comments on *Fuero Real*, edited many

51 Lope de Barrientos, *Responsio ad Quesitum*, in González Rolán and Saquero Suárez, *De la Sentencia-estatuto*, pp. 145–165; *Respuesta a una duda*, in ibid., 167–191; see also the edition of both texts by Angel Martínez Casado, "La situación jurídica de los conversos según Lope de Barrientos," *Archivo Dominicano* 17 (1996) pp. 25–64.

52 An old mistake of the copyist in the Latin text, p. 164, and in the Castilian, p. 189, which has led more than one person to define the inexistent canon "Caute" as a part of the Basel decree. See Constanza Cavallero, *Los demonios interiores de España. El obispo Lope de Barrientos en los albores de la demonología moderna* (Castilla, siglo XV), Buenos Aires, 2010, p. 64: see https://www.academia.edu/1542767.

times since 1483 in Latin and, since 1533, in Castilian.[53] Montalvo here presents his own translation, independent of that of Barrientos, while leaving the Latin almost the same.[54]

Idem statuit Sancta Synodus Concilii Basiliensis, ubi neophitos ipsos a detractionibus et contumeliis paterna affectione mandat defendi, *et quoniam per gratiam baptismi ciues Sanctorrum et domestici Dei efficiuntur, longeque dignius sic generari spiritu quam nasci carne*. Illa *edictali lege Sancta Synodus etatuit, ut ciuitatum et locorum, in quibus sacro baptismate regenerantur, priuilegiis, libertatibus einmunitatibus gaudeant, qui christiani duntaxat natuitatis et originis alii consequuntur*.	The holy synod of the Council of Basel established this, ordering that the neophytes should be defended with fatherly love from insults and abuse, since by the grace of baptism they are made fellow citizens with the saints and the retinue of God, *since being regenerated in the spitrit is of greater worth than being born in the flesh, that holy synod established by means of an edict that they should enjoy the privileges, liberties and immunities of the cities and places where they were regenerated by holy baptism which other Christians receive merely by reason of their birth*.

In their defence of the Toledo Converso community, the Converso prelates Bishop Alonso de Cartagena and Cardinal Juan de Torquemado, both of whom attended the Basel Council, also employed the 1434 "De Neophytis" decree. In his *Defensorium unitatis christianae*, written between 1449 and 1450 against the ideologue of discrimination, the graduate Marcos García de Mora, Alonso de Cartagena argues that when Israelites and Gentiles enter the Catholic faith through the door of baptism they no longer exist as two nations or two different lineages, but together they create a new people:[55]

> Who cannot see, therefore, that all, absolutely all, of those who have come from paganism or from Judaism, once made Catholics, are new men and they cannot be accused of anything from their previous state of non-believing in order to prevent the fact that according to each one's aptitude, with the others and among the others, they may enjoy the

53 See the edition of both texts in Conde / Pérez / del Valle, *La Causa conversa*, Madrid, 2008, pp. 103–145, 147–190.

54 Ibid., pp. 124, 169–170.

55 See the edition by Guillermo Verdín Díaz, *Alonso de Cartagena y el Defensorium unitatis christianae* (*Introducción histórica, traducción y notas*), Oviedo, 1992, p. 261.

> corresponding honors? That is why, some time ago at the Council of Basel, being present Giuliano (Cesarini), Cardinal of the Holy Angel, legate of the Apostolic See, as was Giovanni (Berardi), archbishop of Tarento, and Pietro (Donato) bishop of Padua, who presided with apostolic authority, and many cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and legates of the Roman Emperor and of many other princes and kings, everything being conducted in tranquility, peace and harmony, long before the Council was dissolved by Pope Eugenius, may he rest in peace, *a decree was unanimously passed in which*, among other things, the prelates were exhorted to defend the Israelites who had newly come to the faith from insults and invective, with fatherly affection, and the following words: "*and as by the grace of baptism they are converted into member citizens of the Family of God and the Saints, and it is of much greater worth to be regenerated in the Spirit than to be born in the flesh, by this decree we establish that those from those cities and places where they are regenerated by holy baptism enjoy the privileges, liberties and exemptions which others acquire for the simple reason of birth and origin*."[56]

Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, who had also attended the public reading of the "De Neophytis" decree in Basel, found himself in Rome during the Toledo anti-Converso riots of 1449. Nevertheless, he had occasion to examine the documentation sent there with representatives of Pedro Sarmiento, as well as a copy of proceedings set into motion by the vicar López Gálvez—the famous *Investigación*—against the Toleda Conversos. He intervened immediately, obstructing Sarmiento's plans, while collaborating in the writing of the "Humani generis" bull. He also wrote the *Tratado contra los Madianitas e Ismaelitas, adversarios y detractores de los fieles descendientes del Pueblo de Israel*, in Latin.[57] In this work, he compares the agitators in Toledo with the ancient enemies of the People of God and the illegitimate descendants of Abraham, and rejects their accusations as malicious; he also meticulously interprets the evidence from the Scriptures and other "authorities" of ecclesiastical or civil law referred to by the Sarmiento group, denounces the discrimination against believers as

56 Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium unitatis christianae*, Madrid BN, Mss. 442, 47r.

57 Carlos del Valle, et al, *Tratado contra los madianitas e ismaelitas de Juan de Torquemada* (*Contra la discriminación conversa*), Madrid, 2001; Horst Ulrich, "Kardinal Juan de Torquemada und sein Traktat zur Verteidigung der Neuchristen" in Elias H. Füllenbach and Gianfranco Miletto, *Dominikaner und Juden / Dominicans and Jews: Personen, Konflikte und Perspektiven vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert / Personalities, Conflicts, and Perspectives from the 13th to the 20th Century*, Berlin, 2015, pp. 251–271 (https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/218744).

contemptible, irrational and dishonorable, and finally shows that the conclusions of the Toledans were not only false, but also contradicted royal provisions and papal ones, including the decree of the Council of Basel:

Item ad idem est canon Concilii Basiliensis, factus tempore quo sanctae memoriae domini Eugenii auctoritate celebratur. Inter alia, in quo de noviter ad fidem Christi venientibus, ita decretum est: *Quoniam per baptismi cives sanctorum efficiuntur* …	It also refers to the canon of the Council of Basel, held in the past under the authority of Pope Eugenius IV, may he rest in peace,in which, among other things, with regard to those recently come to the Faith in Christ, it was decreed: *Any who by the grace of baptism are made fellow citizens of the Saints* …

Juan de Torquenada's treatise was not published for another four centuries; however, his defense of the Conversos and his denunciation of the "horrible mistake" of the detractors in continuing to use the word "neophytes" for the converts descendants, was disseminated throughout Europe in the many editions of the *Decretum Gratiani*, with comments by the Spanish Dominican.[58]

The next generation of defenders of the Conversos, Alfonso de Madrigal "el Tostado,"[59] Alonso de Oropesa, or the Graduate Palma de Toledo, no longer referred to the Basel decree itself, but to Saint Paul's Letter to the Ephesians (2.19), employed by those who framed the decree to support their call for Converso equality within the Church. Although Oropesa's *Lumen ad revelationem*

58 Ioannis a Turrecremata, *In Gratiani Decretorum doctissimi Commentarii*, vols. 1–5, Venice, 1578, vol. 1, pp. 392–395 (I pars, dist. 48 (Neophitus), (393a)): "Ex qua descriptione conuincitur stultitia et malitia eorum, qui ex Iudaismo aut Gentilitate ad fidem Christi conuersos, qui a multo iam tempore fuerunt baptismo renati improperando vocant Neophitos, cum falso tales dicantur, cum non sint noui in fide sed antiqui. Secundo, etiam conuincitur *error bestialis* eorum, qui etiam filios conuersorum, licet a natiuitate fuerint Christi baptismo renati, nec aliam vnquam fidem habuerint, quam Christi, vocare non verentur etiam Neophitos, sed certe malitia excaecauit ecclesias eorum."

59 Alphonsi Tostati, *Commentaria in Leviticum, Operum tomus Quartus*, Venice, 1728, p. 342: "Sic autem nunc Christiani vice veras pro magno improprio ducunt, quod aliquis circumcisus sit, et sic exprobant conversis ad Christum, quamquam hoc malum valde est, quoniam eos, quos in fide confirmare deberent, his dictis infirmant: Ecclesia tamen non abhorret eos, nec dicit esse contemnendos, nec excludit ab Ecclesiasticis beneficiis, ut patet extra [vagantes] de rescriptis c Eam te …" Also interesting is Toledo's defense of the authority of the Old Testament and of its total equivalence to the New Testament against those who, like the old Manicheans, continue to think that an evil God had made the Law of Moses, while the New Testament was made by a good God. Alphonsi Tostati, *Commentaria in primam partem Matthaei*, Venice, 1614, pp. 7–9.

gentium, begun months before the riot in Toledo and finished in 1464,[60] depends largely on Alonso de Cartagena's *Defensorium*, its author prefers to quote and paraphrase Saint Paul's text, taken from the Vulgate, to which he refers more than ten times throughout the book.[61] In his own protest against the Toledo events, written around the same time as Oropesa's *Lumen*, the licentiate Palma de Toledo also turns to Saint Paul's text, which he places in the first person, to support his argument:

> ergo iam non sumus hospites et advene sed per lauacrum baptismi sumus ciues sanctorum et domestici dey. Ergo per redemptorem nostrum pax orta est, inimicicia autem totaliter disoluta, et in unum spiritum accesum habemus ad deum. Doctrina ergo illa penitus est dampnata. Qui igitur hanc indiuisibilem unitatem non tenet et diferenciam inter nouos et ueteres christianos satagit, facere ut hereticus et ualde punietur. Quia qui ecclesiae unitatem non tenet nec ei baptismus nec elemosina copiosa nec mors pro nomine Christi suscepta proficere poterit ad salutem, in c. *Firmissime* de hereticis (Dist. IV, c. 3).[62]

By the end of the fifteenth century, very few seemed to remember the canons of the Council of Basel, and in particular the "De Neophytis" decree, even though it was at that time that it was most needed in Spain, due to the new wave of mass conversions following the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. And even though the first and only incunable edition of the *Decreta concilii Basiliensis* (Basilea, Jacob Wolf, 1499) was published in this period, it was not for motives of topicality, nor to re-evaluate the legitimacy of the forgotten Council, but because, as noted by the Alsace humanist Sebastian Brant in the preface, it was in the

60 Albert A. Sicroff, "Anticipaciones del Erasmismo español en el 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium' de Alonso e Oropesa," *Nueva Revista de Filiología Hispánica* 30 (1981), pp. 315–33; Stefania Pastore, *Un'eresia spagnola. Spiritualitá conversa, Alumbradismo e inquisizione (1449–1559)*, Florence, 2004, pp. 9–36.

61 Alonso de Oropesa, *Luz para el conocimiemto de los gentiles*, ed. Luís A. Díaz y Díaz, Madrid, 1979. Texto castellano y latino en la red: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/luz-para-conocimiento-de-los-gentiles-0/html/ff5d1244-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064.html Facsímile of Ms. J 11 en la Biblioteca Sefarad de Montreux: https://www.ecodices.unifr.ch/de/searchresult/list/one/bs/Ms-J0011.

62 Ramón Gonzálvez Ruiz, "El bachiller Palma, autor de una obra desconocida en favor de los conversos," in *Simposio Toledo judaico*, Toledo, 1972, pp. 31–48; idem., "El bachiller Palma y su obra de polémica pro-conversa," en *Qu'un sang impur: les conversos et le pouvoir en Espagne a la fin du Moyen Age*, Provence, 1997, pp. 47–59. Cited from Ms. 23–7 de la Biblioteca Capitular: *Breve Reprehensorium ad quosdam fratres religiosos pro novis conversis*. My thanks to Dr. Gonzálvez Ruiz for allowing me a digital copy.

decree that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was defined for the first time.[63]

5 The Basel Decree in the Works of Later Converso Apologists

After the definitive condemnation of conciliarism in the Fifth Lateran Council, the Basel decrees, and in particular the "De Neophytis," were only reproduced as historical documents, in collections like those of Jacques Merlin, in Paris,[64] and Jean L'Arché, in Basel,[65] or in summaries, like Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda's *Summa Conciliorum*,[66] and without the slightest effect. Everything changed when, in 1542, Pope Paul III published the "Cupientes Iudaeos" bull, which reproduced, with very few variations, the complete "De Neophytis" decree from the Council of Basel.[67]

63 Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck*, pp. 109–110. In the previous *Summae* from after 1440, which were printed more frequently (Angelus de Clavasio: *Summa Angelica*; Baptista Trovamala de Salis, *Suma rosellae*; Silvestro Prieras, *Summa sylvestrina*, Antonino de Florencia, *Summa theologica*) the legislation of Basel is completely left out, while on the theme of the Jews, they depend above all on the *Summa Raymundi* (Ramón de Peñafort, thirteenth century). In the *Summa* de Antonino, however, written in 1440, the schism at Basel is discussed and the validity of its decrees up to the moment in which, due to the opposition to Pope Eugenius IV, it was transformed into a conventicle and a synagogue of Satan ("effecta est conciliabulum et Synagoga Sathanae, adeo ur basyliscum pareret ipse Basileae congregatio"), *Antonini Summa*, ed. Verona 1740, pp. 538–544 (pars II, tit. 4, cap. 9). In the later long commentary dedicated to the Jewish theme, pp. 1146–1156 (pars II, tit. 12, c. 2–3), the Council of Basel is conspicuous for its total absence.

64 Jacques Merlin, *Secundus tomus Conciliorum generalium*, Paris, 1524, fols. 189v–190r.

65 Jean L'Archier, *Canones conciliorum omnium, qui a primo Apostolorum concilio usque ad postremum sub Eugenio IV celebratum Joanne Sagittario collectore*, Basilea, 1553, pp. 533–535.

66 Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, *Summa conciliorum et pontificum a Petro vsque ad Paulum tertium succinctè complectens omnia, quae alibi sparsim tradita sunt*, Salamanca, 1549, pp. 602–603. Carranza ignores anything referring to the Jews and focusses on the second part, on the Conversos, transcribing in its entirety the passage from Saint Paul on the equality and advantages which conversion and permanence facilitated to them.

67 Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents, 1539–1545*, Toronto, 1990, pp. 842–844, 2276–2278. The variations (apart from the first six lines of the Introduction on the children of Jews who wished to be baptized against the will of their parents) are formalities, such as "Nos" instead of "Haec Sancta Synodus vicem gerens gerens universalis ecclesiae," "concedimus" for "concedit," "exhortamur" for "haec sancta synodus exhortat," "cassamus et irritamus ac cassa et irrita decernimus" for "haec sancta synodus cassa et irrita esse decernit," "volumus et decernimus" for "iubet haec sancta synodus." Everything

The curious aspect of this second "edition" of the "De Neophytis" decree is that, exactly like the first one, it was the result of a Spanish initiative. In this case, from Ignatius of Loyola, who having recently founded a house of catechumen in Rome, asked Pope Paul III for a document in its favor, as Loyola's first biographer Pedro de Ribadeneira mentioned thirty years later:

> In Rome there were many Jews, but no place to receive those who, having taken off the veil of non-believing, by the mercy of God had converted to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Neither were there learned teachers to train and instruct in the Faith those who wished to be received into the community of the Holy Church. There was no income, nor anything certain, to sustain their poverty and succour their needs.Therefore, so as not to lose so much fruit, Ignatius did not hesitate, despite the small size and the poverty of our house, to bring into it those who wanted to convert, and sustained them for some years. He instructed them, and gave them a position where they lived among Christians as Christians, and lived their lives with less work … And so that these men should not slip, but that the path to convert to our Holy Religion should be easier and clearer, Ignatius convinced Pope Paul III that the Jews who thenceforth converted should not lose their lands, as had been the custom previously, nor should they suffer a temporary loss for the inestimable spiritual gains that were the result of knowing and loving Jesus Christ … And he also gained for the children of those Jews who came to the Faith against the wishes of their fathers the right to inherit everything, just as before they converted. And that the goods that had been acquired by usury, whose owners were not known (since the Church can, and does, use these goods in pious acts and for the benefit of the poor) be given to those who converted, in favor of Holy Baptism.[68]

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else, including the order to read the bull every year in the cathedrals, remains exactly the same.

68 Pedro Ribadeneira, *Vita Ignatii de Loyola*, Neapoli, 1572, 91v–92v; ídem., *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola*, Madrid, 1583, fols. 108v–109v. Philip Caraman, *Ignatius Loyola*, London, Collins, 1990, p. 133; Robert A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order As a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 39, 62, 193–195. It was, therefore, a famous case, since even Pierre Bayle comments on it in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Paris, 1820, vol. 9, p. 316. The "Cupientes Iudaeos" bull came at an opportune moment for the adversaries of discrimination against the Conversos, as seven years later, and once again in Toledo, Archbishop Juan Martínez Silíceo succeeded in introducing a racial purity statute for the members of the Cathedral.

The following is a brief list of the authors and works against discrimination that used either the "De Neophytis" decree or Paul III's "Cupientes Iudaeos," or both at the same time, in their argumentation:

1551, Henri Mauroy, *Apologia in duas partes divisas pro iis qui ex Patriarcharum, Abrahae, Isaaci et Iacob reliquiis sati, de Christo Jesu ac fide catholica pie ac sancte sentiunt, in Archiepiscopum Toletanum et suos asseclas*, Paris, Gaulthert, 1553.[69]

> In Chapter XXX, fols. 99v–106r, the Parisian Franciscan Henri Mauroy refers to the Council of Basel as the basis of this Apologia and examines in depth the decree approved there in favor of the Jews, Conversos, or those who wished to convert, as well as the history of the Council. In response to his objectors, he defends its authority and the validity of its decrees, recognized ("según Platina") by Henry IV himself just before his death.

1551? Juan de Vergara, *Las razones, que dieron los contradictores del Estatuto al Consejo Real*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 13038, fols. 48r–63r.[70]

> The first of the ten causes and reasons which the humanist Juan de Vergara provides to reject the archbishop of Toledo Martínez Silíceo's 1547 *limpieza de sangre* statute are two authorities "which are only listed because they are the most modern": the first is that "of the Council of Basel, Session 19 … and the other is that of Pope Nicholas V, which, as it was directed to the kings of Castile … is worthy of consideration." The other nine reasons provided by Vergara to justify the rejection of the statute are: 2: because it is a statute against the laws of these lands; 3: against the Holy Scriptures; 4: against all natural reason; 5: it is slander and a dishonor to many people; 6: against the honor and authority of this church of Toledo; 7: against peace and tranquility here and in the whole republic; 8: against the good condition and the government of our city; 9: because

69 Domíguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos*, pp. 43–44; Sicroff, *Les controverses*, pp. 158–160.

70 The other copy in the Salamanca Univesity Library, Ms. 455, fols. 70r–87r, has the name of the author: *Las causas y razones que dieron de la contradicion del estatuto de Toledo ordenados por el doctor Juan de Vergara Canonigo de aquella Santa Iglesia*, and has been discovered, transcribed in its entirety and recently commented on by Rica Amran, "Juan de Vergara y el estatuto de limpieza de sangre de la catedral de Toledo," *E-Humanista* 33 (2016), pp. 402–424.

the statute represents a permanent insult to our nation; 10: because when it was formulated the statute did not follow the correct legal forms.

1555, Francisco Jover, *Sanctiones ecclesiasticae tam synodicae quam pontificiae, in tres classes distinctae, quarum prima vniversales synodos, secunda particulares, tertia pontificia decreta complectitur*, Paris, Petit, 1555. Paris 1555.

The Valencian Franciscan Francisco Jover transcribes and comments on Nicholas V's bull (pp. 150r–155v), recognizing the authority of the Council of Basel, confirmed by the Constitution (Pragmatica Sanción) of the French king Henry II and that of Emperor Charles V, reproducing the complete "de judaeis et neophitis," and placing it in the history of the development of the Council of Basel.

1569, Antonio de Córdoba, *Opera, libris V digesta. Quaestionarium theologicum* …, Venecia, Ziletti, 1569, p. 434.[71]

In question 54 of the *Questionarium*, the provincial Castilian Franciscan, Antonio de Córdoba, asks about the legality of enacting statutes that discriminated against and excluded Christians because of their ancestry: "quia videlicet sunt de genere hebraeorum, sarracenorum, rusticorum et huiusmodi." The answer is negative, and among the evidence that Córdoba presents against the statutes are two of the Council of Basel's decrees: the one from session 16, on the recognition of the Council by Eugenius IV (February 1434), and the "De Neophytis" decree, from which he quotes or paraphrases the central passages: "Diocesani huiusmodi neophytos, seu nouos christianos, qui per gratiam Dei, infidelitate repulsa, ad fidem conuersi sunt, a contumeliis et detractionibus paterna affectione defendant: Et qui per gratiam baptismi ciues sanctorum et domestici Dei efficiuntur … priuilegiis, libertatibus et immunitatibus gaudeant, quae duntaxat ratione natiuitatis et ordinis alii consequuntur "Haec ibi." Córdoba then reproduces and comments in detail on the "Humani generis" bull, issued by Nicholas V in defense of the Toledan Conversos."[72]

71 On Antonio de Córdoba cfr. Sicroff, *Les controverses*, pp. 184–186; Hernández Franco, *Sangre limpia, sangre española*, p. 166.

72 Antonio de Córdoba OFM, *Opera, libris V digesta. Quaestionarium 352*, pp. 432–447 (p. 434).

1586, Gaspar de Uceda, *Tratado donde se ponen algunas razones y fundamentos contra el Statuto que en la Congregación General de Toledo hizieron los frailes menores el año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres donde se ordenó que ningún descendiente de judío, sarrazeno o hereje sea reçebido a la Orden*.[73]

> For the Franciscan Gaspar de Uceda, creating a separation between Old and New Christians through statutes is sacrilege; moreover the statutes are "illicit and contain a great deal of injustice." The laws contradicted the laws and ordinances of Holy Scripture; furthermore, "they are against the specific determinations of the Holy Roman Church … In the nineteenth session [of the Counicl of Basel], when the Council was dealing with the manner of approaching the conversion of the Jews and the way they should be treated after conversion, it says this: since the grace of baptism makes them citizens of the saints and members of the household of God, and since spiritual regeneration is more excellent than carnal, with the present decree we establish that in the cities and places where some were spiritually reborn from Judaism by Holy Baptism, in the same places, they should enjoy the same liberties and privileges as the rest of the Christians do because of their ancestry. In that session the Holy Council ordered that if anyone is accepted into the Church or religion with the title of Old Christian, then anyone who has converted from Judaism also has to be accepted with the same dignity, and more, as one who is of a fourth generation."[74]

1597, García Girón de Alarcón, *Memorial*, ARSI, Instit. 184/I, ff. 297r–312v.[75]

> The Jesuit García Girón de Alarcón wrote this *Memorial* in 1597 against the introduction of a purity statute in the Company of Jesus. He starts with Nicholas V's "Humani generis" bull, which he reproduces in its entirety because those in favor of the statutes, like Diego de Simancas, denied its existence, and continues with Paul II's brief "Cupientes judaeos"

73 BNE, Ms. 6371; study and transcription in Elvira Pérez Ferreiro, *El tratado de Uceda contra los estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, Madrid, 2000; Juan Hernández Franco/Antonio Irigoyen López, "Estrategias de tolerancia y políticas públicas. Antisemitismo, islamofobia y cristianofobia. Aspectos históricos, jurídicos y culturales," *Sefarad* 72 (2012), pp. 325–350. Rica Amran, "El tratado de Uceda, año de 1586, y su oposición a los estatutos de pureza de sangre," *Erasmo: Revista de Historia bajomedieval y moderna* (2015), pp. 21–32.

74 BNE, Ms. 6371, 8r.

75 Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*, pp. 190–210.

> of 1542, but without knowing, (or at least without saying) that the quotes he reproduces came from the Council of Basel's "De Neophytis" decree: "Praeterea extat constitutio Pauli 3 [Cupientes Iudaeos] edita anno 1542 quae habetur lib. 7 decretalium compilato authoritate Gregorii 13 … qua statuit, ut noviter ad fidem conversi gaudeant cunctis privilegiis et libertatibus et immunitatibus civitatum et locorum quibus alii Christiani veteres gaudent, quia, inquit, 'per gratiam baptismi cives sanctorum et domestici Dei efficiuntur, longeque dignius existit [sic for sit] regenerari spiritu, quam nasci carne.'"[76]

1600, Agustín Salucio, *Discurso hecho por fray Agustín Salucio … de la Orden de Santo Domingo, acerca de la justicia y buen govierno de España, en los estatutos de limpieza de sangre, y si conviene, o no, alguna limitacion en ellos*, s.l. 1601.[77]

> Here Agustín Salucio lists the authorities cited by the opponents of the *limpieza de sangre* statutes, naming the Council of Basel in fifth place. He also points to the work of Antonio de Córdoba (see 4 above). This 1601 edition of Salucio's famous work, described for the first time by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, appears to have been confiscated, but its text was propagated in many manuscript copies and also thanks to paragraphs inserted as successive quotes in Geronimo de la Cruz's "Respuesta Apologetica," which under the title of *Defensa de los estatutos* in fact became a very radical attack on them.

Anónimo: *Discurso sobre la disensión que ay entre los christianos viejos y christianos nuevos*, BNM, Ms. 721, 15–35.

> The anonymous author declares that partialities are unacceptable in a Christian society, and recalls that the pontiffs ordered that "they [the Conversos] should under no circumstances be hurt by insults but protected and defended, with loving charity" and adds: "the same was

76 Ibid., pp. 193–194.

77 Domíguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos*, pp. 87–96; Sicroff, *Les controverses*, pp. 186–188 & passim; I. S. Révah, "La controverse sur les statuts de pureté de sang. Un document inédit: Relacion y consulta del Cardenal Guevara sobre el negocio de Fray Agustín Saluzio," *Bulletin Hispanique* 73 (1971), pp. 263–306; Vicent Parello, "Entre honra y deshonra: el "Discurso" de fray Agustín Salucio acerca de los estatutos de limpieza de sangre (1599)," *Criticón* 80 (2000), pp. 139–153.

> determined in the Council of Basel, session 19 … *and thus we* [*are not*] *guests and pilgrims, but inhabitants of the House of* God …"[78]

1625 ca., [Juan Roco de Campofrío], *Discurso de un Inquisidor sobre los estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, Madrid, BN, ms. 13043, 132r–171v.[79]

> The author depends in part on Salucio and describes the evidential force of the Council of Basel in the following way: "Many Holy Councils confirmed this, the Council of Basel, held in 1431, in the nineteenth and twentieth sessions ordered that the descendants of newly converted Jews, in any place where they were baptized, should be allowed all the dignities, offices and honors that the Old Christians of that place are allowed, and enjoy all the immunities the others do, and agreed on this because with baptism they are born spiritually and belong to the city of the saints, and because spiritual regeneration is nobler than corporal birth. And Eugenius V confirmed this decree of the Council before it was sent to be dissolved, and also Paul III …"[80]

1655, Juan Bautista de Lezama, *Suma Quaestionum Regularium … De casibus conscientiae*, Lyon, Borde, Arnaud & Rigaud, 1655.

> One of many casuistic manuals in which the old question of the canon "Eam te" is repeated: on whether, due to descending from Hebrew blood and therefore being a neophite ("ex hebraeorum sanguine ac proinde eophytum"), a candidate could or could not be consecrated as a bishop (138b–139a). The answer is that he cannot be excluded, and that is, among other reasons, because of the decree of the "Concilium Basiliense, sess. 19, ubi de Iudaeis, et Neophytis ad fidem conuersis, inquit: 'Quoniam per gratiam baptismi ciues Sanctorum et domestici Dei efficiuntur … et originis alii consequuntur.' Quae lex et legis etiam in hoc casu procedunt". Here Lezama also refers to Nicholas's Bull, Torquemada's treatises, Mauroy, Francisco Suarez and a long list of Spanish and foreign jurists who had given a similar response (140ª–143b).

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78 BNM, Ms. 721, 23r–v: On the treaty cfr. Hernández Franco, *Sangre limpia, sangre española*, pp. 38, 210–211.

79 [Juan Roco de Campofrío], *Discurso de vn Inquisidor*, Madrid, BN, ms. 13043, fols. 132r–171v. See Hernández Franco, *Sangre limpia, sangre española*, pp. 210–211.

80 Ibid., 141r.

Meanwhile, in Europe, Paul III's "Cupientes Iudaeos" bull, which included the Council of Basel's "De Neophytis" decree, was reaching an ever larger public. The reason for this was the bull's inclusion in Nicholas Eymerich's *Directorium Inquisitorum*,[81] as well as in countless editions of the *Bullarium Romanum* from 1586 onwards,[82] and, above all, its incorporation, by the French jurist Pierre Matthieu,[83] in the seventh book of *Las Clementinas*, in 1590, and the many subsequent editions, until its official acceptance by the Church in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*.[84] Furthermore, the "De Neophytis" decree, alias "Cupientes Iudaeos," had become incorporated into the American colonial laws of both Portugal and Spain regarding native converts to Catholicism. In the latter case, only one word had been changed from the original document: "Indians" had replaced "Jews." And thus a decree created by Juan de Segovia and other Spaniards in 1434 to defend the Conversos now served another group of converts in their resistance to the segregational madness that was poisoning Spain and its colonies, and would continue to do so for a century or more to come.

81 Nicolás Eymerich, *Directorium inquisitorum cum commentariis Francisci Pegnae* (Peña), *In hac postrema ed. iterum emend. et auctum, et multis litteris apostolicis locupletatum*, Roma 1585, II, pp. 142–143.

82 *Bullarium siue Collectio diuersarum constitutionum multorum pontificum a Gregorio Septimo vsque ad Sixtum Quintum*, ed. Laerzio Cherubini, Rome, 1586, pp. 415–416. There were also official modernizations of the bull "Cupientes Judaeos," like that of Clemente XI in his "Propagandae per universum," (5–13 of March 1704), Lucio Ferrari, *Bibliotheca canonica juridica moralis theologica*, vol. 4, Monte Casino 1848, pp. 91–95; José Taroni, *Algo sobre el estado religioso y social de la Isla de Mallorca*, Palma, Mallorca, 1877, pp. 104–106.

83 *Septimus Decretalium Constitutionum Apostolicarum post Sextum, Clementinas et extravagantes vsque in hodiernum diem editarum. Continuatio universi Corporis Canonici, Opus nouum et necessarium*, Frankfurt, 1590, pp. 460–463.

84 J. F. v. Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen des Canonischen Rechts*, Stuttgart, 1875, pp. 71, 73.

CHAPTER 2

Reforming the Church and Re-Framing Identity: Converso Prelates and Artistic Patronage in Fifteenth Century Castile

Nicola Jennings

Jewish converts played an important role in reforming the Church in Castile in the fifteenth century. At a time when Juan II and his immediate successors strove to improve clerical standards and rein in the many nobles occupying lucrative and strategic church roles, several highly educated Converso commoners were appointed bishops, abbots, canons, and cathedral treasurers, providing an effective counter-balance to noble power and a force for ecclesiastical reform. Building on the archival research of scholars such as Francisco Cantera Burgos and Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, I argue in this chapter that shared family ties and closely related building projects allow us to discern amongst this Converso subset an important network. This network used ecclesiastical office—and the income from multiple benefices, enabling it to commission funerary chapels, ornaments and liturgical items—to fashion itself as a new quasi-nobility which posed no threat to the monarchy. The chapter provides an overview of the network and of some of the art and architecture commissioned by its members, focusing mainly on the patronage of Pablo de Santa María, the network's initiator, his son, Alonso de Cartagena, and Cartagena's disciples, Alonso de Burgos and Juan Arias de Ávila.

By the end of the fourteenth century, religious reform had become one of the Castilian monarchy's highest priorities.[1] In response to widespread disapproval of clerical conduct at the highest and lowest levels, the Trastámara king Juan I promoted the foundation of new monasteries and the reform of existing ones by Observants and noble allies. The Church had also encroached significantly on the political arena, and the king sought to counter this by handing out benefices to the so-called "new nobility" which vied for power with the old

1 See, for example, Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Iglesia, nobleza y oligarquías urbanas," in José Manuel Nieto Soria ed., *La monarquía como conflicto en la corona castellano-leonesa* (*C. 1230–1504*), Madrid, 2006, pp. 197–252; José Manuel Nieto Soria, "La nobleza y el 'poderío real absoluto' en la Castilla del siglo XV," *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 26 (2002), pp. 237–254.

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nobility created by the previous dynasty. As Díaz Ibáñez has demonstrated, this two-pronged strategy served both to place Trastámara supporters in key ecclesiastical roles and to garner political support.[2] But it also created a dangerous hostage to fortune: by the reign of Juan II, noble bishops and canons controlled significant swathes of land and income, particularly in key cities, with attendant jurisdictional and military power. Some of these figures were a constant source of friction, becoming particularly troublesome during the reign of Enrique IV and presenting Isabella of Castile with one of the most serious challenges to her authority when she ascended to the throne in 1474.[3]

At the same time as Juan I was securing bishoprics for his noble allies, the Aragonese cardinal Pedro de Luna was carrying out his own reformist agenda on the Peninsula, focusing particularly on stricter regulation of clerics and segregation of Jews and Muslims.[4] One of Luna's key instruments was Pablo de Santa María (ca. 1350–1435) who became a leading voice for the reforms advocated by Luna after converting from Judaism in 1390. Born Salomón Ha Leví, Pablo was the eldest son of an affluent and highly educated Jewish family in Burgos.[5] By the time he converted he was a renowned rabbi, married, and accepted in court circles.[6] After converting and entering the church, thanks to the intervention of Bishop Gonzalo de Mena, Pablo went to Paris to pursue further studies.[7] There he became friends with Luna, and when the latter became

2 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "La incorporación de la nobleza al alto clero en el reino de Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (2005), pp. 557–603.

3 Tarcisio de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica: vida y reinado*, Madrid, 2002, ch. 7; Tarcisio de Azcona, *La elección y reforma del episcopado español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid, 1960, ch. 9. The power of noble ecclesiastics was perhaps best exemplified by Archbishop Alonso Carrillo whose changing allegiances significantly contributed to increasing tensions during the Castilian War of Succession.

4 See, for example, Luis Suárez Fernández, *Los Reyes Católicos: La expansión de la fe*, Madrid, 1990, pp. 29–30.

5 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos*, Madrid, 1952, pp. 58–60, 287–292; Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena.*, Madrid, 1942, pp. 10–15. Cantera notes that Pablo's mother's arms were an M and an S intertwined on a field of gold with a crown above them.

6 He was important enough to be sent to England in 1388 as a hostage during negotiations over the Treaty of Bayonne. See Francisco Cantera Burgos, "Selomo Ha-Levi, rehén en Inglaterra en 1398," in *Homenaje a Millás-Villicrosa*, vol. 1, Barcelona, 1954, pp. 301–307.

7 René Jesús Payo Hernanz and Elena Martín Martínez de Simón, "Alonso de Cartagena: política, religión y mecenazgo en la Castilla de mediados del siglo XV," in María Victoria Herráez, María Concepción Cosmen, María Dolores Teijeira, and José Alberto Moráis Morán, eds., *Obispos y Catedrales. Arte en la Castilla bajomedieval*, Bern, 2019, p. 123.

Benedict XIII, the new pope called both Pablo and Vicente Ferrer—all three of them fervently believing in the urgency of converting the Jews—to Avignon.[8]

Returning to Castile in 1399, Pablo was named *capellán mayor* to Enrique III, and was given a canonship in Seville and archdeaconship in Treviño (near Burgos).[9] By 1403 he had been named bishop of the diocese of Cartagena, the capital of which was Murcia, where he quickly recognised Benedict as the rightful pope and instituted reforms such as regular sermons.[10] In 1405 Pablo was named *ayo canciller* to the infant Juan II,[11] and in 1408 was appointed ambassador to the Council of Perpignan.[12] In 1415 he became Bishop of Burgos, remaining in this seat until he died in 1435. It was only after Benedict fled Avignon in 1417, however, that Pablo's usefulness to the Trastámaras as a non-noble reformer and mobiliser of a large network of other Converso reformers came to the fore.

In 1418 Pablo became one of the Juan II's most trusted advisors, sitting on the Royal Council and writing for him the *Siete Edades del Mundo*, which claimed that the young monarch's reign heralded the second coming of the Messiah and the final conversion of the Jews.[13] Pablo was one of a number of fifteenth-century court Conversos to recognise that their interests could only be protected by a strong monarchy able keep the Old Christian nobility at bay.[14] Writing treatises, poems and chronicles that legitimised the Trastámaras' divine right to rule, these convert courtiers presented themselves as *homines novi*, distinct from both the old and new nobilities but deserving of equivalent status, firstly, on account of their service to the monarch and *res publica*, and secondly, because of the nobility of the Jewish nation from which they

8 Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, p. 31.

9 Ibid., p. 33. According to Olivares, he was also given a canonship in Burgos in 1396 before returning to Castile. See Diana Olivares Martínez, Diana, *Alonso de Burgos y la arquitectura castellana en el siglo XV: los obispos y la promoción artística en la Baja Edad Media*, Madrid, 2013, p. 22.

10 Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, Madison, 1995, p. 139; Juan Torres Fontes, "Fechas murcianas de Pablo de Santa María," *Murgetana*, 51 (1978), pp. 90–94; Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena.*, p. 15.

11 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 66.

12 Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, p. 54.

13 Ryan Szpiech, "Scrutinizing History: Polemic and Exegesis in Pablo De Santa María's Siete Edades Del Mundo," *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010), pp. 130–135.

14 See, for example, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El problema de los conversos: cuatro puntos cardinales," in *De la España judeoconversa: doce estudios*, vol. 57, Barcelona, 2006, p. 47.

descended.[15] They also took more concrete steps in this direction, binding themselves to the existing nobility through intermarriage, and getting family members and friends into important and financially advantageous positions.[16] In the case of Pablo de Santa María and his descendants, these positions were largely ecclesiastic, pointing clearly to a strategy which mirrored that of many Old Christian nobles who also sought to incorporate members of their families into high-ranking ecclesiastical positions.

Soon after arriving in Murcia in 1403, Pablo named his brother Alvar (1370–1460) as an administrator of the cathedral, and in 1408 had him named as one of the king's secretaries.[17] By 1410 Alvar was *regidor* of Burgos and by 1412 minister in charge of the *cancellería*.[18] Alvar must have also by this time begun the *Crónica de Juan II* for which he is best known. In 1412 Pablo had his eldest son Gonzalo (1379–1448) appointed archdeacon of Briviesca and, soon afterwards, treasurer of Burgos Cathedral. In 1416 Pablo named Alvar administrator of the diocese of Burgos,[19] and in 1419 Gonzalo became bishop of Astorga.[20] Another early member of the network was Garcí or García Alonso (d. 1450), chaplain

15 Bruce Rosenstock, *New Men: Conversos, Christian Theology, and Society in Fifteenth-Century Castile*, London, 2002, pp. 28–30; Jeremy Lawrance, "Alfonso de Cartagena y los conversos," in Ralph Penny and A. D. Deyermond eds., *Actas del primer congreso anglo-hispano*, vol. 2, Madrid, 1993, p. 111; Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae* (*Tratado en favor de los judíos conversos*), Manuel Alonso Alonso ed., Madrid, 1943, p. 4; Diego de Valera, *Tratados de mosén Diego de Valera*, Mario Penna ed., Biblioteca de autores españoles 116, Madrid, 1959, pp. 92–94. Also see Nicola Jennings, "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas and the Fashioning of Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century Converso," *Hispanic Research Journal* 20.10 (July 2006), pp. 1–17; and "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas: New Proposals about its Original Appearance and Role in the Fashioning of Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century Converso" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art), London, 2015, pp. 51–55 and 139–141; Nicola Jennings, "Converso Patronage, Self-Fashioning, and Late-Gothic Art and Architecture in Fifteenth-Century Castile," in Borja Franco Llopis and Antonio Urquízar Herrera eds., *Jews and Muslims Made Visible in Christian Iberia and beyond, 14th to 18th Centuries: Another Image*, Leiden, 2019, pp. 161–186.

16 Pablo, for example, allied himself with the powerful Mendoza family, marrying two of his grandchildren into that lineage. See Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 58.

17 Ibid., pp. 65–66; Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "La incorporación de la nobleza al alto clero en el reino de Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media," p. 572.

18 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María: crónista de Juan II de Castilla,* Madrid, 1951, pp. 23–26. Alvar had by this time forged his own strong relationship with the regents, particularly with Ferdinand who became at this time Ferdinand I of Aragon.

19 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 84.

20 In 1423 Alvar is documented as continuing in most of these roles as well as being the *contador mayor* of the infante don Juan (the king's rebellious cousin). See ibid., p. 85.

of the collegiate church of Covarrubias whom, according to Luciano Serrano, Pablo de Santa María met soon after converting.[21] Serrano described Garcí as a '*jóven Levita*' (young man of Jewish origin) and said that the two families soon intermarried; this is confirmed by Pablo's reference to Garcí in his will as "*consaguineis meis atque alumpnis carissisimis*." Garcí was appointed treasurer of Burgos Cathedral around 1410 and is said to have remained in post under the bishoprics of both Pablo de Santa María and his son Alonso, although he is known to have become abbot of Covarrubias in 1438.

Pablo clearly understood from an early date that material culture, particularly building projects and decorative objects associated with devotion, was a key factor in his efforts to fashion himself and his family as members of the elite with equivalent status to "Old Christian" clerics. As bishop of Cartagena, he strong-armed the cathedral chapter and other local donors into advancing the building of Murcia's cathedral, which had begun in 1394 on the site of the city's former *mezquita*.[22] Although he would write in his widely read *Scrutinium Scripturarum* (finished in 1432) that devotion was an interior act which did not require the use of devotional images,[23] he is said to have paid for a new retable for Murcia cathedral (whose present whereabouts is unknown),[24] a clock for the tower, railings in front of the presbytery, and an organ.[25]

Most of Pablo's commissions were, however, architectural or liturgical items. After arriving at Burgos Cathedral, he donated twelve capes of white silk, a

21 Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, p. 329. Serrano, in his earlier *Fuentes para la Historia de Castilla* (1910), included the story of Pablo's conversion, published by Manuel Martínez Añibarro in 1887, according to which Pablo was converted by Garçi, who he erroneously claimed was already abbot of Covarrubias (see Manuel Martínez Añíbarro, *Intento de un diccionario biográfico de autores de la provincia de Burgos*, Madrid, 1887, p. 471). According to the highly respected Francisco Cantera Burgos, several of Añíbarro's assertions are mistaken, and Serrano's later account points to the story of Pablo's conversion by Garcí being one of them. This has not prevented Añíbarro's account from being often republished. Given that Garcí's tomb at Covarrubias states that he died in 1450, he would have been very young in 1390, when Pablo converted. The fact that Garcí's relatives were investigated by the Inquisition in the late fifteenth century indicates that Serrano's 1942 assertion that he was a convert is likely to be correct.

22 See Diana Olivares Martínez, *Alonso de Burgos y la arquitectura castellana*, p. 23.

23 On the discussion of images in the *Scrutinium*, see Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos*, Madrid, 2007, p. 96.

24 Pedro Díaz Cassou, *Series de los obispos de Cartagena: sus hechos y su tiempo*, Madrid, 1895, p. 50. I have not yet seen documentary evidence confirming this nor a description of the work.

25 Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena.*, pp. 56–57.

chasuble with two dalmatics, two stoles and three maniples, specifying the days on which these should be used.[26] He later enlarged the bishop's palace, which is no longer extant but, according to a nineteenth-century description, bore his arms on the façade and on the stairs.[27] Nineteenth-century photographs give an idea of what a grand building this was (fig. 1). A new library on the southeast side of the cathedral cloister was also built during his tenure, and in his will he gave the cathedral a number of liturgical ornaments, such as two silver-gilt candelabra and a gilt reliquary, as well as a few manuscripts.[28] Pablo's role as both reformer and patron was recognised by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in his *semblanza* of the Converso bishop: "… I have seen some [Conversos] work hard and spend a lot in both the construction of monasteries and in the reform of those that were corrupt and dissolute …"[29]

Paying for a building project associated with a religious foundation was itself part of the noble curriculum, providing—according to Bartolo de Sassoferato and Diego de Valera—"theological legitimacy."[30] In the words of Valera, "Giving is noble, the foundations of nobility."[31] Grand buildings and their ornamentation were in themselves, furthermore, manifestations of status and a key element in the Burgundian art of *vivre noblement* which the Castilian elite clearly admired.[32] Construction projects—particularly funerary chapels

26 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, pp. 336–337.

27 Manuel Martínez y Sanz, *Historia del templo catedral de Burgos: escrita con arreglo a documentos de su archivo*, Burgos, 1866, p. 156.

28 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 324. I will only refer to legacies relating to material culture here and when citing the wills of other individuals discussed in this chapter.

29 "… he visto algunos [Conversos], ansi en edificios de monesterios como en reformacion de algunas ordenes que en algunos monesterios estaban corrutas e disolutas, trabajar e gastar asaz de lo suyo …" Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, Robert Brian Tate ed., London, p. 65.

30 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Iglesia, nobleza y oligarquías urbanas," in José Manuel Nieto Soria ed., *La monarquía como conflicto en la corona castellano-leonesa* (*c. 1230–1504*), Madrid, 2006, pp. 244–245. On Sassoferato in Spain, see Diego de Valera, *Tratados de mosén Diego de Valera*, pp. 92–94.

31 "El dar es nobleza, cimiento de nobles." Cited in Edward Cooper and Juan Madrazo, *Castillos Señoriales*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1980, p. 176.

32 See, for example, Jill Burke and Michael Bury, *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, Aldershot, 2008; Wim De Clercq, Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, ""*Vivre Noblement*": Material Culture and Elite Identity in Late Medieval Flanders," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38, no. 1 (2007), pp. 1–31. On the Castilian fascination with the court of Philip the Good and *vivre noblement*, see Nicola Jennings "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas: New Proposals about its Original Appearance and Role in the Fashioning of Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century Converso," pp. 25–31.

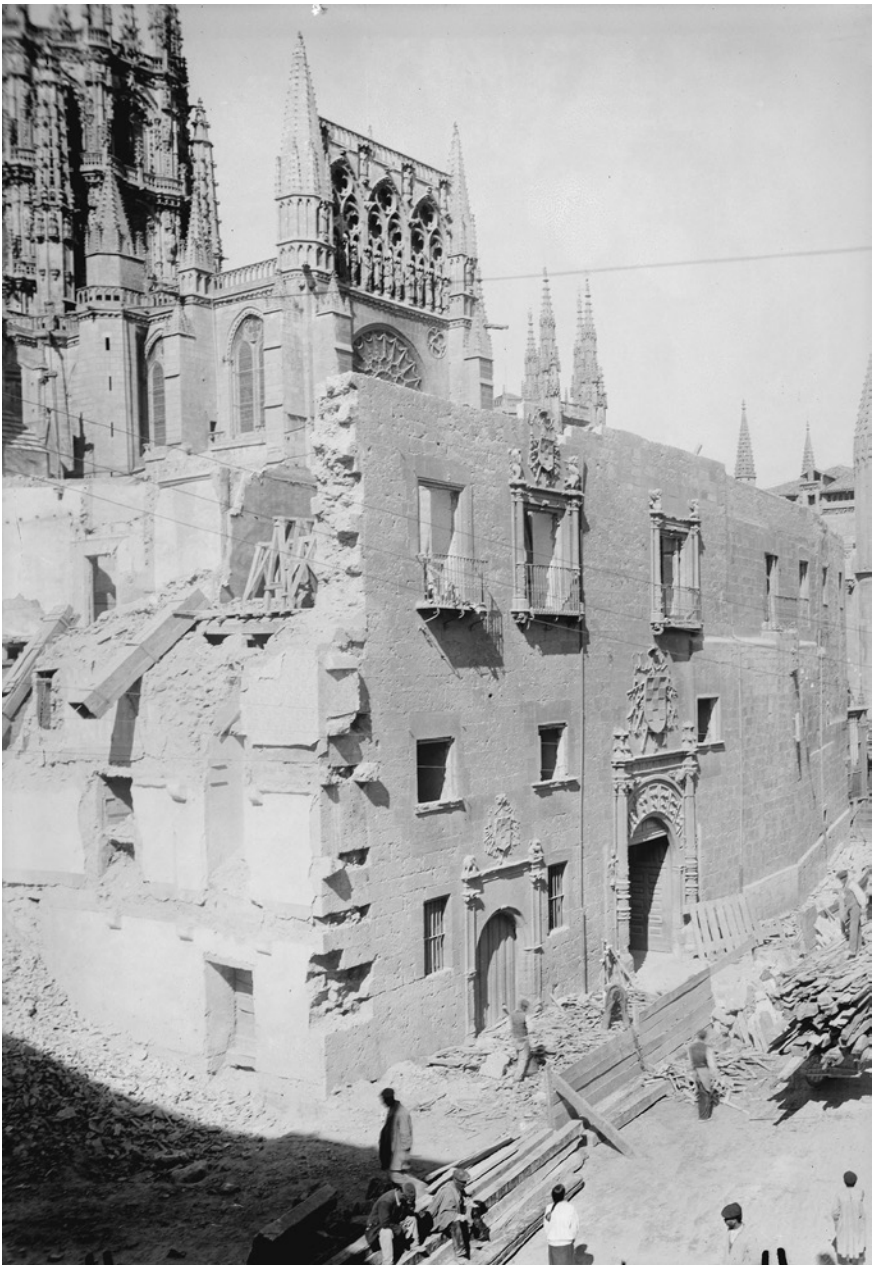

FIGURE 1 Old Episcopal Palace, Burgos, during demolition, ca. 1914
PHOTO: ARCHIVO MUNICIPAL DE BURGOS

of which there was a proliferation in the early fifteenth century—provided excellent opportunities for conspicuous consumption of lavish materials and displays of heraldry.[33] The role of funerary chapels in conferring status is exemplified in the 1435 will of the noblewoman Aldonza de Mendoza. Specifying that a chapel should be built for her in the Jeronymite church of Lupiana, she says that this should be,

> … appropriate (*convenyble*) to my status … it should have two chapels with altars, one on the right and one on the left, of appropriate (*convenyble*) width and height, and my body should be buried in the main chapel of the said church in front of the main altar for which an alabaster tomb should be made appropriate (*convenyble*) to my person and it should be placed close to the last step of the said main altar so that there can be no other tomb between that altar and mine …[34]

As Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Javier Martínez de Aguirre have underlined, magnificence—which was also associated with nobility—had currency in Castile from an early date.[35] Pablo de Santa María's own son, Alonso de

33 See, for example, Isidro Bango Torviso, "El espacio para enterramientos privilegiados en la arquitectura medieval española," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 4 (1992), pp. 93–132.; Javier Martínez de Aguirre and Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, *Emblemas heráldicos en el arte medieval navarro* 27, Pamplona, 1996, p. 475; Christian de Mérindol, "Art, spiritualité et politique. Philippe le Hardi et la Chartreuse de Champmol. Nouvel aperçu," in Daniel Le Blévec and Alain Girard eds., *Les Chartreux et l'art XIVe–XVIIIe siècle: Colloque international d'histoire et de spiritualité cartusiennes*, 10, 1988, (Villeneuve-Lès-Avignon, France), Paris, 1989, pp. 93–115; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, "La capilla funeraria hispana en torno a 1400," in Manuel Núñez and Eugenio Portela eds., *La idea y el sentimiento de la muerte en la historia y en el arte de la Edad Media: Ciclo de conferencias celebrado del 1 al 5 de diciembre de 1986*, Santiago de Compostela, 1988, pp. 67–91.

34 "Convenyble segunt my estado …[que] tenga dos capillas con sus altares uno a la mano derecha e otro a la esquyerda de convenyble anchura et altura, et que en la capilla mayor de la dha iglesia que se há asi de faser sea enterrado my cuerpo en medio de la antel altar mauor para la qual sea fabricada una sepultura de alabastro conveyble a my persona, el quel esté apartado de la postrimera grada del altar mayor susodicho en manera que no pueda aver otra ende sepultura entre el dho altar et la mya." Francisco Layna y Serrano, *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas*. Guadalajara, 1942, p. 310.

35 Begoña Alonso Ruiz and Javier Martínez de Aguirre, "Arquitectura en la Corona de Castilla en torno a 1412," *Artigrama* 26 (2011), pp. 116–126. They cite, for example, a no longer-visible inscription on a building in Córdoba, dated 1406, which read "In the name of God: because the good deeds of the Kings are not forgotten, this tower was ordered by the very powerful King Don Enrique [Enrique II] …" Also see Begoña Alonso Ruiz, "La Nobleza en la ciudad: Arquitectura y magnificencia a finales de la Edad Media," *Historia*

Cartagena, in 1422 discussed magnificence as part of a compendium of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, adding to the qualities enumerated by the philosopher that of durability: "In the making of buildings, the magnificent man looks more for things that are permanent and durable than for things which are insubstantial, so he will spend more on making pillars out of marble than on windows made of glass."[36]

Given that projects sponsored by the nobility were largely monastic, this left the way open for the new Converso ecclesiastics to focus on cathedrals where they controlled significant income streams.[37] Nevertheless, Pablo also patronised monasteries. The principal focus of his attention was the no longer extant Observant Dominican convent of San Pablo de Burgos, perhaps because of his special devotion to Saint Paul, his namesake, a fellow convert, and the theologian whose writings underpinned Converso theology.[38] The monks had granted his family the right to be buried in a chapel off the cloister in 1413, "for which [Pablo] had paid,"[39] and in the 1420s he also paid for the building of the church, described as very high and wide, with three naves, and built from dressed stone such that it "resembled a true cathedral."[40] It is unlikely to be coincidental that Pablo's relative, Fray Martín de Santa María, had been named prior by 1430.[41]

Moderna 34 (2012), pp. 213–249. For a wider discussion of nobility and magnificence in this period see Richard Goldthwaite, "The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy," in Francis William Kent, John Christopher Eade and Patricia Simóns eds, *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, Canberra, Oxford, 1987, p. 166.

36 "… en los hedifiçios empero que se han de faser, más mira el magnífico cerca las cosas que son permanesçientes e de largo tiempo que cerca los arcos flacos, ca más principalmente despiende e fará pilares de mármoles que ventanas de vidrieras." Cartagena added this in his *Memorial de los Virtudes*, ca. 1421. Cited by Fernando Marías, "Las fábricas de la Reina Católica y los entresijos del imaginario arquitectónico de su tiempo," in *Los Reyes Católicos y Granada.*, Granada, 2004, pp. 213–226.

37 There were, of course, exceptions, such as Alvaro de Luna's enormous funerary chapel in the Toledo Cathedral.

38 For a discussion of this see Nicola Jennings "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas: New Proposals about its Original Appearance and Role in the Fashioning of Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century Converso," pp. 139–141.

39 Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, p. 87. He had also paid for the chapter house.

40 This comes from a document dated 22 August 1430, cited by Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena.*, p. 88.

41 According to Cantera, Fray Martín was probably his nephew (son of Pablo's brother Pedro) or grand-nephew, (son of his own disinherited son Alvar Sánchez). See Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, pp. 361, 486 and 522. Intriguingly, the fray had a brother named as "Fray Alonso de Burgos" (see ibid., pp. 330 and 522); although

According to a nineteenth-century document, the entrance to the church bore a shield with castles and lions and a fleur de lis.[42] This seems to be the only known reference to Pablo's arms, but it corresponds to the description of the one on the tomb of his brother Alvar and to the heraldry on the surviving tombs of his descendants, for example to the gold fleur de lis which appears on the epitaph of Alonso de Cartagena in Burgos Cathedral.[43] Fleurs de lis appeared in the coats of arms of several Iberian Jews from this period.[44] Although they were also adopted as devices by Christians and Muslims, they are thought to have had special significance for Jews, relating to the Kabbalah and Solomon's palace as described in Kings I, VII, 19, 26.[45]

The church itself was finished and filled with liturgical items and ornaments by 1430, and Pablo reserved space for his own burial and that of his son Gonzalo (by then bishop of Plasencia) in niches next to the high altar, refusing the monks' offer of a raised central tomb.[46] He also reserved spaces for family members, including his brother Pedro Suárez, along the crossing, and a space for his son Alonso (then dean of Santiago de Compostela) in the chapel of Santiago. Pablo's third son, Pedro de Cartagena (1387–1478)—who for many years held the influential position of *regidor* of Burgos and was in 1440 granted permission to found a *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate (a privilege usually only

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Cantera doesn't think this is the same person as the well-known confessor of Isabella and bishop of Palencia, this should be further investigated, as discussed later in this chapter.

42 AIFG, Comisión de Monumentos, Papeles sueltos, 1–3-1870, cited by José Antonio Casillas García, *El convento de San Pablo de Burgos*, Burgos, 2003, p. 217.

43 A description of the family arms as a white fleur de lis on a green field is also contained in a fascinating document issued by Philip III in 1604 which grants the lineage the benefit of "*limpieza de sangre*," noting that Pablo de Santa María's descendants were great servants of the monarchy and Christianity who married into a number of noble houses including the Mendozas, Manriques, Rojas, etc. See Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Álvar García de Santa María*, pp. 280–285.

44 For example, the shield of the Todros-Ha Levi, a Jewish family with branches in both Burgos and Toledo, represented a quadrilobular figure, each lobe enclosing a fleur de lis, and a fleur de lis also appears on top of the castle towers in the shields in the Tránsito synagogue in Burgos paid for by Samuel Ha-Levi. Manuel Martínez Añíbarro suggested in 1889 that the Santa María fleur de lis was in fact copied from the coat of arms of the García family in Covarrubias. See Manuel Martínez Añíbarro, *Intento de un diccionario biográfico de autores de la provincia de Burgos*, Madrid, 1887, p. 471. Given the inaccuracy of Añíbarro's claim about Garcí Alonso discussed above in note 21, his assertion about the fleur de lis being copied from Garcí's heraldry is also unreliable.

45 Cómez adds that it was used on the seal of the Jewish community in Paris in 1207. See Rafael Cómez, "Sellos hebreos sevillanos y su significado," *Laboratorio de Arte* 9 (1996), pp. 1–9.

46 Isaac Rilova Pérez cited in Diana Olivares Martínez, *Alonso de Burgos y la arquitectura castellana*, p. 28.

accorded to nobles)—was also buried there.[47] The convent was sacked during the Peninsular War and finally demolished in the late nineteenth century, but, according to a description by the seventeenth-century friar Gonzalo de Arriaga, the tombs of Pablo and Gonzalo were "beautifully worked … in white stone," with effigies dressed in bishops' robes.[48] Before he died, Pablo also paid for a dormitory, sacristy and library. There is no mention of an altarpiece.

Pablo also supported the failing Augustinian monastery of San Juan de Ortega, where he introduced a purer form of monasticism by bringing over Jeronymites from Fresdelval, a house founded by Pedro Manrique some fifty years earlier.[49] Pablo donated liturgical objects, including a green altar frontal, candelabra, and chalice, as well as books—including a magnificent Gutenberg Bible[50]—and, once more, managed to have another nephew, Fray Gonzalo Maluenda, named as prior. In his will Pablo again remembered the monastery, leaving them 18,000 *maravedís* to build a cloister with a further 30,000 if they made the tribune according to his wishes.[51]

Pablo's brother Alvar also donated money to the convent of San Pablo, but the main recipient of Alvar's patronage was the monastery of San Juan Bautista de Burgos.[52] The number of monks at this monastery, founded in 1091 by a French Benedictine, had declined dramatically by the early fifteenth century, and there were reports of unsatisfactory religious practices. Alvar got the Observants at San Benito de Valladolid to send over twelve monks and a prior, and he spent 60,000 florins rebuilding the church. He continued to support thirty monks there for many years, and in his will of 1457, he asked to be buried there, "where the stone effigies of myself and my wife are."[53] This tomb was badly damaged in a fire in 1537 but, according to a description in 1593, it featured sculptures of saints, God the Father, the Virgin, and the Crucifixion, as well as shields with Alvar's arms, which depicted fleurs de lis held by angels.[54] Alvar's will also mentions the "jewels, adornments, bed clothes, carpets, tablecloths and other items" he had given the convent over the years, as well as

47 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, pp. 163–165, 412. In the *mayorazgo* documents the shield is described a fleur de lis on a green field. Pedro's own sons and another relative, Gonzalo Rodríguez de Maluenda, were also buried there.

48 Diana Olivares Martínez, *Alonso de Burgos y la arquitectura castellana*, p. 27. See also José Antonio Casillas García, *El convento de San Pablo de Burgos: Historia y arte*, Salamanca, 2003, pp. 271–273.

49 Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena.*, p. 188.

50 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 399.

51 Ibid., p. 330.

52 Ibid., pp. 127–135.

53 Ibid., p. 179.

54 Ibid., pp. 206–207. Only the epitaph survives in the Museo de Burgos.

books and money to buy black silk for use in burials and liturgical garments.[55] The document refers, furthermore, to three arched windows in the cloister for which Pablo de Santa María had asked him to pay, at a cost of 3,000 *maravedís*.

Near to Burgos was the collegiate church of Covarrubias, where in 1438 Pablo de Santa María's friend Garcí Alonso became abbot. Garcí and several other family members are buried in the presbytery of the church in Covarrubias, all their tombs bearing fleurs de lis like those of the Santa Marías.[56] Beatrice Proske noted the similarity of Garci's tomb to that of Alfonso Rodríguez de Maluenda in Alonso de Cartagena's funerary chapel in Burgos Cathedral (to be discussed below), suggesting the likelihood that the same sculptor worked in both locations.[57] Garcí's younger relative (perhaps his nephew), Pedro García de Aranda (d. 1500), had followed him as treasurer of Burgos Cathedral by 1463, and was later named president of the Consejo de Castilla.[58] Pedro was also appointed dean of Oviedo in 1459, and then became archdeacon of Palenzuela in 1473 and bishop of Calahorra and La Calzada in 1478. He was also one the executors of Juan Díaz de Coca, Alonso de Cartagena's nephew.[59] It was under García de Aranda's bishopric in Calahorra that work to replace the original Romanesque cathedral made significant progress, with building of the *capilla mayor* starting in 1485 and finishing in 1488.[60] González de Tejada in 1702 noted Aranda's arms on the tower, although they can no longer be seen today.[61] Aranda also commissioned silver items for the cathedral, such as candlesticks

55 Ibid., p. 186.

56 Garcí's shield is a simple fleur de lis, but the others have stems coming from them.

57 Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Castilian Sculpture. Gothic to Renaissance*, New York, 1951, p. 16. Another tomb in the church of Covarrubias which can be related to both Maluenda's and Garcí's is discussed in Clementina Julia Ara Gil, "El taller palentino del entallador Alonso de Portillo (1560–1506)," *Boletín del Semario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 53 (1987), pp. 216–218.

58 Luciano Serrano, *Fuentes para historia de Castilla*, Valladolid, 1906–1910, p. LXXXIII; *Los Reyes Católicos y la ciudad de Burgos*, Madrid, 1943, p. 43. He also appears as Pedro González de Aranda.

59 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 373. Pedro is referred to as archdeacon of Palencia in the same will, dated 5 August 1473.

60 Manuel de Lecuona, "La catedral de Calahorra: notas histórico-arqueológicas," *Berceo*, 1947, pp. 73–77.

61 José González de Tejada, *Historia de Santo Domingo de la Calzada … y noticia de la fundación y aumentos de la Santa Iglesia Catedral*, Madrid, 1702, cited in Aurelio Barrón García, "Espacios funerarios renacentistas en la catedral calceatense," in Eduardo Azofra ed., *La catedral calceatense desde el Renacimiento hasta el presente*, Salamanca, 2009, p. 161.

bearing his arms.[62] He died in Rome, having gone there in 1493 to clear his name from prosecution by the Valladolid Inquisition.[63] His brother was Alonso de Covarrubias (d. 1454), archbishop of the monastery of Monreale in Sicily from 1450 to 1454, and also buried at Covarrubias.

Gonzalo de Santa María—Pablo's eldest son, who had become bishop of Astorga in 1419—was named bishop of Plasencia in 1423, and finally of Sigüenza from 1446 until his death in 1448.[64] Gonzalo was buried in the presbytery of San Pablo de Burgos, near to his father. But it was Pablo's second son, Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456), who really cemented the Converso network, bringing a new generation of members into his newly built funerary chapel in Burgos Cathedral. He was also the most important Converso theologian of the 15th century, writing several texts that defined Pauline spirituality, which fuelled the network's impulse to reform and accorded the Conversos a central role in salvation history.[65] Cartagena started his ecclesiastical career in Seville, going on, in 1415, to benefices in Segovia, Cartagena and Compostela, before being appointed apostolic nuncio in Rome in 1418, and then returning to Burgos in 1421 as a canon. From there he was sent to the Council of Basel; it was while he was on this mission that his father died and he himself was appointed Bishop of Burgos. Returning to the city, he commissioned, in 1442, the spires which rise from the west face of the cathedral.[66] These introduced to the Peninsula the octagonal traceried spires which had appeared in Strasbourg, Esslingen and other cities in the Upper Rhine only a few years earlier, and which would appear in Toledo and other Castilian cities a few years later. According to the late eighteenth-century traveller Antonio Ponz, a no longer extant inscription next to the portrait of Cartagena in Burgos Cathedral's chapel of Santa Catalina stated that he had brought back with him from northern Europe "masters who finished the pyramids of this church."[67] The main architect of the spires is

62 Victoria Eugenia Herrera Hernández, "La platería en la catedral de Calahorra (La Rioja). Siglos XV–XIX," (Phd diss., Universidad de la Rioja), 2017, pp. 304 and doc. 6.

63 Tarcisio de Azcona, *La elección y reforma del episcopado español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid, 1960, p. 222.

64 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 412.

65 Bruce Rosenstock, *New Men*, pp. 16–17 & ff.; Dayle Seidenspinner-Nuñez, "Prelude to the Inquisition: The Discourse of Persecution, the Toledan Rebellion of 1449, and the Contest for Orthodoxy," in Wout Jac van Bekkum et al., eds., *Strategies of Medieval Communal Identity: Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Paris. 2004.

66 Nicolás Menéndez González, "Juan de Colonia y los inicios del tardogótico burgalés," in Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar ed., *Actas del IV simposio internacional de jóvenes medievalistas, Lorca 2008*, Murcia, 2009, pp. 148–150.

67 Antonio Ponz, *Viage de España, o Cartas en que se da noticia de las cosas más apreciables y dignas de saberse, que hay en ella*, vol. 27, Madrid, 1771, p. 48.

thought to have been Juan de Colonia, who is documented as director of works of Burgos Cathedral in 1449, but was already living in the city by 1441.[68] If, as the inscription suggests, Colonia was brought to Castile by Cartagena, the bishop would have been following a path forged by a fellow Converso courtier, Fernán López de Saldaña, who in 1430 employed foreign-trained craftsmen to produce a magnificent funerary chapel in the noble Burgundian style at the convent of Santa Clara de Tordesillas.[69] With the Santa María "S" and "M" displayed in the spires' crowns, the structures were the perfect vehicle for proclaiming not only the family's aspirations to noble status but also its continuing pre-eminence as patrons of ecclesiastical institutions in Burgos and further afield.

In 1442 Cartagena also announced his desire to be buried in the cathedral where he would build in place of the chapel of Santa Marina (near the important Puerta del Sarmental), a chapel of the Holy Visitation, reserved for clergymen with cathedral benefices who were related to him.[70] The chapel, which was finished in early 1446,[71] is again thought to be the work of Colonia, who is also buried within it. Its ornamental vault, one of the first of its kind in Castile, spawned a wealth of ever-more complex creations over the next hundred years.[72] In the center of the chapel is a raised tomb with reliefs of saints along each of the sides, and an effigy carved out of a different, veined alabaster (fig. 2). In the document requesting permission to build the chapel, Cartagena instructed (as his father had done) that the tombs should be "flat

68 Pilar Silva Maroto, "Arte y sociedad en Burgos en el siglo XV. Las Promociones artísticas de Alonso de Cartagena (1440–1456)," in Manlio Sodi and Arianna Antoniutti eds., *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Pius Secundus Poeta Laureatus Pontifex Maximus. Atti del convegno Internazionale 29 Settembre–1 Ottobre 2005, Roma.*, Rome, 2007, p. 37.

69 See Nicola Jennings, "Made in Iberia: A New Look at the Retable of Contador Saldaña in Santa Clara de Tordesillas," in Daan van Heesch, Robrecht Janssen, and Jan Van der Stock eds., *Netherlandish Art and Luxury Goods in Renaissance Spain*, Turnhout, 2018, pp. 25–35; and "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas and the Fashioning of Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century Converso," pp. 1–17; "The Chapel of Contador Saldaña at Santa Clara de Tordesillas: New Proposals about its Original Appearance and Role in the Fashioning of Identity by an Early Fifteenth-Century Converso."

70 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, p. 444. Cartagena had obtained permission to build a new chapel on the site of the chapel of Santa Marina in 1440. Archivo catedralicio de Burgos, Registro, fol. 135r.

71 Teófilo López Mata, "La capilla de la Visitación y el Obispo D. Alonso de Cartagena," *Boletín del Instituto Fernán González* 26. 101 (1947), p. 634.

72 Pilar Silva Maroto, "Arte y sociedad en Burgos en el siglo XV. Las promociones artísticas de Alonso de Cartagena (1440–1456)," p. 38. On the role that Juan de Colonia and his son, Simón, played in introducing new forms of vaulting to the Peninsula, see María Pilar García Cuetos, "Raíces del tardogótico castellano. La arquitectura europea en el contexto del último gótico," in Begoña Alonso Ruiz ed., *La arquitectura tardogótica castellana entre Europa y América*, Madrid, 2011, pp. 17–42.

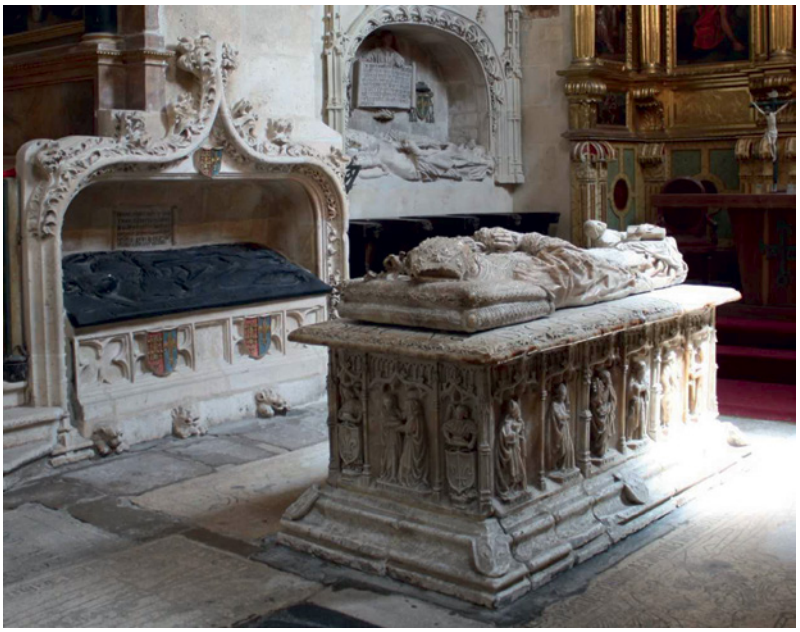

FIGURE 2 Chapel of the Visitation, Burgos Cathedral
PHOTO: N. JENNINGS

on the pavement, not rising above the ground."[73] There has thus been considerable debate over whether the elaborate monument in the chapel today was produced while Cartagena was still alive, commissioned after his death in 1456, or even produced in two phases, with the effigy added many years later.[74]

Cartagena also commissioned a number of objects for the chapel, including a no longer extant retable of the Visitation—described as profusely gilded, with a mix of sculpture and painting[75]—as well as various crosses, cloths, a porphyry altar, and several *guardemecies* (leather panels) representing Saint James.[76] He also left to the chapel all the ornaments and liturgical items he

73 "… *en sepulturas llanas en el pauimento no alçando cosa del suelo* …" Cited in Teófilo López Mata, "La capilla de la Visitación y el Obispo D. Alonso de Cartagena," p. 633.

74 August Mayer, for example, believed the effigy was the work of a young Gil de Siloe. See August L. Mayer, "El escultor Gil de Siloe," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 31 (1928), p. 146. Yarza, on the other hand, believed it was made either while he was alive or soon after his death. See Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Gil Siloe: El retablo de la Concepción en la capilla del Obispo Acuña* Burgos, 2000, p. 36. The debate has been discussed most recently by Olivares. See Diana Olivares Martínez, *Alonso de Burgos y la arquitectura castellana*, pp. 44–45.

75 Archivo catedralicio de Burgos, Registro 3, 7-VII-1456, fols. 26r–39r.

76 Luciano Serrano, *Conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, p. 229.

normally took on his travels, including a "retable of the heads"[77] said to have been "given" to him by the painter Juan Sánchez, a Flemish "Veronica,"[78] a jet crucifix (which normally lay on top of his tomb, according to an inventory of 1488), two missals, and a tapestry depicting the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion and Pietà.[79] Six years after Cartagena's death, his brother Pedro gave the cathedral forty silk capes Alonso had also paid for at a cost of 3,000 florins. Cartagena also gave generously to a number of other institutions, gifting 100,500 florins to San Juan de Ortega for forty embroidered silk capes and an altar frontal, and a further 198,000 for finishing off the church[80] The inclusion of two retables and a tapestry featuring narrative scenes in Cartagena's legacy indicates an appetite for devotional imagery typical of well-off Castilians of the period, in contrast to the aversion displayed by Seville's Conversos in the 1470s, highlighted by Felipe Pereda.[81] This is a question which deserves further thought as more information is uncovered about the patronage of the Santa María network and other well-to-do fifteenth-century Conversos.

Also buried in the chapel of the Visitation were Cartagena's first cousins Alfonso Rodríguez de Maluenda (d. 1453) and Juan Díaz de Coca (1389–1477) (see fig. 2). Maluenda had been a canon of Burgos Cathedral since 1424 and *provisor* since 1435, apostolic protonotary, archdeacon and canon of Coria from 1422 to 1426, and Abbot of Castrojeriz from 1427 to 1453 (in addition to being the recipient of several other benefices).[82] As mentioned above, his tomb has been related to that of Garcí Alonso in Covarrubias, and in documents cited by López Mata, Maluenda is linked to Juan de Colonia, which suggests that he may have been the key figure liaising with the craftsmen working in the chapel.[83]

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77 This may have been a Man of Sorrows surrounded by heads, like the Memling copy in the Capilla Real in Granada.

78 "Veronicas" were representations of the face of Christ which miraculously imprinted itself on Saint Veronica's cloth on the road to Calvary.

79 Teófilo López Mata, "La capilla de la Visitación y el Obispo D. Alonso de Cartagena," pp. 635–637.

80 Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María*, pp. 436–438. On his donations to other establishments, see René Jesús Payo Hernanz and Elena Martín Martínez de Simón, "Alonso de Cartagena: política, religión y mecenazgo en la Castilla de mediados del siglo XV," in María Victoria Herráez, María Concepción Cosmen, María Dolores Teijeira and José Alberto Moráis Morán, eds., *Obispos y Catedrales. Arte en la Castilla bajomedieval*, Bern, 2019, p. 133.

81 Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 39–44 and ff.; and "El debate sobre la imagen en la España del siglo XV: judíos, cristianos y conversos," in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (*UAM*) 14 (2002), pp. 59–79.

82 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Iglesia, nobleza y oligarquías urbanas," p. 208.

83 Teófilo López Mata, *La catedral de Burgos*, Burgos, 1950, p. 393.

Coca was a prebendary of Burgos from 1421, a canon from 1428, dean by 1452, Bishop of Oviedo from 1467 to 1470, and bishop of Calahorra and La Calzada from 1470 to 1477.[84] He died in Rome and, although he was at first buried in the church of Santa María sopra Minerva (where his grand tomb by Bregno Andrea can still be seen), his remains were brought back to a second tomb in the chapel in Burgos, in 1485. Luis Garcés de Maluenda, another relative of the Santa Marías, is also buried in the chapel. Luis was treasurer of Burgos Cathedral from 1487, chaplain of Cartagena's chapel from 1479, and *capellán mayor* from 1482. Other Maluendas who were part of the Santa María network (but are buried elsewhere) included the canon Juan Garcés de Maluenda, Fray Gonzalo de Maluenda (prior of San Juan de Ortega), and Juan Ortega de Maluenda, bishop of Coria from 1479 to 1485.[85]

Perhaps the most important patron to emerge from the Santa María network was Fray Alonso de Burgos, founder of the Colegio de San Gregorio in Valladolid, confessor and chaplain to Isabella of Castile from ca. 1469,[86] bishop of Córdoba from 1477 to 1483, of Cuenca from 1482 to 1485, and of Palencia from 1487 until his death in 1499. It was Fray Alonso who said mass for Isabella and Ferdinand on the day after they married in 1469. In 1487 he joined the Consejo Real, and two years later he became president of the Santa Hermandad.[87] The fray became extremely rich thanks to his various ecclesiastical benefices, so much so that he was able to lend the monarchs large sums for their campaigns in Granada and Naples.

Born ca. 1415, Fray Alonso was said to have grown up in the Santa María household, and he adopted the family's fleur de lis as a central device in his own arms.[88] The fray's religious career started at San Pablo de Burgos under

84 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Un eclesiástico de las élites judeoconversas castellanas a fines le siglo XV: Luis Garcés de Maluenda, canónigo y tesorero de la catedral de Burgos," *Espacio, Tempo y Forma* 28 (2015), p. 307.

85 Ibid.

86 See Leandro Peñas Martínez, *Los confesores del rey*, Madrid, 2007, p. 59.

87 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "El testamento del obispo Alonso de Burgos: religiosidad, construcción de la memoria y preeminencia eclesiástica en Castilla a fines del siglo XV," *Estudio de Historias de España* 19 (2017), p. 76.

88 On this and other aspects of Fray Alonso's biography, see, for example, Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Fray Alonso de Burgos. Un prelado al servicio de la monarquía castellana del siglo XV," in Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar and María João.Branco eds., *Ecclesiastics and Political State Building in the Iberian Monarchies, 13th–15th Centuries*, Évora, 2016, pp. 147–182. Although there is no conclusive documentary evidence that Fray Alonso was a Converso, he was described as a Jew by a contemporary traveller (see note 111 below). It is also significant that the author of the first (early seventeenth-century) history of San Gregorio, Gonzalo de Arriaga, says that the fray was born in the Burgos parish of Santa María la Blanca—an area inhabited by many converts according to a document of 14 October 1492 cited by

the instruction of Fray Martín de Soria. From there he moved to study at the Dominican convent of San Pablo in Valladolid, returning to Burgos briefly as prior, in 1449, before assuming the same role in Valladolid a few years later. The convent in Valladolid had become a focal point for Dominican reform under Alonso's predecessor, Juan de Torquemada,[89] and, as the city was the monarchy's administrative center, the priorate must have suited the fray who was as much a political figure as an ecclesiastical one. Its convent of San Pablo would be the focus of Fray Alonso's patronage over the next fifty years, amounting, according to a contemporary source, to "innumerable quantities of *maravedís*."[90] He is represented, with various Dominican saints and praying to the Virgin, on the convent's façade, most of which he is thought to have paid for, even if his shield was erased by another patron, the Duke of Lerma, in the early seventeenth century (fig. 3).

In the years leading up to Isabella of Castile's ascent to the throne, Fray Alonso became not only her confessor but also one of her main agents for ecclesiastical reform and a key factor in the success of her political project.[91] Appointed bishop of Córdoba in 1477, he set out at once to regularize the collection of ecclesiastical income, which had until then been unsatisfactory, and to improve the behaviour of the clergy.[92] Although there is no record of any commissions by him in Córdoba Cathedral, his arms appear in the abbey of Álcala la Real (in the chapel of Santo Cristo a la Columna, as well as in the

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the Centro de Documentacion y Estudios Moises de León—Sefardies. (sefardíes.es). On Arraiga's account of Fray Alonso's birth, see Eloy García de Quevedo, "Burgos (Fray Alonso de)," *Boletin de la Comision Provincial de Monumentos Historicos y Artisticos de Burgos* 45 (1933), pp. 495–496. It is difficult to get to the truth of Fray Alonso's origins. The conclusion of a 1611 enquiry into his *limpieza*—that he was not a Converso and came instead from an Old Christian family in the valley of Mortero—is highly unreliable as this enquiry was run by priests from his own order who would not have wanted to sully the fray's reputation at a time when the Inquisition was in full swing. This conclusion nevertheless was enshrined as the 'historical truth' as it was published in the 1615 history of the Dominican Order by Fray Juan López, Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisición, leg. 2886, and in the *Libro Bezerro* of the colegio.

89 See Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Alonso de Burgos y la fundación y primeros estatutos del colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid. La regulación de la vida religiosa y académica de los dominicos observantes en la Castilla del siglo XV," *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho* 23 (2016), p. 48.

90 Alonso Fernández de Madrigal, *Silva Palentina*, annotated by Matías Vielva Ramos, vol. 1, Palencia, 1932, p. 492.

91 On the political role played by Fray Alonso and other confessors to the monarchs of Castile, see Leandro Peñas Martínez, *Los confesores del rey*, Madrid, 2007, pp. 256, 312–319.

92 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Fray Alonso de Burgos. Un prelado al servicio de la monarquía castellana del siglo XV," pp. 147–182.

FIGURE 3 Façade of church of San Pablo (detail), Valladolid
PHOTO: N. JENNINGS

main altarpiece), where he was named prior two years later.[93] In Cuenca, he launched another programme of clerical reform, holding two synods in three years.[94] His arms appear in the cathedral's presbytery and are said to have featured elsewhere in the cathedral too until the early twentieth century.[95] Fray

93 José Ignacio Hernández Redondo, "Aportaciones al estudio del legado artístico de Fray Alonso de Burgos," in Joaquín Yarza Luaces and Ma. Luisa Melero Moneo eds., *Imágenes e promotores en el arte medieval*, Barcelona, 2001, pp. 424, 492.

94 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "El testamento del obispo Alonso de Burgos: religiosidad, construcción de la memoria y preeminencia eclesiástica en Castilla a fines del siglo XV," p. 76; Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Fray Alonso de Burgos y el sínodo conquense de 1484," *Hispania Sacra* 47 (1995), pp. 299–346.

95 Diana Olivares Martínez, "'Escudos con flor de lis' o la huella de un prelado promotor: Alonso de Burgos, obispo de Cuenca (1482–1485)," *Lope de Barrientos Seminario de Cultura* 6 (2013), pp. 93–124. For a summary of the literature on his patronage in Cuenca, see Diana Olivares Martínez, *Alonso de Burgos y la arquitectura castellana*, p. 91.

Alonso also commissioned several items of precious metalwork, including a chalice which is now the Museo Diocesano. His move to Palencia in 1487 occasioned a new spurt of reforms and commissions. Here again he called two synods focusing on clerical discipline and morals.[96] He also obtained a bull to provide extra income to the chapter, and he left the cathedral two million *maravedís* to complete the apse and crossing,[97] as well as commissioning multiple items such as wrought-iron gates, a reliquary and liturgical ornaments.[98] John Hoag attributes the warped vault in the crossing—built during Alonso's bishopric and the first of its kind in Spain—to Simón Colonia, the son of Juan de Colonia who built the spires and funerary chapel in Burgos Cathedral for Alonso de Cartagena.[99]

Also, in 1487, Fray Alonso secured space for a funerary chapel in San Pablo de Valladolid and hired the innovative and highly sought-after Norman mason Juan Guas to produce it.[100] Guas, who would go on to become one of most illustrious figures in Late-Gothic architecture, trained with the Flemish master Hanequín de Bruselas, who was responsible for the Puerta de los Leones in Toledo Cathedral. It is likely that Guas was busy with other projects, as it was Simón de Colonia who in fact produced the portal to the fray's chapel in San Pablo as well as what must have been an extraordinary tomb.[101] This tomb has not survived but is known from early descriptions. In the words of Antoine de Lalaing, Philip the Fair's chamberlain, who accompanied his master on a visit to Valladolid in 1501:

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96 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Alonso de Burgos y la fundación y primeros estatutos del colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid," p. 45.

97 Alonso Fernández de Madrigal, *Silva Palentina*, annotated by Matías Vielva Ramos, vol. 1, Palencia, 1932, p. 517.

98 For a summary of the literature on his patronage in Palencia, see Diana Olivares Martínez, *Alonso de Burgos y la arquitectura castellana*, pp. 96–101.

99 John D. Hoag, *Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon. Gótico y Renacimiento en la arquitectura española del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1985, pp. 31–32.

100 Jesús Urrea, "El crucifijo del retablo de la capilla de San Gregorio de Valladolid reencontrado," in *Actas del congreso internacional sobre Gil Siloe y la escultura de su época: Burgos 13–16 octubre de 1999*, Burgos, 2001, pp. 411–12. According to Urrea, he worked with Juan de Tavera, who is thought to have been his nephew and was probably assisting him in a junior capacity, given that he is first documented in 1486 when he was producing "follages" or "foliage" at a daily rate. See Alicia Canto, "Epigrafía y arquitectura en la Universidad de Salamanca. El arquitecto real Juan de Talavera, firmante en la 'Portada Rica' de la reina Juana," *Anejos a CuPAUAM* 1 (2014), p. 223.

101 See Isabel Fuentes Rebollo, "El maestro Simón de Colonia en San Pablo y San Gregorio (nueva lectura documental)," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Escultura*, vol. 3 (1998–1999), pp. 7–10.

> There the bishop in question built a chapel where he lay in an alabaster tomb, on top of which are seven or eight life-like figures in alabaster, including the king, the queen, the princess of Castile [Margaret of Austria], the sister of the Monseigneur, the prince don Juan her husband, the major commander; and on top sits the bishop in pontifical.[102]

Laurent Vital, writing a few years later, described the tomb as 24 feet high, with the bishop preaching to the figures from a high pulpit at the top of the pinnacle.[103] He also wrote about the chapel's retable (destroyed during the Peninsular War), which he said was 30 feet high and 18 feet wide, and made from richly gilded and skilfully carved wood.[104] In the late nineteenth century José Martí y Monsó discovered from San Gregorio's *Libro Bezerro* that the retable was commissioned ca. 1488 from the French or Netherlandish sculptor Gil de Siloe, who had recently produced the impressive altarpiece of the *Immaculate Conception* in Burgos Cathedral for Bishop Luis de Acuña.[105] Fray Alonso's contract with Maestre "Guilles" and the painter-polychromer Diego de la Cruz cited the Acuña altarpiece as the model, and specified twenty-two high relief scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin as well as a number of carved saints. According to Jesús Urrea, the large *Crucified Christ* now in the church of Ciguñuela near Valladolid was at the center of the fray's altarpiece.[106] The narrative scenes are described as circular *medallas de relieve*, similar to the roundels on the altarpiece Siloe later produced for Isabella of Castile at the charterhouse of Miraflores, another commission in which Fray Alonso may have been involved.[107]

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102 "*Là édifia ledit évesque une chapelle où il gist en sépulcre d'albastre, dessul laquel sont sept ou wit personages d'albastre pourtrais après le vif, come le roy, la royne, la princesse de Castile, soeur de Monsigneur, le prince dom Jehan son mary, le commandeur majeur; et dessus est assis ung évesque en pontifical*." Antoine de Lalaing, "Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne en 1501," in *Collection des voyages des souverains*, I, Brussels, 1988, p. 166.

103 Laurent Vital, "Relación del primer viaje de Carlos V en España en 1501," in José García Mercadal ed., *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal desde los tiempos más remotos hasta fines del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1952–1962, vol. 1, p. 674.

104 "*La table de l'autel ha XXX pieds de hault et XVIII de large, toute de bois, entretailliée et dorée ricement*." Antoine de Lalaing, in "Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne en 1501," in *Collection des voyages des souverains* I, Brussels, 1988, p. 166.

105 Cited in Jesús Urrea, "El crucifijo del retablo de la capilla de San Gregorio de Valladolid reencontrado," in *Actas del congreso internacional sobre Gil Siloe y la escultura de su época: Burgos 13–16 octubre de 1999*, Burgos, 2001, pp. 411–415.

106 Ibid., pp. 414–415.

107 Ronda Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style: Art, Commerce, and Politics in Fifteenth-Century Castile*, Turnhout, 2013, p. 152.

In 1488 work started on Fray Alonso's most important reformist project, the colegio San Gregorio on land adjacent to the convent.[108] It is said to have been completed by 1496, but no documentation survives and the work is usually attributed to Siloe and Juan Guas.[109] With its densely worked façade and heraldry adorning the patio, upper galleries and grand stairway, it is one of the most extraordinary Late-Gothic buildings in Europe, exemplifying what Matt Kavaler calls "intentional excess" (fig. 4).[110] Visiting San Gregorio in 1517, the Venetian ambassador Laurent Vital described the complex as "… one of the most beautiful and richest places you could find that the son of a Jew or pagan had had made, and it was said that he was of the lineage of the Catagenetz [Cartagena] …"[111]

The tympanum above the portal shows Fray Alonso—as at the convent of San Pablo next door—kneeling, but this time with Saints Paul and Dominic and Pope Gregory the Great, all of this against a screen of fleurs de lis, framed with foliage, small figures, and birds, with wild men standing guard on the jambs below it. Above the tympanum are two horizontal and three vertical registers separated by slender bundles of branches densely carved with vegetation. In the center, an imposing pomegranate tree emerges from a fountain with putti around its base and clinging to the branches, which also accommodate rampant lions holding the Castilian royal arms. On the first horizontal register, angels bear Fray Alonso's shield; on the second, soldiers stand guard to either side of the pomegranate tree. In spandrels between the portal arch and the first register, two prophet-like figures wrestle with open-jawed beasts. Pillars along the sides of the structure house more wild men and soldiers in niches.

Another Converso bishop, courtier and member of the Santa María network for whom Juan Guas worked was Juan Arias de Ávila, bishop of Segovia from 1466 to 1497. Juan was the son of Diego Arias de Ávila, a Jewish convert who rose from spice merchant to key player at the courts of both Juan II and

108 On the reformist agenda associated with this project, see Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Alonso de Burgos y la fundación y primeros estatutos del colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid," pp. 46–79.

109 See, for example, Ronda Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style*, p. 73.

110 Matt Evan Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe, 1470–1540*, New Haven, Conn., 2012, p. 4.

111 "*… les plus beaulx et riches lieux que on sçauroit trouver, que le filz de ung juif ou payen avoit faict faire, et disoit-on qu'il estoit de linaige de Catagenetz …*" Louis-Prosper Gachard et al., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1988, vol. 1, p. 160.

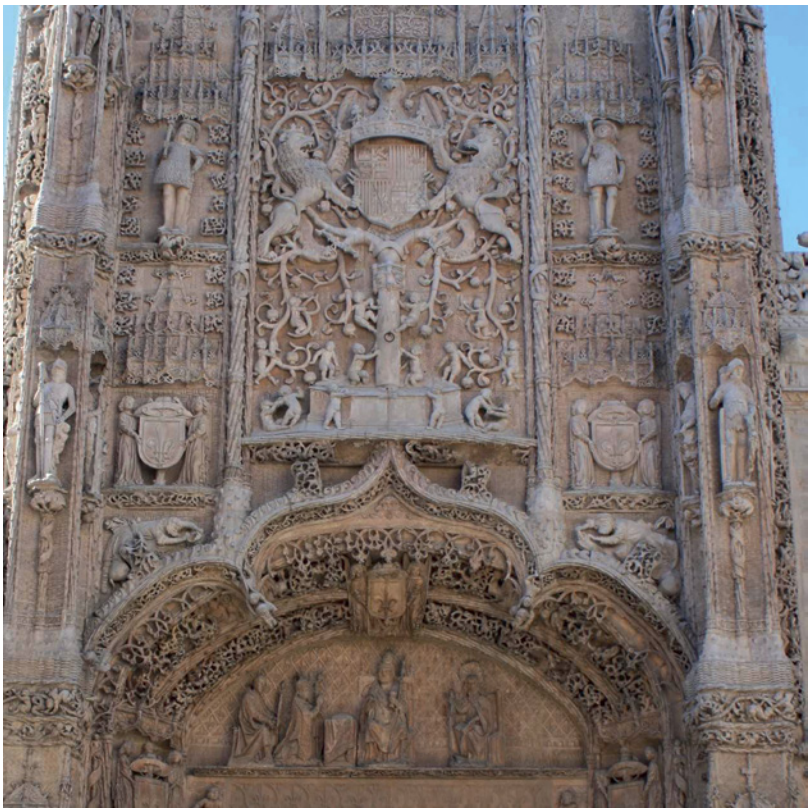

FIGURE 4 Façade of college of San Gregorio (detail), Valladolid
PHOTO: N. JENNINGS

Enrique IV.[112] In 1461, at the tender age of 24, Juan Arias de Ávila was appointed bishop of Segovia.[113] One of Alonso de Cartagena's protégés, and having studied at the University of Salamanca with Pedro de Osma, the young man was highly educated.[114] He was also a bibliophile, who left to the cathedral in his

112 See María Elena Contreras Jiménez, "Los Arias de Ávila: consolidación de un linaje en la Segovia del siglo XV," in Ángel Galindo García ed., *Arias Dávila, obispo y mecenas: Segovia en el siglo XV*, Salamanca, 1998, pp. 99–138.

113 Maximilano Barrio Gozalo, "La Iglesia segoviana durante el pontificado de Arias Dávila (1461–1497). Instituciones y poder económico," in Ángel Galindo García ed., *Arias Dávila, obispo y mecenas: Segovia en el siglo XV*, p. 79.

114 Luis Fernández Suárez, *Los Trastámara y la unidad española*, Madrid, 1981, p. 204.

will a library of over a hundred manuscripts and incunabula.[115] In 1472 Juan called the Synod of Aguilafuente with the object of raising standards of clerical education and of liturgical and devotional practice.[116] Juan's zeal for reform was part of an increasingly vocal counter-attack against Old Christian hostility to new Christians, which had escalated significantly since the outbreak of anti-Converso hostilities in Toledo in 1449, and continued to build with the onset of the Spanish Inquisition. This Converso counter-attack derived its theological justification from the *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae*, written by Juan's mentor, Alonso de Cartagena, whose Pauline Christianity was "founded not on ritual and ceremony" but on a purer "interior, mystical connection with the deity."[117]

In 1471 Bishop Arias de Ávila commissioned Guas to start work on a new cloister for the Segovia Cathedral.[118] The Breton would be given three successive five-year contracts in Segovia, producing an innovative scheme paid for partly out of Bishop Arias de Ávila's private income.[119] His cloister—moved to the new cathedral, built after the destruction of the old one during the War of the Communeros—includes an innovative "rampant" vault (in which the three main supporting arches seem to have different curvatures), and a portal with several sculptures (fig. 5). Guas would reproduce the design of this portal in the cloister of the royal monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo two decades later.[120] Guas's predilection for elaborately-decorated surfaces and Mudejar motifs, such as mixtilinear arches and *muqarnas*, not only contributed significantly to the development of Castilian Late-Gothic style, but also appears to have influenced northern European projects such as the monastery of Brou, commissioned by Isabella's widowed daughter-in-law Margaret of

115 John Edwards, "Bishop Juan Arias Dávila of Segovia: 'Judaizer' Or Reformer?" in David Hook, L.P. Harvey and Barry Taylor eds., *Cultures in Contact in Medieval Spain: Historical and Literary Essays Presented to L.P. Harvey*, London, 1990, p. 77.

116 Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, "Segovia y los orígenes de la imprenta española," *Revista General de Información y Documentación* 15, no. 1 (2005), pp. 136–137. Its decrees are contained in what is considered to be the first printed book in Spain, produced in Segovia by the German Johannes Parix.

117 Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain: Bad Blood and Faith from Alonso de Cartagena to Diego Velázquez*, London, 2018, p. 25. On Cartagena's theological ideas, see above and note 15.

118 María López Díez, "Juan Guas en la catedral de Segovia," *Archivo Español de Arte* 79. 315 (2006), p. 301.

119 Arturo Hernández, "Juan Guas: Maestro de obras de la catedral de Segovia (1472–1491)," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 43–45 (1946–47), p. 60.

120 Guas also built the chapel of San Miguel adjacent to the portal. See ibid., p. 68.

Austria.[121] Guas has also been suggested as one of the architects of the fortified church at Turégano, where Bishop Arias de Ávila fled in 1468 after the death of the Infante don Alfonso, whom he had supported against Enrique IV.[122] José Miguel Muñoz Jiménez suggests that these fortifications may have reflected the bishop's desire to replicate Solomon's temple as presented in Hartman Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (first published in 1481).[123]

Bishop Arias de Ávila's will, with instructions for his burial, was drafted in Rome in October 1497.[124] He had gone there in 1490 to defend his family against prosecution by the Inquisition, which had by this time spread its focus from Seville and Córdoba to the principal cities of Castile. Anti-Converso sentiment had been on the rise here since the middle of the century, flaring up in Toledo in 1449 and in Toledo and Ciudad Real in 1467.[125] One of the principal reasons for such hostility was the success of figures like Arias de Ávila at integrating themselves into the top echelons of Castilian society and adopting the behaviours of Old Christian nobles, including the patronage of devotional art and architecture.[126] Like Pablo de Santa María and Alonso de Cartagena, Arias de Ávila specified, nevertheless, that his tomb in Segovia Cathedral should not be raised. It is not known whether his wishes were respected as tomb is no longer identifiable.

This chapter has suggested that the family and disciples of the Converso courtier and Bishop Pablo de Santa María used their roles as non-noble ecclesiastical reformers to form an influential network, its members often succeeding each other, patronizing the same institutions, buried in the same exclusive chapels, and many of them sharing the same or very similar heraldry. Investing in religious building projects, they followed a noble curriculum and, employing

121 See, for example, Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe, 1470–1540*, New Haven, 2012, pp. 80–83.

122 Ibid., p. 86; José Miguel Muñoz Jiménez, "Juan Guas, el obispo Arias Dávila y el castillo de Turégano (Segovia) como nuevo Templo de Salomón," in *IV Congreso de Castellogía, Madrid 7,8 y 9 de marzo de 2012*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 697–712.

123 Ibid., pp. 697–712.

124 The original will was written in Latin, but the citations here are from the Castilian translation produced in Segovia in 1530. See Jean-Paul Le Flem, "La première version castillane du testament de Don Juan Arias Dávila, Eveque de Segovie," *Estudios segovianos* 64 (1970), pp. 17–47.

125 See, for example, Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision*, London, 1997, pp. 34–36.

126 For an interesting discussion (focusing mainly on the early modern period) of Old Christian concerns that Conversos were successfully covering up their religious and racial origins, see Christina H. Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain*, Manchester, 2016.

FIGURE 5 Portal, chapel of Cristo del Consuelo, Segovia
PHOTO: N. JENNINGS

expensive materials and the best craftsmen (often from northern Europe), displayed magnificence and knowledge of the Burgundian art of *vivre noblement*. In this way the members of the Santa María network fashioned for themselves a quasi-noble status which appears to have been recognized—albeit

resentfully—by their contemporaries, even if it was never formally granted by the monarchs. Although there is more research to be done on the network's members, the types of objects they commissioned, and what these objects tell us about their attitudes to imagery, the status these figures achieved appears to have protected most of them from the Inquisition. Pedro de Aranda and Juan Arias de Ávila both travelled to Rome to seek the direct protection of the pope for their families, but the Santa María family itself and Alonso de Burgos were never accused of Judaizing practices. Indeed, in 1604 Felipe III granted the descendants of Pablo de Santa María *limpieza de sangre*, and at about the same time Alonso de Burgos's Dominican order found that he too was deserving of this status.[127] And, as Jorge Díaz Ibáñez has pointed out, it was the presence and strength of the Converso contingent in Burgos Cathedral that avoided the establishment of the Inquisition in that city for many decades.[128] In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Castile, patronage of devotional art and architecture could do more than save your soul; it could fashion you a new identity and, ultimately, save your life.

127 See above, notes 43 and 88.

128 Jorge Díaz Ibáñez, "Un eclesiástico de las élites judeoconversas castellanas a fines le siglo XV," p. 315.

CHAPTER 3

Genealogy, Jewish Conversos, and Urban Conflict in Golden Age Spain. The *Linajudos*

Enrique Soria Mesa

Early modern Spain was many things, most of them contradictory. In theory, it was a society of fixed estates, yet beneath the surface, powerful economic forces churned, paving the way for a society of classes.[1] The royal court, likewise, presented an image of static hierarchy, while being dominated, in reality, by irresistible processes of social mobility. A racist mental universe, presided over by discriminatory laws directed against the numerous descendants of Jews, supposedly excluding them from power and prestige, coexisted with an actual public life in which the unstoppable advancement of Jewish converts frequently enjoyed the surreptitious acquiescence of the powers-that-be.[2]

The existence of thousands of royal servants of ostensible noble ancestry into which a Jewish element was incorporated, beginning in the 15th century, rendered any systematic application of the increasingly widespread purity of blood statues impossible. A significant portion of the aristocracy had Jewish blood in their lineage, but that proportion increases dramatically if we lower our sights to mid-level nobility, particularly where the urban patriciate was concerned. Judges, aldermen, jurymen, canons, prebendaries, bishops, councilmen, high-ranking military officials; all were affected by this *stain*, which in theory ought to have blocked them from exercising any significant office, or enjoying honors, titles, or other public distinctions.

The solution adopted by the system was at bottom simple, though quite complex in its manifestations. It was a matter of dissembling, of looking the other way, if you will, of allowing fraud in genealogical proofs, and sometimes, I am quite certain, having analyzed thousands of these files, encouraging it.

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* Translated by William P. Childers.

1 This study was produced as part of the Research Project *Nobles judeoconversos (II). La proyección patrimonial de las élites judeoconversas andaluzas* (HAR2015-68577), which is financed by the Ministry of Economy and Competitivity, and of which I am the Lead Investigator.

2 Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una Inquisición conversa. La presencia de judeoconversos entre los ministros del Santo Oficio," in Ana I. López-Salazar Codes and Francisco J. Moreno Díaz del Campo coords., *La Monarquía Hispánica y las minorías. Élites, poder e instituciones en la España de los Austrias*, Madrid, 2019, pp. 153–176.

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One could be a Converso of Jewish origin and reach the highest echelons of Spanish sixteenth- and seventeenth-century society. What was absolutely out of the question, however, was to publicly acknowledge that origin or let knowledge of it leak out into the general population.

Thus, the tens of thousands of *probanzas* (examinations for public office or honors) amassed in the Spain of the Ancien Regime contain truth and falsehood in equal parts. And in thousands of them, just about everything is embellished, manipulated, or refashioned. Witnesses were bribed or, when that did not work, threatened. Corruption among informants and judges alike was commonplace, even if not demonstrable in an outright majority of cases; bribery was the order of the day. And documents were manipulated with relative ease in order to demonstrate an ancestry as reliably Old Christian as it was fabricated.

I have personally devoted several books and a few dozen articles to the topic.[3] And yes, many cases did turn up of personal tragedies of men and women who

3 Among these books and articles are the following: *El cambio inmóvil. Transformaciones y permanencias en una elite de poder* (*Córdoba, siglos XVI–XIX*), Córdoba, 2000; *La nobleza en la España Moderna. Cambio y continuidad*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2007; *Linajes granadinos*, Granada, 2008; *El origen judío de Góngora*, Córdoba, 2015; *La realidad tras el espejo. Ascenso social y limpieza de sangre en la España de Felipe II*, Valladolid, 2016; "Genealogía y poder. Invención del pasado y ascenso social en la España Moderna," *Estudis* 30 (2004), pp. 21–55; "La imagen del poder. Un acercamiento a las prácticas de visualización del poder en la España Moderna," *Historia y Genealogía*, 1 (2011), pp. 5–10; "Los estatutos municipales de limpieza de sangre en la Castilla moderna. Una revisión crítica," *Mediterranea. Ricerche Storiche*, 27 (abril de 2013), pp. 9–36; "Los judeoconversos de Baena (siglos XV–XVII). Rechazo e integración social," *Itvci*, 4 (2014), pp. 95–106; "De la represión inquisitorial al éxito social. La capacidad de recuperación de los judeoconversos andaluces entre los siglos XV–XVII: el ejemplo del linaje Herrera," *Medievalismo*, 24 (2014), pp. 401–419; "El negocio del siglo. Los judeoconversos y la Renta de la Seda del Reino de Granada (siglo XVI)," *Hispania*, 253 (2016), pp. 415–444; "Juan Rufo, judeoconverso. El origen judío del autor de la Austriada," *Creneida*, 6 (2018), pp. 8–45; "El patrimonio histórico-artístico de las élites judeoconversas españolas. Propuesta de análisis desde la historia social," *Mediterranea. Ricerche Storiche*, 46 (agosto de 2019), pp. 251–276; "Nobles advenedizos. La nobleza del reino de Granada en el siglo XVI," in E. Belenguer Cebrià coord., *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, vol. 2, *Los grupos sociales*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 61–75; "Las oligarquías de señorío en la Andalucía Moderna. Estado de la cuestión y líneas de investigación," in J. M. de Bernardo Ares and J. M. González Beltrán eds., *La Administración Municipal en la Edad Moderna. Actas de la V Reunión Científica de la Asociación Española de Historia Moderna*, Cádiz, 1999, II, pp. 637–643; "Los judeoconversos granadinos en el siglo XVI: Nuevas fuentes, nuevas miradas," in Antonio Luis Cortés Peña and Miguel Luis López-Guadalupe eds., *Estudios sobre Iglesia y Sociedad en Andalucía en la Edad Moderna*, Granada, 1999, pp. 101–109; "Tomando nombres ajenos. La usurpación de apellidos como estrategia de ascenso social en el seno de la élite granadina durante la Época Moderna," in E. Soria Mesa, J. J. Bravo Caro and J. M. Delgado Barrado coords., *Las élites en la Época Moderna: la Monarquía Española*. I. *Visiones generales*, Córdoba, 2009, pp. 9–28.

were victims of humiliating scandal and stinging gossip. But those were almost always individual dramas, in the face of the larger collective success. That is, for every knight of Santiago whose proof of purity of blood was put on hold for years and years due to suspicion of Converso ancestry, there were dozens that received quick, effortless approval. For each habit in a Military Order denied, for each application to be a familiar of the Holy Office rejected, hundreds of claimants came through their dangerous ordeal unscathed. And even those who did not get what they were after were usually followed, within a few decades, by nephews, sons, or grandsons who succeeded where they had failed. Examples of this can be offered *ad nauseam*.

All this in the very heart of a society where genealogy was everything. Knowledge of one's own and others' ancestors was part of everyday life, even for the humblest folk, not to mention among the dominant classes. This was not just out of vanity or as part of the social control intrinsic to all collectivities of the period, but out of pure necessity. Personal passions aside, to know the names and circumstances of all one's relatives up to the fourth degree was obligatory for numerous matters, including kinship dispensations in lawsuits over entailed property, obtainment of dowries from familial trusts, claiming of chaplaincies, or demonstrating witness disinterest in litigation proceedings. This meant that everyone who was anyone, from those of middling wealth to the very top of the social pyramid, had to prove their lineage over and over again. Thus, genealogy was an art cultivated assiduously by an unending series of writers, from the mediocre to the most talented, from mere hobbyists to real professionals. It is no accident that several of the greatest practitioners of this particular literary form flourished in this era: Argote de Molina, Garibay, López de Haro, Salazar de Mendoza, and Pellicer de Tovar—all of them true sons of the Spanish Golden Age.[4]

The proliferation of treatises and narrative portrayals of specific private families is linked to the avalanche of city histories, tales of the illustrious past of the *urbis*, about which much remains to be said. Nor is it accidental that it was precisely at this time that the phenomenon reached its zenith, with annals and chronicles of cities and large towns appearing across the length and breadth of the national topography. All of them, in one way or another, contain genealogies of the leading local pedigrees, always transformed into nobles of ancient stamp.

This is the complex political and social universe into which the present article must be inserted: a society that rejected the Conversos in theory, but through turning a blind eye to systematic genealogical manipulation, admitted them in practice. And in this context, we find a series of individuals who used

4 Enrique Soria Mesa, *La biblioteca genealógica de don Luis de Salazar y Castro*, Córdoba, 1997.

their genealogical knowledge to benefit financially from the Conversos' social ambitions, or merely stymie them. I am speaking of the *linajudos*.

1 The *Linajudos*

The usual thing, where the possible Converso origin of important personalities of the Golden Age is concerned—especially in the case of men and women who may be considered intellectuals, including novelists, poets, dramatists, or any sort of creative artists—has been to reject out of hand their Jewish descent, in spite of the indications, or even in the face of definite proof. Here we navigate rough water, which at times threatens to capsize us.

On the one hand, we have to deal with a toxic postmodernism, which focuses exclusively on the author's genius, denying as it does any heuristic value to such variables as *Zeitgeist*, social origin, economic circumstances, or, as we are dealing with here, ethno-religious background. On the other hand, we have to contend with the weight of inertia. What was said of someone decades, or even centuries ago, remains the foundation on which the new edifice is constructed, which explains the weak basis of many supposedly reconstructed biographies. Not to mention the frequent use for this purpose of hagiographic sources, in which the figures under study are nearly always presented as pure-blooded, and often of high aristocratic birth to boot. Having begun the account of biases in this area, we cannot leave out antisemitism. I refer to the prejudice that, consciously or unconsciously, still inhabits the minds of many authors, preventing them from recognizing that this or that Catholic saint descends on one or more sides from Jewish ancestors. The well-known cases of Saint Teresa de Jesús until the 1980s, or of Saint John of Ávila until even more recently, attest to the scope of the problem.

When faced with this question, biographers resort to several approaches. Some simply ignore it, if it is not too notorious. If there is no getting around the fact, it is often dealt with as a *mere drop* of Jewish blood in an Old Christian ocean, a remote inheritance that meant nothing to the individual in question, given that the Jewishness of that ancestor was far in the past, and moreover entirely unknown to him or her and, it goes without saying, to the general public at the time. All of which is to say, strictly speaking such figures should not be considered Conversos, as that reality did not affect them in the least.[5] Documentary evidence to the contrary is often simply described as the work of

5 For clarification on this point, see Jean Pierre Dedieu's article, "¿Pecado original o pecado social? Reflexiones en torno a la constitución y a la definición del grupo judeoconverso en Castilla," *Manuscrits* 10 (1992), pp. 61–76.

enemies: anonymous denunciations or genealogical proofs offered exclusively due to hatred toward candidates or their families, and for that reason entirely questionable.

Having consulted thousands of proofs presented for entry into Military Orders, recognition of noble status, and for positions in the Inquisition or a cathedral, brotherhood, or college, I have absolutely no doubt that in fact the very opposite was the case. It is *only* their enemies who tell the truth about the parentage of applicants to occupy an administrative post or obtain some distinction or honor. Of course, such testimony tends to be exaggerated, twisted around, and mixed with outright lies or errors of fact, but these accusations always contain a grain of truth. And this truth is inferred or revealed outright when the proof adduced is cross-referenced with information from other archives, rather than relying on a single documentary source, as, unfortunately, too many researchers often do.

When the applicant for some favor possesses significant social power, the normal thing is for the witnesses to lie or to remain silent about what they know. A cloak of silence extends over all who testify, covering over defective bloodlines and allowing only the family's achievements to shine through. Some lie for money; others, for fear; many, the Conversos, out of group solidarity; even the nobles, giving new meaning to "*noblesse oblige*."

Thus, it is the enemies who put us on the track of the underlying currents beneath the deceptively calm surface of candidates' genealogies. Exaggerating, lying, and distorting, to be sure, but by the same token introducing highly valuable data that needs to be sifted in each case and always contextualized through the crucial method of cross-referencing sources. Among these enemies, the most important of all are the *linajudos*.

2 Definition and Historiography

There are three definitions of the term "linajudo," all three of which were current in early modern Spain. The word was used, in the augmentative sense, to refer to people of very great lineage, that is, of highly noble genealogy. That is not the meaning under discussion here. Nor am I interested in a second meaning, referring to those men and women who know a lot about lineages, amateur genealogists who possess vast knowledge of such abstruse material and whose expertise is known to their neighbors.

No, it is really the third definition that applies in this case. To be sure, it relates directly to the second and derives from it, albeit perversely. *Linajudos*, in the sense employed here, are "those who used their genealogical knowledge

to blackmail candidates who had to pass through any type of examination of nobility or purity of blood."[6]

On this subject, as I have already mentioned in passing, very little has been published. There are almost no focused studies to speak of, and just a few tangential references, though some of these are by authors as prominent as Julio Caro Baroja or Antonio Domínguez Ortiz. The latter managed, as usual, to intuit how interesting a phenomenon it was, doubtlessly in part due to his detailed knowledge of Sevillian history, for that city gave rise to some of the principal cases in all of Spain, or at least to some of the best-known ones. Indeed, centuries ago this topic was already mentioned in several chronicles and local histories.[7]

In fact, the only book that specifically deals with this issue focuses precisely on the *linajudos* of Seville. This is Ruth Pike's excellent volume, which brings together several previously published articles, as well as adding new material.[8] The author, a recognized specialist in the social history of early modern Spain,[9] kept coming across the phenomenon of the *linajudo* as she sought to reconstruct the world of Sevillian elites and their inextricable relations with Jewish converts, and she was discerning enough to see the significance of the topic. Other than this, we find a few passing references to this theme in established authors such as Jaime Contreras,[10] or in other more recent publications, such as the pages that have been written about one of the leading *linajudos*, Don Francisco de Pie de Concha.[11] Also deserving of mention here is an article by Domingo M. Giménez, focused on the recurring case of Seville, as are several articles by Juan Cartaya Baños.[12]

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6 Enrique Soria Mesa, "Tomando nombres ajenos …"

7 For example, the legal battles described by Justino Matute y Gaviria in *Noticias relativas a la historia de Sevilla, que no constan en sus Anales. Recogidas de diversos impresos y manuscritos*, Seville, 1886.

8 Ruth Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville. Greed and Prejudice in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Spain*, New York, 2000.

9 Ruth Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes. La sociedad sevillana en el siglo XVI*, Barcelona, 1978.

10 Jaime Contreras, "Linajes y cambio social: la manipulación de la memoria," *Historia Social* 21 (1995), pp. 105–124.

11 Valentín Moreno Gallego, "Sangre y tinta. Linajes y libros en el genealogista Pie de Concha (1600): en torno a un índice de procedencias," in Pedro M. Cátedra and Ma Luisa López-Vidriero (Dirs.), *De Libros, Librerías, Imprentas y* Lectores, Salamanca, 2002, pp. 261–283.

12 Domingo M. Giménez Carrillo, "El oficio de linajudo. Extorsión en torno a hábitos de órdenes militares en Sevilla en el siglo XVII," *Chronica Nova* 37 (2011), pp. 331–348; Juan Cartaya Baños, *La 'pasión' de don Fernando de Añasco. Limpieza de sangre y conflicto social en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro*, Seville, 2014.

As far as I know, that is the end of the list, except for what I have devoted to this subject myself. Nearly twenty-five years ago I first came across it when I was analyzing the figure of one of the leading genealogists of the Golden Age, Dr. Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, Canon of Toledo, whose masterpiece on the *Origin of Secular Offices in Castille and Leon* I was re-editing. In the course of studying this illustrious, if rather forgotten, historian and genealogist, I stumbled across a facet of his personality that turned out to be much darker and infinitely less honest than his parallel work establishing historical veracity.[13] Other than that, I should mention a study I did on this question in the geographical context of the Kingdom of Granada, where, for the first time that I am aware of, the essential characteristics of the *linajudos* as a group were analyzed, with discussion of their methods, typical features, and other elements, a model elevated in these pages to the status of a specific social category.[14]

3 Presence in Period Sources

Despite our lack of familiarity with the topic today, the *linajudos* were a strong presence in early modern society. It is enough to peer into a few controversial examinations of purity of blood from the late sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth to meet with this type of criminal. They are not found in all cases, far from it, but they abound if one digs around enough in these fascinating archival documents so beloved of social historians. They are also found in the literature of the period. This is how Juan de Zabaleta describes a *linajudo* in 1654:

> After mass, on his way out of church, sidling up to a column to chat with others, the *linajudo* raises his eyes and sees, hanging on the wall, some cloths with signs on them, popularly known as *sambenitos*, where the names and offenses are written of some who have been punished by the Holy Office of the Inquisition; he settles in to read them very slowly. This is no injustice, for indeed that is what they are there for; but one must be very prudent in employing such information.[15]

13 *Origen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y León*. Granada, 1998. My introductory study occupies pp. 1–44.

14 Enrique Soria Mesa, "Los Linajudos. Honor y conflicto social en la Granada del Siglo de Oro," in Julián Lozano Navarro and Juan Luis Castellano coords., *Violencia y conflictividad en el universo barroco*, Granada, 2010, pp. 401–427.

15 Juan de Zabaleta, *El día de fiesta por la mañana y por la tarde*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 270–271.

In fact, it must have been such a well-known question, and at times such a burning one, that there is no lack of literary references. In some cases they are ironic ones, an indication that the informed reader needed no further explanations to get the joke. This is what happens in a little known text by Quevedo, who, referring to the origin of the Spanish language, mentions the *linajudos of vocables*, "who unearth the bones of dead words."[16] As the same author brilliantly puts it on another occasion, recommending readers not to probe too deeply into their own ancestry: "Don't disturb the bones in their sepulchres, for you will find more worms than coats-of-arms in re-examining witnesses, and hunting for more evidence you may end up finding some who were burned at the stake."[17]

4 Modus Operandi. Associations and Groups

The method of operation used by the *linajudos* follows the same general pattern, although as stands to reason it changes over time, adjusting to every particular occasion. In the first place, it is necessary to clarify that we are talking about porous groups, with flexible and often blurred boundaries, not a fixed set of members. Many individuals come and go in the documentation, though there is also a core of *linajudos* that remains stable for years. Moreover, as Ruth Pike wisely noted in the case of Seville, groupings of *linajudos* are eventually replaced. There does not seem to me to be any continuity with those who came before; rather, new groups are brought together in response to changing circumstances as the decades pass.

The phenomenon is further complicated by the fact, of which I am certain, that these *professional blackmailers*, if I may be allowed the expression, were joined at times by other individuals whose main interest was not monetary. Moved by envy, by hatred and rivalry, or even by an authentic concern for nobility of blood, irritation at seeing so many exalted Conversos obtaining habits in the Military Orders. A sign of the times in a society obsessed with honor.

Be that as it may, the entire process usually begins with one or more meetings among these murky fellows, referred to in the documents as *juntas* (gatherings) or *cofradías* (conclaves), always occasioned by news of someone making a claim that would require justification of his lineage: a habit in a Military Order or being named a familiar to the Holy Office. Having discovered, by means of

16 Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, *Cuento de cuentos*, Antwerp, 1699.

17 Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, *Obra poética* (José Manuel Blecua, ed.), Madrid, 1969, p. 213.

the genealogical knowledge of some of their number, that the individual in question faced possible difficulties with purity of blood, the extortionists met to prepare their plan.

The next step was to inform the candidate, or one of his close relatives, depending on the case, of the problems that might emerge during the upcoming investigation, unless they received a considerable sum of money. It is not possible to ascertain how brazen this proposition would be, if it was subtle or to-the-point. In any case, this is a crucial stage, as in many instances, perhaps the majority, the motive of the crime was not personal animosity but greed. And undoubtedly many candidacies for habits of Santiago, Calatrava, or Alcántara went forward without a hitch because several thousand *reales* were paid under the table. Because of the lack of denunciations we will never know for sure, but we can assume this to be the case, given the *impure* origin of many of the newly-dubbed knights.

In effect, if no monetary agreement was reached, the procedure consisted in releasing some half-hidden accusation against the applicant's purity of blood once the genealogical investigation had begun, thereby opening the door to subsequent attacks if the threat did not force the candidate or his close associates to reconsider the *linajudos*' offer. This tactic, based more on insinuations than on explicit allegations, seems to have succeeded as the aspirant recognized the obstacles that would be placed in his path if he did not knuckle under and accede to his blackmailers' demands.

And, of course, if no agreement was reached, the *linajudos* would unleash a total offensive against the qualifications of the one who hoped to become a knight of whichever Military Order, or join the ranks of the Inquisition. As witnesses, they would say everything, whether true or imagined, that could damage the candidate's ancestry, bringing to light any stains that could defame him, ensuring at the very least a delay in the case of several years, or in the best scenario from their point of view, its outright rejection.

The method by means of which the annihilation of the applicant was achieved was for the witnesses to refer to one another in their testimony, indicating that they had heard this or that commentary on the lack of blood purity in the candidate from the mouth of certain individuals who habitually gave evidence. These professional witnesses are often referred to in the examinations as *poor wretches* who sold themselves to the highest bidder.

It is clear from the documentation that *linajudos* always worked in groups, never alone. They tend to be spoken of in the plural, with emphasis placed on the formal or informal relations that constitute them as a unit: kinship ties, sometimes, but most often client networks and friendship. This is why the documents speak of "meetings" (*juntas*) and "squadrons" (*cuadrillas*). Let us consider a few examples.

In a case from Extremadura, reference is made to the Bachelor Alonso Hernández Osorio Villafranca, resident in Llerena, "in whose house a meeting was held to induce witnesses to swear against the said Agustín Guerrero."[18] For his part, Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, lord of Buenache, noble on his father's side and a descendant of Jewish converts on *all* sides, protested in an affidavit against the halting in 1622 of his examination of blood purity for a habit of Santiago:

> By no means have I any kinship with the said Alonso Álvarez, as the Council is aware; and the aforesaid is pure-blooded, as that same Salazar de Mendoza previously testified in examinations for the habit of Suero de Vega. Thus his malice is plain to see, as he makes the same person bad or good as it suits him. That he and his squadron have tyrannized Toledo is a well-known fact, for they go around saying that they can confer or revoke membership in military orders, colleges, or churches as they see fit. And this maliciousness is confirmed by many witnesses in *league* with them, who, when the time comes to declare under solemn oath, finally admit the truth, denying what others affirm, in such a way that their declarations are shown to be biased and false, not one of them agreeing with any other in the rumors they are trying to spread; rather, each one gives a different basis for the lie, in such a way that by their own confession their perjury is revealed.[19]

A similar case occurred in Villafranca del Bierzo (León), where Don Antonio Toledo y Toledo, who was applying for entry into the order of Santiago, found his ancestry questioned by certain people who "banded together to form a league and confederation, holding both public and secret meetings. And they sent to Orense for Don Juan de Villamarín Mosquera [...] and met at his house and in other places, by night and by day."[20] And in the city of Baeza, in 1590, we are told that "there was a *squadron* of men who would swear falsely in any examination of nobility, and for this reason many residents in that city presented petitions before local officials claiming that they were nobles (*hijosdalgo*)."[21]

At this same time, in the city of Granada, some of the witnesses in Don Luis y Vivero y Velsasco's *probanza* to enter the Order of Santiago held private meetings to speak ill of the applicant and prepare as a group the declarations they

18 Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Inquisición, 1379, 16.

19 AHN, Órdenes Militares (OM), Alcántara, exp. 1334 (Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Buenache, 1626).

20 AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 8086 (Don Antonio de Toledo y Toledo, Villafranca del Bierzo, 1655).

21 Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla, 2724.

would make before the powers that be. Concretely, Pedro de Palomares, secretary of the Granada *Audiencia*, declared of the Licentiate Rodrigo de Carvajal that, "it is known in this place that in his house certain ill-meaning people hold meetings to discuss the qualities of citizens." Meanwhile, Carlos de Mendoza y Valdivia, choirmaster of the Granada Cathedral, "knows for certain that in Darro street and other places there are *meetings* of libelous people in this city, with evil tongues, who attribute faults and qualities to people that they do not really have."[22]

Let us finish this account with a case from Cuenca. Here the Montemayor family, members of the urban oligarchy of the city, tried to erase the memory of their ancestors who had been condemned by the Inquisition, passing themselves off as nobles of old stock. They took advantage of the similarity between their surname and that of a prominent branch of the aristocratic Fernández de Córdoba dynasty, a perfect example of the practice I have come to term "usurping of surnames."[23] When the time came for the complicated demonstration of the family claim to nobility, based on lies, falsification of documents, and perjured testimony, their efforts were nearly scuttled by the appearance on the scene of a group of *linajudos*, many of them belonging to the same social category as the pretenders. In this particular case, prominent among their enemies was the Cetina family, "in whose house they had all gathered and conspired to bear witness against the said Don Juan and his family."[24]

5 Motivation

Multiple and varied motives incited these groups of blackmailers to testify. This diversity was a result of the diverse set of human beings who made up the ensemble of *linajudos*, which changed over time, due to the death of some and the addition of others, as well as those who worked from the margins.

The primary motivation for all of them, of this there can be no doubt, was money. The possibilities for enrichment from blackmail were obvious, and it is evident that this was the main reason for the emergence of these crews. This is intuitively logical, but it is also attested in a multitude of contemporary

22 AHN, OM, Santiago, 9010 (Don Luis de Vivero y Velasco, Cholula, 1615).

23 Enrique Soria Mesa, "En los límites de la herencia inmaterial. La usurpación de apellidos en la España Moderna como estrategia de ascenso social," in José Ignacio Fortea Pérez, Juan Eloy Gelabert González, Roberto López Vela and Elena Postigo Castellanos coords., *Monarquías en conflicto. Linajes y noblezas en la articulación de la Monarquía Hispánica*, Santander, 2020, pp. 261–297.

24 Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, 9809, 3 (1638).

documentary references. To mention only one rather late example, in the very controversial proofs on behalf of don Alonso de Santa María Valderrama, candidate for canon of the Cathedral of Córdoba (1685), the following is affirmed of the office of *linajudo*:

> A half dozen men of this city, namely Pedro López del Prado, Juan Vizcaíno, Luis de Montes Doca, Don Juan de Velasco, Bartolomé Juárez and others like them, have made this a lucrative business. They eat and clothe themselves from making Old Christians, and for this the Tribunal has agreed not to examine any of these cases based on false, bribed witnesses.[25]

Similarly, as has already been said, the *linajudos*' plot has to be completed with the participation of others, the more the better, who testify confirming what the leaders of the group have indicated. These are poor witnesses, in general, who repeat what their masters or acquaintances have told them in exchange for a few coins. This practice must have been quite common, as it is systematically repeated in the *tachas*, or arguments against opposing witnesses, for example in the *pleitos de hidalguía* (suits to certify nobility of status). In a society where genealogy was everything, and where it was customary for anyone who was anyone to have repeatedly and obsessively to prove their ancestry, we should not be surprised that some tried to make a profit by it, if only a grubbing one. Thus, in Córdoba we are told of one Juan Rodríguez Fontalba, resident in that city, a poor, wretched man, that "was and is of the gang and league of false witnesses that exists." Meanwhile in Granada they speak of certain old, poor witnesses "who have made it their trade to be merchants in this business, by means of which they earn many ducats, and like a brotherhood they communicate and hold meetings and collude."[26]

Money aside, we cannot fail to mention other motivations of a more emotive kind, without a doubt recurrent in the period. Among these, of course, were enmity and rivalry, personal concerns that often persisted across generations. But it is more interesting from a sociological point of view to focus on the rancor generated by envy of the social climbers who were so prosperous at the time. In 1645 the question was laid bare by as illustrious a personage as Fray Domingo Pimentel, the bishop of Córdoba, who at the time was testifying as a witness in the inquiry for the induction into the order of Santiago of the rich Converso Don Francisco Gómez de Torres. Here was an aspirant whose

25 Archivo de la Catedral de Córdoba, limpiezas de sangre, leg. 5035.

26 AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 1874 (Don Luis de Cepeda y Ayala, Granada, 1624).

grandparents were all descended from Jews, with no authentic noble ancestry at all. The prelate, referring to the local *linajudos*, acknowledged that "in this city there are gentlemen and other people whose intentions are not good," who lie in giving evidence in such inquiries, "some for caprice, others for their own personal interests." And he added a very revealing phrase: "It is a general maxim they follow in this city, not to allow any stranger unconnected to them by marriage, to undertake such claims."[27]

Even clearer, if that were possible, is a case from Villafranca del Bierzo, a town in the kingdom of León, where we find a society ruled by the local marquis with an iron hand. Over the course of several centuries, successive marquises of Villafranca protected an extensive series of servants, many of whom came to occupy important administrative posts and were eventually declared to be of noble blood, despite the fact that most of them were of Jewish ancestry. This lordly protection raised them quickly above the established local lineages, based on ancient, untarnished nobility, but possessed of scant economic means. Envy ensued and, consequently, hatred. This happened, to cite but one example, with the Sosa family, doctors and merchants of definite Jewish origin, elevated to the highest level of administration in the Marquesado of Villafranca del Bierzo. Their descendants eventually were able to obtain the favor of habits in the Military Orders, arousing inevitable rivalry with the local old guard. The resentment they felt is evident in Don Pedro de Valcárcel Teijeiro's probanza for entry into the Order of Alcántara, in which one witness mentions that there have been "meetings to organize opposition to the candidate." And he adds that those in opposition "aim at preventing the candidate from receiving the requested habit because they resent anyone being elevated over them, and particularly Antonio de Solís, the leader of the said gang, who has never allowed any resident to achieve any kind of distinction without opposing it."[28]

6 Genealogical Knowledge

One of the great interrogatives presented by the study of the *linajudos* is to know how they acquired the levels of genealogical knowledge necessary to block any claim they chose. That is, how were they able to trace someone else's genealogy five, six, seven, or even more generations, until they reached the remote Jewish ancestor? After all, they needed to either find out the truth,

27 AHN, OM, Santiago, 3491 (Don Francisco Gómez de Torres, Córdoba, 1645).
28 AHN, Órdenes Militares, Alcántara, exp. 1539 (Don Pedro de Valcárcel Tejeiro, 1639).

or at least pose the problem in a convincing light, so as to cause the greatest possible damage.

Evidently, they were amateur genealogists, of a higher or lower level, who not only possessed a vast memory, but who could also count on an excellent personal library of their own, in addition to having access to treatises and family histories of all sorts, property of friends or relatives. But this was still not enough, far from it, since none of these writings, whether printed or in manuscript, would have anything to say about the besmirched ancestry of this or that family. Just the opposite, indeed. They had to have recourse to other sources, which were much more accurate, but also more dangerous.

The first resource they doubtless would use, whose value was shown in the quotation above from Juan de Zabaleta, was the careful reading of the thousands of *sambenitos* that sadly adorned the walls of many churches in Spain at that time. To ensure the eternal infamy of tainted lineages, these ghastly tunics hung with labels giving the name, surnames, sometimes the parents' names, the type of crime and the punishment, along with the date of that punishment, for all who were *reconciliados* (reconciled), *penitenciados* (made to serve penance, usually involving some imprisonment), or *relajados* (condemned to death) by the Inquisition.

Strolling beneath this horrific landscape permitted many to commit to memory lists of men and women who had suffered inquisitorial repression, and to keep track of their surnames, above all the most recognizable and distinctive. These surnames therefore became known everywhere, especially in medium-sized and smaller towns, where they were still the subject of gossip at the end of the eighteenth century. As late as 1794, on the occasion of some unremarkable proofs of purity and nobility of blood for the recently founded Order of Charles III, a witness declared:

> Although he was aware that in towns like this one there was no lack of lettered men or others considered knowledgeable in genealogy and zealous in the defense of familial honour, yet due either to their depraved intention or to ignorance, people will talk in public and in secret about what they should not, inform concerning what they do not understand, and weave sinister genealogies, basing themselves on the evil reputation of a few surnames.[29]

29 AHN, Estado, Carlos III, exp. 836. Genealogical proofs of Don Manuel Gutiérrez de Salamanca, resident in Aguilar de la Frontera (Córdoba). Declaration by Don Francisco José de Tejada, captain of Marine Infantry, born in and resident of this city, folio 78v.

This approach allowed the *linajudos* to guess right on occasion, but caused serious problems in most cases, due to the lack of precision. To outflank them, it was enough to prove that one was not descended from the individual in question, but rather from a different lineage. In the case of common surnames, accusations were quite easy to refute. All that was needed was a more reliable documentary source, more closely linked to the specific candidate's authentic genealogy. It was for this purpose that the *libros verdes* ("green books") were created, which were frequently employed during those decades and thus well known at the time, but today are all but forgotten.[30] Under this general heading are grouped collections of lineages, almost always compiled with nefarious intent. They trace back an unbroken line from the present to the earliest Conversos in each line, generally to those condemned by the Inquisition in its foundational period. That is, they link the most noble and prestigious local families with their authentic ancestors, in order to use this material as a basis for future blackmail.

The most famous of all of them was the *Tizón de la nobleza española* (*Soot to Blacken the Nobility of Spain*), a manuscript prepared by Cardenal Mendoza y Bobadilla, a fine mid-sixteenth-century genealogist,[31] who wrote it in revenge for the disclosure of the Jewish ancestry of the sons of the marquis of Cañete, his nephews. In its pages we find numerous exaggerations and errors, some of them committed by the copyists who reproduced it and spread it throughout Spain. It was a version on paper of what everyone knew, gossiped about, and kept secret concerning the true condition of the haughty Hispanic aristocracy.[32]

The other major representative of this current was the so-called *Libro Verde de Aragón* (*Green Book of Aragón*), so accurate in its information that the Inquisition itself made use of it for its own purposes.[33] Many aristocrats and patriarchs of the kingdom were paraded in its pages. Beyond these two cases, known to all, the green books in general must have been nearly omnipresent

30 See, for example, what I have written on this subject: Enrique Soria Mesa, *La realidad tras el espejo* …

31 As the great treatise writer Salazar y Castro described him. Enrique Soria Mesa *La biblioteca genealógica de don Luis de Salazar y Castro*, Córdoba, 1997, pp. 43–44.

32 This book, of which no critical edition has yet been made, was published for the first time in 1849.

33 I demonstrated this years ago with a concrete instance: Enrique Soria Mesa, "Genealogía y poder. Invención del pasado y ascenso social en la España Moderna," *Estudis* 30 (2004), pp. 21–55. This work was edited by Isidoro de las Cagigas, *Libro Verde de Aragón*, Madrid, 1929, and *El Libro Verde de Aragón*, Zaragoza, 2003. There is also a recent edition by Monique Combescure Thiry, Zaragoza, 2003. See also the interesting article by Víctor Infantes, "Luceros y Tizones: biografía nobiliaria y venganza política en el Siglo de Oro," *El Crotalón* 1 (1984), pp. 115–127.

between the mid-sixteenth century and the end of the 1600s. This is attested by testimony of diverse kinds from opposite ends of the Spain. Thus, for example, the writer Luis de Salazar y Castro informs us that:

> Don Luis Enríquez de Navarra, warden-for-life of the castle at Almansa, knight of the Order of Montesa and president of that Order in the Province of La Mancha, is very knowledgeable of the genealogies of his region and of the Kingdom of Murcia. In addition to having arranged them himself in a number of pamphlets, he is in possession of an antique book concerning the leading families, which has been passed down in his house from father to son, and which is very accurate.[34]

While the previous quote does not specify the function of Luis Enriquez's manuscript, referring only to his genealogical knowledge generally, in other cases the purpose of these compilations is stated quite frankly. In Baza (Granada), a gang of *linajudos* at the beginning of the sixteenth century had "a book they called the *Green Book of Genealogies*, belonging to Dr. Cristóbal Chirinos, canon of the Church, and the commissary of the Holy Office in this city knows all about it."[35] Still within the confines of the same kingdom, around the same time, it was said of the Licenciate Montenegro, a lawyer from Loja, that he was "such a *linajudo* that he had a book listing all the lineages in that city, organized by the Jews or commoners running through them, and we have seen that book many times."[36]

Let us finish this accounting in the North, in Cantabria. There we find the following statement in a deposition:

> This witness had a brother named Rodrigo Sánchez de Cerecedo Alvear, who was very diligent in gathering information about the qualities and lineages of this region of the Montaña, concerning those that were questionable, which ones paid the *martiniega* tax, paid by those who were not considered noblemen. [...] And in those books he also had written down those who were nobles and of quality. [...] And this witness burned those books so no memory would remain of them, because they dealt with matters damaging to some people of good reputation.[37]

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34 Enrique Soria Mesa, *La biblioteca genealógica* ..., p. 128.

35 AHN, Inquisición, 1478, 18.

36 AHN, OM, Calatrava, exp. 2266 (Don Pedro de Rosales y Escalona, Antequera. 1651).

37 José Antonio González Cerecedo, *El viejo hogar* (*I*). *Los Cerecedo. Una historia familiar en la Junta de Voto*, Madrid, 2010.

7 Corruption in the Inquisition

But of course, to connect the present with the past, genealogically uniting those alive now with those condemned by the Inquisition a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago, it was necessary to have access to information not available to just anybody—firsthand data only at the disposal of the Inquisition itself, locked away in their Secret Archive.

In the headquarters of each tribunal of the Holy Office was an archive (the *Secreto*) in which were conserved, among many other things, the trial records of thousands of people accused of crimes against the faith, all of them (especially if they took place from the second decade of the sixteenth century onward) filled with genealogical data. This was due to the fact that during the court proceedings the accused were interrogated regarding their ancestry and collateral kin (parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, nephews and nieces, children …).

Moreover, during the course of the following half century, the Holy Office summoned thousands of descendants of condemned Conversos to appear before them, to provide information on their parentage, tracing the links among those reconciled, penanced, or executed by the Inquisition from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The Inquisitors were moved to do this, above all, because of the frequent changes of surname doggedly undertaken by many descendants of those who had been put on trial, in order to avoid as far as possible the oppressive social control to which they were subject. This was something the Inquisition was very clear about, as a few examples will show.

In 1573 the Toledo tribunal records that on behalf of the Supreme Council, "we are told that, given that the descendants of the condemned and reconciled are understood to change their names and surnames, taking others different from those of their ancestors, we should write at the bottom of their genealogies whatever new names they take."[38] For this purpose, they took testimony from the children, grandchildren, and even great-grandchildren of the formerly accused, calling them to a hearing in the headquarters of the tribunal or taking advantage of one of the obligatory visits to the district. The latter occurred in the city of Guadix (Granada) in 1614, when an inquisitor, Dr. Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria, during the afternoon session:

> In keeping with the letter from the Inquisitors of the Council sent on February 22, 1578, concerning the Conversos descended from those

38 AHN, Inquisición, 3071, 178.

> reconciled or condemned by the Holy Office of the Inquisition who have changed their names and the surnames of their ancestors, ordered that the aforesaid be called and interrogated concerning the book of their genealogies [...].[39]

All of this information, in reality a colossal database *avant la lettre*, constituted a ticking time bomb, a highly dangerous documentary hoard that had to be most carefully guarded. The slightest leak could affect the social harmony of cities and towns of the district, bringing to light the Jewish ancestry of many lineages belonging to local elites and even to the ruling nobility. If it got out, this highly combustible information could result in duels and stabbings, bitter rivalries, and confrontations of all sorts.

And precisely this was the resolute purpose of some of the would-be protectors of the secret archive. Many of the custodians of this information, risking all kinds of punishment, even excommunication, trafficked these sensitive facts, leaking for money the names, surnames, dates, and circumstances of the old Judaizers and their descendants, until they connected them to the powerful of the time, those who could lay claim, for example, to a habit in a Military Order, an inquisitorial ministry, or a canonry. This is the reason for some of the large fortunes amassed by certain secretaries of the Holy Office, low-level officials in the institutional hierarchy of the Tribunal of the Faith, who nonetheless, on all too many occasions, managed to accumulate great wealth; money which came, without the slightest doubt, from just this type of corruption.

A letter from 1655, addressed to the Supreme Council by the Granada Inquisitor Don Francisco de Lara, makes clear the level of corruption in his own tribunal:

> Your Eminence has heard how Don José de Alarcón and Don Jacinto del Espino, notaries of the *Secreto* in this Inquisition, take large sums of money from claimants, although not themselves involved in the litigation, and make public what the books in the archive of the Holy Office say concerning certain lineages, with the result that their reputations are damaged even if their claims succeed. [...] What I recognize after six years working in this Inquisition is that secrecy where purity of blood matters are concerned is very badly kept, and my presumption is that all

39 AHN, Inquisición, 2620.

> the notaries of the *Secreto* are guilty, because they all receive from the claimants whatever they can get them to give.[40]

Twenty years earlier it was his colleague, the Licentiate Gámiz, who denounced to the Supreme Council the porter of the Holy Office, Francisco Rodríguez, and his brother in law, Fray Salvador de Vergara, "for the crime they committed in forcing the plaintiffs, in inquiries undertaken to certify as familiars of the Holy Office, to pay the sum of money they demanded, or if they would not pay, they would let it be known that they were polluted."[41]

An amusing case is that of the Toledo Converso Jerónimo Hurtado, descended from Judaizers condemned by the Inquisition, yet a member of a family engaged in impressive processes of social ascent. He was involved in an interesting episode in the early seventeenth century, when he bribed the secretary of the Toledo inquisitorial tribunal, Jerónimo Hernández. To obtain his favour and, of course, his silence in the examination process for becoming an official of that institution, he sent him a servant with

> a basket of pieces of eight [coins worth eight *reales*] sewn into it, worth five hundred *reales* in total. The Secretary, believing they were just quarter coins [worth four *reales*], returned it saying he did not need payment. On hearing this, Jerónimo Hurtado told his servant to tell him that the coins were of silver, and that he should take a closer look. At which point the Secretary accepted the payment.[42]

Jean Pierre Dedieu remarked years ago on this venal character of the inquisitors:

> The secretaries of the tribunal occupy a key post: they may, through bureaucratic channels, speed up or slow down cases as they see fit. They remain in their jobs while inquisitors come and go, which gives them a lot of independence. They are the most corrupt. Thus we are told, for example, that Francisco de Párraga Vargas, who arrived in Toledo penniless, twenty years later, around 1640, had accumulated 40,000 ducats, as well as quite a lot of land. The inspector during the visitation proved, among other things, that he had received large sums from half a dozen claimants,

40 Rafael de Lera García, *El tribunal de la Inquisición de Granada: un poder económico y social (1570–1700)*, Madrid, 1994, Unpublished PhD diss., p. 51.

41 AHN, Inquisición, 2623, 120 (1634).

42 AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 3983 (Don Baltasar Hurtado de Chaves, Cajamarca, 1652).

> in exchange for which he dispatched commissions for inquiries without waiting for the prosecutor's report, forgot to charge fees, etc.[43]

And they bribed not only for money, but for something even more valuable in that era: excellent marriages, which gave them kinship ties to local nobility, even to titles of national renown. Such is the case, one of dozens, of Hermenegildo Hurtado de Mendoza, secretary of the Holy Office in Seville, who despite his high-sounding surname had little to recommend him as far as his person and his ancestry. His strategic position allowed him to become related to a noble lady, Doña Catalina Ramírez de Arellano, the daughter of Don Bartolomé Ramírez de Arellano y Toledo, a knight of Santiago, marquis of Gelo and of Villamaina, title that he showed off for the rest of his life as her consort, and that he left to his descendants.[44]

Not only secretaries participated in such corruption; we also find similar behavior among other members of the same institution. It is easy to imagine some officials of the Holy Office, familiars, commissaries, or notaries, aware of the defective bloodlines of certain local families, obtaining highly valuable data thanks to their access to their respective genealogical documentation. No matter how much they swore before the cross to keep the informers' disclosures secret, how many could resist the temptation to discuss among their friends the darkest secrets of their neighbors' ancestry?

This must have been one of the sources through which Don Manuel Antonio de Lastres y Baena conveniently found out about others' defects. He was one of the leading gentlemen of the town of Cabra (Córdoba) in the second half of the seventeenth century, an official of the Holy Office, and a *linajudo* according to the investigators who conducted the inquiries into the nobility and purity of blood for Don Juan Andrés Gómez de Aguilar y Aranda, graced with a habit of Santiago. In fact, in the margin of his testimony was added the accusation of being, in the entire town, the "leading slanderer."[45] Worse yet is the panorama presented in 1642 by the inquisitor himself, Don Diego Ozores de Sequeiros, who requested that the Council of the Inquisition "investigate a gang or band of officials of the Holy Office in the city of Málaga who have made it their

43 Jean Pierre Dedieu, "Limpieza, poder y riqueza. Requisitos para ser ministro de la Inquisición. Tribunal de Toledo, siglos XVI–XVII," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 14 (1993), pp. 29–44.

44 For this case, see: AHN, Inquisición, legs. 2649, pieza 151; 2650, pieza 54 y 2655, pieza 69.

45 AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 3440. In similar terms it was said of Fernando de Leiva y Guzmán, a nobleman of Jaén, many years earlier, that: "He is considered a malicious gossip," AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 65 (Don Perafán de Rivera y de Saavedra, Seville, 1608).

business and their livelihood to use accounts from the secret archive to undermine all sorts of inquiries into blood purity and nobility."[46]

8 State Control

The brutal repression exercised by the Inquisition in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was aimed at stifling Converso heresy. But once that phase was over, the state supported, even if in a hidden manner, the integration and definitive assimilation of the Conversos. It held onto the external forms of repression, we may say, but at bottom it encouraged forgetting. Otherwise, the State would have been left without servants, given the enormous degree of mixture between Old and New Christians. Moreover, to achieve the desired assimilation, the ascending groups had to pay a higher price, purchasing titles of nobility, acreage, honors, and privileges; they had to invest in creating and sustaining a brand-new image of nobility. And this image reinforced, finally, the system—which was the only thing that really mattered.

Therefore, to the degree possible, a strong repression was directed against the *linajudos*, who were seen as threatening the social peace, generating conflicts and anxiety. The Crown acted on all fronts. One approach was to set about destroying all the copies of the green books that the civil authorities and the Holy Office could get their hands on. This they did, for example, in the town of Almagro, one of the leading Converso "nests" in the whole country. There, around 1625, the Inquisitor Don Cristóbal de Ibarra, during the periodic General Visitation, "ordered all the residents who had papers referring to lineages and descendants to turn them in."[47]

Another strategy was to encourage libel lawsuits against those who called their fellow residents Jews, by judging almost always in favor of the plaintiffs, at least the most powerful ones. Thus, Andŕes de Valenzuela, a petty nobleman from Baeza, faced a serious problem when we was denounced to the Granada *Audiencia* for his reprehensible practices as a *linajudo*:

> He had a hard-fought case before the criminal court of Granada over his having traced the birthlines of Conversos descended from those who had paid the *farda*, a tax that was paid by Jews in this city, and over this there

46 AHN, Inquisición, 2629, 43 (letter dated 14/05/1642).

47 AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 197 (Don Pedro de Alarcón y Zúñiga, La Paz, 1658).

> were many battles and much trouble, lasting for years, and he died in Granada while still fighting these lawsuits.[48]

These were not the only forms of pressure against this class of blackmailers. On significant occasions, the state went directly after the most dangerous element, the bosses of the most active outfits. Fairly well known is the Sevillian case of Morovelli de Puebla, researched by Ruth Pike, among others, though it urgently requires a monographic study. Less is known about the exploits of Don Francisco de Pie de Concha, in the city of Guadalajara, who ended his days in exile in Orán, fulfilling a prison sentence. This is another case that ought to be studied in depth.

Let us close this section with an almost forgotten figure, obscure in his mediocrity, perhaps, but not at all insignificant. I refer to a nobleman from Toledo, Gaspar Dávila Valmaseda, who united his interest in genealogy with his resentment of the ascendancy of Conversos, a group toward which he unleashed all his hatred, trying to damage them as much as possible. This was nothing new in his family, to be sure; his father, Pedro Dávila, was known for his antisemitism. We see him participate in a number of controversial legal inquiries, such as that of Don Baltasar de Torres y Quesada, whose Toledan ancestry was notoriously Jewish.[49] Or in the equally disputed case of Juan de Ayala Manrique y de la Cueva, a high-ranking Toledan nobleman, whose lineage was sprinkled with Jews throughout. In both cases, and many others, Gaspar Dávila's testimony was decisive in the long delay in the concession of the habit.[50] After many years, his influential testimony finally received its due punishment, as we read in Don Gabriel Niño's *probanza* for entry into the noble order of Calatrava:

> At this time a trial is underway against Gaspar Dávila Valmaseda, resident of Toledo, a noble and pure of blood, because of his enmity toward the claimant of a habit, some of whose lineages were infected. And the magistrate (*corregidor*) of Toledo, has ordered his papers be examined, and he has banished him to the town of Talavera, where he awaits orders from His Majesty.[51]

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48 AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 1904 (Don Lope Cerón y Valenzuela, Granada, 1602).

49 AHN, OM, Santiago, 8159 (Don Baltasar de Torres y Quesada, Granada, 1631).

50 AHN, OM, Calatrava, exp. 202 (Don Juan de Ayala Manrique y de la Cueva, Toledo, 1634). Pruebas iniciadas en 1623.

51 AHN, OM, Calatrava, 1793 (Don Gabriel Niño, Lima, 1631). Testificación del licenciado Jerónimo de Cevallos, capellán en la Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos, folio 37.

9 Conclusions

A society sick with honor, as was the Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had, logically, to generate aberrations like the *linajudos*. The need to test over and over again the ancestry of tens of thousands of people from the middling sort to the highest level provoked this particular dysfunction, allowing a few to exploit their genealogical knowledge in order to profit from others' suffering.

And yet, the interesting thing about the case, in my view, lies in the strange way this phenomenon became, in the long run, one more way of escaping from the memory of the Converso's infamy. There were many anonymous denunciations, reports by enemies, and declarations of witnesses who brought to light the miseries of so many family trees, and there were numerous applicants for honors who paid a high price for their audacity in trying to ascend socially, seeing their litigation delayed year after after, and on occasion, *reprobada*, that is, officially rejected. But, if we turn the argument around, in the majority of cases it did not turn out badly, surely because the candidates to a habit, an inquisitorial ministry, or any other dignity or honor of this sort, accepted the blackmail and bribed the greedy *linajudos*. Turning over money to informers, to one's enemies, and to witnesses willing to say anything at all for a few *reales* was what made it possible for the Conversos to move up the ladder in almost every area, and little by little to blend into the dominant society.

This was one of many doors opened by the system through which the Conversos could achieve their definitive assimilation. At the same time, the Monarchy and its servants fought this corrupt practice precisely because it put at risk the social peace that little by little was being imposed in the various Hispanic kingdoms. The destruction of the *green books* or the punishment of the *linajudos* were among the forms taken by a repression that sought to end the stigma of the Conversos. And they succeeded, finally, even erasing the memory of the very existence of the *linajudos* themselves, a strange and fascinating social group, unique in history, a child of the time; a group whose power was based on their genealogical knowledge, a terrible weapon in an intrinsically genealogical society. It should not surprise us, then, that as late as the third decade of the eighteenth century, Don Luis de Salazar y Castro, the greatest cultivator of this particular field of study, prohibited the consultation, except in exceptional cases, of the manuscript documentation he would leave in the keeping of the Madrid monastery of Monserrat. Well he knew, from his own experience, the power of information.

CHAPTER 4

Doctor Constantino's *Doctrina Cristiana*: Divine Compassion and True Faith in the Work of a Sixteenth Century Converso Author

Michel Boeglin

Celebrated preacher, chaplain to Prince Philip on his journey to the Spanish Empire's northern possessions and, towards the end of his life, magisterial canon of the Seville Cathedral, Doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente was one of the Converso authors who did most to renew the catechesis in Spain in the first half of the sixteenth century.[1] Around 1543, he published *Suma de doctrina cristiana*, a dialogical catechism, synthesized later in his *Catecismo Cristiano*; he also wrote *Confesión de un pecador* and *Exposición del primer psalmo de David*,[2] followed by his impressive *Doctrina Cristiana*, in 1548.[3] Together, *Doctrina Cristiana, Catecismo Cristiano and Suma de doctrina Cristiana* form a landmark in the writing of the catechism in Castilian.[4] These works, which Doctor Constantino wrote in barely five years, were well received, as their numerous re-editions in Castile, Portugal and Flanders attest. Nevertheless, two years after his disputed election as canon in the Seville Cathedral chapter, in 1556, Constantino was imprisoned by the Inquisition and tried as a Protestant heretic. He died in an Inquisition dungeon during the trial.

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* Translated by Marjory Hutchison.

1 J. Ramón Guerrero, *Catecismos españoles del siglo XVI. La obra catequética del Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente*, Madrid, 1969, pp. 42–48; see also Luis Resines Llorente, *La catequesis en España. Historia y textos*, Madrid, 2016.

2 Constantino de la Fuente, *Suma de doctrina christiana en que se contiene todo lo principal y necessario que el hombre christiano deue saber y obrar*, Sevilla, 1543; *Confesión de un pecador delante de Jesucristo redemptor y juez de los hombres*, Sevilla, 1544; *Exposición del primer psalmo de David cuyo principio es Beatus vir, expuesta en seis sermones*, Sevilla, 1545; *Catecismo christiano para instruir los niños*, Sevilla, 1547.

3 Constantino de la Fuente, *Doctrina christiana en que esta comprehendida toda la información que pertenece al hombre que quiere seruir a dios. Parte primera delos artículos dela fe*. Sevilla, 1548. The edition referred to in this article is that of 1554 (Juan Steelsio, Anverso), hereafter DC.

4 J. Ramón Guerrero, *Catecismos españoles*, pp. 8–15; Michel Bœglin, *Réforme et dissidence religieuse en Castille au temps de l'Empereur. L'affaire Constantino de la Fuente* (*1505?–1559*), Paris, 2016, pp. 123–130; 149–154.

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Like Juan de Valdés in his *Diálogo de la doctrina cristiana*, Doctor Constantino introduced various approaches to doctrine into his work, partly inspired by the prodigious movement for religious reform instigated by Luther.[5] Although Constantino's doctrinal views were not, despite appearances, those of a Nicodemite—meaning a covert 'Lutheran' or Protestant—as some historians have recently argued, his wide knowledge of the doctrines of the principal authors of the Reformation, as well as his incorporation of many of their views in his books, make him a complex figure inside the Catholic Church.[6]

Various influences meet in Doctor Constantino's work: his Converso sensibility in a Spain marked by the multiplication of *limpieza de sangre* statutes; his quietist tendencies, linking him with an illuminist movement that had been growing on the Peninsula before the Reformation;[7] and his interest in the works of the Reformed Germans and French, which made a profound impression on him and his circle in Seville. He probably first encountered these Protestant ideas in Alcalá de Henares around the second quarter of the sixteenth century, a time when it is known that Lutheran books were being circulated among the Alcalá students.[8] Although Doctor Constantino seems not to have obtained a degree at the Complutense University, perhaps due to the introduction of a *limpieza de sangre* statute in its colegio mayor, it is known that he was present in the philological circles of the Cisnerian centre around 1524.[9]

Doctor Constantino's masterpiece, the 1548 *Doctrina Cristiana*, invites an analysis of the varying influences on his particular religious stance at the very moment that the Council of Trent was beginning its sessions. The work, which can be considered the first example of a biblical catechism in the Spanish

5 On Valdés, see Massimo Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, Abingdon and New York, 2016.

6 Juan de Santibáñez, S. I., *Historia de la provincia de Andalucía de la Compañía de Jesús*, mss in the UL of Granada, Part 1, Book 1, Ch. 31; Gianclaudio Civale, *"Con secreto y disimulación": Inquisizione ed eresia nella Siviglia del secolo XVI*, Nápoles, 2008, pp. 166 and ff.

7 See Stefania Pastore, *Una herejía española*, Madrid, 2010; Álvaro Castro "Los alumbrados del reino de Toledo. Religiosidad interior y recepción de la Reforma en Juan y María de Cazalla," in Michel Boeglin et al., *Reforma y disidencia religiosa. La recepción de las doctrinas reformadas en la península ibérica en el siglo XVI*, Madrid, 2018, pp. 165–179 ; Miquel Beltrán, "Mística del abandono en los primeros alumbrados," *Cahiers d'études des cultures ibériques et latino-américaines—CECIL*, no. 4, 2018 <http://cecil-univ.eu/C4_4>, URL consulted on 21 December 2018.

8 See Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 5 (1901), pp. 896–912, pp. 909–911; Marcel Bataillon *Érasme et l'Espagne*, Geneva, 1991[1937 1ª ed.], 3 vols., 1, p. 474; Stefania Pastore, *Una herejía* …, pp. 230–231.

9 His name also appears in a translation of *The Argonauts*, at the end of a small piece published at the end of the work: *C. Valerii Flacci Setini Balbi Argonautica, per Laurentium Balbum liliensem recognita et accuratissime castigata*, Alcalá, 1524, 2 vols. (ejemplar de la B.N.E. R/2752): see M. Bataillon *Érasme et* …, I, p. 171.

language, highlights the importance of divine love in defining the relationship between God and mankind.[10] In accordance with the Reformed movement, Constantino rejects the idea of charitable works as a path to salvation. Or, more precisely, without specifically rejecting works of charity, he passes over them in almost complete silence. Compassion is almost constantly invoked, in different contexts, but from a specific angle: that of a concept that distrusts human acts and their value in the economy of salvation.

1 A Converso at the Crossroads of the Century

According to all evidence, Constantino de la Fuente was born between 1500 and 1505 in the town of San Clemente, in the diocese of Cuenca. This town depended on the house of Villena, whose marquis, Diego López de Pacheco, had converted his palace of Escalona into an important center for a group of Erasmians and Contemplatives. Many of these people were of Converso descent, and some, like Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, would end up being tried for illuminism.[11] Although we have very little information about Doctor Constantino's origins, a number of sources point to his Jewish background. For example, at the time of being elected magisterial canon of Seville, the Vicar-General Juan de Ovando tried to block his access to the prebend, claiming that the cathedral's racial purity statutes prevented a person of Jewish descent from attaining a post of such high esteem. Nevertheless, the canons declined to accept this objection, insisting that it had not been proven that Constantino was a direct descendant of those condemned by the Holy Office.[12] However, a short time later, in the spring of 1558, after dispositions were issued from the Holy Office stating that Constantino was a New Christian (descendant of a converted Jew), the tribunal initiated an investigation and sent an investigator to San Clemente to carry out a genealogical search, which, unfortunately, has not been handed down to us.[13]

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10 J. R. Guerrero, *Catecismos* …, p. 165.

11 See A. Franco Silva, *Entre la derrota y la esperanza: Don Diego López Pacheco, Marqués de Villena* (*mediados del siglo XV–1529*), Cádiz, 2005, pp. 15–16; M. Bataillon, *Erasme et l'Espagne*, I, pp. 196–200.

12 Joaquín Hazañas y La Rúa, *Maese Rodrigo* (*1460–1504*), Sevilla, 1909, pp. 405–408. J. Antonio Ollero Pina, "Clérigos, universitarios y herejes. La universidad de Sevilla y la formación académica del cabildo eclesiástico," *Universidades hispánicas: modelos territoriales en la Edad Moderna*, Miscelánea Alfonso IX, 112 (2007), pp. 107–195, pp. 161–163.

13 Lib. 575 fol. 57r: letter of 22.1.1558: "In this council we understand that Licentiate Melchior de León has said that Constantino is a Converso: take note of what he has said and make the necessary investigations." Shortly after this, the Inquisitor Briceño announced that he was leaving to carry out a genealogical report, and in April he announced that he had

Doctor Constantino's preaching certainly appealed to the Conversos in Seville, if various witnesses are to be trusted. His repeated references to the Old Testament, when justifying his doctrine, as well as his insistence on recalling that Christ was Jewish, or his evaluation of the greatness of the Jewish culture, make it easy to see why his preaching would attract the Conversos—even more so in a period when anti-Judaism was widespread, strengthened by the redoubling of the *limpieza de sangre* statutes from the end of the fifteenth century.[14] In a report on the heresy of Doctor Constantino, held in the Vatican Library, commonly known as the *Parecer de la Vaticana*, the author, a Dominican friar, confirmed the manner of his position and his preaching among the Conversos in Seville:

> If he says all those who have faith in the passion of Christ, either explicitly or implicitly, now or in the past, are Christians, then that is not only a serious misuse of the word, but is also a great injustice to the Christian Church, since he always considers the synagogue equal to the Church, and the Jew to the Christian (and, in fact, the Conversos are very important to Constantino, and so it is not surprising that they love him and favor him so much).[15]

In Constantino's opinion, the Jewish culture had been a central influence on the Gentile culture of ancient times. For example, he wrote in the *Doctrina Cristiana*: "The Gentiles themselves confess that the Jews gave them the letters of the alphabet, and very reliable stories prove beyond doubt that all the sciences and disciplines came from the Jewish people, these having been received [from them] by the Greeks; and of this there is no doubt …"[16]

With reference to Doctor Constantino's Converso origins, it is noteworthy that he was unwilling to use his surname, which was one often found among those condemned by the tribunals of Cuenca and Toledo of Judaizing. It should be noted, however, that there is no record of anyone with this surname

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finished it: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Inquisición (hereafter A.H.N. Inq.) leg. 3067, letter of 5.4.1558.

14 Albert Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII*, Madrid, 1985 (1st. ed. París 1960), pp. 47–48.

15 Ignacio J. García Pinilla, "Más sobre Constantino Ponce de la Fuente y el *parecer* de la Vaticana," *Cuadernos de investigación científica* 17 (1999), pp. 191–225 (221).

16 *DC*, fol. 335r. Constantino's library, confiscated by the Inquisition at the time of his arrest, was one of the richest in Castile, and contained a number of works by Jewish authors. See Klaus Wagner, *El doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. El hombre y su biblioteca*, Sevilla, 1979, p. 30; M. Bœglin, *Réforme et dissidence* …, pp. 301–303.

from the town of San Clemente among those tried for Judaism by the tribunal of Cuenca, despite the fact that several clandestine communities of Jews were broken up for following their rites in secret there.[17] This could mean only that Constantino's family were recent arrivals to San Clemente. If an episode in Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus' *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes* is to be believed, there is a possibility that the de la Fuente family originated in Toledo. Montanus (a pseudonym) wrote that when a delegation of canons from Toledo came to Doctor Constantino to invite him to form part of the Cathedral chapter, he rejected the offer humorously, saying that he did not wish to disturb his ancestors' tranquility by accepting a position of such dignity.[18] This response could imply that Doctor Constantino did not wish an investigation into racial purity to be opened in a diocese and a district where certain worrying information concerning his ancestors was known.[19]

2 Historical Background to the Doctrina Cristiana

In 1548 the printing presses of Juan Canalla, in Seville, produced the first part of *Doctrina cristiana*, Doctor Constantino's most ambitious work, which was to

17 Michel Bœglin, "Le docteur Constantino et Cuenca. Notes pour une biographie d'un humaniste au temps de l'Empereur," *Lope de Barrientos. Seminario de Cultura* 4 (2011), pp. 11–25 (pp. 13–16). There are several trials in San Clemente which refer to settled communities: Archivo diocesano de Cuenca (A.D.C.) Inquisición (Inq.) leg 70, exp. 1019: See, for example, the case against Juana Hernández de Estudillo, a neighbor of San Clemente, fol. 66v–67r.

18 *El "Reginaldo Montano": primer libro polémico contra la Inquisición española*, N. Castrillo Benito ed., Madrid, 1991, pp. 440–441. Behind the pseudonym Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus lie the three Seville reformers, Casiodoro de Reina (Reginaldus), Antonio González de Corro (Gonsalvius), and Juan Pérez de Pineda (Montanus, because he was born in Montilla, Córdoba), according to the editors of a recent edition of the book in English: *Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes: The Arts of the Spanish Inquisition. Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, A Critical Edition of the Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes aliquot (1567) with a Modern English Translation*, J. Herráiz Pareja, Ignacio J. García Pinilla and Jonathan L. Nelson eds, Leiden, 2018. In 1565, two years before the first edition of the book, published in Heidelberg, Reina, Corro and Pineda met in Périgord, on the property of the Duchess of Ferrara, Renée de France.

19 The comment was a reference to the strict *limpieza de sangre* statute established by Archbishop Juan Martínez Silíceo in 1547 to prevent Conversos from gaining entry to the Cathedral. There is no record of this incident in the Toledo chapter's minutes, as Tomás López Muñoz points out in his *La Reforma en Sevilla*, Sevilla, 2011, vol. 1, p. 84. However, it is not incongruent that the comment was made in response to informal requests from Cathedral canons who, along with Constantino, formed part of Prince Philip's entourage in his 1549 tour of the Netherlands.

constitute the first part of a proposed wide ranging catechetical summary in three volumes.[20] As Constantino states in his preface, dedicated to Charles V: "What it deals with is information about all of life, all the thoughts and works of a Christian, taken from the truth in the Divine Scriptures, and declares in such a way that any man can easily find a message in it about his own conscience."[21] The author stated clearly in the prologue what had motivated him to write the work:

> My aim is to offer to the Christian Church a general and complete doctrine taken from the Divine Scriptures, presented with an understanding that the Church itself has always maintained, and in its beginnings was taught by great and holy ministers, and to understand through this doctrine everything that is necessary for a Christian, both for the dedication and firmness of his faith and to keep him free of all errors, and equally to cleanse his heart and works in all that pertains to a true Christian.[22]

Written in the period in which the doctrinal content of Roman Catholicism was the subject of deep rethinking and its boundaries redefined with respect to the doctrines of Protestantism, the proposal could only appear, at first sight, praiseworthy in the eyes of both orthodox churchmen and their reformist colleagues. In 1547, when Constantino was probably finishing the work, the Fathers of the Council of Trent agreed, not without some difficulty, on a definition of justification, a huge dividing line between Catholics and Protestants.[23] This was a central question in the *Doctrina Cristiana* itself, as well as in Constantino's previous works; but, as Constantino points out in his introduction to the *Doctrina*, his object was to propose to the Church certain teachings founded in the Holy Scriptures, and which "the Church itself had always maintained."[24]

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20 Other works with the same title of *Doctrina Cristiana* were published in the same year, 1555: that by Juan de Ávila, (see Carlos María Nannei, *La doctrina cristiana de San Juan de Ávila* (*contribución al estudio de su doctrina catequética*), Pamplona, 1977), and that by Domingo de Valtanás, *Doctrina Christiana: en q*[*ue*] *se tracta de lo que deue cada vno creer, huyr, temer, obrar, dessear y qué cosa es Dios*, Sevilla, 1555.

21 *DC* fol. ii.

22 *DC* fol. B1.

23 Giuseppe Alberigo *et al.*, *Les conciles œcuméniques*, París, 1994, vol. II-2, pp. 1367–1391; Thierry Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome ni Genève. Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVIe siècle*, París, 1997, pp. 8–9; 27–31. See also, by the same author, "Réforme, réformation, protestantisme," in J. Miller, *L'Europe protestante au XVI*[*e*] *et XVII*[*e*] *siècles*, París, 1997, pp. 31–53 (pp. 47–51).

24 *DC*, fol. B1.

Nevertheless, Constantino did not quote the authorities on which Catholic dogma was based; nor did he highlight the profound differences or discrepancies with the Protestants, something many of his contemporaries were to reproach him for.[25] The fragment quoted above is sufficient for the reader to understand both its focus and the principles that dictated its composition: the priority given to the Scriptures and, implicitly, their authority over the Church and its teachings—a Church, about which Constantino said little, apart from a single chapter (Chapter 76) out of more than a hundred the work consisted of.

This exclusive authority conferred to the Scriptures for the founding of the Church is what justifies the name of evangelism, a term Imbart de la Tour used to refer to the movement of Meaux in France,[26] although it would be more accurate to call it evangelical and its disciples evangelicals (*euangelicos* in Latín), according to the term used at that time,[27] or preachers, or defenders of the Gospel, the expression which Constantino himself used (*DC*, fº 331v, 333r). These are more suitable terms to describe the members of a religious movement flourishing in Seville that cannot be classified nor reduced to inquisitorial qualifications of Illuminist or Lutheran. In fact, it is clear that those condemned in the years of the inquisitorial repression of 1557 to 1563 were not affiliated to one single movement, and that, along with a trend that was developing under the leadership of Doctor Egidio and which evolved into a Calvinistic Church after his death, there were several concurrent tendencies inherited from the renewing impulse of the *devotio moderna*.[28] According to

25 In the words of Doctor Monterde, "Constantino's *Doctrina grande* did not please many because he did not prove what he said by referring to authorities" (A.H.N. Inq. leg. 3570 caja 1, Méritos del proceso del rector Monterde, fol. 5r–v).

26 Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines de la Réforme. III (/4): L'évangélisme*, Ginebra, 1978 [París 1914]. The group of Meaux refers to the French evangelical movement in the 1520s. The theologian and humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, translator and commentator on the Bible in French, was a leading personality in this loose-knit group. His protectors were Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux (where Lefèvre's friends would gather), and Margaret of Angoulême, the sister of the king, Francis I.

27 Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, *Epistola contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant euangelicos*, Friburgo, 1529. A.H.N. Inq. leg. 4444 exp. 49. See also, *DC*, fol. 247; fol. 331 v.

28 The canon Juan Gil, known as Doctor Egidio, was one of the most prominent preachers of Seville cathedral. Once a prospective candidate to head the bishopric of Tortosa, he was accused of advancing heretical ideas in 1549 and jailed. His declarations reflected many ideas of his companion Constantino Ponce de la Fuente and revealed the influence of Protestant doctrines within Seville circles. Juan Gil was obliged to publicly renounce his views and serve a sentence of two years confinement. After this relatively mild sentence, he recovered his appointment as canon of the Seville cathedral. See Robert C. Spach, "Juan Gil and Sixteenth-Century Spanish Protestantism," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26. 4, 1995, pp. 857–880; Michel Boeglin, "El doctor Egidio y la Reforma en Sevilla.

the Jesuit Gonzalo González, who had attended several *autos de fe* in Seville, the most striking aspect of those movements was their "diversity of opinions, with nothing held in common; they usually say that they are not obliged to follow any of the Church's commandments because they are Man's commandments and are not to be found in the Gospel, and in the same way everything else is organized and established by the Holy Councils."[29] From these remarks, it seems clear that the impact of Doctor Constantino's preaching and that of the members of his school was profound.

Doctrina Cristiana, published in 1548, was the first volume of a planned trilogy that would discuss the Christian religion. The first volume focused on "the twelve articles which form a Christian's confession and the first part of his catechism," to which the author added some "comments" (chapters 32 to 87). In this first volume Constantino also included "a confirmation of our faith and religion," centered on Christ's message (poverty, love, redemption, etc.). The second volume of the trilogy was to cover a central theme in Doctor Constantino's doctrine, that of the Ten Commandments. It is possible that the book, which he presented to the inquisitorial authorities for their approval in 1553, on his return from Flanders, titled *Espejo del estado del hombre en esta presente vida*, discussed this theme.[30] But as a result of warnings from the inquisitors to modify certain passages, in particular those dealing with the dead faith of the sinner, the author decided not to send it to print and the manuscript was later burned, along with his other books and papers.[31] The third part of the trilogy was to discuss a combination of themes that seldom appear in his writings, such as "prayer, fasting, alms, true penitence, and the use and mystery of the most important sacraments in the Church."[32]

Redes y proselitismo religioso," in Michel Boeglin et.al., *Reforma y disidencia religiosa*, pp. 199–212.

29 A.R.S.I. Hisp. Fol. 442–443, letter from Gonzalo González: "la diversidad de opiniones que entre ellos [h]ay sin concertarse todos en una cosa por maravilla ; comúnmente dicen que no están obligados a cumplir ningún mandamiento de la Yglesia por ser mandamientos de hombres y no expresados en el Evangelio y así de todo lo demás ordenado y establecido por lo sanctos concilios."

30 A.H.N. Inq. lib. 574, fol. 323r, letter of 10.5.1553.

31 A.H.N. Inq. lib. 574, fol. 331r.

32 *DC* fol. B 2v. This decision to deal with such themes, so different from the usual topics in his works, is quite surprising.

3 The Doctrina Cristiana and Divine Compassion and Justice

The *Doctrina Cristiana*, the only surviving volume of Constantino's trilogy, was designed to demonstrate God's gratuitous compassion and mercy towards sinners. After the preliminary chapters devoted to the knowledge of God and of man, the entire first part of the book concentrated on sin. Chapters 3 to 23 (*DC* 1554, ff. 26–86) were dedicated to the fall of Man. The invocation of sin was the pretext for introducing the story from the Creation to Christ's resurrection. Through this biblical history, the Seville preacher wished to highlight the many inferences in the Scriptures to the coming of the Messiah and of the redemption of Mankind, in this way pointing out the differences between the Old and the New Laws (Judaism and Christianity), but also the continuity between them. Here Constantino demonstrates the greatness, gentleness, magnificence and liberality of a God made flesh in order to come to free Mankind from the kingdom of evil, and to save those who showed a true and sincere repentance and followed the New Law.

In the *Doctrina cristiana*, compassion and faith were closely intertwined. Following the tradition of the Old Testament, God was at the same time love and compassion, justice and vengeance; and the New Covenant—the new relationship between God and humans, mediated by Jesus—pointed out the deep mercy and sheer goodness of the Lord. The various chapters on the Holy Story and on the coming of Christ underlined the deep natural goodness of God and the fact that in showing compassion He did not act against His justice but towards something above justice. What He did was demonstrate liberality and supreme love. Thus, compassion and love are the two attributes of God that appear most frequently in the work.

Compassion was the effect or product of the Lord's liberality and generosity, (*DC* f° 156) and it was this compassion, not the merits of mankind, that resulted in our redemption, as Constantino points out on at least three occasions (*DC*, ff. 38r, 63r, 154r). The sinful man, foul, dedicated to evil, and under the power of the kingdom of sin, who had repeatedly disregarded the Lord, could not find salvation alone, as was shown in several chapters of the Scriptures. The only way for Man to find the path to his salvation was through God's compassion.

In his first works, Constantino assigned to God qualities similar to those conferred on Him by Melanchthon and Calvin: the qualities of great and firm confidence in the remission of sins.[33] According to the author of the *Parecer*

33 Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne* (1541), ed. O. Millet, Geneva, 2008, 2 vols., 1, pp. 522 and 525.

de la Vaticana, in the first edition of *Catecismo Cristiano*, Constantino had written that the sinner "had to have very great confidence that there would be compassion from Him; this confidence should not be based on what he does or can do, but on the great compassion in the blood of Jesus Christ." That passage was removed from the 1565 re-edition of the book, at a time when such a position was seen as clearly Protestant, after being declared anathema by the Council of Trent in 1547.[34] In the *Doctrina* of 1548, the references to faith were less extreme, but they did not necessarily arouse less suspicion. In it Constantino declared:

> The author and master of our wisdom is God, not only because He revealed it and taught it through His Word, but because He places it in our hearts and engenders in them the true knowledge that we must have in this life of what He has revealed to us, and that knowledge is the Faith; that is our wisdom. Saint Paul clearly states that faith is a gift from God, communicated to Man through Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and Savior, that we might receive His wisdom, be firm in His commandments and comply with His wishes (Ephes. 2).[35]

And, fruit of the Divine compassion, Christ had come to give Man the possibility of knowing God, of achieving that wisdom:

> For the new evil that the Devil committed, for the fall of the human generations, produces in God a new anger against the Devil himself, and a new compassion for Man. From that compassion comes, it is true to say, one single person that is both man and God. He is truly part of the lineage of Man and He is truly from the lineage of God. And thus all those other men who, because of the same evil do not renounce this lineage, have a new privilege and a new way of being adopted as sons of God. (John 1) (*DC* fol. 36r).

The Scriptures enclosed a special revelation, in which God accepted the weaknesses of Man to show him what he needed for his salvation. Thus, the Gospel was the exclusive basis of the truth and of Christian life, a "treasure" for the believers who were prepared to consider the profound wisdom it contained. The preaching of the Gospel was the foundation of the Church, and the word of

34 G. Alberigo, *Les conciles* … 11-2, p. 1383, Canon on justification: §10–11–12.

35 *DC*, fol. 79 r.

God clearly preached expressed God's promise: the remission of sins for those who adhered to it and put all their trust in the Christian faith.[36]

In accordance with the doctrine which Doctor Constantino developed in several of his works, the sanctification of the sinner could only take place by means of a living faith:

> The faith which is required of Man, that he might have a true idea of being blessed in this life … must be illuminated and accompanied with love, which awakens it and leads it to charitable works, and does not let him rest if he does not comply with the Lord's will, in Whom he says he believes and Whom he is so obliged to serve and please in all things. This is the faith that leads to the Word of God being heard with great hunger and great thirst, which captures the heart of Man and awakens him and give him wings to follow such great goodness and to become one with such excellent beauty, as the Word of God teaches him. (*DC*, f° 80r–v).

According to Doctor Constantino, the faith illuminated by the love of God was the living faith, the opposite of the dead faith, the faith of sinners, which is mere knowledge of the Word of God, without putting it into practice.[37] A similar reference to the dead faith in the continuation of the *Doctrina cristiana* (1553) was censored by the Inquisition.[38]

For Constantino, the believer touched by Divine grace was called to have a unique experience, expressed in terms that recalled the contemplative and quietist experiences:

> The faith with which we conceive and embrace the promises of this truth is very sure and very certain, for it has as its foundation the truth of God. Therefore, if the faith is true it will give great calm, security and certainty to he who believes, in all that he expects and in all that has been promised, because it is based on firm things, such as the certainty and truth of which we have spoken, and thus it assures us of all that we expect, and of all that the Word of God has told us about. (*DC* 76r–v)

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36 *DC*, 3v: "If the Christian man considers what a great treasure he has in this wisdom, how much he owes to God for having given him a candle to find his way out of such dangers, and free himself from such ties, he would certainly awake to special thankfulness for such a great benefit."

37 *DC* ff. 79v–80r.

38 A.H.N. Inq. lib. 574, fol. 331r. See above.

In terms similar to those of Calvin, in his *Institution de la religion Chrétienne*, this new life promised by the Divine compassion was described by Constantino as "a new birth of spiritual regeneration because of the death and benefit of Man's redeemer, and of the Father's infinite goodness and infinite compassion" (*DC* f° 255v).[39] This regeneration or sanctification of the believers occurred when Christ permitted participation in the new life, the result of a union with the Redeemer who died but rose again. Called by the irresistible power of grace, the penitent sinner would be aided in his perseverance to attain the kingdom of God:

> That is why we say that the Church contains two types of members. The first type is all those who truly have sanctification from the Holy Spirit. If at first they were sinners, they did penance for their sins and achieved true pardon; for having received that pardon and remaining within the faith and showing obedience to the Lord, they are with Him through grace and friendship; and they are holy and clean and beautiful, and are admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven. These are true members of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, for they are healthy and living members, and they perform works that are healthy and living, and as such their virtue comes from the Lord, who works in them as in His own, and they are able to receive His great gifts and His great benefits.

By means of this regeneration, Christ accepted the man of faith and re-established in him the image of God, through participation in a new life. This impartial and therefore perfect justice excluded all justice belonging to the believer, who continued to sin and whose works still bore the stamp of sin and needed the justice of the Lord to be accepted by Him and become "works of the healthy and the living."

Constantino de la Fuente barely deals with the question of doing works of charity to gain salvation, a question that had become the dividing line between Catholics and Protestants since the beginning of 1540, and more so since the publication of the Council of Trent's decrees on justification. Rather, he limits himself to staying within the Jewish tradition, in which compassion is an attribute of God, inspiring mankind in general and the Jews in particular. The Hebrew word for "mercy" or "compassion," "rahamim," comes from the same root as the word 'rehem,' the womb, and compassion is similar to the feelings

39 Jean Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrétienne*, pp. 730–731.

of a mother for her child.[40] From that came the reference to the heart of Divine mercy, in accordance with the etymology of the word, which the Converso humanist knew perfectly well. But in contrast to the Hebrew tradition—which emphasized that the Jewish people should be "merciful, modest and do good deeds," as one of the tractates of the Talmud states, Constantino barely broached the question of doing good deeds in order to attain salvation.[41] With an approach that is very similar to that of the Protestants, he rejected the role of any human action in salvation.

Through the central value of divine compassion and generosity, and through the benefits of Christ's redemption, Constantino centered participation in Christ more on grace than on charitable works. Constantino seems, by implication, to suggest to his more perceptive readers that those who did not wholly accept the authority of the Church but scrupulously obeyed the commandments of God would still form part of that "Holy Church." According to this concept, divine grace was seen in those who, moved by aversion to their sins, followed the Lord's commandments faithfully and carefully. The message of Christ was fidelity, and the firm trust in the promises of His coming was the foundation of belonging to God's people and of the possibility of salvation. As was the case of many irenists in the years prior to Trent, the dogmatic position of Constantino was sufficiently lax to allow for the integration of all Christians into one Church.

4 Doctor Constantino's Converso Evangelism

Constantino Ponce de la Fuente lived in a Spain torn by the *limpieza de sangre* polemic. Despite Pope Nicholas V's condemnation of these statutes in his *Humani generis inimicus*, in which he stated that "all Catholics form the body of Christ in accordance with the teachings of our faith," *limpieza* legislation had spread through all sectors of Castilian society. Constantino, it seems, was from a Converso family situated in Toledo, and the comments by Gonzalez de Montes indicate that his ancestors may have been condemned and publicly ridiculed in that city.[42] Furthermore, the area around Cuenca, to which his family moved in the early sixteenth century became the center of a bloody

40 Santiago Palomero Plaza, "El judaísmo como modo de vida," *Judaísmo, Sefarad, Israel: actas del II Encuentro sobre Minorías*, Toledo, 2002, pp. 45–46. *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du judaïsme*, París, 1993, pp. 758–759.

41 See Gregg Gardner, *The Origins of Organized Charity in Rabbinic Judaism*, New York, 2015, p. 29.

42 See above.

repression against New Christians from 1520 onwards, orchestrated by the inquisitors Corro and Mexias, leading to accusations of tyranny and prejudice from Converso members of the church and city councils.[43] This division in his society is reflected not only in Constantino's philo-Semitism but also in his insistence on the profound connection between Judaism and Christianity through Jesus Christ, who had brought forth spiritual regeneration, an observation made by other Converso authors, among whom were Alonso y Teresa de Cartagena, Hernando de Talavera, Juan de Ávila, and Lope de Barrientos.[44]

In focusing on the terms *limpieza*, lineage, blood, and regeneration, which appear constantly in his work, Constantino promoted the image of a nation purified and united in one cause, beyond the social divisions, hierarchies and interpretations of human and divine laws.[45] In his view, only through the strict compliance with the divine commandments and the practice of Christian virtues would one belong to the new and true Church. More than the rites and rituals which defined the Jewish religion before the arrival of the Redeemer, more than ecclesiastical and papal decrees, was the fidelity to God through Christ and the confidence in his mercy, which was the key to salvation:

> In Christ our Lord everything is joined because he is God in that the payment is for God. He is man so that the payment is on the part of men; and he is new man, so that he has no part in man's defects … This is how Saint Paul referred to him, new man and heavenly man, sent to the world to renovate and restore humankind. He was conceived through the virtue of the Holy Ghost and born from Mary. In these words, it is jointly stated

43 Miguel Jiménez Monteserín, "La familia Valdés de Cuenca. Nuevos datos," in M. A. Pérez-Priego, *Actas del Seminario: Los Valdés. Pensamiento y literatura*, Cuenca, 1997, pp. 43–90 (pp. 62–64); S. Pastore, *Una herejía española*, pp. 245–247.

44 See, for example M. Laura Giordano, "La ciudad de nuestra conciencia: los conversos y la construcción de la identidad judeocristiana (1449–1556)," *Hispania Sacra* 62.125 (2010), pp. 43–9; J. I. Pulido Serrano, "Juan de Ávila: su crítica a la limpieza de sangre y su condición conversa," *Sefarad* 73.2 (2013), pp. 339–369; J. I. Pulido Serrano, "Experiencia vital y elaboración de una fórmula conciliadora en la obra de Juan de Ávila," in M. D. Rincón González and R. Manchón Gómez eds., *El Maestro Juan de Ávila (1500?–1569). Un exponente del humanismo reformista*, Madrid, 2014, pp. 191–213; F. Márquez Villanueva, "Estudio preliminar," in Fr. H. de Talavera, *Católica impugnación del herético libelo maldito y descomulgado que fue divulgado, que en el año pasado del nacimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil y cuatrocientos y ochenta años fue divulgado en la ciudad de Sevilla*, Córdoba, 2012, pp. xlix–xcv.

45 See Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain: Bad Blood and Faith from Alonso de Cartagena to Diego Velázquez*, London, 2018, pp. 80–82.

> that he is true man and new man. The mother gave him true humanity from her own line and the same nature of all other men. (*DC*, 183v)

However, like those Christians who remained outside the true Church and whose faith was deemed dead, those converts who practiced in secret the religion of their ancestors were condemned by Doctor Constantino, who conformed to the norms of an age that rigorously judged those who publicly embraced one faith while secretly defending another. And even though the preacher alluded to their error with the benevolence of a shepherd who understood the frailties of his flock, his condemnation was unequivocal:

> Also residing amongst us with the title of Christian are those recently converted from the error of the Jews, and many others from the trickery and lies of Muhammad. Among these you will find some who through not entering truly and with determined heart into the Church, or through being influenced by the bad company and opinions of lost souls, who the Devil uses as an instrument for his ends, find their consciences tricked. So that even though they are called Christians and find themselves in the company of real Christians, and are so close to the light that leads to heaven, these miserable people are lost. And this is a greater pain for us than it is for them, as we were near enough to them to instruct them and lead them from ruin. (*DC*, 327r)

And this was also the case of the Jews, who "still remained firm in their persistence against Christianity," demonstrating their "inventions and evils with their new writings," provoking the anger of God with their "blind obstinacy." (*DC* f. 328r–v) However, all those who had experienced and embraced baptism, which joined everyone together "spiritually and made them members of the same body," shared "the same love and allegiance" (*DC* f. 262r). The vigor of the faith was based more on the confidence in the promise of Christ than in works and rites, a position similar to that taken by Luther and Calvin. The brilliant preacher from Seville demonstrated that the only path for the Christian was through faith in God's mercy, the reflected light of human kindness, and the regeneration of the blood and the divine word through the sacrifice of Christ:

> As there is only one God, so there is only one faith; and as there is only one faith, so there is only one baptism; and as there is only one baptism, so there is only one Holy Church with one purity (*limpieza*) dedicated to the service of God for the one Catholic and universal end, which bound

> together all those who followed its doctrine and that possessed its spirit even if they found themselves divided in this world. (*DC*, f. 262v)

According to Constantino de la Fuente, the law of God was a consolation for those aggrieved, and his promises "a great happiness for the sad, a great honor for the affronted, [and] eternal life and wellbeing for those who were subject to perpetual misery" (*DC*, f. 368r). And thus the Church, founded on the word of Christ, was where everyone would discover a common dignity and equality at a moment when so many advocates of religious renewal found themselves under threat from the Inquisition.

CHAPTER 5

Juan de Malara's New-Christian Humanism

Kevin Ingram

1 Converso Problems and Humanist Solutions

Spain's *limpieza de sangre* (pure blood) laws, starting with the 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto* of Toledo, formalized what Old Christian society had long felt: the Jewish converts and their heirs were not authentic co-religionists and thus should not be allowed to become bona fide members of Christian society. These statutes forbade the Conversos access to positions in religious, civic and educational establishments on the grounds that they were inherently untrustworthy. Under the terms of the statutes, all candidates applying for entry into the above institutions were submitted to an official inquiry into their family backgrounds. If Jewish blood was detected in the candidate's ancestry, then he would be automatically disqualified from entry. In this way Old Christian society aimed to bridle the social ambitions of the converts and their heirs.

Arguably, however, those statutes that had been designed to demoralize and oppress the Conversos promoted a greater self-consciousness among them. This was particularly evident among a Converso intellectual/professional class, the group most affected by the *limpieza* legislation. Determined to contest the 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto*, a number of influential Conversos, including the highly respected Alonso de Cartagena wrote long tracts defending the Conversos against accusations of inferiority, pointing out that their Jewish ancestors were God's chosen people, and that, in any case, all Christians were equal in the eyes of God, whether new or old ones. However, it soon became evident that little was to be achieved by protests of innocence. Rather than attempt to combat Old Christian prejudice as offended Conversos, it was generally deemed both safer and more efficacious to do so as socially and religiously conscious humanists. Through humanism the Conversos were able to look upon themselves as a unique group; not the tainted and vilified *alboraique* of Old Christian slander, but a body of men, like those neophytes referred to by Saint Paul in his Epistles, who had chosen a new way forth. Likewise, they could identify themselves with the *novus homo* of ancient Rome, high-minded public figures like Cicero and Horace whose fame, prestige, and, ultimately, nobility rested not on their immaculate blood line but on their talent, morality and industry.

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As adherents to a humanist credo, Conversos could attack the unacceptable face of Catholic Spain as Christian and social moralists and not vilified outsiders. Nevertheless, for many Conversos who embraced a humanist credo this was not sufficient. For these intellectual there still remained the need to defend the Converso against accusations of inferior blood; to attack Old Christian Spain's illiteracy and ignorance; and to celebrate a Sephardic cultural inheritance, which they did by promoting the view that the ancient Hebrew world was as intellectually significant as classical Greece or Rome and that the Hebrew Bible was central to the Christian tradition and not merely a prologue to it.

Unfortunately, the Converso humanist voice is by necessity a cautious and purposefully ambiguous one, and thus often goes undetected by scholars who are not attuned to the Converso phenomenon or are actively resistant towards it. Consequently, many Converso-humanist protests remain hidden. This is the case of Juan de Malara, whose work *Philosophia vulgar*, a collection of popular sayings based on Erasmus' *Adagia*, is the subject of this essay.

2 The Converso Humanist Juan de Malara

Although to my knowledge no one has previously suggested that the Seville humanist Juan de Malara was of Jewish lineage, it is evident that his immediate ancestors were members of the Converso community of Ciudad Real, a city with a long history of clashes between its Old Christian and New Christian inhabitants. In September 1483, three years after it had established a tribunal in Seville, the Inquisition opened another tribunal in Ciudad Real. One of the first suspects to be tried by the Holy Office was Juan González Panpan, who had moved away from the city nine years previously and was thus examined in absentia. From the records of his trial, it is clear that Panpan was a leading member of the city's Converso community and one of its most fervent Judaizers. He was said to have been circumcised and to have arranged other circumcisions that took place in the town. It also appears that he slaughtered meat for himself and other Conversos to eat and that his house served as a place where Conversos prayed. In 1473 Panpan left the town, it is believed to lead a Jewish life in a more favorable environment. Four years later he returned briefly to attempt to persuade his wife María González to leave with him for his new home. María refused; Panpan went away and had not been heard of since.

At the same time as the Inquisition was investigating Panpan, it was also investigating his wife, María González. Accused of observing the Jewish religion, María stated that she had been forced to do so while living with her husband,

but later, after he had left, she had become a good Christian, only occasionally observing the Sabbath. Despite the testimonies of three defence witnesses that she was a good churchgoer, María was found guilty of Jewish observance and was burnt at the stake, along with her husband's effigy, on February 24, 1484. One of the three witnesses for the defence in María's trial was her godson Lope de Malara, who lived next to her, on the fringe of the city's Jewish quarter.

While Lope de Malara was giving evidence in favor of his godmother, María González, he was also involved in the trial of Leonor González, wife of the rag merchant Alonso González de Frexinal. Leonor and her husband had fled Ciudad Real during the anti-Converso riots of 1474 and had taken up residence, like many other Conversos, in the town of Palma (the noble residence of Luis Portocarrero), where they openly observed the Jewish religion.[1] From Palma, María and Alonso had moved to Alonso's birthplace, Fregenal de la Sierra,[2] and from there, on Alonso's death in 1483, back to Ciudad Real. Some weeks before the Holy Office set up residence in the city, María left for Portugal. In February 1484 Lope de Malara testified that about twenty years previously he had entered into Alonso González' house just after the family had finished eating and noticed that Alonso blessed a silver cup containing wine, before sipping its contents and passing it to his wife and children. While Malara was in this instance a witness for the prosecution, we should not assume that he was antagonistic towards this family. When he testified before the Inquisition, Leonor González was already a condemned woman, her fate sealed by the testimony of a rabbi recently converted to Christianity, who recalled her Jewish fervency during her sojourn in the town of Palma, and by her own precipitous escape several months previously. Nor was Malara actually doing her any physical harm, as she was already safe in Portugal. He was, however, in all probability doing himself some good; for although the Inquisition documents do not

1 Haim Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, Jerusalem, 1981, pp. 68–70. My information on Ciudad Real's Converso community is taken from this work and from Beinart's *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, Jerusalem, 1974.

2 In the Middle Ages, Fregenal de la Sierra contained a large *judería*, many of whose occupants converted to Christianity in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Other conversos soon joined this community, taking advantage of the commercial activities that it offered, being close to the Portuguese border. An important leather and shoemaking industry grew up in the town during the fifteenth century, which drew many Conversos. In 1491 the Lerida Inquisition tribunal turned its attention to Fregenal, calling on the town's crypto-Jews to come forward and confess their sins during a period of grace. Three hundred and sixty men and women appeared before the tribunal, confessed and were reconciled to the church with relatively light fines. See Fermín Mayorga, 'La comunidad judía en Fregenal a finales del siglo XV,' *Alcántara* 67 (2007), pp. 25–88.

state as much, there can be little doubt that he was himself a Converso and may have been suspected, along with the González families, of Judaizing.[3]

Some eighty years after the above events took place, the Seville humanist Juan de Malara penned the introduction to his work *Hércules animoso*. This work, discovered some decades ago in the Biblioteca de Ajuda in Lisbon, compares Hercules' twelve labours to the political trials of Charles V, and in so doing presents us with a humanist mirror for princes.[4] Malara's underlying argument, one that he returns to in his other major works, *La Psyche* and *Philosophia vulgar*, is that true nobility is the product not of genealogy but of virtue or moral probity.[5] However, Malara was conscious of the fact that this message would have greater resonance if it were put forward by an author who, like Hercules and Charles V, could boast both virtue and a noble lineage. For this reason, he takes the opportunity in his introduction to *Hércules animoso* to present the reader with a few facts about the noble Malaras. First of all, he tells us, the name should not be pronounced Malara, nor Mallara (Malyara), but Mal Lara, because his family was a branch of the noble Laras. He also states that the family had its own crest and that his uncle Lope de Malara, a resident of Alcázar de Consuegra (today Alcázar de San Juan) had taken out an official certificate that contained information on his family's legal position (in other words, a letter patent of *limpieza de sangre*). Furthermore, he notes that his grandfather, Diego Ruiz de Malara, a native of Ciudad Real, took part in the siege of Granada, thus further establishing an orthodox Old Christian character for the family.

Ironically, in presenting an image of a noble Old Christian background, Malara has given us clues to his family's Converso origins, for there can be little

3 In Lope Malara's deposition in Alonso's and Leonor's trial, he states that he is the neighbor of Juan de Madrid. Madrid was also burnt at the stake for Judaizing. All of Leonor's children confessed their crimes in the period of grace and were restored to the church. Her son Juan was even persuaded to travel to Portugal to convince his mother to return to stand trial in person. Leonor agreed to this, no doubt believing that she would escape, like her children, with a heavy fine. In fact she was burnt at the stake. Later Juan returned to the Jewish faith, escaping the Inquisition by fleeing, as his mother had done earlier, to Portugal. He was burnt in effigy in 1527. Heim Beinart, *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, vol. 1, p. 536.

4 Biblioteca da Ajuda, ms. 50-1-38.

5 Malara's objective in recounting the Hercules story is diametrically opposed to that of the fifteenth-century noble author Enrique de Villena, who uses the Greek myth to present a picture of a rigidly stratified society in which everyone maintains their place. See the introduction to Enrique Villena, *Obras Completas*, Madrid, 1994. In his work *La Psyche*, Juan de Malara again presents a fluid social system in which nobility is achieved through virtuous actions. After being abandoned by her lover Cupid, Psyche travels across the world, overcoming many ordeals before she is reunited with the god of love and made immortal by Jupiter.

doubt, given the uncommon nature of the surname Malara, that the Lope de Malara of the Ciudad Real trials and Diego Ruiz de Malara, Juan de Malara's grandfather, also from Ciudad Real, were members of the same family. Indeed, I would suggest that Juan's grandfather Diego was the son of Lope. Soon after the 1484 trials, Lope must have moved with his family, including Diego, to Alcázar de Consuegra, a town with a large Jewish and Converso population, situated some sixty miles to the north of Ciudad Real.[6] Here, at the end of the fifteenth century, Juan de Malara's father, also named Diego, and his uncle, named Lope (presumably, after his grandfather) were born.[7] Uncle Lope, it appears, remained in Alcázar, where, as an adult, he purchased some kind of legal certificate, establishing the Malaras' Old Christian bloodline. Diego, a painter, left the La Mancha town in early adulthood for Seville, where he married Beatriz de Ortiz and fathered six children, including the humanist Juan de Malara.[8]

We know little about Juan de Malara's childhood, and what we do know comes mostly from his own pen. By Malara's account, his early schooling was undertaken by his father, who, in Malara's words, "made sure that I discovered

6 Alcázar de Consuegra was one of the Castillian towns that paid the most tribute to finance the war against Granada, a tribute that fell heavily on the shoulders of the Jewish population. This indicates that the Alcázar *judería* was one of the largest in Castille in the late fifteenth century. María Jesus Suarez Álvarez, *La Villa de Talavera y Su Tierra en la Edad Media* (*1369–1504*), Oviedo, 1982, p. 121. According to an Inquisition census of 1495, some 350 Conversos lived in the town, representing 30% of the population. For the trial of one of Alcázar's Judaizing families by the Toledo tribunal of the Inquisition, see Renée Levine Melammed, "Crypto-Jewish Women Facing the Spanish Inquisition: Transmitting Religious Practices, Beliefs and Attitudes," in Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English eds., *Christian, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2000, pp. 200–206. One of Alcázar's Converso families was the Mora, which formed the nucleus of a large crypto-Jewish group tried by the Inquisition in the famous Quintanar de la Orden trials of 1589. See Vincent Parello, "Inquisition and Crypto-Judaism: The 'Complicity' of the Mora Family of Quintanar de la Orden (1588–1592)," in Kevin Ingram ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond. Volume One: Departures and Change*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 187–210.

7 In his *Libro de Descripción de Verdaderos Retratos*, Francisco Pacheco writes, "From the honorable and clean Malaras, natives of Alcázar de Consuegra, came *el maestro* Juan de Malara, a man of resplendant virtue and admirable ingenuity, the son of this city [Seville] and of a well respected painter from these parts" ["De los Malaras, gente onrada i limpia, naturales de Alcázar de Consuegra, deciende el maestro Juan de Malara, varón de resplandeciente virtud i admirable ingenio, hijo desta ciudad [Sevilla], i de un pintor de opinión della"].

8 In his biographical study of Malara, F. Sanchez Escribano deduces that he had five siblings from references to five brothers or sisters-in-law in his will. However, some of these in-laws may have been siblings of his wife. Malara himself only refers to one of his siblings in his own writings: his brother Fernando, who left Seville as a young man to find his fortune in the Indies There is a reference in a notarial document contained in Seville's *Archivo de Protocolos* to a sister, Catalina de Sauceda, although the document does not give the source of this information.

the legacy of letters" ["procuró descubrirme la herencia de las letras"]. Later he studied Latin grammar and some Greek in the school of Pedro Fernández, one of the more reputable educational establishments in the city. In 1538, at the age of fourteen, Malara entered Salamanca University as the page or companion to Alvaro de Loaysa, brother of García de Loaysa, later archbishop of Toledo. Malara does not tell us how he came into contact with the Loaysas (a well-heeled patrician family from Talavera de la Reina, with clear signs of being of Converso provenance[9]); however, he appears to have maintained a close relationship with Álvaro and his brothers throughout his life.

At Salamanca, Malara soon made the acquaintance of the university's most celebrated scholars, including Hernán Núñez (*el comendedor Griego*) and Francisco Sánchez (el Brocense), who became a close friend.[10] However, Salamanca's conservative education program was not to his taste, and in 1544 or 1545 he moved to Barcelona to study under the physician and scholar Francisco Escobar. From Escobar, Malara acquired a teaching method which he later incorporated into his own Latin grammar classes in Seville. Escobar

9 Alvaro and García Loaysa were from a professional family based in Talavera de la Reina, a town whose combined Converso and Jewish population made up at least 40% of the population at the end of the fifteenth century. The name Loaysa was adopted by the family because of its Old Christian associations. The paternal family were in fact Girones who formed marriage unions with the Talaveras and Carvajals, both names associated with Conversos.

10 Malara refers to both of these humanists in his *Philosophia vulgar*. Both men had encountered serious problems with the Inquisition as a result of their heterodox religious views. Hernan Núñez, who held the chair in Greek at Alcalá de Henares from 1519 to 1523, was a member of the town's pro-Comunero group during the Comunero rebellion. Persecuted for his political sympathies and his Erasmian views, Núñez was forced to abandon Alcalá for Salamanca in 1523. Here, in 1555, his *Refranes o proverbios en romance* was published, a work, like Malara's *Philosophia vulgar*, inspired by Erasmus' *Adages*. In 1584, Brocense was tried for heresy. In the course of the trial, the Valladolid Inquisitors focused their attention not only on the humanist's religious views, but also on his background. What were the names of his paternal and maternal grandparents? The humanist stated that he did not know their names; nor did he know the names of his father's brothers and sisters or even of his own brothers. This reluctance to give the Inquisition information about his family has led a number of scholars to suspect that Brocense was a Converso. Indeed, his family background conforms to a Converso stereotype. He was born in Las Brozas, near the Portuguese border, an area that included substantial Converso communities; his parents' names, Sánchez and Núñez, were favored by Conversos in these borderland communities; his father, an upholsterer, was involved in textiles, an industry also favored by Conversos; and three of his family members were medical men, a profession not only favored, but dominated by Conversos. Furthermore, Brocense married twice into a family, the Pesos, well known in Salamanca as Converso merchants, moneylenders and Judaizers. For el Brocence's Converso background and problems, see Francisco Martínez Cuadrado, *El Brocense: Semblanza de un humanista*, Badajoz, 2003, pp. 23–5.

was not only a grammarian, however; he was also a humanist with strong Erasmian leanings, something his young pupil undoubtedly found attractive.

From Barcelona, Malara moved back to Salamanca in 1547, where he remained for several months before returning to Seville. Here he entered the University of Seville, graduating in Arts the same year. Shortly after leaving university, Malara opened his own school, where he instructed his pupils in Latin grammar and those humanist ideals to which he later gave voice in his *Philosophia vulgar*. It may also have been at this time that he resolved to create an informal academy, modelled on Marsilio Fincino's Florentine establishment, where local scholars could meet and collaborate on important humanist projects, like the *Philosophia*.[11]

While we have little information on Malara during this period of his life, there is some evidence that he was connected to a group of radical religious reformers, several members of which would later be prosecuted for their Protestant sympathies. In 1556 one of the leaders of this group, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, was elected to the office of *canónigo magistral* in the cathedral. This election had been vigorously opposed by the archbishop Fernando de Valdés on the grounds that Constantino was a Converso. The archbishop was, however, unable to sway the cathedral chapter, many of whose members shared Constantino's tainted origins and Erasmian sympathies. Malara had taken the occasion of Constantino's election to write several poems celebrating the appointment and this had apparently gained the author some notoriety as a man of radical religious views. Five years later, when leaflets were distributed throughout the city attacking the Church in verse, Malara became the Inquisition's prime suspect, and found himself incarcerated in the Triana prison.[12] Although Malara was released after three months, when the real

11 "Although this is not the practice in Spain, it is a commendable custom in other nations to help learned men by having them read their works in academies so that everyone can give their opinions and offer important things, made available to the author without publishing the fact that they have done him this favor." ["Aunque esto no se usa en Hespaña, es loable costumbre de otras naciones ayudar a todos los hombres doctos al que escrivir, y aun leer los autores sus obras en las Academias para ellos concertadas, y todos dar sus pareceres y decir cosas notables y, con cierta sensillez, dárselo todo al autor, sin publicar que ellos le hizieron mercedes"] Juan de Mal Lara, *Obras completas I: Philosophía vulgar*, Madrid, 1996, p. 23.

12 The only reference to Malara's imprisonment appears in a letter from the Seville tribunal to the Suprema, which states, "Yesterday morning many people came to this Castle [the Inquisition prison in Triana] with lots of papers in verse, like the ones sent to your office and with other things added in the same script, one of which we send to you with this letter. Up until now we have not been able to find any trace of the author. Many inquiries have been made and continue to be made against suspect people, especially against

culprit was apprehended, the experience had clearly shocked and distressed him, as is evident from a reference to his confinement in his epic poem *La Psyche*, written soon after his release.[13]

In *La Psyche* Malara refers to the great love and support he had received from his wife, María Hojeda, during this bleak period of his life. Although no marriage certificate has been located to provide us with the date of their union, a notarial record, presenting details of María's wedding dowry (in which the humanist very clearly signs his name Malara, and not Mal Lara) suggests that the two married in 1557, when Malara was thirty three years old. From the dowry we learn that María was the daughter of Beatriz de Zamora and Cristóbal Díaz de Savalero and that her maternal grandparents were Caterina de Veas and Juan de Zamora. The surnames Veas, Zamora and Hojeda all appear in Seville's Inquisition lists of persons condemned to death for Judaizing. Although we have no information on María's antecedents, it is noteworthy that Juan Gil's investigations into the Converso community of Seville reveals that all three of the above names coincide in Converso marriage unions.[14]

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a scholar Malara, grammar master who often writes rhymes and verse—and did so in favor of Constantino [de la Fuente] when they gave him the canonry in the Cathedral. And thus he is imprisoned with good reason …" The real author of the verses, the clergyman and printer Sebastián Martínez, from Alcalá de Henares, was burnt at the stake on February 26, 1562. See Daniel Pineda Nova, *Juan de Mal Lara, poeta, historiador y humanista sevillano del siglo XVI*, pp. 28–29. For the Martínez affair, see Werner Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España 1517–1648*, Louvain, 2001, pp. 237–240.

13 Malara refers to his imprisonment in *La Psyche* in these terms:

¡Qué sufrimiento grande y qué cordura
Mostró la fiel alma, cuando sólo
Estuve en aquel término de verme
Sin hazienda, sin vida, honrra y esperanza
De no ser ya en el mundo más entre hombres!

[What great suffering and what lucidity
The faithful soul displayed when
I found myself in that place
Without property, life, honor or hope
No longer in the world of my fellow man]

Juan de Mal Lara, *La Psyche*, libro x, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms 3949.

14 Juan Gil, *Los Conversos y la Inquisición Sevillana*, vol. 3, p. 351 and vol. 5, p. 494. María de Hojeda's sister was given the name Luisa de Grajeda. The Grajedas in Gil's study are also closely connected with the Zamoras. Luisa married Malara's great friend and pupil Diego Girón. There is some evidence that Girón was from a merchant family native to Jeréz de los Caballeros, in southern Extremadura. This town also had the reputation of being home to a large Converso community.

Juan de Malara and María Hojeda's marriage produced two daughters, who were given the unusual names Gila and Silvestra. Silvestra died in infancy; Gila, who took her father's surname, was married twice, first to Jerónimo de Pereda, and later, after Pereda had deserted her, to Juan Caro de Sotomayor y Consuegra. Both men were merchants involved, like Malara's brother, in the Indies trade.[15]

Malara, it seems, authored a great number of works, including poems, histories and plays.[16] Of these works, all that have survived are a handful of short poems, a book of emblems, a grammatical primer, a long account of Philip II's only visit to Seville, el *Recibimiento*, two epic poems, *La Psyche* and *Hércules animoso*, and his *Philosophia vulgar*, modelled on Erasmus' adages. *Philosophia vulgar*, the most enduring of these works, has prompted a number of studies, the first, and still the most perceptive of which is Américo Castro's "Juan de Mal Lara y su *Filosofía vulgar*," published in 1927, before Castro had begun his own investigations into Spain's Converso writers.

Castro observes that while Malara makes only occasional reference to Erasmus in his *Philosophia vulgar*, his debt to the northern humanist is evident throughout the work. However, Castro also notes that Malara's comments on the religious and social abuses of his day lack the northern humanist's trenchancy. This reticence he attributes not only to the precarious position of humanists in Counter-Reformation Spain, but also to a personal lack of courage on the part of Malara. Castro writes, "Mal Lara lacks the affirmative character of Mirándola or Erasmus, the result of both the Counter-Reformation period in which he lived and his own lukewarm spirit; he knows the problem, but he carefully fashions his complaints."[17] Here, I think, Castro is unjust to Malara. The Seville humanist was certainly aware of the dangers of attempting to disseminate his beliefs to a broad public, but he was also aware of its futility. Like other Counter-Reformation humanists, he contented himself with presenting an encoded message to a reduced group of friends and adherents. Indeed, he states his intentions (in encoded terms) in the prologue of his *Philosophia*. Referring to Aristotle's use of proverbs, Malara writes, "Thus philosophy was treated in two ways: either through its secret mysteries, which Aristotle kept for

15 The second husband's surname suggests that he too was from the town of Alcázar de Consuegra.

16 For a list of Malara's works and attributed works see F. Sanchez Escribano, *Juan de Mal Lara, Su Vida y Sus Obras*, New York, 1941, pp. 119–172.

17 "Mal Lara carece del brio afirmativo de Mirándola o de Erasmo, tanto por la época de Contrarreforma en que vive, como por lo templado de su espirtu; conoce el problema, pero manejará con tiento sus rezones." Américo Castro "Juan de Mal Lara y su 'Filosofia Vulgar,'" in *Hacia Cervantes*, Madrid, 1967, p. 182.

his Alexander and those who listened to him alone, or in obvious ways which the common man could understand …"[18] Like Aristotle, Malara was writing for two different readers: those who would focus only on the superficial gloss, and those who would understand the hidden message. For this second group the author's intentions are evident from the very first pages of his work, in which he examines, in what appears to be a prolix and desultory manner, the proverb "Pray to God and wield the hammer" ("A dios rogando y con el maço dando").[19]

While an orthodox post-Tridentine writer might have used the proverb "Pray to God and wield the hammer" to affirm the importance of both faith and good works, Malara chooses instead to underline the humanist's belief in education and self-improvement, citing the Jewish writer Philo, who emphasized man's perfectibility: "It is certainly a matter of great contentment to see Philo, that very wise Hebrew, note the advances made by mankind since Genesis."[20] When, in the same gloss, Malara mentions religious practice, it is not to champion the Counter-Reformation environment, but to attack it. In referring to the importance of prayer, Malara writes, "thus everything is remedied by *Praying to God*, and so prayer is recommended, both in its vocal and mental forms." But this prayer is directed "towards God, not to gods, nor other falsities that people occupy themselves with …"[21] And several lines later he returns to his attack, this time assailing religious ritual and complex dogma as an aberration of the faith handed down to the Jews: "So many actions, instruments and offices were not necessary; God did not give the Hebrews so many laws; only praying to God, without other actions, was sufficient."[22] Significantly, Malara does not evoke an early evangelical Church to criticize modern Christian practice, but a prayer-based ancient Judaism. This view of the ancient Jews was diametrically opposed to the one presented by the Catholic Church, in which a law- and ritual-ridden Jewish religion was superseded by a new, spiritual Christian one.

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18 "Assí que la Philosophía fue tratada en dos maneras: o según sus secretos misteriosos, que Aristotéles guardava para declarar a su Alexandro y los que le oían solamente, o según los que el vulgo solía recibir y entender en cosas palpables …" Juan de Mal Lara, *Obras Completas, 1: Philosophía vulgar*, edición Manuel Bernal Rodríguez, Madrid, 1996, p. 30.

19 Ibid., p. 162, centuria 1, adage 1.

20 "Que es, por cierto, gran contento verlo pintado en Philón, aquel sapientíssimo hebreo, quando trata de la hechura del mundo, como va contando las perfecciones del hombre sobre lo del Génesis …" Ibid.

21 "… assí todas las cosas se remediasen con *A Dios rogando*, y aquí encomienda la oración, assi la vocal, como mental. Ponemos el blanco de nuestras demandas, y dize A Dios, no a los dioses, ni otras falsedades en que las gentes ocupavan su entendimiento, apurando esta verdad de aver Dios, y que a Él solo aviamos de adorar, de servir y amar …" Ibid.

22 "No fueron menester tantas artes, tantos instrumentos, tantas maneras de oficios, no diera Dios tantas leyes a los hebreos, si con solamente rogar a Dios, sin alguna diligencia más, se acabara todo." Ibid.

Having attacked certain religious practices of his day, Malara goes on to set forth his own private, quietist vision in his second gloss, in which he writes: "It is not necessary for you to place yourself in the middle of a public square in order to find God's grace. He will seek you out in the most secret corner. Even with the doors closed, he will enter to see you, as the holy gospel states, because the house knows those who God loves."[23]

Although less forthright, Malara's humanist ideals are essentially those of Erasmus. Nevertheless, the *Philosophia vulgar* and Erasmus' *Adagia* are fundamentally quite different works, something that the normally perspicacious Américo Castro failed to discern in his own study. In writing the *Adagia*, Erasmus was at pains to show the harmony between the classical wisdom of the Greeks and Christian teaching, as he makes clear in his adage "Among friends all is common":

> What other purpose has Plato in so many volumes [writes Erasmus] except to urge a community of living and the factor which creates it, namely friendship? If only he could persuade mortals of these things, war, envy and fraud would at once vanish from our midst; in short a whole regiment of woes would depart from life once and for all. What other purpose had Christ, the prince of our religion? One precept and one alone He gave to the world, and that was love; on that alone, He taught, hang all the law and the prophets.[24]

Here Erasmus asserts the common humanist principles of the classical Greek and Christian societies at the expense of the Jews, who, he notes, preferred elaborate laws and prophesies to a simple credo based on love. While Malara shares Erasmus's view that Christian values underpin a pre-Christian classical world, unlike Erasmus, who was antagonistic towards the ancient Hebrew culture, he places the Jews at the center of his Christian-humanist credo. In the prologue to his *Philosophia vulgar*, he writes that proverbs reflect God's natural wisdom, and that this wisdom was first handed to the ancient Hebrews, who then passed it on to "the sad blind Gentiles," the Egyptians, "and from them to those who became their disciples [the Greeks]."[25] Furthermore, he notes that

23 "No es menester que te pongas en medio de las plaças para que te venga a hallar la merced de Dios. En un rincón, en lo más Escondido, proveerá tu necesidad y te buscará. Entrará a verte, cerradas las puertas, como entendemos del sancto Evangelio, porque al que Dios quiere bien la casa le sabe." Ibid., p. 164, centuria 1, adage 2.

24 Cited from James McConica, *Erasmus*, Oxford, 1996, p. 27.

25 "en todos los artes y ciencias, que los tristes ciegos de gentilidad rescibieron, de mano en mano, de los hebreos a los egipcios, y destos a los que vinieron a ser sus discípulos. Assí que quanto más atrás, más perfectos y cumplidos …" *Philosophia vulgar*, p. 28.

the nearer one gets to the source of God's wisdom the more perfect it becomes, indirectly pronouncing the superiority of the Hebrews, who received this wisdom at first hand. In his gloss on the proverb "Every man has his own name" ["Cada hombre tiene su nombre"], Malara reaffirms this view.[26] Names were given by God to man from the beginning of time, he writes, as a sign of his individuality, and those who first took names, "as first in the world, and first in wisdom," were the Hebrews and Chaldeans.[27]

However, Malara is not merely intent on establishing the intellectual importance of the Jews; he is also interested in forging an iron link between them and Spain, pointing out that it was Tubal, the grandson of Noah, who "came enriched with merchandise to our land, introducing good customs and holy laws, and teaching the received doctrine and skills."[28] While Malara's claim that civilization entered Spain with Noah's grandson is based on a Saint Jerome commentary on Ezekiel, his own Tubal was not the first colonist of Spain, but, significantly, the head of a group of Levantine immigrants who brought enlightenment to a benighted land. It was through the efforts of this group of people, who settled on the Peninsula thousands of years before the Roman occupation, that Spain emerged from barbarism: "Such that, bit by bit, they made a land that was previously wild and given to war into a prudent and sensible place …"[29]

It is clear, however, that Malara believes his own society has turned its back on the Hebrews' "honest works." His glosses present the Spanish as violent, ostentatious, excessively interested in caste, bad administrators, unskilled in

26 Ibid., pp. 866–869, centuria IX, adage 92.

27 "como primeros en el mundo, y primera en sabiduría, que tan cerca tenían la mano de Dios y tan tiernos estavan los hombres en el saber, fueron los hebreos y caldeos …" Ibid., p. 867.

28 "viendo a nuestra tierra, enriquecido con tal mercaduria [learning], puso en ella todo policia de buenos costumbres y sanctas leyes, y enseñó aquella doctrina rescbida y artes, que traián los hombres de Hespaña, ocupados en honestos exercicios." Ibid., p. 28.

29 "De manera que, poco a poco, se hizo la tierra (feroz antes y dada a la Guerra) discreta y avisada, mejorando su buen ingenio con eminentes maestros, que quanto dezían eran admirables secretos de Dios y la naturaleza." Ibid., p. 29. Pedro Mexía, an author Malara cites on a number of occasions in his *Philosophia*, makes similar claims in his *Silva de varia lección*, noting that writing existed in Spain two thousand years before the Romans arrived. This meant that "there would have been writing in our Spain in the period of the grandchildren and even the children of Noah, who came to populate the land." Like Malara, Mexía specifically links the ancient Hebrew presence in Spain with a pre-Roman intellectual tradition. Pedro Mexía, *Silva de varía lección*, 2 vols. Madrid, 1990, vol. 2, silva 3, 1. For the Converso humanists' interest in creating a Spanish foundation myth in which the Jews were prominent, see my chapter "The Converso Issue and Early-Modern Spanish Historiography," in the present volume.

business, and prone to idleness, gambling and brutish pastimes. Malara makes only a few references to the Jews in his *Philosophia*; however, when he does so, it is to present them as the antithesis of the Spanish *vulgo*. In his gloss on the adage "¿A do bueno, don Fuda? A Alcalá si el dio me ayuda," Malara recounts the tale of a poor Jewish clothes merchant who, travelling to Alcalá de Henares, encounters another Jew laden with wares.[30] When he asks the second merchant where he is going, he replies "To Alcalá, with God's help." Malara uses the refrain to return once more to the importance of self-help and individual enterprise. Unable to make a living in his town, the Jew, Don Fuda (Don because it is a title "that the Jews used to assume") is moving in the hope of encountering a more favorable situation elsewhere. Malara notes that this encounter takes place in Spain before the Catholic Kings expelled the Jews. This is not, I think, a redundant comment, but a subtle criticism of the expulsion, which rid the country of a resourceful community.[31] In his gloss on the adage "Anuncía, que el dio dara," Malara once again uses a Jew as an example of superior comportment.[32] Like all children, Malara tells us, the Jew's son is continually imitating people with physical afflictions. This disturbs his father so much that he tells the son: "Announce it and God will give it to you." This, the humanist opines, was a necessary reprimand because there is nothing amusing in imitating the afflicted.

On two occasions Malara uses the Jews to point out Old Christian hypocrisy. In his gloss on the adage "De villano favorescido y de judío atrevido," Malara compares the arrogance of the well treated peasant with that of the impudent Jews.[33] These Jews are no longer in the country, the humanist once again notes, because the Catholic Kings threw them out. Nevertheless, he opines, the saying should be rendered in its entirety, "because if any type of audacity is dangerous, it is that of the Jew, who dares to look for honor and money."[34] In other words the Jew's arrogance lies in the fact that he seeks honor and wealth,

30 Ibid., p. 184, centuria 1, adage 22.

31 Malara returns to the subject of self-help in his gloss on the adage "Quien se muda, Dios le ayuda." Here he uses the Old Testament Jews as an example of the importance of self-help. "An example of this is Abraham, who moved from his land; of the patriarch Jacob, when he left his land to come to Egypt; of the children of Israel who left Egypt. And I state this so that lazy people will rouse themselves." ["Exemplo tenemos en Abraham, que se mudó de su tierra. En el patriarca Jacob, quando dexó su tierra por venirse Egipto. En los mismos hijos de Israel salir de Egipto. Y diráse para los que son perezosos que tomen buen ánimo"]. Ibid., p. 271, centuria 11, adage 67.

32 Ibid., p. 172, centuria 1, adage 14.

33 Ibid., p. 224, centuria 1, adage 87.

34 "porque si algún atrevimiento es dañoso, es el del judío, que se atreve a la honra y a los dineros." Ibid.

like his Old Christian counterparts. In his commentary on the adage "Waiting for a well-born gentlemen left me with breasts below my chest" ["Esperando marido cavellero, danme tetas abaxo el pecho"], Malara returns to the theme of honor.[35] He tells us that this is the complaint of a woman who grows old awaiting a husband of the best lineage, preferring noble status to goodness. And the humanist cites the Roman writer Martial, who puts a similar sentence in the mouth of a certain Gelia. Finally, unable to find a Roman with a noble background, and not wishing to die celibate, Gelia marries a Jew. Here, it would seem that Malara is slighting the Jews. However, the commentary also admits another interpretation: noble ancestry is more common in Jewish than Roman (Gentile) society.

Malara makes numerous references to his society's obsession with correct lineage. Through the adage "Let us forget our fathers and grandfathers, for we are good ourselves" ["Dexemos padres y abuelos, por nosotros seamos Buenos"], he puts forward his plea: let us not judge people on blood, but only on merit. "This advice," writes the humanist, "is for all those who waste their time in speaking about their background, in looking for their coats of arms, in writing about their family trees …"[36] And he cites classical authors to support his argument that true nobility is derived from one's actions alone. Sophocles, Malara tells us, "advised King Antigone to choose his friends not by considering who their parents were but who they were in themselves"; while Sócrates "being accused of low parentage, replied: 'For that reason I am worthy of more honor, because my lineage begins with me.'"[37] Among these ancient authorities, Malara also includes the Spanish *letrado* Fernando de Pulgar, whose *Claros varones de Castilla*, he cites "to confirm our adage regarding those who wish to be recognized as good for their own actions." As Malara would have known,

35 Ibid., p. 402, centuria IV, adage 35.

36 "Este consejo es para los que gastan su tiempo en contar sus linages, 'en buscar el blasón de sus armas, en escrivir los arboles de su genealogia …'" Ibid., pp. 667–672, centuria VII, adage 7.

37 Sócrates "siendole dado en cara de ser de baxos padres, respondío: 'Pues por esso soy digno de más honra, que de mi comiença mi linaje.'" In 1559, as Malara was working on the *Philosophia*, Juan Arce de Otalara published his *Summa nobilitatis hispanicae*, in which he wrote, "for the crime of divine and human *lese majeste*, the blood of those who handed Christ [to the Romans] is so damned that their children, grandchildren and their descendants, as if they were born with infected blood, are separated and excluded from honors and dignified positions … The infamy of their ancestors stays with them for ever." Quoted from Henry Méchoulan's introduction to Fadrique Furió Ceriol, *El Concejo y Consejeros del Príncipe*, Madrid, 1993, p. XXVII. My translation.

Pulgar, a Converso advisor to the Catholic Monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand, was a vociferous critic of the *limpieza de sangre* laws.[38]

In his gloss on the adage, "The good man does not look to his lineage" ["Al hombre bueno no le busquen abolengo"], Malara once again asserts the importance of virtue in determining nobility. Good and honorable men, writes the humanist, have no interest in titles, "because they know that their goodness is sufficient testament of nobility, as is stated in the saying, 'We ourselves are good.'" Malara further states that these honorable men should not be required to answer questions on their lineage in order to attain important positions in society, "as goodness alone is enough to win honors, a man's virtue being that which should be prized …"[39] Here, Malara aludes to the *limpieza de sangre* statutes, a subject he returns to on several other occasions.

In the adage "The short prayer rises to Heaven" ["La oracion breve sube al cielo"], Malara illustrates the efficacy of a short prayer by giving the example of the leper who confronts Jesus with the words, "Lord, if you wish, you can make me clean." To which Jesus replies, "I do." In other words, it is Jesus who purifies us through our faith in Him. The observation is reminiscent of that made by Juan de Ávila in his *Audi, filia*, in which *el maestro* writes, "The prophet Isaiah says that the Lord washes away the impurities of the daughters of Sion … signifying that the Lord cleanses our stains …"[40]

The adage "God gives food to washed hands" ["A manos lavadas, Dios les da qué coman"], provides Malara with another opportunity to make a veiled attack on the *limpieza* statutes, this time by discussing the relationship between bodily cleanliness and piety.[41] Malara notes that the ancient Hebrews washed their hands before their sacrifices or before eating, cleansing themselves in order to receive God's blessing. This, the humanist tells us, was why the Pharisees were concerned when Jesus' followers sat down to eat without first washing; they felt that these men were guilty of a spiritual solecism. Malara shares the Pharisees' view on the importance of outward cleanliness: "[The proverb] is saying that exterior cleanliness, which is a sign of the interior

38 For Pulgar's Converso activism, see Francisco Cantera, "Hernando de Pulgar y Los conversos," *Sefarad*, Madrid 1944, Fasc. 2, pp. 295–348.

39 "porque basta honrallo el conocer su bondad, que la virtud del hombre es la que se ha de estimar … A los que eran de esta suerte, concedieron los pueblos sus oficios y dignidades, como a M. Tulio [Cicero], que aunque era hombre nuevo, que assí llamavan a los que començaran a tener officios en la República, lo hizieron cónsul …" *Philosophia*, p. 909, centuria X, adage 45.

40 "[E]l profeta Esaías dice que el Señor lava las suciedades de las hijas de Sión, y la sangre de en medio de Jerusalén en espiritu de juicio y en espíritu de ardor, dando a entender que el lavar el Señor nuestras manchas …" Juan de Ávila, *Obras completas*, vol. 1, p. 471, ll. 1773–6.

41 *Philosophia vulgar*, pp. 169–170, centuria 1, adage, 10.

kind, is pleasing to those who see it, and gains the person who demonstrates it a name for purity …"[42] However, he is careful to add that this is not always a sound indication of one's godliness: "Because no one washes themselves more than do the Moors before entering into their mosques, and there is no one filthier than them in sins …"[43] Significantly, he makes no mention of the Jews, whose cleanliness presumably does reflect their godliness.

Although stated more circumspectly, Malara's views on bodily cleanliness are those attributed by Fernando Pulgar to the Converso bishop of Burgos, Alonso Cartagena, who according to Pulgar, was "very clean in his person and the clothes he wore … and really hated men who were not clean. Because according to him exterior cleanliness in men was a sign of the interior kind."[44] Clearly for both Alonso de Cartagena and Juan de Malara, bodily cleanliness, practiced by Jews in their pre-Sabbath preparations, was a much more appropriate test of religious piety than that of *limpieza de sangre*.

There is yet another theme treated extensively by Malara in his *Philosophia vulgar* which, I believe, reveals a Converso sensibility: the importance of being able to die in one's homeland. In both his glosses on the adages "Those who God loves well, in Seville are given food," [A quien dios quiere bien, en Sevilla le dio de comer], and "The land where I was brought up God make it my mother" ["La tierra do me criare demela dios por madre"] the humanist stresses the importance of being able to pass one's life passively in one's place of birth, without being forced, through want or exile, to travel.[45] However, it is in his gloss on "The good man's son goes away until he dies or finds success" ["El hijo del bueno vaya hasta que muera o bien aya"] that he treats the theme in some detail.[46] There are two types of absence from one's homeland, he begins: voluntary and enforced. And the humanist argues that the first kind can be of great service if it is undertaken for motives of self-improvement (a subtle criticism of Philip II's ban on study abroad, perhaps). Thus, the voluntary traveller can be either praised or vilified, depending upon his reasons for travel.

42 "Quiere dezir la limpieza exterior, que es como señal de la interior, que tan bien paresce a los que la miran, y gana el que la muestra nombre de limpio …" Ibid., pp. 169–170.

43 "Porque no ay gentes que más usen este lavarse, antes que entren un sus mezquitas, que los moros, y no ay quen más suzios sean en pecados …" Ibid., p. 170.

44 "muy limpio en su persona y en las ropas que traia … y aborescía mucho los omes que no eran limpios. Porque la limpieza exterior del ome dezia el que era algun señal de la interior." (Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros Varones de Castilla*, ed. Robert Brian Tate, Oxford, 1971, p. 10).

45 *Philosophia vulgar*, p. 173, centuria 1, adage 15, and p. 244, centuria 2, adage 10.

46 Ibid., centuria I, adage 15; centuria II, adage 10; and centuria VII, adage 23.

As for the exile, he deserves nothing but "forgiveness and mercy."[47] Knowing something of Malara's own family history, one assumes that the entreaty came straight from the heart.

* * *

Juan de Malara was, I would argue, a Converso Humanist, by which I mean that his New Christian background informed his Erasmian credo, surfacing in his respect for Jewish tradition, including the Jews' moral and intellectual importance for an early Iberian culture, his emphasis on a society based on merit, not on pure blood, and his lament for a world before the Inquisition destroyed lives, decimated communities, and led tens of thousands of Spaniards into forced or self-imposed exile. These characteristics are not peculiar to Malara, of course. A careful examination of the backgrounds of Spain's sixteenth-century humanists will reveal, or strongly suggest, that most were of Jewish descent; and close scrutiny of their works (and subtexts) will normally indicate how this stigma animated their calls for socio-religious reform. Unfortunately, we are still not paying close enough attention to the social circumstances of many of these celebrated figures or the message they were discreetly conveying to a discerning reader.

47 Malara cites Aristotle's *Ethics*: "Que en las cosas que de voluntad se hazen ay lugar para loor y vituperar; y en los que no son voluntarias, solamente entra el perdon y misericordia."

CHAPTER 6

The Hebrew Bible, Jewish Tradition and the Redefinition of Catholicism in the Sixteenth Century

Francisco Javier Perea Siller

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, humanism brought an unprecedented opening-up of the Catholic Church to the biblical texts in their original languages, Hebrew and Greek. In both cases it is easy to recognize the birth of modern philology, but in the case of the Hebrew language there was also an important new approach to the Jewish exegetical tradition. However, in that century and in the context of Spain, two historical circumstances made the process of philological modernization more difficult and threatened the development of biblical interpretation based on the literal sense: first, the presence of Jewish converts in an assimilation process that required their religious and cultural de-Judeization; and second, the spread of Protestantism from the middle of the sixteenth century and the need for the Catholic Church to redefine the limits of orthodoxy.

At this critical moment, the Hebrew language and culture was set in the middle of a confrontation between two different sectors of the Catholic Church: on the one hand, those scholars who wanted to protect Spanish culture from Jewish influence and consequently rejected the linguistic, philological, and exegetical heritage of Judaism (such as the Dominican León de Castro or the Jesuit Francisco de Ribera); on the other hand, those theologians and Biblicists (many of them of Converso origin) who claimed that the Hebrew language and Jewish exegesis were the best way to understand the texts of the Old Testament and therefore argued that this tradition was an important part of Christian identity (such as Luis de León, Benito Arias Montano or Gaspar de Grajal).

Along with the fear of Judaizing was the Protestant call for "sola Scriptura," which, combined with the Humanist's insistence on "returning to the sources," created problems for Catholic orthodox practice. After the Council of Trent, the philological tendency was increasingly attacked through book censorship and inquisitorial trials against humanists.

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1 Humanism and Biblical Text

With very few exceptions, the approach to biblical texts during the Middle Ages was primarily allegorical. It was built on the Vulgate, that is to say, the translation of the Bible into Latin by Saint Jerome in the fourth century. The emergence of humanism shifted deeply the approach to biblical texts. Humanist methodology required a return to the sources and the need for philology as an essential tool for undertaking these scriptural investigations. The first step in this method was the reconstruction of the original text by comparing the available manuscripts. Next, it was essential to ascertain its plain meaning through a profound knowledge of grammar and diction. Finally, it was necessary to make sense of the text through the detailed study of the world that lay behind it.

After applying this method to the study of classical Greco-Latin literature, humanists broadened their scope to include biblical texts, which at that time were known by means of Latin versions, with many discrepancies among them. The beginning of this philological movement can be traced to Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457). Known as the author of *Elegantiae Latinae linguae* (1471), Valla was the first humanist (in his *In Novum Testamentum ex diversorum utriusque linguae codicum collatione adnotationes*, 1449) to compare Saint Jerome's translation of the New Testament with Greek and Latin manuscripts and to contrast the Vulgate with the *graeca veritas*. This biblical textual criticism also inspired Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536), according to whom the reform of Christianity needed as a prerequisite the restoration of the Bible to its original purity. Following on the work of Valla, Erasmus published the first edition of his Greek *New Testament*, in 1516, with a new Latin translation. In the field of Hebraism, these philological innovations arrived early. The first Hebrew-Latin grammar to be written by a Christian, Johannes Reuchlin's (1455–1522) *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506), triggered controversy because it revealed the lack of correspondence between the *Vulgate* and the *hebraica veritas*.

A renewal of biblical studies had begun. Perhaps the best example is the well-known case of the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (published in 1521). The promoter of the idea was Cardinal Cisneros, who wanted to offer the source texts to achieve a better knowledge of the Bible. He acquired the best early manuscripts of the languages that would appear in the edition (Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Vulgate Latin), and employed the most accomplished philologists to edit and emend them. The result was a multi-volume work in which the New Testament Vulgate was placed side by side with the Greek source; and the Old Testament Vulgate was juxtaposed with the Hebrew text and Greek Septuagint (with Latin translation), and with a version of the Pentateuch in Aramaic

(again with Latin translation). There were also auxiliary tools, the sixth volume offering some works on grammar and Greek and Hebrew lexicons.[1]

2 Hebrew, the Motivated Language

Hebraists considered a knowledge of the Hebrew language fundamental to understanding the Old Testament. In Spain it was common among Hebraists to think that this language was the original of humanity, a motivated language not only in its ability to express the nature of things but also in its own signifier.[2] Thus, it was believed that biblical exegesis should start from this language, as Benito Arias Montano noted:

> And for this study it is necessary to take into consideration this original language [...], which was the one used by the first speakers and which even the divinity spoke to men in; all the others, however, although most cultivated, arise from the consensus and invention of men, rather than by some law and unique plan of God.[3]

Judaism has ascribed linguistic motivation to the original Hebrew text from the time of the early Midrashic literature, becoming even more notable later, in the Kabbalah or Jewish mystical tradition. This feature of language allowed

1 On the Complutensian Bible, see Luis Alonso Schökel *et al.* eds., *Anejo a la edición facsímile de la Biblia Políglota Complutense*, Valencia, 1987; Ignacio Carbajosa and Andrés García eds., *Una Biblia a varias voces. Estudio textual de la Biblia Políglota Complutense*, Madrid, 2014; and Antonio Alvar Ezquerra coord., *La Biblia Políglota Complutense en su contexto*, Alcalá de Henares, 2016.

2 Thus, Luis de León theorizes on the motivation of names in *De los nombres de Cristo*'s introduction at length. See Francisco Javier Perea Siller, *Fray Luis de León y la lengua perfecta. Lingüística, cábala y hermenéutica en "De los nombres de Cristo,"* Córdoba, 1998. The same conception of Hebrew language is held by Arias Montano and Valverde, among others, as noted by Perea Siller in "Capacidad referencial e historia de la lengua hebrea en Benito Arias Montano," *Helmantica hebraica* 65.166 (enero–abril de 2004), pp. 31–46, and also in "El *Tratado de etymologias de vozes castellanas* de Bartolomé Valverde (c. 1579 / c. 1586): hebraísmo y etimologías," in Antonio Salvador Plans *et al.* eds., *La Historiografía Lingüística como paradigma de investigación*, Madrid, 2016, pp. 609–629.

3 The original text reads: "Atque ad hanc tractationem antiquissimae ac primaevae linguae potissimùm habenda ratio est, qua primos hominum usos, atque adeò Numen ipsum homines allocutum [...]: caeteras verò omnes, quamvis cultissimas, ex hominum consensu & inventione magis quàm singulari aliqua Dei lege & institutione profectus in usurpationem venisse" (*Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam*, Antuerpiae, ex officina Plantiniana apud viduam et Ioannem Moretum, 1593, pp. 13–14).

for an exegetical interpretation of Hebrew texts which was unfeasible for translations. And thus Spanish Hebraists defended a kind of allegorical exegesis based on its own literal sense.[4]

Along with the defense of the Hebrew biblical text, Christian Hebraists referred frequently to the translation mistakes made by Saint Jerome as well as the variance among the Vulgate manuscripts. Good examples of this are Luis de León's Latin commentary on Prophet Obadiah, his exegeses of the *Song of Songs* and the *Book of Job*, and his many corrections of the Vulgate in his masterpiece, *De los nombres de Cristo*.[5]

3 Approach to Jewish Exegesis

The appreciation for the Hebrew Bible brought an unprecedented opening-up of humanists to the grammatical, lexicographical and exegetical tradition of the Jews. It can be stated that these Christian authors approached the Jewish people more than at any other time until the second half of the twentieth century. Proof of this appreciation for the Jewish tradition is the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* itself as well as the scholarship of Sanctes Pagnini, François Vatable, Robert Estienne, and, significantly, the auxiliary treatises on Jewish culture of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (*Biblia regia*).[6]

4 See Gershom G. Scholem, *Le Nom et les symboles de Dieu dans la mystique juive*, Paris, 1983, and Idel, Moshé, *Language, Torah and Hermeneutics in Abraham Abulafia*, New York, 1989.

5 For Luis de León's Latin commentary on Prophet Obadiah, see Francisco Javier Perea Siller, "Exégesis bíblica y confrontación racial: los comentarios sobre Abdías 20 de Francisco de Ribera y Luis de León," eHumanista / Conversos 2 (2014), pp. 142–155.

6 Pagnini was the author of the first Latin translation of the Bible as an alternative to the *Vulgate*, from the originals in Greek and Hebrew: the *Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova translatio* (Lyon, 1528). In this work, which was to see several reprints, the text is divided into chapters and verses, as it is done nowadays. The Frenchman François Vatable (†1547) did not publish any work, but he was a renowned Hebraist, professor at the Collège Royal in Paris, and his disciples numbered Mercier, Cinquarbres, Génébrard and the editor Robert Estienne, who introduced his comments into his biblical editions. See Dick Wursten, "François Vatable, so much more than a 'name,'" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 73.3 (2011), pp. 557–591. In 1545, Estienne edited a *Biblia quid in hac editione praestitum sit vide in ea quam operi proposuimos ad lectorem epistola* (Lutetiae, Roberti Stephani, 1545), embracing a Latin version edited by Froschoverus along with the *Vulgate*. The text contained numerous comments and notes by Vatable, with texts from Jews such as David Qimhi, but there were also notes from protestant authors. That was the reason why this edition, known as the *Biblia de Vatablo*, was banned by the Sorbonne experts and included in the Spanish *Index* of 1559. After the death of Francis I, Estienne moved to Geneva, where he embraced Calvinism. A new period of publications now started in the Swiss city. On Estienne, see Elisabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer*, Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1986.

Yet another example of this increasing interest in Jewish culture is the beginning of the Christian Kabbalah—an interpretation of the Jewish mysticism according to the dogmas and principles of Christianity.[7] Here we should emphasize the importance of the humanists Pico della Mirandola and Johannes Reuchlin, as founders of the Christian Kabbalah. The first encouraged a new approach to the biblical text, based on the techniques of the Jewish Kabbalists, in works such as *Conclusiones philosophicae, cabalisticae et theologicae* (1486) and the *Heptaplus* (1489). The second published, before his Hebrew grammar, two works of Christian Kabbalism: *De verbo mirifico* (1494) and *De arte cabalistica* (1517). Both men discovered in the Kabbalah a wisdom capable of contributing to the renovation of Christianity, such that during the first decades of the sixteenth century this movement influenced humanist scholarship. We find this imprint in the works of the Franciscans Pietro Galatino (*De arcanis catholicae veritatits*, 1518) and Franceso Giorgio de Veneto (*In scripturam Sacram problematica*, 1521, and *De harmonia Mundi*, 1525). Jewish Kabbalistic texts were also translated to Latin by the Dominican bishop Agustín Giustiniani in his *Psalterium, hebraeum, graecum, arabicum, et chaldeum: cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et glossis* (1516). At the same time Kabbalistic doctrines had an important role in the reform of the Augustinian order under the mandate of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, who translated numerous Kabbalist texts with the view to offering a better comprehension not only of Judaism but also of Christian dogmas.

This emerging interest in the Hebrew language and culture, including the Kabbalah, was particularly evident in Spain. Thus, the Escorial Library holds numerous Hebrew, Latin and Spanish manuscripts of Targumim and linguistic, exegetical and Kabbalistic Jewish writings. Furthermore, the first chair of biblical studies at the University of Alcalá, Dionisio Vázquez, a Converso, used the Hebrew Bible and its commentators in imparting his classes.[8] There is also evidence of Jewish and Christian Kabbalah in the works of both Alfonso de

7 On Christian Kabbalah, see François Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1964. See also Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, Leiden/ Boston, 2007.

8 See Quirino Fernández, "Fray Dionisio Vázquez de Toledo, orador sagrado del Siglo de Oro," *Archivo Agustiniano* 60 (1976), pp. 105–198. His Converso (Jewish) ancestry was noted in his Inquisitorial trial (Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "Incoación de un proceso inquisitorial contra padre Dionisio Vázquez, O. S. A., primer catedrático de Biblia en Alcalá" in *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca*, vol. 5, Salamanca, 1972, pp. 267–275), and has been pointed out more recently by Sergio Fernández López, *El "Cantar de los cantares" en el humanismo español. La tradición judía*, Huelva, 2009, pp. 94–96.

Zamora and Cipriano de la Huerga.[9] The first of these figures, another Converso, was professor of Hebrew at the University of Alcalá and a collaborator on the Complutense Polyglot Bible. In his *Epistola autoris a infideles Hebraeos*, Zamora examines Kabbalistic exegetical techniques in order to criticize them; however, he also uses them to demonstrate certain Christian dogmas.[10] For example, his interpretation of the first three words in Genesis is taken from the fourteenth-century Kabbalist Jakob ben Asher's *Ba'al haTurim*.[11] The Escorial library contains a number of works by this author, one of which, the *Arba'a Turim*, belonged to Arias Montano, possibly inherited from Zamora.[12]

Zamora's interest in Hebrew scholarship was stimulated by the Cistercian friar Cipriano de la Huerga, to whom we owe the exegetical commentaries *In Psalmum CXXX* (Lovaina, 1549), *In Psalmum XXXVIII* (Alcalá, 1555), *In prophetam Nahum* (Lyon, 1561) and *Commentaria in librum B. Job* and *In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis* (Alcalá 1582).[13] Huerga succeeded Dionisio Vázquez as biblical chair at Alcalá in 1551. He inherited the two most advanced hermeneutic methods of the period: on one hand, the literal Jewish exegesis, which he took from Alfonso de Zamora and the manuscripts related to the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible*; and on the other, the new current of humanist exegesis which emerged from the Platonic Academy of Florence, and included hermetic and Kabbalistic interpretation.

The disciples of Huerga—frays de León, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, Gaspar de Grajal and Benito Arias Montano—all inherited their master's high consideration for the Hebrew language and Jewish exegetic literature, including that of the Kabbalists. Thus, Arias Montano cited from the Talmud and

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9 On these authors, see Sergio Fernández López, "Arias Montano y Cipriano de la Huerga, dos humanistas en deuda con Alfonso de Zamora. A propósito de sus versiones latinas de la Biblia y el Targum," *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 60 (2011), pp. 137–159; Francisco Javier Perea Siller, "Los inicios de la cábala humanista en Alcalá: Alfonso de Zamora y Cipriano de la Huerga," *Helmantica* 191.64 (2013), pp. 153–180; Jesús de Prado Plumed, "La enseñanza del hebreo en Alcalá: la búsqueda complutense de Dios," in *V Centenario de la Biblia Políglota Complutense: la universidad del Renacimiento, el Renacimiento de la Universidad*, Madrid, 2014, pp. 452–486.

10 *Epistola autoris ad infideles Hebraeos urbis Romae, qua manifeste redarguit eorum perfidia*, which appeared in a Hebrew grammar of 1526: *Introductiones Artis grammaticae hebraicae nunc recenter editae*, Alcalá de Henares, Miguel de Eguía.

11 See Francisco Javier Perea Siller "Los inicios de la cábala humanista," p. 161.

12 Sergio Fernández López, "Exégesis, erudición y fuentes en el *Apparatus* de la Biblia Regia," in Benito Arias Montano, *Antigüedades Hebraicas. Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri IX. Tratados exegéticos de la Biblia Regia. Apparatus Sacer*, eds. Luis Gómez Canseco and Sergio Fernández López, Huelva, 2013, p. 81.

13 Huerga's works have been published in Latin-Spanish editions in the collection "Humanistas Españoles," Universidad de León (10 volumes between 1991 and 2005).

other rabbinical texts while describing Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides) as "the most learned commentator of the Pentateuch."[14] From his first exegetic work, *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (1571), to his last ones, for example the *Liber generationes et regenerationis Adam* (1593), Montano demonstrated a continuous use of Jewish exegesis to the detriment of both the Holy Fathers and medieval theologians. His concept of the Hebrew language gave rise to sporadic Kabbalistic interpretations in such works as *De arcano sermone*, included among the apparatus of his *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, which was denounced by his adversaries as heretical.[15]

Meanwhile, Montano's friend the Converso Luis de León was influenced by the medieval Jewish exegetes Abraham ibn Ezra, David Kimhi and Rashi. In León's Latin courses, free of censorship, we can find quotes from the Talmud and Christian Kabbalists, among whom are Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Pietro Galatino and Francesco Giorgi Veneto. Furthermore, he developed his own biblical interpretations related to the Christian Kabbalah.[16]

For these scholars, Hebrew exegesis and, in some cases, the Christian Kabbalah was a basic platform for understanding the Bible. However, others within the Spanish Church believed that Hebraism should not be accepted within orthodox practice. There were three main reasons for this antagonism. First it challenged the Vulgate; second it maintained too close a contact with Judaism; and third it created a link to Protestantism and *sola scriptura*, which attacked the fundaments of Catholicism.

4 The Status of the Vulgate

The humanists' interest in Hebrew and Greek original religious texts directly challenged the most used Latin version of the Christian Bible, the so-called *Vulgate*. The Spanish humanist Antonio Nebrija had already suffered the consequences of recommending the emendation of the Vulgate while preparing

14 In the original: "doctissimum quemdam Pentateuchi expositorem" (Benito Arias Montano), *Antigüedades Hebraicas. Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri IX. Tratados exegéticos de la Biblia Regia. Apparatus Sacer*, Luis Gómez Canseco y Sergio Fernández López eds., Huelva, 2013, p. 327.

15 He was accused of Judaizing, which was based on his rejection of the Vulgate in favor of the Hebrew Bible and his preference for Jewish exegesis rather than that of the Holy Fathers. These criticisms are documented in Perea Siller, "Exégesis bíblica y confrontación racial …," The accusation of Judaizing was more acute in the cases in which the Hebraists were known to be Conversos, as I note below.

16 See Perea Siller, *Fray Luis de León y la lengua perfecta* …, pp. 72–75 and ch. four.

the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible*.[17] This controversy resurfaced in the middle of the sixteenth century with the Protestant rejection of the Vulgate, favoring vernacular translations of the original Hebrew and Greek texts.

On 8 April 1546, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) proclaimed the Vulgate the "only authentic Latin text of the Scriptures." As a result, the most conservative sectors of the Catholic Church attacked every attempt to correct the Vulgate in accordance with the Hebrew and Greek texts used by Jews and Protestants.[18] This opinion was sustained by the Jesuit Francisco de Ribera, the Dominicans León de Castro and Melchor Cano, and the Flemish prelate Wilhelmus Lindanus, bishop of Roermond in the Spanish Netherlands, who believed that the Vulgate had been inspired by the Holy Spirit.[19] The power held by this sector is demonstrated in the inquisitorial trials suffered by the Hebrew scholars Luis de León, Gaspar de Grajal and Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, at

17 Cisneros's idea was to restore the *Vulgate* from the different available manuscripts. But Nebrija thought that he should also correct it using the originals in Hebrew and Greek. For this reason, the humanist was partially removed from the project and tried by the Inquisition. See Miguel Avilés, "La exégesis bíblica española (1546–1700)," in Melquíades Andrés ed., *Historia de la teología española*, Madrid, 1987, vol. 2, pp. 122–123. On Nebrija and the Complutensian Bible, see Teresa Jiménez Calvente, "*Quidnam heres stupidusque manes*? La Biblia en manos de los *grammatici*: Antonio de Nebrija y otros eruditos complutenses," in Antonio Alvar Ezquerra coord., *La Biblia Políglota Complutense*, pp. 239–260.

18 Salvador Muñoz Iglesias, "El Decreto tridentino sobre la Vulgata y su interpretación por los teólogos del siglo XVI," *Estudios Bíblicos* 4 (1965), pp. 137–167. Aware of the deficiencies in the text, the Tridentine Council eventually ordered its correction, along with carrying out emended Greek and Hebrew editions. The revision of the *Vulgate* was the most difficult task. After the preparatory works by Pope Pius IV, Sixtus V created a commission to edit the revise the text in 1587. Luis de León refused to take part in that commission, but Bartolomé Valverde did, and subsequently was in charge of comparing the Latin text with the original in Hebrew. Owing to the number of requests for correction, the work was soon halted. The text, notably revised, was published in 1590. After the pope's death, the work continued, finally coming to a close in 1604, when the so-called *sixto clementine* edition was fixed and became the official text of the Catholic Bible until the Second Vatican Council. See Giovanni María Vian, *Filología e historia de los textos cristianos. Bibliotheca divina*, Madrid, 2005, pp. 278–279.

19 Their opinions are illustrated in Gaspar de Grajal's *De latina et vulgata editione* (*Obras completas*, introduction, critical edition, Spanish translation and notes by Crescencio Miguélez Baños, León, 2004, vol. 2, p. 326). On Castro and Lindanus, see Theodor William Dulkelgün, *The Multiplicity of Scripture: the Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (*1568–1573*), Phd. diss., The University of Chicago, 2012, pp. 218–261.

the University of Salamanca, and Alonso de Gudiel, an Augustinian friar who taught at the University of Osuna.[20]

5 Christianity vs. Judaism

In the sixteenth century, Spain was immersed in the process of the assimilation of Conversos, and therefore the attempts to promote the *hebraica veritas* in order to correct the Vulgate text were frequently seen as a form of Judaizing. This is the case of fray Luis de León and Gaspar de Grajal, whose Jewish backgrounds were seen as evidence of their culpability not only by their accusers but also by the inquisitor Diego González, in charge of their trials. "As Grajal and fray Luis are notorious Conversos," stated González, "it seems to me they must wish to darken our Catholic faith and return to their law, and for this reason it is my view and decision that the said fray Luis de León be arrested and taken to the Inquisition prison so that the prosecutor can begin proceedings."[21] The fact is that biblical exegesis based on Hebrew texts became a dangerous enterprise in sixteenth century Spain, especially when those involved (the majority, it would seem) were the descendants, or presumed descendants, of Jews.[22]

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20 See Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, OSA, "Investigaciones inquisitoriales contra el biblista español Gaspar de Grajal: Notas inéditas para el estudio de la cultura española en el siglo XVI," *Cruz y Raya: Revista de Afirmación y Negación* 38 (1936), pp. 3–55; Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *Causa criminal contra el biblista Alonso Gudiel, Catedrático de la Universidad de Osuna*, Madrid, 1942; Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *Proceso Criminal contra el Hebraísta Salmantino Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra*, Madrid and Barcelona, 1946. See also Ángel Alcalá, "El control inquisitorial de intelectuales en el Siglo de Oro. De Nebrija al 'Indice' de Sotomayor de 1640," in Joaquín Pérez Villanueva y Bartolomé Escandell Bonet dirs., *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América, III. Temas y problemas*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 828–956.

21 "Que por ser Grajal y frai Luis notorios conversos, pienso que no deven querer mas que oscurecer a nuestra fee Cathólica y bolberse a su ley, y por esto es mi boto y parecer que el dicho frai Luis de León sea preso y traído a las cárceles del santo officio para que con el fiscal siga su causa" (Ángel Alcalá, ed. *Proceso inquisitorial de Fray Luis de León*, p. 33). In the trial of Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra there were also witnesses who stated that the accused was a Converso, although there was no documented proof of this. See Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *Proceso Criminal contra el Hebraísta Salmantino Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra*, pp. 135 y 143. See also Ricardo Muñoz Solla's recent publication, "Hermenéutica hebrea y persecución inquisitorial: el caso del hebraísta salmantino Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra (s. XVI)," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos. Sección Hebreo* 65 (2016), p. 63.

22 In the case of Arias Montano, it has not been conclusively demonstrated that he descended from Jews; however, reconstruction of his social and familial relations by Juan

After the Council of Trent, works on Judaism were considered beyond the limits of Catholic orthodoxy. In Spain, the 1551 index of prohibited books explicitly banned the Targum, and later indexes banned the Talmud and the *Zohar*, as well as Latin translations of Rashi and Kimhi and works identified with the Christian Kabbalah.[23] It is significant that in the trial of fray Luis de León the accusations included, along with the use of rabbinical exegesis, consulting sources of Catholic Hebraists such as Pagnini and Vatable, and the Vulgate corrections from Hebrew.[24]

6 Tradition vs. Protestantism

In opposition to the Lutheran thesis of *sola scriptura*, the Council of Trent determined that the Bible should be interpreted according to the unanimous testimony of tradition and the *magisterium*. Taking this as a starting point, the writings of the saints were established as the essential criterion in defining the sense of the sacred texts;[25] while the Church Fathers were cited for their spiritual interpretations of the Bible, as opposed to the Hebraists who were

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Gil (*Arias Montano en su entorno* [*bienes y herederos*], Badajoz, 1998) and Antonio Dávila, ("Arias Montano y Amberes: enlaces espirituales, bibliográficos y comerciales entre España y los Países Bajos," *Excerpta philologica* 9 (1999), pp. 199–211), point to this. Fernando Serrano Mangas (*La segura travesía del* Agnus Dei. *Ignorancia y malevolencia en torno a la figura de Benito Arias Montano el Menor* (*1588–1641*), Badajoz, 1999), demonstrates the poet Quevedo's intention, in 1642, to discredit the humanist as an Old Christian.

23 The Targum was first banned in the Portuguese Inquisitorial index of 1551, and in the Spanish ones of 1551, 1583, 1593; Antwerp, 1570 and Rome, 1596. The Talmud was also banned in Venice, 1554, Rome, 1559 and 1564 ("banned until expurgated"), and Spain, 1583 and 1594. There is explicit reference to the *Zohar* in the Portuguese index of 1583. On Talmud and Inquisition, see Kenneth Stow, "The Burning of the Talmud in 1553 in the light of Sixteenth-Century Catholic Attitudes to the Talmud," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 34.3 (1972), pp. 435–459; Fausto Parente, "The index, the Holy Office, the condemnation of the Talmud and publication of Clement VIII's index," in Gigliola Fragnito ed., *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 163–193. Johannes Reuchlin, Paulus Ricius and Giorgio de Venezia are explicitly prohibited, although Pico della Mirandola, Egidio da Viterbo, Pietro Galatino or Agustín Giustiniani do not appear in the indexes. Works apparently developing Kabbalistic views were censored or banned during the sixteenth century. As Scholem states: "The admiration of these Christian authors for the Kabbalah aroused an angry reaction in some quarters, which accused them of disseminating the view that any Jewish Kabbalist could boast of being a better Christian than an orthodox Catholic." (Gershom G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem, 1974, p. 199).

24 Ángel Alcalá, "El control inquisitorial de intelectuales en el Siglo de Oro," p. 944.

25 Avilés, Miguel, "La exégesis bíblica española (1546–1700)," p. 129.

devoted to explaining the "bark of the word" (*la corteza de la letra*), or its literal sense.[26]

As a consequence of their devotion to philological readings of the Scriptures, Spain's Hebraists became accused of both Protestantism and crypto-Judaism. Indeed, in the trial of fray Luis de León, the inquisitor Diego González stated: "And the things said by masters Grajal and Martínez are from Luther's school, and Grajal's views also point to Judaizing as the grandchild of a Jew who was imprisoned by this Holy Office"[27] The same judgment was implied in Luis de León's trial:

> We have to believe the Vulgate is the most accurate in sense and words, because the translation is made so artfully in order not to fail, and the accused [fray Luis] does not dare to say that its words do not mean so much as those of the revised version he wishes to make, which the Holy Spirit did not reveal to him, a man who is neither saint nor old Christian [...] It seems to me that his words are like those of Luther, who says that, until his coming, the Christian Church had been deceived and that God had revealed to him, who lived dissolutely, what He had concealed to so many martyrs and saints.[28]

Similarly, the scriptural exegesis practiced by Arias Montano and his disciples was seen as quasi Protestantism. In the Inquisition trial of José de Sigüenza, the accusations against the friar were based on his literal interpretation of the Bible and his indifference to patristic texts, which to his antagonists suggested the Lutheran doctrine of *sola scriptura*.[29]

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26 The expression belongs to Luis de León, from his prologue to the literal exposition of the *Song of Songs* (*El cantar de los Cantares de Salomón*, ed. José María Becerra Hiraldo, Madrid, 2003, p. 98).

27 The original text reads: "Y las cosas que han apuntado los mtros. Grajal y Martínez son cosas de la escuela de Lutero y las de Grajal apuntan a esto y a judaizar, por ser como es nieto de un judío preso por este sancto Officio" (*Proceso inquisitorial de fray Luis de León*, p. 18).

28 In the original: "Y pues translación hecha con tantos aparejos para no la herrar de creer que es la más cierta en sentido y palabras, ny se atreva este reo a decir que no significan las palabras della tanto como las que él intenta innovar, ny reveló el Spu. Sto. a él que no es tan sancto ny aun christiano viejo lo que encubrió a tan glorioso interprete como S.Hierónimo. Pareceme que simboliza el dicho deste con el de Luthero que dice que hasta que él vino anduvo engañada la iglesia y que a él viviendo disolutamente le avia revelado Dios lo que avia encubierto a tantos mártires y sanctos" (*Proceso inquisitorial de fray Luis de León*, p. 614).

29 See Gregorio de Andrés, *Proceso inquisitorial del Padre Sigüenza*, Madrid, 1975, p. 79, and the comments of Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Biblical Translations and Literalness

7 Vernacular Translations of the Bible

Humanists did not confine their goals to the reconstruction of the original texts. They also believed that the revamped Latin Bible should be translated into the vernacular languages to edify the Christian people, an attitude defended by Erasmus and followed by a fair number of Spanish humanists, including Fadrique Furió Ceriol and Luis de León.[30] However, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages also encountered obstacles. First there was a fear of Conversos having access to the Old Testament through the vernacular text, and as a result returning to their old law. This was a major reason why biblical translations had not been allowed since the period of the Catholic Monarchs. Second, was the fear that the Scriptures in vernacular languages could allow everyone to base their opinions on the Bible itself.[31] Both arguments appear in a summary presented in Bartolomé de Carranza's *Comentarios sobre el catechismo christiano* (*Comments on the Christian catechism*) (Antwerp, 1558):

> In Spain, there were Bibles translated into the vernacular language under the Catholic Monarchs' mandate at the time when Moors and Jews were allowed to coexist with Christians. After the Jews had been expelled from Spain, the judges of the religion found out that some of those who had converted to our Christian Faith [to escape expulsion] instructed their children in Judaism, teaching them the ceremonies of the Law of Moses through those vernacular Bibles, which they later printed in Italy, in the city of Ferrara. For this fair reason, the vernacular Bibles were banned in Spain; but some consideration was always shown to schools and monasteries and noble people who were out of suspicion by giving them license to own and read them.

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in Early Modern Spain," in Mercedes García-Arenal ed., *After conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, Leiden, 2016, pp. 84–86.

30 On the vernacular translation of the Bible, see Jesús Enciso, "Prohibiciones españolas de las versiones bíblicas en romance antes del Tridentino," *Estudios bíblicos* 3 (1944), pp. 532–560; Salvador Muñoz Iglesias, "El Decreto tridentino sobre la Vulgata"; Sergio Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar: defensores y detractores*, León, 2003.

31 Fermín de los Reyes refers to an additional problem: the arising of spiritual heterodox trends such as that of the *alumbrados* (illuminated ones), also related to the spreading of spiritual literature in Spanish (*El libro en España y América: legislación y censura* (*siglos XV–XVIII*), Madrid, 2000, vol. 1, p. 165). Regarding this matter, see Rafael Pérez García, *Sociología y lectura espiritual en la Castilla del Renacimiento, 1470–1560*, Madrid, 2005.

> After the heresies in Germany, it was discovered that one of the tricks used by those who I called ministers of the devil was to write their false doctrine in vernacular languages, and therefore they translated the Holy Scriptures into German and French, and then into Italian and English so that people could judge it and see how they based their opinions.[32]

Although many Catholics agreed on the need for Christians to be able to read the Bible in their mother tongue, the above-mentioned problems put pay to such a development in the Catholic world. After the Council of Trent, the inquisitorial indexes prevented the appearance of a Bible in Spanish until Felipe Scío's translation of the Vulgate in 1791.

8 Conclusions

With the advent of humanism, Christian scholars began to pay closer attention to Hebrew and to the Hebrew scholarly tradition, recovering the original language of the greater part of the Old Testament. They also focused much more on the Hebrew lexicography and the rich tradition of biblical exegesis that had developed in parallel to that of Christianity. In this process of assimilation, Converso authors were often at the forefront, translating important works of Judaism into Latin—as exemplified in the Florentine Platonic Academy, in the circle of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, and in the University of Alcalá de Henares, under Alfonso de Zamora. The sixteenth century Converso Biblicists, Luis de León, Gaspar de Grajal, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra and Benito Arias Montano form part of this tradition. For these authors, the original Hebrew

32 In the original: "En España había Biblias trasladadas en vulgar por mandado de los Reyes Católicos en tiempo que se consentían vivir entre cristianos los moros y judíos. Después que los judíos fueron echados de España, hallaron los jueces de la religión que algunos de los que se convirtieron a nuestra santa fe, instruían a sus hijos en el judaísmo, enseñándoles las ceremonias de la Ley de Moisén por aquellas Biblias vulgares, las quales ellos después imprimieron en Italia, en la ciudad de Ferrara. Por esta causa tan justa se vedaron las biblias vulgares en España, pero siempre se tuvo miramiento a los colegios y monesterios y a las personas nobles que estavan fuera de sospecha, y se les daba licencia que las tuviesen y leyesen.
Después de las herejías de Alemaña, se entendió que una de las astucias que tuvieron los ministros que he dicho del demonio, fue escribir sus falsas doctrinas en lenguas vulgares, y trasladaron la Santa Escritura en tudesco y francés, y después en italiano y en inglés, para que el pueblo fuese juez y viese como fundaban sus opiniones" (Bartolomé de Carranza, *Comentarios sobre el Chatecismo Christiano*, critical edition and introduction by Juan Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, Madrid, 1972 [1558], p. 110).

text constituted the unquestionable starting point for biblical exegesis in the same way that all theology should be based on a profound knowledge of the Bible. For these scholars, the Hebrew language was significantly richer than all others, not only because it was the original language of the Old Testament, but also because it was a language motivated by its divine origin. Furthermore, they considered the Jewish exegetical tradition, including Jewish mysticism and Kabbalism, an indispensable source for Catholic exegesis, as the works of Cipriano de la Huerga, Arias Montano, and, less overtly, the Latin and Castilian works of Luis de León, demonstrate. These authors also based their Biblicism on their knowledge of the Christian Kabbalists Pico della Mirandola, Reuchlin, Ricius, Galatino and Giorgio, among others.

However, the encounter between Christianity and Judaism was not an easy or peaceful one. In Spain's case, the sixteenth century had begun with a process of dejudaization, which regarded any close contact with the Hebrew tradition as suspect. And this was particularly the case when those who demonstrated an interest in the Jewish Bible study were Conversos. Along with this fear of crypto-Judaism, was the fear of Protestantism and the concomitant re-evaluation of the Vulgate as the biblical text par excellence. In the face of this challenge, the Catholic Church turned its back on philological Biblicism, while emphasising the importance of scholastic scholarship based on patrological tradition. Exegesis based on original Jewish texts and which took into consideration rabbinical tradition or the interpretation of medieval Jewish scholars was considered tantamount to Judaizing.

This conservative current inside the Catholic Church became even more pronounced after the Council of Trent, promoting Inquisition investigations into biblical scholarship. As a result, after the generation of sixteenth century Hebraists, marked by the great scholars Luis de León and Benito Arias Montano, the Catholic Church would have to wait until the twentieth century for Catholic exegesis to open itself without fear to philological Biblicism, once again aligning itself with Jewish and Protestant scholarly practice.

CHAPTER 7

The Converso Issue and Early Modern Spanish Historiography

Kevin Ingram

With the emergence of *limpieza de sangre* statutes in the middle of the fifteenth century, Spain's Conversos found themselves demoted to the status of second-rate Christians and Spaniards, their opportunities for social and political advancement severely limited. In response to this affront, the author of the *Refundición de 1344* chronicle (c. 1450) turned to ancient history, presenting the Jews as important protagonists in an early, incipient Iberian culture. This historiographical legitimation strategy did not, however, immediately catch fire among Converso scholars, who preferred to draw a line under the past and focus on the creation of a new society, based on an evangelical-humanist credo. Rather than defend their Jewish roots, these Converso humanists embraced their "New Christian" label, which they chose to read as "new and improved" Christian, rather than the "new and impaired" image disseminated by their Old Christian antagonists. Like Christ's early Jewish followers, they considered themselves the emissaries of moral change and religious renewal.

Converso humanists were at the forefront of Spain's late fifteenth and early sixteenth century movement for religious reform; they were also the first and most fervent of Spain's Erasmus supporters, embracing the Dutch humanist's *Philosophia Christi* as a means of transforming Spanish society and their status within it. However, by the mid-sixteenth century, Spain's humanist reform movement was under serious threat, its protagonists accused of Protestant and, very often, Jewish sympathies. It was in this repressive atmosphere, marked by an even greater obsession with *limpieza de sangre*, that Converso humanists turned to ancient history, exploiting Counter-Reformation Spain's preoccupation with its glorious, sacred past to advance their own agenda, one that emphasised religious toleration and cultural syncretism.[1]

1 In 1554, Philip II stated that "all the heresies in Germany, France and Spain have been sown by descendants of Jews, as we have seen and still see every day in Spain." Cited from Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, New Haven and London, 1997, p. 83.

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1 In the Beginning: The *Sentencia-Estatuto* and the *Refundicion de 1344*

Toledo's *Sentencia-Estatuto*, promulgated in 1449, was a wake-up call for Spain's Converso community, especially the Converso elite, which now found its entry into public life under threat. The statute stated, in effect, that the Conversos were congenitally incapable of being sincere Christians and good subjects, and thus should be prohibited from holding public office in the city. And as proof of Converso ineligibility, the statute made reference to the perfidy of their ancestors, the Toledo Jews, who aided the eighth-century Muslim invaders by opening the city gates to the enemy.[2] The implication was clear: as the Jews had betrayed the Visigoths, now rigorously promoted as the noble and virtuous ancestors of the Castilian monarchy, so too would the Conversos, if not checked, betray the Trastámara dynasty.

True, the 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto* only affected the city of Toledo; nevertheless, it was evident that the same or a similar arguments could be applied to other cities as justification for marginalizing the Conversos in Spanish society and damaging their status as Spanish subjects. It was hardly surprising, therefore, given the grave implications of the statute, that a number of Spain's eminent Converso scholars soon contested the claims in writing.

The Converso *letrados* Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, Fernán Díaz de Toledo, Alonso de Cartagena, and Diego de Valera all wrote lengthy replies to the statute, contesting the claim that their ancestry made them second class Christians and citizens.[3] All pointed out that the Jews had occupied a foundational role in Christianity, and all emphasized that through baptism all Christians were equal. Furthermore, Díaz de Toledo informed his readers that the Jewish converts were the first among Christians, as it was they, and not the Gentiles, who were the descendants of God's chosen people. And these combative sentiments were echoed by Alonso de Cartagena in his *Defensorium unitatis christianae*. For Cartagena, Christianity was a redirection and a deepening

2 For a description of the Toledo uprising and the circumstances behind the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, see Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, Madrid, 1961, pp. 33–81. Ruano includes the statute in the document collection (pp. 191–196).

3 For an account of the Converso reaction to the Toledo statute, see Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII*, Madrid, 1985, ch. 2; and the introduction to Guillermo Verdín-Díaz, *Alonso de Cartagena y el Defensorium Unitatis Christanae*, Oviedo, 1992, a Castilian translation of the original Latin text. For an examination of Díaz de Toledo's reply to the statute, the *Instrucción del Relator*, see Nicholas G. Round, "Politics, Style and Group Attitudes in the Intrucción del Relator," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 46 (1969), pp. 280–319.

of the Jewish faith: the Old Law had merely evolved into a more ideal form. Jews who embraced Christianity were embracing an evangelical spirit that had been present in their faith, in men like Moses and Aaron. The Gentiles did not have this foundation; none of their writings made reference to the coming of the Christ or to the Trinity. They were sons who after a long absence returned home; the Jews (for which read Conversos), were daughters who had never left the paternal house.

However, while these arguments contested the accusation that the Conversos' were illegitimate Christians, they did not challenge the view, implicit in the *Estatuto*, that they were also illicit Spaniards. It was this concern that clearly motivated the anonymous author of the *Refundición de 1344*, a chronicle, written soon after the 1449 *Estatuto*, which attempted to present the Jews as important protagonists in the early history of both Iberia and Toledo.[4] Up until this point, national histories of Spain had ignored the Jews, unless we count the postdiluvian Biblical figure Tubal as a Hebrew icon. Tubal, the nephew of Noah was, according to the Jewish historian Josephus, the colonizer of Iberia, a claim repeated by Saint Ildefonso in the seventh century, and later incorporated into the twelfth-century chronicles by Archbishop Jimenez de Rada and Alfonso X. However, none of these works focused on Tubal as a Hebrew or proto-Hebrew figure, but rather as a member of an early Biblical society, proof only of the Spaniards' long, impeccable national lineage.

In contrast to the above works, the fifteenth-century *Refundición*, linked the postdiluvian colonization of Spain not to Tubal, who was of the Gentile line of Noah's son Japhet, but significantly to a certain Rocas, the descendant, so the chronicler informs us, of Shem or Sem, the founding father of the Semitic or Hebrew nation. Thus the author promotes the view that these first Spaniards were a branch of the Jewish family.[5] Later, at the time of the destruction of the first Temple, the Spanish ruler Pirrhus, an ally of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, brought a large group of Jews to Spain, who, the author emphasizes, were, like the first group, also of the line of Shem. These wise Jews

4 Ramon Menéndez Pidal briefly examines the *Refundición* in *Las crónicas generales*, Madrid, 1918. For more recent analyses, see Aengus Ward, "*El Arreglo toledano de la Crónica de 1344*: Antiguas tradiciones y nuevos usos," in Aengus Ward ed., *Teoría y práctica de la historiografía hispánica medieval*, Birmingham, 2000, pp. 59–79, and Mercedes Vaquero, "Horizonte Ideológico del Arreglo Toledano de la Crónica de 1344," *La Corónica* 32.3 (Summer, 2004), pp. 249–77.

5 "no otra persona poblo [España] primero que un rey llamado Rocas que vino de las provincias de Asia de las casas mas cercanas del paraíso terrenal del linaje de Sem procedido donde la santa virgen deciende hasta el ntro salvador …" *Crónica general de España* [*Refundición de la crónica de 1344*] BNE ms. 7594, fol. 12v.

went on to build, populate and ennoble the city of Toledo, at that time known as Ferrezola.

Soon the Jerusalem Jews sent an embassy to their Jewish brothers and sisters in Toledo, a city they referred to as the second house of the Jews. At this point numerous members of the city's Gentile population converted to Judaism, joining a Jewish delegation that travelled to Jerusalem. Many of this group then remained in the Holy City, while the others returned in the company of a large contingent of Jerusalem Jews, disembarking in Malaga before making their way to Toledo via Lucena, where some remained to create another Jewish colony. By this time, the chronicler tells us, the predominantly Jewish population of Toledo had created a metropolis and hinterland that almost rivalled the ancient city states of Tyre, Carthage and Rome. Indeed, such was the Toledo Jews' noble standing, their antiquity, and reputation for loyalty that they were later granted exemption from the thirty coins annual tax placed upon the Peninsula's Jewry as a punishment for the Jerusalem Jews' rejection of Jesus as the Messiah.[6]

The anonymous author does not reveal the sources for his information on the early Jewish society in Spain; however, it is probable that much of it was taken from a Jewish oral tradition, embellished and tailored to meet the writer's very evident agenda: the promotion of the Conversos' Jewish ancestors as an integral part of the Peninsula's and Toledo's early history, thus countering the claim made by the authors of the *Sentencia-Estatuto* that the Jews were an alien and subversive element in Spanish society. Without the ancient Jews, the chronicler tells us, the city of Toledo would have been a shadow of itself. Similarly, he notes, without the ability and industry of their descendants (a reference to the modern day Conversos) Toledo would be a ghost town.[7]

A too obvious Jewish apology, the *Refundición* had no influence on official histories of the late fifteenth century, even though the authors of these works were Converso *letrados* in the royal service. In writing their official histories of Castile, the Conversos Alonso de Cartagena, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, and Diego de Valera made no reference to early Jewish settlement. Instead they followed the dictates of Jiménez de Rada's thirteenth-century history, focusing especially on the history of the Visigoths, whom they presented as the steadfast, wise and virtuous ancestors of their royal patrons.[8] However, while these

6 Ibid., fols. 3–9v.

7 Ibid., fol. 13.

8 Alonso de Cartagena, *Genealogia de los reyes de España* or *Anacephaleosis* (written between 1454–1456), Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, *Compendioso historia hispánica* (Rome, 1470), Diego de Valera, *Crónica abreviada* (Seville, 1482).

chroniclers celebrated royal tradition, they also championed a new credo in which nobility and status were based not on ancestry and blood but on individual virtue and merit. Rather than insist on the legitimacy of their Jewish ancestors, they and other Converso intellectuals chose to transform society itself, following a humanist blueprint.

2 Humanism versus *Limpieza*

The view that character and not lineage was the decisive factor in attaining noble status was one that naturally appealed to Spain's Converso professional class, beleaguered by accusations of inferior caste. Men gained noble rank, wrote Diego de Valera in his *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, when the civil authority recognized that they had qualities that separated them from the plebian estate. Genealogy might be a factor in gaining a noble title, but virtue was no less important: "and thus [he wrote] through virtue many men of low lineage were raised, ennobled and exalted, as others who lived vice-ridden lives lost the nobility and titles that their ancestor had gained through great works." Writing in the same period as Valera, the Converso scholars Juan Álvarez Gato, Pero Guillén, Juan Poeta, and Rodrigo Cota also championed character as the criterion for judging nobility, although these men wisely chose to present their views as Christian moralists and not New Christian professionals. "I composed this couplet," wrote Álvarez Gato, introducing a poem on social harmony, "so that we can see clearly that we are all made from one mass, and that those who have more virtues than lineage should be regarded as the best …"[9] The view that nobility should be acquired through merit is also prominent in the Converso Fernando de Pulgar's *Claros Varones de Castilla*, in which the author takes twenty two of his generation's most politically influential noblemen and clerics, including the Conversos Alonso de Cartagena, Juan de Torquemada, and Francisco de Toledo, and demonstrates that their illustrious names were

9 Quoted from Gregory B. Kaplan, "Towards the Establishment of a Christian identity: the Conversos and Early Castilian Humanism," *La corónica* 25.1 (Fall 1996), pp. 53–68. In his article Kaplan examines the theme of nobility through virtue in the works of Gato, Guillén, Cota, and Poeta. For a discussion of these Converso writers and their involvement in Archbishop Alfonso Carrillo's literary circle, see Carlos Moreno Hernández, 'Algunos aspectos de la vida y la poesia de Pero Guillén de Segovia,' *Anales de Literatura Española* 5 (1986–87) pp. 329–56. See also, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Investigaciones sobre Juan Álvarez Gato*, Madrid, 1960.

based not on lineage but on their "virtues and abilities, both in learning and in arms."[10]

While Conversos increasingly championed merit over blood as a gauge of noble standing, they also promoted a new, egalitarian religious society envisioned by Saint Paul, with Christ's body, equal in all its parts, standing as a metaphor for this equality. Alonso de Cartagena himself evoked this Pauline message in his *Defensorium unitatis christianae*.[11] Later the Jeronymite general Alonso de Oropesa used the same metaphor in his *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* (*Light to Enlighten the Gentiles*), a work written principally to defend the Conversos in his order, threatened by the implementation of a *limpieza de sangre* requirement. This message of a Christian society propelled by virtue not tradition was one that the New Christians shared with the great Christian humanist Erasmus, who they championed as a fellow traveler on the road to a new, egalitarian Christian society, founded on virtue (or merit). This was the vision promoted by the Conversos Juan Luis Vives, Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, Juan de Ávila and Constantino Ponce de la Fuente—leading exponents of an early sixteenth-century Christian humanist message—or to use Erasmus' term the "philosophy of Christ."

One of Erasmus's first Spanish disciples, the émigré scholar Juan Luis Vives was the eldest son of a family of Converso cloth merchants from Valencia that had been ravaged by Inquisition prosecutions. Indeed, it is likely that Vives' father sent him abroad to avoid an Inquisition inquiry into his religious beliefs. In his *Introductio ad sapientiam* (*Introduction to wisdom*), Vives argued that it was only through virtuous acts that one gained honor and nobility, because 'true and firm nobility is born from virtue.' To be virtuous, one needed to overcome one's passions and inner strife, especially rage, which brought with it such darkness that one could discern neither the truth nor how to achieve it.[12] This rage was cured by focusing on the message of Christ, which was peace, concord and love. Those that continued to hate were not Christians, nor could they count on God's love. On the other hand, those who worked for a firm and perpetual peace among men, would, according to Christ, be called the sons of God.[13]

Introductio ad sapientiam was published in 1524, soon after Vives had learned that his father had been detained by the Valencia tribunal of the Inquisition,

10 Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros Varones de Castilla*, ed. Robert Brian Tate, Oxford, 1971, p. 10.

11 See Guillermo Verdín-Díaz translations of *Defensorium Unitatis Christanae*, Oviedo, 1992, ch. 7.

12 Juan Luis Vives, *Introduction to Wisdom*, ed. Alice Tobriner, Ann Arbor, 1968, ch. 4.

13 Ibid.

suspected of Judaizing, a crime for which he was subsequently burned at the stake. Several years later, Vives learned that his deceased mother's body had been disinterred and also burned at the stake for heresy. In the wake of this news, Vives penned his *De concordia et discordia*, in which he contended that peace would not be achieved in Christendom until everyone concentrated on moral renewal. However, he made plain that the onus was on Christian rulers, whose misdeeds had the greatest effect on society. These men needed to be the role models for their subjects, containing their strong passions, especially anger and retribution, in order to create harmonious kingdoms. The rulers should be magnanimous, pardoning wrongs rather than seeking revenge, even against heretics; for anyone who wished a heretic burnt rather than redeemed had no interest in religious renewal, but only in retaliation. And in a clear reference to Spain´s émigré Conversos, Vives noted that some Christians were so disenchanted by their societies that they would rather live under the Turks than those who acted like Turks (or tyrants) while professing to be Christians.[14]

In the same year that Vives pubished his *De concordia* (1529), Alfonso and Juan de Valdés also published works which advanced a message of moral renewal and socio-religious peace.[15] In his *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, Alfonso de Valdés, secretary to Charles V, presents us with a conversation between the Greek god Mercury and the boatman Charon, responsible for carrying the dead across the river Styx to Hades, or in this case Hell. Charon plies a humanistic Mercury with questions on Erasmus, whose call for peace within European society is threatening his business. As he speaks, members of the Church enter his boat bound for Hell. Questioned by Mercury on their lives, it becomes clear that they have all focused on the superficial trappings of their office, the rituals and ceremonies, or the pomp and circumstance of their social positions, while ignoring the simple moral message contained in the gospels. Then Mercury spots a man walking in the opposite direction towards Heaven, and asks him about his religious life.

14 Cited in Catherine Curtis, 'The Social and Political Thought of Juan Luis Vives: Concord and Counsel in the Christian Commonwealth,' in Charles Fantazzi ed., *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives*, Leiden, 2008, pp. 113–64 (p. 157).

15 For the Valdés brothers' Converso background, see Miguel Jiménez Monteserín, 'Los hermanos Valdés y el mundo judeoconverso conquense,' in P. Fernández Albaladejo, J. Martínez Millán and V. Pinto Crespo eds., *Politica, religión e inquisición en la España moderna. Homenaje a Joaquín Pérez de Villanueva*, Madrid, 1996, pp. 379–400. The brothers' maternal uncle was burnt at the stake in 1484 for Judaizing. In 1513 their father, Hernando, and elder brother, Andrés, were prosecuted for attempting to resist Inquisition investigations. During his hearing, Andrés announced his pride in being a Converso, because the Converso condition made him a liberal, noble and honorable man. Ibid., p. 387, note 20.

He began to meditate on the ways of Christ when he was twenty, he tells them, deciding that he had a choice [one particularly common to Conversos]: either he could believe in the veracity of the Christian message, in which case he needed to change his life, or he could reject it; either way there was no need to observe so many laws (*constituciones*) and ceremonies. And then, at the age of twenty five, God "illuminated" him with understanding, at which point he left behind all superstitions and vices to follow true Christian belief, not as a priest or a monk, both of which he attacks, but as a married man.[16]

In his *Diálogo de la doctrina* (1529) Alfonso de Valdés' younger brother, Juan, gives voice to his reformist views in the form of a catechism, in which an Erasmian bishop replies to the questioning of his two earnest interlocutors, a monk and a priest. In reply to the monk's question: "What is the difference between a Christian and a non-Christian?" the bishop replies that besides baptism, Christianity is founded on faith and love, harming no one and, in short, following the example of Jesus. When the monk reminds him of ceremonies and Church tradition, he replies that these are only accessories, not the main elements ['*Mirad, padre, lo que yo dije que el Cristiano debe tener es lo principal, esto otro es accesorio*'].[17] And he goes on to list the fundamentals of faith, which, beside the Credo and Ten Commandments, are all contained in Mathew 5, 6 and 7 (the Sermon on the Mount).

Juan de Valdés' *Diálogo* was banned by the Inquisition in 1531, its author having already fled to Italy, where he would soon become an influential voice in an Italian religious reform movement. Meanwhile, a fellow scholar from the University of Alcalá, Juan de Ávila, had begun his religious mission in Andalusia, where he urged rapprochement between Old and New Christians through a new evangelical church based on love and equality. In his work *Audi, filia* Ávila sets forth his vision for this new Church in which Old and New Christians enjoy equal status. The title itself is taken from a passage in the Hebrew Bible (Psalm 45: 11–12) in which, according to Ávila's interpretation, "the prophet" David calls upon future generations of the Jews to embrace Jesus, the bearer of a reformed Jewish faith: "Listen daughter, and see; bend your ear, and forget the house of your father. And the King will desire your beauty" ["Oye hija, y ve, inclina tu oreja, y olvida la casa de tu padre. Y cobdiciará el rey tu hermosura"]. While David delivers this message to the Jews, it is clear that Ávila sees it as applicable to Jew and Gentile alike or, more accurately, to Conversos and Old Christians; both groups should abandon their old ways and follow the

16 Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, ed. Rosa Navarro, Madrid, 1999, pp. 183–184.

17 Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de doctrina cristiana*, ed. Emilio Monjo Bellido, Madrid, 2007, p. 88.

ways of Jesus, the religious catalyst: "[Jesus] made peace between the rival nations, Jews and Gentiles, taking away the wall of enmity that had been between them, as Saint Paul said; placing together the ceremonies of the old law and the idolatry of the Gentiles so that both rejected the peculiarities and rites of their ancestors, coming to a new law under one faith."[18]

Ávila's message is that genealogically all Christians are equal and should be judged only on the strength of their faith. "The true Christian faith is not any closer by saying, 'I was born from Christians,'" Ávila tells his readers,[19] and he makes a number of pointed references to real or spiritual *limpieza*, (as opposed to the false *limpieza de sangre*). It is through prayer that one gains God's "*preciosa limpieza*," Ávila writes, for it is God who will cleanse us; and he quotes the Old Testament prophet Isaiah: "the Lord washes clean the impurities of the daughters of Sion," which Ávila understands to mean that it is through faith in God that our stains are washed away.[20]

For the Seville preacher Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, as for Juan de Ávila, Saint Paul was not only a talisman for a simpler and more pious Christianity, he was also a figurehead for social and religious equality. This is evident in Constantino's famous catechism, the *Suma de doctrina Christiana*, in which he emphasises that Jesus took human form to free *all* men from their sins; although, like Ávila, he subtly notes that the first beneficiaries of this pardon were "the same men whose lineage He had taken."[21] In dying as a man, God the Son had, with his blood, wiped clean the sins of mankind, Constantino tells us, and through baptism we continue to receive this cleansing: "Because as baptism washes and cleanses the body with material water, so spiritually, by virtue of the blood of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, is the soul, and all of man, cleansed of the sins with which he was born, and all other sins that before baptism he committed: as occurs with those who convert and are baptized as men."[22]

Constantino employs the term *limpieza* throughout his work to describe man's liberation from original sin. It is through Jesus' blood that we are cleansed—a *limpieza de sangre* that is not divisive, but all embracing. This *limpieza* is attained through baptism—which symbolically represents the original blood cleansing—and is maintained by keeping one's heart and soul *limpio* (that is to say, free from sin). Constantino also notes, again betraying his Converso background, that the true Christian should maintain bodily

18 Juan de Ávila, *Obras Completas del Santo Maestro Juan de Ávila I: Audi, filia*, eds. Francisco Martín Hernández y Luis Sala Balust, Madrid, 1970, p. 537.

19 Ibid., p. 523.

20 Ibid., p. 471.

21 Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Suma de doctrina cristiana*, Madrid, 1863, p. 53.

22 Ibid., p. 20.

cleanliness, because "as the soul is the house and residence of God and the body is the house of the soul, He [God] wishes that all is sanctified for His service, and clean and pure, as befits a home where the Lord wishes to live."[23]

In his *Suma de doctrina Christiana*, Constantino emphasises the Christian's moral duties, as outlined in the Decalogue, while remaining aloof to certain important aspects of the Credo, including four of the seven sacraments (he only mentions baptism, the Eucharist and penitence), the veneration of the saints, and the importance of the pope as head of the Church. As José Nieto notes, "The absence of the traditional Catholic clichés, seen as so crucial after the Lutheran attacks, speaks eloquently of Constantinian faith that in actions and in silence agrees with the basics of the Protestant Reformation."[24] It was thus natural that Constantino's *Suma* would be used as proof of Constantino's Protestant sympathies when, in 1557, he was discovered at the center of a religious conventicle in Seville that had been receiving Calvinist literature from the Netherlands. The subsequent Protestant scare, which led to multiple arrests and executions in both Seville and Valladolid, at that time the center of political life in Spain, all but stifled Spain's Erasmian reform movement, whose members were now more than ever regarded as the enemy within. The fact that both the Church and Crown associated this religious reform with disaffected Conversos also reinvigorated the call for *limpieza de sangre* legislation, reinforcing the view that the New Christians were counterfeit Spaniards and Catholics. It was in the wake of this attack that New Christian authors turned to Spanish historiography.

3 The Issue of Legitimacy in Post Tridentine Spain

While Protestants focused on *sola scriptura* as a mark of their Christian authenticity, the Counter-Reformation Catholic Church turned to tradition and its glorious sacred history to confirm its position as the true institution of Christ. However, there were those among the Roman curia who were concerned that elements of this history needed reappraisal, particularly the Church's catalogue of saints and martyrs, many of whom had entered the sacred pages on the feeblest of credentials. Consequently, there was now a concerted effort within Rome to review its martyrology, ridding itself of those local and obscure figures whose miracles lacked sufficient authentication. This came as a blow to

23 Ibid., p. 126.

24 José C. Nieto, *El Renacimiento y la otra España: vision cultural socioespiritual*, Geneva, 1997, p. 243.

many communities in Spain, which suddenly found their local saint's place in sacred history questioned by Rome.[25] But it was not only Spain's minor saints that came under greater scrutiny. There was also the case of Spain's patron saint Santiago (Saint James the Greater), whose mission to Iberia, some Italian critics noted, was supported by little evidence.[26]

It was this threat to Spain's most illustrious saint that a group of Moriscos from Granada set out to exploit in the 1590s, when they secretly buried and subsequently unearthed a series of engraved lead discs that were purported to have been written by early missionaries from the Holy Land, and which confirmed Saint James' presence in first-century Spain. However, the discs also revealed that Saint James' companions on this early Christian mission were two Arabs, Tesiphon and Cecilius, and that before his martyrdom Cecilius had become the city's and Spain's first bishop. Overjoyed to have the Santiago mission confirmed, Old Christian Granada lauded the find, although it effectively placed the Arabs at the forefront of early Christian culture.[27]

The Granada Lead Books forgeries have become famous as an example of New Christians conscripting and refashioning sacred history to promote their own syncretistic agenda. This was not, however, the first time that Spain's post-Tridentine New Christians had attempted to exploit their nation's overweening pride in its religious traditions to their own advantage. Not surprisingly, much of this New Christian syncretistic historiography was focused on the city of Toledo, Spain's most important religious see and home to a large community of Converso professionals, many of whom were members of the city's religious institutions.

In 1551, almost a hundred years after the *Refundición de 1344* was written, Pedro de Alcocer (possibly a pseudonym) published his *Historia de Toledo*, in which the Jews were once again presented as central protagonists in the city's ancient history. Like the *Refundición de 1344*, Alcocer's *Historia* emerged in the wake of a potentially crippling *limpieza de sangre statute*. The new statute was imposed by the archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Silíceo, on the Cathedral chapter, prohibiting New Christians from forming part of this illustrious religious body. As the proscription was aimed specifically at Toledo's New Christian religious community, it is likely that the author of the *Historia* was himself a Converso cleric. Indeed, a near contemporary scholar, Tomás Tamayo

25 See Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain*, New Haven and London, 2015, pp. 166–172.

26 Ibid., p. 130.

27 For a good recent overview of the Granada Lead Books fraud, see Elizabeth Drayson, *The Lead Books of Granada*, London, 2013.

de Vargas, claimed that Alcocer was the alias of the great Converso humanist Juan de Vergara, who, as a member of the Toledo's cathedral chapter, was an active critic of Silíceo's *limpieza* legislation.

Alcocer's *Historia* examines Toledo society from antiquity to the author's own day. Unlike the author of the *Refundición*, however, Alcocer does not question Archbishop Jiménez de Rada's claim that Iberian civilization began with Tubal, the son Japhet. He does, nevertheless, note that Toledo's early community was enlivened and improved by a large group of Jews, who had been relocated to Spain from Jerusalem by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar after the conquest of Israel in 580 BCE. These were very wise and industrious people, who "taught many sciences up until that time unknow in Spain."[28] It was these same Jewish immigrants, the author notes, that built the ancient temple now known as the church of Santa María la Blanca. This was the second temple the Jews built after the one in Jerusalem, he tells us, and which they constructed using a large quantity of earth brought from the Holy City.

Alcocer does not copy the author of the *Refundición* in claiming that Toledo's Jewish community were the first converts to Christianity on the Peninsula, but follows a more historically reliable path, observing that this conversion took place in the sixth century, as a result of the Visigothic condemnation of Judaism at the sixth council of Toledo. He does note, however, that these sixth century converts were loyal Catholics, and quotes a letter from Toledo's community of converts to the Visigothic king Recesvinto, proclaiming their sincere Christianity:

> By this document, henceforth we will not follow any Jewish custom nor will we keep company with any Jew who does not wish to be baptized, nor will we marry them, nor fornicate with them … and we will not be circumcised nor will we observe Passover nor the sabbath … nor the [Jewish] holidays … but we will believe with pure faith, free will and great devotion in Jesus Christ, son of God as the evangelists and apostles command.[29]

The letter ends with the oath that if anyone among Toledo's converts turns his back on Christianity, he will be burned at the stake or stoned to death, following the old Jewish custom of capital punishment. And Alcocer notes that in this pledge the community was as good as its word, comporting themselves

28 Cited from the 1554 Toledo edition of Alcocer's work, *Historia o descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo*, Toledo, 1554, fol. xiiii.

29 Ibid., fol. xxix (vto).

as good Christians until the end of the Visigothic period, when, under the heretical ruler Witiza, all of Visigothic Spain fell into error. It was as a result of this Visigothic heresy that God allowed the Germanic rulers to be defeated by the Muslim invaders in 711. Here Alcocer contradicts the popular view that the Muslim invaders were aided and abetted by Spain's Jewish community. As for Toledo, the city's Conversos were not responsible for opening up the gates to the enemy (a legend referred to in the 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto*). The truth of the matter, he writes, was that after the Visigothic forces' defeat to the invading armies, the entire city surrendered en bloc, realizing that it was pointless to resist further, and no other version of the history should be heeded (a clear reference to the popular legend of Jewish infamy), as it had no basis in fact.[30]

Later in his *History*, on examining the 1449 Toledo riots that led to the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, Alcocer absolves the Converso tax collector Alonso de Cota of any guilt, describing the official whose avarice was traditionally considered as the cause of the riots, as a "hombre rico y honrado." Instead, he places the blame firmly on the shoulders of Toledo's governor Pedro Sarmiento and his cohorts, who rebelled against the king, Juan II, out of self-interest. And he notes that after his excommunication, Sarmiento left the city under the cover of darkness, taking 200 mule loads of the riches he gained from his victims [the Converso and Jewish community] with him.[31]

Alcocer's *Historia de Toledo* was written in a Tridentine atmosphere of religious justification and celebration, with the author attempting to reinforce his city's claim to being Spain's foremost religious see and one of the great centers of Catholicism. But in affirming Toledo's early religious foundations, Alcocer also integrates Spain's Jewish community into Spanish sacred history, giving it a prominent role as an emissary of civilized society and Biblical tradition. In citing Alcocer's work as proof of Toledo's religious legitimacy, Toledo's Old Christian population would also have to recognize the city's Judaic past. Like the famous Lead Books fraud, Alcocer's *Historia* is an attempt to confront the divisive *limpieza de sangre* statutes, and the increasing intolerance that this legislation generated, by presenting a vilified minority as an important protagonist in Spain's spiritual and cultural evolution.

Some twenty years after Alcocer wrote his *Historia de Toledo*, the chronicler Esteban de Garibay published his *Compendio historial*, a history of Spain from ancient times to the author's own day, in which his adopted home Toledo figures prominently as a center of ancient learning and spirituality. Garibay, who's second wife was of Jewish heritage, again attributes the foundation of

30 Ibid., fol. xixxx.

31 Ibid., fol. lxxix (vto)–lxxxi (vto).

the city to ancient Jewish settlers after the destruction of the first Temple.[32] However, in his version of events, the Jews form part of a conquering army, led by the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar, that swept across North Africa and into Spain soon after the conquest of Judea in 584 BCE. This army was formed principally, Garibay tells us, of Chaldeans (Babylonians), Persians and Jews, who went on to found numerous settlements in Andalusia and further north. Seville was founded and governed by the Babylonians themselves; Córdoba was the creation of the Persians; and Lucena, Zamora and Toledo were all established by Jews, the latter settlement's original Hebrew name being Toledoth or "generations," a reference to the early Jewish settlers, who represented all the ancient tribes of Israel. Garibay also notes that sixteenth century Toledo's principle commercial street, Alcana, lined with spice shops and Jewellers, was a corruption of Canaan, the first settlers' homeland. And like Alcocer before him, he makes reference to Santa María la Blanca as the site of the city's first Jewish temple, one of many that were created in Spain at this time, he informs us.[33]

Significantly, Garibay affirms that Toledo's sixth century BCE community of Jewish settlers refused to join the returning exiles from Babylonia in reconstructing Jerusalem and its Temple, on the grounds that the new Temple, according to prophesy, would also be destroyed at a later date. Here, it seems, the author was subtly distinguishing the Toledo Jews from their Jerusalem counterparts, who would later be implicated in the crime of deicide. As for the Old Christian allegation that the Jews of Toledo had opened the city gates to the invading Muslims in 711, Garibay writes defensively:

> On the taking of Toledo by the Moors, some state, following the *Fortalicium fidei*, that this occurred as the result of an agreement between the Jews of Toledo and the Moors on Palm Sunday. But [Pedro de] Alcocer and many others, whose opinion I follow because in my opinion they know most about this subject, write that on seeing themselves without a ruler

32 It is possible that Garibay himself came from a Converso background, one that he disguised in his self-serving autobiography, *Los siete libros de la progenie y parentela de los hijos de Estevan de Garibay*. We do know that he established close links to a Toledo Converso merchant community, from which his second wife came. He may even have used his talent for creating genealogies to disguise the Jewish roots of his wife's brother, Alonso de Montoya, when he applied to become secretary to the Llerena Inquisition in 1586. See Francisco Perea Siller, "Esteban de Garibay y la hipótesis hebraico-nabucodonosoriano," *Estudios de Lingüística del Español* 36 (2015) p. 184.

33 Cited from the 1628 edition of Garibay's work: *Los cuarenta libros del compendio historial*, vol. 1, Toledo, 1628, pp. 109–110.

> and with the fear of running out of food, the city surrendered to Tariq, capitulating on the condition that the Christians could live freely in their own law …[34]

Garibay's account of the Jewish influence on Spain's and, particularly, Toledo's ancient history was later repeated by the Toledo prelate Francisco de Pisa in his *Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* (1605), and evoked by the Jesuits Juan de Mariana and Jerónimo Román de la Higuera in their histories of Spain.[35] The same views were also presented by the humanist and Biblicist Benito Arias Montano in his *In Abdias* (1567), an account of the Jewish settlement in Spain based on the Hebrew prophet Abdias' statement that a community of Judean Jews had been exiled to Sepharad in the wake of Judea's defeat by the Babylonians.[36] Although Saint Jerome had translated Sepharad as Bosphorus (Turkey), Arias Montano rejected the saint's view in favor of Jewish Biblical exegesis, which equated Sepharad with Iberia. Montano also noted, again following Jewish tradition, that the towns of Ascalonia and Maqueda,

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34 Ibid., p. 322.

35 For Francisco Pisa's Converso background, see Linda Martz, *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority*, Ann Arbor MI, 2003, p. 84. As for Román de la Higuera, rumors circulated in Toledo during his lifetime that his ancestors were Conversos. Higuera's cousin, Pedro de Higuera, financed two *limpieza* inquiries into his family in order to quell these rumors. Román de la Higuera's protests that his family were Mozarabs were also undoubtedly driven by his family's reputation for having Jewish roots. See Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past*, pp. 57–61. For Juan de Mariana's Jewish ancestry, see Juan Blázquez Miguel, *Herejia y heterodoxia en Talavera y su antigua tierra*, Talavera de la Reina, pp. 206–208.

36 I assume that there are few scholars who still resist the argument that Arias Montano was a Converso. While it is true that Montano's family roots remain somewhat opaque, everything about the Spanish humanist points to Converso origins: his birthplace, Fregenal de la Sierra, renowned for its large Converso community; his name, Arias, associated with a number of Fregenal's crypto-Jews; his adoptive Converso parents, Antonio de Alcocer and Isabel Vélez; his close friendship with the Converso merchant Diego Núñez Pérez, whom he referred to as his cousin; his equally close relationship with the Antwerp Converso merchant-banker, Luis Pérez; his choice of academic studies—Hebrew—in a period in which Old Christian Spain was careful to avoid any intimation of Jewish roots; his interest in Old Testament exegesis; and his indifference to the works of the Church Fathers. There are also a number of allusions to his Jewish roots from his contemporaries, including the dramatist Lope de Vega, who noted that the humanist's mountain retreat at Aracena, Andalusia, was also famous for its "*jamon presunto del marrano español*." This statement could be read as either "cured ham of the Spanish pig" or "suspicious ham of the Spanish crypto-Jew." See "Epistola a don Gaspar de Barrionuevo," *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* 36, p. 427.

both located close to Toledo, were named by early Jewish settlers after ancient Canaan cities.[37]

It is possible that much of Arias Montano's argument for the Sepharad-Iberia connection came from Jewish scholars based in Milan, whom he had met in Italy while attending the final council of Trent, at which time he appears to have promised the Milanese Jews that he would help renew their license of residency in the Italian city, now under Spanish authority. Montano's *In Abdias* may have been written in part with these conversations in mind, hoping to aid those Jewish communities that still held precariously to their residency in areas of Philip II's empire. But *In Abdias* also clearly served Spanish Conversos, like Montano himself, who were attempting to contest their alien image by integrating their Jewish ancestors more fully into early Spanish history.

This call for accommodation is also evident in Montano's *Dictatum Christianum*, written around the same time as *In Abdias*, in which the humanist reminds his readers of the calamitous situation of a Europe stricken by war. Almost everyone ignored the three fundamental obligations of the true Christian: fear of God, penitence, and charity. However, the humanist offers his own interpretation of what these divine requirements involved. By "fear of God," he meant the observance of the Ten Commandments; by "penitence," he referred not to the Christian sacrament but the exercise of virtue; and by "charity," he emphasised the need for brotherly love. Evidently all three of these essential precepts could be followed by Protestants, Catholics, and even Jews without prejudicing their own credo. Indeed, most of his models for correct Christian behavior were taken from the Hebrew Bible. In Montano's view there was no fundamental difference between the Jewish and Christian faith, as he makes clear through quoting Mathew 5, verse 17, in which Jesus states: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil." Montano's *Dictatum* is the work of a post-Tridentine Christian humanist who wished to remind all Christians—Protestants and Catholics alike—of the simple precepts of their Judeo-Christian religion. It is also the work of a Converso Biblicist eager to encourage his fellow Christians to embrace rather than discard their Jewish religious heritage.[38]

Montano's *Dictatum Christianum* was published by the Christopher Plantin's Antwerp press in 1569, at the time that the humanist was working with Plantin

37 See Haim Beinart, *Los Judíos en España*, Madrid, 1993, pp. 11–21, and Francisco Javier Perea Siller, "Benito Arias Montano y la identificación de Sefarad: Exégesis poligráfico de Abdías 20," *Helmántica: Revista de filología clásica y hebrea*, 51. 154 (2000), pp. 199–218.

38 For the *Dictatum*, see Pedro de Valencia *Obras IX/2 Escritos Espirituales. La 'Lección Cristiana' de Arias Montano*, León, 2002. This is a translation of the work made by Valencia after the humanist's death.

on the eight-volume *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, a project underwritten by Philip II himself. This monumental work was obviously seen by the Spanish king as a testament to his lofty position in Catholicism. Arias Montano, on the other hand, saw it as a means to correct the errors of Catholic Biblicism, using Jewish scholarship. Montano's *Apparatus*, which constituted the final volumes of the work, included a celebration of the ancient Jewish culture and its foundational role in early civilization. Unsurprisingly, the papal council established to examine the *Biblia regia* was not impressed by the work, reprimanding Montano for including the Latin Old Testament of the suspect Sanctes Pagnini, which, their eminences pointed out, was a literal translation of the Hebrew, and for preferring rabbinical biblical exegesis to that of Christian theologians.

But it was not only the papacy that found fault with the work. In Spain Montano soon found himself accused of Judaizing, along with three other Converso Biblicists, the University of Salamanca scholars Luis de León, Gaspar de Grajal and Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, all of whom now languished in an Inquisition prison, awaiting trial for heresy. All four scholars were the targets of a Holy Office more than ever sensitive to what it considered to be a growing alliance between Protestants and Jews, based on *sola scriptura*. However, we should be careful not to paint Montano and his fellow Biblicists as innocent philologists caught in a Counter-Reformation political maelstrom. They were, I would suggest, members of an anxious Converso intellectual community, whose interest in the Hebrew Bible was stimulated by their need to engage with their Jewish ancestry and make it valid to their situation as sixteenth-century Catholics. In promoting Judaism's link to Christianity, they were not only championing the study of early religious sources; they were legitimizing their own place in the Catholic religion and Spanish society.[39]

Unlike the Salamanca Biblicists, Montano managed to avoid Inquisition prosecution. His proximity to Philip II undoubtedly saved him, the king having accepted Montano's explanation that the attacks on the polyglot bible were the result of papal envy. And thus, still in the king's good graces, Montano was

39 In *De los nombres de Cristo*, Luis de León makes a clear reference to the detrimental effects of *limpieza de sangre* legislation on his society. "There is no possibility of peace," he writes, "in a kingdom in which the parts are directed against each other, and are so distinct, some highly honored, others clearly humiliated. And as a body whose humors are not in harmony is very much inclined towards illness and death, so too the kingdom, where many orders, strong men and private houses are upset and wounded, [...] and where the laws do not allow the groups to mix, will be subject to illness and will take up arms [against each other] at any moment." Fray Luis de León, *De los nombres de Cristo*, Madrid, 1997, pp. 376–377. In 1609 Doctor Álvaro Piçario de Palacios denounced this passage to the Inquisition as a piece of Jewish propaganda against the king and the Holy Office. See Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo en España*, Madrid, 1998, p. 767, note 77.

invited to the recently constructed palace at El Escorial to create a library (another monument to Philip's great wisdom), and to do so without Inquisition censure of the purchased texts, many of which were in Hebrew and Arabic. For the Arabic works, several translators were now called to the Escorial to render the texts into plain Castilian. One of these men was a Morisco physician and scholar from Granada, Miguel de Luna. Soon Luna had discovered in the royal collection, or so he claimed, an eighth-century Arabic history of the Muslim conquest and early rule of Spain, on which he now based his work *La verdadera historia del rey Rodrigo*. Luna's fraudulent chronicle portrayed the Muslim conquerors as wise and able rulers who encouraged cultural and ethnic mixing, a policy, so the author claimed, that led to socio-religious integration and peace throughout Medieval al-Andalus. Later, on returning to Granada, Luna became involved in the Lead Books fraud, through which Arab followers of Jesus were presented as the transmitters of Christianity to Spain. Significantly, when Luna was called upon to render the opaque Lead Books' script into Castilian, he noted that the writing was an ancient variety of Arabic, which he described as "Solomonic," a term coined by Luna himself, undoubtedly to whet Philip II's appetite for the dubious revelations. As Luna was aware, the Spanish king, with the encouragement of his librarian Arias Montano, was now being marketed as a new Solomon.

For some years before Luna conceived his own assimilation project in Granada, Arias Montano had been promoting cultural integration at the Escorial, encouraging Philip II to replace the geometrical figures that graced the façade of the palace's basilica with five ancient Jewish kings, including David and Solomon. Soon Philip was enthusiastically embracing his Solomonic image, even placing a portrait of the Judgement of Solomon by Pieter Aertsen in his royal chambers. Indeed, such was the king's interest in the Solomonic allusion, that Montano and his friend fray Luis de Estrada mooted the possibility of constructing a model of Solomon's Temple inside the Basilica itself, although Estrada also noted that this would undoubtedly lead to more accusations of Judaizing from Montano's detractors.[40]

Meanwhile, two Jesuit scholars, Juan Bautista de Villalpando and Jerónimo de Prado had persuaded Philip to underwrite a multi-volume examination of the Jewish Prophet Ezekiel's vision of the new Solomon's Temple. The result

40 "don't you worry that your competitor [Montano's detractor León de Castro?] will say that we are Judaizing?" "Carta y Discurso del Maestro Fr. Luis de Estrada sobre la aprobación de la Biblia Regia y sus versiones; y juiçio de la que hizo del Nuevo Testamento Benito Arias Montano," cited in Guy Lazure, "Percepcion of the Temple, Projections of the Divine, Royal Royal Patronage, Biblical Scholarship and Jesuit Imaginary in Spain 1580–1620," in *Calamvs renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica*, no. 1, 2000, p. 167.

was *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*. Volume one of the work, authored for the most part by Prado, was a careful exegesis of the first 29 chapters of the Book of Ezekiel, in which the prophet communicates to his fellow Babylonian captives God's anger at their sinfulness. It is in retribution for these sins that the Almighty has placed them in captivity, and it is for this reason he will destroy their temple at Jerusalem. The second volume, written by Villalpando after Prado's death in 1595, focuses on Ezekiel's vision of a future Temple that would serve as proof of God's forgiveness and his continuing love for his chosen people. Here Villalpando not only expatiates on the Ezekiel vision, he also provided an elaborate series of graphics, visualizing the prophet's magnificent edifice (uncannily similar to El Escorial), which he claimed was a vision of Solomon's original construction.[41] In volume three of the study, the *Apparatus*, Villalpando examined the ancient Jewish society and culture, as Montano had done in the eighth volume of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*. Here Villalpando noted the importance of Solomon's Empire, which he claimed was of a similar size to Philip II's own empire, and which included important settlements in Spain itself.

Scholars of *In Ezechielem* have already pointed out that the work was intended to advance Philip's claim to be a new Solomon and Spain a new Israel, home to God's latter-day chosen people. However, they have overlooked another related agenda: the covert promotion of the Jewish culture by Converso authors in an environment that was inimical not only to Jews but to Hebrew studies. If we wish to fully understand the importance of *In Ezechielem*, we should be sensitive to Prado's and Villalpando's situation as Converso Hebraists in a religious order, the Jesuits, that was in the process of introducing a *limpieza de sangre* act in defiance of Ignatius Loyola's original constitution.[42]

The move to purify the Jesuits of Jewish blood was promoted by Old Christian members of the order who were clearly affected by the widespread accusation that the Society was a society of Jews, a reference to its large Converso membership, especially among its intellectual elite. The campaign to introduce a *limpieza* statute had begun soon after the death of the Jesuits' second general, the Converso Diego Laínez, in 1565, and grew apace under the leadership of the Flemish prelate Everard Mercurio and his successor, the Italian Claudio Acquaviva. In 1593, the year Villalpando and Prado published the first volume

41 *El Templo de Salomón según Juan Bautista Villalpando. Comentarios de la profecía de Ezekiel*, ed Juan Antonio Ramírez, trad. José Luis Oliver Domingo, Madrid, 1991, vol. 2, libro 1, ch. 10, p. 41. This is a Spanish translation of the second volume of *In Ezechielem*.

42 For background information on Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jerónimo de Prado, see Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain: Bad Blood and Faith from Alonso de Cartagena to Diego Velázquez*, London, 2018, pp. 134–139.

of *In Ezechielem*, the Jesuits voted in favor of imposing a *limpieza de sangre* requirement on its membership. Among the Converso members of the order who attacked the measure were the celebrated Spanish scholars Pedro de Ribadeneira and Juan de Mariana. Ribadeneira condemned the statute for contravening the Jesuits' original constitution, which judged would-be members by the strength of their faith, not the purity of their Christian lineage; and he forecast that it would cause tension and schism within the order itself.[43] These sentiments were repeated by Juan de Mariana in *De rege et regis institutione*, in which he chastised the king for allowing the *limpieza* statutes to continue:

> The virtuous person must never find the door shut to any honor or reward, however elevated these may be [...] the prince must decide firmly not to allow whole families to be disgraced because of vague rumors among the populace. The marks of infamy should not be eternal, and it is necessary to fix a limit beyond which descendants must not pay for the faults of their predecessors, carrying on their brow always the stain that marked these [...] Can one believe it does no harm for the state to be split into factions, always harassed by the unbelievable hatred of the majority of its citizens, hatred from which at the very first opportunity civil war and discord must arise? [...] It is the nature only of tyrants to sow discord among their subjects [...] Lawful kings always direct their principal care to seeing all classes in the realm united in love.[44]

Here Mariana gives a very clear indication of why Converso scholars like himself promoted the image of Philip II as a new King Solomon. This was not primarily an attempt to demonstrate the transcendent position of Spain as a Catholic nation, but to school Philip in temperate statecraft. Solomon was a Jewish role model for wise and compassionate rule; he was also an ambassador for rapprochement between Judaism and Catholicism and, more importantly, between Conversos and Old Christians. Villalpando's and Prado's *In Ezechielem* was itself a subtle call for peace and integration, Ezekiel's imaginary Temple forming a bridge between Catholicism and its Jewish roots. However, Villalpando's insistence on the Jews superiority to the Gentiles, in the work's *Apparatus*, reveals, I would suggest, a residual animosity towards an Old

43 For the *limpieza de sangre* legislation within the Jesuit order, see Albert A. Sicroff, Los *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, pp. 361–85. Sicroff examines Ribadeneira's response to the 1593 statute on pages 376–378. For a recent examination of the Jesuit *limpieza* statute, see Robert A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*, ch. 4.

44 Juan de Mariana, *Obras*, Madrid, 1950, vol. 31, pp. 540–542.

Christian society that insisted on the Conversos' religious inferiority. It was the Hebrews not the Gentiles, he points out,

> [who] were God's heirs, the chosen people; all the other nations walked far from the true Faith, walking dangerously along inaccessible paths, along the abrupt precipices of the Gentiles, following un-confessable superstitions, immersed in total ignorance of the divine and wrapped up in a dense fog of idolatry; falling down and losing their way. Thus divine providence willed that the Hebrews sowed their good seed and disseminated across three quarters of the globe, in each of the regions of these three parts, in each of their cities, their fortresses, villages and countryside; like a yeast that spoilt all the Gentile dough with the aim of creating a bread that could be presented at the divine table. For their part, the Gentiles brought forth no fruit, or a very small one; *this is precisely what the Gentiles will be reproached with at the solemn day of Judgement, and they won't be able to present excuses for their ignorance* [*Rom. 1,21*] (my italics).[45]

In his damning last sentence, Villalpando turns the table on the Conversos' Old Christian detractors, who continued to judge them for their ancestors' refusal to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah. At the Day of Judgement, Villalpando states, it is the Gentiles [Old Christians] who will be condemned for their ancestors' wilful rejection of God, and they will not be able to give the excuse that they were ignorant of His presence.

While Juan Bautista Villalpando worked on *In Ezechielem*, a fellow Jesuit, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera was busy discovering a series of ancient and medieval chronicles that added ballast to the accounts of the Jewish presence in Spanish sacred history presented by his contemporaries Pedro de Alcocer and Esteban de Garibay. From Higuera's discovered histories it was clear that the Jews had been an important presence on the Iberian Peninsula as early as King Solomon's reign, establishing communities in Toledo, Sagunto and Numancia (all three of which were emblems of Spanish national pride). These communities were then augmented by a wave of Jews entering the Peninsula during the Babylonian captivity. Thus, substantial numbers of Jews had entered Iberia before the death of Christ, a different type of Jew, it seemed, to the ones guilty of crucifying the Messiah. In fact, one of Higuera's chroniclers, the eleventh-century priest Julian Pérez, had discovered letters written by the

45 Juan Antonio Ramírez ed., *El Templo de Salomón según Juan Bautista Villalpando. Comentarios de la profecía de Ezekiel*, vol. 2, libro 5, cap. 58, p. 463.

Jewish communities of Toledo and Zamora to their counterparts in Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion, opposing the sentence. The letters revealed the Spanish Jews' excitement at the news of Jesus' miracles and their eagerness to know more about the Messiah from their enthusiastic emissary in Jerusalem, a rabbi named Eleazar, who soon converted to the Nazarene's sect. Soon after this, five hundred of Jesus' early Jewish followers made their way from the Holy Land to Spain, where they took the Christian message to the Sephardic communities. And so it would seem from Higuera's recently discovered chronicles that the first converts to Christianity on the Peninsula were Sephardic Jews.[46] Of course, all of this was invented by the Jesuit himself in order to advance his own peculiar view of Spain's sacred history, one in which the Jews took a central role.

There has been some debate in scholarly circles as to whether Higuera was himself of Jewish ancestry. Some scholars have noted that while he appears to be an advocate for an ancient Sephardic community and its cultural and religious importance to Spain, he also attacks the medieval Jewish communities for their stubborn resistance to the Christian message and their subversive activities. However, there is no ambiguity here. Higuera was not an apologist for Jews or Judaism per se, but for an embattled post-Tridentine Converso community. It was this community that he celebrates through its links to a pre-Christian Hebrew culture and for its early attachment to Jesus' message. It was from Toledo's early Jewish converts to Christianity that its medieval Mozarab community was formed, Higuera tells his reader, and it was from this community that his own family came. Here, the Jesuit appears to be confessing his own Jewish provenance, although he associates this with a first century Converso community not the fifteenth century one to which his own forebears undoubtedly belonged.[47]

I have argued above that Converso scholars took advantage of the post-Tridentine interest in promoting Spain's glorious sacred past to project another message, one that emphasised social syncretism and accommodation. This parallel agenda is most apparent in those late sixteenth-century histories that examine the Jewish and Converso community of Toledo; but it is not exclusive to works on Spain's foremost religious see. Converso authors also took their syncretic message to Philip II's court at El Escorial and to the city of

46 See Juan Gil, "Judíos y conversos en los falsos cronicones," in A. Molinié and J. P. Duviols eds, *Inquisition d'Espagne*, pp. 21–43. For a detailed examination of Higuera's false chronicles in the context of Counter-Reformation Spain, see also Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past*, pp. 133–136.

47 See note 35.

Granada, where in the wake of the Moriscos' Lead Books fraud, scholars also began to celebrate Granada as an early Jewish settlement.[48] A close examination of the work of the Córdoba Hebraist and humanist Pablo de Céspedes indicates that he also focused on Córdoba's ancient Hebrew culture in a bid to demonstrate the city's pluralist past.

According to Céspedes, Córdoba was founded by the followers of Tubal, who brought with them their Hebraic culture and language. Córdoba itself, he tells us, was derived from a Hebrew phrase meaning fortified plain on which diligence and industry were cultivated. Here the early Hebrew community built a temple modelled on Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. This was constructed, significantly, on the site of the present-day Cathedral, forming, literally, the foundations of the Catholic Church in Córdoba. The temple was called Ian Noah, or Noah's alter, Céspedes informs us. Later, when the city was under Roman rule, this ancient Hebrew edifice became the center of a Roman cult, its name Ian Noah corrupted to Ianus, or Janus, the Roman god subsequently worshipped in its precincts. Later still a great mosque was constructed on the site, before finally being converted into a Catholic cathedral, where Céspedes himself worked as a prebendary. And thus, in Céspedes' historic narrative, Córdoba was an ancient Hebrew settlement that became pagan, then Muslim, then finally Catholic, all of which the humanist celebrates for their glorious achievements.[49]

Céspedes' latter-day biographer Jesús Rubio Lapaz has argued that Céspedes, like his friend Benito Arias Montano, linked Spain to the ancient Hebrews as a Counter-Reformation propagandist, who wished to strengthen Philip II's image as a great Catholic prince. However, this view is not borne out by Céspedes' biography or his works, neither of which suggest that he was a partisan of Philip II's imperialist vision or his orthodox Catholic ideology. As a prebendary in the Córdoba Cathedral, a position he held from 1577 to his death in 1608, Céspedes never gave mass, rarely attended the ceremony, and insisted on passing through the Cathedral when this and other ceremonies were taking place. For this demonstration of disrespect towards Tridentine practice he was admonished on a number of occasions by the bishop, finally being issued an official reprimand (*expedente canonico*) in 1589. He was also known to make

48 See Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the Lead Books of Granada," in Kevin Ingram ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, Volume One: Departures and Change*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 264–266.

49 See "Discurso sobre la antigüedad de la catedral de Córdoba …" and "Tratado sobre el topónimo de Córdoba," in Jesús Rubio Lapaz and Fernando Moreno Cuadro eds., *Escritos de Pablo de Céspedes*, Córdoba, 1998.

sarcastic remarks on the value of the sacrament and the existence of purgatory, and to praise the English Queen Elizabeth and the Great Sultan, whom he referred to waggishly as 'The Lady Queen' and 'The Gentleman Great Turk.' At a dinner held at the Jesuit College in Córdoba to mark the anniversary of Loyola's beatification, he is said to have stated that his century had produced three great people: Loyola, the Turkish pirate Barbarossa, and Elizabeth I of England.[50] Significantly, Céspedes' heroes came from three different religious environments, with the Jesuit General Loyola, not Philip II, representing Catholic Spain.

Céspedes was not a Counter-Reformation Catholic apologist, but an old style Erasmian humanist, attracted to evangelical practice and a rational, or what he considered rational, pursuit of knowledge. He had little or no interest in theological texts or doctrinal manuals, both of which were conspicuously absent from his extensive library.[51] His passion was for philological and

50 Jesús Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes y su círculo: humanismo y contrarreforma en la cultura andaluza del Renacimiento al Barroco*, Granada, p. 41. In his *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos*, Francisco Pacheco noted that Céspedes never said mass and often opposed received opinion in an amusing, paradoxical fashion that gave rise to witty anecdotes. In his *Sales españolas o agudezas del ingenio nacional*, Antonio Paz y Melia includes two anecdotes on Céspedes' irreverent attitude to Catholic ceremony and dogma. In the first, Céspedes finds himself among a group of fellow prebendaries in the Cathedral when the party comes across a priest holding up the host at mass, at which point all of the group kneel except Céspedes, who says that he has a bad leg. When the priest raises the wine cup, however, Céspedes makes an attempt to kneel, stating that he has always had a greater attraction to the 'sanguis' (wine) than the 'corpus' (bread). On another occasion he is holding forth on some subject when he hears loud voices in the street commending souls to heaven from purgatory, a usual practice. Angered, Céspedes raised his hands in the air, saying, "Blessed art thou Algiers where there are no souls in purgatory nor people in the street commending them to heaven, disturbing those that are speaking about that which they can fulfil." For an alternative view of Céspedes' Counter-Reformation humanism, see Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain*, pp. 154–163.

51 Of the 265 books listed in an inventory of Céspedes' property, taken after his death, barely twenty are religious works. Among these are two Greek bibles (given Céspedes interest in the Old Testament, one of these was probably a Septuagint, the other almost certainly Erasmus' Greek New Testament), Benito Arias Montano's *Biblia regia* (the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, published by Plantin in 1572), Erasmus' *Enchiridion*, a breviary, a book of psalms, and three works, listed as the *Life of Christ* by Juarez, Maluenda's *Love of Christ*, and Rivera on *the Apocalypse*. These works suggest a strong evangelical, or Erasmian Christianity. Among the other works listed are Ambrosio Morales' *Crónica general de España*; Juan de Mariana's *Historia general de España* (probably the 1601, Toledo, edition) and his *De ponderibus* (1599), in which he attacks the Crown's disastrous monetary policy; Josephus' *History of the Jews*; three accounts of trips to or sojourns in Jerusalem; a Jewish grammar; an 'arte hebreo'; a 'libro hebreo'; and an Arabic alphabet. Many of the works are by classical Roman writers, among whom are Ovid, Cicero, Plutarch, Juvenal, Martial,

historical study, with a predilection for promoting the ancient oriental, Semitic cultures as a direct font for an early civilized Iberia. This interest in an ancient Hebraic Spain, I would suggest, was not that of a post-Tridentine Catholic propagandist, but rather of a Converso humanist who wished to challenge Rome's religious hegemony and his own society's pure blood prejudice. Céspedes' historical account of his city, which he notes encompasses four great cultures, emphasises its pluralism not its sectarianism.

Like his friend Benito Arias Montano, Pablo de Céspedes formed part of a humanist movement that revised Spain's sacred history in a bid to ameliorate its society's uncompromising religious stand and, more particularly, its intolerance towards its New Christian minority. In a period in which attacking *limpieza de sangre* legislation, supporting Erasmian reform, or even emphasising the Pauline message of Christian harmony and equality were considered highly suspect, these scholars turned to Spain's past to make their appeal for a society based on cultural heterogeneity, cooperation, accommodation, and peace.

Virgil and Sallust. See Rafael Ramírez Arellano, "Pablo de Céspedes. Pintor, escultor, arquitecto, literato insigne y ¿musico?" *Boletin de la Sociedad Español de Excursiones* 132 (1904), pp. 34–37.

CHAPTER 8

The Morisco in Mateo Alemán's *Ozmín and Daraja*

Mohamed Saadan

While making no pretense of resolving speculation concerning Mateo Alemán's Converso origins, which began during his lifetime and continue to this day, my goal here is to analyze his reformist agenda as reflected in his depiction of the Morisco element of the period.[1] Nonetheless, the suspicions directed toward the Sevillian author play a role in my analysis, in that his origins and ancestry are reflected repeatedly in his writings. The most direct example is in the *Libro de San Antonio de Padua*, where he affirms, referring to his own father, the deep Christian roots of the name Hernando and the blood-purity of the surname Alemán. In *Guzmán de Alfarache* we find the same explicit rejection, from the very first chapter, of the burden of rumors haunting the lives and religious practices of the *pícaro*'s parents. Gossip never ceases to make itself felt throughout the work, concerning not only Guzmán's father, but all those whose pure Christian ancestry is not proven, among them the protagonists of the tale of *Ozmín and Daraja*, examined here. All these suspect individuals find themselves attacked by "false and deceitful tongues" (*lenguas engañosas y falsas*), and "sharp arrows and burning coals" (*saetas agudas y brasas encendidas*);[2] coals that are not altogether metaphorical, identifiable as they are with those that burned a certain Alemán *Pocasangre* in Seville in 1497.

This is the basis for seeking a defense of the convert, the newly converted, and conversion in general, within Alemán's *œuvre*, a defense which, evidently, is not explicit, but subtly present throughout his writing. Without insisting on taking *Guzmán de Alfarache* as fictional autobiography and his other works as

* Translated by William P. Childers.

1 Mateo Alemán's Converso origin has not been definitively proven, since the genealogical chain linking him to a Jewish past remains without adequate archival foundation. Scholars who have defended his Converso ancestry (among others, Claudio Guillén, 1988, Juan Gil, 2001, Juan Cartaya, 2011, and Luis Gómez Canseco, 2013), base themselves on such antecedents of his surname as Juan Alemán "Pocasangre," a rich Jew burned by the Inquisition in Seville in 1497, or another Alemán who is named in the 1511 *Composición que los cristianos nuevos del distrito de la Inquisición de Sevilla hicieron con la reina doña Juana* (Gómez Canseco, 2013, p. 116). Against this view, other critics have distanced the author of *Guzmán de Alfarache* from this background, deriving the last name Alemán from other sources (Cavillac, 1990).

2 M. Alemán, *Primera parte de la vida del pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache*. Barcelona, 1599, fol. 3v.

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documentary realism, the analogies between the real and the fictive in Mateo Alemán indicate that what is defended there is his own Converso status, projected onto other converts. Beyond this hypothesis, what is most evident is the reformist tinge that frames his discourse, which will be laid bare in the following pages. On the literary level, even if we limit ourselves exclusively to *Guzmán de Alfarache*, this reformist spirit slips slyly from between the lines of an astute prose that thereby avoids compromising the author. Fiction becomes a tool for launching a critique against the exasperating Seville of his birth and, more generally, the society of exclusion in sixteenth-century Spain. But all this is said without really saying it, by addressing himself to a "discerning reader" (*discreto lector*), who has been warned from the outset that:

> You will find many things sketched or outlined, which I avoided filling in, for reasons that inhibited me. Others I have retouched to avoid going too far, holding back out of fear of committing some offense; at still other times I threw myself boldly into subjects worthy of being nakedly portrayed. I tell you much that I only wish I could tell you, and I write you many things that I leave unwritten.[3]

Among the "things sketched or outlined," then filled in or not, I have chosen to focus on the *Tale of the Two Lovers Ozmín and Daraja*, incorporated unexpectedly into the First Part of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599), but whose meaning far exceeds that of a brief oasis within the longer narrative. Already in the mid-twentieth century, Donald McGrady recognized that the meaning of this tale goes far beyond the conventions of the "Moorish novel" as defined by George Cirot and Enrique Moreno Báez.[4] On the contrary, this subtly interpolated tale completes Alemán's perception of the Spanish society of the time, above all in Seville, where the multitudinous Moorish converts occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder.[5] Before this tale even begins, Alemán has

3 Ibid., ("Del mismo al discreto lector").

4 D. McGrady, "Consideraciones sobre *Ozmín y Daraja* de Mateo Alemán," *Revista de Filología Española* 49 (1965), p. 283.

5 The latest reflections on the story of "Ozmin and Daraja," among which I include those recently penned by Barbara Fuchs, continue to associate its substance with an anachronistic perception coined by Georges Cirot in the late nineteenth century and much debated throughout the twentieth century: the alleged literary maurophilia in which both Alemán's story, the anonymous *Abencerraje* and the *Civil Wars* of Pérez de Hita "represent the epitome of Spain's literary idealization of Muslims "(Fuchs, *"The Abencerraje" and "Ozmin and Daraja": Two Sixteenth-Century Novellas from Spain*, Philadelphia, 2014, p. 1). Our interpretation of Alemán's story does not move in this direction, but in that of the cryptic criticism of an Old Christian society in its relationship with Moriscos and Conversos, and the double standards

already drawn the reader's attention, in his discreet, sketchy manner, to the vestiges of Muslim Spain, evidently a matter of concern to him. At the beginning of the novel, he refers to the Muslim woman tricked by Guzmán's father in Algiers, while in Ch. 3 of Book One he introduces an anecdote about Andalusian Morisco doughnut sellers, the *buñoleros*, who cease production in the winter because an Old Christian alderman, whose dairy business is suffering from competition with their doughnuts, tries to force them to lower their prices in hopes his own sales will pick up. He deceitfully claims that the high price of the *buñuelos* amounts to public theft by the Morisco minority, evoking, ironically, the sixteenth-century stereotype of the Moriscos as swindlers and cheats.

1 Ozmin and Daraja: Setting and Showcase

Before interpreting Mateo Alemán's views, camouflaged in his *Atalaya* (*Watchtower*), a brief discussion is called for of the real-life context hidden behind the deliberately anachronistic showcase in which Ozmín and Daraja are put on display in *Guzmán de Alfarache*. This context coincides precisely with the new circumstances of the descendants of the Moors on the Iberian Peninsula—that of becoming Moriscos, and then being quite literally disseminated throughout Castile, dispersed beyond the Kingdom of Granada after the defeat of the Second Alpujarras War (1568–1571). This situation was marked by both legal and popular persecutions, by the implementation of systematic harassment linked to institutional control against these "usual suspects," now and forever considered guilty of anything and everything. This is a context of extreme mutual distrust in relations between the Morisco minority and the Old Christian majority in all territories of the Crown. To the defeat, segregation, and dispersal of the rebellious and the not-so-rebellious alike, was added a decisive factor opening the floodgates of previously repressed hostility: Philip II's Proclamation of 1572, which handed over part of the regulation of the Moriscos to the Old Christian populace, with all the arbitrary abuse to follow.

"By the grace of God," the Proclamation of 1572 makes spreading fear and defending the faith its goals from the opening words. Old Christians in localities to which they have been deported are alerted to the dangers posed by the Granada Moriscos, who "committed grave and atrocious crimes against

represented by *limpieza de sangre*. It is necessary to understand "Ozmin and Daraja" as a component of Alemán's novel *Guzmán de Alfarache* in order to overcome the simple and anachronistic claim of maurophilia or fascination with the Moor.

Our Lord God and his holy faith, and the Church and its ministers, and against Us and our subjects."[6] These words of Philip II's, legally proclaimed through the multiple channels of promulgation available at the time, did not fall on deaf ears. On the contrary, they encouraged an outpouring of accumulated hatred against the descendants of the borderlands Muslim, deeply rooted in the collective imagination as an indomitable invader, insincere in his conversion and secretly conspiring against Christendom. Over these primordial images, must be added the fears and anxieties related to daily struggles for survival in local contexts wherever Moriscos were deported, shared by most towns and cities in late-sixteenth-century Spain. The arrival of the Moriscos was thereby associated with an influx of physical and spiritual contagion, crimes against Christians, and discord sown by their alleged hatred of Christianity and the Monarchy. The deportees were pigeonholed as coming to take the bread of the native-born, and of hoarding cash so they could buy and stockpile weapons. These rumors in turn generated tales and urban legends that found their way into print in ballad chapbooks and topical broadsheets, or were brought to the stage in dramatic pieces like those of Lope de Vega, and eventually appeared in official reports by those who instigated the expulsion, chief among them the Patriarch Ribera.[7]

This entire set of negative preconceptions about Moriscos existing in the minds of Old Christians was activated by the deportations, and intensified by the measures of control, surveillance, and submission deployed by Philip's Proclamation, including two in particular that engaged their active participation: 1) the separation of the deportees into relatively small contingents to prevent communication among them; and 2) the institution of spying on them by neighbors to keep track of their movements and report their activities. This transferal of control into the hands—or, to be more precise, into the eyes and imaginations—of all the subjects of the Crown takes place under the sign of the universal brotherhood of Catholics against those who are excluded from the Church. The involvement of the locals goes beyond just spying and denunciation, to the point where they are entrusted with duties that would normally fall to those in positions of authority. It is hardly necessary to explain that the inevitable consequence of this was increasing harassment,

6 *Pragmática y Declaración sobre los moriscos del Reyno de Granada* (BNE, Signatura: VE/26/7).

7 For an approach to the images of Moriscos in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see J. M. Perceval, *Todos son uno. Arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo*, Almería, 1997. See also my work on the subject, M. Saadan Saadan, *Entre la opinión pública y el cetro: la imagen del morisco en vísperas de la expulsión*, Granada, 2016.

accusations, rumored conspiracies, and, above all, the gossip that so provoked Mateo Alemán's indignation.

Focusing on Seville, where the protagonists of *Ozmín and Daraja* end up going without really wanting to, we should keep in mind that this city received a markedly disproportionate number of Granada Moriscos, and that the persecutions they faced were more in evidence than Alemán, nostalgically taking refuge in an earlier time, would dare to proclaim. Therefore, what I wish to examine here are the apparently superficial wanderings of Ozmín and Daraja, as they were presented to an average reader, who would understand nothing of deliberately sketchy portrayals nor of reading between the lines.

Ozmín and Daraja is superficially a moving love story between two young people of the Moorish elite during the final years of the Nasrid kingdom: Ozmín is "first cousin of King Muhammad (known as Chiquito) of Granada," and Daraja's mother is "niece to King Boabdil of the city [of Baza], that is, the daughter of his sister." During the siege of Baza by Castilian troops (1489), the beautiful Daraja is captured and later transported to Seville, all in accordance with the wishes of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, and under their protection. When Ozmín hears this news, afflicted by the loss of his beloved fiancée, he rushes to seek her out in the hope of ransoming her. To do this, he passes as a Christian in the city on the Guadalquivir, lowering himself in the process from his noble status to that of a gardener and builder's helper—both of these being typical Morisco occupations; he performs heroically in "bullfights and *juegos de cañas*"[8] organized by Sevillian gentlemen; and, finally, he suffers a brush with the gallows before being pardoned through the direct intercession of none other than the Catholic Monarchs themselves. All of this takes place in an atmosphere charged with lovesickness, where the impulsive heroism of the frontier Moor gives way before the paradoxical lucidity of a lover racing against the clock to be reunited with his beloved. The denouement transcends the complicated and meandering plot of the tale: a happy re-encounter, under the protective wing of victorious Christianity, that is, under the sign of a conversion imposed by circumstances and the convergent interests of converters and converted. After Granada is conquered, "among the nobles remaining in the city, were the two fathers-in-law, Alboacen, Ozmín's father, and the Commander (*Alcayde*) of Baza [Daraja's father], both of whom asked for baptism, as they wished to become Christians."[9] Once the parents have been Christianized, they succeed at getting their children back. Ozmín and Daraja, in turn, are baptized under the protective guidance of Ferdinand

8 M. Alemán, fol. 66r.

9 Ibid., fol. 79r.

and Isabella, whose names they take as Christians. They proceed to live a harmonious existence as part of the throng of Catholic subjects.

So ends the story of the noble Moorish lovers. Positioning themselves on the victorious side by means of their conversion, they received "ample rewards in that city, where they settled, and had illustrious descendants."[10] Nothing outrageous in this statement, for indeed a considerable segment of the elite of Moorish Granada was incorporated seamlessly into the dominant society. But this incorporation should not be mistaken for the reality lived by most Moriscos, either in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest of Granada or in the author's own time. Rather, as Antonio Elorza has indicated, we are dealing with a "retrospective utopia," since "the narrative of the perfect adjustment of the two lovers to Christian society belongs to an irredeemably lost age, the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, and to a politics of tolerance that even they did not, in any case, extend to the majority of Granada Moricos."[11] The utopian ideal of religious tolerance, which failed to materialize even at the time of the Conquest of Granada, was farther out of reach during the sixteenth century, and even more so in Mateo Alemán's lifetime. For him, this utopia is simply a technique for expressing what cannot be openly stated, ingeniously invented by an author who plays ironically with the moral categories of his era. Invented, to be sure, but with a model to work from, right before his eyes: the majority of the Moors of Granada, those defeated in hard fighting in the Alpujarras, not the ones who willingly surrendered in Baza; the ones who were permanently enslaved, not those taken captive and held for ransom; the forcibly deported, not idealized heroes come to Seville in search of their beloved.

Ozmín and Daraja are thus presented, ironically, as the ideal man and woman to be integrated into a society whose leaders aspire to unity under the sign of a quasi-divine perfection. Daraja is described as:

> This Moorish Maiden, the only child of the commander of that fortress, as perfect and wondrous a beauty as was ever seen. Not yet seventeen years old, and of the quality described, her discretion, grave bearing, and grace elevated her still further. She spoke Castilian so well that it was hard to tell she was not an Old Christian. […] A leading citizen, descended from royalty, the daughter of an honored lord.[12]

10 Ibid., fol. 82v.

11 Antonio Elorza, "La tutela del moro: la historia de Ozmín y Daraja en el Guzmán," in *Mélanges María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti*, vol. 1., Zaghouan, 1997, p. 320.

12 M. Alemán, fols. 51v–52r.

And as far as Ozmín is concerned:

> His qualities were suited to Daraja's: young, wealthy, gallant, discrete, and above all courageous and spirited; and if you added to each of these a *very*, it would be well-deserved. He spoke Spanish as well as if he had been born and raised in the heart of Castile. Worthy of praise in virtuous young men, and glory to their parents, to speak various languages and occupy their children in noble pursuits.[13]

The beauty of the one and manly virility of the other are held up as qualities highly prized in that Christian culture, as if it were a matter, almost, of genetic selection. If we add to this their royal lineage, their absolute command of Spanish and their abandonment of Moorish dress (on Daraja's part, at Queen Isabella's behest; and by Ozmín, to pass unnoticed in Seville), we have the prototype of the desirable convert, that is, the one called for in anti-Morisco Proclamations and Decrees issued throughout the sixteenth century. They represent the New Christian without Moorish clothing, without the Arabic language, without baths, without weapons; a prototype of passivity only truly attained by the oligarchy of aristocratic and dynastic origin, fearful of losing their cherished socioeconomic status. The very name of the beautiful, beloved heroin provides a linguistic metaphor for her status: Daraja, written and pronounced *Daraxa* in the original, archaic Spanish, is an Arabic word meaning *degree*, seldom used as a proper noun.[14] We should not rule out that *Ozmín* could also be a metaphor with the underlying meaning of "sketchily outlined." For the moment, we can only say that he bears the same name as the Merinid fighter Abu Said Uthman, referred to in Castilian chronicles by the name Ozmín, who was the right hand of Sultan Muhammed IV of Granada. We could also speculate on the meaning of his name in Arabic: honest, honorable, sincere. All of these are qualities attributed to the protagonist of the tale, the acceptable Moor, converted without force or extortion, and easily integrated into the community of the victors due to the tangible advantages it brings.

This is the story showcased by the cleric who Alemán employs as the omniscient narrator of the Ozmín an Daraja tale; it is not the image that is attributed to the Morisco masses. Beauty, manhood, and virility were only associated

13 Ibid., 52v–53r.

14 The modern Spanish 'j' developed from an earlier unvoiced palatal fricative, written in archaic Castilian as an 'x' and pronounced like today's French 'ch,' which around 1630 came to be pronounced as either velar or guttural, with the older pronunciation remaining only in non-Castilian-speaking areas of the eastern and western parts of the Peninsula (xunta, caixa, Ximénez …).

with lineage and power, fixed meanings inherent in that social order, all the more so in the hypocritical Seville deplored by Alemán. It should be obvious, then, that the narrative and the story it tells deliberately focus attention on another domain, different from that of the Moriscos as such, both in terms of the chronological context and the characters who play the leading role in the plot.

2 Ozmín and Daraja: Moriscos in Seville after 1570

Now let us consider the authorial insertions, which for the purpose of analysis we must separate from the narrative sequences. These reflections are skillfully inserted intermittently throughout the tale, transporting us indirectly to another context, tied to the fate of the Moriscos after the Second War of the Alpujarras (1568–1571) rather than to those noblemen who switched sides before the forced conversion. Thus, for example, Alemán informs us about gossip, hatred, falsehood, and the typical intrigues found in hostile milieus:

> Gossip, born of hatred and envy, always seeks to stain and besmirch the virtues of others, and holds its court among people of a low and vile sort … There was no lack of words passing from hand to hand, some getting the rumor going (*poniendo*), others adding to it (*componiendo*) … Such is the way of the world, profiting from one's betters to their detriment, lying and making things up when the truth does not suit.[15]

All of which sounds like the attitude of Old Christians toward Moriscos, the gestures of rejection and fabricated suspicions that greeted the arrivals from Granada after 1570. And the ones adding to the rumors (*componiendo*, literally, "composing"), who would they be but the writers of broadsheet ballads and narratives in the last decades of the sixteenth century? The "low and vile sort" does not sound so different from those people who rebuked Morisca women as go-betweens in Córdoba, or those who conjured out of thin air a conspiracy against Christendom in Seville in 1580. Nor is it an accident that this last city is the setting for the plot of *Ozmín and Daraja*, the scenario where the exile's fate rests on his having to adopt Castilian dress and change his name to avoid the stench of being a Moor. Through inserted reflections, Ozmín, called Ambrosio in Seville, is rendered indistinguishable from the typical deported Morisco during the reign of Philip II:

15 M. Alemán, fols. 57v–58r.

> The enamored Moor did not wish to change his state; as he was, so he remained. Dressed as a laborer he followed his laborious fate, which had been good in the past, and he hoped would improve. He earned wages wherever he could, trying his luck here and there, to see if he could hear or learn something useful to him, for he had brought enough money and jewels from home to last many days. Because he had first presented himself in those clothes, and to make sure he would not be known and his schemes undone, he persisted in that mode of dress.[16]

A tireless worker, pushed into itineracy; solitary, isolated, hoping for a better future; this was the deported Morisco in Castile and these were his qualities, transformed into defects by his detractors; to which must be added his thrift and prudence, interpreted as avarice by Old Christians. Defeated repeatedly, emotionally overwhelmed, he endured all, as the narrator of the tale tells us, "with discrete dissimulation":

> For he had but the one hare, and the hounds were many and swift, aided by falcons of many sorts, servants, friends, acquaintances, visitors, all of whom set fire to one's honor. In many homes reputed to be honorable, ladies who seemed so as well, for troubles of their own or perhaps themselves deceived, used visits as a pretext to lead others astray. All this and more is common practice. For grave and principal folks, the Devil never fails to provide concealers, and concealments.[17]

Really and truly this was the fate of Moriscos among Old Christians, who relied on their "falcons," the authorities, from the Monarchy down to the lesser clergy. They either became procurers of their own wives and daughters, leaving them in the hands of lascivious priests,[18] or they faced local officials and the ill-will of a populace filled with young men seeking prey. They had no choice but to dissemble on all sides, hiding their anger and biding their time.

The author, hidden behind his omniscient narrator, does not dare poke any further into the cesspit of the sixteenth century: "Much will I say mutely on this subject."[19] Later on, however, we see him unable to hold back in the face of the pointless ostentation of Old Christian Seville, juxtaposed to the simple

16 Ibid., fol. 64.

17 Ibid., fol. 65r. Emphasis added.

18 See an account of these atrocities in Joaquin Gil Sanjuan: "El Parecer de Galíndez Carvajal sobre los moriscos andaluces," *Baetica. Estudios de Arte, Geografía e Historia* 11 (1988), pp. 385–401.

19 M. Alemán, fol. 65v.

bravery of the Moor (or Morisco) in the bullring. While hiding his social and ethnic condition, Ozmín manages to kill two of the fiercest bulls ever seen, one by lance and the other by sword. The Old Christians, on the contrary, flee in fear despite their "two hundred and forty horses," and their "bucklers painted with rebuses and symbols, adorned with sashes and tassels, as they chose, the horses wearing harnesses with jingle bells," and "richly decorated trappings, sumptuous halters of gold and silver, encrusted with gemstones, to an exaggerated degree."[20]

Here is the perfect juxtaposition, their ostentation failing to redeem their moral impoverishment nor imbue their character with the nobility it lacks. Applied to these opposite appearances (Old Christian opulence and Morisco simplicity), we may say that the cowl does not make the monk. Generally, pageantry serves to disguise cowardice and allay fears, but it does not alter the inherent condition of a person:

> The lowborn always harbor toward the nobility, in secret, a natural hatred, like that of the lizard for the asp, the swan for the eagle, the rooster for the francolin … If you ask what the natural cause may be, it is no different than that the magnet draws steel to itself … That different kinds of things should have such varied effects is no wonder, for their compositions, qualities, and natures are different. But rational men, all made from one earth, one flesh, of one blood, by one principle, for one purpose, following one tripartite law, all in every sense human, and to such a degree united, that every man must naturally love every other man; that these hardened commoners, stony as Galician walnuts, should harbor rancor toward their fellow men, and persecute nobility with such vehemence, is most astonishing.[21]

We must understand *commoners* and *nobility* beyond their usual context referring to social status in order to come closer to the author's meaning. To begin with, Alemán draws on Erasmianism and Renaissance humanism, to the point that he seems to take his inspiration directly from Juan de Ávila and the notion of spiritual lineage;[22] by the same token, the picaresque generic code demands

20 Ibid., fol. 67r.

21 Ibid., fols. 76r–77v.

22 Juan de Ávila's diatribe against "fleshy nobility" and his defense of true human nobility as emanating from "spiritual lineage" are well known. In the following terms he speaks of vanity over noble lineage: "I would not wish you to be blinded by a vanity that blinds so many, presumption of fleshy lineage […]. Why take glory in the nobility of your lineage? God made one man and one woman at the beginning of the world, from whom are

an anti-caste interpretation as well, since its foundations lie in social denunciation. "One of the ideological pillars of the nobility, lineage, is seriously questioned in the picaresque," affirms Ysla Campbell, "and that, in turn, leads to doubt that virtue can be inherited." Most assuredly, Alemán criticizes here the emotional weakness of prevailing Old Christian attitudes, how their envy, their fear of the unfamiliar, are transformed into habitual resentment and offhand malice towards "human nobility," incarnate in the figure of Daraja, the captive beauty exposed to rumors about her honor and dignity. For his part, the representative, typical Morisco, distrustful out of caution and fear of being lynched, keeps his identity and essence hidden to the last. His distrustfulness extends even to those who engage him closely and with interest, which leads us to ponder the gravity of his situation and the danger awaiting him if the slightest hint of his insincerity as a Christian should slip out. Thus, in Seville he calls himself Ambrosio, and since he has no trade, works mainly in construction, before becoming a servant in the house of an Old Christian, Don Alonso.[23] However, his skill and dexterity in military arts, alerts his master to something amiss:

> Ambrosio, you haven't served me long, yet already I am much obliged to you. Your virtue and your behavior show so clearly who you are, that you can hardly conceal your identity. Beneath the veil of this vulgar dress you wear, and this trade and name, another is hidden … Though you present yourself as a poor laborer, this is hard to believe, especially with what you do on horseback, while yet so young. From what I have seen in you, I understand that under that filth and that ugly exterior, lies the finest gold and oriental pearls. You are well aware of who I am, yet I am ignorant of who you are; still I say, a cause is revealed by its effects, and you cannot hide from me.[24]

Is not Don Alonso, with his *order of chivalry*, a metaphor for those leading highborn aldermen, the twenty-four, who defend the deported in Seville

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descended the entirety of the human race. Noble lineage is not the product of natural equality, but of avaricious ambition. Lineage of earthly flesh is overshadowed by the brilliant glow of celestial honor, and appears no longer, for those who before were unequal due to worldly honors, are equal if clothed in the nobility of celestial and divine honor. In heaven there is no place for vain lineage, and no one there is without lineage …" (*Primera parte de las obras del padre maestro Juan de Ávila …*, Madrid, 1595, fols. 201v.–202r.).

23 We recall the beginning of the 1572 Pragmática: "*los moriscos que fueren officiales trabajen en casa de officiales christianos viejos que sean del mismo officio …, y que los que fueren para seruir se pongan con amos …*, y el resto que *se ocupen y entretengan en las obras y edificios y fabricas …*"

24 M. Alemán, fols. 70v–71r. Emphasis added.

and Córdoba against the commoners and jurymen, even if it is only out of self-interest? The position described here is recognizably theirs: they saw through the manipulated and corrupted image promoted by their fellow Christians (the "ugly exterior"), and valued the intrinsic worth of the immigrant Morisco, his toughness and will to survive. Don Alonso, the nobleman, *understands* (a word repeated in his speech) Ambrosio, comprehends his fears and his disguise, and wants to find out what lies hidden under his *dress*, assumed *name*, and lack of a definite *trade*, allowing us to glimpse that he does not adopt the same obsessive posture as the Proclamation of 1572 regarding these italicized terms.

Nonetheless, the Morisco servant's fears lead him to hesitate between being sincere and honorable, or continuing to maintain his façade towards, from his point of view, one more member of the dominant society that marginalizes him. In the end he chooses an intermediate stance, one that allows him to tell a partial truth: his own story, but with Christian *names* and *ancestry*. He now retains his status as a nobleman, but calls himself Jayme Vives, originally from Zaragoza, in the Kingdom of Aragon. Years ago, he says, he was captured by the Moors and bought by a noble Zegrí of Granada, due to his physical resemblance to a son of his, who happens to be named Ozmín. The two youths became close friends, but Jayme, as a Christian, was freed by the Castilian troops at the siege of Baza. From there he came to Seville, and since he knew no one, sought out Daraja, the fiancée of his Moorish best friend, who he also held in great esteem. While visiting her, he fell in love with Doña Elvira (daughter of Don Luis de Padilla, charged by Queen Isabella with the guardianship and sustenance of the captive Moorish woman). Here we have a story that parallels Ozmín's own. If, on the one hand, the real Ozmín's goal is to hide his true identity so as not to expose himself before an Old Christian, especially one in love with Daraja (and, metaphorically, enamored of noble status itself), the intention of the author is to insist, again, that "each one judge *another's heart by his own*." Only in this way is the nobleman Don Alonso able to sympathize with a servant now called Jayme Vives. Nonetheless, this sympathy is projected towards one he considers an Old Christian, originally from the same social class as himself. In fact, Ozmín never dares to reveal his true secret to him, not even when being led to the gallows, just before his re-encounter with his beloved Daraja and the final Christianization of both under the tutelage of the Catholic Monarchs. Let us see how he begins to tell his fabricated life-story to his master:

> So powerfully, sir, have you *conjured* me, so strongly have you *put the screws* [*apretado los husillos*] to me, that I am *forced* to bare my soul, which no *coercion* [*opresión*], other than the *rack* [*tornos*] of your gentlemanly

> manner, could have achieved. So fulfilling what you *order* me, trusting in who you are and what you have promised, know that I am a nobleman, born in Zaragoza, in Aragon, and my name is Jayme Vives, son of the same [...].[25]

The punning on the italicized words is not fortuitous. If we read only within the context of the two characters in this dialogue, that is, Ozmín and Don Alonso, who is offering his "friendship," these terms would lose meaning and appear to have been scattered randomly into a discourse that has nothing to do with them. This is not just any text, however, but one in a poetic register, where intertextuality establishes the apparent meaning as a mere frame of reference. The full significance of the words is the result of the relations they have with verbal systems situated beyond the text, and it is the reader, taking as a starting point the dialectical permission the author has given us to interact with the text, who must discover these relations.[26] All the terms emphasized in the passage above belong to an intertextual register of oppression, typical of situations of persecution and torture, such as the fate of the Granada Moriscos faced with the Old Christians. "Conjured" [*conjurado*] reminds us of the illicit confabulations surrounding the Moriscos. Bringing something "out of the soul by force," suggests forced conversion and dispossession of memory. "Putting the screws" to someone reminds us inevitably of inquisitorial methods of torture, as does "the *rack* of your gentlemanly manner." A friend does not *order*, but *ask*; and more such meanings can be listed, which may seem inappropriate to anyone unfamiliar with poetics. The invented confession implies a discharge of accumulated feeling in one long burdened by humiliation, rejection, and provocation. This is no pampered nobleman of the Moorish elite of Granada, but rather a vanquished Morisco, converted through un-Christian methods, deported as a rebel, and rejected in the place where he settled, to the point that he has been converted to a wanderer. These harassments and provocations intensify and focus more narrowly toward the end of *Ozmín and Daraja*, when the servant—Ozmín, Ambrosio, and Jayme in a single man—and his master approach a village, each to see his beloved (though in reality, they desire the same woman):

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25 Ibid., fol. 71r. Emphasis added.

26 For a full understanding of intertextuality and the signifying process in literary texts (novel, lyric poetry, theater ...), see Michael Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry* (1980), or the summary of his theory in "La syllepse intertextuelle," *Poétique f (1979)*, pp. 496–501.

> That night some local youths happened to see the out-of-towners and, right then and there, with no other cause or motive, without giving them any reason, they gathered together in a band and attacked, shouting, "Get the wolf, get the wolf," while flinging so many stones it seemed as if they were raining down from the sky [...]. Among them there were commoners who would have given up their lives before they gave up their posts, just for the sake of doing harm and damage. Hardly had they set foot in the village, another night, when a band of these young men, having recognized them, some with slings, others with small spears, clubs, pikes, and spits, not leaving behind shovels or rakes, came at them like rabid dogs [...]. On one side you would have seen hurtling stones, swinging bats, howls; on the other, heavy sword thrusts, and on both sides such mayhem, that the noise seemed to plunge the town into the middle of a pitched battle [...]. The confusion increased, the whole village turned out and blocked the path, so he could not flee, try as he might; and from another direction came a heavyset peasant who hit him over the shoulder with the bar of a door, bringing him to his knees.[27]

The Morisco ends up being the one thrown in jail, despite the beating he receives. The Old Christian nobleman, who previously defended him, backs out after the first stones are thrown; the popular outcry overwhelms him. A meeting between two lovers is blown up into a full-fledged conspiracy, some "swearing that alongside Ozmín were six or seven, another that they had come out of Don Luys' house, and that from the window someone shouted 'Kill 'em, kill 'em,' while other witnesses claimed they were safe and sound in the village when Ozmín and his fellow conspirators attacked."[28]

Nothing here is unusual or out-of-place in the post-Alpujarras atmosphere. The participation of the entire village in the mouse-hunt, the invention of a conspiracy with various participants, the silence of the noblemen, all of these are elements that situate real and present scenes in a fictitious past, where the Christian imagination comes up with a Morisco conspiracy as a pretext for torturing and reining in the minority. With this last detail, I am referring to the supposed Morisco conspiracy of 1580, which circulates with the necessary precaution between the lines of Alemán's text. It was a famous scheme dreamed up by the Old Christian community and their ecclesiastical leaders with the purpose of legally suppressing the minority and justifying any sort of atrocity against them. All the Moriscos in the triangle defined by Seville, Écija,

27 M. Alemán, fol. 77.
28 Ibid., fol. 78r.

and Córdoba were accused of trying to sow terror by means of a well-organized mutiny, similar in magnitude to the Alpujarras war, and led by another descendant of the Nasrid aristocracy, Fernando Muley.[29] According to the documentary corpus regarding the incident, preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas,[30] these supposed conspirators were to rise up in arms on Saint John's Eve (24 June). Other witnesses said it would be on Saint Peter's Eve (28 June). How handy the feasts of the saints always are for a conspiracy against the Christians! The main thing was not the date itself, but that it should coincide with a special day on the ecclesiastical calendar. Moreover, it also happened to be a moment when the monarchy had sent a large part of its military force to the Portuguese border, so the Moriscos were supposedly trying to take advantage of the emergency to reconquer the territory of their ancestors.

Despite the utter decline of the Moriscos after their deportation and segregation, a rumor was orchestrated against them, based on real antecedents, however magnified by imagination, perennial hatred, and circumstantial hostility generated by the arrival of so many deportees to a Seville where there was not enough to feed the native population. A priest from San Lorenzo, Pedro García, happening to be the only one to notice the suspicious movements and secret signs among Moriscos on the Sevillian streets, proceeded to denounce them, bringing together various witnesses to turn his empty speculations into verifiable facts. The outcome was to be expected: persecutions, arrests, confessions under torture, and the supposed ringleader, Fernando Muley, locked up in the Royal Prison of Seville along with his son, Álvaro, who ended up committing suicide with a pair of scissors. Despite various sessions of torture during which he confessed nothing, Fernando Muley was supposed to have finally admitted to the deeds after a month in prison. The confession itself is missing, the file only refers to it. All that is known is that the old, enfeebled grocer ended up losing his right arm due to the tortures, and was sentenced to ten years in the galleys. He was pardoned by royal decree, due more to his physical incapacity for rowing than to clemency. Let us keep these details from the second half of 1580 in mind.

Beyond the role played in both narratives by rumor and stigmatization, the parallelism is striking between the fictitious Ozmín and the real-life Fernando Muley. Except for the age difference—the former was young and vigorous,

29 For the general history of the conspiracy of 1580, see Bernard Vincent, "Les rumeurs de Séville," in Bartolomé Benassar, et al., *Vivir el Siglo de Oro. Poder, cultura e historia en la época moderna*, Salamanca, 2003, pp. 165–177; and for a critical reading that dismantles the plot as a Christian prefabrication, see M. Saadan Saadan, pp. 86–91.

30 Archivo General de Simancas, Consejo Real, legajo 257/4.

while the latter was already elderly and emaciated—they both faced the same fate of being converted into an object of persecution. Both were of royal lineage but in reduced circumstances (Muley was a grocer in Córdoba), both were imprisoned, and though neither really confessed, they both received torture on their shoulders or arms, and were finally saved by royal intercession. The only thing that separates them, as we have said, is their age, a factor that contributed to the older one's losing his arm in real life, while the younger recovered fully in the utopian world of fiction.

We have already indicated that Mateo Alemán did not choose the capital along the Guadalquivir at random as the setting for his novelized metaphor. It may have been one of the most hostile milieus for the Morisco minority during the second half of the sixteenth century, hostility that the author of *Guzmán de Alfarache* witnessed in person, as a native and resident of Seville during the period of greatest pressure against the Granada deportees. In August 1573, we find that this same Mateo Alemán sold a Morisca slave to a certain Francisco Martínez for thirty-two ducats.[31] It appears to be the Royal Prison of Seville, however, that determined, to a significant extent, the gestation of the tale of *Ozmín and Daraja* and, through it, Alemán's perception of Moriscos' suffering at the close of the sixteenth century. He frequented that prison as a child, and was pampered by the pimps and rogues, as Rodríguez Marín points out, because his father was a doctor there. But in October 1580 he would add one more name to the roll of its prisoners: his own, due to certain unpaid debts. At the end of December, he was still imprisoned. Though it is all but impossible to find a document attesting to his meeting there with the Morisco Fernando Muley, what is clear is that both were living in the same space for at least two months, from October to December 1580. Undoubtedly the author of *Guzmán de Alfarache* knew of Muley's existence, of his story, and of his son's suicide, faced with the impotent frustration of not being able to do anything to contest the ignominy. This could explain in part the insertion of the life of Ozmín into Guzmán's autobiographical narrative of his own adventures. I dare not speculate further, above all having in mind the reticence critics generally exhibit when speaking of autobiography in the relation between Mateo Alemán and his work; yet the similarities between the protagonist of the fictional narrative

31 A document in the Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla (oficio 3º, libro 2º, fol. 1001), published by Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Documentos referentes a Mateo Alemán* …, Madrid, Tipografía de Archivos, 1933, p. 3, reads, "Mateo Alemán, resident in the parish of San Esteban, sells to Francisco Martínez, in the parish of San Lorenzo, a female Morisco slave from the kingdom of Tunisia, named Magdalena, 36 years old, more or less, sold as one taken in war, not peace, and healthy, for a price of …"

and the man accused of leading the rebellion of 1580 is at least highly suggestive. Later, in the second part of Guzmán's adventures (1604), he will refer once more, with less ambiguity, to his entry in the Royal Prison of Seville and the relation he had with the other prisoners: "… I remained in that prison until I gave legal surety that I would pay my debt. By then they all knew me, we understood one another, we were comrades."[32]

3 Conclusion

As a coda, I want to add that nothing is off-limits when exploring a poetic text whose final idealism, translated as the lover's happy reunion, is circumscribed by an enlightened writer's repertoire of subtleties, having lived through the moral decline of the late sixteenth century and the Morisco expulsion of 1609–1614. Condemning the equivocations of the masses (*vulgo*) and encouraging the reflections of the discreet, Alemán means, after his fashion, to denounce the insatiable persecution of Moriscos even after they were defeated in the Alpujarras and scattered to become a marginalized underclass. The conspiratorial idea rooted in the perception of the Muhammadan minority on the part of Old Christians, grew into what García Cárcel describes as an epidemiological obsession: a firm belief in the confederacy of Muslims among the Moriscos, Berbers, and Turks, which the Inquisition and other authorities never ceased to propagate in *autos de fe* and public proclamations. And in this image, as in all Mateo Alemán's work, Seville, the city he knew inside and out, the city which had to absorb such a vast number of Morisco deportees, plays an important role. These historically documented persecutions and hostilities, which could not be openly examined at the time, slide in and out between the lines of a tale that to the superficial reader seems out of place in the discourse of the picaresque life led by Guzmán de Alfarache: the story of Ozmín and Daraja, yes, but also the story of the prison companion of Fernando Muley and his son, and of the made-up plot of 1580, of the stonings and broken arms …

As a testimony dedicated to one of the vilified minorities of Sevillian society, the tale of *Ozmín and Daraja* adds a layer to Alemán's concern for the lower classes of society in his time, those lower echelons where the shared lineage of the flesh becomes a moral inheritance, matrix of all the necessary components for an authentic Christianity, without distinction among persons based on their origin or trajectory vis-à-vis a single, though tripartite, law.

32 Mateo Alemán, *Segunda Parte de Guzmán de Alfarache*, Burgos, 1619, Libro III, fol. 146v.

Between the lines of this tale runs an indirect invective against bias based on blood purity, with a pronouncement in favor of reforming the social morality dominant in the 1600s. Elevating the two Moriscos, Ozmín and Daraja, from a human perspective—which is also a religious one, once their conversion is complete—what Alemán is doing by way of a certain synecdoche is to vindicate the elevation of all converts and the elimination of the sanguinary factor in Christianity.

CHAPTER 9

Román's Garden: Places, Spaces, and Religious Practice among the Moriscos of Deza

Patrick J. O'Banion

In 1553, Juan II de la Cerda (1515–75), Duke of Medinaceli, began acquiring plots of land just north of the medieval walls of the small town of Deza on behalf of his young son, Juan Luis (1544–94), who had recently been created marquis of Cogollado. The marquisate, a cadet title granted to the duke's heir apparent, entailed lordship over various locales, among them Deza, which was a regionally significant border crossing (*puerto seco*) in Castilian Soria on the Aragonese frontier. Although Deza, a town of perhaps 1,600 souls, was part of Juan Luis's marchional holdings, it was the young nobleman's father who acted as the driving force behind the subsequent construction of a walled garden and multi-storied house on the land. Presumably, this was on account of his son's youth, at least initially, but the duke remained involved through the 1560s even as Juan Luis emerged from his father's shadow. The venture drew upon craftsmen and laborers from the town, region, and as far away as the Cantabrian coast.[1] Locals usually referred to it as the *huerta y casa del duque* and, by all accounts, the results were lovely.

Yet, the fruits of this project proved remarkably contentious in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century as the site became a focal point for a conjunction of fears related to their seigneur's agenda for the town, local Islamic activity, and a growing political rift between Deza's mixed population of Moriscos and Old Christians. In spite of the contentiousness, for some of the town's Moriscos, the garden became the center of their communal and religious lives, a place of shelter and protection, and a way for them to connect with the broader Islamic world. This essay considers the process by which the garden took on these roles in Deza, how it compared with other local strategies for participating in Islamic activities, and what the consequences were for relations between local Old Christians and Moriscos. Engaging Morisco history

1 Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, Sección Inquisición [henceforth, ADC], libro 317, fol. 462v. For an English translation of this document, see the author's *This Happened in My Presence: Moriscos, Old Christians, and The Spanish Inquisition in the Town of Deza, 1569–1611*, Toronto, 2017, p. 28.

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by way of local cases, like that of Deza, provides a salutary approach to the broader topic. For, although individual contexts are unique and sometimes idiosyncratic, they constitute the groundwork upon which larger conclusions and general observations must be drawn. As Trevor Dadson has noted, describing Morisco identity without taking into account the breadth of diverse local contexts is "like a house built the wrong way round with the roof put on before the foundations have been dug and the walls erected."[2] The story of Román's garden is, on its own, interesting (perhaps) but relatively insignificant. As part of an effort to assess the realities of Morisco experience, however, it offers valuable lessons about the unexpected religious and political roles that physical spaces played for crypto-Muslims in the decades leading up to the royal expulsions.

Duke Juan certainly believed that the property merited careful attention. At least this was the case during a period of labor in the mid-1560s, for which a series of updates are preserved in a cache of letters sent to the duke by his man on site, one Gonzalo Martínez. Martínez, who was himself angling for the position of mayordomo of ducal affairs in Deza, gushed with enthusiasm about the garden—its ornate entries and arboreal arches, the fountain, the flowers, fruit trees, and the cunningly fashioned topiary made to look like people. "Your Excellencies [the duke and duchess] must see them," he wrote, and promised that the "well appointed" project would be a source of "pleasure."[3] Few details about the style or layout of the garden (or the house, for that matter) are recoverable, but considering who was put in charge of the project, good reason exists to suspect that it drew heavily upon the horticultural traditions of the Islamic world.[4]

The duke employed laborers with a variety of skills and specialties, but one indispensable figure was Francisco de Esperanza, who alone held the title of *jardinero* (gardener, but usually specializing in flowers and to be distinguished

2 Trevor Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava*, Woodbridge, 2014, p. 3.

3 Archivo de los Duques de Medinaceli [henceforth, ADM], leg. 44, doc. 31 (letter from Gonzalo Martínez to Duke Juan de la Cerda, 29 March 1566).

4 It is likely that the duke's garden was planned according to the traditional *chahar bagh* pattern, a "four-part garden laid out with axial walkways that intersect in the garden center," but this cannot be known for certain. If it was laid out in this way, then presumably the fountain, which required the diverting of some of the town's water source, would have been positioned at the intersection of the axial paths. See D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*, Philadelphia, 2011, pp. ix and 39–50. Today, the land is tilled and used to grow crops. Nothing remains of the *huerta* or *jardín*. The *casa* itself, now covered over with decades (perhaps centuries) of dirt, has collapsed and sunk into the earth. Barring excavation, it is inaccessible.

from the garden's multiple *hortelanos*, who focused their energies on trees, shrubbery, and other plants). While the specific distribution of labor between Esperanza and the *hortelanos* was porous—he oversaw the transportation of dozens of mulberry trees from Aragon that were transplanted to the duke's property in Deza, for example—he certainly masterminded the layout of the enclosed flower garden, which incorporated roses and rosemary bushes as well as other flora.[5] Esperanza is a mysterious figure, and while Martínez mentions him several times in his dispatches, he offers no comments about the *jardinero*'s origins, details about how he came to Deza, or a personal opinion of him. Thankfully, a passing reference in an inquisitorial trial, conducted in Cuenca in the early 1570s, supplies two additional pieces of information: first, Esperanza was Turkish, and second, he was a servant (*criado*) of the duke.[6]

While these tidbits raise more questions than they answer, some conclusions can be ventured, at least tentatively. His Christian name suggests that Esperanza had been baptized. Moreover, whatever his first language had been, by all indications, he spoke Castilian well. Perhaps the duke acquired him while serving as viceroy in Sicily from 1557 to the mid-1560s, or in the context of his successful attack of Ottoman Tripoli in 1560. The subsequent Spanish defeat at the Battle of Djerba, where Juan de la Cerda lost a son, would not have left him favorably inclined toward Turks, yet his relationship with Esperanza does not appear to have been one of animosity or compulsion. That is to say, Esperanza was not enslaved but rather acted as a free man whom the duke trusted to operate in accordance with his will at a distance and who travelled easily on his own recognizance between Castile and Aragon while conducting business on behalf of his lord.

However valuable he was to Duke Juan as a master gardener and trustworthy vassal, Esperanza appears to have continued to incline toward Islam during this period. That, at least, was the testimony of Morisco Juan de Cieli, a Dezano tried by the Holy Office for Islamizing in 1570. Cieli claimed that the *jardinero* had supplied him with information about how they fasted *en su tierra*. Although Esperanza was still involved in work at the duke's garden as late as Lent 1567, to judge from Cieli's use of the past tense in 1570, he did not remain in town. Seemingly, once he had completed his role in the project, the duke deployed him elsewhere.[7]

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5 ADM, leg. 44, doc. 31 (letters from Gonzalo Martínez to Duke Juan II de la Cerda, 4 February and 15 December 1566).

6 ADC, leg. 247, exp. 3315, fol. 18v.

7 ADC, leg. 247, exp. 3315, fol. 18v. As discussed below, however, by at least the early 1590s, Muçali, an un-baptized Turkish slave, was connected with the garden. And from (at least) the mid-1590s to (at least) 1609, Diego Valero, Deza's only *morisco granadino* and a former

At the same time that Esperanza was in residence, at least two *hortelanos* also worked in the garden and, in 1566, both of them were seeking appointment to the single permanent position of caretaker. The first was an Old Christian named Martín de la Milla.[8] Milla was absolutely brilliant at his job, according to Martínez, who admitted to having completely underestimated the man's skills in his initial assessment of him. During a visit to the property, Duke Juan also appears to have acknowledged the *hortelano*'s talent and suggested that the job would be his. While Milla was clearly the favorite, his contender could not be discounted. The Morisco Román Ramírez el menor (1540–99) was a rabble-rousing hothead with a remarkable memory and a rich family legacy in herb lore and healing.[9] The duke's agent, however, was far less impressed with him or his heavy-handed efforts to squeeze Milla out. In his March 1566 letter, Martínez wrote that some of the town's Moriscos had announced that Román would be taking possession of the garden in a year or two and would enjoy all the fruits of Milla's labor. Martínez assured Milla that it was a lie and that, if the Old Christian *hortelano* continued to show the same "care and diligence" in the future that he had in the past, he would "have Your Excellency's garden for his whole life."[10]

In a letter—undated but certainly written in the mid-1560s—Milla appealed directly to the duke (not the marquis) in a state of some agitation, explaining that, "since you left this place, Román Ramírez has been constantly persecuting me, seeking to cast me from Your Excellency's service and from the garden." Whether Duke Juan replied to Milla directly is unknown but he scrawled a note at the top of the letter that makes clear his opinion on the matter. He forwarded this document to his son, Marquis Juan Luis, whom the duke's note urged to forbid Milla's removal and address his grievances. "By no means," he wrote, "is it convenient for [the garden] to be given to [Román Ramírez], for reasons of which I am very well informed." If the marquis wanted to have peace in "that garden," he needed to disillusion the Morisco of the possibility that

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slave of the duke of Medinaceli, lived in town and married a local Morisca. Although he was identified as an *hortelano*, no sources connect him directly to the duke's garden.

8 Martín de la Milla is otherwise unknown but he was probably a part of the local Mella family, the members of which were Old Christian merchants in Deza who asserted their status as hidalgos beginning in the late 1560s and gained it toward the end of the century.

9 For Ramírez, see Ángel González Palencia, "El Curandero Morisco del Siglo XVI, Román Ramírez," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 16 (1930), pp. 199–222; Gonzalo Díaz Migoyo, "Memoria y fama de Román Ramírez," in *Memoria de la Palabra: Actas del VI congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 2004, pp. 39–53; and O'Banion, *This Happened*, pp. xxxvi–lx.

10 ADM, leg. 44, doc. 31 (letter from Gonzalo Martínez to Duke Juan II de la Cerda, 28 March 1566).

he would ever possess it. "Let it be done thus resolutely," concluded the duke, "because it proceeds from my will." Unfortunately, he lamented, "They do not understand these words in Deza."[11]

Perhaps the marquis failed to understand as well. At least, he failed to comply with his father's wishes. Although Juan Luis (who succeeded his father as duke in 1575) never relinquished ownership of the property, neither he nor any other members of the family ever occupied it. Instead, by 1567 or 1568, it had been given over to Román. He continued to claim the title of *hortelano* but he was not merely the garden caretaker, instead he leased the property from the duke for an annual payment of 200 *reales*.[12] Why Juan Luis gave up the idea of using the property as a personal residence and, instead, favored Ramírez in this way is not clear, especially in light of the years of work and substantial sums that had been committed to the project. In Milla's letter to the old duke, however, he claimed that the Morisco was feeding Juan Luis with "false information" and "favors."[13] Whatever the truth of that claim, the house and garden remained in Ramírez's control for another three decades, during which time he used the property, at least occasionally, as a center of Islamic activity and religious education.[14]

Ramírez was motivated not merely by a desire to pray and discourse amidst garden beauty but also by a felt need to address and resolve the incongruity faced by local Morisco crypto-Muslims whose internal religious intentions were out of joint with the limitations placed on their external religious actions on account of Islam's proscribed status in Spain.[15] Inquisitorial and episcopal authorities labored to turn Moriscos into good Christians, but instead often

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11 ADM, leg. 44, doc. 30 (undated letter from Martín de la Milla to Duke Juan II de la Cerda).

12 ADC, leg. 249, exp. 3352, fols. 47v–48r and leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 59r. Although it has sometimes been assumed—and may well be the case—that Román used the duke's garden to cultivate herbs for the cures performed, there is no specific evidence that this was the case. In 1599, he told inquisitors that he occupied himself with "farming and cultivating (*en cultivar*) a garden that the duke had given him and searching (*en buscar*) for the herbs … for his cures" (ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 211r).

13 ADM, leg. 44, doc. 30 (undated letter from Martín de la Milla to Duke Juan II de la Cerda).

14 ADM, leg. 44, doc. 31 (letter from Gonzalo Martínez to Duke Juan II de la Cerda, 28 march 1566). As late as May 1599, during his inquisitorial trial, Ramírez still identified himself as an *hortelano* (as well as an *herbolario*) (ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 196r).

15 On the disjuncture between *niyya* (intentions) and *a'mal* (external practice) among Moriscos, see María del Mar Rosa-Rodriguez, "Simulation and Dissimulation: Religious Hybridity in a *Morisco Fatwa*," *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010), pp. 143–180 and Patrick J. O'Banion, "'They will know our hearts': Practicing the Art of Dissimulation on the Islamic Periphery," *Journal of Early Modern History* 20 (2016), pp. 193–217, as well as the articles in *Al-Qantara* 34 (2013), which is devoted to the subject of religious dissimulation (*taqiyya*) among Moriscos.

drove them to become more circumspect Muslims. Islamic activity was pushed to the margins of community life—outside of town, at night, in the home, and in the heart—even as Moriscos displayed a primarily Christian public religiosity by attending mass, reciting prayers, participating in sacraments, and confessing Christ. This divergence entailed dissimulation, which troubled church authorities. It also troubled Moriscos, for Román's garden was essentially a place where intention and action could be realigned, albeit intermittently, in public performance of Islam.

Ramírez was well known in the region and beyond as a master storyteller and herbalist healer, and although he was a braggart, liar, and scoundrel, he could also be charming, was well-read, and must have been an effective organizer. He took an active role in local politics, especially from the late 1580s, serving on Deza's town council six times in fifteen years as an avowed member of the duke's faction.[16] Toward the end of his life, in the 1590s, he boasted of once having healed the duke of Medinaceli's daughter, and it may be that that success initiated a patron-client relationship with the future Duke Juan Luis and gained him the *casa y huerta*.[17] Ramírez, in any case, frequently behaved as if the property was his to do with as he pleased and, although he and his family maintained a home within the town walls, by the mid-1590s he was certainly occupying rooms in the upper floor of the duke's house.[18] It may well have been there that he worked on composing a chivalric romance to which he gave the title *Florisdoro de Grecia*.[19] In addition to his many other activities, Ramírez was also an active participant in and leader of Deza's Islamic community.

He was probably guided toward Islam at a relatively young age. His mother, María de Luna (d. c. 1569) was born in Aragon, near Daroca, and would have been a first-generation convert to Christianity in her infancy or childhood. Román claimed that he spent time in his youth living with his maternal grandfather, a well-known physician, which suggests that he dwelt (even if only briefly) among Aragonese Moriscos, some of whom were crypto-Muslims who could speak about Islamic belief and practice with greater authority than the Moriscos of Castilian Soria. Neighbors in Deza believed both Román's father and mother were themselves deeply committed crypto-Muslims, but the son claimed (in what may have been a fabrication or oversimplification) that he was first exposed to Islam at about age thirteen by way of a conversation with

16 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 197v.
17 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 48v.
18 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 84v.
19 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 204r.

a migrant Aragonese laborer in Deza.[20] Over the course of his life, Román Ramírez performed Islamic ceremonies off and on and, although "his heart always inclined toward being a Moor," he may well have, as he claimed, "vacillated within himself over which was the better law, that of the Moors or the Christians and in which he would be saved."[21]

In winter 1564–65, now in his mid-twenties, evidence suggests that Ramírez sat for several months at the feet of *alfaquí* Pedro el Cañamenero from Aragonese Villafeliche. The religious instructor visited Deza to teach a group of men the *letra de moros* and he also read Aljamiado texts at small mixed-gender gatherings in Morisco homes. At Cañamanero's departure, Ramírez acquired a copy of one of the *alfaquí*'s "excellent books" and, with his later father-in-law Francisco de Miranda (c. 1521–c. 1570), began to "instruct all the youths." They taught them the "prayers of the Moors … and the *azala*," that is, the form of daily prayers. Initially, the venue for instruction was Miranda's studio space—he was a painter—and the excuse for assembly was that they were rehearsing for *farsas*, which were performed in town by locals on feast days. Later, however, "Román took them all to the duke's garden, where he is the *hortelano*, and there instructed them."[22]

It may be that instruction continued in the garden uninterrupted for the better part of the next three decades but, more likely, the meetings were intermittent throughout the 1570s and 1580s. For one thing, Ramírez himself was often absent from town. He became a fugitive from justice for a time in the wake of an aggravated assault, spent fifteen months in jail for horse smuggling, worked in some fashion *en los puertos secos … y en el almajorifazgo*, and travelled a great deal as a healer and storyteller. He worked cures all around the region and performed recitations for nobles, the rich and powerful, and even "many times" before Philip II at El Pardo and Aranjuez.[23] His attention to the garden and his work as a religious instructor in Deza must have suffered. When life slowed down in the 1580s, he settled back into town and appears to have focused his attention on domestic matters and local politics. He had already survived two run-ins with the Holy Office, having taken an Edict of Grace in 1571 and been examined and fined during a contentious inquisitorial follow-up

20 ADC, libro 317, fols. 460r–v and 465r–466r (*This Happened*, pp. 22–23 and 33); ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 211v; and ADC, leg. 367, exp. 5180 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Guerrero, confession of the accused, 15 November 1607).

21 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 212v.

22 ADC, leg. 249, exp. 3352, fol. 47r–v.

23 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 202r.

visitation a decade later.[24] So, it may well be that he was playing it safe religiously. Ramírez later claimed that, after a period of relative inactivity, his Islamic zeal was reawakened only in the early 1590s. Once again, the duke's property was central: Muçali, the unbaptized Turkish slave of one Captain Pedro de Cabrera (d. c. 1608), began visiting the garden frequently and the two men "struck up a great friendship." According to Ramírez's account, these conversations bore fruit, and in the summer of 1591 he began fasting for Ramadan. When Muçali (presumably a garbled rendition of Musa Ali) gained his freedom in c. 1595, Ramírez very nearly accompanied him to Constantinople "to be a Moor."[25]

Instead, he stayed in Deza and began once more to promote the garden as a center of Islamic instruction and activity. Witnesses described him on his feet, hands clasped behind his back, lecturing to groups of local men.[26] One attendee indicated that, in c. 1596, he and others had gone to the garden (*jardín*) "to game and enjoy themselves," but Román Ramírez "stood up and told everyone there certain things about the Law of Muhammad in the form of a lecture or sermon, telling them, essentially, that Muhammad had come to reveal the truth and had opened the door to salvation and other things of this sort."[27] For some years, the garden *juntas* occurred "day and night" and were attended by Ramírez's male relative as well as other Moriscos, many of them old friends who may even have participated in the original gatherings back in the late 1560s.

In 1595, a group of men from the city of Soria offered trumped-up accusations against Ramírez to an inquisitorial agent. Surprisingly, these denunciations had little to do with his inclination toward Islam or his activities in the garden. The case was hamstrung by weak evidence, unreliable witnesses, and concerns about proper procedure and jurisdiction. After a brief incarceration in Deza, Ramírez was granted the "town as his jail" and, under those conditions, he remained at large for nearly four more years. In the interim, he remarried (subsequent to the death of his first wife in c. 1594), fathered two children, sat on the town council, and organized the garden *juntas*.

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24 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fols. 192r–195r (*This Happened*, pp. 56–63) and ADC, leg. 707, exp. 625 (*This Happened*, pp. 114–20).

25 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fols. 213r–214v and 257v (*This Happened*, p. 129).

26 ADC, leg. 250, exp. 3370 (inquisitorial trial of Lope Guerrero el viejo, testimony of Catalina la Valenciana [alias, López], 19 March 1608) and leg. 364, exp. 5159 (inquisitorial trial of Antón Guerrero el viejo, testimony of Martín Destaragon, 26 November 1607).

27 ADC, leg. 250, exp. 3370 (inquisitorial trial of Lope Guerrero el viejo, confession of the accused under threat of torture, 15 December 1610).

In early 1599, however, the tribunal at Cuenca finally ordered his arrest on charges of diabolism and had him transported to the secret jails.[28] He denied much of that which he was accused, but did acknowledge having formerly kept a demonic familiar named Liarde, whom he had sometimes consulted for help with medical cures. And, although no one had accused him of being one, he also confessed to having been a secret Muslim for much of his life. Over the course of seven months, although he was never tortured, his health deteriorated and he was transferred to Cuenca's Hospital of Saint James, where he died in early December. Posthumously, in 1600, he was condemned as a relapsed heretic who combined crypto-Islam and demonic pacts with anti-monarchical sentiments. Despite this ignominious end, the garden nevertheless passed into the hands of Román's son, Miguel (c. 1569–aft. 1611), who continued to organize the *juntas* probably until December 1607, not long before his own arrest by the Holy Office in March of the following year.[29]

During the tenures of both father and son, the garden served an additional function: *para recoger y tener escondidos moriscos de Aragón*.[30] That is to say, the garden become the local center for Deza's integration into the wider Islamic world. No evidence suggests that anyone in Deza could read Arabic and few could manage Aljamiado, but the Aragonese had access to much richer stores of religious knowledge and repeatedly appear in the sources, instructing Deza's Moriscos, reading to them from books, and transliterating Arabic prayers into Latin script. Moreover, both as a result of Moriscos from abroad visiting Deza and of local Moriscos travelling elsewhere, the town was tied in to crypto-Islamic networks that stretched nearly across the entire Peninsula, from the Basque Lands, Catalonia, and Valencia to Salamanca, Zamora, Madrid, Valladolid, Ávila, and, of course, the entire region of the Castilian-Aragonese frontier.[31]

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28 L.P. Harvey, "Oral Composition and the Performance of Novels of Chivalry in Spain," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 10 (1974), pp. 276–278 offers some helpful comments on this very complex affair.

29 Some witnesses suggested that the property passed into the control of Miguel and at least one of Román's other surviving sons—Francisco or Román III. All agreed, however, that Miguel was actively involved and he appears to have been the central figure after his father's arrest and death. See ADC, leg. 362, exp. 5142 (inquisitorial trial of Miguel Ramírez, testimonies of Pedro de Argüellos, Miguel de Yxea, Cristóbal de Ureña, and Antonio de Ucedo Salazar, 29 September–1 October 1610).

30 ADC, leg. 362, exp. 5142 (inquisitorial trial of Miguel Ramírez, Pedro de Cisneros to the Holy Office in Cuenca, 26 November 1607).

31 ADC, leg. 250, exp. 3383, fol. 21r; leg. 365, exp. 5165 (inquisitorial trial of Gabriel de Medina [testimony of Gabriel de León, 9 October 1608] and [confessions of the accused, 22 December 1608 and 3 August 1609]); leg. 366, exp. 5174 (inquisitorial trial of Luis de

Thus, the garden became the potential solution to a problem that Morisco Gabriel de Medina identified and described in a particularly striking manner. While in the secret jails of Cuenca, he told his cellmates the story of an unnamed Morisco from Valladolid who had counseled him to seek *un buen palmo de tierra donde vivir en tierra ancha donde no conocen a uno si es moro, si judio, si christiano … [donde] no le avia de entrar nadie en su pecho*.[32] Deza's Moriscos repeated this sentiment, in various formulations, over and over again. Spain was too *corta* for them to be "good Moors."[33] Juan Guerrero knew that they could not be "perfect Moors" since "they don't let us serve God." He thought going to Algiers was the solution, for there, "We can live *en nuestras anchuras*."[34] Other Moriscos of Deza considered moving to France after the wheat harvest. They had it on good authority that many *granadinos* were already settled there and that they could live among them, *en sus anchuras*, for the French king had established a mosque and local Muslims practiced Islam openly in exchange for a tribute.[35] Most Dezanos, however, proved reluctant to actually abandon home, family, and friends.

Yet, if they were not willing to embrace Christianity *ex animo*, the principal alternative was to conform externally while secretly guarding their true convictions. All of Deza's crypto-Muslims did this part of the time, including Román Ramírez. His own enemies had to acknowledge that he went to "mass and the sermon very regularly and attend[ed] the divine offices with greater frequency than [the other Moriscos]."[36] Some of them pursued this course with striking consistency, like Alonso de Paciencia, who ate pork even when he was only among other Moriscos, or Agustín Carnicero, who married his children—even daughters—to Old Christians and moved out of the Morisco neighborhood.[37] When the bishop of Sigüenza barred the town's Moriscos from receiving the Eucharist at Easter beginning in 1584, local priests, who knew the lay of the land, made an exception for Carnicero's family and a handful of others. Despite

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Hortubia el Jarquino, testimony of Antón Guerrero, 5 December 1607); and leg. 371, exp. 5246 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Mancebo, first audience, 12 October 1609).

32 ADC, leg. 364, exp. 5159 (inquisitorial trial of Antón Guerrero el viejo, testimony of Gabriel de León, 9 October 1608).

33 ADC, leg. 367, exp. 5180 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Guerrero, testimony of Gabriel de León, 29 October 1608).

34 ADC, leg. 367, exp. 5180 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Guerrero, testimony of Gabriel de León, 27 November 1607).

35 ADC, leg. 366, exp. 5174 (inquisitorial trial of Luis de Hortubia el Jarquino, testimony of Gabriel de León [13 May 1608] and response to the accusation [cap. 30; 24 April 1610]).

36 ADC, leg. 343, exp. 4876, fol. 11v.

37 ADC, leg. 365, exp. 5165 (inquisitorial trial of Gabriel de Medina, testimony of Gabriel de León, 7 November 1608) and ADM, leg. 188, doc. 27, fols. 2v and 7r.

their public faces, Carnicero and Paciencia were (or, at least, were believed by their Morisco neighbors to be) crypto-Muslims.

Although some Islamic religious authorities assured the Dezanos that dissimulation was permissible and counselled submission to God's will in the face of ill treatment by Christian neighbors, many of the town's Moriscos felt anxiety about the dramatic way in which the intentions of their hearts diverged from external practice. They worried about the consequences of dissimulation and of forgoing obligatory Islamic rites and ceremonies. Specifically, they expressed concerns about how their failure to comply would be perceived by the deity and whether it would provoke providential judgment. In c. 1569, for example, one Morisca suggested that the *granadinos* who were then fighting in the Sierra Nevada would sweep across the land and put everything under "one king," cutting the throats of the Christians and those Moriscos *que no supieron la ley de los moros*.[38] Four decades later, Morisca María la Jarquina responded to the Holy Office's arrest of dozens of her neighbors by announcing, "It's because we're bad Moors that God sent such a scourge and punishment upon us."[39] They awaited Deza's (and Spain's) reincorporation into the *dar al-Islam* and lamented that "the Turk couldn't raise another armada … so we might all be one and free from this subjugation."[40]

Short of simply guarding Islamic conviction in their hearts or abandoning Deza and Spain for Algiers, Istanbul, or Bayonne, the options available for those wishing to bring intention and action into alignment were limited. Retreat to the domestic space was possible but not without risk. Neighbors and servants happened upon Moriscos performing ablutions or prayers, overheard conversations, and took note of unusual dietary practices. Confining religion to the home was, moreover, at cross-purposes with the communal thrust of the *umma*. A somewhat broader sense of community could be experienced in secret meetings—for prayer or instruction, naming ceremonies (*fadas*), and marriages and burials *a usanza de moros*. Many of Deza's Moriscos took part in such events, which suited their communal nature, but the more people who were involved the more likely it was that the gathering would be discovered.

Another approach was to live as a Muslim but to do so out from under the watchful eyes of Old Christians neighbors. Muleteering in particular proved attractive to many of Deza's Moriscos, who saw it as an opportunity for liberty

38 ADC, leg. 249, exp. 3352, fols. 18v and 22r.

39 ADC, leg. 378, exp. 5356 (inquisitorial trial of María la Jarquina, testimony of Gabriel de León, 20 June 1608).

40 ADC, leg. 367, exp. 5180 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Guerrero, testimony of Gabriel de León [21 August 1608] and response to the accusation [cap. 69; 27 October 1609]).

and boldness on the open road. Two men who often traveled together made a game along the way of moving statues of saints out of shrines and into the open, where, they joked, the sun would keep them warm.[41] Even those who were not *arrieros* took advantage of similar opportunities. In 1600, for example, blacksmith Lope Guerrero of Deza, who needed iron for his forge, coordinated a trip to Calatayud with the onset of Ramadan. After sunset, he and his companions gathered at a Morisco-owned inn and broke their fast along with New Christians from Sestrica, Belchite, Villafeliche, Brea, and Calanda, among others.[42] Guerrero was back in Deza a few days later, exhausted from having combined fasting with hard travel but, nevertheless, satisfied at having fulfilled his religious duty.

Others stayed away for longer periods. Many young men, for example, were apprenticed or took journeyman work in the Morisco *pueblos* of Aragon; some women were farmed out or spent time visiting relatives. For both genders, these sojourns often entailed the acquisition of Islamic know how. In the mid-1580s, for instance, Juan Guerrero worked four years in Villafeliche, where he learned about the errors of Roman Catholicism, including transubstantiation, the virgin birth, the incarnation, the crucifixion, and the saints.[43] Two decades later, his eleven-year-old daughter Ana, who already knew "what was appropriate for the salvation of the soul," was invited by an Aragonese *alfaquí* to visit him in Ariza, where she could learn "more things" about the Law of Muhammad. The precocious Ana declined the opportunity as too risky.[44] In some cases, the primary goal of these trips was to learn *cosas de moros* from Aragonese experts; in other cases, religious instruction was merely part of the larger experience. Either way, when travelers returned to Deza a few months or years later, they brought home what they had acquired abroad.

Román Ramírez used the garden to draw upon the various strengths of these alternative strategies for living as Muslims. The men who gathered in that place enjoyed the local analog to what muleteers and sojourners in Aragon experienced. His lectures provided a consistent source of instruction and, as the garden became a waystation for Aragonese travelers, locals could learn from other teachers, some of whom were probably more knowledgeable than hometown

41 ADC, leg. 367, exp. 5180 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Guerrero, testimony of Gabriel de León, 13 March 1608).

42 ADC, leg. 250, exp. 3370 (inquisitorial trial of Lope Guerrero el viejo, testimony of Diego Zamorano, 23 August 1601).

43 ADC, leg. 367, exp. 5180 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Guerrero, testimony of Gabriel de León, 20 November 1607).

44 ADC, leg. 369, exp. 5131 (inquisitorial trial of Ana Guerrera, response to the second accusation [cap. 3], 10 July 1610).

experts. And, perhaps for the first time in their lives, Dezanos were able to practice as Muslims in external conformity to the demands of Islam right out in the open, and they did so "day and night" as one Old Christian observed.[45] But unlike the Morisca who scandalized witnesses by performing her ritual ablutions in the fountain of the main plaza at midday in c. 1572, the participants in the garden *juntas* enjoyed some protection.[46] Not only was the property walled and located *extra muros*, away from prying eyes, it also belonged to the duke and, therefore, stood outside the jurisdiction of local authorities. Whatever Old Christians believed was going on in there, they lacked authority to violate this space without permission. Nor were they likely to receive it, for just as Juan Luis had supported Ramírez over Milla in the 1560s, his son Juan III (1569–1607) continued to balance the power of local Old Christians by favoring Moriscos after his father's death. Many of those Old Christians saw this as all-too-consistent with their seigneur's willingness to tacitly condone the activities in the garden.

The role of the duke as protector of the garden highlights the relationship between Ramírez's efforts to reinforce Islamic life among the Moriscos of Deza and the simultaneous transformations that were occurring more broadly in early modern Christianity. Despite being a remote frontier town, both Old Christians and Moriscos in Deza experienced post-Tridentine reforms and, more broadly, understood the prescriptive trajectory of early modern Spanish Catholicism. These developments included liturgical reforms, catechization, a changing of the church calendar, removing the relics of un-canonized saints, enforcing the decrees of diocesan synods, improving clerical education, as well as more regular episcopal visitations, better parish record keeping, and increased levels of oversight. Locals did not always like these efforts, which challenged long-established local traditions and often created confusion about proper practice and belief. But their engagement with these reforming programs was substantial, not incidental, and over time, broadly speaking, most came to accept them. Yet, the experience of the town's Moriscos vis-à-vis the disciplinary component of church reform differed markedly from their Old Christian neighbors'.

On the whole, the Moriscos were the ones who suffered during inquisitorial visitations (in 1557, 1569, and 1581), not the local Old Christians or Judeoconversos. An Edict of Grace promulgated locally in 1570–71 was taken by 173 of the town's Moriscos and a final inquisitorial assault in 1607–8

45 ADC, leg. 362, exp. 5142 (inquisitorial trial of Miguel Ramírez, letter of Pedro de Cisneros to the Holy Office in Cuenca, 26 November 1607).

46 ADC, libro 318, fols. 99r–v and 111v–12r (*This Happened*, pp. 73–74 and 86–87).

saw hundreds denounced and more than 40 full-blown trials; dozens more evaded arrest only by fleeing. Added to this were episcopal efforts implemented through the town's parish church to Christianize Moriscos. These included educational initiatives—most learned their prayers and local priests taught generations of Morisco youths how to read—but they also included disciplinary measures. Old Christian Juan de Peñafiel, for example, was commissioned to walk the Morisco quarter on Sundays and obligatory feast days to make sure that everyone was at mass. He collected fines from the recalcitrant and sometimes used "force" to encourage attendance.[47] In 1584, the bishop barred Moriscos from receiving the Eucharist annually and, in April 1603, the episcopal *visitador* ordered that Moriscos' names regularly be read aloud at mass so they could audibly respond and indicate their presence.[48]

Whatever the purpose of these measures from an ecclesiastical perspective, they stigmatized Moriscos socially and differentiated them from the rest of the citizenry. Nevertheless, for most of the sixteenth century, the division between Deza's Moriscos and Old Christians—the imagined *enfrentamiento* of civilizations—was neither central nor determinative. Certainly, concerns about the Moriscos' *buena cristiandad* existed but, on most days, Dezanos found ways to live next to, work with, buy from, sell to, and worship alongside of one another. Even at the end of the century, the greater concern was whether one belonged to the duke's party or the town faction. In the 1590s, most citizens, including Moriscos, signed on to an appellate court case to assert the town's privileges against the authority of the duke. But the endeavor collapsed, to the frustration of the other citizens, when the Moriscos unilaterally withdrew, around 1600, and shifted their allegiance to the duke. They argued that the suit was unjust, likely to fail, expensive, and ultimately injurious to the town.[49] They also probably recognized how much they needed the preferment and protection that only a great seigneur could offer.

Old Christians made sense of that decision by reading it alongside Román Ramírez's recent condemnation as a crypto-Muslim diabolist who sought the overthrow of the Spanish monarch, and they projected his crimes onto the Morisco community at large.[50] The duke now became implicated for "favoring the Moriscos," especially by procuring local offices and appointments for

47 ADC, leg. 820, exp. 7992, fols. 6r and 8v.

48 ADC, leg. 367, exp. 5180 (inquisitorial trial of Juan Guerrero, testimony of Gabriel de León, 20 1607) and ADC, leg. 820, exp. 7992, fols. 1v, 4r–v, 6r–v, 8v, 10r–v.

49 Archivo Histórico Municipal de Deza [henceforth, AHMD], leg. 76, doc. 1, fol. 18r and Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, Registros de Ejecutorias [henceforth, ARCV, RE], caja 1999, doc. 90, fol. 2r.

50 ADC, leg. 820, exp. 7992, fols. 4v–5r and 11r.

them.[51] His favoritism had fostered an environment that made it possible for Román and Miguel Ramírez to establish the garden as an Islamic sanctuary. But, in this climate, the existence of a permanent and protected space for their religious activities could only be seen as a threat to Deza's Christian identity, even as ducal preferment of the Moriscos challenged the town's pretensions, not to mention the social and economic position of local Old Christians. The resultant rift saw violence in the streets, legal battles in court, and inquisitorial denunciations, culminating first in a major assault by the Holy Office and, finally, in July 1611, the successful expulsion of all but a handful of Moriscos.

As for Román's garden *juntas*, that institution also fell prey to the various pressures—both internal and external—at work on the town. When Duke Juan III, a man in his prime, died in November 1607, his one-month-old son, Antonio Juan, inherited the title and the Moriscos lost their protector. The infant's affairs were, during these early years of his life, managed by his maternal grandfather, the master courtier Gómez Dávila y de Toledo (1553–1616), Marquis of Velada. Antonio Juan took formal possession of Deza in a ceremony staged in mid-December 1607 that saw one Licentiate Antonio Sáenz de Verano act as the ducal proxy via power of attorney granted by Velada while the child remained at home with his mother.

During the possession ceremony, a veneer of unity briefly replaced the ongoing divisions and feuds. When Licentiate Sáenz arrived, the entire town assembled, but especially officeholders and ducal appointees—both Morisco and Old Christian. He claimed the keys to the town's archive as well as its fortress, which he entered, locked, and briefly occupied. Then, he ceremonially revoked all ducal appointments and collected staves of office and regalia. Finally, he took possession of the key to the courtroom, which he entered. He took a seat on the bench beneath the Duke of Medinaceli's escutcheon and held court. All local secular authority was now, by proxy, vested in him.

In previous years, at other possession ceremonies, litigants had, at this point, approached the bench seeking justice.[52] But this time, no one did, which is curious, because important grievances were outstanding. Ten months earlier, in February, several Old Christians had formally petitioned the duke to remove three Moriscos from the town council since, they believed, the appointments were contrary to "the laws and decrees of the realm and the final judgment of the royal appellate court [*chancillería*]."[53] But now, with an opportunity to press their case, they were silent. Nor did the Moriscos ask what

51 ARCV, RE, caja 1999, doc. 90, fol. 5v. See also, AHMD, leg. 15a, doc. 7, fol. 1v.

52 ADM, leg. 111, doc. 25, fols. 10r–11r.

53 ADM (Archivo Histórico) leg. 125, doc. 1, fol. 6r.

would become of the old duke's promise to resolve their ongoing inquisitorial troubles.[54] For the moment, at least, the citizens presented a united front and no one broached the issues that were tearing the town apart.

Almost no one. The first formal action of the duke's proxy on the second day of the possession ceremony was to visit the infamous garden. He ambled about the property and then declared that he "took possession of it in the name of the duke, my lord." The scribe noted that this occurred "quietly and peacefully" with the town's *alcaide* and its Morisco co-magistrate acting as witnesses.[55] The assertion of seigniorial authority over that contentious piece of land—an act without precedent in previous possession ceremonies—was meant to bring peace and quiet to Deza by eliminating the garden as a focus for local conflict. As the ceremony drew to an end later that day, oaths were sworn and keys, staves, insignias, and titles restored. Everything else over which the duke's stand-in had asserted authority was ceremonially returned to whomever had previously controlled it; that property alone remained under the immediate and direct control of Deza's feudal lord.[56]

It is not clear what Velada had in mind for the *casa y huerta del duque*. Perhaps this assertion of authority was only meant to be temporary and, after some time had passed, Miguel Ramírez would have been permitted to continue as before. This, however, is unlikely. The marquis was no friend of Spanish Moriscos, but rather a strong proponent of their expulsion.[57] Moreover, a final scrap of evidence suggests that he had also had enough of the drama surrounding the garden. In December 1610, when the Holy Office was threatening Morisco Lope Guerrero with torture, he dredged up a memory of Islamic activity in the garden. He claimed that he and a number of others had gathered *en la huerta del duque en Deza en un corral que solía ser jardín*. This suggests that in the wake of the possession ceremony, the center of Islamic activity

54 ADC, leg. 249, exp. 3369 (inquisitorial trial of Luis de Cebea el viejo, testimony of Gabriel de León, 29 March 1608).

55 ADM, leg. 111, doc. 39, fol. 5v. Coincidentally, the same document provides evidence that Miguel Ramírez was in town during these proceedings. He acted as a witness to the public announcement indicating that Licentiate Sáenz was prepared to adjudicate legal cases for the townsfolk (fol. 4v).

56 ADM, leg. 111, doc. 39, fols. 6v–8r. In fact, in the case of the *casa y huerta del duque*, the record omits the name of the property holder, which distinguishes it from the other acts of possession described in the document.

57 Santiago Martínez Hernández, "Don Gómez Dávila y Toledo, II Marqués de Velada, y la corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III (1553–1616)," PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2002, pp. 622–624.

in Deza—that same *jardín* planned and planted by Francisco de Esperanza, enjoyed by Muçali, and used by Román Ramírez for his *juntas*—had been uprooted.

In any case, within two months of the possession ceremony, inquisitorial authorities in Cuenca ordered the arrest of another sixteen of Deza's Moriscos, Miguel Ramírez among them. His cohort arrived on 3 March 1608 and was quickly processed into the secret jails. Some, Ramírez among them, had sworn to "stay tough" and reveal nothing even under torture. He remained true to his word.[58] Sentenced to serve in the king's galleys, he somehow managed to outmaneuver the tribunal of the Holy Office at Cuenca and his sentence was commuted. In late 1611, despite the indignant complaints of inquisitorial officials, he was released from confinement in order to comply with the royal expulsion edict.[59]

The drama that played out in Deza and around Román's garden obviously pertains to a very specific local context, but as Henry Kamen reminds us, "local community-based mentalities," not Braudelian "universal concepts of ideology," had the "priority in early modern Spain."[60] The historical narrative, especially when framed around red-letter dates and events that are capitalized like Lepanto and the Morisco Expulsion, often does a poor job of accounting for the complexity of and diversity at play in the local milieu. Yet, that milieu dominated early modern life for the vast majority of people. The opportunities and challenges faced by Deza's Moriscos unfolded around a highly idiosyncratic series of relationships and events that allowed for the presence of Turkish Muslims (baptized or not) and Aragonese instructors as well as for the willingness of successive dukes to grant Ramírez and his son control of a space where Muslims could practice their religion in relative safety and (more or less) out in the open. To understand why Islam remained so attractive and vibrant for generations of *moriscos dezanos*, who were hard pressed time and again by the Holy Office and episcopal authorities to conform to Christianity, the local context is essential. The garden tended by Román Ramírez in the sixteenth century bore fruit even after his death, but that harvest meant that few of the town's Old Christians would feel obliged to defend their Morisco neighbors when the royal expulsion threatened.

58 ADC, leg. 362, exp. 5142 (inquisitorial trial of Miguel Ramírez, torture of the accused, 12 February 1611).

59 ADC, libro 227, fols. 227r and 228r (*This Happened*, pp. 154–156).

60 Henry Kamen, "Testing the Limits of Braudel's Mediterranean," in John A. Marino ed., *Early Modern History and the Social Sciences*, Kirksville, 2002, pp. 221–222.

Even so, while Deza's experience was, to quote Kamen again, "almost unique," the pressures that Dezanos faced and their efforts to resolve them speak to a broader experience.[61] During the Morisco century, with the prescription against Islam actively enforced and most Spanish Muslims unwilling to embrace self-imposed exile, the available options were limited and none of them particularly satisfying. The strategies described here and used by Deza's Moriscos to negotiate the competing religious claims made upon their hearts, minds, and bodies suggest some of the limits and possibilities available to the crypto-Muslim Moriscos of early modern Spain.

61 Kamen, "Testing the Limits," p. 213.

CHAPTER 10

Morisco Double Resistance

William P. Childers

• • •

> Submissive, and even consenting to their subjection, the Indians nevertheless often *made of* the rituals, representations, and laws imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors had in mind; they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept. They were *other* within the very colonization that outwardly assimilated them; their use of the dominant social order deflected its power, which they lacked the means to challenge; they escaped it without leaving it.
>
> MICHEL DE CERTEAU, *The Practice of Everyday Life*[1]

> Where there is power, there is resistance.
>
> MICHEL FOUCAULT, *The History of Sexuality*[2]

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The Moriscos—generic term for descendants of Iberian Muslims after their forced conversion[3]—were constituted as a colony within the Spanish nation.[4] As such, they experienced the classic "double bind" articulated by

1 Michel de Certeau, "General Introduction," *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, Berkeley, 1984, p. xiii, emphasis in the original.

2 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume One: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, New York, 1978, p. 95.

3 Despite misgivings expressed by some, nearly all who work on the topic have ultimately accepted this label. A telling exception is L. P. Harvey, who insists on calling them Muslims, thus begging the central question of the extent to which it is possible to generalize about their religious faith. L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, Chicago, 2005, pp. 2–10.

4 Many have called the Moriscos a colony at one time or another, of course. I discuss this designation in *Transnational Cervantes*, Toronto, 2006, pp. 3–14, where I argue Counterreformation Catholicism was a case of "internal colonialism." The term has a long and complex history of its own, having been applied, for example, to Latin American indigenous groups after

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twentieth-century theorists of colonialism:[5] they were under immense pressure to conform to the dominant culture, "even in your way of walking," as Talavera famously enjoined,[6] yet when they did exhibit at least the outward appearance of sincere Christians and loyal subjects, they were viewed with suspicion and marginalized. Their "performance" as true Spaniards would always be judged inadequate. Some, under these circumstances, rebelled; others complied, at least externally, with what was expected of them. This difference is not a function of moral rectitude or weakness, but of the colonial situation itself. They had to respond as best they could, and each of them, it is to be presumed, acted to maximize his or her own status in Spanish society and/or the smaller, separate Morisco community.[7] Our first responsibility is not to judge, but to understand, the choices they made.

This essay explores the range of stances they took toward the dominant culture imposed on them, at the same time as it considers the difficulty of situating individual members of their community, based on the existing archival record, on a continuum running from resistance through compliance to collaboration. It is, then, a plea for a more open-minded approach than is sometimes found among historians working on this topic; a plea for reserving judgment, based on the assumption that all of the facts are not in, and probably never will be.

1 Toppling a Cross

I begin with an anecdote illustrating the complexity of the issues, especially the epistemological limitations under which we labor. This is from a *libro*

Independence, and to Blacks and Chicanos during the Civil Rights movement. Recently it was revived by Chris Hayes, in a best-selling book, *A Colony in a Nation*, New York, 2017, to discuss African Americans' experience of living in what amounts to, for them, a police state.

5 The strongest theoretical exposition of this condition remains Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* [1957], trans. Charles Lam Markmann, New York, 1968.

6 "… es menester que vos conforméis en todo y por todo a la buena y honesta conversación de los buenos y honestos cristianos y cristianas en vestir y calçar y afeitar y en comer y en mesas y en viandas guisadas como comúnmente las guisan, *y en vuestro andar* …" *Memorial, al parecer, de Fray Hernando de Talavera para los moradores del Albaicín*, undated, circa 1500. Reprinted in Antonio Gallego Burín and Alfonso Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada, según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554* [1968], facsímile edition, "Estudio Preliminar" by Bernard Vincent, Granada, 1996, p. 163, emphasis added.

7 I rely implicitly here and throughout on Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of sociological agency as strategic action vis-à-vis a repertoire of choices that is not itself chosen but imposed. See Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago, 1992, pp. 115–140.

de testificaciones in the Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, a relatively unknown and underutilized type of Inquisitorial document.[8] During Inquisitor Alonso Jiménez de Reinoso's visit to the town of Villanueva de la Jara in the summer of 1589, a fifty-year old weaver named Alonso Sainz reported the following curious incident:

> He said that he came to declare, in order to unburden his conscience, that around four years ago, more or less, heading out early one morning for the Mill of La Noguera, about a quarter of a league from town, still a half hour before dawn, he met a Morisco who lives in this town, whose name is Miguel Muñoz. And, asking him where he was coming from so early in the morning, he answered, from Alarcón, from taking a present to Father Paños. With that the witness went his way, and about a hundred and fifty steps from where he met the said Morisco, this witness happened on a cross that is usually standing on a cube on the left-hand side of the road, which was now on the right-hand side, lying on the ground across a wagon rut. And this witness, as he ran into the said Morisco at such an unlikely hour, and then saw this, suspected something amiss, and thought to himself that the said Morisco had done that, had placed the cross in the rut so that when a wagon passed it would break its arms, for it seemed to be placed that way for that purpose. Because if the Morisco hadn't put it there, when he passed by it his horse would have been startled, and this witness would have heard it. Or the Morisco would have mentioned that the cross was there, since day was breaking and he must have passed close by it, and couldn't have failed to see it. And this is the truth, by the oath he swore, and, it being read back to him, he said that this is what he declares.[9]

8 For more on this type of document see my "Bienvenido, Mr. Inquisitor: On the Sociocultural Dynamics of Inquisitorial Visits," in Michal Jan Rozbicki ed., *Perspectives on Interculturality: The Construction of Meaning in Relationships of Difference*, New York, 2015, pp. 107–128.

9 Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, Inquisición, Libro 326, fols 139v–140v. Here is the original text, which I have transcribed and translated: "Dijo que viene a decir, por descargo de su conciencia, que habrá cuatro años, poco más o menos, que, habiendo madrugado una mañana para ir al Molino de la Noguera, yendo por el camino un cuarto de legua desta villa y media hora antes que amaneciese, encontró en él un morisco, vecino desta villa, que se llama Miguel Muñoz. Y preguntándole de dónde venía tan de mañana, le respondió que venía de Alarcón, de llevar un presente al Padre Paños. Y con esto este testigo pasó adelante, y a ciento y cincuenta pasos de donde había encontrado al dicho morisco, topó con una cruz que solía estar puesta en un cubo a la mano izquierda de aquel camino, que estaba a la mano derecha, tendida en el suelo y atravesada en una rodada de carro. Y este testigo, como había topado al dicho morisco tan a deshora y vio aquello, sospechó mal y tuvo para sí que el dicho morisco

This begins as a neutral encounter between two acquaintances, though the weaver seems suspicious from the outset. When he asks Miguel Muñoz where he is coming from, isn't he already engaging in a subtle form of control? Once he sees the cross on the ground, his underlying assumptions about Morisco hostility to Christianity kick in. Having stewed over this encounter for four years before the Inquisitor came to town, he has considered it from all angles; no matter how he looks at it, he is brought back to his first impression: the only possible explanation is that the Morisco tipped the cross over and deliberately left it lying across the wagon ruts to be crushed. We should not fail to realize that a primary reason he gives for this conclusion is *Miguel's silence*. How else to interpret his seeing the cross on the ground (*He must have seen it!*), but saying nothing? Alonso Sainz seems to think, in fact, that Miguel woke up early and sneaked out of town to tip over the cross when he wouldn't get caught at it, hence his comment, "at such an unlikely hour" (*tan a deshora*). The story of going to Alarcón to give a present to Padre Paño—presumably a priest friendly to Moriscos—would thus be just a cover, a lie invented to explain his presence. Alonso has no real proof, however. He did not *see* Miguel push it over, he merely *deduced* that he had done so. Though the phrase "to unburden his conscience" (*por descargo de su conciencia*) is a formulaic opening, Alonso probably *is* relieved to be able to finally get this off his chest.

Is the vandalism against this cross an example of Morisco resistance? Perhaps, but it would have gone entirely unrecorded if not for the weaver's happening to cross paths with his Morisco neighbor just at that moment. It may be just a momentary lapse in Miguel Muñoz' otherwise compliant life, a life in which he does things like take gifts to a nearby priest, dissembling his resentment, pretending to be a sincere convert while seething inside with rage, looking for an opportunity to lash out. We are not really in any more privileged a position, though, viewing these ambiguous signs, than Alonso Sainz was, four centuries ago. It may be that Miguel is perfectly innocent. Perhaps, in the dim pre-dawn light, he did not see the cross, which could have been knocked over by a storm, or by someone else. It could be that the supposed act of resistance, this expression of resentment, is just a mirage.

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había hecho aquello y puesto la cruz en la rodada para que, pasando algún carro, la quebrase los brazos, que estaba puesta de propósito para aquello. Porque si el dicho morisco no la hubiera puesto, al tiempo que pasó por junto a ella se espantara la cabalgadura y lo sintiera este testigo, o el dicho morisco le dijera como quedaba allí la cruz, porque como hacía la mañana y había pasado tan cerca della, no fue posible que la dejase de ver. Y que esta es la verdad para el juramento que hizo e siéndole leído dijo que así lo dice."

Let us continue, for the moment, however, to assume that Miguel Muñoz did topple the cross, and that it was a deliberate act of resistance. Defacing symbols of authority is unquestionably a longstanding form of political theater. (We are familiar in our time with its manifestations in the toppling of statues or even just splashing them with red paint.) It has the advantage of anonymity, if done early enough in the morning, as Miguel apparently tried to.[10] It depends for its effectiveness on as many people finding out about it as possible, either by directly witnessing it, or by hearing about it. Miguel would have been relying mainly on the latter, since the cross is in the countryside where few would see it, and townspeople would have set it back up again fairly quickly. "Someone knocked over the cross on the Noguera Mill Road, did you hear?" Such gossip spread by word of mouth would have a secret, ambiguous meaning for Moriscos, who would guess that one of their group might have committed this defiant act in an effort to give external representation to their community's rejection of Christianity, thereby strengthening their collective resolve to maintain their old religion in private. Even so, they might not be in any better position to evaluate the meaning of the action than Alonso Sainz was, or than we are today. All the same, among the Moriscos of Villanueva de la Jara, this act of vandalism could become in conversation something like a "litmus test" of others' attitudes. By bringing it up, one could gauge others' reactions and extrapolate their positions. For, as we will see below in a case from Socuéllamos, it could be a daunting task for those engaging in clandestine pro-Islamic activities to identify who their allies were, even within their community.

This example, shrouded as it is in uncertainty, lays bare the multiple layers of difficulty in recognizing and interpreting Morisco resistance. While even such simple everyday encounters could be the occasion for acts of defiance, the constant game of concealment and strategic revelation kept both groups on edge, tensely scrutinizing one another's speech, gestures, and actions for secondary intentions. This scrutiny undoubtedly led to many misunderstandings as well. Difficult as it was for sixteenth-century Spaniards to interpret Morisco conformity as either authentic or feigned, how much more so must it be for us, over four centuries later?

10 Concerning the value of anonymity in disguising resistance, see James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, 1990, pp. 140–152.

2 Morisco Resistance in Theory

Even after thirty years, the starting point for theorizing resistance remains James C. Scott's seminal *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990).[11] Scott combines his own fieldwork with a vast store of examples from dozens of studies by historians and anthropologists, revealing the strategies employed by oppressed groups to manifest, through hints and signs which must be read between the lines, a "hidden transcript" opposed to the official representation of the dominant group. These oppressed groups include, among others, Russian serfs, Indian untouchables, Andalusian peasants, and African American slaves. Scott repeatedly emphasizes the necessarily clandestine nature of this resistance, which must either be anonymous (as Miguel Muñoz' toppling of the cross was intended to be), or inserted ambiguously into the public sphere, so as to be recognizable to the members of the community, but either invisible to those in power or at least allowing denial of responsibility for the message. The inevitable result for the anthropologist or, especially, the historian, is the epistemological uncertainty we already saw in the case of the toppled cross. Scott returns to this point often:

> The goal of slaves and other subordinate groups, as they conduct their ideological and material resistance, is precisely to escape detection; to the extent that they achieve their goal, such activities do not appear in the archives. (87)
>
> The undeclared ideological guerrilla war that rages in this political space requires that we enter the world of rumor, gossip, disguises, linguistic tricks, metaphors, euphemisms, folktales, ritual gestures, anonymity. For good reason, nothing is entirely straightforward here; the realities of power for subordinate groups mean that much of their political action

11 Scott has not frequently been employed in Morisco studies,in spite of the importance of "resistance" in this field. Mary Elizabeth Perry quotes in passing from *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* on p. 169 of "Morisco Stories and the Complexities of Resistance and Assimilation," in Kevin Ingram, ed. *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 161–186. Scott's model is central, on the other hand, to Jennifer Lynn Heacock-Renaud's recent PhD thesis, *Hidden Transcripts of Resistance: Moriscos and the Gendered Politics of Survival in Early Modern Spain*, University of Iowa, 2018, which focuses on Francisco Nuñez Muley, Miguel de Luna, and Cervantes. Two other fundamental studies for the theory of collective resistance against domination, complimentary to Scott's model, are E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 50 (1971), pp. 76–136, and Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, Delhi, 1983.

> requires interpretation precisely because it is intended to be cryptic and opaque. (137)
>
> The logic of infrapolitics is to leave few traces in the wake of its passage. By covering its tracks it not only minimizes the risks its practitioners run but it also eliminates much of the documentary evidence that might convince social scientists and historians that real politics was taking place. (200)

Despite its camouflage—or because of it—resistance in Scott's model is ubiquitous and protean. The underlying perspective of the group is defined by an unspoken, yet shared, rejection of the hegemonic class and its values. Because of this collective understanding, symbolic gestures referring to it—such as Miguel's toppling of the cross—have a readymade context for interpretation. Therefore, action in support of resistance, unlike open rebellion, does not require planning and coordination, but can be spontaneous and improvised, taking advantage of any opportunity provided by a chink in the armor of authority. Scott also emphasizes that although resistance can be preparation or rehearsal for rebellion, stoking the fires of resentment until the moment for outright rebellion arrives, it is also a valid survival tool in its own right (183–201).

In all of these respects, as we will see in the examples to follow, Morisco resistance confirms the overall validity of Scott's theory. In one important regard, though, it does not fit his model. Unlike the groups he examines (serfs, slaves, peasants, untouchables), Moriscos did not constitute a homogeneous oppressed class. They could be found at almost every socioeconomic level, from the aristocracy down to the enslaved. Though united by opposition to the dominant Old Christian majority, they are equally divided in ways that cut across this unity. A patchwork of different sets of legal privileges applied to Moriscos depending on where they were born, who their ancestors were, and when and how they converted. And various hierarchies of wealth and influence separated them into distinct classes. These differences mean, on the one hand, that the kinds of strategies different individuals and families are able to employ in mounting resistance vary—some have greater access than others to the legal system, or to funds with which to finance more ambitious projects. On the other hand, these differences work against the shared understanding and common interests Scott finds among members of oppressed groups. Though all Moriscos were subject to unequal treatment by the Old Christian majority and therefore would likely feel some solidarity with other members of the same ethno-religious minority, they had different class interests and different paths open to them for maintaining or increasing their status. In practice, it is not always possible to decide whether to attribute observed differences

in Moriscos' documented behavior to a difference in tactics, or to a different long-term goal, namely, their own individual or familial advancement. Their strategic trajectories, both in terms of pathway and endpoint, are simply not identical.

In extending Scott's theoretical model for Moriscos' circumstances, internal differences in their tactics can be viewed from two different perspectives. To reconstruct their *own* point of view as historical agents, I rely on French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's influential concept of the *habitus*. To take the viewpoint of the power brought to bear on them *from above*, I refer to Michel Foucault's understanding of the dynamics of power and resistance in his late work, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (1976). Together with Scott's model, these two additional perspectives constitute the theoretical prism through which I will approach the examples to follow.

Habitus is a useful tool for conceptualizing Moriscos' varying positions regarding the multiple paths of resistance and conformity open to them. Bourdieu developed this key term of his sociology to account for "practice" as socially-conditioned yet still reserving a role for individual agency.[12] One's habitus is akin to native speakers' competence in language, but as applied to social behavior. Just as native speakers produce grammatical sentences without explicit awareness of the rules of syntax, those who have grown up or lived many years in a social group are able to behave appropriately and meaningfully, without always having to think about the norms governing their actions and rendering them intelligible to others.[13] In the context of medieval and early modern Spain, one example of habitus is the all-encompassing *ley* in accordance with which individual agents live (*la ley de Mahoma, la ley de Moisés*, or *la ley de Cristo*). The trouble, of course, came when two of those systems were prohibited in the late-fourteenth to early-fifteenth centuries, making it a crime for people simply to continue to act in accordance with their long-established way of life.[14]

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12 I rely here primarily on the comments Bourdieu made on the habitus in *Invitation to a Reflexive Sociology*, 115–140. Unless otherwise specified, page numbers in these paragraphs refer to this work. Bourdieu treated the habitus in many texts, and his understanding of it evolved significantly. Another useful overview can be found in ch. 3 of *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 52–65. There is a helpful list of occasions where the topic is dealt with in *Invitation to a Reflexive Sociology*, p. 120 note 75.

13 As far as I am aware, Bourdieu avoids this analogy to the acquisition of a native speaker's linguistic competence. One commentator who uses it explicitly is Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology*, Cambridge, UK, 2000, p. 142.

14 In speaking of a "Moorish habitus" in late-medieval and early modern Spain, Barbara Fuchs uses Bourdieu's term in a narrower sense, deriving primarily from his book *Distinction*, where it is often used to refer to something closer to "taste" rather than "cultural identity"

Habitus is cultural identity, then, yes, but viewed from the standpoint of the subjective awareness that makes it possible to participate in a culture actively; it is the subject's "sense of the game" (120–21). In this regard, it is bound up with a person's status, i.e. that which is at stake, ultimately, in the social game. This is why people conform to behavioral norms in the first place: "Social agents only obey a rule insofar as their interest in following it outweighs their interest in overlooking it" (115). The interest on the part of the players is not exclusively economic. To account for this, Bourdieu developed a tripartite division of types of capital: economic, cultural, and social. Any of these, or any combination of them, can be what the player has invested, and is therefore risking. Economic capital is what its name implies, money, investments, and credit. Cultural capital includes all the knowledge and capacities the subject has acquired through education and upbringing. Social capital derives from "a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (119). Less frequently, Bourdieu refers to a fourth type, symbolic capital, which equates to prestige or recognition. It is a second-order consequence of the deployment of the other types in a manner calculated to enhance the public image of an individual or group.[15] From within their habitus, individuals act in accordance with *strategies* aimed at maximizing their capital of all these types.

Habitus has a temporal dimension as well, crucial for applying the term to Moriscos' experience. Strategies for social action are both short term and long term, forming a *trajectory* ultimately stretching across an entire lifespan: "interest [...] differentiates itself according to the position occupied in the game (dominant vs. dominated or orthodox vs. heretic) *and with the trajectory that leads each participant to this position*" (117, emphasis added). Over the course of the trajectory conditions change, and the habitus must adapt. If change is too extreme or abrupt, the habitus can tear, or even split; the subject experiences this as a conflict between the older, previously stable habitus of his or her birth and early experience, versus the new conditions that now pertain. Only toward the end of his life did Bourdieu begin to discuss explicitly the notion of a "cleft habitus" (*habitus clivé*). Since his death in 2002, a number of sociologists have

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taken in its entirety. Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia, 2009, pp. 67–70; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge, MA, 1984.

15 A book where Bourdieu mentions symbolic capital more often than elsewhere is *The Field of Cultural Production*, Randal Johnson, ed., New York, 1993, where it is often brought up to discuss authors' and artists' reputations, their relative values in the cultural marketplace. See in particular pp. 75 and 183. There is also a chapter devoted to symbolic capital in *The Logic of Practice*, pp. 112–121.

continued to develop this extension of the model, useful for analyzing trajectories involving immigration and social mobility.[16]

Muslims and *mudéjares* in Spain experienced a catastrophically abrupt disturbance of the habitus when what had been considered normative in their communities was suddenly declared unlawful. Most of them, however, had no stake in changing to the new norms, no *interest* in doing so: all their capital, cultural, economic, and social, was invested in the old habitus. For the *alfaquíes*, whose cultural and social capital was considerable—the religion of Islam and the network of the faithful—, the only reasonable choice, faced with the nullification of their role in the community, was to shore it up in whatever way was available to them, including the clandestine circulation of Aljamiado writings.[17] Others, such as the political elite of occupied Granada, held considerable economic and social capital that was potentially compatible with the Christian-aristocratic habitus, and many of them—branded "collaborationists" by some historians—chose to protect their status by accepting the new conditions, at least outwardly.[18] Some, such as the urban merchants and artisans,

16 See for examples Tony Bennett, "Habitus Clivé: Aesthetics and Politics in the Work of Pierre Bourdieu," *New Literary History* 38 (2007), pp. 201–228; Hugo José Suárez, "Habitus Clivé. Time in the Theory of Habitus in Pierre Bourdieu," *Revista Latina de Sociología* 2 (2012), pp. 56–68; and Sam Friedman, "Habitus Clivé and the Emotional Imprint of Social Mobility," *The Sociological Review* 64 (2016), pp. 129–147. Though a certain degree of cognitive dissonance arises within a divided habitus, researchers such as Friedman and, especially, Suárez have shown individuals juggling two or even up to four strands of habitus simultaneously.

17 The bibliography on Aljamiado literature is too vast to attempt here even a cursory list of major studies. A relatively recent, thorough-going introduction in English can be found in Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, ch. 5, pp. 122–203. Harvey also discusses the role of the *alfaquíes* in preserving Islamic religious life, pp. 91–92, 98, 120–121.

18 I believe "collaborationist" retains a derogatory connotation due to its association with those who colluded with Francoists during the Spanish Civil War or with Nazis and Fascists during World War II, and that it is anachronistic in our context, where, it should not be forgotten, the ruling aristocracy of either nation represented a small elite quite separated from the rest of the population. In my view, it is the prejudice caused by this misperception that has led to a general neglect of the Morisco elite as a subject for historical research. Among the chief exceptions to this are studies by Enrique Soria Mesa examining without prejudice the continuity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of noble Moorish lineages of Granada and Almería. See, for example, his "Una gran familia: Las élites moriscas del Reino de Granada," *Estudis* 35 (2009), pp. 9–35, where he laments the neglect of this aspect of Morisco studies, while choosing not to offer any explanation: "Sin embargo, este desarrollo historiográfico por desgracia no ha tenido su correlato en lo que respecta a las élites moriscas granadinas. Paradójicamente, al contrario de lo que sucede con las clases dirigentes hispanas en su generalidad, de las que sabemos mucho más que sobre el campesinado, el artesanado y otros conjuntos de parecido nivel socioeconómico, en el caso de la población de origen islámico nuestro nivel de conocimiento

found their economic capital easy enough to invest in their changed circumstances, but their social and cultural capital more intricately enmeshed in the habitus they had known from birth. The result in *all* of these cases, however, is a cleavage of the habitus, not entirely unlike what happens to today's migrants or those who experience extreme social mobility.[19] Their behavior was in conformity, therefore, with both systems, but in different fields; the result looks like resistance at certain times and like assimilation at others, though how that mix plays out depends, again, on their position in this new permutation of the social game. These half-assimilated Moriscos learned, over time, to conceal and dissemble, in the presence of Christians, the features of their behavior that still tied them to their social networks and ingrained cultural-religious patterns. This dissembling, too, became part of their *habitus clivé*, and was subsequently taught by them to their children, so that over the generations, a divided habitus with its built-in rules for concealment became normalized.[20] We are not justified, however, in labelling one part of this hybrid sense of the game "authentic" and the other "feigned," nor should we understand that only when engaged in a clandestine cultivation of their Islamic side are they practicing "resistance," if by that we refer to the struggle to overcome their marginalized condition as the subjects of a regime of internal colonialism. Both sides are part of a larger strategy to maximize all the resources accruing to them, both from solidarity within their own community, and from the legal and economic opportunities provided by the larger Spanish society, within which they formed a productive minority, valued, if not necessarily esteemed, by many of their Old Christian neighbors.

Just as the concept of *habitus* is needed to highlight the variety and complexity of Morisco resistance as viewed from the standpoint of their own

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acerca de sus categorías superiores es menor frente al común de la población. Sean cuales fueran las causas de ese desequilibrio, lo cierto es que aún queda muchísimo por estudiar en este terreno" (p. 11). Nonetheless, even Soria Mesa utilizes the term. To my knowledge, the only historians to explicitly disavow this term are Mercdes Garía-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Madrid, 2010, pp. 114 and 195.

19 Cf. Friedman, "Habitus Clivé and the Emotional Imprint of Social Mobility."

20 Though it exceeds the scope of this essay, I think it important to note that this normalization of duplicity is typical, to a significant extent, not just of the Moriscos, but of the Baroque era generally. I argue this from a theoretical standpoint in my article, "The Baroque Public Sphere," in David R. Castillo and Massimo Lollini, eds., *Reason and Its Others in Early Modern Spain and Italy*, Nashville, 2006, pp. 165–85. See also Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, MA, 1990, especially chs. 7–10, which deal with crypto-Catholicism in England and the backlash against (Spanish) Jesuit casuistry it provoked, pp. 131–254.

agency, similarly, the exercise of power over them, from the Crown and the Church down to local authorities, is too multifaceted to be captured by the single word, "domination." In pursuit of a more nuanced view of the operations of power against which Moriscos resisted, I turn to Michel Foucault's late work, *The History of Sexuality, Volume One: An Introduction*, published in French as *La volenté de savoir* (1976).

Foucault's mature thought emphasizes the co-dependency of power and resistance: "Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power."[21] The implication is that power and resistance move together constantly in a kind of dance. Where one pushes, the other responds; wherever and in whatever form power is exerted, resistance arises. Therefore, to understand the variety of forms Morisco resistance takes, we must look into the relations of power they are drawn into, at all levels and geographies. These are not reducible to a univocal project of repression, viz. the imposition of a Christian way of life uniformly across every locality of the Iberian Peninsula, in accordance with a single timeframe. Equally, then, we should not expect there to be a single, monolithic form of authentic resistance:

> [P]oints of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions. […] Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable; others that are spontaneous, savage, solitary, concerted, rampant, or violent; still others that are quick to compromise, interested, or sacrificial; by definition, they can only exist in the strategic field of power relations. (95–96)

While it is never possible to escape from power relations into a utopian space of harmony, it is equally the case that absolute dominion never takes place. In a late interview, Foucault expressed this open-endedness of power relations through a wrestling metaphor: "We can never be ensnared by power: we can always modify its *grip* in determinate conditions and according to a precise

21 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume One: An Introduction*, p. 95. Subsequent references to Foucault, unless otherwise noted, refer to this work and are given parenthetically in the text. Foucault had long critiqued the prevailing idea of power as merely prohibitive. He sought a more active understanding of its equally important role as inciter, motivator, and catalyst, promoting certain actions, perceptions, and modes of representation, and channeling energies in one direction rather than another. For a recent overview comparing Foucault's views to those of Weber and Nietzsche, see Isaak Dore, "Foucault on Power," *UMKC Law Review* 78.3 (2010) 737–748.

strategy."[22] Subjected to relentless pressure from the Crown, the Church, and other elements in Spanish society, the Moriscos, as we will see, still found ways of modifying power's grip on them.

Setting aside the direct use of military force against rebellion, and the consequent enslavement of Morisco men, women, and (illegally) children, it is possible to differentiate several layers of power brought to bear. First, there are the multiple forms of surveillance and control, including: keeping rosters of Moriscos; making annotations in legal documents and baptismal and marriage records, indicating that the individuals named were New Christians; drafting reports on their numbers and comportment; restricting their movement; imposing special taxes on them (such as the *farda*); prohibiting a long list of cultural and religious practices; collecting denunciations and confessions of violations of these prohibitions and punishing such violations—most notoriously by the Inquisition, but also by local officials; denying them the right to bear arms; and controlling the means of their self-representation, including speech, dress, and, of course, writing in their mother tongue. These measures correlate to the aspect of the colonial double bind consisting in pressuring the colonized to abandon their own cultural identities and adopt that of the colonizer.

Another grip power placed on Moriscos was their legal categorization itself, which accorded them distinct sets of privileges and rights, that is, applied distinct degrees of restriction and control to them, depending on where they were born, who their parents were, the earliest date when one of their Muslim ancestors converted to Christianity, and their family's known history of support for or opposition to the Crown. This corresponds to the other side of the colonial double bind, the reality that although the colonized may attempt to adopt the colonizers' culture, their performance of that identity will never be accepted as authentic. Each of the following groups had slightly different legal standing during the sixteenth century and vis-à-vis the expulsion: Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada, from Hornachos, from the Cinco Villas de Calatrava, from Valencia, or from Aragon (*tagarinos*); those whose ancestors converted before 1492; those who could document that they or a direct forebear served under Juan de Austria against the rebels during the War of the Alpujarras; those who could prove their fathers were Old Christians (even if that meant proving their own illegitimate birth); and those who descended

22 "Power and Sex: An Interview with Michel Foucault," Interviewed by Bernard-Henri Levy, originally published in *Le Nouvelle Observateur*, March 12, 1977, trans. David J. Parent, *Telos* 32 (1977), pp. 152–161.

from North Africans (*gacíes*), Sub-Saharan Africans, or Turks.[23] This grip of power gave rise to a great deal of legal wrangling, as Moriscos fought their classification, looking for reassignment to a less restrictive category.

At a third level, the Crown, Church, and other entities exercised power not to *restrict*, but to *engage* Moriscos in many forms of collaboration. Though not prohibitive, these incentives to action are just as much an expression of power as the restrictions and classifications are. Moriscos aided the Crown with administrative tasks, helped keep track of the *farda*, and translated from Arabic. Some joined the priesthood and aided in the mission to convert fellow Muslims. Many practiced medicine, with clients among the wealthy and the nobility. They aided local officials in some areas to understand local irrigation practices, participated in silk production and trade, manufactured ceramics, and put on officially sanctioned performances, including *zambras* and so-called *zuizas* (forerunners of today's *moros y crisitanos* celebrations). In such collaborations, Moriscos attempted to enhance their own position, as individuals, families, networks, or by building up the symbolic capital of the Morisco minority as a whole, itself a form of resistance.

3 Morisco Resistance in Practice

We come to the heart of the matter. In the following pages, I will discuss examples of three types of Morisco resistance that can be particularly difficult to disentangle with any confidence from outright conformity: 1) their cultivated appearance of compliance in everyday life; 2) their active pursuit of status in Christian society; and 3) their participation in cultural activities appreciated by the very society that oppressed them. These correspond, roughly, to the three levels of the "grip of power" discussed above in the context of Foucault's theorizing the ubiquity of resistance. Forms of resistance that unambiguously present themselves as rebellion against Catholic and/or royal authority, however clandestinely organized, will not be the focus here. We will look instead at some of the more subtle means Moriscos employed, other than outright rebellion or clandestine disobedience. There is no reason to suppose, however, that individuals engaging in these practices were not also, at times, participating in more aggressive forms of outright noncompliance. This essay concludes with some thoughts on the consequences of these ambiguous behaviors for how

23 Max Dearborn discusses the range of classifications in his article "¿Quién es morisco? Desde cristiano nuevo a cristiano viejo de moros: Categorías de diferenciación en el Reino de Granada (siglo XVI)," *Forum Historiae Juris*, 2019, pp. 1–40.

we understand the Moriscos' legacy in relation, not only to Spain's past, but to her future.

3.1 *Morisco Conformity and Nonconformity in Everyday Life*

The most widespread type of Morisco resistance is so obvious and ubiquitous that some would say it does not constitute resistance at all. It is simply the participation by the vast majority of Moriscos in the normal everyday life of the villages, towns, and cities where they reside, their productive activity, avoidance of altercations, absence of fanaticism, and superficial appearance of accepting their second-tier status vis-à-vis Old Christians. All this is documented in dozens if not hundreds of studies of specific localities or regions, which generally contain an extensive chapter devoted to Morisco occupations. If we view integration into local economic life as a strategy for countering their marginalization as a suspect ethno-religious minority, it is clear that it was widely successful; that is, at the time of their expulsion they were viewed in many places as hard-working, trustworthy members of society. At the same time, however, they strove to advance themselves and their group, and many were engaged in other forms of resistance as well.[24]

The single most important example that has been documented to date of how well Moriscos were integrated and how effectively they were bettering themselves and advancing their own interests is the village of Villarrubia de los Ojos, in the present-day province of Ciudad Real, whose Morisco contingent has been studied in detail by Trevor Dadson in a series of publications.[25] As *mudéjares antiguos* from the Cinco Villas de Calatrava, they received certain privileges in perpetuity, in exchange for their voluntary conversion to Christianity in 1502. Dadson has shown that they participated in local government, sent their children to university, and were well-respected by their Old Christian neighbors, so much so that these Old Christians helped the Moriscos remain behind or return when the expulsion order was decreed in New Castile in 1610. These Moriscos are an outstanding, though surely not a

24 This is the form of resistance Scott analyzes under the term "quiescence"—the necessary camouflage for the entire project of maintaining hidden what he calls the "hidden transcript." See *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pp. 71–90. Conformity provides *cover*: "On the open stage the serfs or slaves will appear complicitous in creating an appearance of consent and unanimity; the show of discursive affirmations from below will make it seem as if ideological hegemony were secure" (87).

25 The most important are the copiously-documented monograph, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos* (*Siglos XV–XVIII*)*: historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada*, Madrid and Frankfurt-am-Main, 2007 and the shorter follow-up volume in English, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK, 2014.

unique example of how local communities resisted being marginalized and oppressed by playing according to the rules set by the Old Christians, adapting to the circumstances, and surviving.

But did the Moriscos of Villarrubia de los Ojos resist, or just capitulate? Did they maintain a sense of separate identity, and did they remain secret Muslims? However unsatisfying, the answer is probably that no one knows.[26] At some point during the eighteenth century, awareness of their Moorish ancestry faded away. Though Dadson has established beyond reasonable doubt that at least some of the present day inhabitants of Villarrubia are their descendants, all memory of the Morisco-Old Christian distinction had long been lost in the village before he recovered it.[27] As the following example, from the nearby town of Socuéllamos would seem to suggest, however, it seems likely that some remained Muslims for a time, perhaps even several generations, while others did not, although there is just no way to tell.

On 21 May 1580, a seventeen-year-old Morisca, Luisa López, testified before Cosme Plaza, a commissary of the Holy Office in Socuéllamos, where she lived with her husband, Luis López. They were both born in the Kingdom of Granada, he around 1558 and she in 1563 or so, but had come to La Mancha as children, deported during the War of the Alpujarras. She would have been six or seven, he ten or eleven. They were subsequently raised on the same street in Socuéllamos, where they had seen each other almost daily for ten years. On the eve of her wedding, a Morisca midwife named Luisa Santiago was sent by her fiancé to ritually bathe her in accordance with Moorish custom, though she says she was reluctant. (Her testimony is in fact from Luisa Santiago's trial for engaging in Muslim ritual ablutions.) The next day, her wedding day, she began her new life with her husband, but it was hardly what either of them expected:

> And the next day, she married and held vigil with the said Luis López. And after this witness married her husband, the said Luis López told her to learn Arabic or he would kill her. And at night he taught her, and this witness said she didn't want to learn it, nor did she wish to understand it. And the said Luis López, her husband, told her that *if he had known she did not know it* [*Arabic*]*, he would not have married her*. Rather, this

26 Dadson is disinclined to think this particular community maintained Islamic practices long after their conversion: "The evidence [...] supports the case made in May 1611 by the Moriscos of Villarrubia that they had assimilated to the majority Christian culture and thus should not be expelled as failed Catholics or as backsliding crypto-Muslims" Ibid., p. 230.

27 See *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos*, pp. 781–798; *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain*, pp. 225–243.

> witness taught her said husband the prayers, the Our Father and Hail Mary, the Creed and the Salve Regina. And he said he could not learn them, and what a Christian she was, knowing so many prayers.[28]

Their marriage appears to have been a tug-of-war to see who could convert who, and the outcome, finally, was Luisa's denunciation. What is interesting for our purposes is the fact that these two young Moriscos apparently grew up on the same street, seeing one another constantly, with many acquaintances in common, and Luis had simply assumed that Luisa was a crypto-Muslim like him, speaking Arabic and practicing Islam in secret. She had likewise assumed he was a sincere convert to Christianity, as she was. It was only on their wedding night, according to her, that they both found out their mistake.

This example shows just how closely guarded a secret this form of resistance had to be. If they could not tell, living side by side year after year, how can we hope to? This means that however assimilated individual Moriscos or their families may appear to be in their everyday lives, they may simply have acquired the habitus of the Old Christian majority as a survival mechanism, while maintaining the Moorish/*mudéjar* habitus they grew up with. How exactly this cleavage heals over time, generations, even, the two finally becoming one and the need to hide some attitudes and practices gradually subsiding, is a process that it would be fascinating to attempt to study, though it may not be the case that the documents really provide enough information for that. Let us consider, for a moment, just one type of incident that seems potentially revealing, if we can decide how to interpret it.

In some instances, both in Inquisitorial trials but also in witness denunciations that did not lead to trials, evidence suggests that Moriscos often lived for decades among Old Christians with the appearance of being perfectly assimilated, but then on their deathbeds turned to face Mecca. Many times, Moriscos are accused of burying their dead in accordance with their own custom, which is considered an Islamic religious practice.[29] Must we assume these are all

28 Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, Inquisición, leg. 283, num 3945, folio 1v. The translation and transcription are mine. Emphasis added. Here is the original: "Y que otro día siguiente se desposó y veló con el dicho Luis López y que después de casada esta testigo con su marido, el dicho Luis López le persuadía a esta testigo que supiese el algarabía, si no que la mataría. Y se la enseñaba de noche, y esta testigo le decía que no la quería aprender, ni la quería entender. Y que el dicho Luis López, su marido, le decía que si él supiera que no la sabía, no se casara con ella. Antes esta testigo le enseñaba al dicho su marido las oraciones del Pater Noster y Ave María, Credo y Salve, y él decía que no las podía aprender y que bien parecía ella cristiana, pues sabía tantas oraciones."

29 This comes up frequently in the *libros de testificaciones*, for example, though it seldom leads to trials, since the accused are both poor *and* dead.

full-fledged practicing Muslims who somehow only manage to get caught when dying or burying their dead, while the rest of the time they are able to engage privately in daily ablutions, praying, and the annual fast of Ramadan? Or might it not be the case that although they have acquired the Christian habitus for their daily lives and are thus, for most intents and purposes, "assimilated," dying is something that, not having done it before, they don't know any other way of going about it than the one they have witnessed in the past? This reversion to ancestral customs on one's deathbed may just be an indication that their habitus remains permanently split, in a way they were not able to heal during their lifetimes.

A common outcome of this split seems to be that many Moriscos find their old faith is weakened—as they are no longer able to practice it openly, nor do they have easy access to a spiritual guide –, without for all that acquiring the religious dimension of the Christian habitus, since they are primarily imitating the external, publicly visible religious show. If we ask ourselves, what religion Moriscos are practicing in private, the answer will be, most likely, that some are practicing Islam (of a sort), some Christianity, and some nothing at all. Many, many Moriscos appear in Inquisition documents accused of "crimes against the faith" that have more to do with an irreverent attitude toward the beliefs and practices of Christianity, without there being any indication that they are practicing Islam secretly.[30]

3.2 *Double Agents*

The next layer of resistance I wish to examine here is even more fraught with ambiguity. I call these people "double agents," because they appear to be actively engaged simultaneously in advancing their status in the Christian world, and in serving, in some sense, the Morisco cause. For both of these projects, they have access to significant social and cultural capital, not to mention wealth and property. They are operating at a higher level. Their seeming to serve two masters inevitably leads to confusion and some disagreement among scholars about how they should be viewed. Are they "collaborators" with the Crown who have sold out and abandoned their former co-religionists? Or should we think of them more as secret conspirators who use the mask of collusion to hide their "real" intentions? The problem, perhaps, lies with our feeling that we

30 The first to draw attention to this and study it systematically was Mercedes García-Arenal, in her first book, *Inquisición y moriscos: los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca*, Madrid, 1978. Another perspective on these attitudes, emphasizing how often they are shared between Moriscos and their Christian and Converso neighbors, can be found in Stuart Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*, New Haven, CT, 2008.

have to choose between these, as if they were mutually exclusive possibilities, whereas in fact they may simply be employing both strategies simultaneously, in parallel fashion. Another factor to consider is that the "Morisco cause" they wish to further may not embrace equally all members of the ethno-religious minority. They are part of a Morisco elite, and are acting primarily on behalf of that elite, trying to broker a deal *for themselves* to be accepted by Spanish society.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the brothers Lorenzo and Melchor de Berrio were among the wealthiest merchants in the city of Granada, trading in spices (especially saffron, black pepper, and cloves), paper, cloth, wax, and other goods, across a wide geographic area that was densest in Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville, but stretched as far north as Medina del Campo.[31] In 1570, they were expelled from Granada and their property and all debts owed them were confiscated by the Crown, as punishment for having participated in the rebellion that led to the War of the Alpujarras. They denied having rebelled and petitioned to have their goods restored and for permission to return to Granada, but to no avail. Undaunted, by 1575 they had re-established themselves, presumably with liquid assets they managed to smuggle out of Granada, and were operating as successful merchants again, mainly in Seville and the triangle Jaén-Baeza-Úbeda.

Evidently Melchor had good business sense, while Lorenzo was the more charismatic of the two. They enjoyed immense social capital: a wide network of contacts among Moriscos, Old Christians, Crown officials, and Genovese merchants. Despite the accusation of having rebelled, by 1577 these brothers, especially Lorenzo, were at the heart of negotiations attempting to broker a deal for the return of the Moriscos to Granada—or rather, for the return of a hand-picked selection of a few thousand families of the "loyal" ones—by which was meant, it turns out, those who can afford to pay the Crown a sizeable bribe.

The Berrio brothers always claimed the legal status of Old Christians, defending those rights in numerous lawsuits, on their own behalf and on behalf of their sons. Yet one of Lorenzo's sons, Luis Pérez de Berrio, who had studied at the University of Baeza (founded by the Converso humanist Juan de Ávila), was caught red-handed transcribing the Qur'an. He slipped away and fled to Rome, returning with a Papal dispensation ostensibly authorizing him to study

31 They have been studied, most recently and thoroughly, by Rafael M. Pérez García and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, "Los hermanos Berrio: Capital morisco, mediación política y transformaciones comunitarias," *Sharq Al-Andalus* 20 (2011–2013), pp. 385–439. In its factual details, my account summarizes their findings. The interpretation is my own, though based on their conclusions.

Arabic texts. This incident makes it clear they had not abandoned Arabic or Islam. It also shows how resourceful they could be, and that they knew how to manipulate the levers of power.

Though they never obtained permission to return to Granada, the Berrios served as intermediaries between the Crown and the exiled Moriscos, trusted by Philip II due to their wealth, their contacts, and their negotiating skills; in their case, the reputation of being neither loyal subjects nor sincere Christians did not hinder their influence at court. They had not only economic and social capital, they managed to use them conjointly to create an aura of prestige, exactly the kind of thing Bourdieu terms symbolic capital. Where royal power was brought to bear on them, confiscating their property and forcing them to leave Granada, they resisted, fighting legal battles and entering into protracted negotiations. The project of gaining permission for a sizeable portion of the Morisco elite to return to Granada ultimately failed, but in fighting the Crown's program for them of dispersion and control, they helped to forge a new elite of Morisco merchants in exile.

The brothers Berrio, through their persistent lawsuits claiming Old Christian status, are peripherally tied to an extensive network of Morisco merchants that I studied in a previous article.[32] Hundreds of families expelled from Granada fought the restrictions placed on them by the Monarchy, seeking the right to bear arms, travel freely, and return to their ancestral homeland, among other privileges.[33] Careful scrutiny of the overlapping lists of witnesses presented by certain of these litigants led me to the conclusion that they were coordinated across some fifty core cases, spread out over a wide geographic area with nuclei in Pastrana, Toledo, Baeza, and Granada. Moreover, they presented their cases to the Junta de Población del Reino de Granada during a period of just over four

32 William P. Childers, "An Extensive Network of Morisco Merchants Active Circa 1590" in Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, Volume Two: The Morisco Issue*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 135–160.

33 The documents pertaining to these cases have not been the subject of any thorough analysis as yet. They are discussed in a number of recent studies, such as, for example: Garía Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*, pp. 76–79; Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, Valencia, 2009, pp. 333–335; and Francisco J. Moreno Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha. Sociedad, economía y modos de vida de una minoría en la Castilla moderna*, Madrid, 2009, pp. 311–320. I discuss them in "An Extensive Network," as well as my "Disappearing Moriscos," in Michal Jan Rozbicki and George O. Ndege, eds. *Cross-Cultural History and the Domestication of Otherness*, New York, 2012, pp. 51–64. At least two articles in the last decade have discussed them: Santiago Otero Mondejar, "'Que siendo yo cristiano viejo la justicia procedió contra mí …' La instrumentalización de la imagen del morisco," *Historia y Genealogía* 1 (2011), p. 113; and Dearborn, "¿Quién es morisco?"

years, from October 1587 to December 1591, a rather compressed timeframe. In several instances, they presented two, three, or up to five cases on a single day. I postulated that these men, some of whom it was possible to identify as known traders of silk and other textiles, constituted an organized network of Morisco merchants who sought the status of Old Christians primarily in order to achieve the mobility they needed in order to pursue their business interests. On a more modest scale than the prominent Berrio clan, this network of several dozen men actively supporting one another in their legal battles, and investing considerable effort and cash to do so, appear to represent a new generation of up-and-coming Moriscos who do not intend to allow themselves to be kept down by the regime of control to which their group is subject. Their resistance is exemplary and tenacious, though it manifests itself on an altogether different plane from crypto-Islam. It is directed, not against the imposition of Christian beliefs and Castilian customs *per se*, but rather against their marginalization in spite of having assimilated, outwardly at least.[34]

The Berrio brothers and the larger coordinated network of Morisco merchants claiming Old Christian status are "double agents" in the sense that they have double agency, due to their cleft habitus. But we should not think, in the usual sense of the term in the context of, say, espionage, that in their duplicity they must betray one side or the other. They pursue a single overarching purpose through a split habitus, that is, through a double strategy, suited to the two fields in which they operate, and drawing on different skills, different capital, in each. *Both* halves of this strategy are forms of resistance, suited to different relations of power. Against the side of the colonial double bind consisting in uprooting their culture and imposing a foreign one on them,

34 Serafín de Tapia deliberately excludes such individuals and networks from his study of Morisco mobility: "[H]abía otros moriscos—pertenecientes al segmento más acomodado—que se encontraban en un proceso de creciente articulación económica con los miembros más activos de la burguesía cristiano vieja, proceso que a la larga les hubiera podido conducir a cierto grado de integración en la sociedad cristiana y—antes o después—hacia la pérdida de la identidad islámica. […] En todo caso, *aquí no prestaremos atención a este sector de la comunidad* cristiano nueva." Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, "Arrieros, mercaderes, mesoneros … La movilidad de los moriscos de Castilla la Vieja" in Alice Kadri, Yolanda Moreno y Ana Echevarría, eds., *Circulaciones mudéjares y moriscas: Redes de contacto y representaciones*, Madrid, 2018, pp. 129–166, emphasis added. At least in the case of the Pastrana-Toledo-Baeza-Granada circle, it does not appear they were undergoing any loss of Islamic identity. Morisco studies will not advance unless we study this "segmento más acomodado" along with the economically oppressed majority of this racialized ethno-religious minority. I cannot help but think there are some among the "old guard" who are unwilling to relinquish the idea of the Moriscos as, essentially, a fairly uniform group of oppressed peasants of the kind studied by Scott in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. But that is simply not the case.

they resist by maintaining their Hispano-Muslim identity, their knowledge of Arabic, and the practice of Islam, in however rudimentary a fashion. Against the other side of the colonial double bind, which denies them access to privilege and power on the grounds of their difference, they resist by means of the legal fight to erase that difference, for example by changing their classification, or at least modifying its meaning and consequences. In this last respect, the most ambitious manifestations of Morisco resistance of all—but also, necessarily, the murkiest—are their cultural interventions in defense of the legacy of Hispano-Arab civilization in the Iberian Peninsula, to which I now turn.

3.3 *Cultural Infiltration*

As José María Perceval has shown in *Todos son uno*, the dominant culture's portrayal of Moriscos was a litany of negative stereotypes, representing them as insincere converts, disloyal subjects, treacherous, unrefined, untruthful, lascivious, and avaricious, not to mention repulsive to all the senses.[35] Islam was conventionally presented as a false religion, and blamed for many of these supposed defects of character. Muslim rulers of the Iberian past are depicted as weak, sensuous men, incapable of governing. When it comes to the Moriscos' efforts at contravening these representations, however, it is hard to identify, for the most part, their presence, as they were at pains to erase their own authorship, the better to allow their interventions to slip into the cultural space without being recognized as strategic manipulations in their own favor. Moreover, their projects were designed to dove-tail so smoothly with what was already happening in the culture, that it is impossible to pinpoint, most of the time, the exact nature and degree of their action, and pull it apart from what the Christian majority was doing. I will first examine some aspects of this in the literary fad known as "maurophilia," and then more briefly discuss Miguel de Luna's various projects, including the *libros plúmbeos*.

Literary maurophilia was a fad that began around the middle of the sixteenth century. Its popularity grew exponentially after the War of the Alpujarras, experienced by many in Andalusia, La Mancha, and Extremadura as a return to the romanticized era when a border separated them from the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada. In the 1580s, maurophilia spread across all the literary genres, fiction, poetry, and drama, reaching its apogee just before 1600. It presents an

35 The thesis *in nuce* of this important book, which applies the logic of Said's *Orientalism* to the Morisco question, is that before they could be expelled they had to be represented as expellable, i.e. undesirable non-Spaniards. José María Perceval, *Todos son uno: arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo: la imagen del morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII*, Almería, 1997.

idealized image of the Moors of fifteenth-century Granada as dashing, courageous, chivalrous, handsome, refined, and elegant. In general, the literary trend can be described as a highly stylized celebration of Hispano-Muslim civilization, of which the Moriscos are the descendants; therefore it is inevitable that the question has come up, whether it was intended as an intervention on their behalf, either written anonymously/pseudonymously by Morisco authors, or by Old Christians who for some reason sympathized with the Moriscos.[36]

The first great masterpiece of the fad is the anonymous prose romance *El Abencerraje*, which Carrasco Urgoiti many years ago argued had most likely been composed in the aristocratic Aragonese milieu of the Conde de Aranda, protective of Moriscos, as they were his vassals.[37] This is consistent with the paternalistic tone of the work, which calls for tolerance, but within the framework of a definite race/gender hierarchy with the Christian male at the top, Moorish male in the middle, and Moorish female at the bottom.[38] Ballads based on this or similar stories by Juan de Timoneda and Pedro de Padilla initiated a trend that quickly gained momentum. In the end, several hundred of these were written in the 1580s and 90s, many of the best ones by the young Lope de Vega.[39] Their popularity was so great that it gave rise to a counter-genre

36 The bibliography on this topic is too extensive to cite more than a few crucial texts here. Georges Cirot deserves mention as the inventor of the term in a series of articles titled, "La maurophilie littéraire en Espagne au XVIe siècle," *Bulletin Hispanique* 40 (1938) pp. 150–157, 281–296, 433–447; 41 (1939), pp. 65–85, 345–351; 42 (1940), pp. 213–227; 43 (1941), pp. 265–289; 44 (1942), pp. 96–102; and 46 (1944), pp. 5–25. María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti's many publications on literary maurophilia helped define the field and give coherence to its themes and chronology, beginning with her compendious *El moro de Granada en la literatura:* (*del siglo XV al XX*), Madrid, 1956. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "La criptohistoria morisca (los otros conversos)," in *El problema morisco* (*Desde otros laderas*), Madrid, 1998, pp. 13–44, pioneered the approach that views this literature as essentially pro-Morisco. My own essay, "'Granada': Race and Place in Early Modern Spain" in David R. Castillo and Bradley J. Nelson, eds., *Spectatorship and Topophilia: Reading Early Modern and Postmodern Hispanic Cultures*, Nashville, 2012, pp. 19–42 takes a different approach, focusing on the fad as a way of culturally appropriating the recently conquered territory, without *necessarily* recognizing its people.

37 María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *El problema morisco en Aragón al comienzo del reinado de Felipe II*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1969.

38 Though this jewel of Spanish Renaissance literature is the subject of a vast bibliography, for the racial and gender hierarchy two essential studies stand out above all others: Israel Burshatin, "Power, Discourse, and Metaphor in the *Abencerraje*," *MLN* 99 (1984), pp. 195–213; and Laura Bass, "Homosocial Bonds and Desire in the *Abencerraje*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 24 (2000), pp. 453–471.

39 This has also been the subject of many studies, mostly focused on the young Lope de Vega and his role in creating the *Romancero Nuevo* through both Moorish and pastoral ballads. Rather more exceptionally, Amelia García Valdecasas took an interest in the Moorish

of anti-Moorish ballads, mocking and attacking the fad.[40] Ginés Pérez de Hita, a master shoemaker from Murcia, took advantage to write a historical fiction into which he inserted a mixture of old frontier ballads and the new ballads by Lope. And Lope de Vega himself exploited the fad in a half dozen or so maurophile plays during his early phase as a playwright.[41] The curious thing about these ballads, for our purposes, is that they circulated anonymously. Though many were undoubtedly by Lope, some by his friend Liñán de Riaza, and a few by Juan de Salinas, Góngora, and Cervantes, this still leaves the vast majority unattributed. Could some have been written by Moriscos? While this is not impossible, it is pure speculation. Moreover, the ideological meanings of these poems and other maurophile writings is not unequivocally pro-Morisco. They can be, and were, read in many ways: as escapist fantasy, by way of *contrast* with the historical present; as an expression of nostalgia for a time when Moors and Christians were separated by a border; as appropriation through the literary imagination of the conquered geographical space of Granada; and, yes, as a vindication of the cultural legacy the Moriscos had inherited from their Nasrid forebears. What can be affirmed without doubt, however, is that there were Moriscos who encouraged the phenomenon, and who tried in one way or another to turn it to their advantage.

The clearest example of this encouragement is the literary academy led by the Morisco aristocrats Alonso Granada Venegas and his son Pedro, beginning in the 1560s.[42] Pedro de Padilla, a poet who later became a priest, participated in that academy and wrote some of the earliest examples of what later became

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ballads for their own sake in several valuable studies she completed before her untimely death: *El Género morisco en las fuentes del "Romancero general,"* Madrid, 1987; "Decadencia y disolución del Romancero morisco," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 69 (1989), pp. 131–158; and much of her posthumous collection, *Estudios literarios*, Juan Carlos de Miguel y Canuto and Teresa Ferrer Valls, eds., Valencia, 1995.

40 María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti wrote a very thorough study of these interesting anti-Moorish ballads: "Vituperio y parodia del romance morisco en el romancero Nuevo," in Yves-René Fonquerne and Alfonso Esteban, eds., *Culturas populares: Diferencias, divergencias, conflictos*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 115–138; Barbara Fuchs insightfully interprets them in *Exotic Nation*, pp. 72–87.

41 Several of these are collected, with a prologue by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. 23, *Crónicas y leyendas de España*, Madrid, 1968.

42 This academy existed for several decades and went through distinct periods. In the early years, it promoted Moorish ballads, as discussed here, but by 1600 the focus had changed to the *libros plúmbeos*, as explained by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*, pp. 99–105. From the later period of their activity dates the manuscript edited by Immaculada Osuna, *Poética Silva: Un manuscrito granadino del Siglo de Oro*, 2 vols., Córdoba, 2000, with numerous poetical tributes to the "discoveries" of Sacromonte.

the full-fledged genre of the Moorish ballads.[43] A few years later, the young poet Gabriel Lasso Lobo de la Vega visited Granada and the academy, and subsequently published a collection, *Primera parte del romancero y tragedias* (1587), a significant portion of which are Moorish ballads (25 out of the 66 ballads). Five of those ballads and two other poems in the book are directly written in praise of the Granada Venegas family, obviously in support of their historical claim to Old Christian status based on the military exploits of an ancestor, also named Alonso de Granada Vanegas, who converted to Christianity and fought in the service of the Catholic Monarchs during the Conquest of Granada. Here he is depicted as instrumental to the final victory, of course. Not only that: Lobo de la Vega closes the ballad cycle with a poem about how the *current* Alonso de Granada Vanegas, continuing in the tradition of his forebears, served Philip II in the War of the Alpujarras, singlehandedly negotiating the terms of the rebels' surrender. For he, like his illustrious ancestor and namesake, was a faithful vassal of his king:

> propiedad de fiel vasallo
> en las empresas más arduas
> tener el vivir en poco
> y no de su Rey las causas,
> hizo deste don Alonso
> Philipo la confiança
> que siempre Fernando hizo
> de la casa de Granada.[44]

Here we have a clear instance of a Morisco literary patron commissioning poetry that represents him as the flesh-and-blood equivalent to the idealized image of the Moors of Granada celebrated in the *romancero nuevo*. This exploitation of maurophilia, moreover, is not for the benefit of all Moriscos

43 Carrasco Urgoiti has studied these ballads. She thinks Padilla could have been a Morisco, and in any case lived in Granada during a formative period of his life, in constant contact with Morisco culture. María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, "El romancero morisco de Pedro de Padilla en su *Thesoro de varia poesía* (1580)," in Isaías Lerner, Roberto Nival, Alejandro Alonso, coords., Actas del XIV Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Newark, DE, 2004, pp. 89–100.

44 Gabriel Lasso Lobo de la Vega, *Primera parte del romancero y tragedias*, Alcalá de Henares, 1587, fol. 134r. Here is my fairly literal, prose translation: "The characteristic of a faithful vassal, in the most arduous enterprises, is to value his life but little, though not so the King's own cause; this it was that made Philip trust in Don Alonso, just as Fernando had always trusted the House of Granada."

equally, but to enhance the reputation of a single aristocratic family, who can claim to be descended from the dashing Moorish knights depicted in them.[45]

Another, quite different, documented instance in which we clearly find a Morisco trying to extract from the popularity of maurophile literature some leverage against his own marginalization is the case of Hernandico, a Granada Morisco assigned to live in Huete (Cuenca). One day in 1584, when the Moorish ballad craze was well underway, while working in a convent in Huete, Hernandico overheard three nuns singing about Jarifa, apparently oblivious to his presence. He piped up, declaring that it pleased him whenever he heard her name, because she was his kin (*su parienta*), meaning she was a Moor from Granada, like him. This was, essentially, a bid for recognition, for enhancement of his status, on the basis of the enthusiasm for the Moorish ballads at that moment. The nuns would have none of it. They chided him for taking pride in having such a bad kinswoman as the Jarifa of the poem, an unbaptized Moor who was in Hell. Hernandico answered, "Depending on her works" (*Según sus obras*), a heretical remark that leads to the nuns' denunciation of him on the next inquisitorial visit (though happily no trial ensued). Hernandico's bid to exploit the symbolic capital of being a descendant of the Moors of Granada, in the midst of the maurophile fad, is cut off by the nuns' reverting to the official hierarchy of Christianity over Islam. Caught in their own contradiction, as they had certainly been enjoying the ballad about Jarifa, despite her being am unbaptized Muslim, they now fall back on the threat of force. This brief anecdote shows, in any case, that maurophilia lent itself to being used to enhance Moriscos' symbolic capital, and that in specific circumstances whether they could take advantage of it or not was something that had to be negotiated, face-to-face.

These examples do not demonstrate that the vogue of literary maurophilia was intended, by those who created the texts, as a defense of the Moriscos. But they do show—as will others, presumably, that remain to be found—that at least some Moriscos saw the possibility for enhancing their status that this popular fad opened up to them, and took advantage, or tried to. It is also worth noting that members of the Morisco elite—actual aristocrats—were better positioned to exploit the opportunity than those of the lower classes. The elite had the cultural capital necessary to compose erudite works, the economic capital to pay for publishing them, and the social capital to ensure they circulated widely. Thus the fad helped to enhance the symbolic capital of the

45 On the young poet's extended stay In Granada and his contacts with the Granada Venegas family, see Jack Weiner, *Cuatro ensayos sobre Gabriel Lasso Lobo de la Vega* (*1555–1615*), Valencia, 2005, pp. 73–97.

elite within the Morisco minority, the only ones positioned to turn it to their own advantage.

At the height of the maurophile craze, Miguel de Luna, a medical doctor and translator from Arabic, married to the daughter of another prominent physician-translator, Alonso del Castillo, engaged in a series of literary productions, some involving fraudulent claims, which took to an entirely new level the use of cultural interventions as a form of double resistance, that is, on behalf of Moriscos attempting to integrate into Christian society while still maintaining their traditional identities. In 1592, Luna published his *Historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*. This historical narrative should not be lumped together *tout court* with the maurophile fad stemming from *El Abencerraje*. Though it shares in the idealization of Moorish nobility during the centuries of Islamic rule, it goes much further, for it represents the Moors as more capable of governing than their Christian counterparts. This is particularly depicted in the figure of the great Chancellor of the Caliphate under Hisham II, Almanzor (938–1002). He is idealized as a just and generous leader whose principle concern is the well-being of his subjects. Thus Luna's *Historia verdadera* boldly inverts the hierarchy of Christian over Muslim heroes on which all maurophile narratives were based, supplying the latter with the one thing Abindarráez, the hero of *El Abenceraje*, was lacking: the mature judgment and responsible character necessary for good governance. Nonetheless, Luna published *La historia verdadera* in 1592, clearly riding the crest of the wave of enthusiasm for Moorish history and legend. More radically than either Alonso Granada Venegas or Hernandico, Luna was turning the maurophile fashion to Moriscos' advantage, even to the point of implicitly critiquing the underlying ideological bias of the Moorish ballads and tales themselves.[46]

Luna was also involved in the creation of the *libros plúmbeos* hoax, almost certainly with the help of his father-in-law, Alonso del Castillo. So much has been written on these books of late, on their context, contents, and impact, that I will limit myself here to only the briefest possible remarks.[47]

46 Miguel de Luna, *Historia verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo* [1592], facsimile edition with an introductory study by Luis F. Bernabé Pons, Granada, 2001.

47 The only available text is still Miguel J. Hagarty's edition of the seventeenth-century translation by Adán Centurión, the Marquis of Estepa, *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte*, Madrid, 1980, which has been reissued, Granada, 2007. Background to the creation of the hoax as well as its longer-term intellectual consequences is the subject of García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*, of which there is now an English translation as well: *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism*, trans. Consuelo López-Morillas, Leiden, 2013. A. Katie Harris discusses the Christian reaction to the "discoveries" in *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*, Baltimore, 2007. An overview of the entire hoax is

The purpose of the hoax seems clearly to have been to carve out a space for Moriscos within Spanish identity by imagining a historical presence of Arab Christians in Granada long before the birth of Muhammad: San Cecilio and his followers, martyred on the hill of Valparaíso (later renamed Sacromonte in their honor). By the same token, however, these prophetic books present a version of Christianity into which many Islamic elements have been deliberately blended, producing a syncretic combination of the two religions, an "infiltration," in L. P. Harvey's understanding, of a Muslim sensibility into Spanish Catholicism (285–87). Here again, what we see is a double strategy of resistance, simultaneously holding onto Islam while at the same time disguising it enough to facilitate integration into the Counter-Reformation orthodoxy of the time. This feat was accomplished brilliantly by piggy-backing, as it were, on two of the most fashionable intellectual trends of late-sixteenth-century Spain: chorography and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

Chorography refers to the competing narrative-descriptive texts in praise of particular cities proliferating through Spain in the late 16th century. They were produced in a context of rivalry for preeminence. The authors of chorographies tended to exaggerate the importance of local events, often incorporating legends or even pure fabrications to make their city stand out. There is an important symbiotic relationship between chorographies and genealogical writings on prominent local families as well. In the end, both are produced at the behest of the emerging local oligarchy, as a means of consolidating the symbolic capital that such textual representations could confer.[48] The *libros plúmbeos* fit into this ambience well, providing marvelous fodder for chorographical texts about Granada's illustrious past.

During the Counter-Reformation, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (referring not to Jesus', but to *her own* birth,

available in English by Elizabeth Drayson, *The lead books of Granada*, Basingstoke, UK, 2013; and L. P. Harvey incisively discusses the lead books and their makers' possible motives in *Muslims in Spain*, pp. 264–290. Mention must be made of the two edited volumes by Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal, *¿La historia inventada? los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano*, Granada, 2008, and *Los plomos del Sacromonte: invención y tesoro*, Valencia, 2006. In March 2019, Gerard Wiegers and P. S. van Koningsveld presented in Granada their Dutch-financed research project, "The Sacromonte Parchment and Lead Books: Critical Edition of the Arabic Texts and Analysis of the Religious Ideas." Hopefully, we will soon have a new edition in Arabic, followed by a new translation into Spanish.

48 For a detailed discussion of chorography, and the social and political significance of its surge in popularity around 1600, see Richard L. Kagan, "Cleo and the Crown: Writing History in Hapsburg Spain," in *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honor of John H. Elliott*, Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker, eds., Cambridge, UK, 1995, pp. 73–100.

understood to be miraculously without the *macula* of sin) was a polemical topic, with Franciscans supporting it and their rivals the Dominicans rejecting this view, which did not become dogma until 1854. Given the emphasis in the *libros plúmbeos* on the Cult of the Virgin—which had the potential to serve as a bridge between Islam and Christianity, since Muslims also venerate Mary—, it is not perhaps surprising that the Immaculate Conception is emphasized in several of the *plomos*. But it is undoubtedly also a calculated choice, intended to ensure that the Christians in Granada "took the bait." They did.[49]

As far as Morisco intervention in the cultural field to enhance their symbolic capital is concerned, Miguel de Luna shines forth as the lone example of an individual author with various works to his name. He is another double agent, translator to the King and publicly known as an "Arab Christian," but privately a renowned crypto-Muslim with ties to a clandestine group in Toledo. His writings defending the Hispano-Arabic political tradition (in *La historia verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo*) and the hygienic value of bathing (in *Sobre la conveniencia de restaurar los baños y estufas*), along with his involvement with the *libros plúmbeos* hoax rank him at the top of those who intervened in the cultural arena in favor of the Morisco cause. The question of the "truth" of Luna's identity was a well-known bone of contention for some years between politely but firmly opposed camps in Morisco studies. Mercedes García-Arenal saw him as a hybrid figure who had apparently transitioned to accepting Christianity, but defended the Arabic tradition of learning insofar as it was compatible with Christian faith.[50] This was indeed the public image he meticulously constructed and maintained. Luis F. Bernabé Pons, on the other hand, always insisted that behind the scenes he had kept his Islamic faith.[51] The question was "resolved" by the discovery, presented in *Un Oriente español*, of an Inquisition trial that unequivocally establishes his involvement with the clandestine Muslim group in Toledo (192–96). In fact, one witness affirmed, concerning his deep knowledge of Islam, that "there is not in all of Spain a better Muslim

49 Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, gives a brief account of the context regarding the doctrine of Immaculate Conception, pp. 273–274. This issue is a major theme, on the other hand, of A. Katie Harris' *From Muslim to Christian Granada*.

50 The culmination of her defense of this view was Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Médico, traductor, inventor: Miguel de Luna, cristiano arábigo de Granada," *Chronica Nova* 32 (2006), pp. 187–231. This article includes as an appendix a transcription of a previously unpublished text by Luna, "On the Convenience of Restoring the Baths and Furnaces" (*Escrito de Miguel de Luna sobre la conveniencia de restaurar los baños y estufas*) BNM. Mss. Misceláneo. 6149.

51 For example, in his introductory study to the *Historia verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo*, pp. VII–LXX.

than the said Luna" (*no hay en España mejor moro que el dicho Luna*).[52] But as García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano themselves point out, this still leaves us without a clear answer, ultimately, about how these two identities were related to one another. Is one really truer than the other? Is the Arab Christian *merely* a mask for the crypto-Muslim? Can we really imagine the man we consider the chief architect of the syncretic *libros plúmbeos* to have been a straightforwardly orthodox Muslim? When we line up his various known projects, it appears that Miguel de Luna's long range goal was an eventual merger of Spanish Islam and Spanish Christianity, with a key role for the Morisco intelligentsia in the process. Ultimately, his celebrated case shows we need to discard the tendency to think in terms of sorting the Moriscos out into those who resisted and those who did not.

4 Conclusion

All Moriscos resisted, in one way or several, because whether or not to resist in the face of the colonial power that had seized control of their lives was not a matter of *choice*. They dealt with their uncomfortable new circumstances as best they could, with the resources available to them, *primary* among these being strategic assimilation. They all adapted to some extent to the new habitus imposed on them by Christian rule; they *had* to. Here we should recall Foucault's point about power and resistance both being intrinsic to the same network of relations. Insofar as they resisted at one strategic point, they ceded at another, for the dialectic of power and resistance, far from sorting individuals into separate camps (those who resist and those who assimilate), cuts *across* individual subjects: "[O]ne is dealing with *mobile and transitory points of resistance*, producing *cleavages* in a society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings, *furrowing across individuals themselves*, cutting them up and remolding them, marking off irreducible regions in them, in their bodies and minds."[53] (96, emphasis added)

To return to the most prominent individual instance of Morisco double resistance, Miguel de Luna, it is not that now we have finally seen behind the mask to his authentic and true self, a crypto-Muslim hiding behind a pretence of conversion and assimilation. He is *both* Muslim *and* Christian, living with a cleft habitus, and responding in contradictory ways, both affirming and

52 *Un Oriente español*, pp. 192–96. See also Mercedes García-Arenal, "Miguel de Luna y los moriscos de Toledo: 'No hay en España mejor moro,'" *Chronica Nova* 36 (2010), pp. 253–262.

53 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, p. 96 (emphasis added).

denying his Muslim identity as part of the same over-arching strategy. At the opposite extreme to this important individualized personality, though, stand thousands of anonymous men and women who, in everyday life, created both tangible and intangible cultural products whose lasting influence on Spanish identity can still be felt today. Documentary evidence exists concerning enthusiasm for performances of traditional music and dance from Granada in La Mancha during the late sixteenth-century, as well as quasi-historical reenactments in which Moriscos dressed up and impersonated their own forebears (known at the time as *zuizas*, these were forerunners of today's *moros y cristianos* celebrations).[54]

These phenomena amply attest the validity of Barbara Fuchs' claim that Christian Spaniards, due to their having shared rule over the Iberian Peninsula for so long, had acquired a taste for *mudéjar* style, which she refers to as a "Moorish habitus."[55] Yet had it not been for Morisco performers and artisans in the sixteenth century and after, that taste could easily have faded out, as it was primarily a by-product of the conquering effort of the later Middle Ages. The Moriscos, during the subsequent period, ensured with their living bodies and everyday activities that it remained a vital element in Spanish culture.[56] Here we come full circle to the first layer of resistance mentioned above, that of productive participation in the local economy. Morisco artisans, all over Old and New Castile, Andalusia, and Valencia promoted *mudéjar* style in silks, woolen textiles, leather, wood, jewelry, and ceramics. These highly prized, sought-after products enhanced the symbolic capital associated with the Hispano-Arabic culture *of the past*, reinforcing the literary maurophilia of the late-sixteenth century. How far did the desire for such goods go toward elevating the status of flesh-and-blood Moriscos? At the time, it probably had little impact beyond a few isolated friendships; it is just too easy, in general, to enjoy an ethnic minority's handicrafts, foodways, and performance traditions, while barely even being *aware* of the people who produce them, let alone respecting them. (Consider, if you will, the analogous role of jazz and rhythm-and-blues

54 For the music and dance, there are many indications in Inquisitorial documents, such as the *libros de testificaciones*, though I know of no systematic study of this material to date. For the *zuizas*, see my, "Manzanares, 1600: Moriscos from Granada Organize a Festival of 'Moors and Christians,'" in Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, Volume One: Departures and Change*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 287–309. And now, Javier Irigoyen García, *Moors Dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia*, Toronto, 2017, especially pp. 142–180.

55 *Exotic Nation*, pp. 13–24.

56 I hope the analogy to the British love for curry will not be judged out of place. Without the migration of millions of South East Asians to the United Kingdom in the late twentieth century, after the end of the Raj, how wide would that taste have spread, and how long would it have lasted?

in the United States during the era of Jim Crow.) Happily, however, seeds were planted beneath the chilling snow of Counter-Reformation intolerance, which *may* yet bear fruit in twenty-first-century Spain.

To a large extent, the expulsions of 1609–1614 healed the split in the Morisco habitus in favor of either one side or the other. Several hundred thousand were expelled, most migrating to North Africa, where they became Muslims, resolving the division in their identities in favor of the older Moorish or *mudéjar* habitus they had lived with for many generations before its prohibition a century or so before. (For some, who had discarded that identity in favor of a Spanish Christian one, recovering it was hard.) Tens of thousands—we may never know with any certainty how many—remained in Spain or returned. Though this meant a certain amount of hiding (or perhaps "passing" for North Africans, especially in Seville, Cadiz, and the entire region of western Andalusia), eventually the "official" story that *all* Moriscos had been expelled made it possible for them to blend in. No one was interested, after a certain point, in finding them anymore. Within a generation or two, the cleavage in their habitus would hardly have been noticeable, and by the eighteenth century cases such as the crypto-Muslim circle in Granada studied by Lera García must have been increasingly rare.[57] For both those who stayed and those who left, it is possible to say that their resistance during the Morisco period allowed them to survive as a group and maintain some sense of their identity and place in the world, though those who remained in Spain eventually merged into the general population.

As more information emerges about Moriscos who stayed beyond the expulsions, we might all eventually see what has long been obvious to a few: the culture of modern Spain is a hybrid, including both Catholic and Muslim elements. On the surface, it appears to be exclusively the creation of intolerant Catholic nationalists—defenders of *goticismo* in Márquez Villanueva's usage[58]—such as those who finally persuaded Philip III to expel the Moriscos. Beneath that surface, however, lie the largely unacknowledged contributions of tenaciously resistant-compliant Moriscos, who stayed and transmitted their culture through a kind of drip irrigation, so that now, four hundred years later, it tinges, though they may deny it, the twenty-first-century cultural lifeblood of every Spaniard.[59]

57 R. de Lera García "Criptomusulmanes ante la Inquisición granadina en el siglo XVIII," *Hispania Sacra* 36 (1984), pp. 521–575.

58 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "La voluntad de leyenda de Miguel de Luna," in *El problema morisco* (*Desde otras laderas*), Madrid, 1998, pp. 45–97, in particular, pp. 48–54.

59 I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge that this is essentially the point of Américo Castro's mature understanding of Spanish cultural history, first presented to the world in *España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos*, Buenos Aires, 1948.

CHAPTER 11

The Moriscos and the Christian Spirituality of Their Era

Luis F. Bernabé Pons

The figure of the Morisco who is a fervent Muslim, leading a clandestine Islamic life and an imperfect Christian one, remains perhaps the most solidly entrenched image of New Christians of Moorish decent. The problem created by their forced conversions and automatic transfer to the Christian flock remained without a satisfactory solution, as is well known, throughout the sixteenth century. The transformative power of baptism and their own unevenly coordinated proselytizing efforts were the two principles on which authorities relied to manage the influx of thousands of recent arrivals to Christianity. The poor execution of this missionary project, however, combined with Moriscos' social marginalization, the economic pressure they faced, and the constant suspicion concerning their loyalty to the king, led to the abandonment of hopes for their sincere conversion cherished during the early years of the century.

Nonetheless, two elements of the plans for proselytizing did make some headway in getting Catholic doctrine across to the Moriscos. The first of these was the special attention directed to *alfaquíes* (Muslim clerics) so that they could lead the conversion in their respective communities. Although the success of this proposal was quite relative and in any case varied from one zone to another, several figures emerged through this approach who would be among the principal creators of anti-Islamic polemic in Spain, particularly Juan Andrés de Xàtiva[1] and Juan Gabriel de Teruel,[2] both of whom had been religious leaders in their communities and had, once they converted to Christianity, placed their knowledge of Islam at the service of the Christian authorities. It is no exaggeration to say that the themes of anti-Islamic polemics in the sixteenth century depend, in large part, on the efforts of these two former Muslims, especially the former, whose *Confusion de la secta mahomatica*

* Translated by William P. Childers.

1 Ryan Szpiech, "Preaching Paul to the Moriscos: The *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) of Juan Andrés," *La corónica* 41.1 (2012), pp. 317–343.

2 M. García-Arenal and Katarzyna K. Starczewska, "The Law of Abraham the Catholic: Juan Gabriel as Qur'ân Translator for Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo," *Al-Qantara* 35.2 (2014), pp. 409–459.

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y del alcoran (*Confounding of the Mahommedan Sect and the Qu'ran*, Valencia, 1515) visibly influences later works.[3]

The second positive element of the mid- and long-range evangelical prospects was the expectation that, even if it were naïve to think the first generation of converts could become true Christians, one could assume that subsequent generations, born into Christianity, would grow up in their new faith without serious difficulties. This was an established position concerning converts from Judaism, as Fernando de Pulgar already had indicated with reference to Pablo de Santa María,[4] and one which implicitly acknowledged the difficulties, not only in the process of religious conversion itself, but in the external perception of its sincerity as well.

Confidence in the "good upbringing" of future generations was based on the assumption that temporal distance from the trauma of forced conversion from Islam would lead to greater and more natural acceptance of Christianity among younger Moriscos. Consequently, there would be a gradual disappearance of Islam from Spanish lands and, along with it, of any shadow of resistance to complete assimilation. This expectation, however, did not take into consideration that the descendants of Moriscos, no matter how faithfully they might profess Christianity, remained marginalized and rejected by Christian society, impeding any easy acceptance of the majority faith on their part. On the other hand, Christian authorities may also have underestimated the cultural and religious resistance of families and *aljamas*, which struggled to transmit to their descendants the faith of their elders, sometimes in the form of doctrinal knowledge and ritual practices,[5] sometimes simply as an affirmation of their desire to remain Muslims, an inevitable consequence of their ancestry.[6] Thus Islamic faith was kept alive in Spain until the very moment of the general expulsion of the Moriscos, which began in 1609.

Nonetheless, this persistence of Islamic faith and religious practice has to some extent obscured the fact that, in the historical and social context of

3 Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán*, preliminary study, edition, and notes by Elisa Ruiz García; transcription of the text by Isabel García-Monge, Mérida, 2003.

4 Ana Echevarría, *Caballeros en la frontera. La guardia morisca de los reyes de Castilla* (*1410–1467*), Madrid, 2006, p. 146.

5 M. de Epalza, "Les Morisques, vus à partir des communautés mudéjares précédentes," in *Les Morisques et leur Temps. Table Ronde Internationale*, Paris, 1983, pp. 30–41; and "Principes chrétiens et principes musulmans face au problème morisque," in *Les Morisques et l'Inquisition*, Paris, 1990, pp. 37–50.

6 M. García-Arenal, "*Mi padre moro, yo moro*: The Inheritance of Belief in Early Modern Iberia," in M. García-Arenal ed., *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, Leiden, 2016, pp. 304–335.

long-term pressure toward acculturation, it became normal for many Moriscos to adapt themselves to the majority faith that engulfed them. Passing years and changing demographic densities contributed in many places to successive generations of Moriscos' distancing themselves in varying degrees from the faith of their elders. Running a gamut, in their attitudes, from the "weakened Islam" described by scholars, through various degrees of indecision or indifference, to a full and conscious acceptance of Christianity, many Moriscos experienced spiritual situations that do not readily fit into traditional models of religious confrontation, which tend not to be especially nuanced.[7] We are not speaking in this case of the exterior, official life of those who continued to maintain their Islamic faith in their interiority, but rather of those Moriscos who to a greater or lesser degree either abandoned Islam or never participated in it at all, generally for purely chronological and generational reasons. Logical though it may be for historians to have focused their attention primarily on their desire to remain Muslims and the means through which they shored up their faith under adverse conditions, it must be admitted that to this day we do not possess a systematic study of Christian customs and beliefs among the Moriscos. To be sure, approaches to certain aspects of their lives as Christians exist, such as Amalia García Pedraza's splendid book on the last wills of Granada Moriscos,[8] and studies of noble families of Granada that converted early to Christianity, or of the lives of isolated individuals like the Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas. Yet the information we have concerning the articulation of their Christian lives by the vast majority of Moriscos is still slight; and in this regard, constant emphasis on their religious dissembling is surely of little help.

How aware were Moriscos of the different spiritual tendencies circulating in sixteenth-century Spain? Were they able to participate, more or less consciously, in any of these tendencies? While there is little difficulty in answering the first of these questions affirmatively, the second remains more complex. Even without providing a full-fledged historiographic review of recent analyses, it can now be affirmed that Morisco communities evince greater social mobility than was formerly believed, and that their economic level is notably higher than the typical image of them had implied. Not only have elites been uncovered who possessed vast wealth and exerted social influence, but a more or less established Morisco "middle class" has been revealed, which on

7 Consider the classification of some of these possible positions of the Moriscos faced with the acculturation process in Seville, proposed by Rafael M. Pérez García, "Adaptaciones culturales en el seno de una minoría social: el morisco barroco en la Andalucía occidental," *Actas del Congreso Internacional "Andalucía Barroca,"* Seville, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 183–196.

8 A. García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI. Los moriscos que quisieron salvarse*, Granada, 2002.

many occasions shared social spaces and cultural interests with Old Christians. Some of the Moriscos who write from North African exile after 1609 exhibit an impressive familiarity with Spanish letters, displaying up-to-date knowledge of the literature and culture of the era.[9] Along these lines, the Lead Books of Sacromonte, in the final years of the Moriscos' presence in Spain, shows that they could elaborate a plan that entailed, at the very least, profound understanding of Christian spirituality and religious sensibility.[10]

Taking for granted the existence of elites who still had a solid knowledge of Islam and of groups and individuals who right up until the general expulsion jealously guarded books of Islamic doctrine and spirituality in Arabic, it is interesting to speculate concerning what Moriscos might have known about the Christian spirituality surrounding them. Not only regarding the Catholic doctrines that were imposed on them with more stubbornness than efficacy, but also the Christian devotional currents that managed to express a different way of experiencing religion.

To pose this question adequately, we must acknowledge the extent to which Morisco reality continues to be understood in accordance with generalized patterns that fail to grasp the complexity increasingly evident in the literature. For example, it has been amply shown that the old Moriscos of Castile insisted on being differentiated from those of Granada, who arrived in their towns after the Second War of the Alpujarras speaking Arabic and holding onto their Islamic cultural legacy. Similarly, the Valencia Moriscos maintained Islamic practices to an extent unheard of elsewhere. Because of these and other related factors, circumstances differ from one zone to the next, and these differing circumstances require differentiated critical approaches. A Morisco in Toledo was in a completely different situation, in terms of cultural influence, from one in Zaragoza or Granada. Moreover, these Toledo Moriscos were in quite different situations in 1515, than in 1550 or 1590. In spite of the single rubric covering them all, it is simply not the same thing to be a "Morisco" in 1515 as it is in 1590. It is equally important to mention that we are still not well informed about Moriscos who were ordained as priests or who entered religious orders, experiencing Christian spirituality firsthand, as it were. Of course, we are aware of special cases of great interest, such as the previously cited one

9 L. F. Bernabé, "De aljamía lejana: la literatura de los moriscos en el exilio," R. Suárez and I. Ceballos eds., *Aljamías in memoriam Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes y Iacob M. Hassán*, Oviedo, 2012, pp. 105–130.

10 See the studies collected by M. Barrios Aguilera and M. García-Arenal eds., *Los Plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro*, Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza, 2006.

of Ignacio de las Casas,[11] or that of Juan de Albotodo, another Jesuit,[12] but we are far from having any detailed information about the vast majority of priests and monks of Morisco descent in early modern Spain.[13] It is worth pointing out that among those who had the most influence intellectually among exiled Moriscos in North Africa were two former priests, Anselm Turmeda or ʿAbdall âh al-Tarjumân, in early sixteenth-century Tunis,[14] and Juan Alonso Aragonés, in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Tétouan.[15] But apart from these two there are other former clerics who, for various motives, ended their days in the Maghreb, such as the Valencian Alí Papaz/Pedro Bonet, whose biography has been established by Rafael Benítez.[16] And there were others as well, leading Patriarch Ribera to complain of the uselessness, as he saw it, of educating Moriscos: "Of those who have studied letters and been ordained as priests, some have prevaricated and apostatized, and some days ago one of them died in Algiers who, after having become a priest, crossed over and got married there."

In the same way, Christian brotherhoods (*cofradías*) that admitted Moriscos deserve to be the object of more detailed study, delving into the results of research by García Pedraza and López Muñoz.[17] Finally, beyond isolated facts

11 Y. El Alaoui, *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens. Étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta* (*1588*) *et d'Ignacio de las Casas* (*1605–1607*), Paris, 2006.

12 J. R. Álvarez Rodríguez, "La casa de doctrina del Albaicín. Labor apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús con los moriscos," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 19–20 (1983–1984), pp. 233–246.

13 Trevor Dadson, focusing on Villarrubia, speaks of a Morisco family there, the Naranjos, many of whose members joined the Church as monks, nuns, and priests, constituting them as an outstanding example of Morisco dedication to betterment through education, to the point that one relative of theirs, Pedro Naranjo, was nicknamed, "the Holy" (*el Santo*). T. Dadson, "Educación y movilidad social entre los moriscos del Campo de Calatrava," *Actas del XV Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, Mexico, 2007, vol. 2, pp. 127–138.

14 M. de Epalza, *La Tuhfa, autobiografía y polémica islámica contra el cristianismo, de ʿAbd Allah al-Taryuman* (*fray Anselmo Turmeda*), Rome, 1971; new, expanded edition, Madrid, 1994.

15 G. Wiegers, "European converts to Islam in the Maghrib and the polemical writings of the Moriscos," in Mercedes García-Arenal ed., *Conversions islamiques / Islamic Conversions* (*Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen / Religious Identities in Mediterranean Islam*), París, 2001, pp. 207–223.

16 R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "De casta de moriscos. Relatos autobiográficos : invención, verosimilitud, intencionalidad," *Homenaje a Raphäel Carrasco* (forthcoming). I thank Rafael Benítez for sending me an unpublished version of this study.

17 A. García Pedraza, "El otro morisco: algunas reflexiones sobre el estudio de su religiosidad a través de fuentes notariales," *Sharq Al-Andalus* 12 (1995), pp. 223–234; A. García Pedraza and M. L. López Muñoz, "Cofradías y moriscos en la Granada del siglo XVI (1500–1568)," in

there is no thorough study of the education of Morisco children who attended regular schools or the frequently referenced *Casas de Doctrina* (Houses of Doctrine):[18] what instruction they received, who their teachers were, whether in their classes they were mingled with Old Christians, etc.[19] For example, Diego Niño, Morisco, Bachelor of Letters in Villarrubia, was brought before the Inquisition in 1573, accused of heresy for affirming that Islam was based on natural reason. Thanks to the education he had received and his legal knowledge, he managed to convince the tribunal that such an affirmation was not a crime against the faith.[20] To take another example, María Jesús Rubiera, in her efforts at identifying the Mancebo de Arévalo, has explored the possibility that he studied as a child at the Private School (*Estudio Particular*) run by Franciscans in the monastery of Lesser Observants in Arévalo, where Alonso de Madrigal also attended.[21] She finds in this hypothetical contact with early sixteenth-century Franciscan spirituality an explanation for certain peculiarities of this Castilian-Muslim writer. But this is just one isolated instance, however outstanding, among many Moriscos in Castile, Granada, and Aragon, whose religious training we are only now beginning to understand.

1 Moriscos and the Reformation

Many Moriscos were fully aware of the existence of two groups of Christians with conflicting doctrines. While we may doubt how widespread this knowledge was and how well they understood all the elements of the schism between Catholics and Reformists, what is certain is that various texts by Moriscos

A. Mestre Sanchís and E. Giménez López eds., *Disidencias y exilios en la España moderna*, Alicante, 1997, vol. 2, pp. 377–392.

18 G. Mora del Pozo, *El colegio de doctrinos y la enseñanza de las primeras letras en Toledo. Siglos XVI a XIX*, Toledo, 1984. Concerning the House of Doctrine in the Albaicín, with which the Morisco Jesuit Albotodo was associated, among others, see J. R. Álvarez Rodríguez, "La casa de doctrina del Albaicín. Labor apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús con los moriscos," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 19–20 (1983–1984), pp. 233–246; on Gandía, see B. Franco Llopis, "Pedagogías para convertir: Gandía y los colegios jesuíticos para moriscos," *Revista de Humanidades* 29 (2016), pp. 61–87.

19 M.J. Rubiera Mata, "El Islam cristianizado de los moriscos castellanos en época de Carlos V," *Congreso Internacional "Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530–1558),"* Madrid, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 469–485.

20 Dadson, p. 132.

21 M. J. Rubiera, "El judeo-converso y morisco 'Mancebo de Arévalo,' autor de las tres culturas hispánicas (s. XVI)," in M. Bernardini et al. eds., *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI. Europe and islam between 14th and 16th centuries*, Naples, 2002, pp. 839–856.

mention Protestant doctrines and give the names of authors who participated in the Reformation. Decades ago, Louis Cardaillac realized that exiled Moriscos engaging in anti-Christian polemics took advantage of Protestant writings for their intellectual work.[22]

One of the most prominent cases is that of Juan Alonso Aragonés, referred to above, who lived in Tétouan after he left Spain.[23] Juan Alonso is perhaps the most influential author of the entire Morisco diaspora. He was undoubtedly a Christian priest who, after a profound comparison between the three religions, decided that Islam was the true one and converted to it. His work, preserved in Ms 9655 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, consists essentially of a polemical comparison among Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, in which, naturally, the last of these comes out triumphant. Juan Alonso's vast knowledge of the sacred texts is much in evidence, as is his familiarity with Protestant polemics against Catholicism. He uses Cipriano de Valera's 1602 translation of the Bible, and, by the same author, *The Two Treatises, of the Pope and the Mass* (1588). He knows this last book very well, and keeps it constantly in mind. Not only does he cite long passages, but he also employs its imagery, vocabulary, and style. Juan Alonso consistently defines the Catholic Church as the "Papist Trinitarian Church," supporting such Protestant positions as the personal interpretation of scripture, rejection of the veneration of images, and the view of the popes as corruptors of the sacred text. Just as his writings were well known among those who settled in North Africa, his views and opinions are reflected in Iberian Morisco texts, such as the Biblioteca Nacional's Ms 9067, which expounds Islamic doctrine as well as engaging in anti-Christian polemic.

Two other Morisco authors who were aware of Protestant doctrines and writings were Muhammad Alguazir and Ahmad al-Hajarî, both in the service of the Saadian sultans of Morocco.[24] At the request of sultan Muley Zaydân, Alguazir wrote an anti-Christian polemic that was brought back to Europe to serve in debates with Christian sages, and ended up being read in European

22 "Morisques et Protestants," *Al-Andalus*, 36 (1971), pp. 29–61; *Moriscos y cristianos. Un enfrentamiento polémico* (*1492–1640*), Madrid, 1979, pp. 119–141.

23 On Juan Alonso Aragonés, see G. Wiegers, "Muhammad as the Messiah: A comparison of the polemical works of Juan Alonso with the *Gospel of Barnabas*," in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden, LII, 3/4 (April–June 1995), pp. 245–291.

24 G. Wiegers, "The andalusi heritage in the Maghrib: the polemical work of Muhammad Alguazir (fl. 1610)," in O. Swartjes, G. J. Van Gelder, E. De Moor eds., *Poetry, Politics and Polemics. Cultural Transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, *Orientations* 4 (1997), pp. 107–132; P. S. van Koningsveld, G. Wiegers, and Q. al-Samarra'i, Ahmad ibn Qâsim al-Hajarî, *Kitâb Nâsir al-Dîn 'alâ 'l-qawm al-kâfirîn* (*The supporter of religion against the infidels*), 2nd ed., Madrid, 2015.

anti-Trinitarian circles. Al-Hajarî, probably the most famous of the exiled Moriscos, also had some knowledge of the Protestant Reformation, as can be gleaned from his autobiography, *Kitâb Nâsir al-Dîn*.

As Gerard Wiegers has indicated, it is hard to see, beyond cases where specific themes or issues coincide, such as the papacy, worship of images, corruption of the scriptures, or condemnation of the wealth of the Catholic Church, that there was any real concurrence between expelled Moriscos and Protestants.[25] This is particularly true in exile, when Moriscos were able to reaffirm their knowledge of Islamic doctrines, leading to their distancing themselves from Christianity, since it was, from the point of view of Islamic theology at least, an erroneous teaching which strayed from the true message. Although Morisco diatribes aimed at Catholics drew support from Protestant writings, they showed no sympathy toward Protestant beliefs, which after all are Christian. In the Morisco diaspora we observe a process of Islamic reaffirmation by means of polemics, leaving little room for nuanced views of Christianity. This is not of course to say that Moriscos were impervious to the ideas of the Reformation, nor to the attractiveness of the religious renovation, with respect to Catholicism, that ideas from Central Europe could bring. A case in point is the trial of Cosme Abenamir, a rich Valencian Morisco, who in his testimony establishes a certain analogy between Luther and Muhammad.[26]

Insofar as they were Christians living in a Christian environment, Moriscos' exposure to a variety of spiritual doctrines could depend more on their social circumstances than their family origin *per se*. The idea of the recalcitrant Morisco who tenaciously clings to Islamic belief is by no means either a pure invention or an insignificant phenomenon, but neither can we deny that under certain circumstances Moriscos may have been sincerely attracted by Christianity. While the participation of Conversos in even the most radical spiritual tendencies of sixteenth-century Spain has long been a familiar topic, this discussion has generally avoided Moriscos, as if it were somehow assumed that, although Jewish converts from the fifteenth-century onwards explored these possibilities, not even small a minority of the very Muslim *mudéjares* and Moriscos would have shown any interest.[27]

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25 "European converts to Islam," pp. 210–213.

26 AHN, Inq. Leg. 548. Núm. 2. Proceso contra Cosme Abenamir (1556). See M. García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 179–216. Jaime Bleda devoted a chapter to this affinity between the actions of Luther and those of Muhammad: "De la conveniencia que ay entre las sectas de Mahoma y de Luthero, Calvino, y los demas hereges de nuestros tiempos, y la estrecha amistad que professan," in his *Corónica de los moros de España*, Valencia, 1618.

27 Mercedes García-Arenal reflects on the motives of this difference in interpretation, from the perspective of her own time in "Comparing Minorities of *converso* Origin in

Nonetheless, cases like that of the cleric and preacher Juan González, a Morisco from Palma del Río, must be kept in mind when considering the possible influence of Lutheranism among New Christians of Moorish origin. While he is mentioned in earlier sources, it is Miguel Boeglin who reconstructed his biography between 1559 and 1563, along with the context for his pastoral activity and eventual condemnation by the Inquisition, together with much of his family.[28] González was taught in the House of the Children of the Doctrine (*niños de la doctrina*) in Seville. He had early contact with the Holy Office, as his mother, two of his sisters, perhaps his father, and he himself at a young age were all tried for maintaining Islamic practices and beliefs. It may be that they moved to Seville to conceal to some degree these condemnations. Shortly thereafter, it emerges that the González family is actively linked to Sevillian Protestant groups. Not only is Juan González a fruitful preacher of the new ideas in a number of churches and convents, but his sisters as well participate in trafficking prohibited books entering Spain. The Córdoba Morisco quickly becomes one of the most active and well-known figures in the clandestine circles of Seville, particularly after the arrest of his mentor, the famous Dr. Edigio. In the existing documentation Boeglin has confirmed how González took on as his own and communicated to others many of the typical concepts of Protestantism, such as rejection of the pope, abhorrence of the adoration of images, cultivation of interior spirituality, and a great love for the Psalms of David as a work of devotional literature. His death on the scaffold made a lasting impression due to his refusal to renounce his ideas right up to the end; he even shouted them out at the top of his lungs just moments before being burned.

Dr. González and his entire family had oriented their lives around the propagation of the new ideas circulating throughout Castile, especially Seville. In this regard they resemble other families involved in reformed spirituality.[29] What is interesting about the González family's case is, of course, their Morisco origin, but beyond that, the fact that after various members of the family had faced trial and condemnation for being Muslims, their second detention and trial should be for having joined the ranks of the banned Protestant sect. In

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Early Modern Spain: Uses of Language, Writing and Translation" in J. A. Silva Tavim, M. F. Lopes de Barros, L. L. Mucznik eds., *In the Iberian Peninsula and Beyond. A History of Jews and Muslims (15th–17th Centuries)*, Newcastle, 2015, vol. 1, pp. 117–152.

28 M. Boeglin, "El Licenciado Juan González (1529?–1559), predicador morisco en Sevilla y discípulo del Doctor Egidio," *Estudis* 38 (2012), pp. 235–255.

29 M. Boeglin, "Evangelismo y sensibilidad religiosa en la Sevilla del quinientos: consideraciones acerca de la represión de los luteranos sevillanos," *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna* 27 (2005), pp. 163–189.

this case we see a voluntary transfer from an Islamic spiritual sensibility to a Protestant one, taking place within a social milieu that is oppressively Catholic. Evidently this is something more than a mere convergence of views on concrete polemical topics, as occurs in the Morisco exile. They were attracted to and persuaded by a form of Christian belief that turned out to be closer to their own sensibility, whose founding principles they had learned in childhood.

Naturally, it cannot be said that a lived experience of Islamic faith can easily turn into Christian belief, but only if that belief is Protestant. Yet if this lived religious experience takes place in an atmosphere of oppression and secrecy, that may indeed facilitate an interest in religious identities outside the official Catholic ones, which are also in revolt against that oppressiveness and share that condition of secrecy. Perhaps the case of the cleric Juan González is extreme, due to the peculiarity of his position among Reformist circles and the sharing of his beliefs with his family, but surely they were not the only ones. While scholars have rejected the supposed Morisco identity of Casiodoro de Reina, in earlier times proposed upon weak evidence, other figures tied to Protestant circles, such as Juliana Daza or Ana de Illescas, were undoubtedly Moriscas. Another well-known case is that of Beatriz de Robles, saved from oblivion by Mary Elizabeth Perry.[30] Robles, a humble housewife from Fuentes (Seville), was brought before the Inquisition in 1622 for sharing at a meeting of a group of *beatas* her celestial visions, in which God addressed her directly. The Inquisitors were alarmed not only by her confessions but also by the fact that she was a Morisca. Forty-eight years old at the time of her trial, she had been exempted from the general expulsion by her marriage to an Old Christian. Nonetheless, her being a New Christian did not help her before the tribunal. In the *auto de fe* held on 30 November 1624, she appeared among those condemned for *alumbradismo*, and was sentenced to forswear *de levi*.

Doubtless these are not the only cases, for we are dealing, it bears repeating, with research yet to be undertaken on a large scale. By the same token, the frequent conversions of Moriscos to Lutheranism in France, especially Languedoc, at the time of the expulsions in the early seventeenth century, must be taken into consideration in this regard and investigated in more detail. Though superficially they give the appearance of opportunism in difficult

30 Mary Elizabeth *Perry*, "Contested Identities: The Morisca Visionary, *Beatriz de Robles*" in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary E. Giles, Baltimore and London, 1999, pp. 171–188.

circumstances, we must take into account the doctrinal proximity on certain points which Moriscos may have felt toward the Protestant creed.[31]

2 Spiritual Borrowings

That there were Moriscos who, while completely and consciously Muslims, related in one way or another to the agitated Christian spirituality of the first half of the sixteenth century seems to be amply demonstrated by the figure of the Mancebo de Arévalo. This Castilian writer, who apparently settled in Zaragoza in the 1530s, produced the most original Islamic work by any Spanish Morisco. Preserved in three thick Aljamiado manuscripts, as well as some loose fragments later copied by Aragonese Moriscos, the Mancebo's texts combine exposition of rituals and Islamic doctrines, memoires of journeys all over Spain, and an impressive effort at sketching and developing the inner life of the believer. This last aspect is a marked departure for Aljamiado writings, which tend, except for a few notable exceptions, toward normative exposition rather than spiritual description.[32]

In the stories of his travels across Spain, the Mancebo de Arévalo goes in search of those who can teach him Islamic doctrine. For this reason, he seeks the companionship, in Granada and other places, of elderly Moriscos who had lived in the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, such as Yûsuf Venegas the so-called Mora de Úbeda. They narrate the vicissitudes of their lives for him, and teach him the rudiments of Islamic spirituality, even as they rebuke his limited knowledge of his own religion. The Mora de Úbeda, who lived near the Puerta de Elvira in Granada, has especially caught the attention of scholars for the Mancebo's reverential attitude toward her (and a few other women) as a Muslim sage, passing on the highest religious lore. There is speculation over whether she could have played a role in transmitting some sort of mystical Islamic knowledge to her Christian contemporaries, especially Saint John of the Cross, who lived for a period at the Carmelite monastery in Granada,

31 This is Boeglin's opinion, p. 238; see L. Cardaillac, "A propósito del paso de los moriscos por el Languedoc: reflexiones sobre la expulsión," B. Vincent and M. Barrios Aguilera eds., *Granada 1492–1992: del Reino de Granada al futuro del mundo mediterráneo*, Granada, 1995, pp. 141–156.

32 L. P. Harvey, "El Mancebo de Arévalo and his Treatises on Islamic Faith and Practice," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 10.3 (1999), pp. 249–276; L. F. Bernabé Pons, "Una fama sin biografía: el Mancebo de Arévalo," in A. Echevarría dir., *Biografías mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoría: Biografías islámicas en la España cristiana*, Madrid, 2008, pp. 517–547.

located, precisely, in Elvira Street.[33] However, both the meagerness of the mystical knowledge the Moriscos were able to amass, plus the lack of direct references, particularly in the writings of Saint John, seem not to confirm this hypothesis.

If his travels in search of Muslim teachers have attracted critical attention, so has the repertoire of written sources on display in his work. Against the grain, once more, of most Aljamiado writing, the Mancebo refers by name, not only to recognized authors of the Islamic tradition, but to unknown writers and books with mysterious titles. The impression conveyed is that the Morisco author finds himself in the midst of an Islamic library which he consults as needed. However, as Leonard P. Harvey has noted, almost all his references are apocryphal. Behind this series of authors with Arabic or pseudo-Arabic names, the Mancebo de Arévalo hides a cache of knowledge he has acquired elsewhere. María Teresa Narváez and Gregorio Fonseca discovered two of the Morisco writer's sources: on the one hand, *La Celestina*, by Fernando de Rojas, from which the Mancebo copies part of the prologue, describing the world as a struggle;[34] on the other, in his *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual* (*Summary Narration and Spiritual Exercises*), Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, one of the key texts of the *devotio moderna*.[35] Unlike the use made of *La Celestina*, which is limited to a specific passage, the Mancebo utilizes Kempis's work throughout the entire composition, taking many fragments and "de-Christianizing" them to adapt his spiritual teaching for a Muslim public.

María Jesús Rubiera suggested that the Mancebo may have used some of the first translations of Kempis into Spanish, from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[36] But a close examination of his borrowings from *The Imitation of Christ* shows that, with almost complete certainty, the Muslim writer was rewriting from Juan de Ávila's translation, published in 1536.[37] This leads, first of all, to an adjustment of the time of composition of the *Summary* to a date

33 L. López-Baralt and M. T. Narváez, "Estudio sobre la religiosidad popular en la literatura aljamiado-morisca del siglo XVI. La Mora de Úbeda, el Mancebo de Arévalo y San Juan de la Cruz," *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 36 (1981), pp. 17–51.

34 M. T. Narváez, "El Mancebo de Arévalo, lector morisco de *La Celestina*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 72 (1995), pp. 255–272.

35 *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual sacado y declarado por el Mancebo de Arévalo en nuestra lengua castellana*, edition, linguistic study, and glossary by Gregorio Fonseca, Madrid, 2002.

36 "Nuevas hipótesis sobre el 'Mancebo de Arévalo,'" *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 12 (1995), pp. 315–324.

37 E. Canonica, "La recepción y la difusión del *De imitatione Christi* en la España del Siglo de Oro," *Castilla. Estudios de Literatura* 6 (2015), pp. 336–349; A. Oïffer-Bomsel, "Fray Luis de Granada, traductor del Contemptus Mundi de Tomás de Kempis: De la noción de

later than 1536; and secondly, to the consideration that the Mancebo not only drew on reading he had done in his youth, as may be the case with *La Celestina*, but that he was also making use of a famous work of Christian spirituality that had just appeared in Spain. That is to say, he continued to consume the Christian spiritual literature of his time and tried to extract lessons of value from it for his fellow Muslims. He is known as the Morisco writer who most defends mental prayer and a contemplative attitude to life, as well as for his humility and idiosyncratic terminology, for all of which his work stands out, it bears repeating, from all other Aljamiado manuscripts.

Some of the most spiritual texts of the Mancebo are, however, rather disconcerting. As soon as he ventures into the mystic swings of slumber and wakefulness (which he terms *innâs* y *annâs*, respectively),[38] he begins to lose himself in digressions that either reflect disorientation in his own spiritual twists and turns, or, at least, anxiety surrounding his desire to transfer Christian concepts and practices to his fellow believers. What in my opinion is undeniable is that the Mancebo de Arévalo, who faithfully transmits the contents concerning Islamic dogma and ritual from his *mudéjar* sources (the influence of the Segovian mufti Içe de Gebir is evident in his texts), gets himself into trouble when describing things that he does not find in his sources, such as when an imagined succession after the death of the chief religious leader of Mecca ends up looking remarkably like the conclave for choosing a new pope.[39] In much the same way, when he plumbs the depths of the believer's inner experience of God, since this is an issue not dealt with in Aljamiado texts, he turns to Christian sources, possibly the only ones available for a "contemporary" approach to Islam. Not inappropriately, since he is in fact writing a set of Spiritual Exercises like those of Ignatius of Loyola or García de Cisneros, this is expressed in a style similar to that of some contemporary Christian spiritual guides, with a predilection for the "mental exordium," or mental prayer, and an existential humility not found in other Aljamiado texts. Even something as specific as his notion that sins and penitence are visited upon the fourth generation of believers ("*de tátaros a choznos*," i.e. from great-great-grandparents to their great-great-great-grandchildren), completely unheard of in Islam and unusual even in Christianity, turns out to be from the *Carro de dos vidas* (*Cart of Two Lives*), the first major synthesis of Christian mysticism in Spanish, written

Translatio a la reelaboración conceptual en la obra del humanista granadino," *El texto infinito: tradición y reescritura en la Edad Media y en el Renacimiento*, Salamanca, 2014.

38 María Teresa Narváez, "El despertar y el sueño: dos motivos místicos en un texto aljamiado," in W. Mejías López ed., *Morada de la palabra: homenaje a Luce y Mercedes López-Baralt*, San Juan, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 1213–1221.

39 L. F. Bernabé Pons, "Una fama sin biografía. El Mancebo de Arévalo," pp. 537–538.

by Gómez García in 1500.[40] Also suggestive is the fact that one of the primary figures of piety he cites from scripture is King David, something quite common among Jewish converts or Protestants, but very uncommon in Islam, which prefers to gloss other Biblical prophets.

For inclusion in his text, the Mancebo's versions of Christian spiritual writings must be purified of all those elements of Christian dogma that are incompatible with Islamic discourse. But this in its turn demands detailed knowledge of the contents of these texts in order to identify the most promising passages for application to Islamic spiritual life and how these can be re-elaborated to offer Muslims an "up-to-date" treatise: "Reforming all of it as best I could and in the best style I knew, due to the great antiquity of the terms, which impeded our work, not because their knowledge or prudence were superior to ours, but because it was necessary to update those terms, to those of our own time."[41]

Rewriting Islamic doctrine in line with "our own time" was a complex task, given the situation of Castilian and Aragonese Moriscos. The sources available to them and to which the Mancebo could gain access dealt a good deal with how to live as a good Muslim, but much less with exploring the individual spirituality of the believer. This perspective was provided by another literature, that of Christian spirituality, and by a society outside the circle of Aragonese Moriscos in which the Mancebo primarily lived.

3 A Community in Spiritual Transition

The years 1501 and 1525 are more than just key dates in the political history of Muslim Spain. They mark for the Islamic community of Spain a transition from one way of life to another, a before and after, when what had been allowed was prohibited. This is easily said, but at times quite complicated to grasp in all its dimensions. In the case of Castilian and Aragonese *mudéjares*, it is not just a matter of getting baptized and becoming Christians in name and external behavior, but of their religious buildings being shuttered or rededicated as churches, their institutions banned, their rituals proscribed, and an entire program of acculturation set in motion to isolate them from their past. Setting aside for the time being consideration of the binomial public life/secret life, I

40 Gómez García, *Carro de dos vidas*, por arte y endustria de Joanes pegnicer de Nurenberga [et] Magno herbst de fils, 1500, fols. 356r–357r.

41 Ms. Cambridge Dd. 9.49. p. 69. Fragment also published by L. P Harvey, "El alfaquí de Cadrete, Baray de Reminjo y *El Breve Compendio de Nuestra Santa Ley y Sunna*," *II Jornadas Internacionales de Cultura Islámica. "Aragón vive su historia"* (*Teruel, 1988*), Madrid, 1990, pp. 213–222. The transcription is my own.

believe it is interesting to wonder what happens to the spiritual practice of a community that has been openly displayed for centuries and now is outlawed. The legal proceedings and religious rites of the *mudéjares* are prohibited, as we know, and such actions can no longer take place in public, in the presence of Christians. But how can a religious atmosphere disappear just like that from a community where for centuries it has served as the model for believers' souls? If ablutions, prayers, etc., which are physical acts, can be hidden, can less visible "acts," such as piety, seclusion, charity, or the search for divinity persist, even at the cost of transforming themselves? Can they be passed down and preserved by succeeding generations even as the distance from the ancestral religion increases?

Responding to these questions is not easy given the current state of our knowledge. Recently, Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, apropos of certain spiritual codes present in the development of both al-Andalus and Castile, was prompted to wonder whether a mysticism shared between Muslim and Christian spirituality, albeit with Llullian roots, could have persisted into the early modern period.[42] In support of this idea he cites research already completed or in progress in which it is possible to observe that forced conversion to Christianity did not eradicate mysticism among Moriscos, and that a social and intellectual atmosphere of shared elements was created during the Middle Ages, which only now is beginning to be uncovered.

As is well known, Miguel Asín Palacios dedicated a major part of his effort as a researcher to the attempt at uncovering the Islamic origins of some of the most daring mystical imagery in Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross. Similarly, he linked some of the concepts employed by the early *alumbrados* to the Shādhilī mystical school mainly found in North Africa and al-Andalus. For Asín, the *mudéjares* and Moriscos could have played a fundamental role in the spread of this mystical imagination throughout the surrounding milieu. Gerard Wiegers has shown that one of the titles by which the mufti of Segovia and commander (*alcaide*) of the Moors of Castile, Içа ibn Yabir or Isà Gidelli, was known reveals his identity as a prominent member of a Shādhilī brotherhood.[43] In a series of fascinating studies, Luce López-Baralt has continued on the path initiated by Asín Palacios, going much deeper into the Islamic origins of figures and expressions used by the two leading mystics of Castile. In particular she has investigated the possible contacts that, during his formative

42 J. C. Ruiz Souza, "Mística compartida y arquitectura: Al-Andalus y Castilla en los inicios de la Edad Moderna (ss. XIV–XVI)," *eHumanista* 33 (2016), pp. 157–77.

43 G. Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Içа of Segovia* (*fl. 1450*). *His antecedents and Successors*, Leiden, 1994.

period, Saint John of the Cross might have had with Moriscos and, through them, with an entire Semitic legacy. The means of transmission, however, continue to elude her, especially in the case of the possible presence of Shādhilī spirituality among Castilian *alumbrados*, a trail that has for the most part been abandoned by specialists. They suggest that Moriscos' social reality—the absence of a well-connected intellectual elite, their confinement in collectivities isolated from Christian society, their lack of interest in translating spiritual writings—would seem to preclude any strong survival of mystical elements among Moriscos, let alone their transmission to Christian authors.

Nonetheless, it is true that today we are somewhat better informed about the persistence of mysticism among Moriscos.[44] The Aragonese Moriscos preserved and translated some texts by Ibn ʿAbbâd de Ronda, by the Shādhilī master Ibrâhîm al-Tâzî al-Wahrânî (d. 1461), and others.[45] By the same token Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta, by means of an Inquisition trial of 1608, have documented the awareness on the part of certain Valencian Moriscos of the *Hizb al-bâhir al-bahr* by Abû l-Hasan al-Shâdilí (d. 1258).[46] Although it is difficult to evaluate the true importance of the presence of such writings among specific Morisco communities, we can no longer deny the on-going interest in mystical themes among Moriscos, at least when they lived in relatively large groups, lasting until the final moments of their time in Spain, and even beyond.[47] These and other similar texts would be made use of in the context of religious brotherhoods with ties to Sufism, both in the Maghreb and in Granada, as well as among *mudéjar* communities.

Hints concerning the existence of such brotherhoods exist in polemical texts of the epoch, but in recent years Ana Echevarría and Rafael Mayor have

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44 M. T. Narváez, "Conocimientos místicos de los moriscos: puesta al día de una confusión," in A. Temimi ed., *Actes du VI Symposium International d'Etudes morisques sur: Etat des Etudes de Moriscologie durant le treinte derniers années*, Zaghouan, 1995, pp. 225–238; "¿Qué sabían los moriscos sobre misticismo y temas esotericos?" in L. López-Baralt and L. Piera eds., *El sol de medianoche: La experiencia mística. Tradición y actualidad*, Madrid, 1996, pp. 163–180.

45 X. Casassas, "Otro texto sufí en los manuscritos aljamiados: la *Wazîfa* de Ibrâhîm al-Tâzî," *Hommage à l'Ecole d'Oviedo d'Etudes Aljamiado*, Zaghouan, 2003, pp. 167–174. As Cassassas points out, a *wazîfa* is a pious text intended to be used in a *tarîqa*. See also, *Los Siete Alhaicales y otras plegarias de mudéjares y moriscos*, Córdoba, 2007; "Saint-Jean de la Croix, Ibn ʿAbbâd de Ronda et la survivance en Espagne de la mystique musulmane en langue castillane jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle," *Horizons Maghrébins. L'héritage de l'Espagne des trois cultures* 61 (2010), pp. 63–69.

46 *Archivos moriscos. Textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana 1401–1608*, Valencia, 2009, p. 63.

47 B. Boloix Gallardo, "Precedentes Šaḍilíes de la literatura religiosa morisca del exilio," *Les actes du XIIIIe symposium International d'Etudes Morisques: Mélanges offerts au Prof. Mikel de Epalza*, Tunis, 2011, pp. 129–148.

discovered and examined the records of an Islamic brotherhood in Toledo between 1402 and 1414.[48] Through these documents they were able to show how the usual activities of such a brotherhood were carried out within the social milieu of late-medieval Toledo: solidarity among the members of the *aljama*, collection of regular contributions and alms, performance of Islamic ceremonies, planned expenditures, etc. This work constitutes the first bona fide proof of the continued existence and activity in *mudéjar* Spain of the Sufi mystical-ascetic brotherhoods known as *tarîqas*. In all certainty, the persistence of this tradition was repeated throughout the Middle Ages on the rest of the Peninsula and also undoubtedly, with the necessary adaptations, was maintained during the Morisco era. To give but one example, in Torrellas (Zaragoza), a town whose population was almost exclusively Morisco, Carmen Ansón has documented the existence in the sixteenth century of a House of Alms, located on the outskirts of the town, near the ancient "Moorish cemetery" (*fosal de los moros*), which was run successively by different members of the community and to which the residents of the town donated, either while still living or in their last wills, land and houses as well as ready cash.[49] Those who administered these pious legacies and donations demanded the faithful execution of last wills and distributed the property in question and the returns therefrom for the benefit of the least able members of the group or for specific acts of charity. In a number of Inquisition documents, on the other hand, we find denunciations of groups of Moriscos for imparting to one another pious tales or Islamic doctrines in places conveniently protected from Christian observation. We may understand as a spiritual meeting of just this sort the famous opening scene of the Mancebo de Arévalo's *Tafsîra*, which depicts the gathering, around 1532, of "a company of more than twenty honored Muslims, and among them seven learned scholars (*ʿālim*) …" Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta's magnificent book of Morisco poetry from the Kingdom of Valencia, for its part, records a large number of Arabic poems of devotion to the Prophet Muhammad, which could have been used at meetings of mystic brotherhoods.[50] Texts like the

48 "Las actas de reunión de una cofradía islámica de Toledo, una fuente árabe para el estudio de los mudéjares castellanos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 207.3 (2010), pp. 257–293; "Hermanos y cofrades en la aljama de Toledo a principios del siglo XV," *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 26 (2015), pp. 163–185.

49 *Torrellas. Del esplendor morisco a la decadencia y la tendencia a su recuperación*, Torrellas, 2014, pp. 121, 149, 153, 159, 183–183.

50 C. Barceló—A. Labarta, *Cancionero morisco*, Valencia, 2016, 24–26. For similar poems in Aljamiado versions, see T. Fuente Cornejo, *Poesía religiosa aljamiado-morisca. Poemas en alabanza de Mahoma, de Alá y de la religión islámica*, Madrid, 2000.

Aljamiado versión of Abû-l-Hasan al-Bakrî's *Libro de las luces* could also have been put to similar use.[51]

Such devotional fervor might be generated around the tomb of a man famous for his piety, or it could simply be a place where group religious ceremonies could conveniently be performed. Doubtless the continual Muslim devotion manifested toward the tomb of the Sid Bono in L'Atzeneta in Vall de Guadalest (Alicante) during the Middle Ages and continuing at least through the mid-fourteenth century must have been maintained by a brotherhood or other pious group.[52] This religious center is the best known of its type, due to the Inquisition trial opened against Don Sancho de Cardona, the Admiral of Aragon, for having permitted, circa 1550, the local Moriscos to reconstruct the mosque that had been there long ago, where they claimed was located the tomb of a Muslim holy man.[53] During the Inquisitorial trial against Don Sancho, the prosecutor indicated that after the building had been reconstructed, "at certain times of year … many Moriscos came there, from the town itself and from the Valley of Guadalest, and from Granada, Aragon, Catalonia, and other parts of this kingdom, men and women, to perform their Moorish ceremonies; and on many occasions over six hundred people had gathered there at a time, many of whom went barefoot as if on pilgrimage."[54] There are similar stories of other places where Muslims gathered, including specific locations in Vall d'Uxió and in Ocaña.[55] The bishop of Segorbe, at the end of the sixteenth century, prevents Moriscos in his diocese from making such pilgrimages with the pretext of a wedding, begging for alms, or even attending bullfights.[56] Doubtless there must have been more of these centers, remote or conveniently disguised, scattered over others parts of the Peninsula, especially in places where the Morisco population reached greater density, or where some particular group was concentrated.

Really, it would be more surprising if, from 1500 onward—that "mental boundary" of which Ruiz Souza speaks—the institutions within which *mudéjares* had passed their lives for centuries were to disappear overnight without a trace. It is true that the new official situation created at the turn of the century

51 M. L. Lugo Acevedo, *El libro de las luces: leyenda aljamiada sobre la genealogía de Mahoma: estudio y edicion crítica*, Madrid, 2008.

52 F. Franco Sánchez: "Los Banū Sīd Bono/a: Mística e influencia social entre los siglos XI y XVII," in A. González Costa, G. López Anguita eds., *Historia del sufismo en al-Andalus. Maestros sufíes de al-Andalus y el Magreb*, Córdoba, 2009, pp. 165–191.

53 P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia, 1901, vol. 1, pp. 443–469; García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, pp. 137–156.

54 Ibid., 145–146.

55 Barceló-Labarta, pp. 22–23.

56 Ibid., 22.

in Castile, a bit later in the Crown of Aragon, required them to hide or disguise the most visible aspects of Islamic religiosity, but that did not prevent them from continuing to meet, and in certain places from keeping alive the particular holiness of their *aljama*, the community of believers.

Could certain aspects or specific points of this Muslim spiritual tradition have been passed to Christian individuals or groups? The answer is inevitably nebulous. But it is obvious that even before 1501 there were already Moriscos who had become Christians and participated in the Christian life of their towns. The question at this point centers on knowing, not exactly how such a transmission could be produced, but whether the conditions could exist for a mutual understanding, or at least for certain devotional elements, which could be equally adopted by Muslims and by Christians, to flow from one group to the other. We have already seen, in the case of Dr. Juan González, how an Islamic spirituality could give way to a Protestant one through the nearness of certain religious positions. And we have seen, in the cases of Albotodo and Las Casas, that Morisco origin was not an insurmountable obstacle for moving toward a truly Catholic religiosity.

Surely this is the moment to recall that when the whole *alumbrado* movement exploded in the city of Baeza, witnesses indicated that it all seemed to them like "some Moorish thing."[57] Or that the Catechism of Sacromonte, written by a Jesuit around 1588, points out that to believe all can be saved in their own faith was something that "certain Moors" might say,[58] even to the point that Stefania Pastore could argue that "the accusation of affirming that we can be saved in one faith as well as in the other was more common among the Moriscos and was found in their Inquisitorial trials throughout the [sixteenth] century."[59] Of course, this idea of all finding salvation in their own faith was not exclusive to any one religious group, as García-Arenal has shown,[60] although that does not mean that it ceased to be an Islamic view. The goal here is not so

57 Á. Galmés de Fuentes, "Significado e influencia de los moriscos conversos" in Á. Galmés de Fuentes, *Romania Arabica II* (*Estudios de literatura comparada árabe y romance*), Madrid, 2000, pp. 201–262.

58 "Los moros dizen que la ley de Mahoma; los cristianos que la de Christo es la verdadera y algunos moros dizen que cada uno se salva en su ley": L. Resines, *Catecismo del Sacromonte y Doctrina Christiana de Fr. Pedro de Feria. Conversión y evangelización de moriscos e indios*, Madrid, 2002, p. 168.

59 *Un'eresia spagnola. Spiritualità conversa, alumbradismo e inquisizione* (*1449–1559*), Firenze, 2004, p. 151; on the trial of Juan del Castillo, who proclaimed universal salvation independently of religious afflilitation, and held that God had revealed this truth to Muhammad (pp. 133–158).

60 M. García-Arenal, "De la duda a la incredulidad en la España moderna: algunas propuestas," in J. L. Betrán, B. Hernández, D. Moreno eds., *Identidades y fronteras culturales en el mundo ibérico de la Edad Moderna*, Barcelona, 2016, pp. 51–68, esp. p. 55.

much to positively affirm the Islamic or the Morisco origin of the complex religious sensibility shared by the distinct movements and groups that came to be known as *alumbrados*, but rather to indicate that some of the things they said and did seemed to certain of their contemporaries to be of an Islamic nature, or, at least, seemed like something coming from Moorish converts. Miguel Asín Palacios long ago sketched a relation among the various spiritual motifs present in the Shādhilī mystical-ascetic school which also showed up again among the *alumbrados*, a relation extended by Luce López-Baralt in her edition of Asín's studies on this question.[61] Some of these spiritual concepts (such as the pure or disinterested love of God, with no need for Heaven or Hell,[62] giving oneself over wholly to God's will,[63] mental oration, man's freedom from sin when in an enlightened state, etc.) suggest deep parallels between Shādhilī mysticism and the testimonies of the *alumbrados*, as Asín Palacios recounts. Nonetheless, the Spanish Arabist, who had indeed reached the point of proposing the Moriscos as the means of transmission of these motifs, was unable to penetrate further in the means by which that transmission might have taken place.

As mentioned above, the writings we possess today that were produced by Moriscos, although they include some mystical texts, do not in general give an impression of spiritual complexity on the level of the Shādhilī school. Moreover, this is a clandestine literature to which Christians rarely had access, and which relied almost exclusively on copies and versions of earlier religious treatises.[64] If Moriscos were somehow able to intervene at the dawn of Castilian *alumbradismo*, it could hardly have been through their writings, but perhaps through their own direct participation in such circles. And then it would not have been as Muslims, whether hidden, clandestine, dissembling or whatever term we may choose, but as Christians of Islamic ancestry, Christians born into and raised in some sort of contact with a spiritual tradition that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century was still quite recent.

Both Asín Palacios and especially Galmés de Fuentes called attention to the fact that the first waves of discoveries of groups accused of *alumbradismo* included various people of Morisco origin, without that fact necessarily drawing much attention from modern critics, who have been more focused on

61 M. Asín Palacios, *Saḏilies y alumbrados*, Madrid, 1990. Introductory study by Luce López-Baralt.

62 L. López-Baralt, "Anonimia y posible filiación espiritual musulmana del soneto 'No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte,'" *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 24 (1975) pp. 243–266.

63 A. Márquez, *Los alumbrados. Orígenes y filosofía. 1525–1559*, Madrid, 1972, pp. 254–255.

64 L. F. Bernabé Pons, "Los manuscritos aljamiados como textos islámicos," in A. Mateos Paramio coord., *Memoria de los moriscos. Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural*, Madrid, 2010, pp. 27–44.

individuals of Jewish or Converso origin among the accused.[65] In this regard, however, the critics only repeat the concerns of the Inquisitors themselves, who often tried to blend accusations of *alumbradismo* with those for Jewish practices, for example in the trial of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz.[66] In the same manner, Galmés pointed out that among Spanish devotional authors of the sixteenth century, orthodox as well as heterodox, there is an ample roster of Moriscos, in some of whose works specific features of their Moorish heritage are visible. While Galmés establishes an excessively long roster of Moriscos in his study—some of his identifications are doubtful or have been disproved by critics—it is certain that in some of the areas where *alumbrados* first appeared there was a considerable Morisco population that, more or less integrated, lived as Christians. To date, no serious attempt has been made at connecting Moriscos' lives and ancestry (or for that matter, those of Conversos) with the constellation of people who came to be grouped under the rubric of "*alumbrados*," including mystics, Franciscans, *beatas*, visionaries, the exalted, and others.

This is not to say that *alumbrado* movements had a Morisco imprint or that hidden behind them lurks an accumulated reserve of distantly Islamic spirituality. On the contrary, what it suggests is that there were converts of Moorish ancestry (*conversos de moro*—whose conversion, as has been mentioned, could date from before 1501) who could integrate themselves into not only orthodox ecclesiastical institutions of the later 1500s but also the agitated, reformist atmosphere at the turn of the century. The decrees of forced conversion created a space where believers of different origin and ancestry grew up together, giving rise to a dynamic of interfaith knowledge and intellectual dialogues out of which spiritual positions close to one another emerged. As John Edwards has shown, in all social and religious groups individuals could be found whose eccentric religious experiences differed from established, officially sanctioned modes of belief.[67] The cases of "Catholic" visions of the Morisco Agustín de Ribera in the 1530s, studied by García-Arenal;[68] and of the pious María Martínez, who in 1587 partly attributed her visions of angels

65 "Alejo de Venegas y la tradición morisca," in *Estudios Románicos dedicados al Prof. Andrés Soria Ortega*, Granada, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 175–192; "Significado e influencia de los moriscos conversos," pp. 255–260.

66 Angela Selke de Sánchez, "Algunos datos nuevos sobre los primeros alumbrados. El Edicto de 1525 y su relación con el proceso de Alcaraz," *Bulletin Hispanique* 54.2 (1952), pp. 125–152.

67 "Elijah and the Inquisition: Messianic prophecy among 'Conversos' in Spain, c. 1500" in *Religion and Society in Spain*, Aldershot, 1996.

68 "A Catholic Muslim Prophet: Agustín de Ribera, 'the Boy Who Saw Angels,'" *Common Knowledge*, 18.2 (2012), pp. 267–291.

and demons to her living among the Moriscos of Granada,[69] show, on the one hand, that Moriscos, too, moved in unconventional devotional circles and, on the other, that their life experience—or their education—in a Catholic milieu could result in a convergence between their mystical visions and those of Old Christians. For her part, the Morisca Beatriz de Robles appeared in an *auto de fe* on 30 November 1624, alongside some of the leading *alumbrados* of Seville. She had experienced such phenomena associated with these groups as revelations, the personal presence of God, and trembling "with God's love."[70]

Between an Islamic form of devotion such as flourished and expanded from the mystic-ascetic brotherhoods in Muslim towns and neighborhoods at the end of the fifteenth century and a Christian form of devotion that was struggling, from the early sixteenth century, to establish a more direct, interior, and personal relationship between the believer and God, there is an entire universe of spaces shared among distinct groups, whose boundaries, under the right circumstances, especially keeping in mind convergences in spiritual sensibility, could dissolve. Many *mudéjares* had known or had participated in Shādhilī spirituality for hundreds of years, right up to the turn of the sixteenth century, and it is strange to imagine a way of spiritual life that had shaped various *mudéjar* communities suddenly disappearing, rather than somehow adapting to the new circumstances. The House of Alms in Torrellas provides a good example of how the sense of social solidarity of the brotherhoods could survive by being transformed into Christian charity. Many Moriscos began the sixteenth century already converted to Christianity; others had to make that transition in the early years of the century, and the manner of their integration into the dominant society was necessarily complex and took place over an extended period. Many, perhaps even the majority, clung to the beliefs of their elders to a degree that nonetheless varied enormously, in which their desire to remain Muslim was usually more pronounced than their actual knowledge. Others' lives unfolded within the Christian belief system in ways that we still do not completely understand. But in these early examples of Christian Morisco lives, at the level of their family units or their larger communities, an entire devotional culture of nearness to God exists, that is not so much transferable from one religion to another, as it is equally livable in both.

69 A. Sarrión Mora, "Beatas, iluminadas, ilusas y endemoniadas. Formas heterodoxas de la espiritualidad postridentina," in J. Martínez Millán ed., *Felipe II (1527–1598): Europa y la monarquía católica*, Madrid, 1998, vol. 3, pp. 365–386.

70 R. M. Pérez García, p. 194. The author also mentions the case, twenty years earlier, of a Morisca from Murcia, María López, who served in the home of two Portuguese Judaizers, where she learned and practices the Law of Moses, observing all the rites of Judaism.

CHAPTER 12

Serán Siempre Moros? Assessing Conversion During the Expulsion of the Moriscos

Stephanie M. Cavanaugh

In 1610, Philip III instructed bishops and other high-level prelates to investigate cases of good Christian Moriscos who might be worthy of exemption from deportation. Religious and lay authorities had contended with the problem of Morisco conversion for over a century before the 1609–14 expulsion of the Moriscos (as converts from Islam and their descendants were commonly known). This conversion problem had begun with the mass, coerced baptism of Iberian Muslims early in the sixteenth century.[1] The religious sincerity of the Moriscos came under continual suspicion and inquisitorial scrutiny, provoking complicated questions: What was true conversion? How should conversion be assessed, and could religious sincerity be guaranteed? Was conversion possible for the Moriscos? By the late sixteenth century, the monarchy was increasingly troubled by what it perceived as the Moriscos' failure to truly convert, and the king ordered their removal from Spain with the stated aims of protecting the kingdom's religious purity and restoring political order. Long-standing questions about the Moriscos' conversion remained open even while the expulsion was underway, tied to the logistical matter of who might merit exemption from deportation. While many prelates reported how few Moriscos met the

* This article is an extension of my doctoral dissertation research, which is currently under revision for my book manuscript *The Morisco Problem and the Politics of Conversion in Early Modern Spain*. I presented early sections of this paper at the Sixth International Converso and Morisco Conference (Alcalá de Henares, 2017) and at The Politics of Conversion: from Martin Luther to Muhammad Ali (Chicago, 2017) during my Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Early Modern Conversions project at McGill University.

1 Muslims living in the Crown of Castile were ordered to choose between baptism and exile in 1502 as a consequence of the First War of the Alpujarras in the Kingdom of Granada (1499–1501). See "Provisión de los Reyes Católicos ordenando la expulsión de los musulmanes del reino (1502, febrero, 12.)," in Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado ed., *De la convivencia a la exclusión. Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII–XVII*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 233–240. Muslims living in the Crown of Aragon were converted to Catholicism in 1521–1526. Benjamin Ehlers describes how Aragonese Muslims were baptised by force during and after the revolt of the *germanías*; see *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and religious reform in Valencia, 1568–1614*, Baltimore, 2006, pp. 14–17.

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conditions of conversion, their investigation in 1610 found a small number of them living as devout Catholics. These cases are significant in that they demonstrate late but lingering hope in conversion, particularly in the potential of Morisco children and of Moriscos raised among Old Christians to be sincere Catholics. This essay uses examples from the 1610 investigation, focusing on cases from Ávila and its environs, alongside other records of deliberations in the king's Council of State, to examine how Spanish leaders assessed conversion during the expulsion period. It concludes with a discussion of how expulsion apologists denied Morisco diversity—their various religious, regional, and legal identities—and rejected the possibility of Morisco conversion.

Belief, practice, and lineage were intertwined in complex ways in early modern Spain. To have converted certainly meant to have changed one's religious faith upon baptism, and required observable orthopraxy, including church attendance, knowledge of prayers, and participation in Catholic worship through the sacraments as well as public devotion. Yet conversion did not operate solely on religious terrain. It also required the social integration and cultural assimilation of each generation descended from the first converts. Moriscos were expected to demonstrate their conversion through conformity with Catholic society in myriad ways, including through their language, diet, residency, marriage, reputation, and association. Speaking Arabic, declining to consume pork and wine, and living among other Moriscos were commonly understood as manifestations of Islamic religiosity.[2] Conversion required social connections as well as visible and continual conformity with Old Christians (Catholics with no known Muslim or Jewish ancestry). All of these factors were bound up in a person's reputation: a Morisco known publicly as a good Christian should be able to secure the testimony of Old Christian witnesses who could describe and confirm their daily practices.

1 Choosing Expulsion

By the second half of the sixteenth century, hope for the true conversion of the Moriscos dwindled as it became apparent that subsequent generations of Moriscos did not, on a large scale, become active, zealous Catholics. Matters

2 For examples of inquisitorial testimony against Moriscos, see Patrick J. O'Banion ed. and trans., *This Happened in My Presence: Moriscos, Old Christians, and the Spanish Inquisition in the Town of Deza, 1569–1611*, Toronto, 2017. For other examples of inquisition trials, see Lu Ann Homza ed. and trans., *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources*, Indianapolis, 2006 and Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer eds. and trans., *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, Baltimore, 2004.

grew worse with the Second Granadan War (1568–71), which began as a Morisco revolt incited by Philip II's reissuing of an edict that prohibited the Arabic language and Islamic-Granadan dress and customs. Once royal forces subdued the rebels, the king deported most of the Morisco population from the Kingdom of Granada. Approximately 80,000 deportees were re-settled throughout the Crown of Castile in the following years.[3] Granadan Moriscos were banned from owning weapons and from traveling or relocating without license. The rebellion and the post-war management of Granadan deportees worsened relations between Moriscos and the monarchy. The prospect of expelling the entire Morisco population from the Spanish kingdoms was entertained in the 1580s.[4] The king and his councillors considered the expulsion plan more seriously in 1607; the proposal gained traction and was decided by vote in April 1609.[5]

The decision to expel ultimately prevailed but was not unanimous, and the Council of State included members for and against the expulsion.[6] There were compelling religious, economic, and political arguments against the expulsion: some religious leaders continued to believe in the project of Morisco conversion and advocated against replacing this long-held mission with a policy of extirpation; land-owning nobility protested the loss of their Morisco work-forces and warned of the dangers of depopulation; and some feared that the Ottoman Empire and other enemies of Spain could benefit from an influx of Moriscos

3 Bernard Vincent, "L'expulsion des Morisques du Royaume de Grenade et leur répartition en Castille (1570–1571)," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 6.1 (1970), pp. 211–246 and "Combien de Morisques ont été expulsés du royaume de Grenade?" *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 7.1 (1971), p. 397; Henri Lapeyre, *Geografía de la España Morisca*. Valencia, 2009 [1986, 1959]. On the deported Granadan Moriscos, see Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, "The nation of Naturales del Reino de Granada: Transforming identities in the Morisco Castilian diaspora, 1502–1614," in Dagmar Freist and Susanne Lachenicht eds., *Connecting Worlds and Peoples: Early Modern Diasporas*, New York, 2016, pp. 10–30.

4 L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614*, Chicago, 2005, pp. 294–300.

5 Nicole Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 203–209.

6 For more on the debates surrounding the expulsion, see Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas Decisiones: la monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos*, Valencia, 2001, and "The Religious Debate in Spain" in Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers eds., *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 102–131; Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and religious reform in Valencia, 1568–1614*, Baltimore, 2006; Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship*, Leiden, 2010; Seth Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain*, Chicago, 2015; and Nicole Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 195–217.

and their knowledge of the Spanish kingdoms.[7] Many Moriscos petitioned the monarchy for exemption from the expulsion, and some church leaders submitted evidence of Morisco individuals who lived as good Catholics. Ecclesiastics and secular officers came to the defense of local Moriscos by writing to the monarchy to protest the expulsion. These included prominent figures, such as the archbishop of Granada Don Pedro de Castro, as well as town magistrates and parish priests who offered arguments in support of the Moriscos and evidence demonstrating their assimilation.[8] Contemporaries acknowledged and documented the internal heterogeneity of Morisco populations; the presence of some Moriscos practicing Catholicism as well as the multiplicity of Morisco regional cultures and legal statuses reveal a diverse range of Morisco identities.

Advocates of the expulsion refuted this diversity, however, and argued that the Moriscos were a homogenous nation of false Christians, as the expulsion hinged on the political and ideological imperative that Moriscos were irredeemable heretics and enemies to the state. The powerful Duke of Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, initially opposed the plan but became a central figure in persuading the king to expel the Moriscos.[9] The archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, had long worked toward the conversion of the Moriscos before becoming a strong campaigner for the expulsion.[10] Among others, he ultimately argued that the project of converting the Moriscos had failed and was a hopeless mission. The idea that their conversion was impossible went hand in hand with the portrayal of the Moriscos as a separate nation. This argument was articulated in the concept of blood purity, or *limpieza de sangre*, which discriminated against New Christian converts and their descendants (both Moriscos and Judeoconversos) on the basis of their Jewish and Muslim ancestry and undermined claims that Morisco conversion could be evidenced through outward signs of assimilation.[11]

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7 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "The Religious Debate in Spain," in Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers eds., *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 116–117.

8 Trevor J. Dadson, "Official Rhetoric versus Local Reality: Propaganda and the Expulsion of the Moriscos," in Richard J. Pym ed., *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Modern Spain*, London, 2006, pp. 6–9.

9 Nicole Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 200–214.

10 Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and religious reform in Valencia, 1568–1614*, Baltimore, 2006.

11 On purity of blood, see Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII*, Madrid, 1985; María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical fictions: limpieza de sangre, religion, and gender in colonial Mexico*, Stanford, 2008; and María Elena

Philip III ordered the expulsion of the Moriscos in successive royal proclamations directed at regional populations. The first, issued on 22 September 1609, demanded the deportation of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Valencia, while decrees issued the following year targeted Granada, Murcia, Andalusia, and Aragon.[12] The definitive order enforcing the removal of Moriscos from Old Castile, New Castile, Extremadura, and La Mancha was announced on 10 July 1610.[13] In it, the king stressed the Moriscos' failures to convert and associated their resistance to Christianity with political disloyalty, stating, "In effect, the said Moriscos have persevered in their obstinacy and intransigence and have conspired against my Royal Crown and my said kingdoms of Spain, soliciting assistance from the Turk and other princes, from whom they are promised help, offering them their persons and estates."[14] Between 1609 and 1614, an estimated 300,000–350,000 Moriscos were deported from the Spanish kingdoms.[15]

Martínez, David Nirenberg, and Max S. Hering Torres eds., *Race and Blood in the Iberian World*, Münster, 2012. In her recent article, Mercedes García-Arenal argues "that the cumulative experience of the failure of baptism to bring about true conversion led to skepticism about the power of baptism as a sacrament, leaving blood as the only possible marker of the community of true believers." See "Theologies of Baptism and Forced Conversion: The Case of the Muslims of Valencia and Their Children," in Mercedes García-Arenal and Yonatan Glazer-Eytan, eds., *Forced Conversion in Christianity, Judaism and Islam: Coercion and Faith in Premodern Iberia and Beyond*. Leiden, 2020, p. 356.

12 "Bando de expulsión de los moriscos valencianos (Valencia, 22 September 1609)," in Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado ed., *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 345–349; see pp. 350–361 for orders pertaining to the regions of Granada, Murcia, Andalusia, and Aragon.

13 "Cédula ordenando la expulsión de todos los moriscos de los Reinos de Castilla la Vieja y Nueva, Extremadura y la Mancha (Aranda de Duero, 10 July 1610)," in Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado ed., *De la convivencia a la exclusión*: *Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII–XVII*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 362–366; for the earlier order that gave permission to Moriscos from these regions to leave voluntarily, see "Cédula Real para que los Moriscos de Castilla, Extremadura y la Mancha que quisieren ir fuera de España, lo puedan hacer dentro de treinta días a partir de la publicación de esta Cédula (Madrid, 28 December 1609)," pp. 354–356.

14 "Cédula ordenando la expulsión de todos los moriscos de los Reinos de Castilla la Vieja y Nueva," pp. 363–364. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

15 Bernard Vincent, "The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion: A Quantitative Study," in Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers eds., *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (trans. Consuelo López-Morillas and Martín Beagles), Leiden, 2014, pp. 19–36.

2 "Whether Any of Those Moriscos Lived as Catholic Christians"

On the same day that Philip III proclaimed the expulsion from Old Castile, New Castile, Extremadura, and La Mancha, he ordered prelates in those territories to determine whether any Moriscos living in their jurisdictions were, in fact, true Catholics and worthy of exemption from the expulsion. Each prelate was to report the findings of their investigation so that "those who are and have been notoriously and continuously good Christians by their own free, continuous, and longstanding acts not be included in the proclamation."[16] While these instructions could be seen as a formality intended to validate the expulsion, the inquiry was, in fact, carried out. On September 22, the Council of State submitted to the king a summary of reports sent by the bishops of Segovia, Salamanca, Zamora, Plasencia, Cuenca, Badajoz, Coria, and Cartagena.[17] The Council prepared another summary on October 23, encapsulating reports and further information from Toledo, Cuenca, Plasencia, Palencia, Valladolid, and a number of other towns and villages.[18] More extensive reports survive in the Council of State's archived records, including those submitted by the bishops of Ávila and Valladolid.[19] While some regions reported higher numbers than others, Moriscos nominated by their prelates as good Christians worthy of exemption from expulsion were usually in the minority. The recorded testimony implicitly reveals how many Moriscos did not meet the criteria to be considered good Catholics and alludes to Moriscos in general as people to be avoided, as absent in church, and as socially separate from Old Christians. The testimony gathered on behalf of those Moriscos considered by their neighbours and prelates to be good Christians remains significant, however, as illustrative of contemporary ideas about spiritual conversion, social belonging, and reputation.

The prelates used relatively consistent methods for verifying who was a good Christian Morisco, relying on outward signs of religious and social assimilation to demonstrate spiritual sincerity. Good Christian Moriscos were individuals with confirmed and long-term records of Catholicism, as demonstrated by public acts and corroborated by Old Christian witnesses. Based on the king's instructions, witnesses were asked "whether they had any knowledge of the Moriscos who lived in the city, and whether any of those Moriscos

16 Archivo General de Simancas (henceforth AGS): Sección Estado, legajo 225, expediente 107 (23 September 1610).

17 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 2640, exp. 295.

18 Ibid., exp. 303.

19 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 224 and 225.

lived as Catholic Christians, hearing mass regularly and frequenting the sacraments, confessing and receiving the Eucharist and attending sermons and doing works as Catholic Christians. And also, whether they knew this to be true without any doubt."[20] It was imperative to demonstrate integration into Old Christian society through ties of marriage, parentage, congregation, patronage, education, and employment. Individuals who met these criteria also had to show that they avoided Morisco cultural traditions and society, demonstrating public acknowledgement of their abstention. The bishop of Valladolid, Don Juan Vigil de Quiñones, elaborated on the requirements for being a good Christian Morisco in his report of the investigation he conducted in August 1610. Quiñones highlighted conditions related to diet, residency, and association. He stressed the importance of public reputation in determining whether Moriscos under investigation had

> not treated or communicated with Moriscos nor lived in the *barrio* nor vicinity of them, and that they have been seen eating pork and drinking wine, and that they have not been seen doing things prohibited or contrary to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that without a doubt they have always been seen to have been keeping and to keep the things of our holy Catholic faith.[21]

The *barrio* (neighborhood) to which the bishop refers is the Barrio de Santa María, the former *morería*, or Muslim quarter, of Valladolid. In many Castilian towns, *antiguos* Moriscos (called "old" Moriscos to distinguish them from Granadan Morisco deportees resettled in the region after 1570) lived together in former Muslim quarters and so retained a degree of residential and social segregation from the Old Christian populations. This separation was perceived by authorities as a barrier to assimilation and therefore to genuine religious conversion.

3 "Evidence of Their Life and Customs"

Demonstrating connections to Old Christians was as important as proving that a person was not part of a Morisco community. Luis Hernández and his

20 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, f.49 (25 August 1610).

21 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, s.f. (3 September 1610). The *barrio*, or neighbourhood, to which the bishop referred was the Barrio de Santa María, Valladolid's former Muslim quarter where most of the city's Moriscos continued to reside until their expulsion.

wife María Díaz lived in Ávila and were described as Morisco descendants of Granadans, most likely Granadan deportees resettled after the Second Granadan War. The couple had been married for many years "with no children or any hope of having children."[22] Hernández had been entrusted in his infancy to Doña Beatriz de Zúñiga, "a most noble and holy woman in her life and death," and raised in her home, that of the noble Old Christian Bracamonte family. A daughter of that family, Doña Ana de Zúñiga, confirmed Hernández's Catholic upbringing, reputation, and lifestyle. For twenty years, Hernández had tended the sick and attended to the religious life of the family chapel, carrying a lit candle next to the principle image during religious processions. Witnesses confirmed that Hernández conformed with Catholic dietary rules (or in other words, that he avoided Islamic dietary restrictions), saying that there was no difference "in the food and drink and pork and wine of the rest of the Old Christians." The only Moriscos with whom he had any contact were his mother and his married brother, and he "excused himself whenever possible from the rest of the Moriscos so as not to be infected (*por no inficionarse*)."[23] The idea of infection is significant here, as expulsion apologists commonly represented Moriscos as carriers of impure lineage and a threat to the purity of Catholic Spain.[24] These ideas are present in the expulsion orders themselves, which command, "that those who pervert the good and honest life of the republics and their cities and towns be cast out of the villages so that their contagion does not inflict others."[25]

A Morisco's public reputation was also crucial in evaluating evidence of spiritual and social conformity with Old Christians. Hernández's was one of six cases identified in a report (dated 23 September 1610) from the investigation of the bishop of Ávila, Lorenzo Asensio Otaduy Avendaño, wherein Granadan Moriscos "qualified as good Christians, notoriously and continuously for many positive acts, without doubts to the contrary in the places where they have lived and that they are such by public knowledge and reputation (*antes publica voz y fama*)."[26] In broad terms, status was performed and could be defended and defined by reputation. Tamar Herzog explains how in the early modern

22 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 109r.

23 Ibid. The Real Academia Española defines "inficionar" as "infectar."

24 Diana Galarreta-Aima, "El problema morisco y la retórica de la infección corporal en 'La historia del cautivo,'" *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 42.2 (2017), pp. 26–44.

25 This excerpt of the July 1610 order is from L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 408.

26 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 109r. These were four in Ávila, one in Arévalo, and one family of four in Madrigal. For more on the Morisco community of Ávila, see Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La Comunidad Morisca de Ávila*, Salamanca, 1991.

Spanish kingdoms and colonies, the status of citizen "was generated largely by what could be described as reputation."[27] Citizenship—based on who could enjoy rights and could be forced to comply with demands, according to Herzog—entailed membership, acceptance, and integration into a community. In courts of law, a person's reputation could be affirmed and verified by witness testimony and was admissible evidence of their legal status. In the prelates' investigations of Morisco Catholicism, each case required numerous Old Christian witnesses. The testimony of priests and other religious officials was especially valued, as were the endorsements of noble and powerful witnesses and Old Christians known publicly for their piety. Personal relations mattered. The bishop of Plasencia reported that in his investigation, "the witnesses who testify are priests and clergy of the parishes where [the Moriscos] are parishioners" and could provide "evidence of [their] life and customs."[28] For his part, the bishop of Segovia wrote that he had gathered a "great number of witnesses, both religious and people who are very honorable and disinterested."[29]

Witnesses were motivated in some measure by personal connections, of course, such as when the religious members of a convent or monastery affirmed the Catholic piety and social conformity of Moriscos who belonged in their communities. For example, Hernando Hernández was a Morisco and a gardener for the college of the Company of Jesus in Arévalo. In 1610 he had held that post for sixteen years and the Jesuits there confirmed that he "always conduct[ed] himself as a good Christian."[30] Hernández also had the support of Maestro Bravo, the vicar of Arévalo and a deputy of the Inquisition. Bravo had conducted this investigation on behalf of the bishop of Ávila and had personally questioned the witnesses in this case. He confirmed that Hernández had lived for many years as a good Christian, living and eating as did the Jesuits of the college. Hernández was a widower and the father of a ten-year-old boy who was raised at the college and known for "the same good customs as his father." Hernández and his son observed the sacraments and attended church services alongside the Jesuits of the college and the other, Old Christian, servants of the college; the testimony given in their favor reflects both their Catholicism and their integration into this community.[31]

In Madrigal de las Altas Torres, the gardener of a convent received a similar defence. Señora Doña Ana de Austria, the prioress of the Royal Convent de

27 Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*, New Haven, 2003, p. 7.

28 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 2640, exp. 295.

29 Ibid.

30 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 109v.

31 Ibid.

la Madre de Dios in that town, requested exemption from expulsion for the convent's gardener Juan de Mendoza, his wife, and their children Alonso and Mencía, who "although Granadan Moriscos, were good Christians."[32] Having received this testimony, the bishop of Ávila entrusted the king's orders to a priest in Rasueros and charged him with conducting further investigation. The focus throughout this case was on the nobility and piety of Mendoza's defenders. The testimony of ten other witnesses "of the most qualified in the town" confirmed the prioress' defence of Mendoza and his family. The priest in Rasueros was confirmed to be an Old Christian and *hijodalgo*, while the prioress herself was a cousin to the king. The Mendoza family's public reputation as good Christians was bolstered by the high status of those who spoke out in their defence.[33] No matter how few these cases might have been in some regions, they point to significant ties between Old and New Christians that were threatened by the expulsion.

The legitimacy of these investigations depended not only upon the reliability of the witnesses but also on the validation of the prelates in charge. Of course, Moriscos received varying levels of support in different jurisdictions, and the opinions of a prelate could be enough to condemn the local Morisco population. Reports tallying how many Moriscos were verified to be good Christians show substantial range between places.[34] Serafín de Tapia Sánchez relates that the bishop of Ávila was not generally sympathetic toward Moriscos.[35] The bishop initially only focused his inquiry on the Granadans in his jurisdiction as he had believed that the Castilian Morisco population was not to be included in the orders of expulsion. When charged with extending his investigation, the bishop nominated only three more Moriscos, and they had already received exemptions from the monarchy.[36] Like other prelates, he

32 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 109v.

33 Ibid.

34 See, for example, AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 2640, exp. 303, which reported prelates submitting the following numbers of Moriscos as good Christians: the cardinal of Toledo: 153; the bishop of Cuenca: 12; the bishop of Plasencia: 23; the bishop of Palencia: 3; the bishop of Valladolid: 1; the bishop of Coria: 117; the bishop of Cartagena: 6; the prior of Ucles: 27; the vicar of Villanueva: 9; the vicar of Yeste: 8; the vicar of de Veas: 25/26; the vicar of the Province of León, who resided in Mérida: 141; the prior of the Nuestra Señora de Tudia: 9; the vicar of Magacela: 30; the diocesan judge (*provisor*) of the Province of Léon: 1; the vicar of Guadalupe: 19. This particular document is likely an addendum or update, not a comprehensive count, as it does not fully reckon with earlier reports; for example, here the bishop of Valladolid submits the name of only one Morisco, but had reported six cases in August 1610 (see AGS: Secc. Estado, legs. 224 and 225).

35 Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La Comunidad Morisca de Ávila*, Salamanca, 1991, p. 352.

36 Ibid., pp. 352–353.

conveyed the gravity of this responsibility in the reports he submitted to the king. The bishop wrote, "I have done it, with the fidelity, care, and diligence deserving of your royal command to all of your vassals in matters of such importance, and without trusting in a public inquest overseen by scribes but rather by my own person."[37] Yet there were limits to the bishop's time and attention, and so other officials were involved in the process. He continued, "as I cannot personally conduct this inquiry in all the places of my bishopric where there are Moriscos—at least, not quickly during this intense heat and without causing a great fuss—I have remitted the investigation, with the same instructions which I have kept, to ecclesiastics qualified by the purity of their lineages and by the approval of their virtue, loyalty, and Christian zeal."[38]

4 "Raised with Care"

Any remaining hope in the project of conversion was most commonly directed at Morisco children. Cases reported by the bishops of Ávila, Valladolid, and other jurisdictions demonstrate the potential for Morisco children educated and raised among Old Christians to be sincere Catholics. Four parish priests in Valladolid praised the Christian devotion of a Granadan Morisco shoemaker named Agustín de Segovia; he attended mass regularly with his wife Isabel Rodríguez and their five children, "including the daughter of two-and-a-half-years old who knows the prayers of the church very well."[39] The question of what to do with Morisco children in general was central to debates surrounding the expulsion, which reflect a range of opinions. What was perceived as the overall failure of Morisco conversion led to deliberations over the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism, and some council members and theologians even argued against baptizing Morisco children.[40] Others, meanwhile, continued to believe in the potential of Morisco youth to be sincere Catholics with the proper education and upbringing.

The bishop of Ávila's investigation includes two cases that focus in particular on the Catholicism of young Moriscos. The first concerned Juan de la Vega, the sixteen-year-old son of Morisco parents from the Kingdom of Granada. His father, Andrés de la Vega, had died when the boy was only one year old. His widowed mother, Luisa de Valcazar, married an Old Christian man named

37 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 107.
38 Ibid.
39 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 224, s.f. (9 August 1610).
40 Mercedes García-Arenal, "Theologies of Baptism and Forced Conversion," p. 356.

Juan García who purportedly raised his stepson as a good Christian. Juan de la Vega served for three years as an altar boy in the parish of Santiago. He then began training to be a cloth weaver—a trade described here as "very unusual for the Moriscos of this city"—under the tutelage of an Old Christian man named Benito Luengo.[41] Having observed de la Vega's behaviour for five years, Luengo attested that he approved of his lifestyle and habits; he had always seen de la Vega eat pork and drink wine and comport himself as did the rest of his household. The young man had no contact with other Moriscos. He lived as and among Old Christians and "in the city they held him to be an Old Christian for having always been as such since he was born."[42] There was an existing exemption granted to the Morisca wives of Old Christian men and their children, and this may have aided de la Vega's case, although it was his stepfather, and not his birth father, who was an Old Christian.[43] This emphasis on paternal lineage fits with earlier concepts of blood purity, which were both generational and gendered and highlighted "the role of the father in shaping the religious and cultural inclinations of children"—though, interestingly, María Elena Martínez states that a "dual descent model" was the norm by the mid-sixteenth century.[44]

Similar circumstances, in this regard, applied to the case of Nicolás Gutiérrez, a native of Ávila of around fourteen years of age. His father, a painter named Juan López, was a Morisco from the Kingdom of Granada who had died when Gutiérrez was a newborn baby. His mother, Toribia Gutiérrez, was an Old Christian native of Ávila; it's plausible that she met López after the forced resettlement of Granadan Moriscos in Castile. The widow Gutiérrez and her son entered into service in the household of Don Sancho Zimbrón, "a city councillor [and] highly qualified gentleman whose son Don Gabriel is of the Order of Santiago."[45] Gutiérrez was raised as a Catholic alongside the other servants of the household and was noted for "his Christian conduct, eating and drinking and dressing like the others and attending mass, confession, and the holy sacraments since he has been old enough to do so."[46] Gutiérrez's case also emphasizes his lack of any contact with other Moriscos. Having never known his father, his family consisted of his mother and maternal grandparents, all Old Christians. Nicolás allegedly had no interactions with Moriscos as he lived in

41 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 109r.
42 Ibid.
43 "Cédula ordenando la expulsión de todos los moriscos de los Reinos de Castilla la Vieja y Nueva," p. 364.
44 María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical fictions*, pp. 51–52.
45 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 109r–v.
46 Ibid.

the household Don Sancho Zimbrón, who would not allow him to be "in the company of those who would pervert him."[47] In this case, as in the examples outlined above, successful indoctrination was substantiated by old ties broken with Moriscos and new bonds forged with Old Christians. This was made especially convincing under specific circumstances: a noble household; a convent; the entirety of a childhood in Old Christian company.

Hope for the spiritual salvation of Morisco children was usually contingent on separating them from their families and communities. While the expulsion of innocent, baptized children was difficult to justify, there remained the logistical problems of who should remain and what provisions were necessary for their stay. Morisca women married to Old Christian men and the children of those unions were not included in the orders of expulsion.[48] Otherwise, it was commonly argued that young Morisco children should remain in Spain—but just how young those children had to be remained a difficult question to answer. As Benjamin Ehlers notes, "In the debates leading up to the expulsion, the falling age of the children to be kept behind served as an indicator of the political pressures bearing down upon the officials involved in the process, out of fear that excepting too many children might tempt the Valencian nobility to rebuild their labor force as it had existed before."[49] In Seville, approximately 300 Morisco children, aged seven years and younger, were taken from their exiled parents and were kept in a guarded warehouse to await placement in service to Old Christian families.[50] The widespread separation of Morisco families was not a new policy. Some Moriscos expelled in 1609–14 lived with memories of children taken from their families during and after the Second Granadan War, when both captivity and post-war deportation had torn Morisco families apart. Granadan Morisco adults and children had been enslaved during the war. In 1572 Philip II made it illegal to capture young Morisco children or

47 Ibid.

48 Formal exemptions were also written for Muslims who had moved from North Africa to Spain in order to convert willingly to Catholicism (along with their descendants), for clerics, monks, and nuns of Morisco lineage, and for Morisco slaves, including those captured during the Granadan rebellion. "Cédula ordenando la expulsión de todos los moriscos de los Reinos de Castilla la Vieja y Nueva," p. 364. A similar list appears in a summary of exemptions in the records of the Council of State (AGS Estado 235, s.f., the Duke of Lerma on 30 October 1610).

49 Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 2006, p. 147. See also Mercedes García-Arenal, "Theologies of Baptism and Forced Conversion," p. 356.

50 See Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, Princeton, 2005, p. 157 and "Morisco stories and the complexities of resistance and assimilation," in Kevin Ingram ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, Volume Two: The Morisco Issue*, Leiden, 2012, p. 167.

to keep them as slaves, and some were thereafter liberated by courts of law.[51] Their freedom was restricted, however, as the law required liberated Morisco youth to remain in the custody and service of Old Christian households and prohibited them from being returned to their own families. In that case, too, the retention of Morisco children in the custody of Old Christians aimed at their assimilation into Catholic society.

A letter written by the bishop of Orihuela on March 10, 1610 illustrates how mistrust of the Moriscos and support for their expulsion could coexist with the desire to redeem and convert Morisco children. That desire depended on both the potential of youth and the separation of Morisco families. Andrés Balaguer Salvador, who had been appointed in 1604 to the bishopric of Orihuela, Valencia, supported the expulsion and believed that it was done in "such great service to God."[52] He also believed in the potential of Morisco children to be good Christians under the right conditions and advocated for their spiritual and temporal care to be entrusted to the bishops. He began his letter—which was reviewed by a council of theologians by order of the king—by discussing Moriscos as young as ten to twelve years of age who had the "use of reason even though they have known their parents" and "have seen performed Muslim ceremonies, which are the *zala*, the celebration of their Passover, the fast of Ramadan, and others."[53] The bishop had interrogated a number of young Moriscos who, he reported, confessed to having witnessed these ceremonies and were able to describe how they were performed—"this," he wrote, "is the evident sign that they have them in their memory, and one could suspect that they themselves have also performed them, although none has confessed this to me."[54] Inquisition records illustrate how Moriscos were

51 Philip II's law against the enslavement of Morisco minors applied to boys under the age of ten and a half and girls under the age of nine and a half at the time of their capture. See "Pragmática y declaración sobre los moriscos menores del reino de Granada (Madrid. July 30, 1572)," in Francisco Izquierdo ed., *La Expulsión de los moriscos del reino de Granada:* (*Pragmáticas, provisiones y órdenes reales*), Madrid, 1983, pp. 24–26. I discuss enslaved and liberated Morisco children in "Litigating for Liberty: enslaved Morisco children in sixteenth-century Valladolid," *Renaissance Quarterly* 70.4 (Winter 2017), pp. 1282–1320. For more on the topic of Morisco slavery, see the work of Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en Granada en el siglo XVI: Género, raza y religión*, Granada, 2000 and Francisco Andújar Castillo, "Entre la 'administración' y la esclavitud de los niños moriscos: Vélez Blanco (Almería, 1570–1580)," *Revista velezana* 15 (1996), pp. 21–30.

52 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 208, s.f. For more on Moriscos in the bishopric of Orihuela, see Javier Irigoyen-García, *Moors dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia*, Toronto, 2017, pp. 137–141.

53 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 208, s.f.

54 Ibid.

interrogated about religious practices they witnessed in their family homes. Some reveal the caution exercised by Morisco parents in educating their own children. Testifying in Toledo in the 1570s, an eleven-year-old Morisca slave named Angela de Hernández "declared that she could speak 'some algarravia,' although her parents, as a precaution, had taught her Christian prayers and had taken her to church 'with the other small children, and she does not know anything about the sect of the Muslims because they would not teach her.'"[55]

From this perspective, any hope for the conversion of Morisco youth relied on separating them from their Morisco families and communities and on ensuring their Christian education. The bishop of Orihuela recommended that older Morisco children be both separated from their parents and deported but only to other areas of Spain, writing, "It appears that if at this tender age they are taken from this kingdom of Valencia and divided throughout the kingdoms of Spain, and likewise separated from one another, we could trust that they would be Christians …"[56] If they were to remain in Valencia, "it does not appear that we can trust that they will not turn back from the Christian law, even though we take care to teach them, particularly if they can communicate their thoughts with one another, and if some older ones or captives from abroad remain among them to persuade them in the sect of Muhammad."[57] The bishop had even stronger conviction in his hope for the conversion of very young children "who have no use of reason." "As they are complete innocents and have the grace of Holy Baptism and [were] raised with care," he wrote, "we can have great confidence that anywhere that they are raised among Old Christians, they will be as good Christians as the children of Old Christians because of the little memory that they will have of their parents, at least of having seen them performing Muslim ceremonies."[58] Relocating very young children to other Spanish kingdoms would not be necessary; rather, "it only seems that it would be very expedient that they not be raised together in the same household, nor should they be in houses where any older Moriscos or Moriscas would be, or any slaves from abroad, even if they were baptized, for this could run the risk of

55 Karoline Cook, *Forbidden Passages: Muslims and Moriscos in Colonial Spanish America*. Philadelphia, 2016, pp. 23–24. Cook illustrates similar incidents in the Spanish American territories; in 1594, the Morisca María Ruiz confessed to Inquisitors in Mexico City, "Her mother carried out the said fasts with other women in the neighbourhood … and they were cautious around her, and her mother told her not to talk about the fasts … because if she did they would be burned." (p. 22).

56 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 208, s.f.

57 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 208, s.f.

58 Ibid.

them dealing with the sect of Muhammad."[59] Achieving the full religious conversion of Morisco children required complete assimilation, and conformity with Catholic customs could not be guaranteed in Moriscos homes.

In contrast, the bishop explained how Morisco adults posed a threat to the proper Christian upbringing of Morisco children. He pointed to the "many Moriscos, young and old, men and women, of twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty years of age" living in and around Alicante, "who had been brought as slaves and held as such." They would remain in Spain, enslaved and therefore exempt from expulsion, but had "no desire to be Christians." The bishop declared, "they will always be Muslims (*serán siempre moros*) and there is a great danger that they will teach the sect of Muhammad to the youth who remain among us. It is a great impediment to these children becoming true Christians that there is someone to teach them the sect of Muhammad, to which they are inclined because of the blood of their parents."[60] Following his claim that a child's memory of their parents fundamentally shapes their religious beliefs, here the bishop's words evoke a direct connection between family and identity, between generations of Morisco adults, who would "always be Muslim," and Morisco children. The bishop included a particular warning regarding Morisca women, who "tend[ed] to be more effective in persuading children to the said sect."[61] Considering this dual inheritance of nature and nurture, the danger that Morisco adults presented to children was twofold: both ancestry and instruction threatened to influence Morisco youth toward Islam. The perceived connection between blood and memory is crucial and had a direct impact on the assessment of conversion. As Mercedes García-Arenal writes, "The claim that belief was inherited ultimately resulted in an identification between cultural or religious characteristics and physical inheritance."[62]

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59 Ibid.

60 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 208, s.f.

61 Ibid. For more on Morisca and *conversa* women as teachers of pre-conversion religious practices, see María Jesús Fuente, "Christian, Muslim and Jewish Women in Late Medieval Iberia." *Medieval Encounters* 15. 2–4 (2009), pp. 319–333; Renée Levine Melammed, "Judeo-Conversas and Moriscas in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Study of Parallels." *Jewish History* 24.2 (2010), pp. 155–168; Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Moriscas and the Limits of Assimilation," in Edward D. English and Mark D. Meyerson eds., *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, Notre Dame, 1999, pp. 274–289; Bernard Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," in George Duby and Michelle Parot eds., *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente, v.3: Del Renacimiento a la Edad Moderna*, 2000 (1992), pp. 614–625.

62 Mercedes García-Arenal, "*Mi padre moro, yo moro*: The Inheritance of Belief in Early Modern Iberia," in Mercedes García-Arenal ed., *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, Leiden, 2016, p. 306.

5 Identifying Moriscos

Such ideas about belief and belonging tied into broader questions about status and identification, especially at a time when to be counted among Moriscos almost certainly meant exile. In a number of cases from the investigations conducted in 1610, prelates referred not only to good Christian Moriscos but also to Old Christian Moriscos, that is, Moriscos who claimed the title and privileges of Old Christians. The bishop of Cuenca, for instance, submitted evidence on behalf of 120 Moriscos. "Some of those people," he explained, "claim to be descendants of Old Christians, others have become relations with them, and some currently have daughters who are nuns, while others belong to brotherhoods and for being mixed with Old Christians it is fair that they be protected."[63] The bishop of Salamanca reported that among the Moriscos in his jurisdiction, "some claim to be descendants of Old Christians and of Berbers" and while others had integrated into Catholic society "having married and become relations with Old Christians."[64] By the early seventeenth century, an unknowable number of Moriscos had "become relations with" Old Christians in ways that mattered personally and locally, yet these social and family ties could not protect them from being expelled.

These cases relate to a larger trend. Across the Spanish kingdoms, Moriscos appealed for exemption from the expulsion on account of the legal statuses they had inherited. Their petitions are evidence that in addition to the regional, social, and cultural diversity of the Moriscos, there was also a significant range of Morisco legal statuses and claims. Some were premised on long-term local belonging. In Valladolid, the old Moriscos (*antiguos mudéjares*) of the Barrio de Santa María claimed exemption from the expulsion on account of their indigeneity and local ancestry. To corroborate their claim, they presented a writ stating that their ancestry in Valladolid could be traced back more than eight hundred years.[65] Moriscos in the region of Murcia claimed, "that they should not be expelled but rather treated as Old Christians as they have always enjoyed this pre-eminence."[66] The Moriscos of Villarrubia de los Ojos, a town in the Campo de Calatrava, submitted a petition requesting collective exemption from the expulsion as they had for generations lived, worked, held offices,

63 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 2640, exp. 295.

64 Ibid. For more on family ties and intermarriage, see Max Deardorff, "The Ties that Bind: Intermarriage between Moriscos and Old Christians in Early Modern Spain, 1526–1614," *Journal of Family History* 42.3 (2017), pp. 250–270.

65 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 235, s.f. (19 April 1611).

66 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 235, s.f. (1611).

and been legally recognized as Old Christians.[67] A considerable number of Granadan Moriscos, too, asserted and litigated to protect their Old Christian statuses, presenting evidence of the honorable lineages and legal identities they had inherited from forefathers who converted before the 1492 conquest of Granada, or the 1502 decree requiring Muslims in the Crown of Castile to choose between conversion and exile.[68] These were not claims of blood purity or even promises of Catholic devotion; rather, claimants focused on the ancestral line connecting them and their families directly to their Morisco forefathers who had been granted Old Christian status. Their legal action created an archived paper trail demonstrating family legacies of political loyalty and hereditary entitlements to the privileges customarily only held by Old Christians.[69] In the early seventeenth century these status claims functioned as petitions for exemption from the expulsion.

Amid this surge of status claims and the eleventh-hour reports of Morisco Catholicism resulting from the 1610 investigation, fervent supporters of the expulsion continued to declare that the Moriscos were all the same and that their conversion was impossible. Many were unwilling to equate religious conformity with spiritual sincerity and argued against allowing any Moriscos to remain in the Spanish kingdoms. A 1610 Council of State report recorded the opinion of the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, who protested that permitting "some Moriscos to remain as Old Christians, old Moriscos and good Christians" would undermine the purpose of the expulsion.[70] The archbishop argued that "even evidence of being a good Christian" could be feigned and was therefore dubious proof of a person's true religious identity. Performing the Catholic duties of confession and observing the sacraments could be just that—a performance, concealing rather than revealing spiritual sincerity. The ongoing threat of religious dissimulation, known as *taqiyya*, took

67 Trevor J. Dadson analyzes this "declaration of assimilation" in "The Assimilation of Spain's Moriscos: Fiction or Reality?" *Journal of Levantine Studies* 1.2 (2011), pp. 11–30. See also Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava*, Woodbridge, 2014.

68 "Provisión de los Reyes Católicos ordenando la expulsión de los musulmanes del reino (1502, febrero, 12.)," in Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado ed., *De la convivencia a la exclusión. Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII–XVII*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 233–240.

69 See Santiago Otero Mondéjar, "'Que siendo yo cristiano viejo la justicia procedió contra mí …' La instrumentalización de la imagen del morisco," *Historia y Genealogía* 1 (2001), pp. 113–131. For comparative and contemporary cases of claiming Old Christian status, see Chloe Ireton, "'They are Blacks of the Caste of Black Christians': Old Christian Black Blood in the Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Iberian Atlantic," *Hispanic America Historical Review* 97.4 (2017), pp. 579–612.

70 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 2640, exp. 304 (23 October 1610).

on new urgency as supporters of the expulsion believed that Moriscos would feign any belief to avoid deportation.[71] Reflecting on the ongoing inquiries into cases of Morisco Catholicism, the archbishop insisted that social and cultural conformity were necessary proofs of sincere conversion and wanted evidence "that they use wine and pork and not speak Arabic and that they withdraw from those of their nation."[72]

Still, the archbishop of Toledo argued that the "holy intention" of the expulsion would only truly be achieved with the total expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.[73] He was not the only advocate of the expulsion who expressed this argument. A Council of State report from 1611 conveys suspicions regarding the religious deception of the Moriscos and arguments about the importance of social and cultural conformity. It states that participation in church was not evidence of sincere Catholicism, claiming, "It is also known with certainty that many Moriscos who observe the most holy sacrament during their lives do not ask for it nor do they wish to receive it at the time of their death … [while] actually receiving the Eucharist they inviolably maintain the rite of not eating pork and not marrying any Christian women unless it is for love."[74] The council insisted that marriage to Old Christians and requesting Catholic rites at death were the "true sign[s]" of sincerity, yet remained convinced of the Moriscos' dissimulation, reporting, "as infidels receive the Eucharist and swear in the name of Christ our Lord in derision, keeping the rite of [avoiding] pork and the rest of the Quran, and it is not known how they die and marry and live among themselves."[75]

The connection between religious sincerity and matters of food, family, and lifestyle also appeared in later justifications of the expulsion, such as Pedro Aznar Cardona's 1612 tract on "The Justified Expulsion of the Spanish Moriscos"—propaganda that in many parts reflects more extreme opinions than that of other ecclesiastics at the time.[76] In the work, Aznar Cardona recorded a conversation he purported to have had with a Morisco *alfaquí* (an

71 Mercedes García-Arenal, "*Mi padre moro, yo moro*," p. 320 and "Taqiyya: disimulo legal," *Al-Qantara* 34.2 (2013), pp. 345–355. For more on identity and dissimulation in the early modern era, see the Miriam Eliav-Feldon, *Renaissance impostors and proofs of identity*, Basingstoke, 2012 and Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig, eds, *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, Basingstoke, 2015.

72 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 2640, exp. 304 (23 October 1610).

73 Ibid.

74 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 235, s.f., "Las razones que ay para que los Moriscos sean totalmente expelidos" (c. 1611).

75 Ibid.

76 L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 413.

expert in Islamic knowledge) named Juan de Juana of the Aragonese village of Épila:

> He, not in the least abashed, was claiming that they were being expelled without cause, and said to me "They should not throw us out from Spain. You will see us eating bacon and drinking wine yet!" I replied to him: "What is getting you thrown out is not the fact that you don't drink wine and don't eat bacon. It is that you don't do so because of the religious principles of your accursed sect. That's heresy, and that is what condemns you."[77]

Questions about sincerity and visibility loomed large in all aspects of the problem of Morisco conversion. Did everyday actions reveal or conceal true beliefs? Was conversion possible, or even desirable? Was the promise of conversion expected from Morisco youth an uneasy one, being cyclical (hadn't earlier generations elicited and then shattered similar expectations?) and complicated by ideas about the inheritance of belief?

The inquiries and deliberations of church and state authorities reveal that by the time of the expulsion even religious conformity and social connections (evidenced by reputation and witness testimony) were not enough to redeem the Moriscos. In fact, many forms of integration and assimilation had muddied the waters of who counted as a Morisco, rendering the threat of heresy increasingly invisible and difficult to police. Some had acquired the legal status of Old Christians; others quietly passed as Old Christians in their daily lives.[78] In one example, friends and neighbours who had known Martín Alonso for decades had been unaware of his Morisco heritage until they were called upon to testify in his case during the bishop of Valladolid's 1610 investigation.[79] His case raises the questions about how much the prelates knew before the expulsion about those Moriscos who had passed as Old Christians. What had their reputations and connections concealed? For some, both the similarities and differences between Moriscos and Old Christians threatened plans for a Spanish nation that was purely, homogeneously Catholic. Christina Lee identifies this phenomenon as the "anxiety of sameness" which she describes as "a cultural phenomenon that stems from the insecurity and distress generated

77 Translated by L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 415.

78 See William Childers, "Disappearing Moriscos," in Michael Jan Rozbicki and George O. Ndege eds., *Cross-Cultural History and the Domestication of Otherness*, New York, 2011, pp. 51–64.

79 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 49 (25 August 1610).

when boundaries that differentiated and separated the dominant and the marginal of society could be breached, diminished, or even forgotten, sometimes to the point of changing the very identity and meaning of belonging to the dominant group."[80] This anxiety promoted policies of exclusion and drove the push toward expulsion. As Barbara Fuchs observes, "the similarity of the Moriscos forced the Spanish state, via the Inquisition, to keep raising the bar of national identity, from conversion to Christianity, to adoption of 'Christian' cultural practices, to genealogical purity."[81] In expelling the Moriscos from Spain, the monarchy pointed to the Moriscos' failure to convert; conversion, however, was problematic for supporters of the expulsion as it blurred the lines between who belonged and who could not, or should not, belong.

6 "They Have One Sin in Common"

An enormous range of records—from royal policies to Moriscos petitions, and even the 1610 prelates' investigations—reflects the contemporary recognition of differences between Moriscos of various legal and social statuses, religious beliefs, and regional backgrounds. Justifying their complete expulsion relied on the premise that the Moriscos were all the same: faithful to Islam and enemies of Catholicism, the king, and the nation of Spain. In order to finally complete the expulsion of the Moriscos, therefore, the king and his Council of State eventually refused many requests for exemptions based on special categories of lineage and regional identity—categories upon which status negotiations had been predicated for a century. There is some evidence of exemptions granted to Moriscos verified as good Christians by prelates in 1610. For example, a secretary's note added to the cover page of a report from the bishop of Ávila records a decision made in this case: "respond to him that they be protected (*que los ampare*) as he has done this diligence …"[82] Most Moriscos were expelled, however, and their expulsion was justified by portraying all Moriscos as one homogenous nation distinct from Old Christian Spain.

In ordering the expulsion, Philip III proclaimed that the Moriscos "have been and are all of the same opinion and volition against the service of God and of me and the good of these kingdoms, without having taken advantage of the many diligences that over many years have been made for their conversion,

80 Christina Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain*, Manchester, 2016, p. 4.

81 Barbara Fuchs, "Virtual Spaniards: The Moriscos and the fictions of Spanish identity," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 2.1 (2001), p. 13.

82 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 225, exp. 107 (23 September 1610).

nor in the example of Old Christians, the natives of these said kingdoms who live in them with such Christianity and loyalty."[83] Notes from the Council of State refer to "the entire body of the perfidious multitude of Moriscos (*el cuerpo desta perfida Morisma*) tacitly aware of or expressly involved in the conspiracy against God and the king …" and deny distinctions between Moriscos from different regions: "the *antiguos* are no better than the Granadans … this is common to all Moriscos, *antiguos* and Granadans, and as they are all Muslim, some as much as others, they should be expelled."[84] This framing of the Moriscos as a singular *nación* was used to deny any reasons for granting exemptions from the expulsion: "if this nation is not completely expelled from Spain … all those who have left here would return, for the expulsion not being complete would appear to be tacit permission for Moriscos to remain, as they are all the same, those who left and those who remain, and they have one sin in common …"[85] In ordering and enforcing the expulsion, the Spanish monarchy declared that the Morisco conversion had failed and was impossible. Their exile completed the shift away from policies of assimilation that had defined the Crown's treatment of the Morisco problem for over a century.

83 "Cédula ordenando la expulsión de todos los moriscos de los Reinos de Castilla la Vieja y Nueva," pp. 363–364.

84 AGS: Secc. Estado, leg. 235, s.f., "Las razones que ay para que los Moriscos sean totalmente expelidos" (c. 1611).

85 Ibid.

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