

## Review Article

### Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age\*

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In 1502, having expelled the Jews from Spain in 1492—the same year in which the conquest of the Islamic kingdom of Granada had been completed—Ferdinand and Isabel issued a decree ordering all Muslims living in the kingdom of Castile to convert to Christianity. This new edict reproduced

\* The following books are under review: Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Publicaciones de las Universidades de Valencia, Zaragoza, and Granada, 2006), pp. 199, €20.00; Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (siglos XV–XVIII): Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2007), pp. 1328, €68.00; Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1998), pp. 327, €30.00; Luce López-Baralt, *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España* (Madrid: Trotta, 2009), pp. 699, €40.00; Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del 400* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2007), pp. 430, €32.00; Youssef 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: Honoré Champion, 2006), pp. 577, €99.00; Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. xiii+335, \$40.00 (cloth), \$25.00 (paper); María Teresa Narváez Córdoba, ed., *Tratado (Tafsira) del Mancebo de Arévalo* (Madrid: Trotta, 2003), pp. 458, €25.00; Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes and Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva, eds., *Tratado de los dos caminos por un morisco refugiado en Túnez (Ms. S2 de la Colección Gayangos, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia)*, with an introductory study by Luce López-Baralt (Madrid: Instituto Universitario Seminario Menéndez Pidal, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2005), pp. 598, €30.00; Natalia Muchnik, *Une vie marrane: Les pérégrinations de Juan de Prado dans l'Europe du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), pp. 597, €88.00; Yirmiyahu Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos; Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 488, \$35.00; Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp. xvi+278, \$35.00; Stefania Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada: L'Inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici, 1460–1598* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003), pp. xv+491, €49.00, and *Un'eresia spagnola: Spiritualità conversa, alumbradismo e Inquisizione, 1449–1559* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2004), pp. xv+312, €35.00. I want to thank James Amelang for helpful discussions and for his help rendering this text into idiomatic English.

almost to the letter the law that had offered Spanish Jews a choice between expulsion and conversion, but it differed in that the conditions it set for leaving the kingdom made exile virtually impossible. In 1526 this law was extended to cover Muslims living in the territories of Aragon and Valencia, thereby putting an end to the legal existence of Muslims in the Christian kingdoms of Iberia, where, known as Mudejars, they had lived throughout the entire medieval period.

Thus began the century-long Morisco Age, which lasted until the expulsion of the descendants of the converted Muslims in 1610–14. “Morisco” was the term used to denote the new converts. Many became crypto-Muslims: while they practiced Islam in a variety of ways and differed in their degrees of ritual observance and dogmatism, they nevertheless considered themselves Muslims and were persecuted as heretics and apostates by the Inquisition. Many, but not all, for this period also witnessed rising levels of assimilation and integration into Christian society. Moreover, the circumstances of the various groups of new converts differed from the start and continued to diverge as the sixteenth century wore on. For example, the former Mudejars of Castile had long been assimilated into Castilian society. Small in number and little noticed, they did not speak Arabic, nor did they practice circumcision. The Muslims of the newly conquered kingdoms of Valencia and especially Granada were another matter. By the early sixteenth century, they were numerous and well organized in close-knit communities. They had their own religious authorities, and they still spoke Arabic.

Midway through the century, a series of decrees prohibited recourse to both spoken and written Arabic, using Arab names, wearing traditional clothing, frequenting baths, engaging in folk practices such as adorning women’s hands with henna designs, and playing “Moorish” music during festivities. These laws not only provoked a strong reaction from the Moriscos themselves, most notably a large and violent revolt in the Alpujarras region outside Granada in the late 1560s; they also occasioned a debate among different civil and ecclesiastical authorities as to which areas of human life were the domain of religion and whether specific gastronomic, hygienic, linguistic, and festive practices should be regarded as signs of spiritual affiliation. The Morisco notable Fernando Núñez Muley argued in a petition to the royal appeals court of Granada in 1567 that certain aspects of a particular culture could be separated from religious faith and observance, language in particular. He failed, however, to convince the judges to abandon the new official policy that these cultural practices had to be eradicated in order to allow the Christian religion to flourish undisturbed.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent attempts to defend Arabic, by “Christianizing” it or at least “de-Islamizing” it, gave rise to such curious

<sup>1</sup> A fascinating text recently translated into English by Vincent Barletta is *A Mem-*

phenomena as the *Libros plúmbeos* (Lead books) of Sacromonte, a fraudulent collection of lead tablets allegedly written in ancient Arabic script (Solomonic Arabic) and discovered in Granada in the late sixteenth century. These tablets purported to bear a gospel dictated in Arabic by the Virgin Mary to Arab disciples, the first Christians to have come to Iberia with Saint James. This is the most notorious instance of an attempt on the part of the Moriscos to legitimize some aspects of their cultural identity as independent of religious faith and practice, in a desperate effort to safeguard part of that identity despite having had to abandon their religion.<sup>2</sup> In the cultural sphere, the Moriscos created such phenomena as *aljamiado* literature, texts in vernacular Spanish but written in Arabic script and employing a syntax and vocabulary profoundly influenced by Arabic. (Three of the books reviewed below belong to this secret Islamic literature written in Spanish.) These works are just one of the features that make what Bernard Vincent has called “late Spanish Islam” an exceptional test bed for analyzing the ways in which identities are constructed and preserved.<sup>3</sup> This context also invites study of the complexity and cultural hybridization of different groups and the mechanisms used to regularize their normative behavior or to mark out and marginalize a particular social group, whether religious, cultural, or political—all are features that have attracted the attention of historians, literary and linguistic scholars, and anthropologists. My current research into the Sacromonte books and my previous experience in the field of Inquisition trials underlie many of the reflections presented in this review article, whose main purpose is to discuss issues surrounding the cultural and religious history of the Moriscos and of the society in which they lived.

My aim here is not to give a general overview of this history but to discuss various recently published books that I believe to be of particular importance. I have chosen them on the basis of the issues they bring up, specifically those of group identities, the multiple cultural and religious elements that shaped Morisco identity, and the ways in which such traits intertwine within both individuals and groups, giving rise to conflict or integration.<sup>4</sup> In considering

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*orandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, by Francisco Núñez Muley (Chicago, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal, eds., *Los Plomos del Sacromonte: Invención y tesoro* (Valencia, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Vincent, “Las múltiples facetas del Islam tardío español,” in *Averroes dialogado y otros monumentos literarios y sociales de la interacción cristiano—musulmana en España y Italia*, ed. André Stoll (Kassel, 1998), 213–27.

<sup>4</sup> This is a question we have looked at in particular depth in Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerald Wiegers, *Un hombre en tres mundos: Samuel Pallache, un judío marroquí en la Europa protestante y en la católica* (Madrid, 2007); English translation as *A Man*

these matters, I shall also refer to recent works that focus on conversos, or converted Jews, often referred to as Marranos. These works, too, lead us to rethink our approaches to the study of individual and collective identities, as well as obliging us to reconsider the workings of cultural and religious influences and to question the traditional association of minorities with marginality.

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The expulsion of the Moriscos, decreed in late 1609, generated widespread debate at the time, not only as to its advisability but also as to its legitimacy. (After all, men and women who had received the sacrament of baptism were being expelled to Islamic North Africa.) This debate was taken up anew in nineteenth-century historiography, and opinions remained as fiercely divided as they had been earlier. Morisco bibliography has thus had a lengthy and polemical history. Its long-term ability to cause rivers of ink to flow is the “Morisco river” from which Bernard Vincent’s latest book takes its title. The Morisco question provokes strong emotions and constitutes a “living problem” for which the purely historiographical approach is not always appropriate. Above all, writing this history cannot avoid being influenced in some way by the current and controversial presence of Muslims in Europe today. It is striking how present-day reactions to this presence and the ways they are formulated in the press—asking whether Muslims can be Europeans, whether they are always Muslims first and foremost, whether they can be assimilated, whether they are going to alter fundamentally the host societies to which they migrate, whether their religious beliefs are compatible with Western cultural and political values, whether they profess a “civilizational hatred” of Europeans, and so on—bear a striking resemblance to the discussions and emotions that were engendered in sixteenth-century Spain and that reached a peak around the expulsion of the early 1600s. For then, as now, the debate hinged on the possibility and desirability of assimilation, and more particularly on the same fundamental question: Can they become us? Although in recent times, references to assimilation may have become less acceptable, nominally out of respect for the freedom of different communities, or through surface deference to a sort of “multiculturalism,” the fundamental issue remains unchanged. What is under discussion is the complex, sensitive, and ever-evolving issue of defining and constructing our own identity. Historical and social scientific studies focusing on those who preserved their separate identities rarely pay attention to the other side of the coin, that is, those who chose anonymity

through a total or partial absence of differentiation that enabled hundreds of thousands of Moriscos, Jewish converts, and European Muslims to become virtually invisible within the wider society. Furthermore, this sort of analysis has continued to insist on defining and enumerating the characteristics that go into creating a specific group identity. In my opinion, isolating a community by itemizing its “differences” can lead to its confinement and, in the last resort, its expulsion, be this a physical, historical experience of exile or a historiographical one that banishes the group from inclusion in the idea of the host nation.

Of greater interest are those studies that consider the fringe areas of a group and the people who inhabit them. These often numerous individuals and families are frequently indifferent to the wider group and do not feel committed to or included within it. The detailed study of their lives, embodying what the Italian historian Edoardo Grendi called the “normal exception,” provides us with a very different picture.<sup>5</sup> Too much history, and above all too much history of “minorities,” has been written without taking into account the complex, problematic, and ultimately individual nature of human understanding and experience, much less the huge number of persons whose actions amount to strategies for survival or a desire to progress and make better lives for themselves and their families. Closer attention to such concerns would do much to endow Morisco history with a complexity it currently lacks. There is widespread evidence of active agency, mobility, self-help, and independence of spirit in both of these minority and majority societies. Thinking of the historical context’s influence on a person’s decision-making processes as a balancing act or a struggle between that person’s capacity to act and his or her limitations, while bearing in mind the effort people make just to get on with their own lives albeit not in the circumstances they would have chosen, is, I think, a fascinating exercise. Some of the books discussed in this article partake of this approach, which entails not presupposing the existence of a society or a stable, coherent social order to which all feel equally bound. I myself am particularly interested in those people who demonstrate a lack of commitment to the group to which they “ought” to belong—that is, those who feel a general disaffection for both the Muslim and the Christian communities.

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The new converts who were able to become “invisible” are, of course, the most difficult to study. Trevor Dadson deals with just such a group of Moriscos living in Castile, in the Manchegan village of Villarrubia de los Ojos, who had become surprisingly well assimilated into the wider commu-

<sup>5</sup> Edoardo Grendi, “Microanalisi e storia sociale,” *Quaderni Storici* 13 (1972): 506–20, 512.

nity and the dominant Catholic, Castilian culture. Almost by chance, Dadson came across a treasure trove of documents connected to the local lords, the counts of Salinas, in the dukes of Híjar's family archive, now preserved in the Saragossa Provincial Historical Archive. Most of these documents comprise the papers of Don Diego de Silva y Mendoza (1564–1630), son of the Princess of Eboli and count consort of Salinas, and they cover the entire expulsion period. The Villarrubia Moriscos were descended from Mudejars and were baptized voluntarily as Catholics shortly before the 1502 edict that ordered conversion. All their neighbors in the surrounding villages of the Campo de Calatrava took the same step. They undoubtedly saw conversion as their chance to acquire the same rights and privileges as their Old Christian neighbors, as was indeed the case. In fact, they were granted a royal privilege by the Catholic Monarchs, and during the next century and a half they would brandish this document every time their rights were called into question. Their determination in this regard says much about their capacity for action and self-defense, as well as showing that they had representatives, perhaps even some sort of oligarchy, prepared to assert the community's rights.

Dadson traces the trajectory of the Villarrubia Moriscos throughout the 1500s as they moved slowly but surely toward assimilation, to the point that intervention on the part of the Inquisition was almost nonexistent (which was not true of other nearby villages, such as Daimiel). That they constituted a growing and economically significant minority was something that clearly did not go unnoticed by the counts of Salinas. The Moriscos' economic influence was felt in various different areas, and Dadson has been able to reconstruct this in remarkable detail. He has also been able to chart their social and cultural development. Thus, while the 1550 census paints a portrait of a community principally made up of fruit and vegetable farmers, manual workers, and farm laborers, fifty years later the community was far more varied, boasting legal clerks, university graduates, priests, a teacher, a physician, tax collectors, and a number of soldiers. Even more surprising is the active role the Morisco community played in civic life. Its members held the offices of town councillor, municipal magistrate, procurator, bailiff, and prison warden, among others. This, in principle, was exceptional, at least in terms of what is currently known about conditions elsewhere.

In Villarrubia, therefore, the Moriscos formed what we might call a rural middle class. They were led by an influential group that helped the community as a whole survive the expulsion decrees. In other words, this was a community in which new nonreligious elites had been created. They did not center around the figure of the *alfaqui*, or spiritual leader, as was the norm elsewhere. This, to me, is one of the most important points made by Dadson's book. But there is more: the Old Christians of Villarrubia accepted these New Christians as their neighbors. In fact, many of them supported the Moriscos in their

struggle to avoid the edict of expulsion, which until 1611, by virtue of the above-mentioned privileges, they believed did not apply to them. In the summer of 1611 they were expelled, initially to Madrid, where 200 of them occupied the Buenavista palace that belonged to the Salinas family (with the count's tacit connivance), in protest against the measure and in an attempt to convince the authorities to exempt them from expulsion. This measure failed, and they were marched to Burgos and Vitoria, from whence they were expelled to France. By September of the same year, however, they had all returned: men, women, and children. There followed two further attempts to banish them, in 1612 and 1613, both of which were ignored by the Count of Salinas, the local authorities, and the townsfolk at large, both Old and New Christians. This book also tells us a great deal about the majority society of early modern Spain, which was evidently far more pluralistic and diverse than we have tended to think. All this leads one to wonder whether Villarrubia constitutes an exceptional or even unique case. To my mind, the answer is no.<sup>6</sup> What is truly exceptional is the survival of such a full and extensive set of documentary sources about the village.

Similar, in certain respects, is the magnificent archive of notarial documents from Granada on which Amalia García Pedraza based a fine study that followed the same line as Dadson's book in dealing with "the Moriscos who wanted to save themselves" (through Catholicism).<sup>7</sup> The hundreds of wills that Granada's Moriscos left reveal the numbers who left instructions for masses to be said for their souls, belonged to devotional confraternities, bequeathed money to pay for repairs to their parish churches, and so on. In so doing they differed little from the Moriscos in Dadson's studies. Here too one sees the emergence of new local elites, drawn from the merchant class and moneyed families. Their members were appointed to key posts in the city, and some of them even managed to become royal officials.

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Returning to Bernard Vincent's *El río morisco* (The Morisco river) allows us to draw together a number of different threads. Vincent is a renowned and highly respected specialist in Morisco history. Among the many publications that have earned him a central position among historians of early modern Spain is a work he wrote with Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y cultura de una minoría* (History of the Moriscos: Life and

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Tueller, *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholics in Early Modern Spain* (New Orleans, 2002), also deals with assimilated Moriscos.

<sup>7</sup> Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI: Los moriscos que quisieron salvarse* (Granada, 2002). For more on Morisco attitudes to death, see Miguel Ángel Vázquez, *Desde la penumbra de la fosa: La concepción de la muerte en la literatura aljamiado morisca* (Madrid, 2007).

culture of a minority). Originally published in 1978 and reissued in 1999 and 2003, this classic survey has yet to be surpassed. It not only remains the standard reference work today; it is also the only synthesis of the Morisco question available to date. His new book is an anthology of articles, lectures, and contributions to *Festschriften*, some of them very brief and all translated into Spanish; collecting them here was a commendable initiative since they acquire added value by being read as a whole. Using rigorous archival research, they deal with the Moriscos of Granada or Valencia, each examining a specific problem or broaching an original subject. I find the piece devoted to the Granadan Morisco noble mentioned earlier, "A Few More Voices: From Francisco Núñez Muley to Fátima Ratal," especially significant, as it brings to the fore the "multiple voices" of the Moriscos.

While the book lacks a conclusion (or introduction) that would place these works in a broader framework or outline a more personal methodological approach, these can in a way be deduced from the title article. This piece, thematically different from and broader in scope than the others, provides an overview of the varying paths Morisco historiography has taken in the last couple of decades. Vincent points to two increasingly distinct groups of "moriscologists," both of which work with archival sources. The first consists of those historians, including himself, who are looking at materials that either have only recently come to light or have not previously been drawn on. Its members stress the changing composition of Morisco groups at different points in time and in the different regions of Spain, as well as the many and diverse ways in which they related and adapted to the majority society. Further emphases include the lack of homogeneity within the Morisco minority, the variability of the situations and options open to them, the new problems and challenges they faced as time went by and the ways in which they dealt with them, and the fact that they displayed a wide range of religious behavior.

The second group comprises historians of literature and philologists who study both mainstream Golden Age Spanish literature and *aljamiado* texts. In Vincent's view they regard the Moriscos as a relatively homogeneous and, of course, Muslim whole. I say "of course" because *aljamiado* literature is by definition Islamic, in that it was written by Muslims for Muslims. Thus, the scholars who study it tend to immerse themselves in its purely Islamic aspects or focus on the visibly Islamic sectors of Morisco groups. Vincent discusses the contrasting approaches of two eminent representatives of this second group: Francisco Márquez Villanueva and Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes.

He is highly critical of Márquez's 1998 book *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)* (The Morisco problem seen from other sides). Márquez is a professor of romance languages and literature at Harvard, where he has spent his entire professional career. He has made outstanding contributions to the



study of Cervantes, the Renaissance classic *La Celestina*, and, more recently, the myth of Saint James.<sup>8</sup> His book on the Moriscos, based entirely on literary sources, is a beautifully written, thought-provoking text that displays great intellectual acuity. He believes that those of us who use Inquisition records as our primary materials are victims of a “poisoning of the sources” since these records give a biased view not only of the Moriscos but also of the wider society in which they lived. Márquez’s work on the Moriscos complements his writings about the conversos, which have recently been issued in a single volume.<sup>9</sup> His lifelong purpose, beginning in 1960 with his first and perhaps most illuminating book, *Investigaciones sobre Juan Álvarez Gato* (Research on Juan Álvarez Gato), has been to show that there was in fact a plurality of voices in an early modern Spain that has long been depicted as homogeneous and univocal. And I believe he is right. If Márquez (and others like him) have been misunderstood or ignored, it is because Spanish historiography on this period has been sharply divided between a traditional, Catholic, nationalist strand and a liberal, secular strand that in turn was linked to and nourished by the Protestant historiography of Spain that developed in northern Europe beginning in the seventeenth century. Although diametrically opposed to one another, both in fact present the same image of an undivided Spain, where absolute royal power and the church are inextricably linked, where there is no intellectual or ideological pluralism of any kind, and all of whose citizens stand firmly united behind its singular version of the Catholic Reformation credo under the watchful eye of the Inquisition.

Yet while the Inquisition constituted a powerful weapon for silencing dissent, this does not mean that dissent did not exist. For Márquez, the plurality of voices he has revealed over the years is linked above all to the Jewish converts, whose history begins with the mass conversion of Spanish Jews in the late 1390s, a century before the expulsion of 1492. In his view, the problem of the majority, old Christian society’s relationship with these converts and their descendants determined the path taken by Spain’s religious and spiritual history, as well as its relationship with the European Reformation. Márquez’s Spain is not that of Marcel Bataillon. The great French scholar, known above all for his pathbreaking *Erasmus and Spain*, originally published in the midst of the Spanish Civil War, saw early modern Iberia as both the pulsating center of Europe and a distant, almost exotic world full of Semites whom Erasmus himself detested.<sup>10</sup> Yet Márquez joins Bataillon in focusing on the turn toward a radically interior Christianity that met with extraordinary

<sup>8</sup> Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago: La trayectoria de un mito* (Barcelona, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *De la España judeoconversa: Doce estudios* (Barcelona, 2007), 168.

<sup>10</sup> Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l’Espagne* (Paris, 1937).

success in sixteenth-century Castile when many converts gravitated toward Erasmian and even Lutheran doctrines. I shall return to this point below.

In his more recent work, Márquez challenges what he calls the “myth” of the unassimilable Moriscos, which portrays them as a dangerous fifth column secretly aiding nearby Muslim political powers—one chapter of Vincent’s book is devoted to the “morisco danger”—and provoking animosity among the Old Christians whom they mistrusted. He believes such myths have taken root because historians have had recourse to a single source: the documents of an institution, the Inquisition, whose very purpose was to persecute and demonize the Moriscos. Márquez therefore draws on other sources and suggests an “oblique” or between-the-lines reading of texts that reveals hidden layers of dissent, including proposals for more lenient treatment of the Morisco minority and even open expressions of understanding or empathy, some of which go so far as to oppose Spain’s infamous “blood purity” statutes. He believes that the problem is one of hermeneutics and that we must read early modern texts again with a fresh eye. These new readings lead him to conclude that the expulsion could have been avoided because Spain had both the people and the will to create a “country that could have been but was not”—a country to which, I would add, he would like to have belonged.<sup>11</sup> And in my opinion (not necessarily Vincent’s), herein lie both the problem and the promise of Márquez’s engrossing *El problema morisco*: the author’s speaking in his own voice and from his own personal experience as an émigré, which gives him a particular empathy not only with the Moriscos as victims of the religious and political authorities but also with the silent, discreetly dissident, or “pro-Morisco” voices. Márquez troubles many historians because they see him as following the same path as Américo Castro, the controversial literary historian whom Spanish historians of my generation associate with the hoary “problem of Spain” as well as the style of belligerent, self-flagellating writing from which nowadays we prefer to distance ourselves. Márquez is also disquieting because he (like Castro) does not fit neatly into either of the two historiographical currents mentioned above. Recently, however, younger historians, the product of quite different historiographical traditions, have masterfully uncovered the same plurality of voices that Márquez drew attention to, including the dissenting voices of those who refused to toe the official political or ideological line. I shall return to their contributions at the end of this article.

*El problema morisco* contains some fascinating chapters, including one devoted to the physician and Arabic interpreter Miguel de Luna, a Morisco from Granada who liked to class himself as an “Arab Christian” and who was linked to the Sacromonte books affair.<sup>12</sup> Also of particular interest is the essay

<sup>11</sup> Márquez, *El problema morisco*, 195.

<sup>12</sup> A more recent in-depth study of this curious individual can be found in Mercedes

on Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, a prominent if later somewhat chagrined supporter of the expulsion. In my opinion, this is an important volume that merits reading despite the criticisms leveled by Vincent.

Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Vincent's second representative of this group of moriscologists and one of the most distinguished scholars and editors of *aljamiado* texts, takes quite a different view in his 1993 book *Los moriscos (desde su misma orilla)* (The Moriscos from their own side). For Galmés, the Moriscos were, from first to last, irreducible Muslims who were incapable of ever being assimilated and who fully identified with the Muslim societies to which they felt they belonged. Another expert in *aljamiado* literature, L. P. Harvey, shares this view. So much is clear not only from the title of his recent book *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* but also from the way he justifies this wording while rejecting the "insidious ideological bias inherent" in the use of the word "Morisco." "Moriscos was what they *were* forced to *become*, unwillingly; Muslims is what they were underneath."<sup>13</sup>

Curiously enough, both Galmés and Harvey (Vincent does not mention the latter as Harvey's book came out after the first publication of "El río morisco," as an article) agree almost entirely with the arguments of those who backed the expulsion as well as with the nineteenth-century historians who claimed it had been justified and necessary in order to defend the Catholic faith and protect national unity. All the same, they do so from an entirely different standpoint, that of a deep, almost sentimental sympathy for the Moriscos and their refusal to convert and become part of the majority society. Romantic ideas of authenticity, of being true to oneself, can easily blur our view of the new groups of converts.

In an excellent recent book, *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España* (The secret literature of Spain's last Muslims), Luce López-Baralt, a distinguished *aljamiadista*, offers significantly more nuanced and complex readings than those mentioned this far. The positions López-Baralt defends in her book—a collection of revised versions of previously published articles—are closer to Márquez's than to Vincent's. In particular, she does not share the latter's dismissal of *aljamiado* literature and his skepticism regarding the real impact of manuscripts that were limited in number—only some 200 have survived—and restricted and secretive in nature. Vincent wonders how many Moriscos had access to these written texts and could have read them, given the fact that most of them were peasants or manual laborers of

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García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Miguel de Luna, cristiano árabe de Granada," in *¿La historia inventada? Los Libros plúmbeos y el legado Sacromontano*, ed. Manuel Barrios and Mercedes García-Arenal (Granada, 2008), 83–136.

<sup>13</sup> See L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago, 2005), 4–5 (emphasis in the original).

some sort and most likely illiterate. But in the 900 or so trials of Moriscos that are extant from the Inquisition of Zaragoza (almost all the texts López-Baralt studies come from Aragon) from 1568 to 1609, 409 Moriscos were accused of possessing books written in Arabic script, most of which the Holy Office destroyed.<sup>14</sup> This significant fact suggests that the impact of this literature was more significant and widespread than Vincent believes. López-Baralt deals not only with “books” or major works (which she juxtaposes with both Arabic and Spanish literature in an intriguing way) but also with smaller texts of magic, medicine, astrology, interpretation of dreams, talismans, prophecies, eschatological prophecies, *qisas al-anbiya* (stories of the prophets), and exemplary tales transmitted orally. Taken together, these texts convey a fascinating image of Morisco “hybridity” rather than one of clear “difference” or “otherness.”

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The Morisco problem is a good ground for sounding the importance of the role religion played in constructing identities and the resources that the Catholic Church was able to mobilize in its efforts to secure control not only of the social and political sphere but also of people’s consciences. The appropriation of social and symbolic spaces in the city of Granada has been explored in two recent studies: David Coleman’s recent reconstruction of how a newly Christian city was created in the years following 1492 and A. K. Harris’s parallel probing of how a wide cast of local characters invented a novel civic identity later in the sixteenth century by forging a mythical and sacred past designed to exorcise the all-too-evident Islamic presence.<sup>15</sup> Now a third work on the admittedly exceptional case of Granada has appeared. In methodological terms, Felipe Pereda’s study of the role images played in evangelizing Granada and conquering its public and private spaces is especially innovative. His *Las imágenes de la discordia* (Images of discord) is devoted to the history of religious imagery between 1478 and 1500. In this relatively short period, an almost cataclysmic change was brought about by the founding of the Inquisition. Much of Pereda’s book is dedicated to the period in which the first mass baptisms of Mudejars were held. By 1500, the doctrinally moderate Hernando de Talavera had been Archbishop of Granada for seven years. In that short period he had spearheaded a campaign of

<sup>14</sup> Vincent Barletta deals with the loss of manuscripts and books in his *C covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain* (Minneapolis, 2005), 582.

<sup>15</sup> David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600* (Ithaca, NY, 2003); A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City’s Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 2007).

evangelization, part of which consisted of the semi-industrial production of religious statuary to be distributed among the new Morisco parishes within the kingdom. Talavera had used such sculptures in his previous pastoral work, and now he aspired to overcome the linguistic barriers faced by priests whose task it was to guide the Mudejars peacefully toward baptism. His campaign also included intense linguistic activity, whereby the people of Granada were taught Spanish while the clergy learned Arabic. To this end Talavera brought the printing press to the city, and he commissioned and had printed an Arabic-Spanish glossary and an Arabic catechism written in the Latin alphabet.

Still, the recourse to serial portable images to accompany the use of printed materials in an evangelization process such as that of the Granadan Moriscos was clearly unprecedented. Most of the images were destined for a majority Morisco population that, the author hypothesizes, must have influenced their typology and iconography, as described and illustrated in his book. Far and away the most common images were those of the Virgin and Child. Pereda suggests that this had to do not only with the catechizing mission and Talavera's knowledge of Islam but also with the respect the Muslims had traditionally shown toward the Virgin Mary as well as their repugnance at Christ's crucifixion. In the author's opinion, the fact that Huberto Alemán—the Flemish craftsman commissioned to create these sculptures—was asked to design his figures in accordance with a specific iconography proves that the policy of commissioning images was based on an attempt to find common ground between the Mudejars' religious traditions and Christianity. Pereda has uncovered an impressive quantity of information on the way the images served as aids to preaching. Both the devotional practices promoted and those suppressed bear the hallmark of organized inculturation. As a counterpoint to this, cases of iconoclasm and damage to religious images began to appear and were harshly dealt with by the Inquisition. Trial documentation shows the extent to which such images channeled feelings of oppression and became genuine symbols of social discord, just as the adoration of icons was beginning to establish itself in the Spanish church and Christian society. Pereda raises some highly interesting questions about the relationships between technical reproducibility and devotion and between theology and popular religious sentiment. He also sheds light on the extraordinary complexity of a sphere in which there converged the late medieval polemic against Judaism in particular but also against Islam; the church's internal debates over the cult of icons; the opposition of Erasmians, Lutherans, and *alumbrados* (illuminationist mystics) to this cult and to the establishment of the Holy Office; and, finally, the reaction within the church to Morisco iconoclasm. Pereda's precise and suggestive argument reveals multiple ways in which minorities can influence the majority, obliging it by their very existence to modify particular stand-

points, theological trends, and even religious doctrines. This subtle approach to influence promises to place minorities at the very heart of most social processes.

A fine complement to Pereda's book is Youssef El Alaoui's *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens*, an engrossing edition and study of the writings of the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas, which El Alaoui contrasts with the much better known corpus of José de Acosta. Starting from a comparison of Las Casas's work and Acosta's *De procuranda Indorum salute*, El Alaoui focuses on two essential aspects of the task of converting and evangelizing as the Jesuits understood it: learning indigenous languages (be it Arabic or Quechua or Aymara) and educating children so as to train people who could then contribute further to the process.<sup>16</sup> In so doing, he draws not only on the texts of the two writers mentioned but also on innumerable vocabularies and grammars (especially in the case of Arabic), catechisms and confessional treatises, and other writings that resulted from the Jesuits' encounters with Islam in Ethiopia and India, thereby positioning his two protagonists' works within the Jesuits' global catechizing mission. His analysis of their evangelical campaigning is in turn positioned within the wider context of royal policies of aiding the expansion of Catholicism. These stipulated how people were to be, act, see, and think (not to mention of course how to dress, enjoy themselves, behave, and speak) and so required a radical break with all native cultural traditions—in other words, they amounted to Christianization through total Hispanization. There was, however, no unanimous advocacy of the need to eradicate all divergent cultural customs in order to implant Catholicism. The writings of the two protagonists of this book prove as much, as do those of other humanists of the stature of Hernando de Talavera or Pedro de Valencia (whose *Tratado acerca de los moriscos* [Treatise on the Moriscos] has recently been published).<sup>17</sup>

El Alaoui, like many of the other authors under review, is anxious to demonstrate the existence of a plurality of voices. To that end he focuses on the discussion that unfolded between the supporters of different methods of evangelization. Especially charged subjects included the use of indigenous languages (banned for the purpose by the crown since the mid-sixteenth century) and attempts to preserve elements of the converts' cultural tradition. Debate over both of these widened into consideration of what it meant to be

<sup>16</sup> Another recent book showing connections between the Jesuit's attitude toward South American Indians and Moriscos is Paolo Broggio, *Evangelizzare il mondo: Le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America (seccoli XVI–XVIII)* (Rome, 2004).

<sup>17</sup> Pedro de Valencia, *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*, ed. Joaquín Gil Sanjuán (Malaga, 1997). See also his *Sobre el Pergamino y Láminas de Granada*, ed. Grace Magnier (Oxford, 2006).

a good Christian. The theological argument hinged on whether it was advisable to preach to converts in their native languages or whether the doctrinal concepts of Catholicism would be distorted when expressed in another language that might implicitly call on another conceptual or dogmatic field. It was argued, and indeed noted in practice, that this ran the risk of encouraging syncretism in the newly converted. Also cited was the danger of their being swayed by the familiarity of their native tongue, resulting in their conversion to a religion they could not understand. The debate, then, concerned the untranslatable nature of faith. Ignacio de las Casas and José de Acosta demonstrated a knowledge of and respect for certain aspects of foreign cultures that was out of step with the then-dominant discourse. Moreover, they laid the blame for the failure of catechization and evangelization at the feet of those charged with their implementation. Their writings show that there were people trying to build bridges, to seek out what was acceptable in other cultures and to integrate it where possible. This is a most interesting debate and one that has a strangely modern feel to it. Not surprisingly, Emanuele Colombo, in his study of the works of the Spanish Jesuit Tirso González de Santalla, has similarly shown how, a century later, anti-Islamic rhetoric and polemics could serve the cause of the spiritual rearmament of Catholic society and, in particular, its struggle against the influence of Protestantism.<sup>18</sup>

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All religious and cultural practices of the New Christians were, then, to be eradicated. But exactly what kind of Jewish or Islamic behaviors were converts indulging in? And, more important, what exactly did they believe, and what sources did they draw on in order to acquire or sustain their faith? Who was teaching them, and what books were they reading? Answering these questions brings us back to Márquez's warning about how the "poisoning of the sources" requires not taking for granted the reliability and hence usefulness of certain contemporary sources, the Inquisition trials in particular. This point particularly bothers Vincent, who responds that we as historians have long had the analytical tools to enable us to apply a critical approach to all kinds of source materials. Inevitably, almost all sources are laced with their own brand of "poison," which it is our task to discern and analyze. In my opinion, and especially in regard to Inquisition trial records, this is no trivial matter nor one that can easily be ignored. Students of the converted Jews have discussed the validity of inquisitorial documentation in far more depth than have those who work on the Moriscos, and they have reached strongly differing positions on this issue. In passing, I want to point out that very few

<sup>18</sup> Emanuele Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani: L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento* (Milan, 2007).

have studied the Moriscos and the conversos concurrently (with the distinguished exceptions of Julio Caro Baroja, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, and Francisco Márquez Villanueva himself). One result is that aspects that one group discussed rarely affected debates among members of the other group.

Returning to the Inquisition, a good number of historians of Judaism, led by the extreme example of Benzion Netanyahu, maintain that its trials were a farce and a fiction, that there were no crypto-Jews secretly practicing Judaism, and that the converts were Christians and were persecuted by the Inquisition not for their practice of Judaism but because of antisemitism, a prejudice exploited by their rivals for local political power or economic gain. The Portuguese historian António José Saraiva reached a similar conclusion about Inquisition trials in his study of Portuguese Jewish converts; his fundamentally Marxist argument that the Inquisition's repression was based on purely economic motives led to a fascinating debate with the French scholar Israel Salvator Révah.<sup>19</sup> Netanyahu based his argument on the schematic nature of inquisitorial interrogations, in which one prisoner after another would be accused of identical crimes couched in identical terms, and on the defendants' lack of religious knowledge. He drew principally on the Hebrew-language sources of the Jewish communities of the Hispanic diaspora, which refused to accept the notion that the converts were practicing Jews.<sup>20</sup> Other historians (e.g., Angel Alcalá) share Netanyahu's position at least to some extent. But even those who do not, or who only partially agree with him, such as Jaime Contreras in his justly famous *Sotos contra Riquelmes* (Sotos against Riquelmes, an in-depth study of a mass trial of alleged Judaizers in mid-sixteenth-century Murcia and Lorca), cannot now approach Inquisition materials in the often literal way that was done in the past.<sup>21</sup> Instead, we realize now that we must all apply our critical faculties. In the words of one Judaizing convert quoted by Contreras, "as long as there's a dovecote there will be doves."<sup>22</sup> That is, as long as the Inquisition existed, it would create Judaizers. Still, other writers, including the Israeli historian Haim Beinart, have sup-

<sup>19</sup> António José Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos* (Oporto, 1956; repr., Lisbon, 1984), adapted into English as *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and its New Christians, 1536–1765*, trans. H. P. Salomon and I. S. D. Sassoon (Leiden, 2001). A significant recent contribution is Guglielmo Marcocci's *I custodi della ortodossia: Inquisizione e Chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento* (Rome, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> See esp. Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York, 1995), and his *The Marranos of Spain: From the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century, according to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Jaime Contreras, *Sotos contra Riquelmes: Regidores, inquisidores, criptojudíos* (Madrid, 1992); also available in French translation (by Bernard Vincent) as *Pouvoir et Inquisition en Espagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1997).

<sup>22</sup> Contreras, *Sotos contra Riquelmes*, 185.



ported the converts' Jewishness.<sup>23</sup> To complicate matters, there are of course different interpretations of what constitutes the Jewish nation and who may or may not be counted a member, raising questions of ancestry and so on. Not surprisingly, modern problems of Jewish identity cannot avoid influencing any such quest for "authenticity." Limiting the study of crypto-Jews or Judaizers strictly to the sphere of Jewish history is also problematic, as this often isolates it from its context and minimizes or denies the deviations present in crypto-Judaism as opposed to a supposedly immutable rabbinical and orthodox Judaism. We face a similar problem when studying the Moriscos, if we start from the premise that they were Muslims who all belonged to a supposedly eternal canonical Islam and isolate them from the social and religious context in which they lived.

I, for one, do not agree with Netanyahu. As with the case of the Moriscos, I believe there were crypto-Jews and converts who were keen to continue being Jews (although they were not quite sure how to do so) and who thought of themselves as such. There were also genuine converts and others who ultimately became good Christians for a wide range of reasons, including a desire to integrate into the majority society. I also believe that Protestant currents were beginning to influence Spanish society. Contreras's doubts about the value of Inquisition documentary sources led him to downplay the impact of these currents and the repression the Inquisition subjected them to between 1520 and 1540.<sup>24</sup> I do not share his extreme skepticism either. Yet no one who has read any number of Inquisition trial documents can fail to take seriously the objections raised. First of all, it is clear that the inquisitors viewed behavior through the lens of lineage.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, offenses such as disrespect for sacred images, or changing clothes on Friday or Saturday, were read differently and given different punishments depending on the Muslim, Jewish, or Old Christian origin of the alleged offender. Also, the trials were marked by a tiresome litany of identical accusations, leading questions, the presumption of guilt, the view that any denials were proof of "obstinate heresy," the use of torture, and so on. Other students of the Jewish converts have even suggested that it was the very nature of inquisitorial interrogations, their fixation on a certain set of practices, that provided Judaizers with the outline and components of what it meant to be Jewish—what it was that one

<sup>23</sup> Haim Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem, 1981).

<sup>24</sup> Jaime Contreras, "The Impact of Protestantism in Spain, 1520–1600," in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Stephen Haliczer (London, 1987), 47–63.

<sup>25</sup> See David Nirenberg's indispensable "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present* 174 (2002): 2–41.

had to do to be considered as such. In like manner, anti-Islamic or anti-Jewish Christian polemics were for many converts a primary source of knowledge of their forefathers' faith once it had become impossible to read their religious texts or consult their religious authorities. They were, in fact, virtually the only sources left that could teach them how to be a Jew or a Muslim.

How then should we use Inquisition trial records? How can we judge their reliability? One way to answer these questions would be to use them for a reason other than that for which they were originally created. To begin with, we can concentrate on the out of the ordinary, on the moments when defendants express their own thoughts (often outside the usual trial framework) and when their words are more or less faithfully transcribed. This is what Carlo Ginzburg did with his famous miller Menocchio.<sup>26</sup> We can also focus on the way in which the accused relates the "discourse of his life," resorting to a selective autobiography and a strategic attempt at self-representation. Then there is the moment at which the accused gives the names of those he believes to be his enemies, an important point in any trial since cases were usually brought on the basis of anonymous denunciations (i.e., when suspects came before the tribunal, they did not know what accusations they would be facing or by whom they had been denounced). Here inquisitors sometimes showed what Caro Baroja called an "anthropologist's curiosity," abandoning the usual pattern of interrogation. Carlo Ginzburg used a similar title for a fascinating article in which he considered the usefulness of applying the techniques and methodology of oral history to analyze these speeches made before the inquisitors.<sup>27</sup>

Inquisition trials, especially those of Moriscos, cover a wide range of healing or divinatory practices that fall under the generic label of "magic." Equally revelatory are the spiritual doubts and rich messianic or mystical currents that arose among both Jewish converts and Moriscos.<sup>28</sup> A wide variety of beliefs in the impending advent of a messiah who would liberate his chosen people (be they Jews or Muslims) and destroy Christianity can be seen in trials involving members of both minorities, whose longing for liberation and vengeance was born of the constant frustration and fear in which they lived. It is through such breaches of procedure that traces of crypto-Judaism or crypto-Islam can be more clearly seen. One can also glimpse in this way the striking diversity among Judaizers and Islamizers. We have known for some

<sup>26</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* (Baltimore, 1980).

<sup>27</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," in his *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore, 1989), 156–64.

<sup>28</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal, "'Un réconfort pour ceux qui sont dans l'attente': Prophétie et millénarisme dans la péninsule Ibérique et au Maghreb (XVI–XVII siècles)," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 220 (2003): 445–86.

time now, thanks to the studies of Révah, Caro Baroja, and Louis Cardaillac, for example, that the conversos included in their ranks a sizable number of skeptics. They also comprised people whose sympathies were divided between two religions (Judaism or Islam and Christianity) or even among all three, as well as those men and women who chose to reject religion altogether. Voicing the belief that each person can be saved in his or her own law was a crime the Inquisition codified and expressly prosecuted. It was a highly dangerous claim to make, as it contradicted the Tridentine precept that baptism alone ensures redemption and that there was no salvation outside the Catholic Church. It was worse still to express the idea that there is nothing except birth and death or the idea of being born and dying like beasts since these refuted the immortality of the soul.<sup>29</sup>

The Holy Office categorized dissident statements such as these as “propositions,” and they form the documentary basis of Stuart Schwartz’s new book, *All Can Be Saved*. A work of great originality, it presents some fascinating material: one encounters here not the Inquisition of the major heresy trials but the smaller-scale, everyday, and omnipresent Inquisition, which dealt in overheard conversations, forbidden gestures, and minor or unfinished cases—the tribunal at perhaps its most intimidating. Schwartz interprets the “propositions” uttered at these trials as evidence of a “popular tolerance” that has gone unnoticed until now because historians have focused on the process by which religious identities were inculcated during this period rather than looking into the cracks that opened up during that process. In his view, expressions of tolerance in Spain did not differ from those spreading across other parts of Europe at the time. They were characterized more by pragmatism and convenience than by an active conviction as to its value as a policy (what we now call “toleration”).<sup>30</sup> Schwartz stresses the concept of popular tolerance, which, for him, is neither relativism nor skepticism. In my opinion, however, the words, deeds, and attitudes of those accused of the crime of propositions (those who included Old Christians, conversos, Moriscos, and Lutherans, many of them foreigners) do indeed partake of a degree of skepticism, a loss of faith, or, at the very least, a sense of detachment, confusion, or ambivalence—that shrug of the shoulders we can imagine being made by those brought to trial for stating that each man should live according to his own free will. Much of the interest of these propositions lies in what they show us about the variety of currents of thought, which by that point could be found in even the lower strata of society. Above all, as I read it, what they

<sup>29</sup> One of the articles in Márquez’s *De la España judeoconversa* takes this particular statement as its title: “Nasçer e morir como bestias: Criptoaverroismo y criptojudaismo” (203–28).

<sup>30</sup> Here, see also Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

indicate is a desire to distance oneself from the contentious rhetoric of “truth” and “salvation,” which was not confined to Catholic Reformation Spain but was wielded by all sides in the religious battles of Reformation Europe.

The dictum “each one is saved in his own law” also suggests that early modern Spain was a polemical arena in which each group defined itself, and was in turn defined, in the mirror of others. Anti-Muslim polemicists maintained that belief in this dictum was one of the major errors of Islam, something that Schwartz does not take into account. Indeed, the preacher Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, in his *Antialcorán*, published in 1535, notes that “some of the learned men among the Muslims say that each can be saved in his own law: the Jew in his, the Christian in his, the Muslim in his.” González de Santalla also believed that this statement came from the Koran, as did another Jesuit critic of Islam, Manuel Sanz. Gaspar de Escolano also included this belief in the list of the errors of Muslims he inserted in his history of Valencia.<sup>31</sup> Both González de Santalla and Sanz were referring to either Koran 2:62, “Surely those who believe and those who are Jews and the Christians and the Sabians, whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, they shall have their reward from their Lord, and there is no fear for them nor shall they grieve,” or 5:69, “Surely those who believe and those who are Jews and the Sabians and the Christians, whoever believes in Allah and the Last day and does good, they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve” (in M. H. Shakir’s translation). In sum, no matter what the dictum was or where it came from, if it did not adhere to Catholic orthodoxy, it was immediately related to Judaism or Islam.

The books mentioned so far also provide ample evidence that compelling people to convert on a massive scale, in fact, produced a lessening of faith and that the systematic efforts at evangelization of the early sixteenth century even sowed doubts in the minds of some Old Christians. Their impact touched the very concept of religion. For many of those prosecuted for saying that each person can be saved in his or her own law, this belief meant the comforting thought that their own parents and grandparents, who had died before the decrees enforcing conversion were issued, might still be saved. Then there were the pressures exerted by the majority religion and the need for secrecy and dissemblance (even among those who practiced Catholicism), which led some to question or even lose their faith. Finally, a convert’s attachment to his or her new faith might vary as time passed: some adopted a kind of religious neutrality while maintaining links with their original community, while others chose to make a clean break and sought full integration into Old Christian society, although they might preserve some sense of belonging to and empa-

<sup>31</sup> Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón and González de Santalla cited in Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani*, 47; Gaspar de Escolano cited in Rodrigo de Zayas, *Los moriscos y el racismo de estado* (Madrid, 2006), 478 and 485.

thy with their former community. Families were often divided, even torn apart, over religion. Clearly, therefore, attitudes toward faith varied not only within the wider group but also within family units and even within an individual over the course of his or her life. Such differences manifested themselves primarily after the expulsion or among the Jewish converts who fled Spain to join diaspora communities.

Another problem arising from the use of Inquisition trial documents is that by their very nature they call attention to society's nonconformists. To be sure, they help paint a picture, as brought vividly to life in Schwartz's book, of the theological complexity of the Hispanic world and its involvement in the religious experimentation of the age. But the intellectually and religiously docile majority, those people not inclined to question norms of any kind, do not appear in the pages of trial records. We thus need to be on our guard against allowing our view of the early modern religious world to be overly influenced by that of the inquisitors themselves, which was precisely the point Márquez stressed. A few other historians have echoed the same sentiment. In 1981, Eleazar Gutwirth suggested that modern historians had, in a sense, followed in the footsteps of sixteenth-century observers, inquisitors included, in the way they formulated their questions, priorities, and definitions of what were or ought to be the main lines of inquiry.<sup>32</sup> The parallels between inquisitors and historians could be subsumed under the single idea of "identities": both, in other words, ultimately seek to establish characteristics, traits, or signs of identity. Once that becomes clear and the links in that particular chain of tradition have been identified and understood, an alternative way of working becomes essential.

I do think, moreover, that trial documentation is reliable when detailing religious beliefs or practices that the accused believed to be Islamic or Jewish but that in fact are not part of the normative religion, such as the constant and excessive fasting mentioned in the trials of both Judaizers and Moriscos. These trials amassed information on a very broad range of ritual practices (I would once again emphasize, some of them nonnormative) that had to do with purification and ritual cleanliness. Some of these related to food, for example, fasting; others related to hygiene, as with ritual bathing and washing or donning clean clothing on Friday or Saturday, respectively. What comes through is the great fear of becoming contaminated by living immersed within a Christian society and pretending to be Christian. Converts clearly were all too aware of bearing the stain of their Christian existence and the guilt of their enforced conversion. Inquisition trials are also reliable when noncanonical practices are registered and reflect what we know from other sources. This is

<sup>32</sup> Eleazar Gutwirth, "Jewish-Converso Relations in Fifteenth-Century Segovia," in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, August 16–21, 1981)*, 5 vols. (Jerusalem, 1982), 2:49–53.

precisely the case of the overt presence of prophecies and magic in *aljamiado* literature, as Luce López-Baralt remarks in her *La literatura secreta*.

The Inquisition trials, in spite of themselves (and the inquisitors), reflect the fact that the faiths of both Judaizers and Moriscos contained syncretic elements, or at least reflected two or more worlds. Neither culture nor faith should be considered in terms of what it lacked or was unaware of or in terms of its contradictions. It is more fruitful to envision them as original edifices that established their own reference points, which varied according to time and place. Groups, clans, and individuals constructed their own faiths, aided by the absence of texts and, therefore, of fixed doctrinal content. The two works I shall look at next, both by Morisco authors, support this point of view.

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A hundred years separate the original versions of the next two works. The *tafsira*, or treatise, by the Young Man (*mancebo*) of Arévalo was written in the early 1500s in *aljamía*. The *Tratado de los dos caminos* (Treatise of the two roads) was written by an expelled Morisco living in Tunis a century later and is in Spanish (and in Latin script). The first point to note is that the latter was not exceptional. In fact, almost all Morisco literature from North Africa, and Tunis in particular, was written in Spanish using the Latin alphabet. This shows, as López-Baralt argues in *La literatura secreta*, that the Moriscos wanted to keep their literature secret, out of reach of the wider society, in Islamic as well as Christian countries. Both of these anonymous works are already well known but have now been published in their entirety for the first time. Profoundly personal texts, each reflects a life's journey and a cultural and intellectual pilgrimage and bears witness to worlds that were fast coming to an end. The Young Man of Arévalo spends time with old men who still lived in the former Islamic kingdom of Granada and with Aragonese Muslims who had lived in Mudejar times. The other author writes in Tunis as the Morisco world is about to vanish, thanks to the exiles' children integrating into Tunisian society and forgetting their parents' homeland and language. Both authors have created wonderfully rich works. Cryptic and enigmatic in places, these are at once tales of spiritual journeys and compendiums of knowledge to be passed on to younger generations born into an entirely new world.

In the earlier of the two, a young Morisco from the central Castilian town of Arévalo agrees to the request of some of his peers to gather in a single volume the essentials of Islam and its rituals, of which most of them know little or nothing.<sup>33</sup> Concerned about the potential loss of the traditional Islamic texts and the dictates contained therein, so fundamental to leading the life of

<sup>33</sup> The *mancebo* is listed as the author of another work, recently edited by Gregorio

a good Muslim, they feel this well-educated youth is the right man for the job. He therefore sets off on a journey around the Iberian peninsula to seek out and compile the knowledge of the old Moriscos. To that end, he visits places such as Saragossa and interviews survivors of the conquest of Granada, reading books and manuscripts in both Arabic and *aljamiado* from their clandestine libraries. He sets his journey within the established Islamic tradition of traveling “in search of science,” visiting scholars and describing the people he meets and what he learns from them, as well as the friendships he makes along the way. Thus, his pages feature stories of the wise woman and midwife Nozeita Calderán from a village in Cuenca or the Morisco scholar Yuse Banegas, with whom he stays in Granada for two months, reading Arabic texts aloud while the older man corrects him.<sup>34</sup> While in Granada he also meets an elderly ascetic and mystic, known as the Moorish lady (*Mora*) of Úbeda, who lives near the Puerta de Elvira and to whom the Moriscos go when in need of help or advice. As Banegas, his most demanding teacher and the person with whom he spends the most time, tells him, “My son, I do not weep for the past, for there can be no going back, but I do weep for what you will see if you survive and remain in this land. . . . There will be naught but cruelty and bitterness. . . . The Muslims will be as the Christians, they will neither reject their clothing nor shun their food. May God grant that they shun their works and follow not the [Catholic] religion in their hearts.”<sup>35</sup>

Fascinating as the *Tafsira* is as an account of the Young Man’s travels and acquisition of knowledge, and as a compendium of rules and advice, its main interest lies in its enigmatic Islamic messages and what they tell us about the author’s own spirituality. In her excellent introductory study, the editor of the text, María Teresa Narváez, shows that he draws extensively on Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitatio Christi* and that he includes in his text part of the prologue to Fernando de Rojas’s *La Celestina*. There are strong echoes in the Morisco text of the Catholic concept of the *devotio moderna*, as well as quotations from Petrarch (as borrowed and translated by Rojas), which in turn quote Heraclitus. It is worth recalling here Stephen Gilman’s suggestion that Fernando de Rojas’s status as a Jewish convert was the key to explaining the apprehensive and fearful attitude of man toward a meaningless universe as portrayed in *La Celestina*.<sup>36</sup> María Jesús Rubiera has in fact ventured the

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Fonseca, *Relación y ejercicio espiritual sacado y declarado por el Mancebo de Arévalo en nuestra lengua castellana* (Madrid, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> Banegas is a fascinating character who is also mentioned in Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, 21–22.

<sup>35</sup> Narváez Córdoba, *Tratado (Tafsira) del Mancebo de Arévalo*, 29.

<sup>36</sup> Stephen Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas: The Intellectual Landscape of La Celestina* (Princeton, NJ, 1972).

interesting hypothesis that the Young Man of Arévalo was of converted Jewish origin.<sup>37</sup> Narváez does not agree, but it is certainly true that the Young Man mentions a number of encounters with Jews and quotes from Jewish books and other sources, as well as employing certain terms typical of Jewish and Judaizing writings such as “Adonai” or “Dio” instead of the Spanish “Dios.” (The preference for “Dio” comes from its being rendered in the singular, since for Jews and Muslims there is but one God and no Trinity.) Al-Andalus, paradise lost, is for the Young Man a “new Israel,” destroyed by the sins of its people. Narváez maintains that his knowledge of Jewish texts and his visits to Jews, who grant him access to their homes and to their hidden books, is a sign both of his wide-ranging intellectual and spiritual curiosity and of the solidarity that existed between the two minorities. This may be so, but it is also true that there are many well-documented cases of Jews who converted to Islam. In any event, the *Tafsira*—an Islamic work that draws on Christian sources, weaving a Muslim tapestry with Christian threads—is clearly a fascinating text.

The second Morisco work is the complete edition of another famous manuscript, MS S2 of the Gayangos Collection, held in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia and previously the object of a pioneering study by Jaime Oliver Asín.<sup>38</sup> His article paved the way for research into the literary production in Spanish of those Moriscos who took refuge in Tunis, and great advances have since been made in this field.

The manuscript is anonymous and untitled. The text was written between 1630 and 1650 by one of the Moriscos expelled in 1609 and is a complex miscellany, combining reflections on morals and religious liturgy while drawing mostly on wholly Islamic sources. At its heart lies a novel that in form and inspiration very closely resembles Spanish literature of the period. Sprinkled with lines from the poets Lope de Vega and Garcilaso de Vega, among others, it borrows the plot from one of Quevedo’s *Sueños*. It also draws on the imagery and symbolism of contemporary Spanish art, which the author no doubt knew and appreciated. In all likelihood his only source was his own memory, which would explain his many misquotations. This novel, which Oliver Asín entitles *El arrepentimiento del desdichado* (The repentance of the unfortunate man), is exemplary in character. As Luce López-Baralt points out in her introductory study, the thread that gives the work its structure is not repentance but the idea that man can choose one of two paths to follow in life

<sup>37</sup> María Jesús Rubiera, “Nuevas hipótesis sobre el Mancebo de Arévalo,” *Sharq al-Andalus: Estudios mudéjares y moriscos* 12 (1995): 315–23.

<sup>38</sup> Jaime Oliver Asín’s “Un morisco de Túnez, admirador de Lope” was published in the first volume of the journal *Al-Andalus* in 1933 and later reissued in a French translation by M. de Epalza and R. Petit, eds., *Etudes sur les morisques andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid, 1973).



(hence the title of the edition under discussion here).<sup>39</sup> The way that seems more attractive at first sight is the wrong choice; while the other appears full of pitfalls and thorns, it leads ultimately to salvation. The novel eventually gives way to a didactic section wherein are established the rules and regulations that believers must abide by if they are to follow the right path. These cover areas such as marriage (including sexual relations, with explicit advice on how to satisfy one's wife, as is her due), ritual ablutions, prayer, fasting, and so on. In the way of moral and didactic literature from the Middle Ages onward, the entire work is peppered with allegorical fables, some of them quite beautiful. In these tales, the good man is he who behaves selflessly and with absolute purity, placing his life and that of his family in God's hands. Evil, meanwhile, is the appetite for all things worldly. While the author fails to acknowledge his Spanish sources—the names of Lope, Garcilaso, and Quevedo never appear—he does mention by name some of the Islamic sources. These include al-Gazali, qadi Iyad, Ibn Rushd, and Ahmad Zarruq, whom he follows step by step in his treatise on marriage. He undoubtedly also drew inspiration from works on Catholic spirituality.

The text's opening pages provide a providentialist reading of the expulsion as God's way of granting freedom to his chosen people. (Philip III appears as the pharaoh who brought the period of captivity in Egypt to an end.) Here too the author describes his arrival in Tunis and the warm welcome the Turkish Regency's religious and political authorities extended to the Moriscos. He also discusses his purpose in writing this book some decades after his arrival in this new land. Above all, he seeks to pass on all that he knows, all that he is, because he exemplifies a people nearing extinction, part of a world to which no one now belongs. He wants his knowledge and memories to be kept alive, "for as long as we who came were still alive [these things] were not forgotten, but now with the passing of time they are gradually coming to an end, and I want those who were born here to know of it all from me and from the few that still remain."<sup>40</sup> Hence, there is the somewhat disordered and very personal nature of a work in which the author seems to have tried to include everything he believed to be important, meaningful, illuminating, or instructive, even including (despite the critical, even pessimistic, moral tone) those things that had brought him pleasure over the years. This is, then, a kind of moral and intellectual autobiography, at times reminiscent of Abraham Israel Pereyra's *La certeza del camino* (The certainty of the way), published in Amsterdam in 1666, which similarly combined rejection of Spain—the "land of idolatry"—with the incorporation of (unattributed) passages by Fray Luis

<sup>39</sup> It is also included, in a revised and expanded version, in López-Baralt, *La literatura secreta*, 495–607.

<sup>40</sup> Galmés de Fuentes and Villaverde Amieva, *Tratado de los dos caminos*, 45, 204.

de Granada, Diego de Estella, and the political theorist Diego Saavedra Fajardo.<sup>41</sup>

In her introduction, López-Baralt considers the authorship of the manuscript and its copies and the different theories that have been put forward over the years, none of them particularly convincing or backed by sufficient evidence. Of the various issues she raises, the one that particularly interested me was that of the need to read between the lines, bearing in mind that the author was the product of a culture and environment in which secrecy, dissemblance, reticence, and self-censorship were essential. She goes on to illustrate this with examples of the author's veiled criticisms of his host country and his inclusion of the things he liked (e.g., the poetry) about his native land and language. This anonymous Morisco, as López Baralt shows, was obsessed, moreover, with the ideas of *honra*, outward appearance, and pride in one's purity of blood.

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Obsession with honor and lineage, along with appreciation of poetry and the theater, were also notable characteristics of the Judaizers who fled Iberia in the seventeenth century. It is fascinating to compare the literature of exiled Moriscos with the Spanish-language literature that the "new Jews" of Amsterdam, such as Pereyra, produced.<sup>42</sup> By way of example, let us consider three Andalusia-born authors: Isaac Orobio de Castro, Juan de Prado, and Miguel de Barrios.<sup>43</sup> Castro and Prado were physicians who had studied medicine at the universities of Osuna and Alcalá before going into exile. In Holland they wrote extensively in Spanish and focused on literary works as well as religious polemics and apologetics. Miguel (later Daniel Levi) de Barrios wrote a book entitled *Flor de Apolo y coro de las musas* (Flower of Apollo and choir of muses), and he and Orobio de Castro founded a literary academy along the lines of those that existed in Andalusia at the time. Theirs was known as the Academy of the Floridos (flourishing), which sponsored poetic competitions and other refined activities. In 1667, Orobio de Castro, along with his brother-

<sup>41</sup> For a modern edition, see *Hispanidad y judaísmo en tiempos de Espinoza: Edición de La certeza del camino de Abraham Pereyra*, ed. Henry Méchoulán (Salamanca, 1981).

<sup>42</sup> Yosef Kaplan coined this term in his *Judíos nuevos de Amsterdam: Estudios sobre la historia social e intelectual del judaísmo sefardí del siglo XVII* (Barcelona, 1996). For a complementary point of view, see Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, IN, 1997).

<sup>43</sup> On the first, see Yosef Kaplan's excellent biography, *From Christianity to Judaism: The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford, 1989). Note that a number of scholars believe that the anonymous author of the S2 manuscript was also Andalusian.

in-law Samuel Rosa, created a theatrical company. The case of the Jews who converted (first to Christianity, then back to Judaism) differs from that of the Moriscos in that they emigrated to an environment that proved more intellectually stimulating for them (all three of these writers had university educations). Furthermore, wealthy Spanish nobles willing to extend their patronage to their literary activities lived nearby in Brussels. Unlike the Moriscos, the Jews wrote in Latin as well as Spanish, but like the Moriscos, they were steeped in Spanish Baroque culture, including its Catholic spirituality, and were well versed in the intellectual tools of contemporary Spain.

Juan de Prado's case is particularly interesting. First brought to wider notice through Révah's pioneering research, he is also the subject of a magnificent new publication by Natalia Muchnik, *Une vie marrane*.<sup>44</sup> Prado, the son of converted Jews from Portugal, where he too was born around 1612, was brought up in southern Spain and studied medicine and theology at the University of Alcalá de Henares, where Orobio de Castro was a friend and fellow student. He practiced medicine in Andalusia (in Antequera, Lopera, and Seville). When Orobio came up before the Holy Office for the first time, he reported that Prado had stated, among other things, that "each man is saved in his law, be he Christian, Moor, or Jew."<sup>45</sup> Prado, like many of his contemporaries at the university, was a deist—that is, he supported the doctrine according to which the application of reason can lead to knowledge of God but cannot discern his attributes. With the threat of the Inquisition hanging over him and his family, Prado joined his patient and protector, Domingo Pimentel, archbishop of Seville, on a journey to Rome. After Pimentel's death, he traveled on to Hamburg, where he converted to Judaism, before settling in Amsterdam. There he continued to devote his time to medicine and poetry and began a stormy relationship with the city's Jewish community. He quarrelled over Jewish doctrine with his old friend Orobio de Castro, who by then had also fled to Amsterdam and returned to Judaism. The Jewish community excommunicated and stigmatized Prado at the same time as Spinoza, but, unlike his younger friend, Prado begged to be forgiven and was allowed to return. He maintained a close intellectual relationship with Spinoza, but in 1660 the physician left Amsterdam for Antwerp, where he moved back toward Catholicism and began to think about reconverting and returning to Spain. Prado was negotiating with the Inquisition when he died in an accident. Muchnik shows us that his was neither an isolated nor an extreme case. No adept of ambiguity or double-dealing, and assailed by doubt throughout his untiring quest for truth, Prado and his trajectory shed intriguing light on the religious hotbed that was seventeenth-century Iberia. Finally, according to the

<sup>44</sup> Israel Salvator Révah, *Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado* (Paris, 1959).

<sup>45</sup> Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism*, 125–26.

portrait Muchnik paints, in addition to having spent his life trying to understand man's relationship with God through reason, Prado in reality postulated a Judaism based on culture and identity rather than religion. This intellectual possibility is surely of relevance to deciphering Morisco texts from the same period.

In his interpretation of the Marrano mentality, Yirmiyahu Yovel, a specialist on Spinoza, describes Judaism not only as a religion but also as a category based on identity and culture. In his latest book, *The Other Within*, he maintains that the experience of concealing is crucial and indeed stands at the basis of modern subjectivity. Yovel describes the mixture of Jewish and Christian symbols and patterns of thought in the beliefs and practices of converts from Judaism as evidence of the Marrano split identity, an identity rooted in the subjective mind and in social and religious dissent. In his view (359, 366), Marrano identity prefigures modern secular Judaism and at the same time constitutes a return to the original forms of Judaism. In this regard, Yovel's is an "existential Judaism" in which identity is a primeval and timeless concept, not to be identified (or at least not exclusively) with religion.

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Were any of us still harboring doubts regarding the need to renew the terms in which we talk about a "Jewish convert identity"—one as strongly ideological and as "invented" as was Morisco identity—Miriam Bodian's splendid new book, *Dying in the Law of Moses*, shows just how unworkable are some of the concepts of a group we have for too long taken for granted. To begin with, her study shows that it is far more interesting to examine disagreements among conversos than to seek out consensus and coherence. This work is based on four major Inquisition trials, all but one of which have been studied by other scholars in the past: those of Luis Rodríguez de Carvajal, Diogo d'Assumpção, Francisco Maldonado de Silva, and Lope de Vera y Alarcón. Two of these individuals were of Old Christian origin; all four were accused of Judaizing, declared "dogmatists," and burned at the stake. Their complex and lengthy trials include highly detailed information such as genealogical testimony, intercepted letters and messages, statements given by wardens about overheard conversations between prisoners in the same cell, and reports on what they ate. What the book underlines is the fact that once these four men saw there was no way out for them, they all made up their minds to profess their beliefs openly and dispute them with the inquisitors. The records of these extensive debating sessions reveal how they gradually learned to control and manipulate their interrogators and to discomfit, even humiliate, them, as well as the way in which they were able to construct a countertheology to that of the church and, in particular, that of the Inquisition. One aspect Bodian examines in this detailed, rigorous, imaginative, and sensitive study is that of

the books and other printed sources available to her subjects. In their challenge to ecclesiastical authority, the defendants drew their arguments in part from Jewish anti-Christian polemics. Yet they were also inspired by Reformation and Lutheran currents, which, as mentioned earlier, had begun to penetrate all levels of society within the Iberian peninsula—much more so than has previously been thought. Like the reformers, these four men stressed that the only source of religious truth was scripture, which should moreover be understood in its literal sense. They also drew on Protestant anticlerical rhetoric, one of them even quoting Luther himself, while some looked toward the homegrown spirituality of *alumbradismo*, with its emphasis on inner religiosity and its disapproval of the external paraphernalia of worship. The behavior of these “martyrs,” as the exiled Jewish community of Amsterdam later designated and celebrated them, reflected the “aggressive and confrontational religious climate of the Reformation” (ix). The careers of the two Judaizers of Old Christian birth, Lope de Vera and Diogo d’Asumpção, suggest complex relationships between educated crypto-Jews and heterodox Catholics (both converts and Old Christians). Perhaps, Bodian suggests, as the Inquisition’s persecution of Old Christians intensified, discontented Catholics became more open to crypto-Jewish theological criticisms. I think, however, we should also bear in mind that in the climate of doubt created by disputes over dogma, it might well have seemed to many people that truth was to be found in scripture alone. Thus, the same impulses that led these Old Christians to Judaism could just as easily have led them to Protestantism. Between the days of the late fifteenth-century converted Jews studied by Márquez Villanueva and the seventeenth-century trials of these four “martyrs,” Erasmianism and Lutheranism had become a common ground, a place of overlap, for both converts from Judaism and dissident Old Christians. Later, within the diaspora, they would be joined by dissident Jews such as Diego de Ribera, who fled Amsterdam to convert to Protestantism in England.<sup>46</sup>

Bodian ends her book with a particularly thought-provoking parallel between these four Judaizing martyrs and the aforementioned Amsterdam “heretics.” Specifically, she draws a comparison with the famous case of Uriel da Costa to suggest that his challenge to rabbinical authority grew out of a belief in the right to religious autonomy that many crypto-Jews shared.<sup>47</sup> The truth is that a battle was being waged across Europe—including in Spain—between those forces that wanted to define orthodoxies and those that began by resisting (as in the majority of the cases

<sup>46</sup> I. S. Révah, “Aux origines de la rupture spinozienne: Nouvel examen des origines, du déroulement et des conséquences de l’affaire Spinoza-Prado-Ribera,” pts. 1 and 2, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 70 (1970): 562–68; 72 (1972): 641–53.

<sup>47</sup> I. S. Révah, *Uriel da Costa et les Marranes de Porto*, ed. Carsten Wilke (Paris, 2004).

compiled by Schwartz) and then (like those covered by Bodian) actively fought for what even then was being called “freedom of conscience.” In one of the trials brought before the Inquisition in Cuenca, on which I myself have worked, a defendant named Beltrán Campana

did say that the religion of the Calvinists, of the Romans, of the Lutherans, is all good, is all a most excellent thing . . . and that each man could be saved in his law, like the Moor, the Turk in his law, the Hebrew in his, the Englishman in his, the Spaniard in his and all others in the world in their own law; and freedom of conscience is what matters. . . . Pontiffs and priests are not necessary for they do inhuman things and want to take what belongs to others and make all men obey them and take away their liberty and free will, and behind their fine appearance they deceive people and rob them, abusing their power greatly, and as regards freedom of conscience, it is this that matters, the rest is falsity, for there is nothing else except eating and fornicating and drinking and freedom and the last of these is the glory of this world.<sup>48</sup>

Not surprisingly, he was burned at the stake in Cuenca. It is not hard to see how Beltrán Campana and others like him act as a bridge spanning Schwartz’s work and Bodian’s.

As far as I know, it was John Edwards, in a well-argued article of 1988, who first rejected the notion that religious dissent among converts should automatically be attributed to an ongoing affection for Judaism and who first linked inquisitorial material on Judaizers with the general incidence of heresy and skepticism across Europe.<sup>49</sup> But it is Bodian who now shows us just how much we ought to read the Inquisition trials again in detail, in order to look beyond the inquisitors’ own classifications of the accused that, as Gutwirth noted, historians have been too quick to adopt. Bodian has achieved this quite brilliantly with inquisitorial material. Meanwhile, the Italian historian Stefania Pastore has done the same with some of the key Spanish theological works of the 1400s and 1500s. In her first book, *Il vangelo e la spada* (The Gospel and the sword), essentially a new history of the early days of the Spanish Inquisition, Pastore reread and reinterpreted the classic texts of Spanish religious history. These range from the mid-fifteenth-century debate between Alonso de Espina and Alonso de Oropesa over the conversion of the Jews, to Hernando de Talavera, and on again to José de Sigüenza’s *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* (History of the Hieronymite order, published 1600–1605). She placed special emphasis on the way these works reveal the deadly rivalry that arose between the Franciscan and Hieronymite orders over the question of

<sup>48</sup> Adelina Sarrión Mora, *Médicos e Inquisición en el siglo XVII* (Cuenca, 2006), 130.

<sup>49</sup> John Edwards, “Religious Faith and Doubt in Late Medieval Spain: Soria circa 1450–1500,” *Past and Present* 120 (1988): 3–25.

endowing the Holy Office with unprecedented powers and jurisdictions. Pastore's highly perceptive reading of these texts uncovered expressions of discontent and opposition toward the establishment of the Inquisition and the direction it was soon to take. At the same time, she outlined the mechanisms the Inquisition put in place in order to impose itself on people's beliefs and behavior as well as on their public and private spaces. The appearance of new sources, such as the *Tratado sobre los conversos* (Treatise on the converts) by Alonso Díaz de Montalvo (1405–99), one of the most important texts for the defenders of the convert cause (recently published in Latin and Spanish translation), only underline the appositeness of Pastore's interpretations.<sup>50</sup> In her second book, *Un'eresia spagnola* (A Spanish heresy), she examines the emergence in Spain of a religiosity based on inner piety and its relations with the converts. Much of Pastore's focus centers on the early *alumbrados*, disparate groupings of mystics bound together by their indifference or at times open hostility toward ecclesiastical structures, and their opting instead for religious interiority. Believers in illumination through faith and in the expendable nature of the Law, some of them also supported the existence of a single revelation. The *alumbrados'* rejection of rules, rituals, and ceremony grew out of a radicalism that ultimately invalidated any sign of recognition or belonging. In this they resembled the Quakers, in that they believed “the light which every man hath within him to be his sufficient rule.”<sup>51</sup> The radical and subversive aspect of the doctrines held by some *alumbrados*, along with their eclecticism, are examined in one of Pastore's most original chapters.

The Inquisition began to persecute the *alumbrados* in the 1520s and 1530s, along with a wide range of other illuminists, messianic visionaries, prophets, and so on, many of whom were converted Jews. Yet many of them were not. Pastore argues convincingly that the common denominator of this singular “Spanish heresy” was not crypto-Judaism but Paulinism, that is, a particular reading and interpretation of the writings of Saint Paul. The idea of faith as a source of illumination rendering any differentiation between individuals meaningless offered the newly converted the chance to reinvent themselves fully. It appealed to many Old Christians as well. The imposing figure of Talavera and his theology steeped in Paulinism—as was that of his teachers, Oropesa and the humanist scholar (and converso) Alonso de Cartagena—is the most significant product of a Spain, where the reading and discussion of Paul's writings were rooted in the same impulse that had led the great converso biblical scholars of the 1400s (from Pablo de Santamaría to Hernando de Talavera) to seek justification for a peaceful, harmonious, and

<sup>50</sup> Matilde Conde Salazar, Antonio Pérez Martín, and Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, eds. and trans., *Alonso Díaz de Montalvo: La causa conversa* (Madrid, 2008).

<sup>51</sup> Richard Coppin, *Truths Testimony*, 1655, quoted by Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2009), 37.

balanced coexistence between Old and New Christians. In their view, only those who reached faith through grace could truly know the New Law, the law of the New Testament, for it would be imprinted on their hearts and not just on stone tablets. Paul's writings served to underline the absolute equality of Christian believers and the zeal and elation experienced by those who received the divine and mysterious gift of faith. The New Testament was of key importance when it came to condemning discrimination between Old and New Christians and rejecting the Inquisition. Altogether, Pastore's work provides a new interpretation of the history of the Inquisition and its impact on Spanish society by focusing on points of friction and dissent and on the cultural, theological, and jurisdictional resistance to the tribunal's establishment and operations. It also presents a detailed history of the previously overlooked subject of possible alternatives to the royal Inquisition. Therein emerges an image of a plural and heterogeneous Spain, riven by tension and opposition to coercion in matters of faith—a country in which bishops, theologians, and papal authority itself played much more influential roles than have been previously acknowledged.

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Spain's transformation from a country in which three cultures and religions coexisted to one with a single religious denomination, which was crowned by the parallel events of the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims and the birth of the Inquisition, is the key to understanding most of the intellectual and theologico-spiritual phenomena of sixteenth-century Iberia. My reading of the books reviewed here leads me to several conclusions. First, we need to rethink the multiple and variable nature of religious identities within (and on the fringes of) both the Morisco and the converso minorities, in an Iberia in turmoil, grappling with theological complexities and deeply influenced by the European trends of the time, including Lutheran and other Protestant ideas. There is much to be gained from examining not only what people believed but also the major conflicts that divided them. The arguments, debates, and uncertainties that permeate the religious history of Spain during this period cut across all levels of Spanish society. It is not only the plurality of voices that has now become more apparent but also the very diverse nature of those voices. My second conclusion is that the detailed study of individuals or families not only undermines many of the ways in which groups are categorized: it also combines and confuses categories to such an extent as to render many of them meaningless. This is one of countless areas in which there is much more work to be done. Inquisition trial records are of greatest value when used for purposes other than those for which they were written and compiled. In my opinion, a thorough revision and rereading of the sources (including trial documentation) is providing us with a basis from which to



learn more about Spanish religiosity and spirituality in this period. This greater knowledge includes innovative, almost revolutionary insights into Spain's religious minorities. Finally, it is the in-depth understanding of religious and spiritual trends and the way in which they intertwine in individual cases that currently sheds the most interesting and thought-provoking light not only on the Morisco and converso minorities but also on early modern Spanish society as a whole.