# After Conversion

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# After Conversion

*Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*

*Edited by*

Mercedes García-Arenal

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ISSN 2468-4279
ISBN 978-90-04-32431-2 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-32432-9 (e-book)

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# Acknowledgements

This book is based on papers delivered on three panels, with the general title of *Conversion and its Intellectual Consequences in Early Modern Iberia*, at the meeting of the Renaissance Society of America held in New York in March 2014. Four scholars, including a discussant, took part in each of the three panels. The aim of these panels was to give members of the CORPI project ('Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics and Interaction: Early Modern Iberia and Beyond', ERC Grant Agreement number 323316), whose PI is Mercedes García-Arenal, the opportunity to present their work and discuss it with American colleagues before an international audience. It was also an opportunity for senior scholars to engage in dialogue with early stage researchers. In addition to the papers given on these panels (Kimmel, Rodríguez Mediano, Beaver, Tommasino, Wiegers, Szpiech, Pastore, García-Arenal, Pereda), this volume contains a further two papers (Vincent-Cassy and López Fadul) presented on other panels at the same meeting of the RSA that have clear affinities with our own work. Finally, two more contributions by CORPI members (Soto and Starczewska, Fowler) were added to round out the thematic issues presented and discussed at the RSA.

We would therefore like to express our deepest gratitude on the one hand to the Renaissance Society of America for providing such an extraordinary forum to present this ongoing work and for being so receptive to new topics and issues, and, on the other, to the European Research Council, which funds our research so generously. Our thanks also go to Teresa Madrid Álvarez-Piñer for her job editing this volume, a task which involved checking references and compiling the bibliography and index. Additionally, Martin Beagles and Nicholas Callaway translated the papers originally written in Spanish and Italian into English. Special thanks are also due to the two anonymous readers who made comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this book.

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in the Iberian World', in *The Early Modern Hispanic World: Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approaches* (2015).

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# Introduction[1]

*Mercedes García-Arenal*

Iberia was, throughout the Middle Ages, the European territory with the longest and closest relationship with Judaism and Islam. Despite an irregularly pursued war of conquest and outbreaks of violence in different periods, Christians, Jews and Muslims coexisted for centuries in Spain, in stark contrast with the rest of Europe. For almost eight centuries there existed in the Peninsula an Islamic polity of varying extension and fluctuating borders called Al-Andalus. There, the Islamic model dictated that Jewish and Christian communities, while subject to the monarch, were to be governed by their own law and their own authorities, and in time a parallel model was likewise adopted in Christian Spain with respect to Muslims and Jews. However, this situation came to an end in the late fifteenth century, and in fact had already begun to deteriorate by the late 1300s.

The Christian conquest in 1492 of the last Islamic stronghold, the Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada, was immediately followed by a series of laws that forced the conversion or expulsion of Jews and Muslims. Thus, one sole religion was imposed upon the whole of early modern Iberian society. Various waves of persecution and the forced conversion of Jews to Catholicism from 1391 to their expulsion in 1492 were followed between 1502 and 1526 – through a series of decrees promulgated at different times in Castile and Aragon – by the compulsory conversion of Muslims. This constituted the final step in converting the Peninsula's ethno-religiously plural society of the Middle Ages into a new sort of society in which a single religion held sway. In this transformed society, there was to be just one Law, one revealed text, one set of culturally appropriate behaviors, and one accepted form of spirituality.

The integration of religious minorities destabilized traditional categories of religious difference and produced novel forms of social and political identity, while the strategies deployed for the assimilation of the Spanish multi-confessional past transformed the very conditions of early modern scholarly inquiry, in terms of writing both the history of Spain and the history of its languages. The traumatic transition that produced this mono-confessional Spain also saw the emergence of shifting identities and new religious attitudes. These

1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, CORPI project 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'.

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included forms of overlapping and redefined religious beliefs which will be elucidated in the various contributions to this book. The converted Jews were often called *Confesos*, *Conversos* or *Judeoconversos*, even generations after their grandparents had converted. Converted Muslims became known as *Moriscos* or *Cristianos nuevos de moro* ('New Christians who were formerly Moors'; these terms will appear frequently throughout the book and are not henceforth put in italics). The transformation of Jews and Muslims into New Christians also meant the transformation of Iberian Catholics into Old Christians. The change was massive and had profound consequences not only for the converted groups but also, as is argued in this book, for the society that had to absorb them. The entire history of early modern Spain is marked by this trauma, which produced long-lasting, multifaceted effects. The most important of these were the founding in 1478 of a new institution for enforcing orthodoxy, the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and the creation of statutes of *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity). The latter legislated that persons of Muslim or Jewish ancestry were to be barred from certain professions that might give them access to positions of privilege and power, enforcing a society that was deeply conformist in its support of a single rigid model, in an aggressively polemical and defensive attitude entrenched in these statutes and in the Inquisition.

Widespread conversion created new forms of otherness but also of familiarity, of intimacy. In short, Christian society had to redefine itself through confrontation with and rejection of what it considered to be the religious and cultural characteristics of the groups from other religions. It included the definition of the whole of Spanish Catholicism since in Spain Christianity itself took on different forms. This redefinition was undertaken with a permanent attitude of polemical confrontation and self-assertion.

The radical, dramatic change that took place as the Middle Ages gave way to the early modern period calls for a series of new questions to be considered. What narrative and scholarly strategies were developed in fields like historiography or Biblical exegesis? How did a new historiography emerge from this struggle to make sense of such a traumatic transition? How did conversion affect religious attitudes towards faith and confession? How does this challenge the way textual or visual evidence should be read and interpreted? How can we appreciate the complicated ties that were established between religious identity and a growing ideology of racial difference? Or better said, how can we perceive the construction of religious identity in racial terms? What practices and identities did the ideology of blood purity promote? And what place do these problems occupy in the larger picture of early modern Europe? This book will raise more questions than the specific essays can answer. The book is divided into three parts: The first, entitled *Biblical Culture, Jewish Antiquities and New Forms of Sacred History*, considers the question of how

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integrating new converts from Judaism and Islam stimulated Christian scholars to confront these converts' sacred texts, languages, and practices. In examining the range of reactions to this process, our discussion focuses on the relationship between mass conversion and a distinctive peninsular hermeneutics. We also consider how these hermeneutics are connected to a new quest for Spain's sacred origins, a new 'chosen people'.

The second part of the book, *Iberian Polemics, Readings of the Qur'ān and the Rise of European Orientalism*, is closely related to the first. Translations of sacred texts became deeply ideological, as they were used in polemical treatises and in writing sacred history and were closely intertwined with translators' own understanding of the Bible. Persons of Converso origin participated both in translations and in polemics, producing and disseminating translations which privileged those parts of the sacred texts that were convenient for polemics and confutation, in work that was markedly distinct from the translations produced by Conversos and Moriscos for their own clandestine use in worship. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, polemical works, as well as distinctively Iberian translations of the Qur'ān and the Hebrew Bible, were put to use in other European countries and in very different religious circumstances. Dissident and radical authors of the pre-Enlightenment used such texts for their own ends, often to support their criticism of all organized religion. Islam in particular was used as a lens through which religious dissidents could radically critique Christianity and the Christian world. The four chapters in this second part explore the ways in which the methodology, arguments and denunciations of multi-confessional polemics produced in early modern Iberia were removed from their original contexts and applied elsewhere in Europe.

The religious pluralism of late medieval Iberia appears here as a highly innovative matrix for the forging of doubt, dissimulation and the erosion of belief. The book turns to this question in the third part, *Conversion and Perplexity*. In the Iberian Peninsula, in the period before the Enlightenment, a polemical multi-religious context inevitably created the opportunity for comparisons between the three monotheistic religions and comparison often engendered skepticism and doubt. The emergence of these forms of skepticism was also favored by the fluctuation of religious identities brought about by forced conversion. For religious authorities, doubt created a nebulous space in which the solid outlines of mainstream religious identity were no longer recognizable. For this reason, it had to be monitored and repressed, its nature – hidden in attitudes classified by the Inquisition as hypocritical, blasphemous or heretical – exposed.

This is therefore a book that deals not so much with conversion itself as with the religious and ideological consequences of mass conversion – and hence

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the 'After Conversion' of its title – and most especially with the relationship between origins and faith. It deals also with the consequences of coercion on intellectual debates and on the production of knowledge. A whole set of problems is transversal to the contributions in this book and ties together the three parts into which it has been divided. The main issue is perhaps that of assessing the importance and weight of the 'Converso problem' in early modern Iberian history. To what extent are a wide range of seemingly disparate problems and processes in fact related to the Converso issue? Converts were assumed to have a proclivity to engage in religious subversion; was this indeed the case? To answer these questions we must, in the first place, search for the reasons why such categories arose, became dominant, and were contested.

Even if this book does not deal directly with conversion, there are issues surrounding conversion that certainly must be addressed. For example, we must examine the difficulties in gauging the influence of conversion on religious dissidence, or in establishing the way in which such dissidence came to be categorized as heresy and was identified with converts from Islam and Judaism even when Protestantism was often in the background. Are the categories established by the Inquisition still useful to us as scholars today? We can see from various contributions here that the Inquisition created its own 'heterology' – to use Michel de Certeau's term[2] – to be used when working with heterodox trends attributed to people of Jewish or Muslim descent, interpreting various forms of 'Judaizing' or 'Mohammedanizing' inclinations. The Inquisition was an institution that persecuted and punished heresy, but it also had a pedagogical role, that of defining heresy and telling the population how to identify its symptoms. To what extent did its categorizations of heresy constitute an 'invention' that actually conditioned how such trends arose and spread?

Many people of Converso origin were accused by the Inquisition of in fact remaining Jewish or Muslim. The difficulties of charting the contours of a secret religion (crypto-Islam, crypto-Judaism) are compounded by the sheer impossibility of knowing the inner convictions lying beneath or beyond outward practice. This is of the utmost importance. How did the Inquisition deal with this impossibility? Contributions to this book suggest that by the late sixteenth century, anxiety about the opaqueness of the beliefs of Conversos was the basis and *raison d'être* of the blood purity statutes and even of the Expulsion of the Moriscos. The dissimulation and hypocrisy supposedly inherent to people of Converso origin created a climate of suspicion, which was on the rise throughout the sixteenth century. The idea that people of Converso origin

2 Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse of the Other* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); see note 93 in Chapter 11 of this volume.

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routinely simulated and dissimulated became a virtual obsession. Opacity of interiority was intertwined with the increasing regulation of ritual and culture. The insistence of the Inquisition on the confession of names of other culprits was designed to expose the networks that the Holy Office firmly believed were required to sustain popular challenges to orthodoxy.

Dissimulation and secret religion were also connected to doubt. Doubts about what to believe and about one's ability to know what others believed led individuals to question the nature of the relationship between inherited nature and acquired practices.

Another fundamental problem confronted throughout the book is that of deciding how many of the ideas and phenomena addressed here, despite being extant in other parts of Europe, were adopted or read differently in Iberia, or were transformed because of the Converso issue – both Jewish and Muslim. Or, to put it differently, we are faced with the problem of discovering whether the phenomena analyzed here can best be explained by looking inward, within Iberia, or by looking outward, to similar processes taking place in other parts of Europe. At issue is whether or not the Converso problem made Iberia a particularly fertile soil for certain ideas but not others. Nearly all of the contributions address this problem and deal with it in different ways, even looking further into the past to examine several processes' roots in Al-Andalus and medieval Christian Iberia. In fact, this constitutes the main problem addressed in this book: to what extent can the Converso question provide a key to explaining not only heterodoxy but a wide and seemingly diverse range of contemporaneous issues?

Mass religious conversion was also taking place in other parts of Europe during this time. In the period after both the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, religious conversion occurred throughout Europe on a scale which can perhaps only be compared to the mass conversions to Christianity in the Roman Empire, or the mass conversions to Islam in the Middle East and the southern Mediterranean after the conquests of the eighth century. In early modern Europe a very large number of people were faced with new beliefs, new religious formations and the disintegration or reformulation of others, with the need to forge new personal identities. Like the Judeoconversos and Moriscos, many resorted to Nicodemism, dissimulation, or to inner forms of religiosity. Protestant sects were forced to practice Nicodemism and inner faith in a way which was not unlike the secret practices of those Judeoconversos or Moriscos who continued to practice Judaism or Islam, or who turned to an inner form of religiosity. Several contributions to this book indicate that the role of Conversos in movements of religious dissidence was conditioned less by the dissimulated survival of crypto-Jewish beliefs than by a forced religious Nicodemism, often in the form of an inward withdrawal. This strategy was

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directly linked to the social stigma that arose whenever a person's 'tainted' origins were discovered.

Despite this apparently all-pervading ideology on tainted origins versus blood purity, Iberian society also produced movements of dissidence and resistance through different forms of fideism, mysticism and the defense of interior religiosity. All of these were linked to reform movements, which were, again, linked to the reforms taking place in the rest of Europe. Protestantism had a far-reaching influence in Spain than what is usually admited. Iberia was also an extremely innovative breeding ground for a wider spiritual movement – whose adherents were identified as *Alumbrados*, *Iluminados, Dejados*, *Perfectos*. As Marcel Bataillon has shown,[3] *Alumbrado* tendencies were clearly analogous to those of the great religious revolution sweeping across the rest of Europe, usually identified by the labels of Protestantism or the Reformation. Spanish Illuminism began before the publication of Luther's theses, but the origins of Protestantism can also be traced back further than 1517. They are, at all events, movements which it is impossible to reduce to mere doctrines.

As in the rest of Europe, conversion affected many aspects of the religious life of Iberian society and certainly drove different kinds of desire for reform. The most frequently repeated symptom of this desire is what Bataillon and many after him have called 'Paulinism', that is, a faith in the ability of baptism to transform and renew men. This was part of the Erasmian thought that was so influential in Spain during the first half of the sixteenth century. Although we focus on events in Iberia, the chapters of this book suggest that the climate of reform and the processes of quest for spiritual interiority were carried out in ways not controlled by the institution of the Church. Dissatisfaction or lack of trust in ecclesiastical hierarchies, intellectual skepticism and internal exile are forms of behavior in which members of early modern Spanish society – as those living in other parts of Europe – engaged. This happened regardless of whether their origin was Converso or Old Christian. Disbelief, indifference, forgery, syncretism, accommodation and/or apology are all attitudes, as this book argues, which can be linked to this process.

To what extent were the Old Christians in whom we find these skeptical, pessimistic or fideistic tendencies influenced by a desire to distance themselves from policies such as the blood purity statutes, the practices of certain institutions such as the Inquisition, the ways in which the supposed evangelization of the Moriscos had taken place, or the debate that was set in motion to justify their expulsion? In a broader sense, which sectors do we see wishing to

3 Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (trans.) Antonio Alatorre (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991).

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observe religion differently from the norms laid down at Trent, and what means of expression did they find to manifest their religiosity? These questions, taken up in some chapters and answered in different ways or from various angles, show the plurality of observable religious, political and intellectual positions in an Iberia that has been seen for far too long as homogeneous and monolithic. It also brings us to reject a view of 'Modernity' as a single moment of rupture. In fact, and although the word appears in its title, 'Modernity' is not, after all, a good analytical tool for the content of this book. 'Modern' is often equated with 'secular' and we do not want to convey the idea that dissent from religious orthodoxy was necessarily a prelude to a repudiation of religion altogether.[4] Such a premise would discount the doctrinal and intellectual complexity of many heterodox attitudes analized in this book.

Late medieval Iberian pluralism is shown to be a fertile terrain for doubt, dissimulation and unbelief in the afterlife and also one of skepticism about the possibility of arriving at a stable criterion for truth. Was the emergence of these forms of skepticism encouraged by a context of fluctuating religious identities, brought about by rounds of mass conversion? Or was it a consequence of 'inheritance', the tendency to believe what one's parents do, so that in passing from one religion to another all possible certainty is torn asunder? How should we distinguish the truly unique nature and consequences of the Converso phenomenon, and the associated attitudes of dissimulation, against the backdrop of a Europe that is increasingly accustomed to practices of spiritual dissimulation and subterfuge? The practical impossibility of spreading the gospel among Muslims was explained by reference to the idea that Muslims thought dissimulation legitimate, meaning that a genuine assessment of their real beliefs could never be made, their heart of hearts never pierced. Such claims occasionally led commentators to go so far as to express doubts about the transformational capacity of baptism, signaling the end of 'Paulinism'. Also, certain Protestant denominations – and in particular the Church of England – had denied the 'miraculous' capacity of the Sacrament of Baptism to transform men. The claim that belief was inherited ultimately resulted in an identification of cultural or religious characteristics with physical inheritance.

Failure therefore was not only due to inadequate evangelization, but also to the impossibility of identifying sincere belief. The Inquisition's failure or uncertain success in controlling other faiths meant that orthodoxy became identified with genealogy. The obsession with religious interiority was translated into an increasing regulation of ritual and culture.

4 We follow Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (eds.), *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy 1600–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

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Let us return to the blood purity statutes and the growing racialization of religion, in which the underlying belief in tainted blood, and the stigmatization of this 'stain', is generally considered most characteristically Iberian. Recent scholarship, in particular the work of Enrique Soria Mesa, has shown that the attempts of people of Jewish descent to erase all traces to their origins through the fabrication of 'Probanzas de cristiano viejo' or pedigrees of 'clean blood' (that would allow them to obtain important posts and offices) were both frequent and successful. This, even after having had family members previously tried by the Inquisition, an event that left a stain that was difficult to clean from the family's record.[5] Yet the very fact that they needed these complex and at times convoluted fabrications to climb in the social ladder, and the vulnerable situation imposed on them after having falsified those certificates, is a proof of the importance of the 'clean blood' statutes. The ideology of the pure blood followed the Medieval model where the blood of the Christian monarch set the standard for feudal organization. The fact that in Spain this ideology was so strongly linked with the rejection of those who had Jewish origins is arguably the most distinctive element vis-à-vis similar processes taking place in the rest of Europe. Arguably or perhaps in need of revision because although converts from one confession of Christianity to another were in priciple not tainted by their biological linage and were able to erase their convert origins, it was more difficult that we tend to assume. There was an increasing tendency to link religion and ethnicity. In France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Protestants were denied access to certain professions, such as the law. The Germans, Dutch, and French who experienced religious diversity also had to wrestle with the dilemmas of an age when religion powerfully shaped the identity of individuals and communities. As Hans Blom and other Dutch historians have emphasized, toleration was less a principle of equality than a practice of exclusion.[6] And as recent research on mixed marriages – most notably the work of Benjamin Kaplan[7] – has shown, religious hybridity was often viewed in these lands as nothing short of monstrous, and there was a sense that there was something unnatural in mixing. Thus, a shadow of uncertainty hung over the orthodoxy and loyalty of people or groups who mixed with other religions. Moreover, Dennis Britton has also suggested a

5 Enrique Soria Mesa, *La realidad tras el espejo. Ascenso social y limpieza de sangre en la España de Felipe II* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2016).

6 Hans W. Blom, 'Styles of Heterodoxy and Intellectual Achievement: Grotius and Arminianism', in *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy* (ed.) Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (Leiden: Brill, 2012) pp. 47–73.

7 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) and especially *Cunegonde's Kidnapping: A Story of Religious Conflict in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).

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racialization of religion in England. According to Britton the Church of England's theology on baptism turned Christians and 'infidels' into distinctive races.[8] However, blood was not identified with religion elsewhere in Europe in the way it was in Iberia. To be of Converso origin or to be accused of being of Converso origin – and hence of 'Judaizing' or 'Islamizing' – was perceived as real danger in all sectors of Iberian society. Accusations of such behavior – which included turning to the Inquisition – were often employed by elites, families or any group competing for power that wanted to get rid of its adversaries. The case of physicians, often identified as having Converso ancestry, and the politicization of medical expertise accompanied by professionalization, provides a clear example. It also shows that knowledge, like religion, was associated with biology.

Other countries in Europe also relied on genealogy to construct race. A growing body of scholarship has been recently defining the emergence of race as a category of identity in the early modern period. In sixteenth-century France, for example, the idea of a nobility of blood (*noblesse de sang*) and the word 'race' were used jointly and indistinctly as a way of distinguishing noblemen from others. The blood of individuals of a lower social class was thought to be capable of having a corrupting effect on noble blood in cases of mixed marriages. In other words, in France the 'race discourse' basically sought to separate and distinguish a privileged class. That same discourse of blood associated with nobility also existed in Spain. But what made the early modern Spanish notion of race distinct was its direct and powerful link with Judaism, Islam and heresy. Growing social anxieties over conversion and religious loyalties played a crucial role in turning lineage into a mechanism for promoting order and hierarchy. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the idea had been firmly established that having purely Christian ancestors was the only guarantee of a person's loyalty to the faith. Descent and religion, blood and faith, were the two foundations of this ideology. Publication of the blood purity statutes reinforced and strengthened this link, which had come to seem hegemonic by the beginning of the seventeenth century. Once the categories of truth had been destabilized, origin seems to have emerged as the last and only resort. And in this apparently paradoxical manner, the idea that religious belief was biologically inherited not only reinforced the tie between the concept of race and religious belonging, but also converged with a clear and growing skepticism in Iberia from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. While this skepticism was not at all specific to Spain, and was expressed in terms which were not so different from those used in the rest of Europe, the underlying Converso problem lent it a number of specific characteristics.

8 Dennis A. Britton, *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation and Early Modern English Romance* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

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The idea that belief was inherited was connected to the impossibility of knowing the unknowable and deciding where truth laid. Numerous studies have been carried out on skepticism and doubt in Europe during this same period, and many recent works have shown that the paths towards 'modernization' intersected in one way or another with those of doubt, not only in the great Western philosophical tradition but also in the areas of Biblical philology, ethnography or antiquarianism. Much emphasis has been placed on the Biblical-philological tradition which opened the way for comparativism in France, the Netherlands and England, or for Italian and northern European humanism, and for the specificity of the Marranismo of the Conversos and 'New Jews' of Amsterdam.[9] Iberia has been in general overlooked by this historiography, just as it has by and large been omitted from studies concerning skepticism. This book provides material to reconsider such biases, particularly in the chapters by Stefania Pastore, Seth Kimmel, Felipe Pereda and Mercedes García-Arenal, which also show how close the proposals made in Spain were to those of contemporary Europe. This is not only true of epistemological skepticism, but also of Popkin's main intuition concerning the interplay between religious faith and scientific criticism in the early modern struggle for certainty.

The assimilation of large numbers of converts from Judaism and Islam in late medieval and early modern Iberia forced both converts and Old Christians to confront Islamic and Jewish sacred texts, prophets, lineages, languages, and practices. Converts brought with them their own hermeneutical traditions, their readings and translations of the sacred texts, and their intellectual tools and books of reference, as is made clear in some of the chapters contained here. 'Tainted' origins versus sacred origins is also a topic at the heart of more than one chapter of this book, and particularly the efforts that were made to write a version of sacred origins which would make it possible to integrate Jews and Muslims into the Hispanic past. The existence of groups of former Muslims and Jews also weighed heavily when it came to considering the sacred languages of both religions, Arabic and Hebrew: the need arose to de-Islamize Arabic and to reclaim Hebrew as a sacred Christian language, as shown by the chapters by Adam Beaver or Valeria López Fadul. At a time when the first Orientalist studies were emerging in Europe, through figures like Erpenius, Bedwell or Raimondi, at a time when an Arabic printing press had started to

9 The classical reference is Richard Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) although his thesis has been contested; see for example Dominik Perler, 'Was there a `Pyrrhonian Crisis´in Early Modern Philosophy? A Critical Note of Richard H. Popkin', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 86 (2004): pp. 209–220; the studies that attack Popkin have not included Iberia. For comparativism, Guy Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

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function in Italy and when Eastern Christians had made a place for themselves in Rome and instituted the teaching of 'Christian Arabic', the existence in Spain – above all in Granada and Valencia – of Arabic-speaking populations in the early seventeenth century did not make it easy to separate Arabic from Islam, and especially from the alleged crypto-Islam of the Moriscos. Something similar occurred with Bible translations and readings. The dictates of Trent advised against translations of the Bible into the vernacular tongues – which in Spain were prohibited by the Inquisition – and declared that the Vulgate was the version to be used by Catholics. In Spain, as Adam Beaver discusses, this was accompanied by profound suspicion toward those who devoted their time to studying Hebrew, who were often seen as potential Judaizers. Some Spanish scholars of Hebrew and the Bible, to whom direct access to Jewish scriptural culture was denied, sought a path to it through the mediation or reading of works by Conversos, as was the case of Benito Arias Montano, whose presence is of primordial significance in several chapters of this book, by Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, Adam Beaver, and Valeria López Fadul. These contributions also highlight the uniqueness of the Spanish medieval Bible tradition, which was closer to the Hebrew tradition and the Hebrew text than to the Vulgate. This was a tradition that was clearly derived from Hispanic Judaism's grammatical and philological analysis of Scripture. What Beaver calls the 'Sephardic habitus' is not meant to imply that a Converso background was a prerequisite to becoming a scholar: rather, it signifies a far-reaching legacy of the intellectual history of the Iberian peninsula. The textual transmission of the Hebrew text of the Bible and its rabbinical exegesis had been intertwined in the history of the three Iberian faith communities long before the forced conversions, and it did not simply vanish thereafter. We can also see that the prohibition of the Bible in Romance vernacular was challenged and debated, yet ultimately did not prevent the text of the Bible from being disseminated in a variety of ways. Therefore, different contributions to this book, Beaver's and Rodríguez Mediano's in particular, show that the generally accepted equation of Protestantism with Hebraism and the Hebrew Bible, and Catholicism with Latin and the Vulgate, is not so clear-cut. This is a panorama that likewise poses the problem of the idiosyncratic relation between the Spanish language and the linguistic model of the Bible.

The issue of translating the Bible forms the core of different sets of questions that can be understood through the more general problem of the relationship between the sacred past of Spain, the Biblical text, and Jewish antiquities. Besides its dogmatic implications, the problem of literality was part of a wider discussion on linguistic and literary models for Spanish as a language: if the Bible and Hebrew were able to provide such a model, it was through the existence of Medieval Spanish translations made by Jews. The use of these translations, and the idea of Hebrew as a model for Spanish, can be

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found, for example, in the work of Francisco de Quevedo. In a more general way, the tension between literal and allegorical exegesis, and the different meanings of the Biblical text, was central in discussions of the concept of representation. The tale of Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish legions, as analyzed by Adam Beaver, shows how Iberian Jews and Christians saw themselves at times as allies in rescuing the Bible not once but twice: first from Islam and then from the Reformation. Beaver analyzes the consequences of interlocking phases of conversions and the role of different periods and settings of polemics in preserving hidden continuities in pre- and post-1492 Iberia.

The intricacies of the Hebrew language and of Jewish culture and ritual would have been almost inaccessible to Christian scholars without the help of teachers who had been raised in Judaism, that is, without the help of recent converts. This made Conversos valuable partners for Christian humanists, especially to those who wanted to use Hebrew and the Jewish heritage for purposes other than mere polemics – those who, at the same time, wanted to separate Hebrew learning from its Jewish context and make it the property of Christians. In the same way, knowledge of the Qurʾān was largely achieved via the mediation of Conversos like Juan Andrés, whose name shows up in several contributions to this book – see the chapters by Pier Mattia Tommasino, Gerard A. Wiegers, Ryan Szpiech, and Teresa Soto and Katarzyna Starczewska – or Juan Gabriel de Teruel. This mediation often, but not always, took place in a context of anti-Islamic religious polemic. Just as translations of the Hebrew text were carried out by Jews and for Jews, translations of the Qurʾān – generally written in *aljamía*: Spanish written in the Arabic alphabet – were made by Muslim Moriscos for Muslims. What is the relationship between the two kinds of translations if the Qurʾān translated for polemical purposes was made by converted *alfaquíes* (Muslim scholars) who were familiar with the peninsular *tafsīr* (Islamic exegesis) tradition? In the case of Juan Andrés, for example, this proves beyond all doubt the continuity of hermeneutical methods rooted in Al-Andalus. As for the qurʾānic quotations included in seventeenth-century polemical treatises, they show that Arabic was part of an argument of authority, a legitimizing device and a way to put pressure on Islamic populations that no longer spoke Arabic. In the case of Martín de Figuerola – see Soto and Starczewska – Arabic was also a legitimizing device to convince authorities to compel the Muslims to convert: language could adorn someone's performance, to serve professional ends in addition to hermeneutical ones. Use of the Arabic language and Islamic sources as tools to legitimate this anti-Islamic enterprise created a proximity that proved far from comfortable and also created an unexpected dependency on the opponent, as discussed by Soto and Starczewska. Once again, the role of the Converso *alfaquíes* proves to be fundamental; their contribution to the task of evangelizing – as polemicists, but also

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Orientalists – sheds new light on what has too blithely been diagnosed as a deteriorated form of Islam that was cut off from its sources. Therefore, the chapters of this book also force us to revise clichés taken for granted in this area, such as the idea that in Iberia the Bible was not translated or therefore understood, or that in this period Spain, unlike other European lands, did not witness the rise of Orientalist knowledge based on a new set of philological and methodological tools. Orientalist scholarship certainly was produced in Spain, where the methods of philologists and antiquarians contributed to the study of Oriental languages, especially Arabic and Hebrew. Such scholars were indeed in contact with the European 'Republic of Letters'. A number of Moriscos played a part in forming this Orientalist scholarship, as in the case of al-Ḥajarī analyzed by G. Wiegers, who was influential even in Northern European university circles, or the convert and clergyman Juan Andrés. Translations of the Bible and the Qurʾān and their inclusion in works of religious polemics reveal the ambiguities of the language of the Scriptures. Even more importantly, the choice of texts to include in polemics and the way they were translated shows how such decisions affected not only the possible acquisition of a new faith by the Conversos, but also the belief system of the preachers themselves. These converts were of great importance both for polemics and for erudite humanist knowledge of Judaism and Islam. Indeed, such figures afforded Christian Hebraists and Arabists extraordinary access to the last living heirs of a tradition of grammatical and exegetical study that was unique to medieval Iberia and unavailable elsewhere in Europe.

Two chapters (Wiegers, Tommasino) show that this Spanish Orientalist knowledge and the polemical exchanges between Muslims and Christians in Iberia had a noteworthy impact on discussions about the origins and place of Christianity and on nascent Arabic and Islamic studies in Europe. Removed from the Iberian context, some anti-Christian polemical texts written by Moriscos were translated into Latin and used in Protestant circles as anti-Trinitarian polemical tools. Thomas Erpenius and Jacobus Golius, two founding fathers of Oriental studies in the Netherlands, made use of Morisco authors as reliable sources for knowledge of both Arabic and Islam. The anti-Islamic treatise penned by the convert Juan Andrés, the only such text to present itself as the natural product of an authentic conversion experience, as Ryan Szpiech proposes, was also the repository of traditional Islamic doctrinal knowledge, the heritage of Al-Andalus. Different contributions (Tommasino, Soto and Starczewska, and Wiegers) not only show how Juan Andrés' long trail of influence extended to writers beyond Iberia, but also focus on the trail of Morisco exile writing from Morocco, such as the work of Muḥammad Alguazir (Wiegers).

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Another problem which Spain had in common with many European nations of the time, and which is shown by this book to have been transformed by the Converso substrate, is that of historiography and the quest for origins. In many parts of Europe we see from the mid-sixteenth century onwards a historiography which can be described as 'proto-national'. All of these historiographical works included a counter-reaction which can be described as 'anti-Roman' – including in Italy, with a focus on the Etruscans – in direct opposition to the Italianizing humanism which had cast Italy as the preeminent nation in Europe, on account of its Roman past. In Spain – and in other countries, especially Germany – a pride in all things 'Gothic' arose in opposition to this Italian vision of Europe. At the same time, the Jewish and Christian tradition was placed in opposition to the achievements of Classical Antiquity, robbing the latter of its pretensions to cultural superiority. This new ideology produced a notable outpouring of idealization and forgery, in a context where false chronicles took on increasing importance. The most influential example of this new trend was the work of the Italian scholar and forger Annio da Viterbo, who claimed to use as his sources the unpublished works of ancient authors and whose own work constituted an integration of the Old Testament and cultures from before the Greco-Roman period. Countries, towns, cities and dynasties could thereby find or create a mythical background for their predecessors which was independent of the myths of classical culture. 'Ancient' and 'sacred' became two overlapping concepts. In Spain too, the remains of saints or churches, the bones of martyrs, and the ruins of buildings which appeared in a host of villages and cities were 'discovered' as a way of linking Spain with sacred history. The creation of local sacred histories with their own martyrs made it possible to include Spain in a sanctified history, one that stretched back to the Orient of the Bible and even to Babylon and Egypt, wellsprings of a wisdom and prestige that surpassed those of Greece and Rome, as V. López Fadul and C. Vincent-Cassy argue in their contributions. It meant, at the same time, the creation of a new local religion. In the course of this antiquarian quest, which unearthed both forgeries and real archaeological remains, modern Spanish historiography was often seduced by the forgeries of Annio da Viterbo, which dramatically linked the history of Spain with the mythology of the Great Flood and the genealogy of Noah.

All of this, once again, took on its own specific character in Iberia, and the presence of archaeological and monumental remains from the Arab past, especially in towns and cities of Andalusia such as Cordoba, Seville and Granada, only complicated matters. When the history of such cities came to be written – their archaeological remains described, their inscriptions deciphered – what exactly were historians to do? How could they accomodate an Arab-Islamic past that in these cities was so obvious, so unavoidable, and at the same time so

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glorious? One of the ways to skirt this evidence of Islam was to use the remains of martyrs (objects, relics, images) that were so much sought after by antiquarians working on local history. The discovery of such vestiges served to prove the continuity of the Christian past throughout a long period of martyrdom caused first by the Romans and later by the Muslims, presented as belonging to one common class of enemies and cruel persecutors. Cécile Vincent-Cassy's argument is related to that of Adam Beaver, which shows the potential alliance of Jews and Christians against Islam in a polemical vindication closely related to the creation of new elites. The idea was that the blood of Christian martyrs had irrigated this soil which by rights was theirs, sanctifying it for all eternity and thus creating a sacred geography. Another way to solve the problem was to de-Islamize such remains. They were presented – as in the case of the Great Mosque of Cordoba – as the work of the Phoenicians, Idumeans or other Biblical people who had arrived with Tubal, Noah's grandson.

The theme of Islam and the Arabic language in Spain is ever-present in these early modern historical narratives centered on the problem of integrating the history of Al-Andalus into the history of Spain. The debate is inextricably connected to wider contemporary discussions on the origins of the Spanish language and the influence of Arabic on it, as seen in the peninsula's toponymy – as López Fadul discusses. National history was also the history of a territory marked clearly by its archaeological and monumental remains and by its place names. However, it was not only territory and national history that had been 'infiltrated' by the Islamic past. Arabic's influence on the Spanish language was well known. What was to be done with such marks of Jewish and Islamic culture? And how were the populations of Converso origin in turn to find their place in the new national narrative? Some notable sixteenth-century Iberian forgeries stemmed from such questions, especially that of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada and the chronicles of the Jesuit Jerónimo Román de la Higuera.[10] Just as the latter claimed that there were documents demonstrating the presence of an ancient Jewish population in Spain, one that had opposed the killing of Christ and was therefore unencumbered by the heavy burden of this sin, the Lead Books appeared to defend the existence of a Spanish Arab culture, represented by Moriscos who had converted to Christianity at an early date and who had not taken part in the 1568–70 Alpujarras War. These texts 'created' Arabs who were free of Islam and Jews who were freed from responsibility for the death of Christ – two peoples who had lived in the Peninsula from the beginning and who connected it to an earlier age when humankind had been closer to its Creator.

10 See the recent book by Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

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It was a history which necessarily traced itself back to sacred Christian origins, in line with the official narrative of an emerging proto-national historiography. At the same time, it made it possible to include within the national narrative those groups who were in fact destined to be left on its margins – Christians of Islamic or Jewish origin. The idea that Spanish Jews had arrived with the Assyrians after the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar was widely believed, as is shown by Beaver. He connects it not so much to the need for these Conversos to participate in the writing of a proto-national history as to a further development of an Islamic polemic against Judaism that ended up uniting Christians and Jews in defense of the Bible, not only as a sacred text but as a historical source. In the case of Spain, the study and use of the ancient history of the Hebrew people was linked to Spaniards' unique relationship with the Bible, Hebrew, and the conditions surrounding the production of the nation's sacred history. Moreover, this use was to be of acute importance for the construction of an imperial ideology.

One tremendously important element running through several of the contributions to this book is the relationship between Spanish historiography and sacred history, and therefore the issue of the national history's relationship with the Bible. This was a problem that was articulated in a number of ways, all of them connected to the spiritual and symbolic dimension of the relations between the history of Spain and the Biblical past. The small and hypothetical allusion to Sepharad/Spain in the book of Obadiah, so dearly cherished by Arias Montano but the subject of much controversy, situated Spain within the sacred text but also provided it with a place in the economy of salvation – see Beaver, Rodríguez Mediano, López Fadul.

Toponymy and etymology became necessary tools and were amply used in works that aimed to discover the origins of peoples and the histories of their regions, striking at the core of some of the most controversial aspects of Spanish history and self-understanding. It was not only a matter of national history and territory: different scholars identify a significant form of linguistic nationalism too in early modern Spain. Many figures expressed in very clear terms the idea that there should be a single national language and that this language was an important unifying characteristic for national identity, endowed with historical legitimacy.

Iberia's place within a European context is made so clear in this book that it becomes impossible to think of Spain without Europe or Europe without Spain. This seems obvious but in fact is not obvious at all. Italy and the Netherlands were clearly lands of interaction and constant mutual reference – as emphasized by Tommasino, Wiegers, Kimmel, Pereda, Pastore, and García-Arenal. A different but no less important means of connection with Europe which appears in this book, especially in Pastore and Pereda, lies not so much in the transmission of ideas as in the mirror image of Spain offered by other

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countries. Our current way of thinking is so thoroughly shaped by a European liberal historiography that condemns the Spain of the Inquisition and the statutes of blood purity that we have failed to notice that in fact early modern European nations chose to characterize Spain as Oriental – because of its Jewish and Islamic populations – as part of an effort to challenge its imperial dominion over other European countries. This interpretation remained the norm in Italy, France and the Netherlands, and it caused much consternation among early modern Spaniards themselves, who acutely resented the representation of their country as one mired in Judaism and Islam. Italians, for instance, spoke of the *peccadiglio di Spagna* to refer with irony and disdain to the mixed origin of Spaniards and their ambiguous religious identity (Pastore). Erasmus of Rotterdam, in a famous letter to Thomas More in 1517, explained why he had turned down an invitation from Cardinal Cisneros to travel to Spain to work on the Polyglot Bible, writing that he did not like such a deeply Semitic country (Pereda). This representation of the country affected Spain's position in Europe and its aspirations within the Catholic world. European disdain for the mixed origins of Spaniards created a game of mirrors – 'The mirror of Spain', to borrow the title of J.N. Hillgarth's book[11] – in which Spain displayed a defensive attitude towards all belief deemed deviant within the heart of Hispanic Catholicism.

The supposedly ambiguous religious identity of Spaniards revolved around notions of hypocrisy and simulation. Stefania Pastore shows that sixteenth-century Italians liked to define Spaniards, against all our notions of the period, as hypocrites, marranos and unbelievers, and her proposal is confirmed from a different angle by the contribution of Felipe Pereda. The Spaniard is presented as the marrano, the practiced hypocrite who, having been obliged to learn the art of simulation, has turned this existential attitude into his political weapon of choice. In the perception of Italians and contemporary humanists, the Spanish Inquisition was by no means an institution that demonstrated the impeccable purity of Spanish faith. On the contrary, the mixing of Spanish and alien blood over many centuries was thought to have bred doubt, disbelief and dissimulation. Hence the famously reputed hypocrisy of the Spaniards.

But the accusation of hypocrisy was one that was also in constant use within Iberia itself, as part of a perpetual climate of suspicion. Hypocrisy is one of the transversal notions throughout this book. Hypocrisy created, as doubt did, a space without a defined religious identity. We are confronted with the blurring of identity because of hypocrisy, while at the same time hypocrisy gives rise to another identity altogether, equated with heresy and unbelief. This makes hypocrisy dangerous indeed. Several contributions explore the complex

11 Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000).

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notions that revolve around the breach between external manifestations and inner states, intentions and beliefs (Pastore, Pereda, García-Arenal, Fowler, and Kimmel). Notions like hypocrisy, but also duplicity, dissimulation and simulation, are to be found on many pages in this book. Pereda's chapter shows, for example, the ambivalent dissimulation inherent in linguistic and pictorial representation. The third part of the book in particular reveals the tensions between internal and external manifestations of religious beliefs, and shows how these notions extend to the entire realm of representation. These chapters are also concerned with the interaction between an awareness of the difficulties involved in interpreting divinity and those at play when interpreting other human beings.

What appears in these chapters (especially those by Pereda, Pastore, and Kimmel) is the ambivalent meaning of hypocrisy, which is negative but can also be positive, as well as its hermeneutical value. The ambivalence of hypocrisy and dissimulation has not been as thoroughly analyzed by historiography as other related notions such as secret and concealment. Jacques Chiffoleau has produced seminal work on the question of how medieval law treated the 'secret' and the 'hidden', showing these two notions to be a key issue for the institutional construction of the political subject: *Ecclesia de occultis non iudicat*, the Church does not judge things which are concealed.[12] This saying seems to delimit the space of judges while opening up the possibility that in every individual the institutional Church itself recognizes a zone of total exemption, which is the domain of God only, where only God can look and judge. The problem is that these two notions of the secret and the hidden are ambivalent: on the one hand they have a very clear negative character – the hidden or occult is related to Satan, the secret to plots and conspiracies – but on the other they refer to something which is not negative at all: God's knowledge of the humanly unknowable, divine omnipotence regarding the inner core of man. The occult also designates what man cannot know because of his imperfection and finitude. We might want to ask, as David Nirenberg suggested as a discussant on one of the conference panels, what Augustine meant when he wrote, in his *De Trinitate*, that Sacred Scripture used words 'in order to signify that which is not so, but which must be said to be so'. It 'must be said to be so' both because human language cannot represent divine realities, and because human minds cannot understand those realities. For Augustine and the hermeneutical traditions that followed him, scriptural metaphor, indeed all language, both scriptural and non-scriptural, possesses a power at once to enlighten and to deceive.

12 Jacques Chiffoleau, *La chiesa, il segreto e l'obbedienza. La costruzione del soggetto politico nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010).

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# PART 1

## *Biblical Culture, Jewish Antiquities and New Forms of Sacred History*

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CHAPTER 1

# Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions: Sephardic Legends' Journey from Biblical Polemic to Humanist History

*Adam G. Beaver*

## Hebrew Antiquities

There was no love lost between the Enlightened antiquarians Francisco Martínez Marina (1754–1833) and Juan Francisco de Masdeu (1744–1817).[1] Though both were clerics – Martínez Marina was a canon of St Isidore in Madrid, and Masdeu a Jesuit – and voracious epigraphers, their lives and careers diverged in profound ways. Masdeu was an outsider in his profession: expelled from the Iberian Peninsula along with his fellow Jesuits in 1767, he spent most of the last fifty years of his life in Rome. There, substituting the descriptions and sketches forwarded by sympathetic amanuenses in Spain for the ancient remains he would never see firsthand, he continued to pursue his research in Iberian antiquities in open opposition to the state-sanctioned projects conceived and carried out by the prestigious Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Martínez, in contrast, was the consummate insider, inhabiting the very centers of power denied to Masdeu: a member of the liberal parliament of 1820–23, he was also an early member, and eventually two-time president, of the Real Academia which Masdeu scorned. It was almost certainly as a staunch defender of the Real Academia's massive research projects – especially its official catalogue of ancient Iberian inscriptions, which Masdeu proposed to better with his own inventory – that Martínez Marina acquired his palpable distaste for Masdeu, his methods, and his ideological commitments.

1 On Martínez Marina and Masdeu, see Roberto Mantelli, *The Political, Religious and Historiographical Ideas of J.F. Masdeu, S.J., 1744–1817* (New York, London: Garland Publishing, 1987); María Concepción Castrillo Llamas, 'D. Francisco Martínez Marina: el hombre y su obra', *Medievalismo*, 2 (1992): pp. 219–25; Enrique García Hernán, 'Construcción de las historias de España en los siglos XVII y XVIII', in *La construcción de la Historia de España*, (ed.) Ricardo García Cárcel (Madrid: Fundación Carolina, Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos, Marcial Pons, 2004), pp. 127–94.

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Martínez Marina was especially skeptical of the orientalist dimension of Masdeu's scholarship, and particularly of his handling of the 'ancient' Hebrew inscriptions which the Jesuit claimed could be found throughout the Peninsula – including, most famously, a pair of fragmentary tomb inscriptions unearthed in the late fifteenth century near the Jewish cemetery in the Aragonese town of Morvedre.[2] While Martínez Marina was inclined to date the Morvedre inscriptions to the Middle Ages, Masdeu (who may have been in the majority) claimed to have proof that they were quite a bit older – indeed, that they dated back to the tenth century BCE and the reign of the biblical king Solomon, demonstrating that Iberia's Jewish population was the oldest in the world outside of Palestine. For Martínez Marina, such claims were emblematic of Masdeu's gullibility; for Masdeu, Martínez Marina's refusal to accept them smacked of snobbery.

Their rivalry finally boiled over in 1799,when Martínez Marina published a scathing review of Masdeu's *Historia crítica de España* (20 vols., 1783–1807)[3] in the Real Academia's annual *Memorias*.[4] In the course of some 150 pages, Martínez Marina accused his exiled counterpart – as well as the Cordoban franciscans Pedro and Rafael Rodríguez Mohedano, co-authors of a popular *Historia literaria de España* (10 vols., 1769–91)[5] – not only of misreading the Morvedre inscriptions, but also of willfully misinterpreting the Bible, falsifying material evidence, and corrupting the very moral fabric of Spanish history with 'puerile stories and the crudest fables' lifted from medieval Jewish propaganda.[6] Masdeu and the Mohedanos, Martínez Marina fumed, had done more than try to pass off some medieval Hebrew inscriptions as proof that Solomon had established tributary settlements in the peninsula. Channeling 'the ridiculous tales of fifteenth-century Spanish rabbis' like Isaac Abarbanel (1437–1508), they had tried to make the whole of ancient Iberia into a Jewish colony, positing that the city of Toledo itself – the spiritual capital of Spanish church and

2 On the Morvedre inscriptions, see Jordi Casanovas Miró, *Real Academia de la Historia. Catálogo del Gabinete de Antigüedades. Epigrafía hebrea* (Madrid: RAH, 2005), pp. 105–10; David Malkiel, 'The Artifact and Humanism in Medieval Jewish Thought', *Jewish History*, 27 (2013): pp. 21–40.

3 Juan Francisco de Masdeu, *Historia crítica de España, y de la cultura española en todo género* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1783–1807).

4 Francisco Martínez Marina, 'Antigüedades hispano-hebreas, convencidas de supuestas y fabulosas. Discurso histórico-crítico sobre la primera venida de los judíos a España', *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 3 (1799): pp. 317–468.

5 Rafael and Pedro Rodríguez Mohedano, *Historia literaria de España*, (Madrid: García, 1769–91).

6 Martínez Marina, 'Antigüedades hispano-hebreas', p. 384.

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nation – had been founded by the Jews whom the ancient king Nebuchadnezzar II (r. ca. 605–562 BCE) carried off from Jerusalem into the Babylonian Captivity (ca. 597–539 BCE) described in 2 Kings 24 and 2 Chronicles 36. If these Jewish fictions were to be believed, Nebuchadnezzar – or, in some versions, his ally or subordinate Pirrus – brought his Jewish captives not to the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates, but rather to the Pillars of Hercules, where he set them the task of subjugating ancient Iberia's Phoenician colonies. Afterwards, the story went, the Jews were permitted to settle in the Iberian heartland, where they left behind traces of their habitation not only in the physical fabric of *Toledot* and its environs, but also in the alleged Hebraic roots of Spanish language and culture.

To be fair to Masdeu and the Mohedanos, Martínez Marina was quick to note that they were only the latest in a very long line of Christian historians to perpetuate the legend of Iberia's Israelite conquerors. The majority of his review, in fact, is dedicated to his exhaustive efforts to trace Nebuchadnezzar through Spanish historiography, beginning in his own time and ending when the trail ran cold during the reign of Felipe II (r. 1556–98). It was then, Martínez Marina announced, that a circle of *érudits* gathered around the famed orientalist Benito Arias Montano (1527–98) – a circle which included fray Luis de León as well as the historians Esteban de Garibay and Juan de Mariana – boldly transplanted the myth of Toledo's Jewish foundations from Sephardic commentaries into mainstream humanist historiography.[7] It was an improbable finding, to say the least. This moment, so deeply marked by Counter-Reformation, Inquisitorial censorship, and the obsession with *limpieza de sangre*, would not seem to be the likeliest place to find Christian scholars rummaging in medieval Hebrew sources in the hope of finding evidence of Spain's Jewish origins.[8] Indeed, within a generation of the Nebuchadnezzar legend's first appearance in Christian historiography in the mid-sixteenth century, the Inquisition attempted a clean sweep of Spain's Christian hebraists, prosecuting or otherwise

7 The first Christian author to treat Nebuchadnezzar's conquest at length was Benito Arias Montano in his *Commentaria in dvodecim prophetas* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1571), pp. 462–64; from there the subject was picked up by Luis de León, Esteban de Garibay, Juan de Mariana, as well as dozens of other authors through the seventeenth century. See Dominique Reyre, 'Topónimos hebreos y memoria de la España judía en el Siglo de Oro', *El Criticón*, 65 (1995): pp. 31–53; Andrés Moreno Mengíbar and Juan Martos Sánchez, 'Mesianismo y Nuevo Mundo en fray Luis de León, *In Abdiam Prophetam Expositio*', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 98 (1996): pp. 261–89; Francisco J. Perea Siller, 'Benito Arias Montano y la identificación de Sefarad. Exégesis poligráfica de Abdías 20', *Helmántica*, 51 (2000): pp. 199–218.

8 Lu Ann Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), p. 77.

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cowing not only Luis de León and Arias Montano, but also Gaspar de Grajal, Alonso de Gudiel, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, and Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra in a clear demonstration of how easily philological interest in Sephardic materials could be construed as 'judaizing'.[9]

Even so, it remained indisputable that between the second half of the sixteenth century and Martínez Marina's own day a wide array of Christian scholars – some of them hebraists like Arias Montano, but many more of them exclusively Latinate or Castilian authors like the historian Garibay and even the dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca – decided to graft a story about the ancient Israelites from the Sephardic commentary tradition onto the narrowing trunk of foundation myths deployed by the Hispanic Monarchy.[10] This seemed to call for an explanation, but Martínez Marina – who, like most eighteenth-century Spanish intellectuals, approached the vast corpus of medieval Sephardica as if it were the password-protected archive of an alien civilization – ultimately found himself at a loss to explain what Nebuchadnezzar might have meant to Spaniards, whether Christian or Jewish, in the years around 1500.[11] In the past several decades, however, a number of historians have reopened Martínez Marina's question, lavishing fresh attention not only on these Hebraic legends, but also on the other, similar, instances of 'oriental' origin myths which cropped up with notable frequency in late sixteenth-century Spain – including, most famously, the *Plomos* (Lead Books) of the Sacromonte and the related 'false chronicles' promoted by slippery figures like Jerónimo Román de la

9 Carlos Carrete Parrondo, *Hebraístas judeoconversos en la universidad de Salamanca* (*siglos XV–XVI*). *Lección inaugural del curso académico, 1983–1984* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1983); Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, *Gaspar de Grajal* (*1530–1575*). *Frühneuzeitliche Bibelwissenschaft im Streit mit Universität und Inquisition* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998); Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, *Procesos inquisitoriales contra los catedráticos hebraístas de Salamanca. Gaspar de Grajal, Martínez de Cantalapiedra y Fray Luis de León* (Madrid: Monasterio de El Escorial, 1935–46).

10 Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Origen, pérdida y restauración de la Virgen del Sagrario*, in *Obras completas*, (ed.) Luis Astrana Marín (Madrid: Aguilar, 1945), vol. 1, pp. 1021–49, esp. p. 1024. On the Habsburg Monarchy's promotion of an approved canon of origin myths, see Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

11 For a melodramatic account of the neglect of Hebrew studies in eighteenth-century Spain, see Antonio María García Blanco, *Biografía de Antonio María García Blanco, o sea, Historia compendiada de los conocimientos hebreos en España* (Madrid: Tomás Rey, 1869). Among the most significant exceptions to this general pattern of neglect one must count Francisco Pérez Bayer (1711–94) and José Rodríguez de Castro (1739–89); see Aurora Rivière Gómez, *Orientalismo y nacionalismo español. Estudios árabes y hebreos en la Universidad de Madrid* (*1843–1868*) (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 2000), ch. 1.

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Higuera (d. 1611).[12] These historians have tended to explain Spanish humanists' unexpected quest for exotic, Near Eastern origins in two distinct ways.

First, there are those who, looking outward from the Iberian Peninsula, have glossed these legends as typical examples of late Renaissance monarchies' pervasive, aggressive quest for national – perhaps even nationalistic – myths of origins older, and hence more prestigious, than the Roman or Trojan origins that had satisfied their fifteenth-century predecessors.[13] It was precisely this quest that Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) would later pillory, borrowing a term from Diodorus Siculus, as *la boria delle nazioni* (the conceit of nations).[14] According to this interpretation, the appeal of legends like that of Nebuchadnezzar's conquest to Felipe II and his court humanists lay not in their Jewishness, but rather in their assertion of the extreme antiquity of the Hispanic Monarchy. If true, after all, the alleged arrival of ancient Israelites in Spain by the early sixth century BCE would make Spain the first territory within Europe to have received knowledge of the True God – a fact which might further be spun into proof that the Spaniards had become a new Chosen People, destined to spread word of the Gospel throughout their New World empire.[15]

If this first school of thought insists upon the national (or proto-nationalist) nature of these myths at the expense of their Jewishness, the second school

12 David Nirenberg, 'Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain', *Past and Present*, 174 (2002): pp. 3–41; Juan Gil, 'Judíos y conversos en los falsos cronicones', in *Inquisition d'Espagne*, (ed.) Annie Molinié and Jean-Paul Duviols (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 21–43; A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism*, (trans.) Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013); García-Arenal and Rodríguez, 'Les antiquités hébraïques dans l'historiographie espagnole à l'époque moderne', *Dix-septième siècle*, 66 (2015): pp. 79–91; Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

13 For the wider European context, see Anthony Grafton, 'The Identities of History in Early Modern Europe: Prelude to a Study of the *Artes Historicae*', in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, (ed.) Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), pp. 41–74, esp. p. 55; Eric W. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 416–17.

14 Giambattista Vico, *New Science* (New York: Penguin, 2013), p. 45 [I.1.53].

15 See Chapter 3 by Valeria López Fadul in this volume; Olds, *Forging the Past*; Mateo Ballester Rodríguez, *La identidad española en la Edad Moderna (1556–1665). Discursos, símbolos y mitos* (Madrid: Tecnos, 2010); Julio Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la historia (en relación con la de España)* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1992).

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has adopted essentially the contrary perspective. Looking inward rather than outward, privileging the unstable religious politics of the post-1492 Iberian Peninsula and the New Christian backgrounds of many of the individuals responsible for propagating these Hebraic or Arabic origin myths, these historians interpret their positive portrayals of ancient Israelites or Arabs as strategic responses to the social pressures inflicted upon Spain's Converso population in an age of increasing intolerance and persecution. According to this line of thought, it was *precisely* the Jewish content of these legends about Solomon and Nebuchadnezzar that recommended them to their almost exclusively Converso publicists; consequently, they must be understood as a subtle attempt to subvert or contravene the majority preference for cultural and religious homogeneity – a kind of highly intellectualized, antiquarian complement to more obviously political anti-*limpieza* treatises penned by the Franciscan Gaspar de Uceda in 1586 and the Dominican Agustín Salucio in 1599.[16] Histories written in this vein typically take care to establish the somewhat ambiguous Jewish origins of scholars like Arias Montano in an effort to prove a direct correlation between one's interest in these legends and one's sense of 'Converso identity'.[17]

Each of these explanations has considerable merit, and I, too, have argued elsewhere for connecting the myth of Spain's Israelite settlers with the emergence of a supra-regional, 'national' sentiment in the sixteenth-century Peninsula.[18] But they also miss something of vital importance by virtue of their method, which typically considers the Nebuchadnezzar myth's afterlife in the histories and commentaries of early modern Christians in isolation from its medieval, Sephardic origins, as if it were enough simply to know that the legend was 'Jewish'. To presume that one can ask what the Nebuchadnezzar

16 Juan Gil, 'Judíos y conversos'; Stefania Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada. L'inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici* (*1460–1598*) (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2003). For Uceda, see Elvira Pérez Ferreiro, *El tratado de Uceda contra los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* (Madrid: Aben Ezra, 2000); for Salucio's *Discurso acerca de la justicia y buen gobierno de España, en los estatutos de limpieza de sangre y si conviene, o no, alguna limitación a ellos*, see Israel Salvator Révah, 'La controverse sur les statuts de pureté de sang. Un document inédit', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 73 (1971): pp. 263–306.

17 Kevin Ingram, 'Historiography, Historicity and the Conversos', in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, vol. 1: Departures and Change* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 335–56, esp. p. 348. See Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*, pp. 120–21, for further examples and a critique of this 'Inquisitorial approach'.

18 Adam G. Beaver, 'From Jerusalem to Toledo: Replica, Landscape and the Nation in Renaissance Iberia', *Past and Present*, 218 (2013): pp. 55–90.

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legend signified to a sixteenth-or eighteenth-century humanist without also knowing in some detail what, exactly, it meant to its Jewish creators pre-1492 is to imply that the cultural and intellectual products of Al-Andalus, and of Sephardic Judaism in particular, presented to early modern Christians as a buffet of tropes, ideas, and legends unmoored from the deeply-rooted structures and patterns of thought that had given them their original meanings. It is, in other words, to embrace a model of religious conversion in which the new convert packs his language, his textual traditions, and all of the other intellectual trappings of his former life into a single box, labels it 'Judaism', and delivers it to his Christian neighbors at the church door.

Of course, we know that this is not a viable way to think about cross-cultural reception. For that reason, this article will follow Nebuchadnezzar's Jews back to their origins in eleventh-century Al-Andalus in order to build the case for a third, radically different explanation for the improbable popularity of these seemingly 'judaizing' legends in Counter-Reformation Spain. The resulting story is a story about the consequences of interlocking conversions: a human story about the role of polemic and rapprochement in transmitting and preserving the cultural patrimony of Sepharad, and an intellectual story about the hidden continuity of pre-and post-1492 Iberian traditions of polemic and biblical exegesis. The tale of Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish legions is a story not about nations, genealogical pride, or the Inquisition, but about the way in which Iberian Jews and Christians saw themselves as allies in rescuing the Bible – not once, but twice; first from Islam, and then, from the Reformation.

## Doubting the Bible in Al-Andalus

The precise origins of the myth of Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish legions are not entirely clear, and may always remain just beyond the scholar's grasp. It is, however, clear that the search for such origins must begin not in fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Castile, with Martínez Marina's perfidious 'rabbis', but rather in medieval Al-Andalus, among members of the Arabized Jewish elite. By the ninth century, at least some of these Andalusi Jews had begun to claim that they were descended from refugees from the royal or Davidic tribe of Judah who had fled Palestine for Iberia in 70 CE in the wake of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem. While the chronology undergirding this genealogical claim is plausible, syncing up well with the available textual and archaeological evidence, the boast of Davidic descent was controversial even in its own time, and put Iberian Jews at odds with their coreligionists in the Near East, whose

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communal identity was deeply invested in their rival claim of Davidic ancestry for the Jewish exilarch in Baghdad.[19]

Iberian Jews defended their genealogical boast by recourse to the authority of the biblical prophecy of Obadiah – one of the so-called Minor Prophets of the Hebrew Bible – and his ambiguous reference to a tribe of Jewish exiles 'in Sepharad' (Obadiah 1:20) who upon their return were to repossess the cities of southern Judea taken from them by the wicked Edomites. This prophecy was (and still remains) one of the most opaque in the Hebrew Bible, its meaning depending heavily upon which exile one believes it describes as well as the locations to which one believes its numerous obscure toponyms – including the elusive Sepharad – refer. The Jews of Al-Andalus seized upon this ambiguity, arguing that the Edomites were the Romans of 70 CE, that the exiles from the cities of the south were the tribe of Judah, and that Sepharad was an alternative name for the Iberian Peninsula.[20] While modern scholars tend to consider this conjecture unfounded, placing Sepharad instead in Asia Minor, the Jews of medieval Iberia did have at least one authoritative piece of evidence on their side – that is, the ca. first-century CE Aramaic paraphrase of the Prophets, Targum Jonathan – which (also for unknown reasons) rendered the Hebrew 'Sepharad' into Aramaic as 'Ispamia', easily assimilable to the Latin 'Hispania'.[21] By the standards of medieval etymology, this evidence was too compelling to dismiss, and Iberian Jews became Sephardim.

Initially, Iberian Jews' Muslim neighbors demonstrated little interest in disputing this Sephardic myth of origins, in spite of its bold presumption of Davidic ancestry. In fact, the ruling Umayyad dynasty may have encouraged its Jewish subjects' biblical-genealogical pretensions, as a buttress to its own claims of genealogical superiority vis-à-vis its Abbasid counterpart in the East.[22]

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19 Arnold E. Franklin, *This Noble House: Jewish Descendants of King David in the Medieval Islamic East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 41–43.

20 María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little Brown, 2002), p. 78.

21 Eduard Lipiński, 'Obadiah 20', *Vetus Testamentum*, 23 (1973): pp. 368–70; Leivy Smolar and Moses Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New York: Ktav, Baltimore Hebrew College, 1983), p. 122.

22 Gabriel Martínez-Gros, *L'idéologie omeyyade. La construction de la légitimité du Califat de Cordoue (Xe–XIe siècles)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1992); Janina M. Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in Al-Andalus* (Cambridge: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 2000). It may be significant that one of the earliest Sephardic texts to mention Obadiah 1:20 in support of a claim of Davidic ancestry is a diplomatic letter sent by the 'Umayyads' Jewish vizier Ḥasdai ibn Shapruṭ (ca. 915–ca. 970). See Joseph the Khazar and Ḥasdai ibn Shapruṭ, 'Khazar

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That changed, however, in the eleventh century, as the ʿUmayyad caliphate centered in Cordoba tottered and then collapsed under pressures both internal and external, Muslim as well as Christian.[23] The political consequences of the civil war are relatively well-known: it is in the wake of Cordoba's collapse that Al-Andalus disintegrated into the so-called *Ṭawāʾif* (party kingdoms) whose fractiousness helped to facilitate the unusually successful period of Christian reconquest in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[24] But the fall of Cordoba also entailed a rebalancing of cultural influence within the Peninsula's three faith communities, as the old Muslim families of the ruling elite found themselves replaced in several instances by Jewish viziers, the most famous example of which is the well-known Hebrew poet Samuel ibn Naghrīla of Granada (aka Samuel ha-Nagid, 993–after 1056).[25]

This was a severe blow to the former ʿUmayyad or ʿAmirid elite, a group which included the young polymath Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Ḥazm (994–1064).[26] The fall of Cordoba had profound personal consequences for Ibn Ḥazm, who was transformed from the privileged son of the toppled caliph's trusted vizier into an itinerant scholar-in-exile forced to seek protection in Almería and Mallorca, while Jews like Ibn Naghrīla – whom Ibn Ḥazm had known in his youth – took his place atop the social and political hierarchy. Ibn Ḥazm responded to this dramatic fall from fortune in a way familiar to intellectuals of all times and places: by writing a devastating book. In this case, his book – originally entitled *Iẓhār tabdīl al-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā li-l-tawrāt wa-l-injīl* (Exposure of Jewish and Christian Falsifications in the Torah and Gospels) before it grew into *Al-fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ʾahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal* (The Book of Opinions on Religions, Sects, and Heresies) – aimed to prove that the Judaism of his Sephardic rivals

Correspondence', in *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315–1791*, (ed.) Jacob R. Marcus (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1938), pp. 227–32; Norman Roth, 'Ibn Shapruṭ, Ḥasdai', in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, (ed.) E. Michael Gerli (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 420–21.

23 Peter C. Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba: Berbers and Andalusians in Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

24 Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050–1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), ch. 1.

25 Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal. Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

26 On Ibn Ḥazm, see Camilla Adang, Maribel Fierro and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Miguel Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas* (Madrid: Tipografía de la *Revista de archivos*, 1927).

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was an illegitimate and corrupted shadow of its Mosaic original, an obsolete husk long since superseded by Islam.[27]

Taking his cue from earlier generations of Muslim polemicists like ʿAlī ibn Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (fl. ca. 850), who had shown the way to use the Jews' own scripture as a source for anti-Jewish polemic, Ibn Ḥazm trained his considerable critical faculties on the Hebrew Bible.[28] Like his forbears, Ibn Ḥazm identified three types of passages with the potential to embarrass and undermine his Jewish rivals. The first comprised those which could be construed as hidden prophecies of the arrival of Muḥammad and the abrogation (*naskh*) of Jews' special covenant, including both predictions of the fall of Israel (like the oft-polemicized prophecy in Genesis 49:10 that the scepter would one day depart David's tribe of Judah) and intimations of the rise of Islam to replace it (like the mentions of Ishmael's future greatness in Genesis 17:20 and 16:9–12).[29] The second comprised 'indecent' events or passages which seemed to call into question the Bible's suitability as a book of divine revelation. Why, Ibn Ḥazm asked, would a putatively holy book contain so many episodes of rape, incest, drunkenness, and murder?[30] Finally, there were the biblical narrative's countless logical, chronological, and geographical inconsistencies and contradictions, an especially rich vein which Ibn Ḥazm, who knew the Torah reasonably well, mined as comprehensively as any modern biblical critic.[31] While he unfailingly noted the most glaring ruptures in the Torah's narrative fabric – the fact that Moses' death, for example, is narrated in the course of a book (Deuteronomy) which he is supposed to have written[32] – he reserved a special relish for the smallest of details, like the fact that manna was descri-

27 Brann, *Power in the Portrayal*, pp. 55–56; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 26; Ghulām Haider Aasi, *Muslim Understanding of Other Religions: A Study of Ibn Ḥazm's* Kitāb al-faṣl fī l-milal wa-l-'ahwā' wa-l-niḥal (Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Islamic Research Institute, 1999).

28 Camilla Adang, 'Medieval Muslim Polemics against the Jewish Scriptures', in *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions: A Historical Survey*, (ed.) Jacques Waardenburg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 143–59; Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabbān to Ibn Ḥazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996). For Muslim polemicists' knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, particularly via Arabic translations, see Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the 'People of the Book' in the Language of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

29 Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, vol. 2, p. 291.

30 Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, vol. 2, pp. 265–74.

31 Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, p. 123.

32 The claim of Moses' authorship appears in Deuteronomy 31:24; his death is recorded in Deuteronomy 34:5.

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bed as being white in Exodus 16:31 but yellow in Numbers 11:7–8, or the fact that Lamech's son Jabal is described in Genesis 4:20 as the first man to herd livestock in spite of the fact that his ancestor Abel was said to have been a shepherd in Genesis 4:2.[33] As a pioneer of the Ẓāhirite school, known for its exceptionally unforgiving and unsentimental textual criticism, Ibn Ḥazm considered it patently unacceptable that a text purporting to be a single-authored, faithful record of divine revelation should be marred by so many careless mistakes, edits, and seemingly inexplicable perspectival shifts.[34]

Up to this point, Ibn Ḥazm's method of cataloguing the the Hebrew Bible's textual flaws followed closely earlier qurʾānic and polemical traditions which saw the Hebrew Bible as a pastiche of malicious falsification (or *taḥrīf*) and accidental corruption designed to conceal its original, proto-Islamic content.[35] Where Ibn Ḥazm departed from this polemical tradition was in his determination to form a detailed theory as to the historical circumstances in which the Bible's original text had been lost and altered.[36] If their silence with regard to the Bible's history is any indicator, most of Ibn Ḥazm's fellow polemicists simply assumed that the Bible's corruption had happened gradually and haphazardly, through a mixture of isolated accidents and acts of sabotage whose individual histories were beyond recovery. The *Book of Opinions*, by contrast, reveals a thinker convinced that the apparent chaos within Jewish scripture was too systematic, and too profound, to be the product of centuries of gradual distortion. The accumulation of all of these textual problems – not only the vulgarities and jarring discontinuities, but also the alleged absence of more proto-Islamic content – persuaded Ibn Ḥazm that the Hebrew Bible known to eleventh-century readers was not merely a distorted version of the original, but an outright forgery. He was prepared to prove, he boasted,

33 Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, vol. 2, p. 302, pp. 246–47.

34 Ignaz Goldziher, *Zahiris, Their Doctrine and their History: A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 56, p. 112, pp. 144–45.

35 Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism*, ch. 5; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, pp. 21–23; Sabine Schmidtke, 'Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah and its Abrogation', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, 61 (2008): pp. 559–80; Gordon Nickel, *Narratives of Tampering in the Earliest Commentaries on the Qurʾān* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Gabriel Said Reynolds, 'On the Qurʾānic Accusation of Scriptural Falsification (*taḥrīf*) and Christian Anti-Jewish Polemic', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 130 (2010): pp. 189–202; Schmidtke and Adang, 'Muʿtazilī Discussions of the Abrogation of the Torah: Ibn Ḥallād (4th/10th century) and His Commentators', *Arabica*, 60 (2013): pp. 701–42.

36 Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, pp. 26, 40, 68; Martin Whittingham, 'Ezra as the Corrupter of the Torah? Re-Assessing Ibn Ḥazm's Role in the Long History of an Idea', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 1 (2013): pp. 253–71, esp. p. 254.

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> with the same certitude with which one can say that yesterday came before today, that the Jews' Torah comes neither from God nor from the teaching of any Prophet. Nor is it even the work of a wise author who fears untruth, or of someone who knows arithmetic well enough to avoid erring in calculations so simple that they could be done correctly even by a child who knew simply how add, subtract, divide, and call things by their names.[37]

This accusation, of course, begged a serious question: who, then, was this author – this 'godless, mocking forger, who wished to con the Jews and play tricks on them', this 'idiot, a lunatic imbecile … oblivious and ignorant in matters of astronomy, geography, arithmetic, and theology' – who had rewritten the Torah? How had he managed to replace the authentic text with his own fantasy?

Here Ibn Ḥazm adapted another idea which he had discovered in the work of earlier polemicists like Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (ca. 893–956). In his *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar* (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems), al-Masʿūdī had pointed to the Babylonian Captivity as a likely moment when the Jews had lost access to the Torah, albeit only temporarily, as their priests allegedly had removed the Torah scrolls from Solomon's Temple and buried them in a well to protect them from Nebuchadnezzar's invading forces.[38] In al-Masʿūdī's rendering, the Torah was then recovered from its hiding place essentially intact by Ezra, whom the Bible (2 Ezra 8) describes as taking it upon himself to re-establish the Mosaic Law among his fellow Israelites freshly liberated from the Babylonian Captivity by the Persian king Cyrus. As Ibn Ḥazm seems to have known, however – perhaps from a parallel tradition of Christian polemics about Ezra – there was an alternative version of Ezra's post-exilic activity available in the apocryphal book of 4 Ezra. In this version, the fleeing Israelites had failed to conceal the lone copy of the Torah kept in the Temple, where Nebuchadnezzar had found it and destroyed it; Ezra, as a result, had not merely 'restored' the Torah, but in fact had re-written it entirely from the fragmentary and often contradictory memories of his fellow Israelite exiles.[39]

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37 Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, vol. 2, p. 256.

38 Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, (ed. and trans.) Charles Barbier de Meynard and Abel Pavet de Courteille (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861–77), vol. 1, pp. 117–18.

39 This radical claim about the discontinuity of the Mosaic version of the Torah had been picked up in antiquity by a small group of anti-Christian polemicists like the Greek

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This hypothetical Babylonian destruction fit perfectly with Ibn Ḥazm's sense that the Hebrew Bible had been lost and rewritten by a single, shameless forger rather than merely gradually altered, and he readily adopted it as his own, narrating in extensive detail exactly how it was that the Israelites had come to accept Ezra's idiosyncratic attempt to reproduce the Torah as the authentic text of revelation.[40] By the time the Jews were released from the Babylonian Captivity and returned to Jerusalem some six decades later, he argued, the entire Torah had been so forgotten that no one recognized just how badly Ezra had botched his reconstruction.[41] In fleshing out the counter narrative of 4 Ezra in such vivid and plausible-sounding detail, Ibn Ḥazm raised the Babylonian Captivity to the central, defining event in the history of the Jewish people. Rather than one exile among many, it became the moment at which the Jews permanently lost not only their political power, fulfilling the prophecy of the passing of the scepter in Genesis 49:10, but also their sacred text. Whether or not he had intended it, Ibn Ḥazm had not merely calumnied his Jewish rivals: he had opened the door to rewriting the history of Second Temple Judaism.[42]

## The Sephardic Response

Ibn Ḥazm's trenchant philological and historical critique did not catch his Jewish counterparts entirely by surprise. Rabbinical authors – often in dialogue with Christians, pagans, and Ibn Ḥazm's Muslim predecessors – had

philosopher Porphyry. In his late third-century polemic *Against the Christians*, Porphyry wrote that 'nothing has been preserved of Moses, as all his writings are said to have been burnt together with the Temple. And all those which were written under his name afterwards were composed inaccurately one thousand one hundred and eighty years after Moses' death by Ezra and his followers'. See Menahem Stern (ed. and trans.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–84), vol. 2, p. 480.

40 Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, vol. 2, p. 350*ff*.

41 It should be noted that modern historians have regarded Hobbes and Spinoza as radical and progressive for taking up the same theory several centuries later; yet Ibn Ḥazm quite clearly anticipated – via the transmission of Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164) – many of their ostensibly novel criticisms. Noel Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra and the Bible: The History of a Subversive Idea', in *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 383–431; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, p. 74. See also, however, the critique of Whittingham, 'Ezra as the Corrupter', pp. 264–67.

42 Brann, *Power in the Portrayal*, pp. 55–56; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, p. 26.

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already explored and exposed many of the Hebrew Bible's textual problems and inconsistencies long before the eleventh century, beginning at least as early as Justin Martyr's second-century dialogue with Trypho the Jew.[43] Moses' untimely death in Deuteronomy, for example, was the subject of discussion in Tractates Bava Batra 15a and Menachot 30a of the Babylonian Talmud (third–fifth century), in the course of which it was decided that Moses could be credited with writing *most* of the Torah, and Joshua with the final section of Deuteronomy corresponding to Moses' decline, death, and the immediate aftermath.[44] Nor were they surprised to find a Muslim author marshaling their own Scripture to prove the obsolescence of Judaism in favor of Islam: this, too, was a tactic with which Jewish polemicists had wrangled at least a century prior to Ibn Ḥazm.[45]

Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥazm's proposed theory of Ezran forgery and the sixth-century BCE passing of the scepter did pose an unusually direct challenge to a Sephardic intelligentsia accustomed to thinking of Ezra as one of the trustworthy custodians of scripture, and of themselves as the continuators of Davidic genealogy. Within a century, Ibn Ḥazm's assault on the Bible elicited a number of responses from Sephardic authors determined to defend the integrity of their textual and genealogical traditions. The majority of these responses embraced one of two strategies. The first of these, expressed most cogently in the works of the Abraham ibn Da'ud (ca. 1110–ca. 1180) and the Barcelona rabbi Solomon ibn Adreṭ (1235–1310), challenged Ibn Ḥazm on his own terms by amassing historical and philological evidence suggesting that the Babylonian Captivity had not seriously threatened the Torah, and that the much-maligned Ezra had, in fact, merely restored and disseminated it without introducing new

43 Irven M. Resnick, 'The Falsification of Scripture and Medieval Christian and Jewish Polemics', *Medieval Encounters*, 2 (1996): pp. 344–80; William Adler, 'The Jews as Falsifiers: Charges of Tendentious Emendations in Anti-Jewish Christian Polemics', in *Translation of Scripture: Proceedings of a Conference at the Annenberg Research Institute, May 15–16, 1989*, (ed.) David Goldenberg (Philadelphia: Annenberg Research Institute, 1990), pp. 1–27. For Justin Martyr, see Justin Martyr, *Dialogue avec Tryphon*, (ed.) Philippe Bobichon, 2 vols. (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires de Fribourg, Éditions Saint-Paul, 2003).

44 Isidore Epstein and Maurice Simon (eds.), *Soncino Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud*, 30 vols. (London: Soncino Press, 1994).

45 David E. Sklare, *Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon and his Cultural World* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 28–29, 52*ff*; Sklare, 'Responses to Islamic Polemics by Jewish Mutakallimūn in the Tenth Century', in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, (ed.) Hava Lazarus-Yafeh et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 137–61.

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or corrupted material.[46] In his *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* (Book of Tradition) and *al-ʿAqīdah al-rafīʿah* (The Exalted Faith), both completed in the 1160s, Ibn Da'ud presented compelling arguments that the extraordinary continuity of the Jewish tradition coupled with the doctrine of public witness guaranteed the authenticity of Ezra's Torah. 'Let us assume that Ezra came from Babylonia and wrote an altered Torah – then why did the people thank him for it?', he asked. 'And why was it obeyed near and far? … [W]e have never heard of anyone who blamed Ezra in any way'.

> The tradition concerning an event that is reported to have taken place publicly before a great body of men, which originated, so to say, under the control of public opinion, without having been disputed by contemporaries, and has descended with an uninterrupted continuity, possesses an argumentativeness which can not be controverted even by the professional logician.[47]

Ibn Adreṭ, while recapitulating many of ibn Da'ud's arguments with regard to the continuity of Jews' textual and exegetical traditions, was even more cutting, labeling Ibn Ḥazm an ignorant person's idea of a learned person before turning his Muslim antagonist's arguments back against him.[48] Why, he wondered, if Ezra and his fellow Jews had gone to so much effort to forge the Bible, would they have included all of the embarrassing moral lapses of their kings and prophets that Ibn Ḥazm considered proof of the text's corruption? Weren't these scandals actually proof of the Hebrew Bible's unfiltered authenticity?[49]

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46 On Ibn Da'ud, see Resianne Fontaine, *In Defence of Judaism: Abraham ibn Daud. Sources and Structure of* ha-Emunah ha-Ramah, (trans.) H.S. Lake (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990); Abraham ibn Da'ud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah. The Book of Tradition*, (ed. and trans.) Gerson D. Cohen (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2005); Fontaine, 'Abraham Ibn Daud's Polemics against Muslims and Christians', in *The Three Rings: Textual Studies in the Historical Trialogue of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, (ed.) Barbara Roggema et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 19–34. On Ibn Adreṭ, see Camilla Adang, 'A Jewish Reply to Ibn Ḥazm: Solomon B. Adreṭ's Polemic against Islam', in *Judíos en Tierras del Islam. Intelectuales musulmanes y judíos en contacto, Al-Andalus y el Magreb*, (ed.) Maribel Fierro (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, CSIC, 2002), pp. 179–209; Harvey J. Hames, 'A Jew Amongst Christians and Muslims: Introspection in Solomon ibn Adreṭ's Response to Ibn Ḥazm', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 25 (2010): pp. 203–19.

47 Abraham ibn Da'ud, *The Exalted Faith* (*Sefer ha-Emunah ha-Ramah*), (ed. and trans.) Norbert M. Samuelson and Gershon Weiss (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986), ch. 5.

48 Adang, 'A Jewish Reply', p. 186.

49 Adang, 'A Jewish Reply', p. 187.

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Though these philological and historical arguments in defense of Ezra addressed several aspects of Ibn Ḥazm's criticism, other Sephardic authors feared that Ibn Ḥazm's treatment of the Babylonian Captivity and Ezra's 'restoration' of the Torah was too compelling to leave the Torah unguarded in the hands of their Near Eastern forebears. These authors pursued a second strategy, in which they obviated the need to defend Ezra from Ibn Ḥazm's attacks by replacing (or, more accurately, supplementing) him with a hypothetical tribe of primordial Sephardim who *also* had preserved the purity of the Torah through the Babylonian Captivity and passed it on to their Iberian descendants. According to this theory – which formed the kernel of the Nebuchadnezzar legend – at some point during the Babylonian Captivity an elite phalanx of Jews hailing from the royal tribes of Judah and Benjamin had managed to separate themselves from their lesser coreligionists and enter the ranks of Nebuchadnezzar's armies, whence they were deployed to the Iberian Peninsula. Once there, they never returned to the Near East, instead founding temples like the 'ancient' Tránsito synagogue in Toledo and rabbinical academies in places like Lucena known for their deep and unbroken tradition of Torah scholarship.[50] The combination of their early dates of foundation and their independence from Ezra's efforts to restore the Torah in Jerusalem was interpreted as proof that *their* scrolls had remained pure, untouched by both Nebuchadnezzar's violence and Ezra's editorial interventions.

An early iteration of this alternative genealogy appears in the *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-l-mudhākara* (Book of Conversation and Discussion) penned by the Granadan poet and grammarian Moses ibn Ezra (ca. 1057–after 1138), in a chapter devoted to the 'superiority of the diaspora that is in Al-Andalus above all other [Jews] with regard to the composition of poetry, prose, and Hebrew letters'. Arguing that 'there can be no doubt' that the tribes of Judah and Benjamin 'were the most knowledgeable about proper usage of the language and of the transmission of the divine law', Ibn Ezra set about proving the Sephardim's descent from those royal tribes by collating the old Sephardic standby – Obadiah 20's 'Jews in Sepharad', now tacitly 'redated' to apply to the diaspora of 586 BCE rather than 70 CE – with additional evidence about Nebuchadnezzar's captives drawn from Ezra 2:1 and Nehemiah 7:6.[51] Subsequent authors added still more textual evidence linking Nebuchadnezzar and his captives with the Iberian Peninsula, the prime example of which came from the Hellenized Jew Josephus (37–100 CE). In both his *Jewish Antiquities*

50 Pedro de Alcocer, *Hystoria, o descripción de la imperial cibdad de Toledo, con todas las cosas acontecidas en ella, a donde se tocan, y refieren muchas antigüedades* (Toledo: Juan Ferrer, 1554), fols. xiv r–xv r.

51 Moses Ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-l-mudhākara*, (ed. and trans.) Montserrat Abumalham Mas (Madrid: CSIC, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 59–61.

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(ca. 93) and *Against Apion* (ca. 100), Josephus bowdlerized a cryptic reference to Nebuchadnezzar's conquests stretching 'to the Pillars' which he had found in the *Indika* of the Greek chorographer Megasthenes (ca. 350–290 BCE) to claim that 'in the fourth book of his *History of India*', Megasthenes 'attempts to show that this king surpassed Heracles in bravery and in the greatness of his deeds, saying that he subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia'.[52] The claim was duplicitous – Megasthenes, it would be discovered in the seventeenth century, had said no such thing – but Sephardic authors eager to place their ancestors on an even plane with Ezra were not likely to ask questions.[53]

Though the search for authorities with which to bolster this 'discovery' of a previously unknown community of Israelites weathering the Babylonian Captivity in Iberia might strike the modern critic as a flight of pure fancy, in its context it was also a radical act of exegetical and historiographical revisionism – a reimagining of biblical and post-biblical history which undermines Yosef Yerushalmi's well-known assertion that medieval Jews failed to develop a historiographical tradition beyond the accepted narrative found in the Bible.[54] In this sense, the Nebuchadnezzar legend was the perfect rebuttal to Ibn Ḥazm's attack. Having merged their own myth of noble origins with the very history with which Ibn Ḥazm proposed to discredit the Bible, Iberian Jews vested themselves with the authority to state, categorically, that the Hebrew Bible had *not* been lost in the destruction of the Temple, but rather had traveled

52 Josephus, *Against Apion*, in Henry St John Thackeray (ed. and trans.), *The Life. Against Apion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 283–85 [book I.144]. See also Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, (ed. and trans.) Ralph Marcus (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930–65), vol. 6, p. 221 [book X.227]. The original reference contorted by Josephus can be found in Megasthenes, *Historia Indika*, in *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, (ed.) J.W. McCrindle (Calcutta and Bombay: Thacker, Spink, 1877), pp. 30–174, esp. p. 109. On Megasthenes' confusion about Nebuchadnezzar and 'the Pillars', which he may have drawn from Berossus the Chaldean's work, see Russell E. Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus: Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch* (New York: TandT Clark International, 2006), pp. 257–58.

53 José Ramón Ayaso Martínez, 'Antigüedad y excelencia de la diáspora judía en la Península Ibérica', *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos. Sección de hebreo*, 49 (2000): pp. 233–59. To be fair, Josephus was not the only one to read too much into Megasthenes' vague geographical reference – Strabo (64 BCE–ca. 24 CE) also wondered whether Megasthenes' pillars might refer to Gibraltar rather than the more realistic Bosphorus. See Strabo, *Geography*, (ed. and trans.) Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960–70), vol. 7, p. 9 [book XV.1.60].

54 Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982); Robert Chazan, 'The Timebound and the Timeless: Medieval Jewish Narration of Events', *History and Memory*, 6 (1994): pp. 5–34; Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 10–11.

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safely with them to the Iberian Peninsula, where it never ceased to circulate. The most consistent inference drawn from this legend, unsurprisingly, was the broad consensus, well-documented in the work of Jewish scholars well into the early modern period, that the particular Sephardic recension of the Hebrew text of the Bible was the purest and best. As Elijah Levita (1469–1549) later observed, 'Most of the correct codices I found to be Spanish, and it is upon these that I relied'.[55]

## From Al-Andalus to Christian Spain

As Al-Andalus, already weakened by the fall of the 'Umayyads, crumbled still further in the face of Aragonese and Castilian armies in the thirteenth century, the center of gravity of Sephardic population (and culture) shifted northwards into the Peninsula's majority Christian lands, and focused especially on Toledo, which had been won from the Muslims in 1085. While many Jews regarded this demographic and cultural change as an expulsion from Paradise, many others initially expressed hope that their conditions might improve among the Christians of Castile and Aragon.[56] As Ora Limor has noted, '[t]he Jewish pronouncement '[better] under Edom than under Ishmael' is voiced repeatedly in a variety of Jewish sources, indicating that Jews preferred to live among Christians than among Muslims'.[57] Nebuchadnezzar came north with the Sephardim who streamed into Toledo, his Israelite captives' legendary role in founding the city colouring the pride which the city's swelling Jewish community developed in its towers and synagogues. In the early thirteenth century, in a likely echo of the Nebuchadnezzar legend, poet Judah al-Ḥarizi (1165–1225) repurposed Psalm 122:4 to describe Toledo in terms formerly reserved for Jerusalem: 'the royal city, clothed with the grace of majesty and having culture

55 Christian David Ginsburg, *The Massoreth ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita, being an Exposition of the Masoretic Notes on the Hebrew Bible* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867), p. 93. For further examples see Teresa Ortega-Monasterio, 'Spanish Biblical Hebrew Manuscripts', *Hebrew Studies*, 45 (2004): pp. 163–74, esp. pp. 163–64.

56 Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, (trans.) Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971 [1966]), vol. 1, pp. 59–64. For a more recent perspective on the meaning of this transition, see Jonathan Ray, 'Between the Straits: The Thirteenth Century as a Turning Point for Iberian Jewry', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 4 (2012): pp. 101–05.

57 Ora Limor, 'The Erection of Essential Boundaries: Christians and Jews', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Vol. IV: Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100–c. 1500*, (ed.) M. Rubin and W. Simon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 135–48, esp. p. 136.

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as her ornament, that the nations and princes may be shown her beauty … For there have the tribes gone up, the tribes of the Lord'.[58]

It was in places like Toledo, often described as a laboratory of interfaith or multicultural encounter, that Nebuchadnezzar embarked upon his gradual and asynchronous transformation from a figure of Jewish-Muslim polemic into the figure of Judeo-Christian interaction, negotiation, and filiation that so vexed Francisco Martínez Marina.[59] Interestingly, religious conversion between Judaism and Christianity was largely immaterial to the early phase of this transformation. Eventually – after 1492, when the Catholic Monarchs' expulsion of flesh-and-blood Jews from the Peninsula briefly made the study of Hebrew a safer proposition – it was precisely a generation of Converso hebraists that undertook to persuade their Old Christian students and colleagues that the Nebuchadnezzar legend and the literalist, historicizing, geographically expansive style of interpretation which Sephardic commentators had developed around it deserved a place within the expanding repertoire of Christian exegetes.[60] Prior to 1492, however, the Nebuchadnezzar legend seems to have aroused little sympathy among the Converso intellectuals best positioned to render the sources and the stakes of the legend visible and intelligible to Christian audiences. Instead, learned converts like Ramón Martí (d. after 1287) and Abner of Burgos/Alfonso de Valladolid (ca. 1270–ca. 1347), who built second careers as zealous anti-Judaic polemicists by claiming to expose the corruption within Sephardic thought and practice, wrenched the Nebuchadnezzar legend from its hermeneutical context and held it up before their Christian audiences as an example of their former coreligionists' stubborn messianism and repellent genealogical pride.[61] In a withering letter addressed to the rabbi Abner Ab Serenga, preserved in manuscript in both Spanish and Hebrew versions, for example, Alfonso scolded those Jews who refused conversion that 'they should not deduce from the verse in the prophecy of Obadiah which says 'The captivity of the people of the sons of Israel who [occupied the land] from

58 Judah al-Ḥarizi, *The Book of Taḥkemoni: Jewish Tales from Medieval Spain*, (ed. and trans.) D. Simha Segal (Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001), p. 345. See Bernard Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition: The Career and Controversies of Ramah* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 3.

59 On Toledo, see for example Menocal, *The Ornament*, pp. 142–46.

60 For the full panorama of Sephardic exegetical traditions, see Ángel Sáenz-Badillos and Judit Targarona Borrás, *Los judíos de Sefarad ante la Biblia. La interpretación de la Biblia en el Medioevo* (Cordoba: El Almendro, 1996).

61 On Abner/Alfonso, see now Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), ch. 5.

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Canaan to Sarefat and the captivity of Jerusalem which is in Sefarad' that … 'Sefarad' is 'Spain'. 'They make a point of saying that this verse gives the Jews of … Spain hope for their salvation', he continued, 'but this is a lie': while Spain, he noted, is due West of Jerusalem, authorities as diverse as Numbers 34:3, Shlomo Yitzchaki (aka Rashi, 1040–1105), and the aforementioned Abraham ibn Da'ud clearly proved that Sepharad is 'south of the Mediterranean and south of Jerusalem'.[62]

Converso authors' efforts to subvert the Sephardic interpretation of Obadiah found a receptive audience among a Christian population in the grips of what Robert I. Burns has called the 'dream of conversion', willing as never before to pressure and harass its Jewish minority in pursuit of baptisms.[63] While not all historians who treat the centuries of Jewish life leading up to the expulsion of 1492 are equally lachrymose, it is undeniable that this pressure occasionally exploded in fits of cataclysmic violence like the wave of pogroms that swept across the Peninsula in 1391.[64] As Christian sentiment turned strongly against the Jews, several Sephardic authors responded by combing the dominant Christian narrative of the Peninsula's ancient history for lacunae into which they could insert their ancestors, a historiographical sleight of hand which would allow contemporary Iberian Jews to counter the claim that they were 'Christ-killers' by showing that their ancestors had left the Holy Land long before the Crucifixion.[65] The Nebuchadnezzar genealogy, and the timeline of Iberian Jewry embedded within it, was particularly valuable because it placed the Sephardim in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixth century BCE, long before the alternative (post-Crucifixion) date of 70 CE.

The innocence of Toledo's putative Israelite founders was the motive force behind forgeries like the letter which the city's Jews were said to have sent in the first-century CE to their co-religionists in Jerusalem, copies of which were circulated by Jews in the mid-fifteenth century.[66] The letter, written originally

62 Amparo Alba and Carlos Sainz de la Maza, 'La primera epístola de Alfonso de Valladolid', *Sefarad*, 53 (1993): pp. 157–70, esp. pp. 164–65.

63 Robert I. Burns, 'Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion', *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971): pp. 1386–1434.

64 Mark Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

65 For a parallel strategy among German Jews, see Joseph Shatzmiller, 'Politics and the Myth of Origins: The Case of the Medieval Jews', in *Les Juifs au régard de l'histoire. Mélanges en l'honneur de B. Blumenkranz*, (ed.) Gilbert Dahan (Paris: Picard, 1985), pp. 49–61, esp. p. 58.

66 Biblioteca Nacional de España [BNE], ms. 838, fol. 3r–v: 'Carta que fiz traducir de caldeo en latin e romance el noble rey don Alfonso que la vila de Toledo conquiro e yaze en el armario del aiuntamiento de Toledo'. The text of the letter was first printed by the royal

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in Aramaic, was supposed to have been discovered in Toledo in 1085, when Alfonso VI of Castile (r. 1072–1109) retook the city from its Muslim defenders. Signed by 'Levi the archpriest, and Samuel, and Joseph, gentlemen of the Jewish community of Toledo' and addressed 'to the very high priest Eleazar, and to Samuel, Canut, and Annas, and Caiphas, gentlemen of the Jewish community of the Holy Land', the letter urged the Jews of Jerusalem to send their Iberian counterparts information about the splendid man rumored to be the Messiah and warned them that 'we will never be made to consent to his execution, neither by counsel nor by our will' – a convenient fiction communicating the not-so-subtle idea that Iberian Jews remained non-Christian purely by historical accident beyond their control.[67] In the hands of the converso bishop Alonso de Cartagena (1385–1486), this historical accident was not even accidental, but rather the working out of a providential plan to provide the Gothic *natio* of Spain's Old Christian inhabitants with an unspoiled Israelite 'partner' with whom to conceive a new Chosen People.[68]

Less messianic, though more credible, were the means by which the Jewish statesman and exegete Isaac Abarbanel (1437–1508) chose to insinuate Nebuchadnezzar's Jews into an otherwise Christian vision of Iberian history. Abarbanel expertly grafted the legend's Sephardic content onto an existing tradition of historical writing running back as far as the Toledan chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (ca. 1170–1247), according to which the Peninsula had once been ruled by a mythical 'Pirrus' (not to be confused with the Greek Pyrrhus of Epirus), nephew of Hercules and son-in-law of the eponymous Hispan.[69] Rather than crediting Nebuchadnezzar with visiting Spain – a visit

historian Prudencio de Sandoval, OSB (1533–1620); see Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de los Reyes de Castilla y de León* (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1792), pp. 232–34. There is a nineteenth-century edition, from which I quote, in José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal* (Madrid: Turner, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 504–05.

67 For more on the letter and its context, see Rica Amran, 'Mito y realidad de los conversos castellanos en el siglo XV. El traslado de una carta-privilegio que el rey Juan II dio a un hijodalgo', in Elena Romero (ed.) *Judaísmo hispano. Estudios en memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño* (Madrid: CSIC, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 593–605; Nirenberg, 'Mass Conversion', p. 28. This kind of forgery was not unknown elsewhere in Europe: for the Jews of Regensburg, see Shatzmiller, 'Politics and the Myth', p. 58.

68 Bruce Rosenstock, 'Alonso de Cartagena: Nation, Miscegenation and the Jew in Late-Medieval Castile', *Exemplaria*, 12 (2000): pp. 185–204.

69 Robert B. Tate, *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV* (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), pp. 20, 68. On Abarbanel, see Benzion Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel: Statesman and Philosopher*, 5th ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

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whose absence from all of the major biographical sources on Nebuchadnezzar (Berossus the Chaldean, Diocles, Philostratus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, Alexander Polyhistor, Clement of Alexandria, and Suidas) would later bother eagle-eyed critics like Bernardo de Aldrete (1565–1645)[70] – Abarbanel preemptively suggested that Pirrus might have aided Nebuchadnezzar in his siege of Jerusalem, prompting the Babylonian king to reward his Iberian lieutenant with a portion of the Jewish captives. Thus, Abarbanel asserted in his commentary on the Minor Prophets,

> It was Pirrus who brought to Spain the inhabitants of Jerusalem who belonged to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Simon, the Levites, and the Priests, a great multitude who came with him of their own volition. He lead them across the seas to the kingdom of Spain in ships, establishing them in two provinces. One is the province known today as Andalusia, in a city which in those days was a great Jewish metropolis which they called Lucena, a name which has endured to the present … The second province was the land of Toletula (Toledo). Perhaps it was the Jews who named the city Toletula, because they had wandered (*tiltul*, wandering) from Jerusalem to here, since the Christians had previously called it Pirrizuela, and not Toletula like its Jewish residents. In the same manner I think that they called the city next to Toletula Maqueda, after the city of Makkeda that existed in the Land of Israel. And they called another city, also near Toletula, Escalona, after Ascalon in the Land of Israel. It is possible that those cities were similar to the others in the Land of Israel, and therefore they gave the other cities near Toletula Israeli names, too.[71]

Though he wrote exclusively in Hebrew, it is easy to see why Abarbanel would come to be admired by hebraists of all confessions, Christian as well as Jewish, for his ability to synthesize rabbinical and Christian traditions and methods.[72] In the case of the Nebuchadnezzar legend, Abarbanel carefully interleaved the Sephardic interpretation of Obadiah with a fundamentally Christian vision of Iberian antiquity. Abarbanel's ancient Israelites came as subdued immigrants rather than conquerors, their presence within the Peninsula enriching, and not threatening, Christian narratives about the origin of Spain.

Even more syncretic was the version of Pirrus' star turn which Abarbanel's contemporary Shlomo ibn Verga (ca. 1460–1554) included in his apologetical

70 Bernardo de Aldrete, *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana, ò Romance que oy se vsa en España* (Rome: Carlo Vulliet, 1606), pp. 308–10.

71 Quoted in Haim Beinart, *Los judíos en España* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1993), p. 17.

72 Eric Lawee, *Isaac Abarbanel's Stance toward Tradition: Defense, Dissent and Dialogue* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

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treatise entitled *Shevet Yehudah* (The Staff of Judah).[73] (The title will seem familiar as a direct reference to Genesis 49:10, whose prognostication about the passing of the scepter from Judah had so interested Ibn Ḥazm). Ibn Verga's recitation of the legend, also written and published in Hebrew, differs little from Abarbanel's; after explaining how Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem with the aid of King Hispanus of Sepharad and his son-in-law Pirrus, the text notes that Pirrus 'took some ships and carried off all of his captives to Sepharad – that is, to Andalusia – and also to Toledo, from which city they dispersed to other places, because they were so numerous that the country could not contain them all. Some of those deported Jews, who were of royal ancestry, went to Seville, and from there, others went to Granada'.[74] Where Ibn Verga did depart from Abarbanel was in a telling act of ventriloquism: in *The Staff of Judah*, Nebuchadnezzar's *res gestae* are narrated by an imaginary 'Thomas', who likely represents a Christian scholar, in conversation with 'Alfonso', an archetypal Iberian king. In what surely came as no surprise to Ibn Verga's Sephardic readers, the Christian Alfonso is unrelentingly hostile to the Jews of his kingdom. Thomas, however, has a much greater appreciation for Jewish culture, for – though he is, like Alfonso, a pious Christian – he has studied Hebrew learning, and has been persuaded not only of the falsity of Christian blood libels, but also of the Jews' wisdom, decency, and the antiquity of their royal bloodline.[75]

In many respects, these late treatments of the Nebuchadnezzar legend, with their seamless blend of Sephardic myth and Christian historiography, look like genuine attempts on the part of their Jewish authors to offer up ancient Sepharad as a possible site of Jewish-Christian rapprochement. Yet there is at least one insurmountable obstacle to seeing either Abarbanel's biblical commentaries or Ibn Verga's *Staff of Judah* as an intentional attempt to translate Jewish culture into a Christian idiom. It is, of course, the expulsion of 1492. By the time Abarbanel and Ibn Verga tried to find a place for Sephardic antiquity in Spain's distant past, both men were living in exile, writing for a community driven from its homeland. In Abarbanel's and Ibn Verga's retelling of the

73 Enrique Cantera Montenegro, 'Negación de la "imagen del judío" en la intelectualidad hispano-hebrea medieval. El ejemplo del *Shevet Yehudah*', *Aragón en la Edad Media: estudios de economía y sociedad*, 14–15 (1999): pp. 263–74; Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, pp. 57–68.

74 Shlomo ibn Verga, *La vara de Yehudah* (*Sefer Šebeṭ Yehudah*), (ed. and trans.) María José Cano (Barcelona: Riopiedras, 1991), pp. 48–49.

75 Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*, (trans.) Jackie Feldman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 175–79. See also Abraham A. Neuman, 'The *Shevet Yehudah* and Sixteenth-Century Historiography', in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), pp. 173–253.

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legend, Nebuchadnezzar's captives march through Iberian history not to sate the curiosity of Christian hebraists like the ersatz 'Thomas', but rather to soothe the anxieties and rally the spirits of their fellow Sephardic expatriates. The legend took on a newly consolatory air for the post-1492 Sephardic diaspora, reassuring its members of the nobility of their genealogy and the cultural attainments of their ancestors in the Iberian homeland which many had come to regard as a second Jerusalem.

In this alternately consolatory and defiant guise, the Nebuchadnezzar legend would enjoy a long afterlife among the Jewish intelligentsia of places like Venice and Amsterdam, where the Sephardic diaspora had been particularly successful in reconstituting itself as a separate community distinct from the typically less prosperous and less educated Ashkenazim of Central Europe.[76] Determined to perpetuate a sense of genealogical pride and communal cohesion among their fellow exiles, as well as to police the boundaries of their communities, the Sephardic diaspora's elite members took the legend – which had always faced outward, in some sense, having been honed over centuries of dialogue with Muslim and Christian polemicists – and turned it inward, making it a tool of collective self-discipline as well as self-fashioning.[77] Successive generations of literati like Immanuel Aboab (ca. 1555–1628), author of a 1629 treatise on *Nomología o discursos legales* (Nomology, or Discourses on the Law), and Isaac Cardoso (1603/4–83), author of a 1679 paean to *Las excelencias de los Hebreos* (The Excellences of the Hebrews), admonished their Sephardic readers that 'in the time in which Nebuchadnesar, King of Babylonia, defeated the Jews', their ancestors 'went … to settle in the Region of Spain' as 'colonists' and 'built the city of Toledo, whose name, like the names of many places within its jurisdiction and surroundings, demonstrate that it was built and inhabited by Hebrews'.[78]

This final, post-expulsion incarnation of the Nebuchadnezzar legend is probably responsible for the tendency among modern historians to assume that the Nebuchadnezzar legend was never much more than a shallow genealogical

76 Jonathan S. Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

77 Yosef Kaplan, 'Political Concepts in the World of the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam during the Seventeenth Century: The Problem of Exclusion and the Boundaries of Self-Identity', in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 45–62; Henry Méchoulan, *Hispanidad y judaísmo en tiempos de Espinoza. Estudio y edición anotada de* La certeza del camino *de Abraham Pereyra, Amsterdam, 1666* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1987), p. 44.

78 Immanuel Aboab, *Nomología o discursos legales* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1629), p. 288. Cf. Isaac Cardoso, *Las excelencias de los Hebreos* (Amsterdam: David de Castro Tartas, 1679), p. 17.

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boast – the Jewish 'entry', as it were, in the well-known Iberian sweepstakes of lineage and nobility that culminated so tragically (and, insofar as the Jews were eager participants, ironically) in the *limpieza de sangre* statutes later used to harry and disadvantage the Sephardim's New Christian descendants.[79] (It was on this basis that Martínez Marina, writing in 1799, found his fellow Christians' embrace of these legends so illogical.) Yet the seventeenth-century Sephardim are, at least in this regard, actually poor guides to their own intellectual heritage. Reducing the Nebuchadnezzar legend to a genealogical boast ignores the fact that, as we have seen, this alternative history of Sephardic settlement born in eleventh-century Al-Andalus was conceived originally to defend the integrity of a Hebrew text, not the status of a community of Hebrews. In this sense, the first phase of Jewish-Christian engagement with the Nebuchadnezzar legend, lasting from the decline of Al-Andalus down to 1492, tended to distort or obscure the legend's origins in Muslim-Jewish debates about the Bible. Embroiled in a new kind of polemic with a new opponent – one less interested in attacking the Jewish Bible than in excising Jews from the body politic – the legend's Sephardic expositors transformed it into a source of Sephardic 'identity', a prophecy of Jewish resistance and genealogical pride that was less appealing to Christian readers even as it became more commensurable or comprehensible to them. It would be the job of a second wave of Sephardic translators, then, working in the changed circumstances of a Spanish Catholicism threatened not by Jews but by Protestants, to make Nebuchadnezzar's Jews a Christian preoccupation.

## Conversos and Christian Hebraist

Among the thousands of Spanish Jews cast into exile along with Abarbanel and Ibn Verga was the adolescent son of the Castilian rabbi Juan de Zamora. That son, Alfonso de Zamora (ca. 1476–ca. 1545), remained a Jew for another fourteen years, until in 1506, at the age of thirty, he converted to Christianity and returned to the land of his birth to assume the life of a scholar at the University of Salamanca. He quickly stood out. In a university known for the quality of its theologians, the young Converso's facility in Hebrew and Aramaic was stunningly good – so good, in fact, that he was encouraged to stand for a

79 Nirenberg, 'Mass Conversion', esp. the works cited on pp. 4–5; Danielle Rozenberg, *La España contemporánea y la cuestión judía. Retejiendo los hilos de la memoria y de la historia* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010), pp. 36–37.

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recently vacated chair in Hebrew a mere two years after he arrived at the university, in 1508.[80]

Salamanca's proposal to administer a meritocratic competition to fill a Hebrew professorship – not to mention the hope shared by many at the university that it would be won by a recent convert – would seem to give the lie to the uniformly gloomy picture of Spanish intolerance and anti-Judaism painted by an anglophone historiographical tradition which has been more interested in the Inquisition's war on 'judaizers' than in the nuances of Spanish humanism and hebraism.[81] It would be just as simplistic, however, to extrapolate from the fact that the theology faculty expected to find more than one candidate competent to teach Hebrew, and multiple students willing to learn it, that Salamanca was a 'progressive' university. The reality is more complex, and speaks to nothing so much as the flux and uncertainty which characterized the canons and conventions of biblical scholarship in the Renaissance. In and of itself, the study of Hebrew, one of the sacred languages of Scripture, was far from novel or progressive in early sixteenth-century Europe; it was, rather, a pursuit deeply ingrained within the Christian tradition, one sanctioned by St Jerome (ca. 347–420) – who believed that the Old Testament encoded a hidden *Hebraica veritas* (Hebrew truth), which revealed itself only to those willing to learn the language and exegetical traditions of the Jews – and sustained across the Middle Ages by distinguished (and unimpeachably orthodox) scholars like Hugh of St Victor (ca. 1078–1141) and Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270–1349).[82] Yet it is also true that the Christian hebraist project was being expanded and transformed in dramatic ways in precisely the years that Alfonso de Zamora was finding his way as a new convert in a society (and a university) dominated by

80 For Alfonso de Zamora's biography, see Federico Pérez Castro, *El manuscrito apologético de Alfonso de Zamora* (Madrid, Barcelona: CSIC, Instituto Arias Montano, 1950), pp. i–lx; Adolf Neubauer, 'Alfonso de Zamora', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 7 (1895): pp. 398–417.

81 Homza, *Religious Authority*.

82 On Jerome and the *hebraica veritas*, see Megan Hale Williams, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 81–95, 123–31; Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the* Quaestiones hebraicae *in Genesim* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), esp. pp. 80–81. On medieval Christian hebraism, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964); Aryeh Grabois, 'The Hebraica Veritas and Jewish-Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century', *Speculum*, 50 (1975): pp. 613–34; Deborah L. Goodwin, *Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew: Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Deeana C. Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

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Old Christians. The first decades of the sixteenth century could be said to mark the expansion and elevation of Christian hebraism, previously a sidelight to the mainstream of theology and biblical exegesis, to the status of a semi-autonomous academic discipline, replete with the methodological preoccupations, innovations, and controversies which that status entails.[83]

Much of the impetus for this transformation in the stakes and ambitions of hebraic scholarship came from the adjacent world of classical scholarship, in which the humanists' faith in the power of philological analysis and historical context to illumine the meaning of even the most recalcitrant of ancient texts had been yielding fruit for the better part of a century.[84] Though the Church maintained that the Bible, as a record of divine revelation, was a special kind of text whose proper interpretation required the application of technical knowledge only available to doctors of Theology, by the early sixteenth century humanists like Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459), Lorenzo Valla (1407–57), Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), Pietro Galatino (1460–1540), Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), and the Andalusian grammarian Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522) had already offered persuasive demonstrations of the insights that could be gleaned from treating the Bible like any other ancient text, subjecting it to the same species of philological, grammatical, and historical criticism which they had honed on pagan sources.[85] For the hebraists

83 For overviews of early modern Christian hebraism, see Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983); Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Stephen Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books and the Transmission of Learning* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); for its texture, see Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

84 On the humanist method, see Anthony T. Grafton, 'On the Scholarship of Politian and Its Context', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40 (1977): pp. 150–88; James Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 33–64. It should be said that Christian interest in Hebrew texts was also driven in part by a contemporaneous fascination with the mysteries of kabbalah, which I do not treat here; see Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

85 On Manetti's hebraism, see Giannozzo Manetti, *A Translator's Defense* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Christoph Dröge, *Giannozzo Manetti als Denker und Hebraist* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987). On Valla's biblical criticism, see Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 32–69. On Reuchlin, see David H. Price, *Johannes*

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among this group, this meant more than cultivating a more capacious and nuanced mastery of Hebrew language and grammar. It also meant expanding their knowledge of Jewish exegesis, by adding post-biblical Jewish sources like the Talmud, the *targumim*, and the commentaries of Rashi, David Qimḥi (1160–1235), Abraham ibn Ezra, and others to their reading lists;[86] cultivating a new familiarity with Jewish practice, by gathering ethnographical information about contemporary Judaism;[87] and, finally, situating the biblical text within its ancient Near Eastern context, by assembling fresh geographical, archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, and even botanical and zoological data about the Levant.[88]

While it may have been possible, in theory, for Christian scholars to develop expertise in these areas by relying solely on the tools and testimony produced by other Christian authors, in reality most of what they wanted to know about the Hebrew language, the intricacies of Hebrew bibliography, and the evolution of Jewish culture and ritual would have remained impenetrable to them without the aid of teachers and amanuenses endowed with the kind of organic or intuitive knowledge of Judaism which comes from being raised within the faith.[89] This made Jewish converts to Christianity – of which Spain produced a seemingly endless supply between 1391 and the early sixteenth century – valuable partners in Christian humanists' quest for the *Hebraica veritas*, opening an

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*Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Erika Rummel, *The Case against Johann Reuchlin* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). On Galatino, see Alba Paladini, *Il* De arcanis *di Pietro Galatino. Traditio giudaica e nuove istanze filologiche* (Lecce: Congedo, 2004). On Erasmus, see Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, pp. 112–93; Kathy Eden, *Hermeneutics and the Rhetorical Tradition: Chapters in the Ancient Legacy and Its Humanist Reception* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). On Nebrija, see Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, 'Antonio de Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship', in *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 57–72.

86 A. Houtman et al. (eds.), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Frank Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

87 Yaacov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

88 Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Andrew D. Berns, *The Bible and Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

89 For the immense difficulty which Christian scholars faced in establishing 'bibliographic control' over the Jewish canon, see Anthony Grafton, 'The Jewish Book in Christian Europe: Material Texts and Religious Encounters', in *Faithful Narratives: Historians, Religion and the Challenge of Objectivity*, (ed.) A. Sterk and N. Caputo (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 96–114, esp. p. 106.

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alternative pathway to those who wished to use their heritage for something other than purely polemical purposes. A number of Iberian Conversos of Alfonso de Zamora's generation left their mark as teachers and tutors to the major figures of sixteenth-century Christian hebraism, including Matthaeus Adrianus (b. ca. 1475).[90] After an itinerant career that saw him train almost all of the most important Northern European hebraists of his generation – including Johannes Campensis, Wolfgang Capito, Sebastian Münster, Johannes Oecolampadius, Conrad Pellican, and Johannes Reuchlin – Adrianus was lured to Louvain in 1517 by Erasmus and appointed the first professor of Hebrew at the vanguard Collegium Trilingue, established to produce exegetes in the humanist mold.[91]

Unfortunately for Alfonso de Zamora, Salamanca was no Louvain, and his colleagues were more skittish than was Erasmus about his Converso lineage. In spite of Zamora's superior qualifications, the professorship advertised in 1508 was given to an Old Christian theologian who knew so little Hebrew that the faculty, adding insult to injury, mandated that Zamora or some other '*tornadizo* (convert) who knows Hebrew' be enlisted to teach it 'to the Hebrew professor' at one-fifth the professor's salary. Perhaps unsurprisingly, when Zamora was denied the chair again in 1511 – on this occasion by a rector who thought that Hebrew was best taught by a specialist in Greek – he resolved to depart, and accepted the offer of a position at the new University of Alcalá.[92]

Salamanca's loss was scholarship's gain. Alcalá, founded only a few years prior by the Archbishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), *was* the kind of university which valued the full range of hebraic expertise possessed by Conversos like Zamora.[93] Supported by Cisneros' munificence and

90 Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517–1550* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1951–55), vol. 1, pp. 241–56, pp. 369–75, pp. 534–42; Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 9–10 (s.v. Matthaeus Adrianus).

91 Stephen G. Burnett, 'Reassessing the "Basel-Wittenberg Conflict". Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship', in Coudert and Shoulson (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas?*, pp. 181–201, esp. pp. 183–84; Vocht, *History of the Foundation*.

92 Zamora's tribulations in Salamanca are described in Pérez Castro, *El manuscrito apologético*, pp. xvi–xix.

93 On Cisneros and the University of Alcalá, see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), pp. 1–71; José García Oro, *El Cardenal Cisneros, vida y empresas* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1992); Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), ch 4.

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surrounded by eminent philologists like Nebrija, Zamora quickly established himself as one of the pre-eminent hebraists of the early sixteenth century. Much of the first decade he spent at Alcalá was devoted to the central publishing project around which Cisneros had organized the university, the *Biblia Políglota Complutense* (Complutensian Polyglot Bible). Modeled on the third-century *Hexapla* assembled by Origen of Alexandria (ca. 184–ca. 253) and brought up to date by the humanist vogue for philological criticism *ad fontes*, Cisneros' Polyglot was among the first, and arguably the most influential, of the Renaissance bibles to collate in parallel columns the various texts of the Catholic Bible – the Hebrew Old Testament, the Aramaic *targumim*, the Greek Septuagint, and the Latin Vulgate associated with St Jerome – and supplement them with glossaries and grammars.[94] Zamora, with the assistance of his fellow conversos Pedro Ciruelo (1470–1548), Pablo Coronel (ca. 1480–1534), and Alfonso de Alcalá (fl. 1520s), edited the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, edited and translated the corresponding *targumim* (some of which Cisneros subsequently elected to omit), and produced the Hebrew and Aramaic glossaries and dictionaries.[95]

The Complutensian Polyglot understandably tends to overshadow the teaching in which Zamora and his colleagues engaged at Alcalá, not least of all because in its early years Cisneros' university seems to have existed primarily for the purpose of providing the Polyglot's editors (and its printer, Arnao Guillén de Brocar [ca. 1460–1523]) with a source of income.[96] Yet the Bible which emerged from Guillén de Brocar's printshop was intimately related to its editors' classroom experience. As Jesús de Prado Plumed has observed, however much it may appear to be a stark monument of advanced philological

94 The literature on the Complutensian Polyglot is vast. For an overview, see José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero (ed.), *V Centenario de la Biblia Políglota Complutense. La universidad del Renacimiento. El Renacimiento de la Universidad* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2014); Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, pp. 1–71; Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, pp. 70–111; Basil Hall, 'The Trilingual College of San Ildefonso and the Making of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible', *Studies in Church History*, 5 (1969): pp. 114–47. On Origen and the Hexapla, see Peter W. Martens, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

95 On the particular fate of Zamora's Targum edition, see Luis Díez Merino 'La Biblia Aramea de Alfonso de Zamora', *Cuadernos Bíblicos*, 7 (1981): pp. 63–98.

96 On the organization of teaching at Alcalá, see Antonio Alvar Ezquerra, 'Le modele universitaire de Alcalá de Henares dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle', in *Les origines du Collège de France (1500–1560)* (Paris: Klincksieck, Collège de France, 1998), pp. 231–46. On Guillén de Brocar and the history of printing at Alcalá, see Julián Martín Abad, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares (1502–1600)* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1991).

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research, the Polyglot was also fundamentally a teaching tool, designed by Cisneros and its editors to enable them to train future generations of exegetes in the cumulative tradition of biblical hermeneutics, the full array of oriental and ancient languages, and even a kind of primitive cultural literacy with regard to the geographies, cultures, and societies of the ancient Near East.[97] And train they did: for more than three decades, from his arrival in Alcalá to his final appearance in the Complutense's archives ca. 1545, Alfonso de Zamora anchored a rotation of hebraists, including the Augustinian Dionisio Vázquez de Toledo (1479–1539) and the Cistercian Cipriano de la Huerga (ca. 1514–60), which taught oriental languages to a parade of talented students. Several of their pupils – most notably Arias Montano and Luis de León – went on to win a place among the preeminent hebraists of the later sixteenth century.[98]

It would be a mistake to assume from the relative success which Zamora and his fellow converso professors enjoyed at Alcalá that they and their Hebrew curriculum achieved universal acceptance among the predominantly Old Christian students and administrators who hovered about the university in its early decades. In fact, if we are to believe the evidence preserved in one of Zamora's working notebooks from the 1530s, held in the Leiden University Library (ms Or. 645) and studied extensively by Carlos Alonso Fontela, Alcalá's converso faculty were never allowed to forget the precariousness of their status as hebraizing New Christians in an Old Christian world. Though formally a miscellany of notes, drafts, and even stray jokes, Zamora's notebook can also be read as a chronicle of the exhausting campaign which he and his peers waged to defend not only the sincerity of their own conversions, but also the legitimacy of their efforts to translate – or perhaps we should say to 'convert'

97 Jesús de Prado Plumed, 'La enseñanza del hebreo en Alcalá. La búsqueda complutense de Dios / Teaching Hebrew in Alcalá: The Complutense Search for God', in Sánchez-Molero (ed.), *V Centenario de la Biblia Políglota Complutense*, pp. 452–86, esp. p. 452.

98 On Vázquez de Toledo, see Quirino Fernández, 'Fray Dionisio Vázquez de Toledo, orador sagrado del Siglo de Oro', *Archivo Agustiniano*, 60 (1976): pp. 105–98. On Cipriano de la Huerga, see Cipriano de la Huerga, *Obras completas* (León: Universidad de León, 1990); Sergio Fernández López, 'Arias Montano y Cipriano de la Huerga, dos humanistas en deuda con Alfonso de Zamora. A propósito de sus versiones latinas de la Biblia y el Targum', *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 60 (2011): pp. 137–59; Natalio Fernández Marcos and Emilia Fernández Tejero, *Biblia y humanismo. Textos, talantes y controversias del siglo XVI español* (Madrid: FUE, 1997), pp. 47–84; Gaspar Morocho Gayo, 'Humanismo y filología poligráfica en Cipriano de la Huerga. Su encuentro con fray Luis de León', *Ciudad de Dios*, 204 (1991): pp. 863–914.

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– certain features of the exegetical practices of their Sephardic ancestors into a new kind of humanist hermeneutics suitable for Christian scholars.[99]

The petty slights and veiled accusations to which Alcalá's Conversos were subjected came from all quarters. In Zamora's case, some came directly from his pupils. It is hard to interpret the arrogance with which one of his mediocre students treated him after winning – over Zamora's opposition – a post at Salamanca, for example, as anything other than a gratuitous reminder that Zamora's professional opinion would always count for less than his students' unearned genealogical advantages.[100] Fortunately, many of these juvenile eruptions could be parried with a bit of winking humor: when roving bands of noble students began interrupting his lectures with some frequency, Zamora responded by preparing brief, scolding monologues in which he compared himself to a biblical prophet chastening the Israelites.[101] Far more serious, however, were the kinds of opposition mounted by Cisneros' successors in the Archbishopric of Toledo, who made numerous attempts to purge Alcalá's faculty of undesirables, and the Inquisition, whose constant vigilance of Alcalá's Conversos yielded several high-profile prosecutions, including that of Juan de Vergara (1492–1557).[102] Once again, Zamora's notebook offers poignant testimony of the impact of these various forms of harassment on the New Christian faculty. Scattered among various notes explaining how ordinary defendants could best confound the inquisitors – residue, undoubtedly, of the time which Zamora spent counseling rank and file Conversos on their legal troubles – one finds a list of strategies especially tailored to Zamora himself: a

99 Carlos Alonso Fontela, 'Anécdotas castellanas en escritura hebraica. Apuntes paremiológicos conservados en las anotaciones hebreas de Alfonso de Zamora (ms. Leiden Or. 645)', *Sefarad*, 71 (2011): pp. 349–68. See also Alonso Fontela's transcriptions of various folios of the notebook at <http://pendientedemigracion.ucm. es/info/hebrea/varia.htm> [accessed 10 March 2014].

100 Leiden University Library [hereinafter LUL], ms. Or. 645, 110$^{v}$; quoted in Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus Codicum Hebraeorum: Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden: Brill, 1858), p. 280; Carlos Alonso Fontela, 'Las anotaciones de Alfonso de Zamora en el manuscrito *Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 645, f. 110v*', 4–5. <http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/hebrea/02.Leiden.Or645.fol.110v.pdf> [accessed 10 March 2014].

101 [LUL] ms. Or. 645, fol. 9r; quoted in Carlos Alonso Fontela, 'Las notas hebreas de Alfonso de Zamora conservadas en el ms. Leiden Or 645, D, f. 009r (olim 18r)', pp. 5–6. <http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/hebrea/Texto.11.pdf> [accessed 10 March 2014].

102 The prolonged battle between the archbishopric and the university is narrated with extensive detail in A. Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio archiepiscopo toletano libri octo* (Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo, 1569), fol. 228r*ff*. For Vergara's trial, see Homza, *Religious Authority*, ch 1.

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kind of insurance policy in case the Inquisition ever were to accuse him of using his biblical studies as a cover for judaizing.[103]

As Zamora's keen sense of how to navigate the Inquisition suggests, Alcalá's Converso hebraists tended to be very astute about the resistance which they and their curriculum periodically encountered, recognizing that it was quite distinct from the generic anti-Judaic and anti-Converso animus which permeated Spanish society. Rooted not in social jealousy or genealogical chauvinism, scholarly hand-wringing about Christian hebraism was instead the expression of a more complicated anxiety about the relationship between language and religious praxis.[104] As Anthony Grafton has observed, even enthusiastic partisans of Christian hebraism read Jewish books through 'screens, woven of assumptions and prejudices' that made them into rather schizophrenic allies. On the one hand, they desperately wanted to know what was in Jewish commentaries, to harvest and absorb their insights into the often opaque and confusing text of their shared Old Testament. At the same time, however, they deeply mistrusted Jews, and feared the judaizing effect of engaging with Hebrew knowledge.[105] In those circumstances, what they desired more than anything else was proof that Hebrew learning could be separated cleanly from its Jewish context – that it could be 'colonized', made wholly the property of Christians, and passed along between generations without the intervention of ambiguously Jewish teachers like Matthaeus Adrianus or the Converso members of Cisneros' editorial team.[106] The goal of attaining independence from Jewish teachers is, in fact, already articulated clearly in Cisneros' own prologue to the Complutensian Polyglot: 'when we shrink from the disgust and outpou-

103 [LUL] ms. Or. 645, fol. 12r; quoted in Carlos Alonso Fontela, 'Las dos notas hebreas de Alfonso de Zamora en el ms. Leiden Or. 645, pars D, f. 012r', pp. 3–4. <http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/hebrea/Texto.7.bis%20.doc> [accessed 10 March 2014].

104 For another permutation of this anxiety, with regard to the Moriscos' continued use of Arabic and what it might suggest about the sincerity of their Christianity, see Francisco Núñez Muley, *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, (trans.) Vincent Barletta (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 91–93; Kathryn Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44 (2002): pp. 446–80.

105 Grafton, 'The Jewish Book', p. 98.

106 For the Christian 'colonization' of Jewish knowledge in antiquity, see Andrew S. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

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rings of the Hebrews', Cisneros promised, citing Jerome, 'assisted by these tools we do not have to consult their teachers'.[107]

Zamora and his fellow Converso hebraists flourished in large part by feeding this dream of an autonomous Christian path to the *Hebraica veritas*. Their efforts in this direction are visible in the prefaces to their scholarly publications, where they spoke of their intellectual project not as an attempt to reconcile or merge Christian and Sephardic perspectives, but rather to rescue Hebrew learning from Jewish scholars paradoxically incapable of appreciating it. As both Johanna Tanja and Lu Ann Homza have shown, Zamora and Pedro Ciruelo took similar approaches to appropriating and de-judaizing the Aramaic *targumim* and Septuagint Old Testament, respectively, in the manuscript editions and translations which they prepared for patrons in the 1520s and 1530s. While Zamora dressed his Aramaic text in Christian garb – reordering and renaming the books of the Hebrew Bible to match their conventional appearance in the Vulgate, dividing them into chapters, and vocalizing for them for less fluent readers according to the protocol established by the Complutensian Polyglot – Ciruelo tinkered with the historical synopsis of the Bible's Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek versions originally printed in the Polyglot, silently rewriting and clipping the biographical details of its ancient Jewish translators until they looked like model Christians.[108]

The lengths to which Zamora and his fellow Conversos went to develop a fundamentally 'colonial' vision of Christian hebraism is most visible, however, in the *methodus docendi* which they developed for their students at Alcalá. At its core was Zamora's uncompromising, and uncommon, insistence that his students attain native fluency in spoken Hebrew as well as its written grammar. This unusual expectation owed as much to Zamora's determination to separate the science of hebraism from its Jewish connotations as it did to any objective sense of how much Hebrew a Christian hebraist genuinely needed. In a 1526 letter ostensibly addressed 'to the Jews of Rome', appended to a revised and expanded version of the Hebrew grammar he had first prepared for the Complutensian Polyglot, Zamora was at pains to draw the attention of his Christian readers to a fortuitous vulnerability in the Jewish tradition – namely, that medieval and Renaissance Jews

107 Quoted in Johanna M. Tanja, 'Brothers or Stepbrothers: Christianized Targum Manuscripts in the Sephardic Text Family', *Aramaic Studies*, 10 (2012): pp. 87–103, esp. p. 102 n.53. See also Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, 'Censorship, Editing and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century', in *Hebraica Veritas?*, (ed.) Coudert and Shoulson, pp. 125–55, esp. p. 126.

108 Tanja, 'Brothers or Stepbrothers', pp. 91–96; Homza, *Religious Authority*, pp. 95–98.

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> did not know to provide the necessary organizing principles in accordance with the grammar of their language, and they confused their words utterly and they wrote many superfluous things without need to the point that no one could read them and understand them. … And thus grammar was in their eyes a burdensome stone and became for them a heavy load. And therefore they learned their language according to habit.[109]

This disregard for the fundamentals of language, an unthinkable transgression for Christian humanists steeped in the classical *ars grammatica*, was further aggravated by the Jews' poor attention to spoken grammar and rhetoric; among the Jews of Rome, Zamora fumed, 'there is not found a single scholar who is able and knows how to speak your language [that is, Hebrew] grammatically as do today the believers in our faith, who speak the Roman language [that is, Latin] grammatically in accordance with the grammar texts that the early and later authors bestowed upon them'.[110]

This indictment of the Jewish grammatical tradition was, of course, disingenuous at best; Zamora was himself indebted to some of that tradition's illustrious practitioners, including David Qimḥi.[111] Rhetorically, however, it was a brilliant tactic for legitimating the project of Christian hebraism as implemented at Alcalá. Like the Nebuchadnezzar legend, which Zamora's ancestors had used to endow the Sephardic Bible with a direct link to ancient Israel, the Jews' alleged aversion to proper grammar and philology allowed Zamora to create a fictional disciplinary identity for Christian hebraism purged of Jewish influence. In Zamora's telling, properly-trained Christian scholars could understand and manipulate Hebrew texts in a manner genuinely independent of, and impervious to, the way that Jews understood them. This particular understanding of the Christian hebraist as a kind of grammatical and rhetorical virtuoso thus became the central conceit of the Complutensian training in oriental languages. Zamora's list of his own virtues, copied out in

109 Alfonso de Zamora, *Introductiones artis grammatice hebraice* (Alcalá de Henares: Miguel de Eguía, 1526), fols. bb7v–bb8r. Quoted in Daniel Stein-Kokin, 'Polemical Language: Hebrew and Latin in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish-Christian Debate', *Jewish History*, 29 (2015): pp. 1–38, esp. p. 29 n. 99.

110 Zamora, *Introductiones*, fol. bb8r; quoted in Stein-Kokin, 'Polemical Language', p. 30.

111 Sergio Fernández López (ed.), *Los comentarios de David Qimhi a Isaías, Jeremías y Malaquías*, (trans.) Alfonso de Zamora and Benito Arias Montano (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2011). BNE also preserves a manuscript copy of Qimḥi's dictionary (ms. 5454) in Zamora's hand.

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the mid-1530s, suggests how he may have translated these expectations into a rubric for his students:

> The ability to read without vowel points.
> The ability to speak the [Hebrew] language as fluently as the vernacular.
> The ability to teach from memory all twenty-four of the books [of the Hebrew Bible] and their deeds and histories.
> The ability to speak *targum* [that is, Aramaic] as fluently as the vernacular.
> The ability to write from memory, without consulting a book, any citation from the [Hebrew] language with its vowels.
> The ability to write [the cursive forms of Hebrew script known as] *provenzal* and *mashk* and *provenzal* [sic].
> The ability to [translate] on the fly a sentence from the [Castilian] vernacular into the language of the Hebrews or to *targum* [that is, Aramaic].
> The ability to translate a letter from the [Castilian] vernacular into the language of the Hebrews or to *targum* [that is, Aramaic].[112]

This is a daunting list of expectations for any early modern Christian hebraist, to say the least; but it does provide some useful context for the somewhat unorthodox assertion, common among the dozens of scholars who passed through the lecture halls of sixteenth-century Alcalá, that the richness and sheer endurance of the Sephardic presence in the Iberian Peninsula was to be counted an asset rather than a liability to Spanish Christians. Whatever damage it may have done to the perceived purity of Spanish bloodlines or doctrine had been more than compensated by the extraordinary access which it had given Christian hebraists to the last living heirs of a tradition of grammatical and exegetical study unavailable anywhere else in Europe.[113]

Indeed, for many of these Alcalá graduates, the propitious placement of this reservoir of Jewish wisdom was anything but accidental. For them, the presence of figures like Alfonso de Zamora and Pedro Ciruelo at this key juncture in the history Christian hebraism was nothing less than an act of divine providence. As we have already seen, this was a view of Spanish history popular

112 LUL, ms. Or. 645, 110v; quoted in Fontela, 'Las anotaciones de Alfonso de Zamora', pp. 4–5.

113 Homza, *Religious Authority*, p. 90; Pedro de Alcocer, *Hystoria, o descripcion dela imperial cibdad de Toledo, con todas las cosas acontecidas en ella, a donde se tocan, y refieren muchas antigüedades* (Toledo: Juan Ferrer, 1554), fol. xivr; Arias Montano, *Commentaria in dvodecim prophetas*, p. 464.

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among earlier generations of Conversos like Alonso de Cartagena, and it found material support in the Nebuchadnezzar legend's postulation of a kind of sacred *translatio imperii* from the Near East to the Iberian Peninsula in the form of Pirrus' captive army.[114] It should be no surprise, then, that the Nebuchadnezzar legend was also highly visible in the curriculum followed by the early generations of Hebrew students at Alcalá. Among the heavily annotated codices which Zamora left behind in the university library is the first, two-volume printing of Isaac Abarbanel's commentary on the prophets, printed by Soncino at Pesaro in 1520.[115] In 1534 Zamora vocalized the first volume, containing Isaiah and Jeremiah, at the request of Juan Gil (aka Doctor Egidio, d. 1556), a member of the university's governing body, a fact which he recorded in a manuscript note on the final page.[116] He did not, however, vocalize the second volume, which contained the Minor Prophets, including, most importantly, Obadiah. The significance of this may be gleaned from the note about Doctor Egidio, as well as a second note – this one regarding the arrogant student who obtained a post at Salamanca – in Zamora's manuscript copy of David Qimḥi's dictionary.[117] In the first note, inscribed within the volumes of Abarbanel's commentary, Zamora declared his intention that Abarbanel be used as the language test for all candidates standing for the chair of Hebrew:

> I hereby request of him [that is, Doctor Egidio], and of all those who should succeed him, a definitive and solemn oath in the name of Jesus Christ, Our Redeemer, such that, should it fall into his hand to judge like He does, … they will not confer the professorship in this language to anyone who does not know how to read this commentary, to ensure that he is not able to trick the students who wish to study the said language.[118]

In the second note, Zamora made it clear that he followed through on his own recommendation, additionally specifying that the student should be required to work with the unvocalized text of the commentaries – including, again, the commentary on Obadiah at the center of the Nebuchadnezzar legend. 'Father Correa', the university librarian, Zamora recorded,

114 See n. 69 above.

115 These volumes are held in the Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, signatures DER 686–687. On these volumes, see Carlos Alonso Fontela, 'Anotaciones de Alfonso de Zamora en un Comentario a los profetas posteriores de don Isaac Abravanel', *Sefarad*, 47 (1987): pp. 227–43.

116 Alonso Fontela, 'Anotaciones de Alfonso de Zamora', p. 228.

117 See n. 111 above.

118 Alonso Fontela, 'Anotaciones de Alfonso de Zamora', p. 228.

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> was told to give me a Commentary on the Prophets without vowel points so that I could lord it over [*vanagloriar sobre*] Sánchez and his partisans, who do not know how to read without vowel points; and he [the arrogant student, Sánchez] holds that unpointed commentaries are a massive labor [*trabajo de gran señor*], whereas for me it would be rather a spiritual rest and of little effort.[119]

It is difficult to evaluate to what extent Zamora and his fellow Converso hebraists were successful at executing the complicated gymnastics they had set for themselves – that is, whether it is really true that, as David Ruderman has argued, the generation of students whom they trained really did go off to careers in the universities, courts, and cathedral chapters of late Renaissance Europe and beyond as the first Christians who could claim to know 'the Jewish tradition, especially the Hebrew Bible, better than the Jews themselves'.[120] What we do know with some certainty is that many of the Christian hebraists trained at Alcalá between the 1520s and 1550s departed the university familiar not only with the idiosyncratic Sephardic way of interpreting Obadiah and the Babylonian Captivity, but also with the valence of that legend – that it was an alternative guarantee, otherwise unknown within the Christian tradition, of the trustworthiness of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. The proof of that claim lies in part in the idiosyncratic way in which those alumni reacted to the Protestant Reformation and the crisis which it spawned in the Christian hebraist community at mid-century.

## In the Shadow of Trent

It is a well-worn interpretation among scholars of Christian hebraism that the Protestant reformers, by insisting upon a doctrine of *sola scriptura* over and against the Catholic Church's reverence for the intervening centuries of tradition and interpretation, imbued the Christian hebraist project of returning to the original, ostensibly unadulterated Hebrew text of the Old Testament with a legitimacy and importance which it could never enjoy in a Catholic world

119 BNE, ms. 5454; quoted in Francisco J. del Barco, *Catálogo de manuscritos hebreos de la Comunidad de Madrid* (Madrid: CSIC, Instituto de Filología, 2003–06), vol. 2, p. 171 [no. 104].

120 David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 119.

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which rallied around St Jerome's Latin Vulgate.[121] The reality, however, is somewhat muddier than that equation of Protestantism with hebraism and Catholicism with the Vulgate would suggest. For one thing, Catholic interpreters' reluctance to join their Protestant counterparts in abandoning the Vulgate was motivated at least in part by their dispassionate scholarly judgment – informed by their familiarity with post-biblical (that is, rabbinical) Hebrew literature, which Protestants deliberately ignored – that the 'original' Hebrew text of the Bible lionized by the Protestants was not nearly as venerable as they claimed.[122] While Protestant hebraists asserted that the so-called Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible handed down by Jewish communities through the Middle Ages reflected the most ancient recension of Scripture, unperturbed by clumsy efforts to translate it into Greek or Latin, Catholics came to the conclusion that, in fact, the fourth-century CE Vulgate (and the ca. third-century BCE Septuagint on which it was based) were at least as venerable as the Hebrew of the Masoretes, if not more. At the center of this irreconcilable difference of opinion was the incipient early modern controversy over the Masoretic text's vowel points. Protestants generally insisted that the vowel points found in many medieval manuscripts were of ancient – even Mosaic – provenance, original to the Hebrew Bible; Catholics, in contrast, tended to side with the Jewish convert Elijah Levita (1469–1549) and his argument, expressed persuasively in his 1538 *Masoret ha-Masoret*, that the vowel points were in fact a late innovation of ca. 500 CE imposed upon a biblical text that had already evolved and changed (read: been corrupted) at the hands of its scribes and interpreters.[123] This did not mean, of course, that Catholic hebraists ceased to signal, Ibn Ḥazm-like, the presence of troubling inconsistencies and obvious errors within the Vulgate. But it did mean that most Catholic hebraists continued to believe that the Vulgate's version of the Old Testament was no less valuable than the Hebrew and Greek witnesses.

As the Reformation unfolded in the 1520s, 30s, and early 40s, the hebraists' and their analyses of the Vulgate's divergence from the ostensible *Hebraica veritas* of the Masoretic text migrated from the realm of academic debate into that of ideological controversy, as Protestants attempted to make Catholic scholars' greater esteem for the Vulgate into yet another object lesson in the

121 See, for example, Adam Sutcliffe, 'Hebrew Texts and Protestant Readers: Christian Hebraism and Denominational Self-Definition', *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 7 (2000): pp. 319–37, esp. pp. 324–25.

122 Sutcliffe, 'Hebrew Texts', pp. 319, 327.

123 Ginsburg, *The Massoreth ha-Massoreth*; Gérard E. Weil, *Elie Lévita, humaniste et massoréte (1469–1549)* (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

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Catholic reverence for tradition at the expense of Truth. In response, powerful constituencies within the Curia and the Roman Inquisition grew increasingly hostile towards Hebrew scholarship of all stripes, declining to distinguish between Hebrew scholarship (usually Catholic) which tried in good faith to adjust and improve the Vulgate translation and that (mostly Protestant) which was intended merely to impugn the Vulgate altogether. The result was a series of decisions taken in the 1540s and 1550s, many of them ambiguous and improvisational, which cumulatively looked as if they were meant to seal off hebraists' access to rabbinical and other Hebrew texts, or even to prohibit philological criticism of the Biblical text altogether.[124]

The first sign of this seemingly dramatic turn away from Christian hebraism came from the Council of Trent (1545–63), in the form of an April 1546 *Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum* (Decree on the Publication and Use of the Scriptures) declaring that the Vulgate 'which has been approved by the long use of so many centuries in the Church, is to be held as authentic in public readings, disputations, preachings and expositions and that no one shall dare or presume to reject it under any pretense whatsoever'.[125] Many hebraists were unperturbed by this decree, noting both that its composition had been supervised by the avid orientalist and Vatican Librarian Marcello Cervini (1501–55, the future Pope Marcellus II), and that the decree's determination that 'Sacred Scripture, especially this well-known Old Vulgate edition, shall be published as correctly as possible' seemed like an open invitation to continued philological refinement and correction *e fontibus antiquis*.[126] Others, however, greeted this endorsement of the Vulgate with trepidation, speculating that its prohibition on 'rejecting' St Jerome's translation was a veiled reference to humanist philologists' willingness to advocate for alternative readings when appropriate. The pessimists, in the end, turned out to be the better prognosticators: seven years after the Tridentine Decree, the Roman Inquisition issued its infamous condemnation of the Talmud, sparking a bonfire of Jewish books in the Italian

124 For a sense of the Curia's investment in oriental scholarship and biblical humanism up to this watershed, see Alastair Hamilton, 'Eastern Churches and Western Scholarship', in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, (ed.) Anthony Grafton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 225–49.

125 The full text of the decree is available in *Concilium Tridentinum, diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatuum noua collectio* (Freiburg: Herder, 1901–2001), vol. 5, pp. 91–92.

126 On Cervini, see William V. Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992); Robert Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 69–73.

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Peninsula that all hebraists rightly regarded as an existential threat to their discipline.[127]

As Fausto Parente and others have noted, quite apart from its derisive reception by Protestants, Rome's drastic assault on the Jewish source materials so vital to the Christian hebraist enterprise prompted a crisis within the world of Catholic scholarship. Modern historians have tended to describe this crisis as a clash between two distinct camps. On one side, in the minority, were those (like the pioneering scholar of Syriac Andreas Masius, 1514–73) who believed that the Church had made a terrible mistake in separating Christian scholars and missionaries from rabbinical literature, on the purely pragmatic grounds that such a ban would set back Christian efforts to evangelize the Jews through informed disputation.[128] On the other side, in the majority, were those who assented to the Inquisition's perspective and, with a surprising rapidity, essentially abandoned the cutting edge of oriental philology to their Protestant counterparts.[129] While this decision to accept the Vulgate as an authority unto itself, largely immune from correction by the Masoretic text, was not wholly unjustified by objective assessments of their ages and origins, in the sixteenth century this assessment mattered much less than a second, more polemical justification: namely, that the Jews had deliberately corrupted the Hebrew text of the Bible, as well as the vast corpus of rabbinical commentaries which illuminated it, in order to obscure the truth of Christianity. In many ways, this accusation brings us directly back to the world of Ibn Ḥazm and Al-Andalus. Though the symmetry between Muslim and Christian ideas concerning their respective religions' abrogation of Jewish law is imperfect, many of the philological and historical tropes marshaled by Muslim polemicists – the logical and textual inconsistencies in the Torah, the uncertainty surrounding Ezra's 'restoration' of the Torah in the wake of the Babylonian Captivity, and so on – had, in fact, featured prominently in Christian polemics against Judaism

127 Kenneth R. Stow, 'The Burning of the Talmud in 1553, in the Light of Sixteenth-Century Catholic Attitudes Toward the Talmud', *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 34 (1972): pp. 435–59; Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555–1593* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1977); Fausto Parente, *Les Juifs et l'Église Romaine* (*XV^e–XVIII^e siècle*) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), pp. 301–62.

128 This was, essentially, another version of the justification for Hebrew studies first developed by Ramón Martí and revivified by Johannes Reuchlin. On Masius, see Andreas Masius, *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden 1538 bis 1573*, (ed.) Max Lossen (Leipzig: A. Dürr, 1886); Henry de Vocht, 'Andreas Masius (1514–1573)', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), vol. 4, pp. 425–41; Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic*, 91–94; Parente, *Les Juifs et l'Église*, pp. 301–10.

129 Burnett, *Christian Hebraism*.

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in the centuries before the rise of Islam, and merely awaited their humanist revival.[130] Insofar as sixteenth-century Catholicism can be said to have had its own Ibn Ḥazm, the most apt candidate would be the Flemish bishop Wilhelm Lindanus (1525–88), author of an influential 1558 manual on *De optimo genere interpretandi scripturas* (The Best Way to Interpret the Scriptures) which purported to prove Christian claims about the falsification of Hebrew scripture via the most sophisticated, up-to-date canons of humanist textual scholarship, including (for example) the collation of variant readings in the most ancient manuscripts.[131]

What is missed in this bipartite version of the Tridentine debate about hebraism – a version in which both sides, including the pro-hebraic faction, essentially admit *a priori* the corruption or perversion of Jewish sources before mounting their arguments for or against allowing Christians to read them – is the important fact that there was a third position in this debate, one which insisted unabashedly that the Jewish sources in question were no more suspect than those produced by Christian authors, and should be read with freedom not by polemicists, but rather by scholars in search of Enlightenment. Among the best-known advocates of this position is the rabbi-turned-Hebrew professor Johannes Isaac Levita (1515–77), a rare convert from Judaism who came to Catholicism via Protestantism. Levita is best known for his popular Hebrew grammar, which passed through five editions between 1553 and 1570, but he also published an early, and full-throated, rebuttal of Lindanus' attempt to prove the falsification of the Hebrew Bible, entitled *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicae Sacrarum Scripturarum, adversus … Vilhelmi Lindani S.T. Doctoris* (*A Defense of the Truth of the Hebrew Scriptures against … Wilhelm Lindanus, Doctor of Theology*) (1559).[132] Levita's *Defensio*, as Stephen Burnett has observed, became a favourite prop in later years for Protestant polemicists in their ongoing battle to impugn their Catholic rivals' adherence to the Vulgate, a fate which has served only to heighten the sense among historians of Christian hebraism that he

130 See n. 43 above.

131 Wilhelmus Lindanus, *De optimo genere interpretandi scripturas* (Cologne: Maternum Cholinum, 1558).

132 Johannes Isaac Levita, *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicae Sacrarum Scripturarum, adversus Vilhelmi Lindani S.T. Doctoris, quos de optimo Scripturas interpretandi genre inscripsit* (Cologne: Jacob Soterem, 1559). On Johannes Isaac Levita, see Elisheva Carlebach, 'Jewish Responses to Christianity in Reformation Germany', in *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, (ed.) Dean Phillip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 451–80, esp. pp. 467–69; de Vocht, *History of the Foundation*, vol. 4, pp. 299–306.

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can be bracketed as a statistically-insignificant outlier among Tridentine Catholic attitudes towards Hebrew.[133] Yet Levita was far from unique.

Among the Catholic hebraists prepared to make common cause with Levita were precisely the Iberian scholars trained by Alfonso de Zamora, his colleagues, and his heirs at the University of Alcalá. Though a modest handful of Spaniards rushed to the aid of the Roman Inquisition's campaign against Hebrew books, becoming self-designated propagandists for the dangers of Hebrew study – the list would include, most prominently, Francisco de Torres (1509–84), who advocated for the destruction of rabbinical literature in his *De sola lectione legis* (On the Mere Reading of the Law, 1555), and the Salamanca Graecist León de Castro (d. 1586), who nearly blocked the publication of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible in the 1570s – the lion's share of Spanish hebraists explicitly refused to toe the Roman line – including the Franciscan Andrés de Vega (1498–1549?), a Tridentine delegate who attempted in his 1548 *Tridentini Decreti de iustificatione expositio et defensio* (Explanation and Defense of the Tridentine Decree on Justification) to steer his fellow Catholics towards the most liberal possible reading of Trent's endorsement of the Vulgate, to Luis de León, who pungently told the Spanish Inquisition that he had been taught to

> take from Jewish doctors things relating to the description of the Holy Land and its places, or the customs of that group [the Jews]. And when they offer some literal sense – some passage of Scripture of true and pure doctrine, and does not contradict the saints – one does not have to discount just because it came from [the Jews], because, as St Augustine teaches, the truth is good regardless of who says it.[134]

In fact, one can hardly open a biblical commentary penned by a Spanish scholar in the later sixteenth century without stumbling upon appreciative references to Abraham ibn Ezra, the rabbi Naḥmanides (1194–1270), the traveler Benjamín de Tudela (1130–73), the polymath astronomer Abraham Zacuto

133 Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 207 n. 20.

134 Andrés de Vega, *Tridentini Decreti de iustificatione expositio et defensio* (Venice: Ad signum speis, 1548); Luis de León, 'Escrito que presentó fray Luis de Leon de su puño y letra, al tribunal de la Inquisicion de Valladolid, contestando á lo que se le preguntó en la primera audiencia. En Valladolid a 18 de abril 1572 años, ante los señores inquisidores licenciados Dieco González é Realiego en la audiencia de la tarde', in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Vol. 10: Proceso original que la Inquisición de Valladolid hizo al maestro Fr. Luis de León, religioso del orden de S. Agustín*, (ed.) Miguel Salvá and Pedro Sainz de Baranda (Madrid: Viuda de Calero, 1847), pp. 184–203, esp. p. 196.

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(1452–1515), and especially Isaac Abarbanel (or, as Arias Montano called him, 'Isaac hispano').[135] Benito Arias Montano – who, as we have seen, was the Christian exegete singled out by Francisco Martínez Marina as the first to offer Abarbanel's canonical version of the Nebuchadnezzar legend his unqualified embrace – was particularly keen to filter and preserve the Sephardic exegetical tradition through his own commentaries, as well as the work that which stands as his masterpiece, the massive (and massively erudite) critical apparatus of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.[136] Such was his commitment to the *Hebraica veritas*, in fact, that Arias Montano nearly sacrificed his hard-won reputation and career as an exegete and an orientalist in an ill-advised attempt to embarrass Lindanus in retribution for the Belgian bishop's role in casting aspersions upon Arias Montano's beloved Hebrew sources.[137]

## A 'Sephardic Habitus'

For many of the scholars who have surveyed the landscape of biblical criticism in late Renaissance Spain, the willingness of scholars like Arias Montano and Luis de León to court accusations of judaizing in order to preserve the Sephardic commentary tradition has tended to awaken the genealogical mindset so common in the literature on early modern Spain. Were Arias Montano and Luis de León drawn to praise Hebrew sources and grant their *imprimatur* to Sephardic legends about Spain's ancient Israelite colonies solely or even primarily, out of a lingering sense of genealogical pride, a desire to insert their Jewish ancestors into the earliest chapters of their merging national history? While recent research on the more spectacular frauds in sixteenth-century Spanish scholarship, like the Plomos del Sacromonte or the false chronicles

135 See Fernández and Fernández, *Biblia y humanismo*, for the texture of late Renaissance Spanish hebraism. For a comprehensive bio-bibliography of Spanish Christian exegetes, see Klaus Reinhardt, *Bibelkommentare Spanischer Autoren* (*1500–1700*) (Madrid: CSIC, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1990–99).

136 Benito Arias Montano, *Antigüedades hebraicas. Tratados exegéticos de la Biblia Regia. Antiqvitatvm ivdaicarvm Libri IX: Apparatus Sacer*, (ed. and trans.) Luis Gómez Canseco and Sergio Fernández López (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2013).

137 The Arias Montano-Lindanus affair has been ably reconstructed in Antonio Dávila Pérez, 'La polémica Arias Montano-Wilhelmus Lindanus: Un nuevo documento (AGR I 115, No. 3714)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 49 (2000): pp. 139–66; Dávila Pérez, '*Regnavit a ligno Deus. Affirmat Arias Montanus; negat Lindanus*. Revisión de la polémica Benito Arias Montano-Wilhelmus Lindanus a la luz de nuevos documentos', *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 58 (2009): pp. 125–89.

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published by Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, have tended to find some evidence of genealogical or 'ethnic' motivation, in the case of Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish legions there is an alternative explanation.[138] It is an explanation that eluded Martínez Marina when he tried to look backwards from the eighteenth century, by which time the pitched battles over the legality of using rabbinical commentaries which unsettled Tridentine intellectuals had long since disappeared from memory. The mid-sixteenth-century crisis of hebraism made Spanish hebraists aware, perhaps for the first time, of the oddity of their perspective – of what we might call (paraphrasing Barbara Fuchs' work on 'maurophilia') the profoundly enduring 'Sephardic habitus' of Iberian attitudes to the Bible as compared to those of their fellow Europeans, Catholic as well as Protestant.[139]

This 'Sephardic habitus' did not require the bonds of biological genealogy; it need not be traced back to any particular scholar's status as a Converso, or descendant thereof. It was, rather, a legacy of the intellectual history of the Iberian Peninsula, a complicated tapestry in which the textual transmission of the Hebrew text of the Bible and its rabbinical apparatus had been interwoven with the secular history of Iberia's three faith communities centuries before by a figure – Ibn Ḥazm in particular, though one might call him the polemical Muslim in general – who also had vanished from the scene long before the historians of the eighteenth century, or the twenty-first, attempted to reckon with the role of conversion in producing the unique qualities of Iberian exegesis. In other words, when Arias Montano penned a lengthy commentary on Obadiah, relating the Nebuchadnezzar legend in intricate detail before concluding that the Jewish diaspora had constituted a mutual gift to Christians and Jews alike, an exchange of expertise in which Christians were the greater debtors, he was not necessarily striking a blow against the Inquisition on behalf of his fellow Conversos, but rather defending a particularly Iberian tradition of thinking about the authority and authenticity of the Biblical text against a Roman critique that must have read in the Iberian context not only as a harbinger of increasing Catholic anti-Judaism, but also as the continuation of a struggle for exegetical primacy begun in eleventh-century Al-Andalus.[140]

138 See n. 12 and 15 above.

139 Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

140 Arias Montano, *Commentaria*, p. 464.

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CHAPTER 2

# Biblical Translations and Literalness in Early Modern Spain[1]

*Fernando Rodríguez Mediano*

In his edition of the Inquisition's trial of Fray Luis de León (around the 1570s), Ángel Alcalá provides a summary of the accusations made against the professor of Theology and Sacred Scripture from Salamanca and his colleagues. Among them, we find the following:

> The Song of Songs is a love poem written by Solomon to the Pharaoh's daughter, and to teach anything else is absurd; the Song can be read and explained in the vernacular tongue; when citing explanations by the Saints that run counter to their own, they wave them aside and dismiss them as allegories. One of these authors has the habit of saying, 'Here comes *el sabio Alegorín* (Alegorín the Wise)' if he is cited; there is no allegorical meaning in the Scriptures.[2]

As has been pointed out by Ángel Alcalá himself along with other historians, the trial of Fray Luis did not revolve so much around the fact of having translated a biblical text into the vernacular (though this was also part of the accusation), but rather around his criticism of the Vulgate and defense of a literal rather than an allegorical interpretation.[3]

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1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, CORPI project 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'. This contribution was translated into English by Nicholas Callaway.

2 'El *Cantar de los cantares* es un poema amoroso de Salomón a la hija del Faraón, y enseñar lo contario es fútil; el *Cantar* se puede leer y explicar en lengua vernacular; cuando se aducen explicaciones de los Santos contrarios a las suyas las tienen en nada y las tachan de alegorías. Uno de esos autores acostumbra a decir "Ya está el sabio Alegorín" si le aducen; en las Escrituras no hay sentido alegórico'; Ángel Alcalá, *El proceso inquisitorial de Fray Luis de León*, 2nd ed. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2009), pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

3 Colin P. Thompson, *The Strife of Tongues: Fray Luis de León and the Golden Age of Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 60.

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This essay will address the problem of literalness, starting with the relationship between the interpretation and the translation of the Bible (insofar as literalness is the first interpretive question that the translator is faced with). It is important to bear in mind the uniqueness of a certain medieval Spanish biblical tradition, which in simplified terms could be described as: more respectful of the differences between manuscripts, closer to the Hebrew tradition than to the Vulgate, closer to the text of the Bible than to the Church Fathers. Moreover, this was a local tradition that ran in parallel to Hispanic Judaism, which was more closely attached to philological and grammatical analysis of Scripture.[4]

This medieval Hispanic tradition resulted in a sizable output of Bibles in Hebrew,[5] but also of translations into the vernacular Romance languages, which were carried out by Jews. Some of these Romance translations were made for the Jewish communities' internal use, but the majority of those that have survived appear to have been made for Christian patrons. The most famous example is without a doubt the so-called *Alba Bible*, an extraordinary manuscript completed in 1430, which contains a translation made by Rabbi Moses Arragel of Guadalajara for the Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava. More influential still was the translation made by Yom Ṭov Atias and Abraham Usque, 'word for word and from the true Hebrew', printed in Ferrara in 1553. The *Ferrara Bible* and its literal translation were mainly aimed at the Sephardic Jewish readership, but its influence was to extend much further, as we shall see is some of the examples to come.[6]

In parallel to the production of translations into Spanish, there was also a growing movement to repress them.[7] Apart from a handful of cases during the medieval period, we may cite the (unsubstantiated) prohibition by the Catholic Monarchs; the (equally debated) prohibition by Carlos V, coinciding with the Reform crisis; and, lastly, the inclusion of translations of the Bible in the Index of Forbidden Books starting in the 1550s. Although this prohibition must be heavily qualified (the prohibition sometimes referred to the Bible as a whole but not to its parts), it is clear that the repression grew steadily

4 David Coles, 'Humanism and the Bible in Renaissance Spain and Italy: Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522)', (PhD Diss., Yale University and UMI Ann Arbor, 1983), vol. 1, p. 9.

5 Francisco Javier del Barco (cur.) *Biblias de Sefarad / Bibles of Sefarad* (Madrid: BNE, 2012).

6 For a general overview, see Iacob M. Hassán (ed.), *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara. Actas del Simposio Internacional, Sevilla, noviembre de 1991* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario, 1994); and more specifically, along the lines of this article, see esp. Natalio Fernández Marcos, 'La Biblia de Ferrara y sus efectos en las traducciones bíblicas al español', pp. 445–71.

7 For a general overview of this subject, see Sergio Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar. Defensores y detractores* (León: Universidad de León, 2003), esp. pp. 89–150.

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throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, alongside the persecution of other religious books, like Muslim or Jewish books. Of course, this persecution can be linked to the Tridentine decrees, which defended the authority of the Vulgate, marking a critical break with the reformed world. The persecution of biblical translation had a number of consequences. In general, the great translations of the Bible into Spanish (the *Biblia del Oso* by Casiodoro de Reina, the translation of the Gospels by Francisco de Enzinas, and others) are related to the Protestant world. In Spain many vernacular translations of the Bible were destroyed. And yet, as we shall see, this persecution of the Bible in Romance vernacular was challenged, debated and, ultimately, did not keep the text of the Bible from being disseminated in a variety of ways. This situation poses the problem of the unique relationship between the Spanish language and the linguistic model of the Bible.

Over the following pages I have gathered together diverse material on the history of the interpretation, translation and uses of the Bible in early modern Spain, organizing them into three different sections. In the first, starting with the problem of translation, and of equating translation with interpretation, I pose the question of how people conceived of the relationship between Spanish and Hebrew, and how and to what extent this was considered a linguistic, rhetorical and literary model. In the second part, I attempt to illustrate the tension between literalness and allegory as one of the central elements in the construction of the problem of representation, which is of critical importance in the development of logic and of speculative grammar. As seen in the example of Juan Caramuel, this tension attains its fullest expression in the semiotic dimension of the Eucharist. Lastly, in the third section, I give an account of various controversies arising from the translation and literal interpretation of the Bible. The cases of Valdés and of Arias Montano are very important examples of the construction of forms of spirituality tied to Biblical interpretation. On the other hand, that of Furió Ceriol poses the fundamental problem of translating the Bible into Romance, a controversy that not only marked the frontier between Reformation and Counter-Reformation, but also shaped more subtle differences connected to complex and selective forms of disseminating the Bible and its translations. Based on these examples, and on the related problems that they raise, I propose several lines of research that I find to be indispensable when addressing the problem of the translation, interpretation and spread of the Bible in early modern Spain, which remains relatively unexplored.

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## A Model of Translation, a Literary Model

In 1778, Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada published an *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca de traductores españoles* (Attempt at a Library of Spanish Translators).[8] It was an incomplete work, as the author himself admitted, and had one problem: when listing all of the Spanish translators of the Scriptures, 'I found myself obligated to cite some heterodox authors, whose work has preserved references to these translators; since those of our nation generally endeavor to silence them'.[9] Old Hebrew, Latin or Spanish translations were not only of benefit to the nation, but also served to enrich the language. The relationship between different translations, and the construction of an expressive and literary model of Spanish, posed a recurring problem in rhetorical and grammatical terms. At nearly the same time as Pellicer y Saforcada, the Count of Campomanes complained of the lack of a fixed style for Spanish, and of the neglect of Spanish rhetoric. Concerning translation, Campomanes regretted the fact of 'not having proper translations of the textual works of ancient and modern Philosophy, Medicine, the Holy Fathers, and other areas of History and Mathematics'. This was the reason why each individual professor translated the concepts of the various sciences into Spanish as best he could, without conceptual precision, and leading to 'linguistic inconsistency'. In addition, the practice of translation also posed a serious methodological problem: literal, word-for-word translation ran the risk of disturbing the grammar of the Spanish, introducing all sorts of calques and corrupting the natural order of its syntax. Faced with the troubles of literal translation, it was the translator's task 'to translate the author's meaning; literally when the language allows it, and when it does not, to faithfully render the concept without respecting every word of the sentence'.[10]

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8 Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada, *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca de traductores españoles donde se da noticia de las traducciones que hay en castellano de la Sagrada Escritura, Santos Padres, filósofos, oradores, poetas, así griegos como latinos* (Madrid: Antonio Sancha, 1778) [facsim ed., Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2002].

9 'Me he visto en la necesidad de citar algunos autores heterodoxos, en cuyas obras se conservan todavía noticias de aquellos traductores; pues los de nuestra nación hacen generalmente estudio de callarlas'; Pellicer, 'Prólogo', in *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca*.

10 'No aver traducción ajustada de las obras textuales de la Philosofía antigua y moderna, medicina, Santos Padres y demás partes de la historia y mathemáticas'; 'trasladar el sentido del autor, literalmente quando el idioma lo permite, y quando no poner el concepto fielmente sin atenerse a la letra en frase equivalente'. Fundación Universitaria Española [FUE], Count of Campomanes, *Papeles*, fols. 60–20: 'Pensamiento del estado de la lengua y estilo español', paragraphs 20 and 21. Among the documents belonging to the Count of

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The principle of striking a balance between a literal translation and a translation of meaning, a balance capable of preserving the purity of the Spanish language, is a rather simplistic commonplace that one sees repeated over and over in the statements of intent of countless translators who seem to be constantly repeating this problematic experience of reproducing the meaning of the original text while respecting the expressivity of the target language. It is a problem that is echoed time and again, and was often resolved by relying on the authority of St Jerome and his experience as Bible translator, based on the actually rather vague formula of 'matching it literally wherever it suited the spirit of our language and, where it did not, abandoning it, matching the meaning alone'.[11] However, beyond this commonplace, the practice of translation reflects a much more complex situation, where translators' choices adapt, in a variety of ways, not only to the problem of more or less appropriate means of transferring a meaning, but also to the problem of responding to different criteria of textual or religious authority. This issue is particularly complex when it comes to the Bible. There is, first of all, the dispute surrounding the translation of the sacred text into the vernacular, repeating the arguments about the latter's suitability for the word of God, or the possibility of betraying it. Here one can see, I think, the parallel between literal translation (in its most basic technical form, that is, word-for-word translation) and literal exegesis on the one hand, and between the translation of meaning and allegorical exegesis on the other. Based on this simple premise, I would like to explore how the translation of the Bible, and the use of Hebrew, influenced reflections on the use of Spanish, which is part of a broader question about the uses of the Bible and Eastern antiquity in early modern Spain.

Beginning with Pellicer y Saforcada's book itself, the first entry of the dictionary[12] is about Fray Alberto de Aguayo's Spanish translation of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, first printed in Seville in 1518. Aguayo himself defended his translation as the best that had been made of the work of Boethius, because he 'had rendered [it] from Latin into Spanish, not word by word, but sentence by sentence; not discarding something of his and adding something of mine, for, when translating books, one must not use words as a measure, but must weigh them by their sentences'. He then added,

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Campomanes there are also papers about Bible translation, including fragments of actual translations of the same.

11 'ajustarse a la letra, siempre que se conformaba a con el genio de nuestra lengua, y donde no, desampararla, ajustándose solo al sentido'; Pellicer, *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca*, p. 84, quoting Jerónimo Gómez de Huerta.

12 Pellicer, *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca*, pp. 3–7.

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> And should anyone find it frivolous to write a thing in verse, as the things people know the least about are the ones that receive the most criticism, he should know that this was the manner of speaking and writing of Moses, David, Solomon, and many of the Prophets, and many Saints of the New Testament, and even the Lord of one and all of them did not abhor this way of speaking when He said: Heli, heli, lamma sabacthani!, and elsewhere: Non dico tibi septies, sed usque septuagies septies ['I tell you, not seven times, but seventy-seven times', Matthew 18:22]. And, since no one, no matter how ignorant, would be so ill-mannered as to dare criticize the Redeemer and those who spoke in his spirit, thus he should likewise refrain from criticizing Boethius as author, and myself as his faithful interpreter.[13]

The wording of this paragraph is a bit obscure, even in Spanish. The key is the phrase, *escrebir cosa trobada* (to write a thing in verse), the meaning of which, in addition to the statement on the cover, 'the prose is metered', is made clear when one finds that the Spanish of Aguayo's translation is written in octosyllables, but in prose; a rhythmic technique that, according to Aguayo himself, was directly inspired by the words of the Scriptures and, moreover, by the style of the Savior himself. This artifice was seen as a 'unique extravagance' by Menéndez Pelayo.[14] Pellicer believed that Aguayo's argument was an exaggeration: the Canticle of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs, the Song of Solomon and the Books of the Prophets, 'were authentic poetry, although we are unfamiliar with the meter' (he was quoting Robert Lowth, *De sacra poesi*

13 '[la] había vuelto de latín en castellano, no palabra por palabra, mas sentencia de sentencia; no tirando alguna suya ni poniendo cosa mía, porque en trasladar los libros no se han de dar las palabras por cuenta, mas las sentencias por peso'; 'E si alguno juzgare por liviandad escrebir cosa trovada, porque mucho reprehenden las cosas que menos se saben, sepa que en esta manera escribió y habló Moisén, David, Salomón y muchos de los Prophetas; y muchos Sanctos del Nuevo Testamento, y aun el Señor de unos y otros no aborreció este modo de hablar cuando dijo: *Heli, heli, lamma sabacthani!* y en otro lugar: *Non dico tibi septies, sed usque septuagies septies*. E como ninguno, por ignorante que sea, será tan descomedido que ose reprehender al Redentor y a los que por su espíritu hablaron, detenerse ha en reprehender a Boecio como auctor, y a mí como su fiel intérprete'. Severin Boethius, *La consolación de la filosofía*, (trans.) Fray Alberto de Aguayo, (ed.) F. Luis G. Alonso Getino (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1943), 'Argumento en todo el libro', pp. 43–44.

14 Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores españoles*, in *Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo* (Santander: CSIC, 1952–53), vol. 54, p. 36.

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*hebraeorum*, Oxford, 1753).[15] Aguayo's Boethius, however, reached a notable level of prestige as a model for translation, and was explicitly cited by Ambrosio de Morales (1513–91) in his *Discurso sobre la lengua castellana*, where he said that Boethius' text was 'better in our language than in Latin'.[16] Juan de Valdés (1509–41) was equally full of praise, citing Aguayo's translation in his *Diálogo de la lengua*.[17] According to Menéndez Pelayo, Morales and Valdés praised this translation because they had not actually discovered its extravagant artifice; an interesting argument, since it has to do with the debate about the right style for speaking in prose and in verse; a crucial subject, which ultimately alludes to the ability to use the style and register best suited to each situation.

At this point the issue of translation is directly linked to the long process of constructing modern standard Spanish. The *Diálogo de la Lengua* by Juan de Valdés (who was also, as we will see, a translator of the Bible) is, as is widely acknowledged, one of the most important works in the history of the Spanish language. It is a book that took part in a secular controversy over how to construct a model for Spanish that could properly account for all its different registers. The history of this controversy is long and of great importance for the history of Spanish literature and aesthetics and, although it largely unfolds around the discussion of Greco-Roman and Italian models, the Bible also constitutes an important point of reference. The latter shows up in a variety of contexts. We might recall, for example, the case of Fray Pedro Malón de Chaide (1530–89), who criticized poetry but, at the same time, pointed to some examples from the Bible as poetic models. For instance, King David, who 'composed sad dirges and ballads, not about when Alonso de Aguilar died in the Sierra Nevada, Granada, nor about the people of Zamora, but rather about when Saul and his children died in the Mountains of Gilboa, and ordered they be sung in Israel just as the old ballads of Castile are sung today'. Also, Moses and Job, part of whose book 'is written in hexameter', Jeremiah, who 'composed dirges and sad songs upon the death of the glorious king Josiah', and many more songs and the like that 'in the Scriptures the Holy Spirit said in verse', in addition to the saints and Church Fathers.[18] We must not forget the polemical context in

15 'eran auténtica prosa, aunque se ignoraba su versificación'; Pellicer, *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca*, p. 5.

16 'mejor en nuestra lengua que en la latina'; Ambrosio de Morales, 'Discurso sobre la lengua castellana', in *Las obras del maestro Fernán Pérez de Oliva* (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1787), vol. 1, p. xliii.

17 Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua*, 4th ed. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1964), p. 121.

18 'hizo endechas tristes y romances, no de quando don Alonso de Aguilar murió en Sierra Nevada, ni de los zamoranos, sino de cuando Saúl y sus hijos murieron en los montes de Gelboé, y mandó que se cantassen en Israel como agora se cantan los romances viejos de

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which Malón de Chaide was writing, in the vein of Fray Luis de León. As such, he felt obliged to defend his biblical translation using the well-known argument that, ultimately, God had revealed his word in the vernacular language of the Hebrews, 'which was spoken by the shoemaker and the tailor and the weaver and the digger and the shepherd and the masses as a whole', and that the great Greeks and Romans had, as it were, written in 'their own Spanish', in other words in their own vernacular. Thus, in terms of purity and expressiveness, Spanish was by no means inferior to Greek or to Latin, languages into which the Bible had indeed been translated.[19]

Alongside Malón de Chaide there were other authors pondering over the right Spanish meter to match the meters of biblical poetry. Juan de Pineda (d. 1593?), author of *Diálogos familiares de agricultura cristiana* (Familiar Dialogues of Christian Agriculture), equated 'theology' with 'poetry', insofar as both operate 'by riddles and symbols and obscure parables, which conceal a great deal more that what meets the eye', a fundamental characteristic of the theological language spoken by the sages, all the more so if they were poets since poetry 'requires divine inspiration'. In Spanish, the meters that could match the grandiose language of great poets like Homer, Ovid or Virgil were 'our Spanish *coplas de arte mayor*, which we have so unjustly banished and forgotten, replacing them with Italian forms just because they come from overseas'.[20]

What this example reveals is how the use of the Bible as a poetic model fits within a broader debate over the Spanish language, alongside the debate over classical models as well as the adoption of Italian meters. At a certain point, the allusion to the biblical literary models personified by Moses and David turned into an argument used by those seeking to defend the merit of traditional Spanish meter and poetics, since to equate it with Hebrew, Greek and Latin was indeed to defend its own merit in the face of other foreign-based

Castilla'; 'está escrito en verso exámetro'; 'hizo endechas y canciones tristes a la muerte del glorioso rey Josías'; 'el Espíritu Santo dixo en la Escritura en verso'; Pedro Malón de Chaide, *Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena, en que se ponen los tres estados que tuvo de pecadora, penitente y de gracia* [1588] (Alcalá de Henares: Justo Sánchez Crespo, 1603), fols. 6v–7r.

19 'en que hablaba el çapatero y el sastre y el texedor y el cavatierra y el pastor y todo el vulgo entero'; 'su Castellano'; Malón de Chaide, *Magdalena*, fols. 16v–17r.

20 'por enigmas y símbolos o parábolas escuras, que encubren muy otras cosas de lo que representa en la corteza de la letra'; 'pide aflato divino'; 'nuestras coplas castellanas de arte mayor, tan desterradas y olvidadas de nosotros contra razón, aviendo admitido en su lugar las italianas, porque vienen de ultramar'; Juan de Pineda, *Diálogos familiares de agricultura cristiana*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid: Atlas, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 71–72.

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models.[21] In essence this is the same argument that was used to defend vernacular translations of the Bible, for example that Spanish was similar to Hebrew in that both were vernacular languages.

The debates surrounding the Spanish language became particularly intense in the seventeenth century, especially starting with the controversy ignited by the poetry of Luis de Góngora (1561–1627). One of Góngora's friends was Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620), the author of an extremely important document for the history of Spanish literature, namely a letter to Góngora commenting on his *Soledades*, which the poet of Cordoba had sent to the humanist in order to receive his critical opinion. At one point, when advising Góngora on which poetic models should be imitated, Pedro de Valencia says, 'I pray to God that I might be able to convey to you what it is to read those mighty ones, and others greater still: David, Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other prophets, what they sound like with their own properties, allusions and metaphors in the original Hebrew and Greek'.[22] The examples of Pedro Malón de Chaide and Pedro de Valencia bring us face to face with two key moments in the reception and study of the Bible in early modern Spain: Malón was a disciple of Fray Luis de León in Salamanca, whereas Pedro de Valencia was a disciple of Benito Arias Montano.

Pedro de Valencia's letter to Góngora is, as we have said, an important text within one of the most famed stylistic and prescriptive controversies in the history of Spanish literature, which revolved around the Cordoban's poetry. It is an extremely harsh and prolific controversy that returns to the age-old problem of the expressive features of Spanish and the construction of a poetic model based, for instance, on the opposition between clarity and obscurity.[23] One of the leading figures in this controversy was the Spanish playwright and poet Félix Lope de Vega (1562–1635), who defended, in a variety of ways, what could be called a poetics of simplicity or clarity against the obscurity of Góngora's school. One of the greatest examples of this brand of poetry can be found in his poem *El Isidro*, dedicated to a medieval saint from Madrid, St

21 Rogelio Reyes Cano, 'Aspectos de la relación de Cristóbal de Castillejo con la literatura italiana', *Revista de Filología Italiana*, 7 (2000), pp. 218–19.

22 'Pluguiera a Dios i yo pudiera communicarle a V.M. la lección de aquellos grandaços i de otros mui mayores, David, Isaías, Jeremías i los demás prophetas, cómo suena con sus propiedades, allusiones i translaciones en sus lenguas originales hebrea i griega'; Pedro de Valencia, *Epistolario,* (ed.) Francisco J. Fuente and Juan F. Domínguez (Madrid: Clásicas, 2012), p. 275.

23 Joaquín Roses Lozano, *Una poética de la oscuridad. La recepción crítica de las* Soledades *en el siglo XVII* (London, Madrid: Támesis, 1994). I have chosen this reference, from among the vast literature on this controversy, precisely because it discusses the problem of 'obscurity'.

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Isidore. Apart from wanting to dedicate a piece to the saint of his home town, Lope approaches this poem as a theory of poetry, contrasting the models of two different saints by the same name. On the one hand, Isidore of Seville, the great saint of the Visigothic period, archbishop of Seville, wide-ranging author and universal sage. On the other, Isidore of Madrid, the uneducated farm laborer saint ('Over there a golden crosier, / here a rough wrought-iron plough; / over there a cloak, here a coat, / brocade there, here the pick, / souls there, here cattle … he knew not letters, nor whom / to ask about them, / and if once he heard an ABC, / all he learned was the Christ' cross[24] / but it suited him just fine').[25] This juxtaposition of two types of sainthood is also a juxtaposition of two theories of poetry. Thus it was possible, to a certain extent, to sing the life of a poor, humble saint from Madrid via a counter-epic poem ('Canto el varón celebrado / sin armas, letras ni amor'. I sing the man celebrated / without weapons, letters or love), written in humble Spanish *quintilla* verse (five-line stanzas with eight syllables per verse): 'If one should object / of so many who are shrewd / that you are humble and plain, / say that they are Spanish / both the verses and their subject'; 'To those who would be fooled by wit / with strange style and tongue / oh Spanish muse tell them that / it is Spain that they are from').[26] Whereas the simplicity of the style and meter are a sign of the Spanish language, the poetic form imitates the classical and biblical model: '… these short bits of praise, which I hope will increase many people's devotion to God, which, since they are in verse, would seem to move them more effectively'. Ultimately Virgil himself held that God had created verse, and Moses, David, Solomon, Job and the Prophets had written in verse ('proof that the church honors its holidays with verse is the fact that the lives of the saints are written thus').[27] The fitting comparison between the humble verses of Spanish

24 'Cristus' was the cross put at the beginning of the children's notebooks.

25 'Allí ay báculo dorado, / aquí arado tosco herrado; / allí ay capa, aquí capote, / brocado allí, aquí picote, / almas allí, aquí ganado'; Isidore of Madrid 'no supo letras, ni a quien / preguntárselas también, / que un abecé que oyó, / sólo el Christus aprendió / pero éste súpole bien'; Félix Lope de Vega, *Isidro. Poema castellano* (Barcelona: Iusepe Andrés, 1608), fols. 9r–10r.

26 'Si os pusiere por ogjeto / de tantos algún discreto, / que soys humildes y llanos, / dezid que son castellanos / los versos como el sugeto'; 'A quantos su ingenio engaña / con estilo y lengua extraña / musa española dezildes / son naturales de España'; Lope, *Isidro*, fols. 1v–2r.

27 '… estas cortas alabanças, que espero en Dios aumentarán la devoción en muchos, que por ser en verso, parece que mueven con mayor eficacia'; 'el honrar la iglesia sus fiestas con versos acredita mucho que en ellos se escrivan las vidas de los santos'; Lope, *Isidro*, 'Prólogo'.

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as opposed to other foreign meters, particularly those coming from Italy, brings us back to the controversy discussed above in relation to *Diálogos familiares de agricultura cristiana* by Juan de Pineda. The choice of poetic genre together with the focus on sacred history led Lope de Vega to call his own *Isidro* and his modest *quintillas* a 'Castilian Psalter'.[28] It is not by chance that in the poem that the Marquis of Sarriá dedicates to Lope at the outset of *Isidro*, he calls him 'sacred historian' ('and because he raised him up [Isidore, to the heavens] / you are now a sacred historian, / Isidro more respected, / and you closer to God').[29] Casting Lope de Vega as a 'sacred historian' hearkens back to what Lope himself wrote about Mateo Alemán (1547–1614) at the outset of the latter's *San Antonio de Padua*. There, he likewise called Alemán a 'sacred historian', a play on the name Mateo Alemán and that of Matthew the Evangelist, thereby casting St Anthony was a 'new Christ'.[30]

The significant biblical inspiration of Mateo Alemán's work has already been noted:[31] his heavy use of the Old and New Testament and of St Paul, his knowledge of the work of Arias Montano, the constant presence of the book of Job in his own work. At one point he even explicitly states his admiration for the commentaries by Father Juan de Pineda (1558–1637, not to be confused with the Juan de Pineda mentioned above, author of the *Diálogos familiares*) to the book of Job, in a piece that he wrote in praise of the same.[32] Although the meaning of these words of praise can be debated, it is clear that Father Pineda's *Book of Job* is a remarkable book that was well known in Spain during this period. At the beginning of the first book, Pineda confronts the opinions of heretics, Lutherans and Anabaptists, who thought the book of Job could be understood as a parable, and not as a historical text (*vera historia*, 'true history'). One of the reasons for this allegorical interpretation was that the book was written in verse, *carmine*, like the Song of Songs, which was a kind of pastoral tale. By contrast, Pineda thought that Job himself was the

28 Lope de Vega, 'Égloga a Claudio', in *Rimas humanas y otros versos*, (ed.) Antonio Carreño (Barcelona: Crítica, 1998), p. 707.

29 'y por haberle subido [a Isidro a los cielos] / queda historiador sagrado, / Isidro más estimado, / y vos a Dios parecido'. Lope, *Isidro*.

30 Mateo Alemán, *S. Antonio de Padua* (Valencia: Patricia Mey, 1607).

31 Michèle Estela-Guillemont, 'Referencias bíblicas en la obra de Mateo Alemán', in *La Biblia en la literatura del Siglo de Oro*, (ed.) Ignacio Arellano and Ruth Fine (Madrid, Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2010), pp. 117–34.

32 Estela-Guillemont, 'Referencias bíblicas', p. 119.

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author of the book, and that he had written it in verse, like other books of the Bible, according to the Hebrew meters.[33]

A book of history or a book of poetry? The debate around the style of the Book of Job situates the problem of literal or allegorical interpretation in the realm of literary genres. One of the most noteworthy examples of how the problem of exegesis was approached via literary genre is Jerónimo de San Pedro's *Cavallería celestial* (Celestial Chivalry).[34] The book, published in 1554, is an account of the Bible, but in the style of a chivalric romance. Although it is not an isolated case, it is the most striking of a series of works referred to as *novelas de caballerías a lo divino* (divinized chivalric romances). It is, in any case, a uniquely bold book, in which the characters of the Bible are transformed into characters of chivalry (for example, Christ is the Knight of the Lion). The text is organized into several layers. In the first place, the narrative reproduces the literal or historical meaning of the Bible. In order to add in the other levels of exegesis, Jerónimo de San Pedro introduces four more characters, who appear throughout the narration to clarify the different meanings of the Bible: allegorical, moral, anagogical and tropological. These characters are Master Anagógino, Tropología the Wise, and, most importantly, 'el sabio Alegorín' (Alegorín the Wise)[35] (whose name recalls that of 'Merlin the Wise', as the Arthurian wizard was known in Spain), as well as the damsel Moraliza. So, for example, when Adam falls into sin, Alegorín the Wise comes over to him to tell him that he looks beautiful, since he is the prefiguration of Christ who, like Adam, was also created without the intercourse of man. Moraliza, on the other hand, comes to him and finds him repulsive, because to her mind Adam represents the seven deadly sins.[36] The book, which in essence was a Bible in the Romance vernacular, was banned by the Inquisition.[37] It is important to bear in mind the long-standing and commonplace opposition between on the

33 Juan de Pineda, *Commentariorum in Iob libri tredicim* (Seville: Colegio de San Hermenegildo, 1598), 'Praefatio', ch. I, 'Sit ne vera historia Iob an vero parabola?' (Is Job a true story, or in fact a parable?), ii; ch. IV, 'Qua lingua et quo dicendi stilo scriptus liber iste fuerit' (In what language and in what style this book was written), fol. x.

34 Jerónimo de San Pedro, *Libro de Cavallería Celestial del pie de la Rosa fragante* (Antwerp: Martín Nucio, 1554).

35 Recall how the figure of 'Alegorín the Wise' shows up in the accusations in the trial of Fray Luis de León.

36 San Pedro, *Libro de Cavallería*, pp. 33–35.

37 Donatella Gagliardi, 'Bons et mauvais livres dans l'Espagne du XVIe siècle. La censure de la *Caballería celestial* (1554)', in *Les voies du silence dans l'Espagne des Habsbourg*, (ed.) Alexandra Merle and Araceli Guillaume-Alonso (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris Sorbonne, 2013), pp. 149–65.

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one hand chivalric literature, considered to be the prototype of profane writing, and on the other sacred literature. One need look no further than the example of St Teresa of Ávila herself in her autobiography. This must then lend added significance to this narrative account of the devices of biblical exegesis, starting with this sudden appearance of allegory in the middle of the literal course of history: Alegorín the Wise teaches that allegory basically amounts to the way in which the Old Testament prefigures the New Testament and the life of Christ. Allegory is, then, fundamentally Christological, and is ultimately about the way in which nature represents the sacred order. One of the many ways in which the difference between the old law and the new was articulated was precisely around the issue of representation. Thus, representations in the Old Testament were just incomplete figures, sketches that needed to be polished in order to create the perfect image of salvation.[38]

## From Literalness to Allegory: The Problem of Representation

The system of biblical exegesis, and the tension between literalness and allegory, is also the key to understanding any given story. This model of Bible interpretation had already been expressed by Erasmus, for example, who said that (here in a later English translation) 'The same thing must be observed and kept in all manner of learning which include in themselves a plain sense and a mystery, even as they were made of a body and a soul, that the literal sense little regarded thou shouldest look chiefly to the mystery. Of which manner are the letters of all poets and philosophers, chiefly the followers of Plato. But most of all, holy scripture, which being in a manner like to Silenus of Alcibiades, under a rude and foolish covering include pure divine and godly things'.[39] This passage by Erasmus gives us a hint at how exegetical tools which arose in order to interpret the Bible (especially based on the literal/allegorical opposition) were then used to interpret other stories or texts. An obvious example is that of

38 Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–95), *Neptuno alegórico*, (ed.) Vincent Martin (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009), p. 76: 'And thus nothing ever looks very distinguished (even in the sacred texts) unless it is first preceded, as in drawing, by a number of figures representing it'; (Y así ninguna cosa vemos muy insigne – aun en las sagradas letras – a quien no hayan precedido diversas figuras que como en dibujo las representen).

39 Erasmus, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani / The Manual of the Christian Knight* (London: Methuen and Company, 1905), p. 145; see also Cristóbal de Villalón, *El Crótalon*, (ed.) Asunción Rallo (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), pp. 25–26. As noted by the editor, Villalón puts this idea into practice by using biblical references side by side with profane ones, such as Ariosto.

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classical mythology, which, as fable, was understood essentially through literal interpretation and allegorical interpretation, and also through its tropological, anagogical and natural meanings.[40] Another fertile ground for employing this reinterpretation of the classical tradition is, for example, the integration of the sibyls into the realm of the Christian prophets.[41]

Biblical exegesis comes down to a battlefield over meaning. The issue of literalism gives rise to the problem of the relationship between words and things. For example, as Juan de Pineda wrote,

> any interpreter of the Holy Scripture must first secure its true literal meaning, and then upon this place its mystical meaning, which, it should be said, is divided into the moral, the allegorical and the analogous. For, as the mystical is true insomuch as it is founded on literal truth, if the literal is not correct, the mystical will be even less so. This, as opposed to what some do, who, in order to fit in a moral meaning for a doctrine that suits their purpose, do not hesitate to falsify the literal meaning, and, to the extent that they are able to, strip the Scripture of the power to prove what is true or rebuke that which is false. As for mystical meanings, be aware of what was already touched upon with Hugh of St Victor and with St Thomas and others, that they are not signified by the words of the Scripture, but rather by the things signified by the words, by the similarities that such things have with those that are signified thereof.[42]

Which is to say that the literal meaning refers not to the words of the Scripture, but rather to the things signified by those words. This matter is crucial from the perspective of grammar and logic. In *Grammatica audax* (Daring Grammar), by Juan Caramuel (1606–82), these issues form the basis of a theory of meaning and communication, based on the fundamental problem of the relationship between words and things. Do words have a natural meaning, or are they arbitrary signifiers? This is only normal for a philosophy that was obsessed with this subject, and which saw in ancient, non-European languages, an

40 Juan Pérez de Moya (1513–97), *Philosophía secreta*, (ed.) Carlos Clavería (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995), p. 69: 'De los sentidos que se pueden dar a una fábula' (On the meanings that can be given to a fable). María Tausiet, 'Introducción', in *Alegorías. Imagen y discurso en la España Moderna* (Madrid: CSIC, 2014), pp. 20–21.

41 Pedro Mexía, *Silva de varia lección*, (ed.) Antonio Castro (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989–90), vol. 2, pp. 256–72; David S. Katz, 'Vossius and the English Biblical Critics', in *Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (ed.) Richard H. Popkin and Arjo Vanderjagt (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 142–84, esp. p. 161.

42 Pineda, *Diálogos familiares*, p. 130.

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opportunity to reflect on the problem of the semantic ambiguity of words. In fact, for the problem of natural meaning, Caramuel takes as his point of departure both Chinese ('the Chinese do not make use of their lips, but rather focus on adorning their writing system; they have but a few simple characters, with which they compose their *Politici*, numbering nearly forty thousand'),[43] and Hebrew ('in the Hebrew language I have observed a syntax that is worthy of admiration. Twenty-two letters are used, which have different artificially imposed meanings that are, however, analogous because of the way they are pronounced. All of the prepositions must be made up of these twenty-two meanings'),[44] in order to demonstrate the arbitrariness of the meanings of words. Based on this arbitrariness, Caramuel describes meaning as a *transubstanciación moral* (moral transubstantiation); just as in the Sacrament of the Eucharist the bread ceases to exist as such in the presece of Christ, words cease to be mere segments of air, transforming into their different meanings. This is how he explains, for example, why the words Jesus, Mary or the names of the saints are the subject of religious worship. The words are no longer 'segments of air', but rather virtually become Jesus, Mary or the saints. The same is true of the sign of the cross. In both cases, 'moral transubstantiation' justifies adoration of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the Saints.[45] We have to keep in mind, also, that the philosophy of language of Port Royal, for example, was deeply based upon the same Eucharistic model as that of Caramuel. In fact, as Louis Marin has studied, 'It is not surprising that the exact starting point of our research was a paper on the theories of Bible translation at Port-Royal … What problems are posed by the very translatability of a text inspired by God?'[46] It was, thus, a model of representation based upon the dialectics between literalism and underlying meaning that emerged from the translation of the Bible.[47]

43 'los chinos no se sirven de los labios, sino que se esfuerzan en adornar su ortografía, tienen pocos caracteres simples, con los cuales se componen los *Politici* que son casi quarenta mil'; Juan Caramuel, *Gramática audaz*, (trans.) Pedro Arias (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2000), p. 16.

44 'en la lengua hebrea he observado una sintaxis digna de admiración. Se usan veintidós letras que tienen significados diferentes, artificialmente impuestos, pero análogos por los recursos de pronunciación. Todas las proposiciones deben componerse con estos veintidós significados'; Caramuel, *Gramática*, p. 15.

45 Caramuel, *Gramática*, p. 24.

46 Louis Marin, *La critique du discours. Sur la 'Logique de Port-Royal' et les 'Pensées' de Pascal* (Paris: Minuit, 1975), pp. 10–11. For an illuminating analysis of the alegorical potential of Eucharist in Spanish Baroque, see Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, *Mundo simbólico. Poética, política y teúrgia en el Barroco hispano* (Madrid: Akal, 2012), pp. 137–67.

47 It is worth remarking that Caramuel was strongly engaged against Jansenists in the great seventeenth-century debates on Probabilism. Dino Pastine, *Juan Caramuel, probabilismo*

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Of course, this relationship between allegory, representation and Eucharist is made explicit in a very unique way in the *auto sacramentales* (sacrament plays). The work of Calderón de la Barca (1600–81) attests to the complexity of the concept of representation in the seventeenth century, which was based largely on this Eucharistic model. Calderón's definition of the term 'allegory' is well known: 'Allegory is nothing more / than a mirror which translates / that which is into that which is not; / and all of its elegance resides / in making the copy look / so similar in the picture, / that the person who sees it / thinks he is seeing both at once'.[48] It is no coincidence that this definition comes from a play based on an extreme Eucharistic allegory, wherein the fabled god Pan is transformed into Pan the true god. The fable/truth opposition is illustrated in a remarkable 'Loa para el auto de *El verdadero dios Pan*' (Prelude to the play The true god Pan),[49] where the characters History, Poetry, Music and Fable appear in order to explain the tensions between them when constructing the allegory of the Eucharist. As explained by the editor of the play, Fausta Antonucci, Calderón appears to share the opinion that the Gentile, Greek and Roman poets were familiar with the Bible, and that they had copied and corrupted it in order to support their own mythology. As explained by Baltasar de Vitoria in his *Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad* (Theater of the Gentile Gods) (a book published in 1620–23, that Calderón may have been familiar with), 'it is a known fact that the ancient philosophers and poets were the theologians of the ancient Gentiles …, and thus the majority of the poets endeavored to take advantage of the books of the most wise Moses, and of all the rest who had played a part in the holy scripture, picking it apart so as to adorn their fables'.[50] It is clearly the most extreme way of integrating the classical world into the model of biblical interpretation, upholding, on the one hand, the identification of poetry with theology in the ancient world, and on the other reducing the two of them to allegory as an interpretive model. In fact, it is no longer just

*ed enciclopedia* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1975).

48 'La alegoría no es más / que un espejo que traslada / lo que es en lo que no es; / y está toda su elegancia / en que salga parecida / tanto la copia en la tabla, / que el que está mirando una /piense que está viendo a entrambas'; Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El verdadero dios Pan*, (ed.) Fausta Antonucci (Pamplona, Kassel: Universidad de Navarra, Reichenberger, 2005) pp. 160–61.

49 Calderón, *El verdadero dios*, pp. 121–45.

50 'sabida cosa es que los filósofos y poetas antiguos fueron los teólogos de la antigua gentilidad … y así los más de los poetas procuraron aprovecharse de los libros del sapientísimo Moysés, y de los demás que tocaban a la sagrada escritura, sacándola de sus quicios para adorno de sus fábulas'; Fausta Antonucci, 'Introducción' to Calderón, *El verdadero dios*, p. 23.

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an interpretation of texts themselves, but rather of the whole of human history, by identifying a primordial or original wisdom that foresaw Christian theology.

### Polemics Surrounding the Translation and Interpretation of the Bible

The discussions about the Bible as a literary and linguistic model, or the construction of a system of representation, are processes that can only be understood in conjunction with the major conflicts that had placed people's relationship with Scripture at the heart of the criteria for defining orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Interpreting the Bible and translating it into the vernacular languages are two of the main battlefields in the struggle for religious authority. The aforementioned case of Juan de Valdés is a good example of the shape these conflicts took. Valdés was more than just one of the principal theorists of the Spanish language. He was also one of the most complex and elusive religious reformers of the first half of the sixteenth century. In addition, he was a translator of part of the Bible. In the introduction to his translation of *Psalms*, addressed to Giulia de Gonzaga, Valdés begins the explanation of his translation method with the problem of literalism:

> and since I thought that in order to make you quite pious, it would be of much service to you to read the Psalms of David, I have rendered them into the Spanish vernacular, extracting them from the Hebrew writing nearly word for word, as much as the Spanish manner of speech could bear. And I have maligned the Spanish on more occasions, by speaking strangely, than I have the Hebrew, by altering it. I have acted thus, thinking it to be befitting and just for those things written with the Holy Spirit to be treated with the utmost respect. Of what is mine, I have mixed in some words so as to make the writing shine, and make it clearer and more delectable. In order to make these words known, they are written in red ink, as an attempt to give due credit to the words of man, differentiating between these words, and those that are of the Holy Spirit. It is quite true that, for the most part, the words written herein with red ink are to be inferred from the Hebrew writing.[51]

51 'y pareziéndome que que para hazeros muy pía os servirá mucho la lición de los Salmos de David, os los he puesto en romance castellano, sacándolos de la letra hebrea, casy palabra, en quanto lo ha sufrido el hablar castellano. Y aun me he atreuido más vezes a la lengua castellana, hablando impropiamente, que a la hebrea, alterándola. Esto he hecho

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As is pointed out by the editor of this translation, Domingo Ricart,[52] the introduction to the translation of the Psalter can be considered to be a version of number 54 in *Le cento e dieci divine considerazioni*, which states 'that prayer and consideration are two sure books or interpreters for understanding the Holy Scripture, and how man should make use of them'. In this respect, it is also worth mentioning consideration number 55, 'against curiosity and how one should read the Holy Scripture without curiosity'. Curiosity (*la curiosità de carne*, curiosity of the flesh) is taken to be a harmful quality, typical of those who 'read the Holy Scripture for the sole purpose of knowing and interpreting', as opposed to a pious reader, who

> should only expect the knowledge and internal feelings that God, by means of his Holy Spirit, shall give unto his soul, and knowledge of the things of the Holy Spirit that he, by means of those feelings, will come to experience; and in this way, when taking in hand a book of the Holy Scripture, he should expect to interpret that which passes through him.[53]

As has already been pointed out, despite the fact that many of Valdés' choices as translator can be explained through an automatic use of language or through the traditions that preceded him, in the end 'it is no less evident that for him, literalness is superior to any theoretical notion'.[54] So, here we have a relationship between literalism, inspiration from the Holy Spirit, experience, and

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assy, pareciéndome cosa conueniente y justa que las cosas escrittas con Espíritu Santto, sean tratadas con mucho respeto. He mezclado del mío algunas palabras a fin que la letra lleue más lustre, vaya más clara y más sabrosa. Estas, porque sean conocidas, van escrittas con tinta colorada, pretendiendo que se les ha de dar el crédito que se deue dar à palabras de hombre, haziendo diferencia entre ellas y las que son de Spíritu Santto. Es bien verdad que, por la mayor parte, las palabras que van escrittas con tinta colorada se entienden de suyo en la letra hebrea'; Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de doctrina christiana y El Salterio traducido del hebreo en romance castellano*, (ed.) Domingo Ricart (Mexico: UNAM, 1964), p. 135.

52 Valdés, *Diálogo de doctrina*, p. 12.

53 'Che la orazione e la considerazione sono dui libri o interpreti per intendere la santa scrittura molto certi, e come l'uomo si deve servire di essi'; 'Contra la curiosità e come si deve leggere la santa scrittura senza curiosità'; 'leggono la santa scrittura solamente per sapere e per intendere'; 'deve solamente pretendere li conoscimenti e li sentimenti interiori che Dio per mezzo del suo spirito santo gli darà nell'anima, e quelli che egli mediante essi andrà esperimentando delle cose dello spirito santo; di manera que, pigliando in mano un libro della santa scrittura, pretenda intendere quello que é passato per lui'; Juan de Valdés, *Le cento e dieci divine considerazioni* (Halle: G. Ploetz, 1860), pp. 184–91.

54 Margherita Morreale, 'Juan de Valdés traducteur de la Bible. Théorie et pratique à travers la version du psaume 17 (18)', in *L'Humanisme dans les lettres espagnoles. XIX^e Colloque*

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understanding of Scripture. In his introduction to the Psalms, he insists that there is a level of literal reading, wherein the translation must adapt to the Hebrew text, and another level that refers to the spirit of the text, 'so as to read it as Christian and not as Hebrew'. This reference clearly alludes to the prophetic and symbolic character of the kingdom of David as a prefiguration of that of Christ ('and keeping this in mind, you go about confirming in Christ that which you shall read in David; while also keeping about you, in some Psalms, three goals: one, the figure of David, another, that of Christ, and the other, sometimes that of you yourself, and other times that of the Christian church').[55] In this sense, the 'reading of the Scriptures' would be the specifically Hebrew way of knowledge, inferior to knowledge through Christ, specific to Christians. Furthermore, for Valdés, the practice of translation involves a path of gradual introduction to the Scriptures, in parallel to the spiritual process.

In the case of Valdés there is, it seems, a relationship between access to religious truth, the hierarchical reading and translation of the books of the Bible, and, finally, progress in the circle of believers around Juan de Valdés, and their sense of intimate connection and friendship.[56] In the midst of a hostile environment, dissimulation is a means of protection, but also a pedagogical method and a practical reflection of that intimate and complete 'freedom of spirit' that inspires the 'Christian enterprise'.[57]

This relationship between the interpretation of the Bible and the creation of a group of 'believers' may also be seen, to a certain extent, in the case of the most important Spanish Bible scholar, Benito Arias Montano (1527–98). Indeed, in the proceedings against one of his most noteworthy disciples, Fray José de Sigüenza (1544–1606), the accusation was based on several issues related to the interpretation of the Bible, and to the special relation that Arias Montano had developed with his disciples. Thus, the statements under scrutiny were, among others, the following: 'that one should only preach the bare Gospel and construe it literally, for that is all there is'; 'that the Saints often speak their own mind instead of the literal meaning'; 'that since St Paul wrote his Epistles to converted Jews and Gentiles and they understood them

*international d'études humanistes, Tours, 5–17 juillet 1976*, (ed.) Agustín Redondo (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1979), pp. 65–88, p. 74.

55 'Para leerla como christiana y no como hebrea', 'y que llevando esto en la memoria, vais verificando en Christo lo que leeréis en David; llevando también en algunos Salmos tres intentos: el uno, a la persona de David, el otro, a la de Christo, y el otro, unas vezes a la vuestra, y otras vezes a la de la yglesia christiana'; Valdés, *Diálogo de doctrina*, p. 139.

56 Lucca Addante, *Eretici e libertini nel Cinquecento italiano* (Rome, Bari: Laterza, 2010).

57 Massimo Firpo, *Entre alumbrados y 'espirituales'* (Madrid: FUE, 2000), p. 64.

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without glosses, we should also understand, I mean imagine, that he wrote them for us, and we have no need for them to be glossed'; 'that as long as they leave him Arias Montano and a Bible, he does not care at all if they take away the rest of the books in his cell. That the person who has best understood the Bible is Arias Montano and that he appears to prefer him to the Saints; and that he said that God revealed the Holy Scripture to him'.[58] Of course, these statements must be understood in the context of an accusation made within a restricted circle, many of whose members saw Arias Montano's group as a small cult. In fact, during the proceedings a great deal of attention is given to the cult-like nature of this group, gathered around the revered teachings of the master. A witness to the proceedings, friar Antonio de León, refers to 'a way of speaking that he has heard friar José de Sigüenza use, and which everyone says comes originally from Arias Montano, namely *mysterium regni Dei* (the mystery of God's Kingdom)'. José de Sigüenza had told him on various occasions

> that the literal and moral meaning of Scripture is for everyone; and this witness believes that the mysterium regni Dei, as they say, must likewise not lie in the spiritual and mystical, so typical of the Saints, for said friar José says that the Saints sometimes speak their own thoughts, but not those of the one they claim as the author; from which this witness gathers that this mysterium regni Dei is either another anagoric [sic] meaning, or a literal one that is different from that which is commonly received by the Saints … Item this witness says that in order to communicate this mystery … they ask for the disciples to adopt some sort of attitude.[59]

58 'que no se ha de predicar sino el Evangelio desnudo y construir la letra, que allí está todo'; 'que los Santos dicen muchas veces sus pensamientos, que no el sentido literal'; 'que como San Pablo escribió sus Epístolas a los que se habían convertido del judaísmo o gentilidad y las entendían sin glosas, así hemos de entender, digo imaginar, que nos las escribió a nosotros, y no tenemos necesidad de su desglose'; 'que como le dejen a Arias Montano y una Biblia, no se le da le quiten los libros de la celda. Que el que mejor ha entendido la Biblia es Arias Montano y que parece le antepone a los Santos; y que ha dicho que Dios le reveló la Sagrada Escritura'; Gregorio de Andrés, *Proceso inquisitorial del Padre Sigüenza* (Madrid: FUE, 1975), p. 79.

59 'un modo de hablar que ha oído de fray José de Sigüenza y todos dicen que nace de Arias Montano, y es *mysterium regni Dei*'; 'que el sentido literal y moral de la Escritura es para todos; y le parece a este testigo que el *mysterium regni Dei*, que ellos dicen, tampoco debe de estar en el espiritual y místico, de que tan llenos están todos los Santos, pues dice el dicho fray José que los Santos dicen sus pensamientos, pero no los del autor que declaran algunas veces; de donde colige este testigo que este *mysterium regni Dei* o es otro sentido anagórico [*sic*] o literal, diferente del que comúnmente reciben los Santos … Item dice

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This arcane mystery hiding in the word of God led Arias Montano to a unique brand of exegesis, which his detractors saw as a sort of new literal meaning of Scripture. This is how his *De arcano sermone* (On hidden language)[60] is to be interpreted. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the complex nature of this work, in which Arias Montano said he had 'written a book in which, as briefly and clearly as possible, we have reflected not so much the translations of the words, but rather their properties, nature and essence',[61] it is indeed fitting to point out a certain resemblance with Valdés insofar as his group is structured around a particular direction in Bible interpretation.

In terms of what Arias Montano meant by literal meaning, we might recall that, as Zur Shalev has recently pointed out in a study on Arias Montano's *Geographia Sacra* (Sacred Geography), his geographical work is built on a literal and historical understanding of Scripture. Along these lines, Shalev discusses other approaches that have dealt with the study of maps in Bibles as part of the history of the Reformation, because of its emphasis on the literal over the allegorical.[62] This had also been a crucial aspect of the exegetical work by Miguel Servet, which was heavily influenced by Judaism and centered around an extremely literal interpretation of the Old Testament, which, unlike Christian exegesis, he saw as a historical text and not as a prefiguration of Christ.[63] This prefiguration is the cornerstone of the allegorical interpretation of the Bible. Indeed, allegory constituted a clear dividing line with both Judaism and the reformed world. This is key to understanding the crucial importance of literalism, which sprang up quite abruptly in the aforementioned Inquisitorial proceedings against Fray Luis.

One essential aspect in which these problems surrounding the literal interpretation of the Bible are expressed is the issue of its translation, which in this period is inseparably tied to the problematic relationship with Hebrew and Judaism. Apart from the examples that have already been given (for example Fray José de Sigüenza penned several biblical translations and a narrative

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este testigo que para comunicar este misterio … piden no sabe qué disposición en los discípulos'; Andrés, *Proceso inquisitorial*, p. 237.

60 Benito Arias Montano, *Libro de José o sobre el lenguaje arcano*, (eds. and trans.) Luis Gómez Canseco et al. (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2006), p. 66.

61 'escrito un libro, en el que, con la brevedad y claridad que nos ha sido posible, hemos reflejado no tanto las traducciones de las palabras como las propiedades, naturaleza y esencia de las mismas'; Arias Montano, *Libro de José*, p. 91.

62 Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 27 and p. 52 n. 57.

63 Jerome Friedman, 'Michael Servetus: the Case for a Jewish Christianity', *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 4 (1973): pp. 87–110.

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account of the life of King David),[64] the best known case is, without a doubt, that of Fray Luis de León and the Inquisitorial proceedings he was subjected to alongside other Hebraists from the University of Salamanca, a case which I will not discuss in depth in this essay. What is worth noting, however, is that in spite of the prohibition against translating the Bible into the Romance vernacular, people continued to make these translations, at times even openly.

A remarkable example is that of Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), who carried out rather interesting work as a Hebraist and Hebrew translator as part of his attempts to become a recognized scholar. One of his most interesting translations is that of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*. The title of the work is *Lágrimas de Hieremías castellanas ordenando y declarando la letra hebrea, con paráphrasi y comentarios* (Tears of Jeremiah in Spanish, ordering and clarifying the Hebrew writing, with paraphrases and commentaries), and clearly indicates that it contains a literal translation of the *Lamentations*, plus paraphrases and commentary.[65] Without going into more detail, suffice it to recall the fact that, for his literal version, Quevedo's main reference was the Ferrara Bible. Beyond his explicit aims ('to give unto my language this paraphrase' and 'to give reasons in defense of the Vulgate'), one might raise questions about the influence on Spanish literature of Jewish Romance vernacular translations of the Bible. Here, it is worth mentioning that Quevedo himself thought that 'Spanish and Hebrew were intimately related', which led him to believe that many Spanish idioms were of Hebrew origin.[66] Later on, Quevedo would write that 'there is no language that fits the style of Hebrew more or better than our own, since it has the same grammar, as we shall one day demonstrate'.[67] This is an argument that he expressed at length in his *España defendida* (Spain defended),[68] which is a work that, like so many others of its time, proposed to defend Spain against the works of some European scholars who, as in the case of Scaliger, were perceived to write against Spain on religious grounds. In this case, Quevedo explicitly stated that this grammatical closeness between Spanish and Hebrew could best be seen in translations from Hebrew. This was, ultimately, an argument in favor of the extreme antiquity of Spanish, which

64 Andrés, *El proceso inquisitorial*, p. 140, n. 59.

65 Francisco de Quevedo, *Lágrimas de Hieremías catellanas*, (ed.) Edward M. Wilson and José Manuel Blecua (Madrid: CSIC, 1953). See also Natalio Fernández Marcos and Emilia Fernández Tejero, '¿Quevedo hebraísta? *Lágrimas de Hieremías castellanas*', *Sefarad*, 62 (2002): pp. 309–28; Valentín Núñez Rivera, 'Quevedo y la traducción bíblica: traducciones y contextos. (En torno al *Cantar de los Cantares*)', *La Perinola*, 10 (2006): pp. 225–43.

66 Wilson and Blecua, 'Introducción' to Quevedo, *Lágrimas*, p. cii.

67 Wilson and Blecua, 'Introducción' to Quevedo, *Lágrimas*, p. civ.

68 Fernández and Fernández, '¿Quevedo hebraísta?', p. 321, n. 55.

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had not taken anything from Greek or Latin and, as such, was a language with more authority than either of the latter.

One might point out, in this same genre of national apology mixed with sacred history, works such as Pablo Yáñez de Avilés, *España en la santa Biblia* (Madrid: Juan Muñoz, 1733), which makes use at length of Arias Montano's commentary to Obadiah, supporting the idea that there was mention of Spain in the Bible. This is a topic that first showed up in Spanish historiography with Arias Montano, and which stirred up a great deal of controversy. However, in a book like that of Yáñez, it ended up becoming a full-fledged account of the sacred history of Spain based on its would-be presence in the Bible. Needless to say, this argument should be situated within a wider context, that of the controversy surrounding the antiquity of the Spanish language, upheld as an argument for imperial legitimation, and connected to a contemporary historiography that was obsessed with the ancient history of Spain and the possibility of it having taken part in sacred history.

Of course, this notion was based on the widespread conception that Hebrew was the original language of humanity. Quevedo's argument is extremely close to that used, just a few years prior, by Diego de Guadix (d. 1615), who held that a significant portion of Spanish descended from Arabic, a language that was much older than Latin, and which was ultimately just 'corrupted Hebrew'. In general, defending the Arabic or Hebrew origins of Spanish is an argument that may be understood within the broad cultural context of attempts to link Spanish history to sacred history, represented by the Biblical East.[69]

The example of Quevedo serves to illustrate two important aspects here. First, it makes it possible to qualify the history of how vernacular translations of the Bible were banned in early modern Spain. Alongside episodes of persecution and censorship, biblical texts continued to be translated into a variety of registers and their translations continued to circulate. One example of this could be Quevedo himself, who translated several books from the Bible, which he used to illustrate some of his own works, such as *Política de Dios, gobierno de Cristo y tiranía de Satanás* (Politics of God, Government of Christ and Tyranny of Satan), in which his support for Christ as a political model is accompanied by long passages translated from the Gospels. The controversy surrounding the translation of the Bible is a long one indeed, and in it the issue of literal versus

69 Some examples of the cultural, linguistic and dogmatic tension between a certain model of Arab-Hispanic Christianity and Eastern Arab Christianity may be found in Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, 'Los libros de los moriscos y los eruditos orientales', *Al-Qanṭara*, 31 (2010): pp. 611–46.

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mystical meaning is a central theme. For example, in Furió Ceriol's dispute with Giovanni de Bononia this topic takes on a variety of forms. For Furió Ceriol (1527–92), Hebrew was, ultimately, just another vernacular tongue that God had made use of in order to transmit His message. Moreover, Hebrew was not a particularly refined language: in fact, he found the accent of Biblical Hebrew to be particularly repugnant.[70] As for Bononia, he considered, among other things, that the Biblical languages were untranslatable; Hebrew was a language that had been subject to change over the centuries, and was understood by very few people, including the rabbis, for which reason it was especially important to maintain the original Hebrew form, particularly in the case of legal terms.[71]

Furió Ceriol's book is crucial in the long controversies surrounding the translation of the Bible into Spanish. Without entering into the details of these controversies, suffice it to briefly recall the way in which the defense of translating the Bible into vernacular, insomuch as it entailed criticism of the church's mediating role as authorized institution of interpretation, went hand in hand with a criticism of the Vulgate as a poor translation. One of the most important Spanish Protestant texts of the seventeenth century, Fernando de Texeda's *Carrascón*, turns to the authority of Arias Montano to back up its biting criticism of papism and the Vulgate, listing out all of the problems inherent to biblical translation: (1) what is ambiguous in one language cannot always be ambiguously translated; (2) it often happens that what in the source language means something specific is translated ambiguously and dubiously by the interpreters; (3) frequently, something that has a clear meaning in the source language becomes obscure in the translation; (4) the interpretation, which

70 Els Agten, 'Fadrique Furió Ceriol, Giovanni di Bononia y la traducción de la Biblia en lengua vernácula. Análisis del *Bononia* (1556)', *Mayéutica*, 36 (2010): pp. 61–90. The argument that Hebrew itself is ultimately just a vernacular language used to communicate God' law to a relatively unrefined people is used in several places. For example, it is used by Francisco de Enzinas in the justification of his translation of the Gospels, 'To the most unconquered monarch Carlos V'; *El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo* (Antwerp: Steven Mierdman, 1543).

71 This argument continues the age-old debate over the special need to maintain the literalism of legal terms and leads us to a fundamental aspect of the Bible, that of legal text. This is a complex topic, which opens up the field to a fundamental problem of modern political and legal thought. The bridge between the 'old law' and the 'new law' is largely built upon the figure of St Paul: for example the text by another disciple of Arias Montano, Pedro de Valencia, 'Para declaración de una gran parte de la estoria apostólica en los Actos y en la Epístola *Ad Galatas*, Advertencia', in *Obras completas, Vol. II. Escritos bíblicos y teológicos*, (coord.) Jesús M. Nieto Ibáñez (León: Universidad de León, 2014).

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originates from the source, lacks the latter's purity and elegance; (5) 'in the source language there are many metaphors and many genres and types of devices that interpreters cannot possibly translate with the same correctness, skill and elegance of meaning'; (6) there are many errors caused by booksellers and printers, which cannot be corrected, whereas the Hebrew text has preserved its purity; (7) sometimes heretics, out of malice, corrupt the Latin interpretation of the holy books; (8) sometimes Scripture is so rich that it has two meanings, 'which mostly happens when the prayer contains rhetorical devices, embellishments and allegories. In this genre it is the source language that reigns supreme and, as everyone knows, surpasses all the rest, because it has an infinite number of locutions with nearly infinite meanings; something so rare, unique and particular to it that it is not found in any other language'.[72]

The *Carrascón* serves as a reminder that the controversy over translation and, most of all, over how to interpret the Bible, falls right on the borderline between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. As we have already seen, the most important translations of the Bible into Spanish belong to the realm of Protestantism. This fact, and the resulting and growing persecution of biblical translations in Spain starting in the mid-sixteenth century, should not lead us to think that the Bible was not translated in Spain, nor that the text of the Bible did not circulate in different forms and genres, as the aforementioned example of Quevedo goes to show, or in a variety of registers. In one of the prologues to his *Paráphrasis de los Psalmos de David*, (Paraphrase of the Psalms of David), Antonio de Cáceres y Sotomayor (1552–1615) explained his reasons for writing the paraphrase. He recalled a certain nun who used to tell him that

> one of the greatest sorrows that her spirit felt during her constant choral work was to always say and sing the same thing without ever understanding it, and that she was deeply envious of monks, for she thought that their devotion and spirit must necessarily grow a great deal, given that they understand what they are singing.

72 'en el idioma primero hay muchas translaciones y muchos jéneros y modos de figuras que es del todo imposible traduzgan los intérpretes con igual propiedad, primor y gala de la significación'; lo cual sucede mayormente cuando la oración consta de figuras, adornos y alegorías. En el cual jénero, la lengua primera es príncipe y, como saben todos, excede a todas, porque infinitas dicciones della contienen significaciones casi infinitas; cosa tan rara, tan peculiar y propia a ella que no se halla en otra lengua'; Fernando de Texeda, *Carrascón*, 2nd ed. (sl.: s.n., 1847), p. 147*ff*.

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In her anguish, this nun 'would always search within herself for Spanish words bearing some resemblance to the words from the Psalms that she says in Latin, believing that in this way a special spirit awakens in her heart and her soul draws new breath'; which lead to outlandish interpretations of the Psalms. Cáceres was of the opinion that

> reducing to the phrasing of Spanish the Psalms that David wrote with such spirit, enclosing in them countless sacraments and many different meanings, which Hebrew, being by its nature so mysterious and full of meaning, was able to comprise, is something I am not sure can be done in any other language of those that we currently know, including Latin and Greek, particularly if they are to give the Psalms … the many varied meanings that up till now the holy doctors have given them.

So, if translating them into Spanish was already a difficult task, all the more so was reducing them 'to our language's own phrasing and manner of speech by creating a paraphrased version', for this would amount to asking 'for me to say David's verses in the Spanish vernacular, with the mysterious brevity with which the Prophet would have spoken them if he had been made to write them using the phrasing of Spanish', which seemed impossible, since no language could express 'so much doctrine and such different meanings' as were enclosed in the Psalms. Moreover, it could 'stand in the way of the merits of faith' for women to understand what they were singing. And yet, so as to not leave 'the mothers full of sorrow', Cáceres decided to go ahead with his paraphrase of the Psalms.[73] The problem of women's relationship with Scripture

73 'uno de los mayores desconsuelos que sentía su spíritu en el continuo exercicio del coro era dezir y cantar siempre lo mesmo sin entendello más un día con otro, y que tenía grande invidia a los religiosos, pareciéndole que de necesidad avían de medrar mucho en la devoción y en el spíritu, pues entienden lo que cantan …'; 'andava buscando siempre entre sí mesma palavras castellanas que se pareciessen en algo a las palavras de los Psalmos que ella dize en latín, pareciéndole que por aquel camino se despierta en su coraçón un particular spíritu y cobra su alma nuevo aliento …'; 'reduzir al frasis de la lengua castellana los Psalmos que escrivió David con tanto espíritu, encerrando en ellos innumerables sacramentos y muchos y diferentes sentidos, que la lengua hebrea, por ser de suyo tan mysteriosa y significativa pudo comprehender, no sé yo que sea cossa que pueda hazerse en ninguna otra lengua de las que agora conocemos, aunque sea la lengua latina y la griega, particularmente si se les han de dar a los Psalmos … los sentidos muchos y varios que los doctores santos les han dado hasta ahora …'; 'al phrasis y modo de hablar propio de nuestra lengua por versión paraphrástica'; 'que diga yo en romance castellano los versos de David, con la brevedad mysteriosa que los dixera el Profeta si le obligaran a que los

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and its translation, and the type of spirituality that this tension defines, is the main topic of a short piece by St Teresa of Ávila (1515–82), *Meditaciones sobre los Cantares* (Meditations on the Song of Songs), which has been interpreted as one of the pillars of the Saint's opposition to the world of scholarship.[74]

In this regard, we might cite the case of Fray Luis de León's translation of the Song of Songs, which was at the root of a number of his run-ins with the Inquisition. First of all, the literal translation of the text was dedicated to a nun, Isabel Osorio, who likewise did not understand Latin but sought insight into the literal meaning of Scripture. In this case, the problem of the sacred text's intelligibility also poses the issue of feminine spirituality. However, more than just an instance of gender-specific expression, it serves as an example of a fragmentary, partial manner of disseminating the Bible, one which depends on particular circumstances, on the relationship between translator and audience, and on different lines of transmission (printed or manuscript) or the use of diverse literary genres.

Moreover, the example of Quevedo is enlightening as it illustrates the influence exerted on Spanish Bible translations by the tradition of Romance Bible translations carried out by Jews. Quevedo is of course by no means the only one who followed the translation of the *Ferrara Bible*. Other examples could be cited, starting with Casiodoro de Reina's translation, the so-called *Biblia del Oso*, a crucial text for the Spanish reformed Bible. In the 'Reader's Introduction', Casiodoro admits that, 'for such needs we have made use of the old Spanish Translation of the Old Testament, printed in Ferrara, more than any other work that we have seen till now, not so much because it is any more correct than the rest in such cases, but rather because it has provided us with the natural and principal meaning of the Hebrew words, as well as the differences between the verb tenses, since they are found in a single text, for which reason it is a work that should be held in higher esteem … than any other to date. And due to this

escriviera en el phrasis de la lengua castellana'; 'tanta doctrina y tan diferentes sentidos'; 'podría estorvar al mérito de la fe'; Antonio de Cáceres y Sotomayor, 'Carta del autor siendo frayle, en respuesta de otra de una devota religiosa, pidiéndole que hiziesse esta obra, la qual sirve de proemio' (Letter by the author, a monk, in response to another by a devout nun asking him to write this piece, serving as a prologue), *Paráphrasis de los Psalmos de David, reduzidos al phrasis y modos de hablar de la lengua española, en el sentido en que los dixo el Propheta según que los entienden los Sanctos* (Paraphrase of the Psalms of David, reduced to the phrasing and manners of speech of Spanish, with the meaning with which the Prophet spoke them as understood by the Saints. Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1616).

74 Aurora Egido, 'Santa Teresa contra los letrados. Los interlocutores en su obra', in *El águila y la tela* (Palma, Barcelona: José J. de Olañeta, Edicions UIB, 2010), pp. 47–77.

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unique assistance, which other translations have not enjoyed, we hope that our own will at least not be inferior to any of them'.[75]

The importance of the Hispanic tradition of Romance Bible translations may serve to exemplify an even larger issue, which is also illustrated by the example of Quevedo: the existence in Modern Spain of an eastward-looking cultural model that joined together the interpretation of the Iberian peninsula's Muslim past and the writing of a sacred history of Spain. The spread of this model was to have a number of consequences in terms of legal, political and other forms of thought.

## Conclusion

The examples cited throughout this article may be read in a variety of ways involving overlapping arguments. Some of these arguments are:

– There is no single history of the translation of the Bible into the vernacular Romance languages in early modern Spain. We know from a number of documents that, starting in the mid-sixteenth century, translation into Romance was persecuted by the Inquisition, and we also know that there was a general understanding that the Bible should not circulate in the Romance vernacular. However, at the same time, we know that translations of the Bible were in fact made, and that biblical texts in Romance vernacular circulated in a variety of ways (in political treatises, paraphrases, etc.).

– The problem of translating the Bible shows up continually. Whether in Catholic or Protestant contexts, such translations frequently look to the medieval tradition of translations into Romance vernacular that were carried out by Jews. This tradition highlights the problem of literal translation, which is connected to the issue of literal or allegorical interpretation. Of course, the authority of the Vulgate is at the center of the controversies surrounding the translation or interpretation of the Bible. Ultimately, part of the arguments as to the impossibility of translating the Bible could be applied in turn to the

75 'de la vieja Traslación española del Viejo Testamento, impressa en Ferrara, nos avemos ayudado en semejantes necesidades más que de ninguna otra que hasta aora ayamos visto, no tanto por aver ella siempre acertado más que las otras en casos semejantes, quanto por darnos la natural y primera significación de los vocablos hebreos, y las differencias de los tiempos de los verbos, como están en el mismo texto, en lo qual es obra digna de mayor estima … que quantas hasta aora ay; y por esta tan singular ayuda, de la qual otras translaciones no han gozado, esperamos que la nuestra por lo menos no será inferior a ninguna de ellas'; De Reina, 'Al lector', in *La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del Viejo y Nuevo testamento, trasladada en español* (Basilea: Thomas Guarin, 1569).

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Vulgate, itself a translation. The examples of Furió Ceriol, Bononia or Texeda illustrate the varied uses of arguments as to the feasibility (or lack thereof) of translating from the Hebrew and capturing the meanings of the original text.

– The problem of interpretation constitutes a major fault line, as the Catholic polemic against the exclusivity of literal interpretation signals a divide with the reformed world, as well as with Judaism. One fundamental reason is that allegory (for example the allegory of Christ) is the basic figure in the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. This Christological foundation of allegory reaches a unique expression with the reflection on the Eucharist, which in turn forms the basis of a reflection on representation.

– The translation of the Bible also raises the issue of the relationship between Spanish and Hebrew and, more broadly, the use of the Bible as a linguistic and literary model. This issue takes on a variety of forms: the reflection on the origin of Spanish and its relationship with other Eastern languages; the borrowing of narrative, poetic or rhythmic forms; the genres of the Bible, whether poetic or historical. The underlying issue behind most of these reflections is that of writing sacred history, or that of the relationship between the various literary genres on the one hand, and sacred history on the other.

– The translation of the Bible and, more specifically, its translation into the vernacular, entails a discussion about intelligibility. In this context, intelligibility involves two dimensions. On the one hand, this relates to the intelligibility of the language and style, which was an important issue in the period's literary debates. This reason explains, in part, the references to the proper style and verse for writing sacred narratives, as well as to their simplicity. Along these lines, intelligibility also means the opposition between ignorant spirituality and erudite spirituality. This tension may be found in the cited example of St Teresa of Ávila, but also in that of Lope de Vega, who tellingly compared the literary and spiritual models of St Isidore of Seville and St Isidore the Farm Laborer. With added complexity, it is a problem that may also be found in Juan de Valdés, for whom understandability provides the framework for a spiritual path. One might wonder at the relationship between this debate surrounding ignorance vs. erudition, and spiritual or illuminist forms of religiosity.

– Since allegory is a fundamentally historical device articulating the narration of sacred history around Christ, it is eventually applied to the interpretation of various non-biblical traditions, such as classical mythology, and ultimately constitutes the foundation of an interpretive model of history based on *prisca theologia* (ancient theology). From this perspective, a realistic or sarcastic approach to classical myth, or to the limits of the narrative genres, could also be taken to express criticism of a global model of interpretation based, to a certain extent, on the interpretation of the Bible, which is essentially a radical critique of the models of authority.

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CHAPTER 3

# *Language as Archive*: Etymologies and the Remote History of Spain

*Valeria López Fadul*

In 1592 the Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana (1536–1624) articulated a devastating and lengthy critique against scholars who employed etymological proofs to trace the origins of people.[1] He took issue with the idea that the names of places contained immutable traces of their founders. It was incorrect to assert, for instance, that the Portuguese region of Setubal was first established by the Biblical king Tubal, the grandson of Noah, on the basis of the name alone. 'What else is it', Mariana asked, 'but nonsense and error, to reduce the origins of Spain to Latin derivation and in this way tarnish its venerable antiquity with lies and nonsensical dreams as these [scholars] do?'[2] His contemporary, the grammarian Bernardo de Aldrete (1565–1645), also expressed his disapproval disparaging the etymological method as a 'risky business', since placenames, like languages, were always subject to unpredictable change.[3] Indeed, by the early seventeenth century doubts emerged in Spain regarding the reliability of the study of etymologies and their uses in historical writing. Detractors, like Mariana and Aldrete, condemned the practice, arguing that the corre-

1 'Lo mismo me parece ha acontecido á muchos historiadores asi de los nuestros como de los estraños: que donde faltaba la luz de la historia, y la ignorancia de la antigüedad ponia uno como velo á los ojos para no saber cosas tan viejas y olvidadas, ellos con deseo de ilustrar y ennoblecer las gentes cuyos hechos escribian, y para mayor gracia de su escritura, y mas en particular por no dexar interpolado con lagunas el cuento de los tiempos, antes esmaltallos con la luz y lustre de grandes cosas y hazañas, por sí mismos inventaron muchas hablillas y fabulas'; Juan de Mariana, *Historia general de España compuesta enmendada y añadida, por el padre Juan de Mariana; con el sumario y tabla* [Lat. 1592; Spa.1601] (Madrid: Joaquín de Ibarra, 1780), vol. 1: book I, ch. VII, pp. 13–14.

2 '… porque qué otra cosa es sino desvario y desatinar, reducir tan grande antigüedad como la de los principios de España, á derivacion Latina; y juntamenta afear la venerable antigüedad con mentiras y sueños desvariados como estos hacen?' Mariana, *Historia general*, vol. 1: book I, ch. VII, p. 13.

3 'es negocio lleno de riezgo, i peligro tratar desto porque se camina con solo indicios, i pruevas inciertas, dependientes de palabras tan ligeras de mudarse'. Bernardo de Aldrete, *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana, ò Romance que oy se vsa en España* (Rome: Carlo Vulliet, 1606), book III, ch. III, p. 284.

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spondence between toponyms, like Toledo, Cordoba, or even the appellation *Hispania*, and the intention of their earliest makers was impossible to prove.

This represented a significant shift. Only a few decades earlier and throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, etymologies constituted an important, and hotly contested, source of knowledge about the history and culture of the Iberian Peninsula.[4] The method was a serious pursuit that struck at the core of some of the most controversial aspects of Spanish history and self-understanding. Scholars in various genres used etymological derivations to further a particular understanding of their region's ancient and more recent past, especially in cases where histories were not extant or the testimonies recorded in surviving accounts were incomplete or dubious. The Basque chronicler Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa (1533–1600), for instance, declared without a doubt in 1571 that ever since the first age of the world the founders of a region would confer upon their territories their own name. This practice, which Garibay believed was amply attested in the writings of the most ancient authorities, allowed the historian to definitively trace back, through the study of toponyms, the origins of all people.[5]

While the etymological approach was common, to some degree, throughout Europe – among the most famous and prolific of early modern etymologists was the Frenchman Jean Bodin (1530–96) – Spanish writers stood apart in the extent to which they sought to marshal etymologies to overcome or assimilate a problematic historical and religious heritage which threatened to relegate Spain to a lesser status among her more purely 'European' rivals. The history and languages of early modern Spain bore the indelible imprint of centuries of Arabic and Hebrew habitation. Consequently, Iberian scholars' need to grapple with the history of populations of non-Christian origins, and to weigh their future integration into an ever more repressive old-Christian mainstream cul-

4 Angus Vine, 'Etymologies, Names and the Search for Origins: Deriving the Past in Early Modern England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 21 (2006): pp. 1–21; also, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Claude Gilbert Duboise, *Mythe et langage au XVIe siècle* (Bordeaux: Ducros, 1970), p. 80.

5 'Es cosa antiquissima, comēçada dende la primera edad del mundo, y usada en estos tiempos, y continuada hasta los nuestros, poner de ordinario, o lo menos muchas vezes, los fundadores y pobladores de las naciones, provincias y pueblos, sus nōbres a las tales naciones y regiones y poblaciones, como d'esto hallamos muchos exemplos de los padres de la segunda y tercera edad del mundo;' Esteban de Garibay, *Los XL libros d'el compendio historial de las chronicas y vniuersal Historia de todos los reynos de España* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1571), book IIII, ch. VI, p. 95. On Garibay see: Julio Caro Baroja, *Los vascos y la historia a través de Garibay* (Madrid: Caro Raggio, 2002), pp. 174–89.

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ture, invested Iberian etymological histories, and the theories of origins that they sought to support, with an unparalleled and often polemical urgency.

Responding to concerns over the status of Castile within the Peninsula, the loyalty of recent Muslim and Jewish converts, and Spain's place within Europe and Christendom, Spanish intellectuals increasingly placed language at the center of a politically fraught project to 'convert' the history and geography of their homeland in ways intimately connected with the conversion of Jewish and Muslim bodies and communities to Christianity. Whether working directly under the patronage of Felipe II, or outside the confines of the royal court, Spanish scholars engaged in linguistic debates designed to reclaim the Iberian Peninsula's Basque or Hebraic origins, assert its classical heritage, and neutralize and assimilate its Arabic legacy.

To do so, they usually resorted to two interrelated methodologies for converting linguistic patrimony into proof of antiquity. The first was the analysis of place names, which required identifying their languages of origin and how they changed over time to reach their present form. The second involved establishing the relationship between the vernaculars spoken in an area with Hebrew, Greek or Latin, the three languages of the Bible.[6] Each of these strategies entailed a range of possibilities, but also demanded that scholars implicitly or explicitly subscribe to, or in some instances even develop, systems of causation to account for the linguistic transformations that they were attempting to describe. These systems ranged from the paradigm of the Tower of Babel in the Book of Genesis, to theories on the cyclical rise and decline of languages, to climate and the effects of trade and political ruptures or, in some cases, a combination thereof.[7]

This chapter examines the range of ways in which early modern Spanish scholars like the chronicler Ambrosio de Morales (1513–91), the biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527–98), the Basque lawyer Andrés Poza (1530–95), and the Arabic lexicographer Diego de Guadix (ca.1550–1615) attempted to wring historical knowledge from Iberia's etymological landscape. It focuses on their efforts to account for the seemingly ubiquitous presence of Hebrew and Arabic placenames and loan words in Spain's many territories and languages. The resolution of two problems became central to deciphering Spain's remote history and its ensuing linguistic diversity: the first was the question of what had been the Iberian Peninsula's primordial tongue, and consequently the

6 Robert H. Robins, *Breve historia de la lingüística* (Madrid: Paraninfo, 1974), p. 99.

7 See Juan Manuel Lope Blanch, 'La lingüística española del Siglo de Oro', in *Actas del VIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, (coord.) A. David Kossoff et al. (Madrid: Istmo, 1986), pp. 37–58.

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identity of its primitive inhabitants before the arrival of successive foreign conquering polities. Second, the matter of clarifying Castilian's relationship to Arabic and whether that language, and its society, had changed irretrievably as a response to the Islamic centuries.

The proliferation of linguistic histories that sought to answer these questions led many scholars to conclude, despite the increasingly influential association between language and religious identity that ultimately resulted in the prohibition of Arabic, that Spain's Oriental languages, and their traditions, could not be disregarded. How to incorporate them into a historical narrative without their religious elements became a challenge that equally concerned lexicographers, antiquarians, and forgers. Etymologies became an effective way through which humanists in an increasingly intolerant society included 'unwanted' people into their understanding of the Iberian Peninsula's past. The commitment to prove that certain toponyms derived from Hebrew or Arabic, or neither, however, would also help to bring about an unintended consequence. An accumulation of ever more detailed explanations of how and why certain toponyms related to the sacred tongue and the conflicting interpretations upon which these convoluted linguistic genealogies rested, would prompt scholars, like Aldrete, to question whether the etymological method, in any of its iterations, could serve to reconstruct ancient history.

## Etymologies, Origins, and the History of Languages

Etymologies have a long tradition and underlay a wide spectrum of intellectual pursuits. The study of names played important functions in medieval and early modern mystical, exegetical, and historical writings and often fulfilled rhetorical purposes. Isidore of Seville defined etymology as 'the origin of words, when the force of a verb or noun is inferred through interpretation'. Knowing the origin of a word made it easier to understand its force, and 'one's insight into anything is clearer when its etymology is known'.[8] Building on the works of Josephus, Jerome, Isidore of Seville, and significantly on the forged genealogies of Anno da Viterbo (1432–1502), sixteenth-century scholars further refined the historical and exegetical uses of etymology. Florián de Ocampo (d. 1558), for instance, infamously incorporated Viterbo's writings into his own *Corónica*

8 Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, (trans.) Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: University Press, 2010), book 1, ch. 29, pp. 54–55. Also see: Frank L. Borchhardt, 'Etymology in Tradition and in the Northern Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 29 (1968): pp. 415–29.

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*general de España* (General Chronicle of Spain, 1543) and maintained that Spain's most ancient inhabitants originated from a grandson of Noah, Tubal. To support this and other elaborate lineages, authors like Ocampo often offered linguistic proofs. They did so by etymologizing the names of cities and towns and establishing a direct filiation between particular toponyms and their corresponding biblical or mythological founders. For example, Ocampo asserted that the region of Tudela in the kingdom of Navarra had also been established by Tubal. He arrived at this foundational hypothesis by explaining how the word had mutated. Years of use corrupted the word *Tuballa* to Tudela.[9]

Jean Bodin in his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Method for the Easy Comprehension of History, 1566) – one of the most influential early modern treatises on how to read and assess historical writing – exalted the value of the etymology and detailed the ways in which historians could employ this type of proof. In the ninth chapter of the *Method* he declared that no other question had 'exercised the writers of history more' than that of the origins of peoples. Three types of evidence, based on an awareness of the principles that governed nature and change over time, could be used to stream backwards towards origins. Chief among the three was the study of etymologies, followed by the 'the situation and character of the region', and finally, the reliability of the historian relating the conditions of previous times.[10]

Despite the myriad changes to which languages were constantly subjected, Bodin argued that traces of their original form always managed to endure the passing of time, the corruption prompted by the contact with other languages, and the changes brought about by climate and geography. If names preserved ancient local traditions, then those willing to investigate those traditions and collate their contents with etymological derivations could make use of the information contained in topographical names to promote their accounts of how places developed and who settled them at first.[11] Names had the capacity,

9 Florián de Ocampo, *Los cinco primeros libros de la Crónica general de España* (Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis, 1553), book I, ch. IIII, fol. xxiiir.

10 Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, (trans.) Beatrice Reynolds (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1969), p. 334–38.

11 On the influence of Anno da Viterbo on Jean Bodin see: Anthony Grafton, 'Traditions of Invention and Inventions of Tradition in Renaissance Italy: Annius of Viterbo', in *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in the Age of Science 1450–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), ch. 3, pp. 76–103, p. 88; 'Method and Madness in the *Ars Historica*', in *What was History?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), ch. 3, pp. 167– 88. On the Reception of Jean Bodin in the Iberian Peninsula see: Martim de Albuquerque, *Jean Bodin na Península Ibérica. Ensaio de história das ideias políticas e de direito Público* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1978).

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as Angus Vine has argued, to 'continuously transmit origins' and 'communicate between the past and the present'.[12]

Bodin's linguistic reasoning and reliance on the etymology as a road towards one primordial, pre-Babelian, tongue was characteristic of Renaissance linguistics. As Marie Luce Demonet and Claude-Gilbert Dubois have argued, sixteenth-century scholars were simultaneously engaged with the problem of retrieving the original language, which the majority believed to be Hebrew, and its inherent wisdom, as well as with that of explaining and coping with the diversity of idioms that existed in the world.[13] Seventy-two languages appeared after the Tower of Babel, which in turn engendered many more. As chapter XI of Genesis states, before the confusion of Babylon all peoples used the same language. This language, the most excellent of all, would prevail amongst those who did not 'conspire in the deviated edification of the tower', and 'one of the just [ones] was Heber, from whom the Hebrew tongue takes its name'.[14] Besides collecting linguistic information, as Conrad Gessner (1516–65) did in his *Mithridates* (1555), numerous scholars attempted to derive certain principles to account for the ways in which languages had mutated.[15]

Although early modern linguists generally limited their investigations to languages, peoples, and events deemed to have appeared within the Bible, this was not an entirely confining paradigm. The Biblical text provided few 'unambiguous statements on language' and scholars could 'speculate freely on linguistic problems despite a background of traditional Biblical lore'.[16] Some writers, like the Italian linguist Celso Cittadini (1553–1627) or the aforementioned Bodin or Aldrete, attempted to explain linguistic change through

12 Vine, 'Etymologies, Names', p. 1.

13 Dubois, *Mythe et langage*, p. 16; Jean Céard, 'De Babel á la Pentecôte: La transformation du mythe de la confusion des langues au XVI^e^ siècle', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme*, 42 (1980): pp. 577–94; Marie Luce Demonet, 'Renaissance étymologiques', in *Lexique 14: L'étymologie de l'antiquité à la renaissance*, (ed.) Claude Buridant (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998), pp. 57–67.

14 'Se mantuvo no obstante la casa de Heber en la que permaneció la que antaño había sido única lengua de todos. Por ello, como recordé antes, al contarse los hijos de Sem, cada uno de los cuales dio origen a un pueblo…' Juan Luis Vives, *Los comentarios de Juan Luis Vives a 'La ciudad de Dios' de San Agustín*, (trans.) Rafael Cabrera Petit (Valencia: Ajuntament, 2000), ch. XI, IV. See St Augustine, *The City of God*, (trans.) Marcus Dods (New York: Modern Library, 1950), pp. 536–37.

15 Conrad Gesner, *Mithridates*, (trans.) Bernard Colombat and Manfred Peters (Geneva: Droz, 2009), fol. 2v.

16 George J. Metcalf, 'Abraham Mylius (1563–1637) on historical linguistics', in *On Language Diversity and Relationship from Bibliander to Adelung*, (ed.) T. Van Hal and R. Van Rooy (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2013), pp. 85–104, esp. p. 87.

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broader systems of causation combining natural and political factors.[17] Etymological derivations, in their turn, could be used, as they were by the French Hebraist Guillaume Postel (1510–81) or the Dutch physician and linguist Johannes Goropius Becanus (1519–72), to advance specific agendas, including a system of beliefs or a particular theory of history that exalted the antiquity or primordial characteristics of their communities.

Explaining how and why languages change, and how this understanding could be used to account for the history of Castilian (and of Spain more generally), lay at the core of Juan de Valdés' (1509–41) well-known *Dialogue on Language* (1535).[18] Although the *Dialogue* remained unpublished until the nineteenth century, it circulated widely in manuscript form.[19] It was one of the first works to discuss the history of Castilian and its relationship with the other tongues extant in the Iberian Peninsula.[20] Valdés' *Dialogue* reveals important questions, themes, and exegetical tools that subsequent scholars would reaffirm or challenge in their search for the origins and history of Spain's multiple languages and their speakers.

Covering topics which we would now separate out as lexicography, phonetics, and grammar, Valdés articulated a number of hypotheses on the ways in which different types of linguistic alterations took place and their relationship to broader political and social events. For Valdés, commerce and conquest were the most significant factors triggering linguistic change. He argued that the transformation of languages could occur suddenly, due to violent political ruptures, but also gradually, as a result of quotidian interactions with neighboring societies. Spain possessed such a great number of languages, Valdés argued, because it had been subject to so many different overlords across its ancient and modern history. Further linguistic mutations ensued through

17 Michael T. Ward, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and Celso Cittadini: Shared Sophistication in Renaissance Linguistic Investigation', *Hispanic Review*, 61 (1993): pp. 65–85; Lucia Binotti, *Cultural Capital, Language and National Identity in Imperial Spain* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2012), ch. 7 'Historicizing Language, Imagining People: Aldrete and Linguistics Politics', pp. 149–72, esp. pp. 154–55.

18 On the life and works of Juan de Valdés see Daniel Crews, *Twighlight of the Renaissance: The Life of Juan de Valdés* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008). On the *Diálogo* see Ignacio Navarrete, 'Juan de Valdés, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and the Imperial Style in Spanish Poetry', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 28 (2004): pp. 3–25.

19 See Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar, *Orígenes de la lengua española, compuestos por varios autores* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1737), vol. 1, pp. 179–80.

20 Manuel Taboada Cid, 'Lingüística hispánica renacentista: lenguas y dialectos en las gramáticas españolas de los siglos XVI y XVII (1492–1630)', *Verba. Anuario galego de filoloxía*, 16 (1989): pp. 77–95.

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trade with neighboring societies. Each of the provinces of the Iberian Peninsula continuously borrowed words and sounds from nearby kingdoms, thereby endowing each of them with its own, remarkably unique, language.

Valdés approached the controversy surrounding ancient Spaniards' original, pre-Roman tongue with ambivalence, conceding that it belonged more to the realm of history than to grammar. However, he believed that this question could be answered by considering the evidence provided by grammar alongside that rendered by history. Although many claimed that Basque was the most ancient language of the Iberian Peninsula, given its unique characteristics and the fact that foreign invaders had never managed to subdue the Basque territories, a closer reading of ancient historians led Valdés to dispute this finding. The most widespread tongue in ancient Spain, he argued, was not Basque, but Greek. The reign of Greek lasted only until the Romans conquered Iberia, at which time Latin gradually 'banished the Greek from Spain'. The subsequent invasion of the Goths further corrupted the Roman language. The use of a hybrid Latin, with elements of Greek and Gothic, lasted until the arrival of the Arabs in the eighth century. This mixed language subsequently also incorporated numerous Arabic words, because even though 'the kingdoms were regained, there still remained in them many Moors as dwellers that maintained their language'.[21] Castilian's lexical borrowing from Arabic was extremely broad, the product of extended social and political relations with its native speakers.

Reflecting on the specific mechanics of linguistic borrowing, Valdés asserted that by establishing the categories of words that the speakers of one language borrowed from the speakers of another, an observer could determine the nature of the social, political, and/or commercial dealings which these societies shared. Thus one might work backwards from lists of the Arabic words which had managed to infiltrate the Castilian lexicon in order to determine what kinds of things the Arabs had introduced into the Peninsula. Valdés remarked that 'even though many things that they name with Arabic words have equivalents in Latin', usage made Castilians prefer the Arabic word to the Latinate one. For this reason people called rugs *alfombras* rather than *tapetes*, opting for the Arabic derivative over the Latin. Valdés maintained that even though Castilian had appropriated numerous words from Arabic, Latin 'was still the main pillar of the Castilian language'.[22] Linguistic borrowing, Valdés

21 Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de lengua*, (ed.) José Enrique Laplana (Barcelona: Crítica, 2010), pp. 130–35.

22 'todavía la lengua latina es el principal fundamento de la castellana'; Valdés, *Diálogo de lengua*, p. 139.

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emphasized, regardless of its particular dynamics or motivations, was inevitable, governed by the ebb and flow of usage, and devoid of moral or religious connotations.

Valdés' conclusions betray a fundamental assumption about the causes of linguistic change, one which he shared with Bodin (and many other contemporaries): namely, that the history of a spoken language parallels in fundamental ways the lived experiences of its speakers and, as such – because some of a people's original qualities always endure in their languages – it can be used to reconstruct that society's history.

Valdés' selection of Greek as Iberia's primordial language, his omission of Hebrew, and his choice to set the arrival of Arabic late in the history of Spain, can be attributed at least in part to his reading of ancient historians like Pliny and Strabo, who took careful note of the Greek colonies scattered throughout the Peninsula's Eastern coast. But it can also be attributed to his humanist prejudice. Valdés sought to emphasize Spain's connection to the Greek tongue, since this language possessed expressive capabilities and qualities that exalted the genealogy of Castilian and of Spain. His linguistic hierarchy highlighted Spain's origins in the classical world centuries before the Romans entered the Iberian Peninsula's through its eastern shores.[23]

## Hebrew, Basque, and the Search for Spain's Primordial Tongue

Valdés' discussion demonstrates the existence of multiple traditions regarding Spain's original language. A number of Basque and non-Basque scholars contended that this tongue occupied the primordial position. Others were more skeptical as to whether the truth on the matter could even be unearthed. For the antiquarian Ambrosio de Morales, the first language of Spain was impossible to determine, because in the time of the Romans, when the earliest surviving histories appeared, the natives of those kingdoms already spoke very different languages. Seneca, Cornelius Tacitus, and Strabo, when writing about the languages of the Iberian Peninsula, asserted that the people of those lands did not use one single language, but rather each possessed their own natural tongue. The archbishop of Tarragona Antonio Agustín (1516–86) was of the same opinion, regarding the Basque hypothesis as untenable on the grounds

23 Werner Bahner, *La lingüística española del Siglo de Oro. Aportaciones a la conciencia lingüística en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Ciencia Nueva, 1966), pp. 63–72.

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that neither books nor any other written memories survived in that language. It was, therefore, impossible to prove its antiquity.[24]

Morales' skepticism on whether the first language of Spain could ever be retrieved, did not preclude him, however, from participating in discussions on the origins of the label 'Spain', or *Hispania*, itself, a topic which had been in dispute ever since the seventh century, when Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) had traced it to the word *Hispanus*, a corruption of the name *Hispalus*, the legendary founder of the city of *Hispalis* (now known as Seville).[25] The majority of authors who endeavored to decipher the identity of the Peninsula's first settlers contended with this issue. In many instances the interpretations that they offered served as a cornerstone to their broader theory of origins and as a pivotal moment explaining Spain's subsequent development.

Morales' favourite theory as to the origin of Hispania, for example, was that advanced by his contemporary Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–75). Hurtado de Mendoza believed that he had located the most reliable tradition regarding the true origin of Spain's name among the collection of Greek manuscripts which he had carefully amassed while serving the Emperor Carlos V as his ambassador to Venice in the 1540s. Pliny and Varro had narrated in their Latin works the story of the famous Greek captain Dionysus, also known as Bacchus, who travelled to Spain to further his conquests. Upon his return to Greece he granted authority over the recently subdued areas in Iberia to one of his captains, a commander named Pan. The ancient Greek article (*-is*), attached to the commander's name to denote dominion over his colony, transformed the word to *Ispanos* or 'that which is of Pan'. Morales was enthusiastic in his embrace of Hurtado de Mendoza's theory, noting that his counterpart was the first scholar who possessed both the ingenuity and the sources to prove this connection. Although Morales' uncertainties about the lack of primitive documents prevented him, unlike Valdés, from definitively setting Greek as most ancient language of Spain, his selection of this etymology did allow him to highlight the Greek settlement as the formative moment in shaping the character of the Iberian Peninsula's primitive and future inhabitants.[26]

Morales' and Valdés' preference for the Greek theory of origins, however, was not destined to be the final word on the subject. For many, as Ocampo's controversial genealogies had shown, the postdiluvian and most ancient

24 Mayáns, *Orígenes de la lengua*, p. 49.

25 Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, book IX, ch. 109.

26 *Ambrosio de Morales, Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España que van nombradas en la corónica con las averiguaciones de sus sitios y nombres antigüos*, (ed.) Enrique Florez, 2 vols. (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1792), vol.1, pp. 112–113.

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dwellers of Spain had to be traced directly to Noah's progeny. The problem became, then, determining what language the Patriarch's descendants had spoken and whether they had maintained their speech intact upon reaching Spain. The Basque hypothesis, though popular, had to compete with the increasingly appealing idea that the first language of the Peninsula had been Hebrew.

In his work on the city of Cordoba, the painter Pablo de Céspedes (d. 1608) explicitly challenged the hypothesis that the descendants of Noah that reached Spain after the Flood spoke Basque. Noah's descendants, he clarified, must have spoken Hebrew, the first language of mankind. They had settled many urban centers throughout Spain and the most notable among them was Cordoba.[27] A correspondent and friend of Arias Montano and Aldrete, Céspedes, who became in the later years of his life a canon in Cordoba's cathedral chapter, applied his linguistic and antiquarian erudition to explicate the most remote origins of his birthplace. Employing a strategy similar to Bodin's, Céspedes offered both etymological and archeological evidence that linked Cordoba to ancient Jews.

Céspedes claimed, through an elaborate succession of etymologies, that *Córdoba* was properly interpreted not as a Latin or Greek name, but rather as a derivative of Hebrew. Freeing the toponym from the phonetic distortions wrought by the passage of time, and displaying an impressive knowledge of sacred history and texts, Céspedes reduced the word to two 'Hebrew' syllables, *kar* and *daba*. Together, he argued, these meant 'plain of strength, of fertility, of richness, of beauty, of fecundity, and virtue'. The Hebrew word, with the expressive power that characterized the holy language, had the ability to convey the main properties of the city. The word contained multiple chains of signification that alluded to Cordoba's fertility and temperate climate. These features allowed the city to nurture countless virtuous men and women and to encourage the blossoming of philosophy, medicine, and the other arts.[28]

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27 Francisco Javier Perea Siller, 'Pablo de Céspedes (1548–1608), argumentación lingüística y legitimación histórica', in *Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística. Congreso* (*3º 2002. Vigo*), (ed.) Miguel Ángel Esparza Torres et al. (Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 2002), pp. 641–52. On the life of Pablo de Céspedes, see Francisco M. Tubino, *Pablo de Céspedes: obra premiada por voto unánime de la Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando en el certamen de 1866* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1868).

28 Jesús Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes y su círculo. Humanismo y contrarreforma en la cultura andaluza del renacimiento al barroco* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), p. 315. Also see: Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, 'Les Antiquités hébraïques dans l'historiographie espagnole à l'époque moderne', in *Dix-septième siècle*, 66 (2015): pp. 79–91, esp. pp. 81–83.

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The toponym was most likely reused by Greek and Latin geographers, who routinely adopted the preexisting names of the provinces where they settled, changing the words slightly to pronounce them more comfortably in their own language. It was no accident, according to Céspedes, that classical authors like Strabo and Virgil described the city using the same succession of adjectives implied in the Hebrew etymology. This meant that they must have learned at some point from the local inhabitants the meaning of the native appellation. Céspedes imagined the Roman authors following the same procedures as contemporary crown officials who conducted the royal censuses of the *Relaciones Topográficas*, querying the local inhabitants about the names of their towns and their traditions.[29] Like Bodin, Céspedes sought to connect the ancient foundation of Spain to the descendants of Noah and to primitive Jews, from whom all people descended.

Céspedes' contemporary Benito Arias Montano also believed that the multiplicity of such 'Hebrew' toponyms scattered throughout the Iberian Peninsula could only be explained by the arrival of Jewish settlers in ancient times. This naturally included the name of Spain. Arias Montano proposed that *Hispania* or España was not a corrupted Greek word; rather, it originated in the Aramaic *Spamia*, a placename found in the Aramaic paraphrase, or Targum, of the biblical book of Obadiah. Adopting a line of argument common in Sephardic Jewish commentaries, Arias Montano used this reference to *Spamia*, the supposed destination of one of the several Israelite diasporas described in the Old Testament, to claim that Jewish settlers had known and inhabited many provinces of Spain in antiquity, buttressing his claim by identifying numerous Hebraic toponyms scattered throughout the Iberian Peninsula.[30]

In his *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (1571), however, Arias Montano opted for a chronology at variance with that of Céspedes. For Arias Montano, the ancient Hebrews who settled some of Spain's most distinguished cities came with the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem.[31] As Dominique Reyre has argued, Arias Montano's etymological exercises, lifted from medieval Jewish commentaries, aimed to show that the Jews that settled these primitive communities had arrived in the

29 On the Relaciones Topográficas see Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra (ed.), *Relaciones Topográficas de Felipe II. Madrid* (Madrid: CSIC, 1993).

30 See Chapter 1 in this volume by Adam Beaver, as well as Dominique Reyre, 'Topónimos hebreos y memoria de la España judía en el Siglo de Oro', *Criticón*, 65 (1995): pp. 31–53, esp. p. 33; F.J. Perea Siller, 'Benito Arias Montano y la identificación de Sefarad, exégesis poligráfica de *Abdías* 20', *Helmántica Hebraica*, 51 (2000): pp. 199–218.

31 See Beaver's essay in this volume.

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Iberian Peninsula at least five centuries before the birth and death of Christ. Hence they and their descendants were exempt from deicide.[32]

For Arias Montano, moreover, the Old Testament offered etymological hints about the New World as well as the Old, foreshadowing, the discovery of the Americas. Arias Montano and his contemporaries scoured the Bible in search of toponyms found in the New World and identified certain places in the text, with what they believed to be their American equivalents. Luis de León (1527–91), among others, recognized the Yucatán Peninsula with the *Yoqtan* of Genesis (the second of the sons of Eber) and the regions that comprised Peru with the lands of Parvaim, from where King Solomon's gold emanated.[33] In his *De antiquitatibus Novae Hispaniae* (Antiquities of New Spain), the natural historian Francisco Hernández (1514–87), after consulting the writings of the Franciscan missionaries catechizing in Mexico, summarized the controversy cautiously. Some believed that the natives of Mesoamerica came from Palestine and that they originated in the ten tribes of Salmanasar, as the Book of Kings narrated, more that 2,200 years ago. Even if this conjecture appeared unlikely or untrue, Hernández advised his readers to consider the reasons that made the interpretation plausible, or at least worthy of consideration. Among his most powerful arguments was the reference to etymologies, since in New Spain there were 'not few words that were either Hebrew [in origin] or very similar to them, as if they originated from them'.[34]

The Basque lawyer Andrés de Poza (1530–95) approached the problem of Spain's original language using a similar method as that of Céspedes and Arias Montano but reached different conclusions.[35] When reading the works

32 Reyre, 'Topónimos hebreos', p. 33.

33 Genesis 10:26. See Emilia Fernández Tejero and Natalio Fernández Marcos, 'Scriptural Interpretation in Renaissance Spain', in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation, Vol. II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, (ed.) Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), p. 241.

34 'Hay quienes aseguran que todos estos vinieron de Palestina, atravesando un angosto mar, de las diez tribus de Salmanasar, rey de de los Asirios, condujo cautivos a Asiria, reinando en Israel Oseas y en Jerusalén Ezequías, como se lee en el libro cuarto de los Reyes, cap. decimoséptimo hace más de dos mil docientos … En tercer lugar los nombres, no de otra manera que entre los hebreos, se imponían por deliberación del consejo y sin algún ethimo'; Francisco Hernández, 'De antiquitatibus novae Hispaniae, Antigüedades de la Nueva España', in *Obras Completas*, (trans.) J. García Pimentel (Mexico: UNAM, 1984), vol. 4, p. 118. See Guiliano Gliozzi, 'Gli Ebrei nel Nuovo Mondo', in *Adamo e il Nuovo Mondo. Las nascita dell'antropologia come idologia coloniale: dalle genealogie bibliche alle teorie razziali* (*1500–1700*) (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1977), pp. 49–110.

35 'Pues estos Griegos como vinieron a las Españas fundaron luego en ellas una muchedumbre de poblaciones, de que aun oy dia nos queda el rastro claro, digo claro, porque los

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of Bodin, Poza had come across a different Greek interpretation of *Hispania*. Bodin argued that the term signified 'land scarce in towns', and that the Greeks used the appellative to describe the land of the Hiberians or Heberi, whose 'language differed only a little from Hebrew'.[36] If the Greeks had really assigned the name to these territories, then Spain must have been devoid of very large settlements at the time of their arrival. However, Poza noted, this was not true in the era of the Carthaginians, nor the Romans. The word 'Spain', then, must have predated the arrival of Greek settlers in the Peninsula, and must signify something else altogether. Poza solved this problem by pointing to the phonetic similarities between *España* and the Basque word *Esbana*, meaning 'land of good lips and tongue'. Insisting that the Basques must have been the Peninsula's most ancient inhabitants, Poza defended the appropriateness of his etymology by noting that the Spaniards naturally possessed great eloquence'.[37]

While for Poza, the desire to prove the supposed primacy of Basque among the Peninsula's ancient languages effectively ruled out the Hebraic theories of Arias Montano and Céspedes, other authors found imaginative ways of reconciling these competing linguistic genealogies. Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa argued that Basque descended directly from Hebrew, while still claiming that it was also the source language from which Castilian emerged. To do so, he established a filiation between Basque and Hebrew words and then proceeded to demonstrate that Castilian words derived from Basque. This contradicted elements of Poza's Basque-ophile approach, which aimed to show that Basque was one of the seventy-two languages that appeared after the Tower of Babel, but not that it was the source of Castilian. That language came with the Romans centuries later.[38]

The main evidence to support Poza's history was, like that of his antagonists, etymological. Poza contended that the suffix *briga*, which finalized the names of some of Spain's oldest cities, was a Basque word. The word 'Cantabria', for instance, stood for *Cantabriga*. This name was a composite of *brigo* and *canto*. The first word meant *abrigo* (shelter and company), and it was from where the Castilians took the verb *abrigar* (to shelter). From this meaning 'it can be deduced that the ancients called *brigas* the settlements that were fenced or

mismos nombres lo manifiestan'; Andrés de Poza, *De la antigua lengua, poblaciones, y comarcas de las Españas, en que de paso se tocan algunas cosas de la Cantabria* (Bilbao: Mathías Mares, 1587), fol. 22r.

36 See Bodin, *Method*, p. 359.

37 Poza, *De la antigua lengua*, fol. 22r.

38 Garibay y Zamalloa, *Los XL libros d'el compendio historial de las chronicas y vniuersal Historia de todos los reynos de España* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1571), book V, ch. IIII, pp. 125–33.

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sheltered, because these provide shelter or *abrigo* from those who live in the roughness of the cliffs, edges, and mountains of these regions'. Ocampo confirmed that *briga* was part of the ancient language of Cantabria in his *Chronicle*, theorizing that the Roman emperor Vespasian had established a city in Spain on the edges of the sea of Biscay named *Flavio briga*. This was 'a combination of his name, with the speech of the region, in which towns were referred as to as *brigas*'.[39]

Basque's expressive capabilities marked it as one of the seventy-two languages that emerged immediately after the confusion at the Tower of Babel, since these ancient tongues possessed special powers. 'An excellent language', Poza reasoned, is 'one in which the names themselves teach their own cause, [or] the definition and nature of the thing named'. He invoked Plato's *Cratylus* to argue his case. Languages could only be described as 'elegant, substantial, and philosophical' if their names were able to transmit the qualities of the objects that they signified. Languages that were not part of the seventy-two, but were 'rather *mestizos* (mixed) and imperfect', possessed names 'without any mystery', and thus were conventional. Poza's use of the word *mestizo* is telling, for he also summoned images from the New World to support his linguistic genealogy.[40]

Many ancient Basque and Hebrew toponyms remained dispersed throughout Spain even though speakers of these languages no longer resided in their former lands or had abandoned their first idioms in favor of others. The reasons for this were identical, Poza hypothesized, to what was occurring to the Spaniards that established themselves in the Indies. The Spanish conquerors, even though they were mainly speakers of Castilian, still referred to the provinces of the New World 'with their first names in the Indian languages'. Mexico, Peru, Chile and Cuzco were all indigenous place-names. Poza believed that these names were so resilient to the passing of time, and even to the demise of their native inhabitants, because of their antiquity and their language of origin: the original, shared tongue of mankind.

39 Poza, *De la antigua lengua*, fol. 30r.

40 'Tienese por lengua excelente la que en los mismos nombres enseña así la causa de ellos como la naturaleza y definición de la cosa que se nombra, de la cual consideración resultó la disputa de Platón en *Cratilo* sobre si los nombres eran puestos a caso o divinamente, porque en las lenguas que se pueden decir elegantes, sustanciales y filosóficas, hallaremos no solo la demostración, más también el sentido y definición de las cosas; pero en las que no son tales, sino mestizas e imperfectas, no hallaremos más de solo los nombres, sin tener más misterio de que la tal cosa fue llamada así, en el cual caso podremos decir que la tal lengua fue y es casual del todo'; Poza, *De la antigua lengua*, fol. 30r-v.

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Although he did not identify the specific settlers that brought the pre-Babelian language to the New World, his chronology indicates that the Indies were settled by the survivors of the Flood.[41] Moreover, the perspective offered by the New World provided the Basque scholar additional evidence to support his etymological reasoning. The many social, religious and demographic transformations brought about by the Spanish presence in the Indies, which the contemporary scholar could witness with his own eyes, were living examples of what must have happened centuries before in the Old World. Aldrete, when composing his history of the Castilian language, would also resort to similar analogies to think about the temporal conditions regulating a society's capacity to adopt a foreign tongue and the swiftness with which this process could take place.

Poza's establishment of Basque as the first general language of Spain, as opposed to Greek, Latin, or Hebrew had further implications. His linguistic history stressed an autochthonous genealogy; one connected to the events at the Tower of Babel, permanent since its inception, and immune to the changes imposed by the conquering polities that settled Spain, most notably the Muslim overlords that ruled of parts of the peninsula for almost eight hundred years. By making Basque one of the seventy-two languages Poza could also, unlike Garibay, free himself from having to clarify the relationship between Basque and Hebrew words. The sudden ruptures brought about at Babel were enough to explain the linguistic divergences. Céspedes and Montano, in contrast to Poza, sought to stress the continuities with the Biblical past and in this manner vindicate Spain's Jewish heritage.

## Arabic and the History of Spain

The pace and extent of linguistic loss or corruption attributable to conquering overlords that so much interested Valdés also became important themes in the discussion of Arabic's presence in the Iberian Peninsula. Various interpretations emerged to explain the history of this Oriental language, its relationship

41 '… con el nombre que sus moradores y pobladores le avían impuesto, así como ahora nuestros Españoles en las indias, sin embargo de su lengua Castellana, todavía nombran las provincias con sus nombres primeros de la lengua Indiana, Mexico, Peru, Chile, Cuzco… De suerte que ya por este exemplo se entenderá la causa, porque los nombres de los Reyes, ciudades, y poblaciones que fueron fundadas en aquellos primeros siglos más allegados al diluvio, todos ellos son de dicha lengua primera general que se hablava por el mundo antes de la confusión de Babylonia, lo qual hallaremos muy cierto acá en nuestra España en los nombres siguientes'; Poza, *De la antigua lengua*, fol. 9r-v.

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to Islam, and its seemingly ubiquitous influence over many of the sounds and verbal forms of Castilian. The presence of Arabic in Spain, like that of Hebrew, offered numerous conceptual problems and possibilities. Some scholars, like Morales, struggled to develop a new interpretive framework for the study of antiquity, one that could expand to include Arabic and Islamic sources alongside the more conventional Greek and Roman sources familiar to most Renaissance antiquarians. Morales was keenly aware of how profoundly the Arabs had transformed Spain's landscape. Other men of letters, more pressingly, struggled to defend the position and trajectory of Arabic speaking Christian communities, their religious commitments, and their customs from increasingly restrictive legislation. Indeed by 1567, Moriscos were already forbidden to write or speak Arabic, ordered to learn Castilian within three years, and denied the use of Arabic surnames, clothing, baths, and any other distinctive markers.

Many scholars, like the Valencian chronicler Rafael Martí de Viciana (1502–74), condemned the use of Arabic in Spain and lamented the debt which Castilian speakers owed to what he considered to be an infidel tongue.[42] In his *Libro de las alabanças de las lenguas hebrea, griega, latina, castellana, y valenciana* (Book of the Praises of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish and Valencian Languages, 1574) Viciana's principal goal was to prove the nobility of the Valencian language.[43] Viciana believed that Latin was the mother of both the Valencian and the Castilian languages. Castilians, because of their dealings in war and peace with the 'Hagarenes' (that is, Muslims) introduced many Arabic words into their language. For Viciana this was regrettable and the result of Castilian neglect for 'hav[ing] allowed for the loss of their own and natural words, adopting strange ones', especially from this enemy tongue. This was all the more reprehensible since there were many wise men in Castile who could have turned to the Latin language, or to Greek or Hebrew, to enrich their vocabulary.[44]

42 On the life and works of Martí de Viciana, see Sebastián García Martínez, 'Estudio preliminar', in Rafael Martí de Viciana, *Crónica de la ínclita y coronada ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 24–222.

43 Rafael Martí de Viciana, *Libro de las alabanças de las lenguas hebrea, griega, latina, castellana, y valenciana. Copiado por Marin de Viziana y consagrado al Ilustre Senado de la Inclyta y coronada ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia: J. Navarro, 1574).

44 '… por cierto que es lástima ver que en la lengua Castellana aya tanta mixtura de términos, y nombres del Arávigo: y a les venido por la mucha comunicación q por muchos años han tenido en guerra y en paz con los Agarenos. Y hanse descuydado los Castellanos, dexando perder los propios, y naturales vocablos, tomando los estraños: y desto rescibe la noble lengua castellana no poco si no muy grande perjuyzio, en consentir que de la más de cevil

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Valencian, according to Viciana, did not engage in this irresponsible borrowing even though 'in the kingdom of Valencia two thirds [of the people] were Hagarenes that spoke Arabic and to this day one-third are converted [Muslims] who still speak Arabic'. Viciana asked his reader to consider the fact that, unlike Castilian, 'never has the Valencian language taken … any Arabic word'; 'on the contrary, the Arabic language being such an enemy of Christianity, it abhors it'. Those residents of Valencia that had converted to Christianity from Islam, still refused to abandon Arabic Castilian, even fifty years after their baptisms. Whenever the authorities pressured these converts to speak Valencian, Viciana recalled, they responded to the affront by questioning the authorities' intentions: 'Why do you want us to abandon the Arabic language? Is it because it is evil? And if it is evil, why do the Castilians speak it mixed in with their language? Leave us our language and we will leave it little by little'.[45] Implicit in this rebuttal was the notion that Castilian was capable of seamlessly incorporating Arabic words into its lexicon because the Arabic language was separable from the religion of Islam.

Viciana believed that this separation was impossible. To make matters worse, Castilian's borrowing from Arabic was so extensive, Viciana noted, that even all of the main rivers of the region, such as the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir, retained their Arabic names even after Christians recovered the territories. Valencian, in contradistinction to Castilian, preserved its proximity to Latin and borrowed words exclusively from its mother tongue. Viciana included tables demonstrating that Valencian words were closer to Latin in form and meaning than were Castilian ones. For Viciana, Castilian should be purified of its Arabic components. Castilian men of letters henceforth should leave behind the usage of ignorant people and direct the growth of their language by selecting new words solely from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, the tongues

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y abatida lengua Aráviga tome vocablo ni nombre alguno pues en Castilla ay millares de Varones sabios, que en lugar de los Arávigos podrían hallar vocablos propios a qualquier cosa'; Viciana, *Libro de la alabanças*, fol. b5v.

45 'Y conforme a lo dicho lo hallaran en la lengua Valenciana, que por más que en el Reyno de Valencia havía dos tercios de Agarenos que hablavan Arávigo: y en esta era un tercio de convertidos que hablavan Arávigo, jamás la lengua Valenciana ha tomado, ni viado palabra alguna Aráviga: antes por ser el Arávigo tan enemigo del Christiano le tiene por muy aborrecido. Son estos conversos de la secta Mahomética a nuestra Sancta Fee Cathólica tales, que al cabo de cincuenta años que son baptizados jamás se ha podido acabar con ellos que dexen el Algaravía, y hablen lengua Valenciana y cuando mucho los apretamos mucho responden algunos de ellos Porque quereys que dexemos la lengua Aráviga? Por ventura es mala? Y si es mala porque la hablan los Castellanos mezclada en su lengua? Dexen ellos nuestra habla y nosotros la dexaremos poco a poco'; Viciana, *Libro de las alabanças*, fol. A6r.

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sanctified by the Bible. This proposition differed significantly from Valdés' understanding of both linguistic borrowing and the setting of a language's standard on the basis of usage.

Ambrosio de Morales' surveys of Castile's countryside, similarly, led him to recognize that the omnipresence of Arabic toponyms made the reconstruction of Spain's Roman history challenging.[46] This was especially true about the names of towns, rivers and mountains, which had been corrupted or completely effaced by the Arab conquerors.

Morales cited the surviving histories Isidore of Seville and Ildefonsus (d. 667), authors who were 'grave and trustworthy' and who had lived in the period between the Romans and the arrival of the Muslims, to demonstrate that neither the Goths nor any other of the conquering nations that invaded Spain after the fall of the Roman Empire had significantly transformed the names of the Iberian Peninsula's cities or major land formations until the arrival of the Arabs. It was then when the most significant mutations took place and cities and entire regions acquired entirely new denominations.[47]

Like many other historians and antiquaries of his generation, Morales was concerned about the discontinuity in Spanish history caused by the Islamic conquest. He tried to overcome this discontinuity – so evident in the sudden change of the names of many places – by compiling a study of *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (The Antiquities of the Cities of Spain, 1575). This problem, combined with his desire to elucidate the reasoning behind the study of antiquities, compelled Morales to formulate thirteen methodological considerations that the student of Spanish stones, statues, coins and

46 On the life and career of Morales, see Katherine Elliott van Liere, 'The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales', *Viator*, 37 (2006): pp. 519–43; Richard Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 106–14; Sebastián Sánchez Madrid, *Arqueología y humanismo, Ambrosio de Morales* (Cordoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2002); and Enrique Redel, *Ambrosio de Morales, estudio biográfico* (Cordoba: Imprenta de *El Diario*, 1909).

47 'Mas si lee á San Isidoro y á San Ildefonso en sus Historias: y mira los Concilios de que aquellos tiempos, y lo que dellos escrive el Arcopispo don Rodrigo y la Historia general también: en estos authores que son graves y fidedignos, no hallará mudado nombre ninguno de los q los Romanos tenian puestos en las ciudades de España, ó de los que ellas antes tenían. Los Alarabes fueron los que hizieron después este trueque, q hasta allí no le auia auido'; Ambrosio de Morales, *Apologia de Ambrosio de Morales, con una información al Consejo del Rey Nuestro Señor, hecha por su orden y mandamiento en defensa de los Anales de Geronymo Çurita* (Zaragoza: Colegio de S. Vicente Ferrer, Juan de Lanaja y Quartanet, 1610), fol. 6v.

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inscriptions, had to bear in mind when performing research.[48] A companion volume to the author's continuation of Ocampo's *Corónica*, the *Antigüedades* sought to address the technical aspects of the study of Roman antiquities that Morales had omitted from the *Corónica general* so as to not bore or distract his eager readers from the narrative of rulers, wars and religious events that formed the spine of this official work.[49]

The *Discurso* began with a disclaimer over the kinds of knowledge that antiquarian research could yield. The reason for this was that the antiquities of Spain were 'buried in the darkness of old age and oblivion', given the numerous invasions that the Iberian Peninsula had suffered, and 'when reason reaches the [form] of a good and possible conjecture, not more is possible nor should be expected'. Morales would assemble evidence from diverse sources and combine them to produce probable conjectures about Spanish cities and towns that had disappeared, or became new places altogether, in the wake of the Islamic conquests. The evidence offered by linguistic research, in this same manner, offered plausible but not definitive proof. Etymology was often a step towards greater certainty about the foundation of a settlement, but could not serve on its own as proof of origins.[50]

In his eighth consideration Morales addressed his use of language specifically. The names that cities once had, and the ones that they currently possessed, could also serve to establish correspondences between the towns recorded in Ptolemy, Pliny, or Strabo and their current forms. Morales could reconstruct an ancient name by detecting phonetic similarities between the modern word and the ancient one, like the example of the ancient city of Larissa, a small expanse of land with a single house and no surviving antiquities known as Carixa in modern times. He could also divine the reasons for the name's phonetic change. Finally, he could study the Arabic etymology and compare its meaning with the actual formation or landscape in question, as in the case of the Guadalquivir (big river valley), which was an apt descriptor for the waterway and the surrounding territories that the ancients knew as the Betis.

The Moors, Morales explained, changed many of the names of Spain. He elaborated extensively on some of these appellatives' etymologies. Almagro, for instance, 'a principal town and head of the fields of Calatrava' was named in this way because in Arabic it means 'acid water, which is true about almost all of [the water] of that place'. They called the emblematic town Alcántara,

48 Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 1, p. 2.

49 Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 1, p. lxxvii.

50 Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 1, pp. 2–3.

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the same Extremaduran locale 'that gives its name to the Order', because in their language it means 'bridge', and there is a wonderful bridge in that region. Many smaller locales between Alcalá de Henares and Guadalajara likewise possessed Arabic names 'that very much agree with the places or other properties of the land'. Many other examples supported the appropriateness of the Arabic toponyms. Guadalajara means 'river of stones' and the Henares River, when it crosses that area, is full of rubble and stones. The dwellers of the region were famous for their butters made with goat's milk. These were specially crafted in a place called *Irepar*, which in Arabic means 'milk or fat of goat'. The town of *Buje*, close to *Meco*, is deep in a valley between hills, and *Buje* means hills. Likewise *Benalque* means house of wine and, as was to be expected from its name, was a place where much wine was made. Morales learned some of these Arabic etymologies from his friend and correspondent Francisco de Medina Mendoza (1516–77), whom he described as 'a principal man of Guadalajara'.[51] Medina had become blind, yet, Morales claimed, 'all he lost in sight, he gained in his wonderful memory'.[52]

51 Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 1, pp. 80–82.

52 'Los Moros tambien hiciéron muchas destas mudanzas en España por manifiestas ocasiones. Y aunque desto puede haber infinitos exemplos, yo pondré mas de los que supiere. A Almagro, villa muy principal y cabeza del campo de Calatraba, le pusiéron ese nombre que en su lengua quiere decir, agua agra qual es casi toda la de aquel lugar. Tambien llamáron Alcántara al insigne lugar de Estremadura, que da nombre á la Orden, y en su Lengua quiere decir puente, por la maravillosa que allí (según se ha visto en la Corónica hay… De la misma manera muchos destos lugarejos que están aquí entre Alcalá de Henares y Guadalaxara y por ahí cerca, tienen los nombres Arabigos muy conforme á los sitios, ó a otras propiedades de la tierra. Guadalaxara, rio de las piedras quiere decir en Arábigo, y el río de Henares por allí va muy pedregoso. Y de Caraca mudaron los Moros este nombre á su modo. Las mantequillas de Guadalaxara son muy celebradas, y no se pueden hacer sino de leche de cabras, y no se hacen sino en solo un lugar junto aquella ciudad, llamado Iriepar, que en Arábigo quiere decir leche ó manteca de cabras. Meco quiere decir pelado como lo es todo el campo de los rededores deste lugar. Bujes está junto de Meco metido en un valle entre unas cuestas, y Bujes quiere decir entre cuestas. Benalaque quiere decir casa de vino, y es lugar donde se coge mucho, y Alhobera que está allí cerca es muy fértil de pan, y el vocablo Arábigo significa Alholi de trigo. Algunas de las interpretaciones destos nombres Arábigos las notó muy bien, y me las comunicó Francisco de Medina de Mendoza hombre principal en Guadalaxara, y que en la noticia de la historia de Castilla desde el Rey don Fernando Primero acá sabe tanto como otro qualquiera, que con mucha curiosidad y particularidad la haya aprendido. De lo qual puedo yo ser muy buen testigo, como quien cada dia lo goza y lo experimenta en la mucha amistad y comunicación que con él tengo. Y como ha muchos años que cegó, todo lo que le falta de la vista, ha acrecentado en la memoria que tiene maravillosa. Sin estos nombres se podrían traer muchos lugares que tienen mudados los nombres por algunas ocasiones, como conjeturabamos

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Morales' main concern was to recover Roman antiquities from the layers of darkness that the Muslim presence imposed upon them. There is recognition in his method, however, that Arabic was a language that had to be reckoned with and incorporated into the study of Spain's and in particular Castile's history. In his case, Arabic served mainly as a useful tool to stream backwards towards other more acceptable origins, but on occasion this led him to admit the deliberateness and appropriateness of the Arabic language in describing the landscapes on which infidel Muslim overlords also set new and meaningful names.

Some cities like Morales' beloved Cordoba even possessed an extensive Muslim patrimony that amplified their Roman legacy.[53] When Morales described the fertility and beauty of Cordoba, he emphasized, as Céspedes did, its temperate weather. Cordoba possessed magnificent monuments such as the 'very religious monastery of the discalced Franciscans named *Arrizafa*, which in Arabic means royal orchard; and this is a place of enjoyment and freshness that very well honors its name'.[54] He claimed that it was no wonder that when the Arabic Captain Muza, a reliable witness on account of his stature, left the city after the Christians conquered it, the Muslims could do nothing more than lament the terrible loss.[55]

The city's fertility and favorable landscape provided a propitious environment for the flourishing of men of great intelligence and talent, regardless of their religious commitments. Cordoba was the setting where numerous martyrs immolated themselves in defense of their faith in the centuries following the Islamic conquest of 711. The Holy martyr Eulogius compiled their lives as a testament to their unyielding Christian faith. The landscape had positive effects even on the infidels, enabling the famous philosopher 'Averroes, and with him Abezoar, Rasis, Abenragel, and many others' to achieve great things. Morales conceded that 'even though they were Moors, they were born in Cordoba and the fact that they were infidels does not take from them their greatness and high being in their natural goodness'.[56] Before 1609, when, as

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que podía acontecer en Porcuna, segun nos lo mostraba aquella su piedra antigua, como muchas otras dellas nos enseñan, y nos dan noticia tambien de cosas en la historia que no se pueden saber sino por solas ellas'; Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 1, pp. 80–82.-

53 Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades,* vol. 2, p. 8.

54 'Tambien está en estas laderas el religiosísimo Monasterio de los descalzos de San Francisco con nombre del Arrizafa, que en Arábigo quiere decir huerto real … le compete bien su nombre'; Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 2, p. 15.

55 Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 2, p. 27

56 'Tuvo tambien Córdoba en aquellos tiempos de los Moros insignes hombres en ingenio y letras, el famoso Averroys, y con él Abezoar, Rasis, Abenragel, y otros muchos … Tuvo

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Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have argued, the Expulsion of the Moriscos allowed for a less problematic use of Arabic in Spanish historical writings, Morales framed his discussion of Cordoba's Islamic legacy and the region's Arabic toponyms with praises to the city's fertility and propitious climate.[57] By relying on the tradition of the *laudes Hispaniae* Morales highlighted the powerful effect that Spain's naturally good landscape had even on infidels and their language, thus tempering possible objections over his attempts to incorporate Arabic toponyms in his reconstruction of Spain's history.[58]

While Morales understood the presence of Arabic names scattered throughout Spain as one of the lingering consequences of a political rupture centered squarely in the Middle Ages, Diego de Guadix conceived of these words as vestiges of a much more ancient history. For Guadix, Arabic exceeded in antiquity any other language in the world 'because it is the Hebrew language, though corrupted, and the Hebrew language was the one spoken by Adam, Noah, and Abraham'. More than a thousand years before the birth of Muḥammad, the world was already replete with Arabic verbs and nouns. The threats assailing Arabic in the sixteenth century compelled Guadix to finally clarify this tongue's genealogy and prove its nobility, since it could claim to be the most immediate ancestor of the sacred tongue.

Increasing tensions over the sincerity of the Moriscos' Catholicism, coupled with anxieties over these communities' integration into Spanish society, prompted the appearance of forgeries like the well-studied Lead Books of Sacromonte. The Lead Books were a set of plaques with Latin and Arabic inscriptions found on the outskirts of Granada between 1595 and 1599. These artifacts allegedly contained writings of first-century Christians who spoke Arabic and had suffered martyrdom under the Roman Empire. The Lead Books and other falsifications attempted to provide evidence for alternative histories that set the arrival of Arabic in Spain centuries before the birth of Muḥammad,

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Reyes y Capitanes valerosos en la Guerra, y de tan grandes hazañas en ella, que nunca nuestras historias acaban de lamentar los daños que nos hiciéron. Y aunque estos eran Moros, nacian en Córdoba, y el ser infieles no les quita su grandeza y alto ser en el bien natural'; Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades*, vol. 2, p. 28.

57 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism*, (trans.) Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 351–69.

58 Victoriano Roncero, 'Las 'Laudes Hispaniae' de San Isidoro a Quevedo', *Analecta malacitana*, 16 (1993): pp. 81–92. Garibay employs a similar strategy. See: Garibay, 'De las alabanças y loores de España', in *Los XL libros del compendio historial de las chronicas y universal historia de toda España* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1571), book III, pp. 60–81, 78.

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the rise of Islam, or the arrival of Muslim conquerors from Northern Africa. These ancient Arabs were Christians and travelled in the company of exalted figures including the apostle St James and the martyr-saints Cecilius, Thesifon, and Hiscio.[59] The ultimate goal of these numerous falsifications, as García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano have shown, was to 'establish the legitimacy of the Moriscos and Conversos by tracing the presence of such converts to Spanish antiquity and dissociating their cultural characteristics from their religious ones'.[60]

Rather than focus, like the forgers, on the putatively ancient arrival of distinguished Hebrew and Arabic speaking Christians in Spain, Guadix pointed to the similarities between Hebrew and Arabic, adumbrating a theory of linguistic corruption which posited a greater proximity between the two languages than the later emergence of Greek and Latin. This strategy had already been applied by an anonymous grammar published in the city of Louvain in 1559.

This *Gramática de la lengua vulgar de España* sought to explain the particularities of the Castilian language to French students.[61] The author of the *Gramática* challenged the use of the adjective Castilian to describe the vernacular spoken in much of the Iberian Peninsula. In his hierarchization of languages of Spain he employed two criteria. The first was a particular language's proximity to Hebrew, and the second was the availability of works in that tongue. After Basque, the author contended, the second language of Spain was Arabic, 'which is truly Hebrew'. This language possessed this secondary place 'not only because of its ancient and noble descent, but because many Spaniards had composed in it 'many useful books in all the liberal arts'. Arabic was spoken in the kingdom of Granada and in parts of the kingdoms of Andalusia, Valencia and Aragon.[62] Castilian, by contrast, came fourth, after

59 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*; García-Arenal, 'The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of Sacromonte of Granada', *Arábica*, 56 (2009): pp. 495–528; Rodríguez Mediano, 'Fragmentos de orientalismo español del s. XVII', *Hispania. Revista española de historia*, 66 (2006): pp. 243–76; and Katie A. Harris, 'Forging History. The *Plomos* of Granada in Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's *Historia eclesiástica*', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 30 (1999): pp. 945–66.

60 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, 'Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the Lead Books of Sacromonte', in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 243–68; Also see: Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

61 *Gramática de la lengua vulgar de España, impresa en Lovaina por Bartolomé Gravio en 1559* (Zaragoza: La Derecha, 1892).

62 'por esta solo, que, despues de los Araves, no se han escrito en toda España tantos, tan buenos, i tan fotiles libros en prosa yi metro, como en esta lengua Catalana'; *Gramática de la lengua vulgar*, p. 18.

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Basque, Arabic, and Catalán.[63] Regardless of his views concerning the naming of Castilian, the author, like Guadix, on the basis of Arabic's proximity to Hebrew, assigned this language more prestige than the vulgar language that derived from Latin.

While the long controversies over the Lead Books of Sacromonte raged throughout the most important scholarly circles in Spain, Guadix was appointed as interpreter of the Arabic language of the Inquisition tribunal in the city of Granada and its kingdom in 1582. In the 1590s, singled out for his alleged linguistic expertise, he travelled to Rome to serve also as an interpreter and translator of texts for the papacy.[64] Around this time Guadix composed his *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos* (Compilation of Some Arabic Names that the Arabs Gave to Some Cities and Many Other Things, 1593). In the work's inaugural pages Guadix presented a number of forewarnings in anticipation of criticisms over his etymological artistry. According to Guadix, since Arabic resembled Hebrew, the first language of mankind, more closely than Greek, Latin or Basque this meant that it must predate them. Consequently, Arabic must have been spoken in Spain, Italy, France, and the rest of Europe prior to the birth of Muḥammad, the emergence of Islam, and the Islamic conquest of Visigothic Hispania in the eighth century. If a word appeared common to Arabs, Spaniards, Italians, or any other people, it was incorrect, given Arabic's ancient age, to claim that Arabic borrowed it from any of these derivative languages. Even though their primary identity might be difficult to detect 'because their letters, syllables and accents are so altered and moved', these were in fact Arabic dictions.

Guadix applied his linguistic chronology to reject the Greek and Basque etymologies of the name of Spain. He argued that scholars like Morales and Poza should have known that Arabic was, in fact, the most primitive tongue spoken in ancient Iberia, and thus the source of this central name. *Hispania*, in light of its Arabic origin, was a composite word made up of *ex* or thing and *bania* or building, together signifying 'thing that has been built'. *Ex-bania*, with the passing of time, became the corrupted word known to all as *España*.[65] As this

63 'Por las quales causas, i otras q adrede callo, me parescio nombrarla no Española, ni Castellana, sino Vulgar, como siempre la llamaré en toda esta obra'; *Gramática de la lengua vulgar*, pp. 19–21.

64 On the life of Diego de Guadix, see E. Bajo Pérez and F. Maíllo Salgado, 'Estudio Introductorio', in Guadix, *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos*, pp. 115–31; Darío Cabanelas, 'Tres arabistas franciscanos de los siglos XVII y XVIII', in *Homenaje a la profesora Elena Pezzi* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), pp. 21–36.

65 'Todos no han herido en la vena, por no saber que este es nombre arábigo, y por no ser hombres arábigos para saberlo interpretar. Consta pues de ex, i., aliquid, y de bania, que

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example showed, time brought about the decomposition and corruption of words. This process of linguistic deterioration was aggravated by the fact that men who did not know the words' true meanings (or even how to properly articulate Arabic's sounds) progressively transformed them. Arriving at the original uncorrupted form of the diction required the etymologist to give them 'a thousand turns … or to guess, in order to divine their meaning[s] and integrity in Arabic'. Even though the process might seem arbitrary at times, it was nonetheless supported by the genetic relationship that existed between Arabic, Hebrew and their descendant languages. The verb *abrigar*, for instance, which Poza had believed to be a Basque suffix of Spain's most ancient language, was clearly a composite of two Arabic units, *berr* and *gar*. In Arabic *berr* meant field or desert and *gar* meant cave or lair. All together the word *berrgar* signified 'field cave', and 'to this algarabía', Castilian speakers put an (a) in front and in their fashion they corrupted the word to *abrigar*.[66]

Another important set of proofs that demonstrated the antiquity of Arabic, and its independence from Islam, was the fact that toponyms of this language persisted in places where Iberia's post-711 Muslim inhabitants had never set foot. When the Spanish conquerors arrived in the West Indies they found many words that, as Guadix could easily show, possessed Arabic ancestry. The plant *caçabí*, for instance, which the natives of those lands ate, originated in the Arabic *caçab*, which signified 'reed'.[67] Likewise on the basis of phonetic similarity, Guadix contended that the word *cacique*, 'lord of the town', emanated from the Arabic *caciq*, which meant 'religious [man]'. The name was appropriate since he learned from reading the chronicles of those lands that 'the principal lord of the town, while ruling over the republic, also had to teach religion and good customs'.[68]

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significa albañiría o cosa de fábrica o edificio'; Diego de Guadix, *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los árabes pusieron a algunas ciudades y a otras muchas cosas* [1593], (ed.) E. Bajo Pérez and F. Maíllo Salgado (Gijón: Trea, 2005), p. 601; On Guadix and his context see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 367–73.

66 'darles mill bueltas o, si se puede dezir, adiuinar, para llegarlos a su razón y integridad arábiga'… 'Dizen en España para significar dar calor o guarecer de la inclemencia, Viene d'esta palabra, berr, que en arábigo significa campo o desierto, y de gar, que significa cueva o guarida; asi que todo junto, sera berrgar, que significará cueva de campo o guarida de campo'; Guadix, *Recopilación*, p. 174.

67 Guadix, *Recopilación*, pp. 456–57.

68 Guadix, *Recopilación*, p. 461.

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Even the names of regions had Arabic origins. The territories that comprised the wealthy viceroyalty of Peru were named in this way due to the landscape's physical attributes. Peru, like *abrigar*, also came from the Arabic *berr*. In this case, however, the word had been transformed differently, the (u) in the end corresponded to the 'the third person affix', so together the word signified 'his field or desert'.[69] Guatemala and Mexico could also be similarly etymologized in Arabic proving incontrovertibly that in these distant lands where no Muslims had ever been, and Christians had only recently reached, Arabic had once been spoken as the most primitive language of its inhabitants.

## Challenges to the Etymological Method

Linguistic change, Aldrete believed, was relentless and often unpredictable. In *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana* (1606), Aldrete criticized scholars, like Poza or Arias Montano, who relied exclusively on etymological derivations to prove either the primitiveness of the Basque language or the identification of certain geographical spaces in Spain and in the New World with Biblical toponyms. The appellative Peru, which had sparked the Arabic imagination of Guadix, for instance, not only did not come from Arabic, but had also been misinterpreted by those who traced it back to Hebrew. Peru, according to Aldrete, was not a corrupted form of the word *Parvaim*, and there was no evidence to show that the 'Gold of Ophir was brought to King Solomon from Pirú'. José de Acosta (1539–1600) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), two authorities on the languages and histories of the peoples of the New World, also denied the etymology.[70] Rather, they asserted that when Spaniards reached those parts they asked an Indian what land they were in and 'without

69 Guadix, *Recopilación*, p. 883.

70 'Mas la etimología del nombre Ophir, y reduccón al nombre de Pirú, téngolo por negocio de poca sustancia, siendo – como es cierto – que ni el nombre del Pirú es tan antiguo ni tan general a toda esta tierra. Ha sido costumbre muy ordinaria en estos descubrimientos del Nuevo Mundo poner nombres a las tierras y los puertos de la ocasión que se les ofrecía; y así se entiende haber pasado en nombrar a este reino Pirú. Acá es opinión que de un río en que a los principios dieron los españoles, llamado por los naturales Pirú, intitularon toda esta tierra Pirú. Y es argumento de esto que los indios naturales del Pirú ni usan ni saben tal nombre de su tierra. Al mismo tono parece afirmar que Sefer en la Escritura son estos Andes, que son unas sierras altísimas del Pirú. Ni basta haber alguna afinidad o semejanza de vocablos, pues de esa suerte también diríamos que Yucatán es Yectán, a quien nombra la Escritura; ni los nombres de Tito y de Paulo que usaron los reyes ingas deste Pirú se debe pensar que vinieron de romanos o de cristianos, pues es muy ligero

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understanding, he answered *Beru*, *Pelu*'.[71] The natives of those territories referred to their kingdom as the *Tuantinsúiu*, which signified the four parts of their reign, and had never used the word *Peru* to describe their domains. Phonetic similarities were insufficient to establish historical concordance. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (1514?–75), the first official chronicler of Mexico City, made a similar claim about the toponym *Yoqtan*. When the Spanish first reached the coast of Mesoamerica and the Yucatan Peninsula they met 'certain men who, when asked the name of the large town nearby, responded by saying '*Tectetlan*' which means 'I do not understand you'. The Spanish, thinking that the town was called this way, corrupted the word and have referred to the region as Yucatán down to the present'.[72]

In addition to this confusion, languages borrowed words unscrupulously. The dense etymological histories of the previous decades had made clear that Castilian itself contained lexical units from Gothic, Arabic, Greek and the languages of the New World. Toponyms, then, might not necessarily represent a direct path towards origins, since a locale could be named with borrowed or translated words, presenting numerous and unpredictable intermediary factors that muddled the relationship between the intention of the name-makers and the most ancient or original meaning of the word. Etymological arguments, for Aldrete, were consequently a dangerous topic to deal with 'because [one] walked only on … uncertain proofs, depending on words so inclined to changing'.[73]

Aldrete was immersed in a discussion over the origins of the Castilian language. He had to suffer the consequences of his defense of the theory that Castilian was corrupted Latin and not a primordial language in itself. In writing against the theory of Gregorio López Madera (1562–1649), Aldrete

indicio para afirmar cosas tan grandes'; José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, (ed.) Fermín del Pino-Díaz (Madrid: CSIC, 2008), book I, ch. XIII, pp. 26–27.

71 Bernardo de Aldrete, *Del origen*, pp. 356–57.

72 'Poco más adelante, hallaron ciertos hombres que, preguntados cómo se llamaba un gran pueblo que estaba allí cerca, dixeron Tectetlan que quiere decir 'no te entiendo'; pensando los españoles llamarse así, y corrompiendo el vocablo, le llamaron Yucatán hasta hoy; Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España, que escribió el dr. D. Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, cronista de la imperial ciudad de México* (Madrid: The Hispanic Society of America, 1914), book II, ch. I, p. 61.

73 'es negocio lleno de riezgo, i peligro tratar desto porque se camina con solo indicios, i pruevas inciertas, dependientes de palabras tan ligeras de mudarse'; Aldrete, *Del Origen*, p. 284.

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concluded that the reasons that compel people to name certain places are diverse and that words change in response to a multiplicity of factors, which are often unaccountable or unpredictable. Furthermore, as Kathryn Woolard has argued, Aldrete's investigations of the causes of linguistic change and their correlation with political, climactic, and social conditions led him to a drastic conclusion on the immutability of origins. Under the proper circumstances, Woolard claimed, Aldrete found that 'communities give up their deeply held languages and customs, acquire new ones, and form new social bonds, and loyalties, to the point of becoming indistinguishable from former enemies'.[74] Ancient Iberians adopted Latin, in the same way that the inhabitants of the New World were abandoning their tongues in favor of Castilian.

While Aldrete sought to understand the specific principles that governed linguistic change, he challenged the idea that linguistic remains could provide a reliable trail to origins, for 'words alone are bound to be forever, being the lightest of things, lighter than the wind, the most subject to change'. The study of ancient names and their meanings could not serve as proof of origins unless their presence and usage was attested in multiple 'truthful histories', and even then they were to be approached with much caution.[75] He who takes names as the sole proof of origins, Aldrete concluded, 'fools himself truly, to seek in the most unstable and meager thing, perpetuity and firmness'.[76]

## Conclusions

In the sixteenth century etymological histories multiplied in response to the religious and social controversies inherent in the integration of Jewish and Muslim converts – and their languages – into a general history of the Iberian

74 Kathryn A. Woolard, 'Is the Past a Foreign Country?: Time, Language Origins and the Nation in Early Modern Spain', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 14 (2004): pp. 57–80, 66. Also, Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete, Humanist and Laminario', *Al-Qanṭara*, 24 (2003): pp. 449–76; and 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology', *Comparative Study of Society and History,* 44 (2002): pp. 446–80.

75 'por historias ciertas'; Aldrete, *Del Origen*, p. 284. Also see: Lucia Binotti, *La teoría del 'castellano primitivo'. Nacionalismo y reflexión lingüística en el Renacimiento español* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1995).

76 'Dize por cierto mui bien, muerense los hombres, acabense sus Reinos, i possessiones todo se muda con el tiempo, i las palabras solas an de ser para siempre, siendo las mas ligeras que el viento, i mas sujetas a mudanças. Mucho se engaña, por cierto, quien en la cosa mas inestable, i flaca, busca perpetuidad, i firmeza'; Aldrete, *Del origen*, p. 177.

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Peninsula. In tandem with this, scholars felt compelled to interpret the significance of the many centuries of Islamic rule. The importance of the etymological method for arguing a particular theory of origins, though seemingly absurd to a contemporary reader, is evident. Despite the fact that the writers who sought to harness the mnemonic and historical powers of the etymology often defended irreconcilable perspectives, they collectively tested innovative methods and models of understanding and theorizing linguistic change to approach a common and urgent topic. As their histories accumulated into an interrelated and polemical body of knowledge, it became clear that in many ways the etymology had reached its explanatory limits.[77]

A single word, such as *Hispania*, Peru, or *briga* possessed multiple and equally plausible trajectories. The sheer mass of new information, the perspective offered by the mutating linguistic landscape of the New World, and the many contradictory accounts that linked a word to particular histories, destabilized the idea that linguistic vestiges were capable of transmitting the original qualities of their most remote speakers. Challenges to the etymological method and its probatory value would force Spanish humanists of subsequent generations to seek out alternative strategies of contending with Spain's linguistic diversity and of explaining the legacy of its Oriental traditions.[78]

Notwithstanding its detractors, the discipline resurfaced multiple times in the following centuries. The Valencian savant Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699–1781), for instance, sought to reinvigorate the study of etymologies in the middle of the eighteenth century by establishing a method with a canon of specific rules and principles that would allow the etymologist to correctly find the origin of a word.[79] Mayáns believed that the knowledge of a word's true beginning was essential because primitive names had corresponded to the objects that they signified. This was especially true about Hebrew, the first language of mankind, and the other Oriental languages that were closely related to it. Yet, for all of Mayáns' faith in etymology, he still asserted that it was a separate endeavor from the search for historical truths. Mayáns declared that the 'etymological art is not part of history'. In so doing, he refuted the idea that to search for the origins of a language was the most worthy enterprise that could be performed in the theater of history. No longer could the etymology

77 See Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949).

78 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, ch. 17.

79 See: María José Martínez Alcalde, *Las ideas lingüísticas de Gregorio Mayáns* (Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 1992), pp. 145–209; Enrique Jiménez Ríos, 'El cultivo de la etimología en España durante el siglo XVIII', *Moenia*, 9 (2003): pp. 253–74.

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unveil, as it had done in the centuries before, incontrovertible proofs about the origin of a nation.[80]

80 Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar, *Conversación sobre el Diario de los Literatos en España* (1737), in *Obras Completas*, (ed.) Antonio Mestre Sanchis (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1984), vol. III, p. 427.

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CHAPTER 4

# The Search for Evidence: The Relics of Martyred Saints and Their Worship in Cordoba after the Council of Trent[1]

*Cécile Vincent-Cassy*

The city of Cordoba in southern Spain is famous today for its Muslim history, having been between 929 and 1031 the capital of the Umayyad caliphate, its importance symbolized by its Great Mosque. Because the Mezquita was already regarded as one of the most accomplished monuments of all time, it was not destroyed after the 'Reconquista' of Cordoba by the Christian king Fernando III of Castile in 1236, but converted into the centre of the Cordoban diocese, the cathedral. In the sixteenth century, Emperor Carlos V made a significant modification to the expansive Muslim structure, ordering a nave to be built in the Renaissance style in the centre of the building. Despite these changes, this cathedral remains to this day the embodiment of the splendor and refinement of Muslim art in Spain and a testament to the richness of its past. But for the Cordoban Catholics of the early modern period this was not always easy to accept. In fact, during the Counter-Reformation, the local Catholic authorities in Cordoba were called upon to prove the continuity of the Christian past in spite of major evidence to the contrary. To them it became intolerable that their town, a part of the monarchy ruled by the Catholic king Felipe II, symbolized the dark ages of Spanish Christianity to the entire Catholic world. In the context of the sometimes tense relationship between local and universal religion,[2] from the last quarter of the sixteenth century to

1 I want to warmly thank Katrina B. Olds and Guy Lazure for their comments and critiques, indispensable in the preparation of this chapter and their help with translations.

2 On this topic, see David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992); Alyson M. Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Katrina B. Olds, 'How to Be a Counter-Reformation Bishop: Cardinal Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval in the Diocese of Jaén, 1618–1646', *Sierra Mágina: Revista universitaria*, 12 (2009): pp. 197–213; Simon Ditchfield, 'Martyrs on the Move: Relics as Vindicators of Local Diversity in the Tridentine Church', *Studies in Church History*, 30 (1993): pp. 283–94; and Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

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the second half of the seventeenth century, proving the continuity of the Christian past from the Roman period to the high Middle Ages, through the long Islamic period, became a major preoccupation for Catholic scholars in Cordoba. Only proof of the existence of martyrs persecuted by Christian enemies – whether Roman or Umayyad – would establish that fact irrefutably. Some digging, orchestrated by local Catholic authorities and scholars, would help them to find this proof. In 1575 the restoration works in the parish church of San Pedro unearthed a sepulcher, which contained many skulls and human bones and matched with a stone dating from the Roman period kept in another church. Five names were inscribed on this gravestone: Faustus, Januarius, Marcial, Zoïlus and Acisclus. The bones were immediately identified as the relics of the first three of these men, who were Hispano-Roman martyrs, and although their authenticity was not examined in depth, the bishop could quickly authorize their worship. In fact, by virtue of a traditional episcopal prerogative reaffirmed by the Council of Trent (1545–63), Pope Gregory XIII let the bishop of Cordoba, with the advisory Provincial Council of Bishops of Castile that he summoned, adjudicate the relics. Thanks to the mention of the saints in the *Martyrologium Romanum* and the hagiographies provided by ancient sources, the authentication of the relics was easy. It allowed the bishop of Cordoba to obtain a quick positive sanction by the Holy See, permitting him to authorize the worship of the relics in 1583. The reference to these martyrs in the most famous collective hagiography of early modern times, the *Flos sanctorum* published by the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira, in the second volume of the work dedicated to *santos extravagantes*, attests to the acceptance of their legitimacy by 1601.[3] Ribadeneira, who was writing in Rome, at the centre of the Catholic world, summarized why and how the authenticity of these relics had been resolved by a 1583 provincial council.

> In martyred saint Eulogius' texts there are frequent references to the church of these saints in Cordoba, where their bodies were kept and worshipped, and he sometimes calls them the 'three martyrs'. The *Martyrologium Romanum* set their feast on October 13th, even though St Isidorus, Bede and Usuardus mentioned it on September 28th. On November 21, 1575, while excavating beneath the floor of the church of San Pedro of Cordoba – formerly the cathedral – a thick stone sepulcher with some inscriptions was found. The inscriptions appeared to mention the presence of the martyred saints of Jesus Christ Faustus, Januarius and Marcial, Zoïlus, Acisclus and *others*. The case was discussed with Pope Gregory XIII, who forwarded it to the provincial council, which met in

3 The *santos extravagantes* were those who, without being the object of universal worship, had been recorded as part of the *Roman Martyrology*, published in 1583.

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> Toledo in 1582. The council was headed by Cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo, and on January 23, 1583, it declared that the relics in question had to be worshipped by all Christians as relics of saints, who reign with God in heaven. The martyrdom of these saints is related by Marineo Siculo, who cites ancient memorials and books, and also by Surius in his 7th tome. In the Toledan breviary there is also a hymn to their victories and praises.[4]

Since, on the one hand, St Acisclus (Acisclo), whose name was among those mentioned on the inscribed stone, was already the patron saint of the town together with his sister, St Victoria, and his relics were supposedly kept in the *iglesia de los Mártires del Colodro* (church of the martyrs), and on the other hand, St Zoïlus' relics were venerated in the monastery of the same name in the town of Carrión, Castile, the discovery was partly embarrassing, as it contradicted other churches' claims. So, in 1583 the provincial council left the matter open to the possibility of a revision, stating that the celebration of the feast of Saints Faustus, Januarius, Marcial and 'other' martyrs, without specifying their names, as well as the feast of the 'invention' of the sacred relics on November 25th, would now be authorized in the city of Cordoba. Bernardo de Fresneda, bishop of Cordoba, also ordered in the meantime that many other relics be properly stored and displayed. This order was fulfilled in 1584 with the solemn installation of the *santa arca* (sacred case) of the relics on the martyrs' altar built inside the church of San Pedro.[5] As previously stated, five names

4 'En el martir san Eulogio muchas vezes ay mencion de la Yglesia destos santos de Cordoba, donde se conservavan, y eran reverenciados sus cuerpos, llamandola algunas vezes los tres martires. Dello haze mencion el Martirologio Romano a treze de Otubre, aunque san Isidoro, Beda y Usuardo ponen su fiesta a 28 de Setiembre. El año de 1575 a ventiuno de Noviembre, cavando un cimiento de la Yglesia de san Pedro de Cordoba (que fue antiguamente Catedral) se descubrio un sepulcro de piedra tosca con ciertas letras, que leidas señalavan estar alli los santos martires de Iesu Christo, Faustus, Ianuario, y Marcial, Zoylo, y Acisclus, *y otros*: y aviendose consultado el negocio con el Papa Gregorio XIII su Santidad lo remitio al Concilio Provincial, que se celebró en Toledo, año de 1582. Presidiendo en el don Gaspar de Quiroga, Cardenal y Arçobispo de Toledo, y a los 23 de Enero de 1583 declaro el Concilio, que las tales reliquias devian ser reverenciadas de todos los fieles Christianos, como reliquias de Santos, que reynan con Dios en el cielo. El martirio destos Santos sacò Marineo Siculo, de los libros y memorias antiguas, y se refiere en el septimo tomo de Surio: y en el Breviario Toledano ay un himno en que se cantan sus alabanças y vitorias'. Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Segunda parte del Flos sanctorum, o Libro de las vidas de los santos. En la qual se contienen las vidas de muchos Santos de todos estados, que comunmemnte llaman Extravagantes* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624 [1601]), p. 104.

5 Martín de Roa, *Flos sanctorum. Fiestas, i santos naturales de la Ciudad de Cordoua* (Seville: Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra, 1615), 'Historia de la invencion de los santos Martires Fausto, Ianuario, Marcial, Zoilo, i Acisclo, con otros muchos', fols. 163r–177r.

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were mentioned on the stone discovered in 1575, but only three of them were then linked to the sacred bones. Many of the relics found with the stone were set aside to be examined further at a later date: these were the 'others' mentioned by Pedro de Ribadeneira in his text. They would be the subject of another promotional campaign at the beginning of the seventeenth century aiming to identify them as martyred saints of the Muslim period.

However, for those who did not share the belief in the continuity of the Cordoban Christian past, the veracity of these relics, especially those that had not been identified at once, was questionable.[6] In the wake of Protestant attacks on the authenticity of relics, disagreement arose throughout the Catholic world about the relics of saints and martyrs from the early Chrisitian period, which could be used to prove the continuity and 'excellence' of some dioceses' Christianity. In Spain, some of the major scholars of the reign of Felipe II took part in these debates. The Cordoban relics were a major point of contention, as it was crucial for the Spanish crown to demonstrate the perfection of its Catholicity despite eight centuries of Islamic presence in Spain.

Some lines of the *Historia eclesiástica de España*, published by Francisco de Padilla in 1605,[7] called into question the existence of authentic relics belonging to the martyrs of Cordoba who had been subject to Roman as well as to Muslim persecution. Padilla was part of a network of scholars and declared that he was indebted to Ambrosio de Morales, Felipe II's famous chronicler, Juan de Marieta, author of the *Historia eclesiástica de todos los santos de España* (1594), and Alonso de Villegas, who had mentioned the relics in the second volume of his already renowned *Flos sanctorum* (Toledo, 1584).[8] But above all, Padilla noted that another royal chronicler, Esteban de Garibay, had affirmed that the

6 'If *saint* – whether canonized or merely aspiring – constituted an ambiguous and contested category, so did *relic*, as the criteria and procedures for evaluating the physical remains of purported saints remained ill-defined'; Katrina B. Olds, 'The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), p. 137.

7 Francisco de Padilla, *Historia eclesiástica de España. Primera parte que contiene cinco centurias en que se trata del principio y progressos que tuuo la religion christiana en España* (Málaga: Claudio Bolan, 1605). On Padilla's history of the Spanish Church, see Katherine Van Liere, 'Renaissance Chroniclers and the Apostolic Origins of Spanish Christianity', in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, (ed.) Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 121–44; Van Liere also dedicates a chapter to Ambrosio de Morales, asserting that 'Morales' ultimate aim was to reaffirm, not to undermine, most of the legends of first-century Spanish Christianity that had become commonplace in the national chronicles since the 1530s'; p. 139.

8 'Estos Santos Martires comunmente estan reputados por hijos de San Marcelo, y por tales los cuentan el Flos Sanctorum, Vaseo, Morales, y Marieta, y escriven el Maestro Alonso de Villegas y Ambrosio de Morales, ser comun y antigua Tradicion en Cordoba'; Padilla, *Historia eclesiástica*, fol. 203v.

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bodies of the martyrs had been transported to Toulouse, in France, where they were venerated in the church of St Saturnin.[9] Nevertheless, neither Esteban de Garibay nor Ambrosio de Morales had any real proof that they could produce. Padilla, like the other scholars, does not even mention the inscriptions that were present on the stone of the sepulchers.

But beginning in 1602–03, when an epidemic of plague struck Cordoba, local scholars started to bring forth some new evidence and to build an argument to demonstrate the authenticity of the 'other' bones. The wealth of relics was a treasure that the contemporary Cordoban historians would help to reveal by producing commentaries on so-called rediscovered ancient sources, mainly textual forgeries that they believed were true. In the case we are examining, the main source used by the scholars was the *Memorialis Sanctorum*, written by the Cordoban St Eulogius, rediscovered at the end of the sixteenth century and reedited by Ambrosio de Morales in 1574.[10] Throughout the seventeenth century, they would enrich, excite and restore the devotion and affection of their fellow citizens for the 'forgotten' local martyr saints by giving stories and bodies to these names found on the inscribed stones of old graves.

This phenomenon is similar to the one observed in the case of the saints of Arjona a few decades later,[11] the Sacromonte of Granada,[12] and the *Santo*

9 'Esto dize Ambrosio de Morales, y es cosa sin duda aver en aquella Iglesia reliquias destos Santos Martires, que parte dellas fueron halladas el año de mil y quinientos y setenta y siete (de que se tratará en su propio lugar) aunque Estevan de Garivay … dize desta manera. *En la ciudad de Córdoba Ilustrada no solo con letras y milicia, pero aun con mucha Santidad, padecieron martirio por Nuestra Santa Fe San Acisclus y su hermana Santa Victoria, cuyos cuerpos bienaventurados están en grande veneración en Francia, en la Ciudad de Tolosa, en la Iglesia de San Saturnino*'; Padilla, *Historia eclesiástica*, fols. 205v–206r.

10 Eulogio de Cordoba, *Diui Eulogii Cordubensis martyris. Opera studio et diligentia* (Alcalá de Henares: J. Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1574).

11 Cécile Vincent-Cassy, 'Los santos re-fundadores. El caso de Arjona (Jaén) en el siglo XVII', in *L'imaginaire du territoire en Espagne et au Portugal* (*XVI*e*–XVII*e *siècles*), (ed.) François Delpech (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), pp. 193–214. Also see Katrina B. Olds, 'Visions of the Holy in Counter-Reformation Spain: The Discovery and Creation of Relics in Arjona, c.1628', in *The Vision Thing: Studying Divine Intervention*, (ed.) William A. Christian and Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, 2009), pp. 135–56. For a framework of the contemporary forgeries, see Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); and Olds, 'The *False Chronicles*, Cardinal Baronio and Sacred History in Counter-Reformation Spain', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 100 (2014): pp. 1–26; and Olds, 'The Ambiguities of the Holy'.

12 A. Katie Harris, 'Forging History. The Plomos of Granada in Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's *Historia eclesiástica*', *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 30 (1999): pp. 945–66, and her book: *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

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*Rostro* of Jaén about which a local scholar named Juan Acuña del Adarve published a hefty tome in 1637.[13] Acuña del Adarve was connected to the local religious authorities at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and his treatise is an apology for a particular image, presented as the end point of a sacred itinerary that began in Jerusalem. The *Santo Rostro* of Jaén is believed, he says, to be a relic of the *vera icona*, the true image that resulted from the impression at Calvary of Christ's sweat and bloody face on Veronica's veil. This relic had been the object of great devotion in Jaén since the late Middle Ages. It attracted one of the most important pilgrimages in Spain and was considered by Catholic authorities in Jaén to have the same value as the Roman Holy Face. At stake was the idea that the local cult would compete with the Roman cult. But with his treatise, Acuña del Adarve sought to exalt the relic of Jaén without suggesting that the Roman one was of less value. On the contrary, he raised the local relic, and the local cult, to the same rank as the Veil of Veronica kept in St Peter's Basilica, at the very heart of the Catholic Church. For this purpose, the author had first and foremost to prove the authenticity of the *Santo Rostro* of Jaén, and to this end he deemed no strategy unworthy. As he could not base his demonstration on the miracles that the relic had produced – they were in fact non-existent – he based it on the veneration shown for the object by local inhabitants since time immemorial. In his treatise, this long-standing and profound devotion, which could not be doubted, became a proof of divine truth. The discursive structure of this text rested on the idea that the veracity of this relic spoke to the true devotees. Acuña del Adarve, a local scholar of the diocese adjoining that of Cordoba, faced the same theological problem of evidence that the scholars faced in Cordoba and, of course, elsewhere in the Catholic world. To address this problem, they wrote local histories anchored in sacred traces and outlined a geography based on Christian vestiges that they knew very well because they were themselves living there. This position allowed them to speak as true witnesses, and even as true devotees, with a true discourse that they claimed to have. In fact, their challenge was to prove the authentic presence of the Savior in their land, their diocese, their town, in

13 Juan Acuña del Adarve, *Discursos de las effigies y verdaderos retratos non manufactos del santo rostro y cuerpo de Christo* (Villanueva de Andújar: J. Furgolla de la Cuesta, 1637). The book was commissioned by the bishop, and is dedicated to him: 'Al Eminentissimo, y Reverendissimo Señor don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval, Presbytero Cardenal de la Santa Iglesia de Roma, del titulo de Santa Cruz de Hierusalen, Obispo de Jaen, del Consejo de su Magestad'. On this treatise see Cécile Vincent-Cassy, 'L'inventaire des empreintes sacrées. Le discours de Juan Acuña del Adarve sur les Saintes Face (Jaén, 1637)', in *Folclore y leyendas en la península ibérica. En torno a la obra de François Delpech*, (ed.) Hélène Tropé and María Tausiet (Madrid: CSIC, 2014), pp. 81–98.

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short their *patria*, going back to apostolic times. The easiest strategy for them was then to found their whole discourse upon the materiality of some tangible evidence: relics venerated by them and by their fellow devotees. But again, they had to identify that these objects did indeed belong to Christians and were not the bones of non-Christian people. The most direct way to do so would be to identify miracles produced by the relics. But miracles had to be proven too and, as we see in the example of the *Santo Rostro*, sometimes they were non-existent. So, the power of devotion since time immemorial was used as an argument of last resort. All these authors of treatises confronted the religious objects, relics and images of their lands, trying by all possible means to reveal their truth. In the case of Cordoba, scholars linked to the diocesan authorities had to develop strategies to identify the 'other' relics discovered in 1575 that were different from the ones Acuña del Adarve had used. They claimed that the plague was a punishment for the lack of devotion their fellow citizens showed for the relics.

Some *revelaciones* made to Andrés de Roelas, parish priest of San Pedro of Cordoba, shortly after the discovery of the new relics in his church in 1575, were directly used to promote their worship beginning in 1601–02. These 'revelations' were recorded in the deposition made by the priest to the diocesan council of Cordoba in 1578, and this text constitutes a real piece of bravura in the creation of a primitive Christian past. But the text of the *Revelaciones* was kept secret by a priest named Juan del Pino until the beginning of the following century. Juan del Pino was one of the authors of the diocesan liturgical office, which was published for the first time in the *Officia propria Cordvbensis ecclesiae: D.N.P.P. Gregorij XIII et Clementis VIII, auctoritate approb.*[14] As we shall see, the *Revelaciones* first served to create a link between the martyred saints and the Cordoban people and to authenticate some new relics. By doing so, it imposed upon the Cordoban people the intercession of those saints and their patronage. However, in a second phase, the archangel Raphael, *medicina Dei*, intervening in the text of the *Revelaciones* to excite devotion to the martyr saints, was finally recognized himself, even more so than the martyr saints, as the true custodian of the community of Cordoba: his presence, contrary to that of the martyr saints, was undeniable.

In the first and second 'revelations' made to Father Andrés de Roelas, five knights dressed all in white appear. In the text, which later on circulated as part of the short work by Pedro Díaz de Ribas printed in the middle of the seventeenth century by commission of the city of Cordoba,[15] we learn that the

14 Cordoba: Gabriel Ramos Bejarano, 1601.

15 Díaz de Ribas, *El Archangel S. Rafael*.

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first apparition took place on Holy Saturday in 1578. Andrés de Roelas had gone out to take some air because he was not feeling well. The five knights who then appeared to the priest, even though they left no trace of their passage on the ground after their disappearance, were without a doubt the five martyred saints already identified. In fact, Roelas heard one of them say that he recognized the mountain where he had been arrested by the Romans.[16] These characters also represented the knights of the Apocalypse, that is, prophetic beings. In this vision, they said to the parish priest that the city would undergo great hardship[17] and that the remedy would be to honor the other recently discovered relics of the martyred saints. Their request underscored, first and foremost, the insufficient honor that was being paid to the sacred bones found in the church of San Pedro. It must be said that the absence of reliquaries worthy of the name contradicted the text of the decree given at the final session of the Council of Trent on saints, relics and images.[18] Reliquaries would have permitted the worship of the saints to be related to an object.[19]

A month later, as it is told in the *Revelaciones*, Father Roelas reported a second vision, which he had while asleep, to the rector of the Cordoban church of La Magdalena, as he stood next to him in a procession to pray for rain, with the holy relics of the martyrs at his side. The *Revelaciones* insisted on the importance of placing the relics in reliquaries where they could be seen and venerated.[20] In a third vision, a young man dressed in a white robe, compared

16 'Qué grande montaña era esto por aquí quando á mí me prendieron'; *Revelaciones del Venerable Presbytero*, in Díaz de Ribas, *El Archangel S. Rafael*, fol. 22r.

17 'Enfermedades, trabajos y flujos de sangre'; *Revelaciones del Venerable Presbytero*, in Díaz de Ribas, *El Archangel S. Rafael*, fol. 22r.

18 For a discussion of this text, see Pierre A. Fabre, *Décréter l'image? La XXV^e^ session du Concile de Trente* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2013).

19 'Stripped of its reliquary, the protective casing that signaled the presence of the holy, or severed from the human communities and memories that endowed the remains with meaning, the relic became a mere bone, the anonymous remains of any common mortal'; Katie Harris, 'Gift, Sale and Theft. Juan de Ribera and the Sacred Economy of Relics in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 18 (2014), p. 206.

20 This was made at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the procession of the relics took place during the plague epidemic. Juan del Pino describes the reliquaries, ceremonies and decorations for the feasts celebrated in 1601, in his letter of 1602: 'el cabildo desta yglesia … acordó … hazer una Arca que cupiesse en la de mis señores los santos … y su viril de dentro porque se viessen y gozassen las santas reliquias puestas en el Altar, cubrenla de brocado con quatro cartones muy lindos y redondos de mas de tercia en alto puestos en los quatro lados del arca en los que les yvan pintados muchos santos nuestros muy hermosamente … y días de julio los llevaron con solemníssima procesión y devoción grande a la catedral: duró por lo menos tres horas el llegar alla el adereço de las calles

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by Roelas to the robes of the Commanders of the Military Order of Alcántara, sat for the first time near his bed. The parish priest reported that he asked the still-nameless being who had appear in the night about the utility of the reliquaries. The man in white reprimanded him because he had not believed the five knights in white who had appeared several days earlier. His intervention, according to the account, would serve to put pressure on the ecclesiastical authorities to order a reliquary for the sacred bones of the martyrs that had been found shortly before in the church of San Pedro. The priest was the instrument of the divine word: the relics of the *patria*'s saints were to be honored.[21] There would be other interventions of this kind. Eventually, Andrés de Roelas received a second visit from the character in the white tunic who had already appeared alone. Only at that point did he reveal his name: Raphael ('I swear by Jesus Christ crucified that I am Raphael, angel whom God has designated as the patron of this town').[22] This sentence would be the foundation of a subsequent reconstruction based on the revelations that were commissioned by the municipal authorities and published later in the seventeenth century, at the moment when Raphael was elected patron saint of Cordoba. Throughout this

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que infinidad de sedas e ymagines por las paredes, no se puede contar tanto que hizo acordarme del nuestro sacromonte alla tanta aromata in Hierusalem, que se dize de la Reyna Saba; … hasta colocar la Arca santa en el altar donde se le hizieron los nuebe dias siguientes solemnissimas fiestas y sermones con que sucedió luego la salud tan defensa, donde se tuvieron nuestros sanctos con grande reverencia y devocion de todos hasta el dia y fiesta de nuestros benditissios Fausto, Januario y Martial'; RAH, 9/3666 (105[2]), letter, [1602].

21 'Porque tiempo ha de venir que ha de hazer Dios misericordia con este pueblo, por intercession de los huesos destos mártyres; porque han de suceder graves enfermedades, y pestes, y sobre las mugeres fluxos de sangre … es verdad que con quien lo aveis de comunicar ha sido de opinion contraria, mas no obstante eso dezidselo; y mas os digo, que las enfermedades han de ser tan graves, que habrá necessidad de traer los huesos destos mártyres por las collaciones en procession y por la calles dellas. Y para esto decilde que haga hazer un relicario grande en que sean puestos los huessos destos Mártires; y que sea este relicario con viriles, porque manifiestamente puedan ver los dichos huesos. Yo le dixe que para qué eran aquellos viriles. Respondióme, yo os lo diré, porque Dios es servido que su Imagen y la de su Madre y de sus Santos las tengan los hombres delante de los ojos para que allí le pidan el remedio de sus necessidades y hagan sus devociones. Y así viendo visiblemente los huesos destos martyres pidan á nuestro Señor con mayor devocion el remedio de sus necessidades'; *Revelaciones del Venerable Presbytero*, in Díaz de Ribas, *El Archangel S. Rafael*, fol. 23r.

22 'Yo te juro por Jesu Christo crucificado que soy Raphael Angel a quien tiene Dios puesto por guarda desta ciudad'; *Revelaciones del Venerable Presbytero*, in Díaz de Ribas, *El Archangel S. Rafael*, fol. 24r.

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text, the patronage of the archangel was intimately linked with the invention of the holy relics of the city martyrs and the promotion of their cult. There are, then, three different moments to keep in mind: 1575–83, when the new bones were discovered and identified as the relics of martyred saints; 1601–02, when the 'revelations' made to Andrés de Roelas were revealed to the public and the image of the archangel Raphael was used to promote the worship of the martyr saints; and the second half of the seventeenth century, when the archangel Raphael, who had played a role in the identification of the 'other' martyrs, was declared *custodio* of Cordoba.

Going back to the first period, the reaction of Father Roelas, according to what he says, was to ask for advice from local theologians. He would find them, along with the rector of the church of La Magdalena, at the local Jesuit monastery. Roelas consulted Enrique Enríquez (1535–1608), *catedrático* at the universities of Cordoba and Salamanca, and another priest named Saeliz, about whom we know little. Through them, he connected with the network of Cordoban 'antiquarians'.

In the second period, the context in which these revelations first circulated (in several manuscripts) is important, since during 1601 and 1602 a terrible plague epidemic was ravaging Cordoba, as well as other parts of the Iberian Peninsula and Europe. Juan del Pino, the priest who had transcribed the revelations of Andrés de Roelas, mentioned in a 1601 letter that the plague had already killed six thousand people in Cordoba.[23] Since the situation was so dire, the devotion to the martyred saints identified in 1575 was no longer regarded as sufficient to protect the Cordobans. The number of protectors was no match for the danger posed by the epidemic. As usual, a procession was organized, from the church of San Pedro to the cathedral. It took place on the day of the feast of St Argimiro, one of the 'other' holy martyrs whose relics were supposedly preserved in the urn at San Pedro, but which had not been authenticated in 1575 at the same time as the bones of Saints Faustus, Januarius, Marcial, Acisclus and Zoïlus. According to the *Crónica general* of Ambrosio de Morales, St Argimiro had supposedly been a victim of the Muslims in the ninth century. Perceiving that the illness appeared to taper off following this procession, Juan del Pino decided to present the 'revelations' of Andrés de Roelas which he had kept secret since the time of the deposition. Pino argued for the presumed miraculous power, or effectiveness, of these unauthenticated relics and aimed to provide some proof of identification. In the 'revelations', the

23 'Tres cosas se offrecen que dezir en esta a v. p., la primera, que como dende el año pasado de 601 ha durado en nuestra Cordoba esta terrible enfermedad, en que se abia llevado nuestro señor hasta fin de junio seys mil personas'; RAH, 9/3666 (105[2]), [1602].

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archangel authenticated several of the relics from the church of San Pedro, including that of St Argimiro. He told Andrés de Roelas:

> The Provisor [diocesan authority] told you that, if I were to return to you, you should ask me who were those martyrs whom I had spoken to you about. Tell him that they are the ones that the stone says, and many others as well: among them Perfectus Presbitero, and Argimirus Monje, Leovigildus, and Christopher, Victoria, Flora and Maria, Helias, and Hieremias, and others.[24]

These 'revelations' must then be understood as part of the aforementioned battle that was raging among Cordoban scholars to prove the authenticity of the relics found at San Pedro. What was at stake was proving that all the Cordoban martyr saints, not only those from the late Roman period, but also those who had been tortured by the Muslims, were buried together in the same spot as Saints Acisclus, Faustus, Januarius, Zoïlus, Pelagius and Eulogius. The demonstration of the continuity of the Christian past, through the communion of martyrs, was finding its material and 'obvious' translation in the gathering of sacred bones.[25] By focusing on this corporal evidence, the Cordoban network was considering Spanish history as a *continuum* beginning with the evangelization of Spain by Santiago and his disciples in the first century. In a way, these 'antiquarians' were constructing a response to what was happening in nearby Granada since the Lead Books of the Sacromonte had been discovered in 1595. They totally rejected the inclusion of the Muslim past as anything but a time of persecutions for Christianity. This is precisely what the Jesuit Martín de Roa (1559–1637) claimed in the prologue of the *Flos sanctorum* dedicated to the city of Cordoba in 1615:

> Either by the power of arms or by voluntary surrender, Cordoba gave way to two foreign Empires, the Roman and the Arab, both enemies of the Christian name. The first attempted to eradicate it altogether, while the others desired to do the same. The former looked for or created occasions

24 'el Provisor te dixo, que si a ti bolviesse que me preguntases quien eran aquellos Mártires de quien yo te avia tratado. Dile que los que dize la piedra son, y otros muchos más: entre los quales están, Perfecto Presbitero, y Argimiro Monje, Leovigildo, y Christoval, Victoria, Flora y Maria, Helías, y Hieremías, y otros'; *Revelaciones del Venerable Presbytero*, in Díaz de Ribas, *El Archangel S. Rafael*, fol. 24r.

25 We have discussed the question of the communion of saints and of the collective worship in Olivier Marin and Cécile Vincent-Cassy (eds.), *La Cour céleste. La commémoration collective des saints. Entre accumulation et communion ecclésiale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

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> to do it, while the latter took them whenever they could find them; the Romans because the cross scandalized them, the Moors because of their hatred for Christians. In both periods Christians suffered persecutions which they endured until they vanquished by dying for Jesus Christ. The first ones were St Acisclus and St Vitoria, siblings, Patrons of this city; Saints Faustus, Januarius, Marcial and Zoïlus with nineteen companions, Sandalius and Secundinus along with many others that Breviaries and Spanish Calendars of Saints refer to, and general martyrologies name. The first when Rome ruled in Spain; the rest, in much greater number, when the Arabs reigned. I do justice to the memory of all of them, as taken from the reports of our ancient histories, printed and manuscript Flores Sanctorum, breviaries from centuries past and present, and especially from the glorious Doctor St Eulogius, eyewitness to their triumphs and their historian, strength of the Martyrs' fortress in their battles, their brother in arms, victor, and Martyr himself.[26]

The author of these lines, Martín de Roa, was a zealous defender of the greatness of Andalusia's Christian past. As a member of the circle of Cordoban scholars linked to the diocesan authorities and of the Society of Jesus, he became a key figure in the seventeenth-century promotion of the cults of local martyr saints, which finally imposed Raphael as the protector of the city.

Roa has been a major figure in the Spanish 'Republic of Letters', occupying an eminent place among Góngora and Ambrosio de Morales, Bernardo José de Aldrete, the author of *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana* (1606), and

26 'Dio silla Cordoba, ya por fuerça de armas, ya por entrega de voluntad, a dos Imperios estraños Romano, i Arabe, enemigos anbos del nonbre Christiano. Procuravan los unos acabarlo de todo punto, los otros desseavanlo: buscavan aquellos las ocasiones, i haziallas a mano para hazerlo: tomavanlas estotros quando las hallavan. Los Romanos por el escandalo de la Cruz, los Moros por el odio a los Christianos. Padecieron estos en anbos tienpos persecucion, i siguieronla hasta vencer muriendo por Iesu Cristo. Los primeros San Acsiclo, i Santa Vitoria ermanos, Patronos de esta ciudad: los santos Faustus, Ianuario, Marcial, Zoïlus con diez i nueve conpañeros, Sandalio, i Secundino, con muchos otros, que refieren Breviarios, i Santorales de España, i nonbran generales Martirologios. Estos inperando Roma en España: los demas, i en mucho mayor numero, reinando los Arabes en lo mas della. Hago de los unos, i de los otros justa memoria, sacada de memorias antiguas de nuestras historias, Flos Sanctorum inpressos, i escritos de mano, Breviarios de siglos passados, i presentes: i especialmente del glorioso Dotor S. Eulogio, testigo de vista de sus triunfos, e historiado dellos: despertador, i esfuerço de la fortaleza de los Martires en sus batallas, el tambien compañero en ellas, vencedor, i Martir'; Martín de Roa, *Flos sanctorum*, s.f.

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the Sevillian Rodrigo Caro, all of whom he knew and visited frequently. Although he is far from being unknown to current scholars, we are still waiting for a general synthesis of his role in the community of Spanish 'antiquarians'. He was one of the principal figures in the creation of *historias particulares* (local sacred histories) linked to the post-Tridentine liturgical revision, a phenomenon that has been explored in detail by scholars since the pioneering work of William A. Christian and Simon Ditchfield.[27]

Born in Cordoba, Martín de Roa spent his entire life in Andalusia, residing in his birth place but also in Montilla, Baeza, Seville, Jerez de la Frontera and Málaga. His bibliography was established by Sommervogel[28] and Simón Díaz,[29] who were both inspired by the *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* of Nicolás Antonio (1617–84),[30] before being taken up by Estanislao Olivares in a 1994 article.[31] Among Roa's many works, a group of printed texts was dedicated to local saints. These histories were probably all written between 1612 and 1615 but printed later on. A letter sent to Roa in January 1613 by the General of the Company of Jesus mentions the liberty he was given to devote himself to his 'studies'. This is how, after being released from his duties as rector of the college of Écija, Roa settled in Cordoba and began publishing.[32] The *Flos sanctorum,*

27 William A. Christian, *Local religion in sixteenth-century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). Also Christian, *Moving Crucifixes in Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*. Also see Van Liere, Ditchfield and Louthan (eds.), *Sacred History*.

28 Carlos Sommervogel and Augustin and Aloys de Backer, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Louvain: Éditions de la Bibliothèque SJ Collège philosophique et théologique, 1960) [Brussels, Paris: 1853–61].

29 José Simón Díaz, *Jesuitas de los siglos XVI y XVII, escritos localizados* (Madrid: FUE, 1975).

30 Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana, sive Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve sive latina, sive populari, sive aliā quāvis linguā scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia* (Rome: N.A. Tinassii, 1672).

31 'Martín de Roa, S.J. (1559–1637). Biografía, Escritos', *Archivo Teológico Granadino*, 57 (1994): pp. 139–236. See also Jorge Grau Jiménez, 'Un epigrama no censado de Martín de Roa (1586)', *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos*, 24 (2004), pp. 319–32; Antonio Martín Pradas and Inmaculada Carrasco Gómez (ed.), *Martín de Roa. Historia de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Compañía de Jesús* (*1553–1662*), (Écija: Asociación de Amigos de Écija, 2005); Jorge Grau Jiménez, 'Nueva revisión del catálogo de la obra de Martín de Roa, SJ', in Wenceslao Soto Artuñedo (ed.), *Los jesuitas en Andalucía. Estudios conmemorativos del 450 aniversario de la fundación de la provincia*, (ed.) Wenceslao Soto Artuñedo (ed.) (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007): pp. 399–413.

32 '[ya] se hallará libre [de rectorado del colegio de Écija] y en Córdoba atendiendo a su estudio'; Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI], *Baetica* 4.11, fol. 3, quoted by E. Olivares, 'Martín de Roa (1559–1637)', p. 161.

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*fiestas i santos naturales de la ciudad de Cordoua*, which could be called his *magna opera hagiographica*, was printed in Seville in 1615,[33] while the collective hagiography dedicated to the patron saints of Jerez de la Frontera, *Santos Honorio, Eutichio, Estevan, patronos de Xerez de la Frontera*, came out in 1617. A few years later, in 1622, he published a history of Málaga entitled *Malaga: su fundacion, su antiguedad eclesiastica i seglar, sus santos Ciriaco i Paula*. In 1629, Roa successively came out with a monograph on the *Monasterio antiguo de San Cristoval en Cordoba* and a book on the saints of Écija, *Ecija, sus santos, su antiguedad eclesiastica i seglar*. Finally, in 1636, shortly before his death, he sent to the presses his translation of his *Antiguo Principado de Cordoba en la España Vlterior o Andaluz*, published in 1601 in Latin.[34] As we can observe, Martín de Roa expended tremendous energy in linking his own times to those of the primitive local Church, bringing to the fore the traces that the early Church had left in each particular *patria*. What he attempted to demonstrate, just like other 'antiquarians' working on local churches, was that the blood of Christian martyrs had irrigated, penetrated and infiltrated the soil, the very earth to which they belonged, and this fact sanctified that soil for eternity. This is why, in the *Flos sanctorum* dedicated to the saints of Cordoba, the author emphasized the proto-martyrs of that city, St Acisclus and St Victoria, its patron saints. In the preamble to their hagiography, he explained that their sacrifice, at the beginning of the fourth century, prepared a fertile ground for the miraculous plants that the land had produced since then.[35] In other words, his discourse was built on the idea that the martyrs' blood had forever converted Cordoba as a whole to the History of Redemption. From this perspective, the traces left by the Muslims – who had occupied this land for six centuries, until the kingdom of Cordoba was reconquered in the thirteenth century – were

33 Martín de Roa, *Flos sanctorum*.

34 Amongst his renowned books, there is also the *Estado de los bienauenturados en el Cielo, de los niños en el Limbo, de los condenados en el Infierno* of 1624 and the *Beneficios del Sto. Angel de Nuestra Guarda* of 1632.

35 'Consagraron aquí con sus huellas, las plaças, i calles, por donde ahora andamos; las aguas, que bevemos, el rio que gozamos, las casas donde vivimos. Fueron los primeros, que regaron con su sangre este suelo; i con sus preciosas Reliquias fertilizaron esta tierra: de manera, que produxo milagrosas plantas de toda suerte de gentes: que trasplantadas en el Cielo, son parte de aquel celestial paraiso: i apacientan con la hermosura de los frutos de sus excelentes virtudes, la vista, i animo de sus moradores: i con el verdor de sus ramas, esto es con el valor de su intercession, hazen sonbra a la tierra, donde anparados sus ciudadanos, hallan escudo contra los golpes de fortuna, remedio en todos los males desta vida, defensa contra los demonios, i entrada con Dios'; Martín de Roa, *Flos sanctorum*, fol. 157v.

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somehow traces of a Christian past. Martín de Roa wanted to demonstrate that the centuries of Islamic rule in Al-Andalus, like the Roman period, had been a Christian era, through martyrdom. The evidence for this had to be reaffirmed, as the Christian sacrifice was inscribed in the objects left in the soil: relics, stones, medals. Martín de Roa's prolific works have to be explained and understood, then, as a whole within the context of the discovery of the forged Lead Books in the nearby town of Granada at the end of the sixteenth century. These Lead Books asserted the continuity of the Christian past in Andalusia and beyond, in all of Spain.[36] In this context, we can regard the making of sacred history as a process of revelation based on the sacred traces found in the different lands of Andalusia. The 'antiquarians' were in charge of unveiling or revealing – that is, bringing to the fore – the traces of Christianity for their readers.

When Martín de Roa put the finishing touches on his *Flos sanctorum, fiestas i santos naturales de la ciudad de Cordoua*, he was just returning from Rome, where he had spent 1611–12 as part of a congregation of Jesuit representatives (this was the only time he left Spain). Back in Cordoba, in 1613, the tomb of the aforementioned Juan del Pino, a local 'antiquarian' who had died with an aura of sanctity about him, had recently been opened on the occasion of the burial of Leonor Rodríguez, Pino's sister-in-law. According to legend, the body of this priest was discovered intact, which helped to corroborate his saintly reputation. After his death, and even to this day, Cordoban scholars refer to him as the 'venerable Juan del Pino'. For Martín de Roa at the beginning of

36 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). We will simply reproduce some lines of the introduction to recall this chapter of history: 'In the late sixteenth century there appeared in Granada, under miraculous circumstances, some small circular leaves of lead incised with strange, archaic Arabic letters like those used in epigraphic inscriptions, amulets, and magical formulas. The Lead Books provided evidence of the presence of Saint James in Spain and of the belief – which had not yet been declared a dogma of the Church – in the Immaculate Conception of Mary;' pp. 1–2. The most interesting aspect of this work, for our purpose, is the discussion in chapter 6 of the way Al-Andalus was incorporated into the History of Spain by scholars in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. On the topic of relics, the child saints Justus and Pastor, transferred to Alcalá de Henares in 1567, serve as an example of continuity for Ambrosio de Morales, Felipe II's famous chronicler, in his book *La vida, el martyrio, la invención, las grandezas y las translaciones de los gloriosos niños martyres San Iusto y Pastor* (Alcalá de Henares: Blas de Robles, 1568), asserts: 'the chapel of the saints was always Christian, even in Moorish times, like many other churches that remained in Spain, where the Moors permitted their captives and subjects to join together in all the rites that our religion demands'; fols. 11v–12r.

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the seventeenth century, Pino's reputation as a saint was linked to his work as one of the authors of the diocesan liturgical office. But above all, for Martín de Roa as well as for the Catholic community of Cordoba, Pino's reputation was associated with the *Revelaciones hechas al padre Roelas* of 1578, transcribed by him but held in secret until 1601. His saintly reputation was what would make the *Revelaciones* a reliable source for all the scholars who, like Roa, would work to give body and substance to the diocesan liturgy that had been published in 1601.

Martín de Roa printed his *Flos sanctorum* in 1615. After the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the ecclesiastical authorities of Cordoba – just as in other regional churches – promoted the inclusion of the feast days of their own martyr saints in the martyrology and in the Roman breviary. Letters preserved in the Real Academia de la Historia attest to the epistolary exchanges between Bishop Reinoso of Cordoba, Cardinal Baronius, Juan del Pino and the Jesuit Juan de Pineda, who was in Rome at that time.[37] The latter interceded in 1602–03 to have additional Cordoban saints recorded in the Roman breviary. It

37 Three letters are kept in the Real Academia de la Historia [RAH], 9/3666 (105). They show the leading part that Juan del Pino had in the 'identification' of the martyred-saints, the negociations with the Congregation of Rites for the inscription of their feast in the liturgy, and the promotion of the *Revelaciones* of Father Roelas that we will discuss futher on. We transcribe one of these letters, adressed from Juan del Pino to the Jesuit Juan de Pineda, of 1604: 'Muchas gracias sean dadas a nuestro señor, que ya mi padre Juan de Pineda dexo negociado en Roma lo que yo tantos años ha deseava de mis señores los santos de cordoba el de cabra S. Vuitesindo al qual solo no señalo san eulogio el dia de su Martyrio, queda ya señalado en santos de Mayo, y los santos Habundo, Marcos y compañeros de quien esta Santa Yglesia rezava de tiempo tan antiguo a 13 de julio, que quando se recibio el nuevo breviario Romano, los diputados del cabildo, sin aver cosa alguna en contrario (invicta causa) nos los quitaron del rezado, solo por no conocerlos, se remediara. Yo embie un calendario antiguo, que se arranco de breviario cordoves de ochenta años, con buena informacion, y sellos de la yglesia y ciudad, y testimonio de Rodrigo de Molina escrivano publico con fe de todo. y desde Granada rezien venido me escrivio mi padre Juan de Pineda lo siguiese. El santo de Cabra tiene ya dia señalado por el cardenal Baronio en mi presencia a los 15 de Mayo, los otros santos de cordoba del calendario y breviario antiguo quedara assimismo notado por mano del mismo cardenal para añadirse a el calendario romano a la primera impression y el cardenal muy agradecido a la memoria y oraciones de v. m. las hojas del calendario las buelvo a traer. E dicho todo esto por dos cosas, la una, porque como a v. p. le a costado el rezado de nuestros santos mas que a todos, quando se ofrezca ocasion ayude a concluyrlo, la 2ª para que si es posible se escriva a valladolid pues de alli esta cerca Plazencia o burgos, para que se cobre del secretario de nuestro obispo Reynoso el breve que se llevo del rezado, que alla tiene tan inutil, y aca sera muy de provecho … Amen al padre diego de herrera mis humildes beso manos de cordoba y de diziembre 18 de 1604. Juan del Pino'; [18 December, 1604].

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seems that Martín de Roa had been associated with the 'cause of the Cordoban saints' since at least 1583, when he composed six Latin hymns in honor of the martyred saints Acisclus and Victoria, Zoïlus, Eulogius and Pelagius, published in a short Latin work called *De antiquitate et auctoritate Sanctorum Martyrum Cordubensium*, first edited with the *Officios propios de Cordoba* of 1583. He is clearly a member of a network of scholars who applied 'scientific' logic to the revision of liturgy and sacred history.

In his *Flos sanctorum, fiestas i santos naturales de la ciudad de Cordoba*, published in 1615, Roa created a history that reprised the *Crónica general* of the royal chronicler Ambrosio de Morales, who is known to have settled back in Cordoba at the end of his life.[38] As we have already mentioned, Ambrosio de Morales brought to the Christian history of Cordoba his deep knowledge of the works of St Eulogius, discovered in 1572 by fellow Cordoban Pedro Ponce de León in the Cathedral of Oviedo. St Eulogius' *Memorialis Sanctorum*, which told of the persecution of Christians by Muslims in ninth-century Cordoba and evoked the persecutions of the Roman period, had been published by Morales himself in 1574.[39] The fifth book of his *Crónica general* also included the account of the persecutions endured by St Acisclus and St Victoria, the patron saints of Cordoba, in the Roman period, as well as those of Saints Faustus, Januarius and Marcial.[40] In discussing the two chapters of the *Crónica* (book XIII, chapters 33 and 39) on the Cross of the Angels – a gilded Greek cross set with precious stones and ancient Roman coins that is still kept today in the royal chapel in Oviedo's cathedral – Lucia Binotti argues that 'the physical artifact reveals a set of concrete elements that serve to confirm or deny the miracle and that texts cannot compete with. This is one case where material observation takes precedence in verifying an event of the past and is a first step towards the development of a more rigorous, but less textually based method of scientific observation'.[41] The 'antiquarians' who worked to *convert* the Cordobans to

38 On Ambrosio de Morales, see Lucia Binotti, 'Coins, Jewelry and Inscriptions: Ambrosio de Morales and the Re-Writing of Spanish History', *Hispanófila. Literatura-Ensayos*, 57 (2009), pp. 5–24. Sebastián Sánchez Madrid, *Arqueología y humanismo: Ambrosio de Morales* (Cordoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2002).

39 *Diui Eulogii Cordubensis martyris … Opera studio et diligentia* (Alcalá de Henares: J. Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1574).

40 Florián de Ocampo, *La Coronica general de España, que continuava Ambrosio de Morales* (Alcalá de Henares: J. Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1574), and *Los otros dos libros vndecimo y duodecimo de la Coronica General de España que continuaua Ambrosio de Morales* (Alcalá de Henares: J. Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1577).

41 In her article, Lucia Binotti discusses the way in which Morales strove to develop a method of proof. For this quote, see Bonotti, 'Coins, Jewelry', pp. 15–16.

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the veracity of the martyrs' relics at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century based their demonstration on material evidence. At the beginning of a chapter dedicated to the hagiography of St Acisclus and St Victoria in his *Flos sanctorum* dedicated to 'santos de Cordoba', Martín de Roa expressed his desire to help establish appropriate devotion based on 'natural reason' for 'rational martyrs'.[42] With him, the Cordoban Catholic community was using the material aspect of devotion for the relics in their reliquaries[43] as instruments of proof. In the context of the Counter-Reformation, we see that Christian materiality, to use Caroline Bynum Walker's term,[44] was not only to be controlled by Catholic authorities – the commentaries made by scholars on the 1563 Decree of the Council of Trent have enhanced it – but also potentiated. As already stated, in Spain scholars aimed to use the discovered vestiges to prove the continuity of the Christian past through a centuries-long martyrdom imposed first by Romans and later by Muslims, presented as enemies and executioners of the same type. For this purpose, it was essential for the Catholics to show the articulation between their discourse and their practices, between past and present. If there was no interruption, it would be because the Christian vestiges found in the soil were not *dead* but simply forgotten by the devotees. Vice-versa, if the Spanish past was continuous, the bones found in the same place as the martyrs' remains from Roman times were necessarily also the bones of martyrs. After the Council of Trent, in the face of Protestant critics, the search for veracity led the Catholic Church to demonstrate the relics' historicity.[45]

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42 'DE LOS GLORIOSOS martires San Acisclo, i Santa Vitoria patronos de Cordoba. XVII de Novienbre. Sobre la justa piedad, i devocion, con que onramos las memorias de los Martires, a todos les devemos atencion de orejas, prontitud de lenguas, i aficion de animo; para oir con gusto, i hablar con acierto de sus alabanças, que nos inciten a el estudio de mejor vida: la razon natural, la divina Lei, los Profetas, los Apostoles, i el mismo Christo Señor nuestro primera regla, i dechado de los que despues, i antes padecieron por la justicia; no son enpero de menos provecho los Martires racionales, victimas perfetas, i ofrendas agradables, i aceptas a Dios; para regir los passos de nuestra peregrinacion, para ordenar la vida, i limar las costumbres'; Martín de Roa, *Flos sanctorum*, fol. 157r.

43 For instance, Katie Harris recalls: 'the relic's ontological ambiguity, blending of the human and the divine, the alienable and the inalienable'; Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, p. 226.

44 Caroline Bynum Walker, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

45 Dominique Julia: 'Le concile ouvre donc la voie à une vérification attentive des reliques de la part de l'autorité épiscopale, de manière à ne pas tomber sous le feu des critiques réformées: la quête de la véracité des reliques débouche sur la démonstration de leur historicité'. Also Julia, 'L'église post-tridentine et les reliques. Tradition, controverse et critique

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In fact, a saint's relic is nothing without its authentication. The piece of paper, the *authentica*, is then inseparable from it. The 'antiquarians' were in charge of making it possible for the bones found in the old graves to be taken as archeological remains extracted from the soil that covered their ancient and buried truth. They had then to make them visible to the community of believers. By rekindling their devotion for them, like embers being fanned, the bones would be brought back to life, or be *revealed* like dark images made clear. But since in Cordoba there was neither a traditional cult to the new martyrs whose relics were supposedly found in 1575 – that is, no 'truth of devotion' – nor material evidence in the inscriptions, there was a need for divine authentication. The archangel Raphael appeared to Father Roelas to compensate the lack of historical proofs and then to impose the 'truth'. The angel's image, a figure clad in a white robe, was a thaumaturgical figure – he is, after all, known as *medicina Dei* in the Scriptures.[46] Before 1601–03, the 'revelations' were not considered to be miraculous. They were only the texts of a statement registered by Juan del Pino for the diocesan authorities in 1578. They had juridical status, although virtual, as long as they were kept secret. But when the contents of Andrés de Roelas' deposition happened to be used by local authorities, and started to circulate, they proved at once the authenticity of the relics of the other saints who had been martyred in the Muslim period. The end of the plague demonstrated the special link between the holy city and the divine through the worship of the newly identified martyrs brought in procession in their reliquaries from San Pedro to the cathedral. The interesting point, too, is that the belief in the truth of these 'revelations' depended on the faith placed in the

(XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)', in *Reliques modernes. Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des Réformes aux révolutions*, (ed.) Philippe Boutry, Pierre Antoine Fabre and Dominique Julia (Paris: EHESS, 2009), vol. 1, p. 70.

46 As Émile Mâle recalled, an old representation of the seven archangels was discovered in 1516 on a fourteenth or fifteenth-century fresco under a whitewash in a Carmelite church of Palermo. A Latin inscription mentioned: Michael *victoriosus*, Gabriel *nuncius*, Raphael *medicus*, Barachiel *adjutor*, Jehudiel *remunerator*, Uriel *fortis socius* and Sealtiel *orator*. This discovery in Sicily was regarded as miraculous, and Emperor Carlos V as well as Viceroy Hector Pignatelli financed the building of a new church dedicated to the seven archangels in 1523. Antonio Lo Duca, parish priest of the church, went to Rome to propagate the new devotion, and in 1555 published a book entitled *Septem Principum angelorum orationem et eorum misse*. In 1541 he had also received a celestial revelation that the Baths of Diocletian would be the place where the cult of the seven archangels would be glorified in Rome. This is where a new church, commissioned to Michelangelo, was dedicated by pope Pius IV to Mary of the Angels in 1563. See Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du XVI^e siècle, du XVII^e siècle et du XVIII^e siècle, étude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente. Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres* (Paris: A. Colin, 1932), pp. 297–99.

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word of a pious man, Andrés de Roelas,[47] exhibiting the same position as the one Acuña del Adarve used in the treatise about the *Santo Rostro* of Jaén that we have already discussed: Andrés de Roelas was simply a pious Christian, who had not asked to be the vehicle for these sacred 'revelations'. It also depended on one of the three archangels named in the Bible, Raphael, *medicina Dei*, having come to help the cause of the *patria* of the saints in those 'revelations'. Angelic intercession was the supreme argument for the relics' authenticity. In fact, it happens that in 1601 the image of the archangel Raphael was placed on the church tower in order that it might, together with the martyred saints, protect the city from the epidemic. Also, the thanksgiving that followed the procession of 1603 was accompanied by the commission of an image of St Raphael to be placed above the chapel of the martyrs of San Pedro by the cathedral chapter. From this moment, the cult of the archangel became entrenched in Cordoba, as Raphael's intercession was believed to have been instrumental against the plague.

The context of the epidemic in 1601–03 explains the need for more thaumaturgical intercessors in Cordoba. But although St Rock or St Sebastian were traditionally invoked against the plague, only the archangel Raphael's was called upon. In fact, parallel to this context, there was a phenomenon of expanding angel worship at the beginning of the seventeenth century throughout Christendom. This was the period when the very centre of the Catholic world promoted the cult of the Guardian Angel. Its feast *ad libitum* was decreed

47 I cite the version of these 'revelations' included in the book printed by Pedro Díaz de Ribas in 1650: *El Archangel S. Rafael, particular custodio y amparo de la ciudad de Cordoua: prueuase con varios argumentos y en particular con las Reuelaciones del venerable presbytero Andres de las Roelas* (Cordoba: Saluador de Cea Tesa, 1650), fol. 21v: 'Avía con la nueva invención del sepulcro y huessos dessos Santos Martyres refrescadose en mi este afecto y particular devoción y reafirmádome más en ella acerca de los dichos Santos, con que me criaron e instruyeron: y tenia por muy cierto que ellos eran los que allí nuestro Señor tan graciosamente y fuera de toda esperança nos avia descubierto y que en ninguna manera podian ser otra cosa que el tesoro que tengo dicho. Y con esta certidumbre y entera fe, de q. allí estavan viendome en la necessidad de salud y peligro grande ya dho y considerando las muchas necessidades y pobreça dentro y fuera de mi casa, a quien yo acudia y remediaba, por ser nro Señor servido de hazerme esta md., q así la conozco por don y misericordia suya, rogaba y suplicava cada dia en este tpo largo de mi enfermedad, que duró hasta víspera de Pasqua Florida deste año de setenta y ocho, a los dichos santos mártyres fuessen intercesores con Dios nuestro Señor me diesse salud para que con ella, y su favor pudiesse yo remediar necesidades de tantos. Y por cinco vezes, en distintas y diferentes noches, sin ver persona, ni vision alguna, paresció que me dezian, Salte al campo y tendrás salud'.

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by the Congregation of Rites in 1608.[48] However, although it fell to the Guardian Angel to be the individual protector of the human soul, the archangels enjoyed just as much popularity, especially in the Spanish territories. When a second plague epidemic struck the city in 1649, the cult of all the archangels became truly widespread. In the first half of the seventeenth century, we can cite many pictorial series of archangels, like the ones preserved in the monasteries of Las Descalzas Reales and La Encarnación in Madrid, or in the chapel of St Michael in the Cathedral of Jaén. Following the development of an iconography of archangels, Spanish treatises on the seven archangels multiplied in the second half of the seventeenth century.[49] It is in the context of this veritable explosion of angel worship, in all its forms, that Raphael became the protector of the city of Cordoba.[50] The Jesuits aggressively promoted the angelic cult in Rome as well as in the rest of the Catholic world, but in Cordoba their efforts were particularly fruitful, as the archangel Raphael became the patron saint of the city. His election as the *custodio* for the town in the mid-seventeenth century would show that his intercession for Cordoba was unquestionably believed and wholeheartedly supported by the citizens.

We have already noted the influence of the Jesuits on the Cordoban 'antiquarians' through Martín de Roa and theologians Enrique Enríquez and Saelizes, both mentioned in the text of the *Revelaciones del padre Roelas*.[51] If we look closer at the network of Cordoban scholars, we find that the theologian Francisco Suárez, an important figure who was a pupil of Enríquez at Salamanca, wrote a monumental treatise of angelology entitled *De angelis* (1621).[52] Two works, following the election of Raphael as the patron saint of

48 Antoine Mazurek, 'L'ange gardien à l'époque moderne. Culte, élaboration doctrinale et usages. XVIe–XVIIIe siècles' (PhD Diss., Paris, EHESS, 2013). A feast *ad libitum* is a feast whose date is left to the decision of each diocese.

49 Tomás Sánchez, SJ, *Las seis alas del Serafin en seis sermones de los seis Iueves de Quaresma, predicados en el Real Convento de la Encarnación* (Madrid: Antonio Francisco de Zafra, 1679).

50 Jerónimo de Saona, *Hyerarchia celestial y terrena y symbolo de los nueve estados de la Iglesia militante, con los nueve Choros de Angeles de la Triumphante* (Cuenca: Cornelio Bodan, 1603).

51 Rafael Ramírez de Arellano, *Ensayo de un catálogo biográfico de escritores de la provincia y diócesis de Córdoba con breve descripción de sus obras* (Madrid: Tip. Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1921–23).

52 Francisco Suárez, SJ, *Commentariorum ac disputationum in primam partem divi Thomae pars II, de Deo effectore creaturarum omnium, in tres praecipuos tractatus distributa, quorum primus de Angelis*, *Opera omnia*, Vol. 2 (Mainz: H. Mylii Birckmanni, B. Lippius, [1621]).

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Cordoba, were part of the general promotion undertaken by the Society of Jesus in favor of the archangel. The first book, written by the Jesuit Rafael de Bonafé, is dated 1659: *Títulos de excelencia y oficios de piedad del arcángel S. Rafael.*[53] The second is from 1683 and is called *El médico perfecto san Rafael*. It was written by Francisco García, the author of two short works on St Michael and St Gabriel, published that same year.[54] The mediating power of the archangel Raphael, who had appeared to Father Roelas to identify the 'other' martyrs and was intensely promoted by the Jesuits, was such that he became the patron saint *par excellence* of the Cordoban community, the guardian angel of the city.

Raphael's image, used to prove the authenticity of so-called ancient relics at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was later worshipped for itself. His cult, which grew out of the protection his image provided in 1601–03, became more widespread with the second plague of the century, in 1649. Choosing the patronage of St Raphael for Cordoba was a process that took three-quarters of a century, between 1575 and 1650, and was consolidated with the creation of a Confraternity of St Raphael in 1655, a municipal rather than ecclesiastical community.[55] The *Revelaciones* of Father Roelas were printed and disseminated in 1650 in the work of a local scholar, Pedro Díaz de Ribas, commissioned by the municipal chapter, entitled *El Arcángel San Rafael particular custodio y amparo de la ciudad de Córdoba*. This work was used once again by local authorities in the battle which the city of Cordoba waged at that time. In October of 1649, when the plague claimed its first victims in Cordoba, the municipal chapter voted on the decision to place itself under the protection of the archangel Raphael. The council first addressed itself to the bishop, Fray Pedro Tapia. The ecclesiastical chapter then joined forces with the municipality to make a request for the recognition of the cult as *super cultum* in Rome; they had to prove that the worship of Raphael was an age-old tradition, which the chapter did on the grounds that the image and the worship of the archangel Raphael

53 Rafael de Bonafé, *Titulos de excelencia, y oficios de piedad del arcangel S. Rafael* (Madrid: Francisco Nieto y Salçedo, 1659).

54 Francisco García, *El medico perfecto San Raphael arcangel* (Madrid: J. García Infançón, 1683); García, *El embaxador de buenas nueuas San Gabriel arcangel* (Madrid: J. García Infançón, 1683); and García, *El primer ministro de Dios San Miguel Arcangel* (Madrid: J. García Infançón, 1684).

55 The decret *Pro patronis eligendis*, of 1630 [publicated in *Decreta authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum ex actis eiusdem Sacr. Congr. Collecta*, (ed.) Aloïs Gardellini (Rome: Bourlié, 1824), vol. 1, doc. 705] states that in the case of an urban patronage, the election of the patron must be pronounced by the city council in the name of the citizens and in agreement with the local clergy and the diocesal Church.

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dated from the medieval period. The Jesuit Martín de Escalante, then in Rome, received power from the municipal and diocesan chapters, as well as from the bishop, to lobby the Congregation of Rites. With the assistance of the *procurador general* (attorney general) of the Spanish provinces, Nuño de Villavicencio, Cordoba won its suit. The feast of the archangel Raphael, set on May 7 in commemoration of the day he appeared to Father Roelas, was decreed in Rome the same year. The ceremony chosen was that which Pope Sixtus V had given to the Mercedarians. The success of this campaign was cause for a celebration to mark the occasion and definitively seal the connection between Cordoba and Raphael: in thanksgiving, the city organized sumptuous celebrations, which were mentioned in the 1651 *relaciones* of Pedro Mesía de la Cerda and which included a poetry competition in honor of the archangel, bullfights, fireworks and two processions. One of the two processions carried the image of the archangel Raphael from the church of San Pedro, the church of the martyrs, to the cathedral, and then returned it to San Pedro.

The creation of the image of the archangel is a key element for the recognition of St Raphael as the *custodio* of Cordoba by its population. In 1652, Antonio del Castillo y Saavedra (1616–68) created an oil on canvas measuring 2.6 × 2 m commissioned by José de Valdecañas y Herrera, a town council member (*veinticuatro*) of Cordoba (see fig. 4.1). This painting, originally placed above a jasper staircase in the former City Hall, is now in the collections of the Ayuntamiento of Cordoba. In a preliminary drawing kept in Cordoba's Museo de Bellas Artes, the archangel held a scepter, which was both an attribute of his monarchic status – he is called the 'prince of Heaven'[56] – and a sign that he governed the city which he protected. This object is not common in angelical iconography and made it difficult for spectators to immediately recognize the model. This is certainly why, in the final painting that was to be installed in City Hall, Antonio del Castillo replaced the scepter with a shield and added an inscription, which recalled the revelations made to Father Roelas. In fact, in the archangel's left hand, he holds a fish, in reference to the episode of Raphael and Tobias from the apocryphal Book of Tobias. Thanks to the presence of this fish, which also appears in the drawing, viewers could identify the figure at once. On the shield the archangel holds in his right hand, beneath the kneeling lion, the emblem of Cordoba, the following words were inscribed: 'I swear by Jesus Christ crucified that I am Raphael angel whom God has designated as the patron of this

56 Mindy Nancarrow and Benito Navarrete Prieto, *Alonso del Castillo* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2004), in the chapter 'Antonio del Castillo. Dibujos preparatorios para composiciones', p. 92.

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FIGURE 4.1 *Antonio del Castillo y Saavedra, 'St Raphael', 1652, oil on canvas, 260 × 200 cm. Cordoba, Town Council.*

town,'[57] that is, the phrase with which he proclaimed his name upon appearing to Father Roelas. Lastly, the names of the artist and the commissioner of the work, as well as the year 1652, appear at the bottom right of the painting. They remind us that this work was executed in commemoration of the civic celebrations that had taken place the previous year, when the Congregation of Rites had authorized the feast of St Raphael for Cordoba. A statue of the archangel

57 'Yo te juro por Jesucristo Crucificado que soy Rafael a quien Dios tiene por Custodio de esta ciudad de Córdoba'.

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had then been installed on the Roman bridge, which was thereby symbolically converted from a pagan symbol to a Christian one and would purify visitors as they entered the town of Cordoba. This second set of inscriptions, on the right-hand side of the painting, show in what conditions the archangel Raphael was elected as the town's protector: 'Votis et sollicitudine D. Josephi Valde Cañas et Herrera Senatoris … Antonius Castillo P.A. 1652'. What is even more remarkable is that these words are written on what is clearly a representation of an antique stone. The allusion to the sacred relics of the church of San Pedro is obvious. But this is not what strikes the spectator the most.

In this image, the *custodio* seems to have almost abandoned his celestial form to become incarnate, taking on a human appearance and facing outward, advancing toward the spectator. In fact, as Mindy Nancarrow and Benito Navarrete have noted, the figure is characterized by an imposing frontal presentation. With his two spread wings, he seems to have suspended his movement forward to pose for his portrait. As a matter of fact, this image recalls the images of Antonio del Castillo's master, Francisco de Zurbarán, who, as we know, painted female saints and angelic creatures as young women or men who seemed to be interrupted in their walk by a portraitist.[58] This formal choice underscores the idea that the archangel has landed on earth and is present among Cordobans. In fact, paradoxically, the painter chose to suggest an interior setting, expressed by a neutral brown background where St Raphael stands facing forward. The view of the Guadalquivir and the famous Roman bridge of Cordoba that we find in some other representations has been erased. This is a way of projecting the archangel's protection onto every single one of the town's citizens, not only in the public arena, but also in private spaces.

In addition to being a representation of how Father Roelas would have seen Raphael in his visions, the frontal attitude is certainly one of Castillo's formal signatures. We can find it, for instance, in the many images of the Immaculate Conception that he painted, in his *St Peter* and *St Paul*,[59] or in his *San Ramón Nonato*.[60] But here it is combined with the representation of the archangel in a warrior-like dress, placing the viewer in a face-to-face situation that makes him

58 I have discussed these choices of representation in Vincent-Cassy, *Les saintes vierges et martyres dans l'Espagne du XVII^e siècle. Culte et image* (Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2011).

59 Nancarrow and Navarrete, *Antonio del Castillo*, Catalogue no. 13, 167 and no.14, 169. Both paintings are kept in the Cordoban Hospital de la Caridad, main altar. We can also mention his *Saint John the Baptist*, Madrid, colección Arango, no. 3 of the Catalogue, 151.

60 Numerous images of *The Immaculate Conception* are visible in this catalogue. Two of them are kept in the Cathedral of Cordoba, no. 46, 229, no. 48 of the Nancarrow and Navarrete catalogue, 233. See *San Ramón Nonato*, no. 111 Nancarrow and Navarrete Catalogue, no. 112.

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or her *feel* the evidence of what he or she sees. The vision referred to in the texts printed by Pedro Díaz de Ribas merges with the painting. In fact, this image is intended to be a translation of the personal vision Father Roelas had of the archangel Raphael. It gives the spectator the illusion of being the receptor of this vision. By doing so, the viewer experiences the revelations.[61] The 'a-narrative'[62] background gives another meaning to the image. Its focus is on reception and the experience of worship.

The painting served as the model for all the local engravers who helped disseminate the image. Castillo also produced a version of his image of Raphael on parchment for the 'Rules, Statutes, and Constitution' of the Confraternity of the Archangel in 1655. With these images we can see that the mediation of the angel was no longer ensured by an ecclesiastical body but rather by the municipal body and the confraternity, whose headquarters were in City Hall. By using the archangel Raphael, the seventeenth-century civil power took on a self-appointed grandeur, in the form of a cult that was complimentary to but distinct from that of the martyred saints, whose relics played such an important role in Raphael's emergence in Cordoba.

Apparently, this cult, unlike that of the saints, did not rely upon the veneration of relics, but on visions and their artistic representation. If we take a new look at Antonio del Castillo's painting, we realize that the inscriptions visible on an apparently antique stone at the bottom right corner are a clear allusion to the ones that were found on the supposed martyr tombstones at the church of San Pedro in 1575. But beyond this allusion, they refer to the patron, the artist and the context of this commission. In fact, they underscore the connection between relics and images since the decree of the Council of Trent. The inscriptions were needed in Cordoba to authenticate the relics. As so, they were used as proof of the genealogical continuity between an idealized community of Christian exiles during the period of Muslim rule and the contemporary period of Martín de Roa and his 'antiquarian' companions.[63] But in the end, it is the 'true' devotion to St Raphael, as expressed in the revelations to Father Roelas that was capable of producing evidence, which seems to be a paradoxical

61 For this reason, I do not agree with the idea that the figure itself is a mix of a true human being and a stone statue which, as Nancarrow and Navarrete assert, would remind us that this painting was commissioned after the 1651 feasts.

62 I use this neologism to mean that time and narration are suspended in the representation. For the definition of this category applied to Zurbarán's paintings of martyred saints and angels, see Vincent-Cassy, *Les saintes vierges et martyres*.

63 On this question, see Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, 'Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality', *History and Theory*, 24 (1985): pp. 23–43; and Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000).

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continuation of the scientific methods promoted by Ambrosio de Morales and his epigones. In fact, what else is necessary to prove the truth of the sacred image but the efficacy of its mediation? The discourse elaborated by the Cordoban 'antiquarians' supported the Catholic theology of the image as it was discussed after the Reformation, and vice-versa.[64] They founded their search for truth on what we would consider today non-scientific evidence: the *obviousness* of the angelic image revealed to a saintly man, the self-identified man in a white robe that Andrés de Roelas had spoken about in his *Revelaciones*. The truth of his existence is embodied by Antonio del Castillo's 1652 image [see fig. 4], which 'speaks' to the viewers. In this case, the veracity, which cannot rely on historicity, is based on piety for a *true image* of the invisible. This is what the frontal painting of the archangel Raphael made clear some fifty years after the Catholic authorities of Cordoba used the *Revelaciones* for the first time in 1601–03.

In fact, Antonio del Castillo's image puts the viewer in a position to experience the angelic intercession through present veneration. Also, as we have seen, the discourse elaborated by the Cordoban 'antiquarians' supported the Catholic theology of the image as it was discussed after the Reformation: the image was taken as material evidence. In fact, the archangel had immediately become an image offered to public veneration on the tower of the cathedral in 1601. This idea of 'revelation' is a key one for understanding Catholic worship in Spain after the Council of Trent. In Cordoba, it ended up creating an entirely new cult to the archangel Raphael who, in his theological definition, was himself an instrument of divine revelation. First and foremost, the contents of the *Revelaciones* were made necessary by the need to ultimately prove the continuity of the Christian past in the years following the Council of Trent and the liturgical revision of the breviary. The speaking angelic image that *revealed* to the parish priest the religious truth of the discovered relics was used at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as well as in 1650, to impose new intercessors when the plague struck the city. But in the third period, the mid-seventeenth century, it was not the relics but the image of St Raphael, *elected custodio* of the city in the middle of the seventeenth century, that succeeded in impressing upon the faithful its authenticity, as Antonio del Castillo's painting shows.

64 'la théologie protestante dénie à la culture religieuse catholique toute articulation vivante entre son discours et ses pratiques, qui ne seraient que les vestiges (ou *superstitions*, monuments, restes) d'une foi éteinte … [Elle] présuppose pour elle-même l'articulation naturelle de sa *doxa* et de sa *praxis*'; Fabre, *Décréter l'image?* p. 49.

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# PART 2

## *Iberian Polemics, Readings of the Qur'ān and the Rise of European Orientalism*

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CHAPTER 5

# Textual Agnogenesis and the Polysemy of the Reader: Early Modern European Readings of Qur'ānic Embryology[1]

*Pier Mattia Tommasino*

Essi si sforzano estinguer la luce di Dio con le parole.

G.B. CASTRODARDO

•••

Being a bookworm need not always carry a negative connotation. We are reading creatures, we ingest words, we are made of words, we know that words are our means of being in the world, and it is through words that we identify our reality and by means of words that we are ourselves identified.

A. MANGUEL

•••

## Àgnosis

The sixteenth-century humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger once affirmed: 'I wish I were a good grammarian. Religious discord depends on nothing, except the ignorance of grammar (*Utinam esse bonus grammaticus. Non aliunde discordiae*

1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, project CORPI 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'. The passages quoted at the beginning of this chapter were taken from *L'Alcorano di Macometto* (Venice: Arrivabene, 1547), fol. 48v, and Alberto Manguel, *The Traveler, the Tower and the Worm* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 120. I would like to thank Lina Bolzoni, Jo Ann Cavallo, Stefano Gulizia, Seth Kimmel and Akash Kumar for the discussions we had while I was writing and re-writing this essay.

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*in religione pendent quam ab ignoratione grammaticae*). Scaliger's dictum presents interesting solutions of interpretative problems. As far as I know, scholars have focused only on the rendering of the word *grammatica*, which was respectively understood as 'grammar', 'language', or in a broader sense as 'textual criticism', and 'textual interpretation'. Surprisingly, no interest has been shown for the rendering of the word *ignoratio*, 'ignorance'.[2]

Repertories of classical Latin distinguish *ignoratio* from *ignorantia*, giving to the first an active signification, 'the act of ignoring', and to the second both the active and passive signification, 'the lack of knowledge'. During the sixteenth century, *ignoratio* and *ignorantia* were substantially used as synonyms. Thus, in the context of Scaliger's dictum, *ignoratio* has been translated as 'absence of knowledge'. However, it could be also, and more interestingly, rendered with its active signification, as the 'act of ignoring something, or someone'. Accordingly, Scaliger's dictum seems to be based upon this ambiguity: religious discord depends both on the 'lack of knowledge' and on the conscious or unconscious 'act of ignoring' the *grammatica* of a revealed text. I would like to focus on *ignoratio* as a conscious and deliberate choice to ignore something, or someone.

## Gnārus

Scaliger was writing during the second half of the sixteenth century, in the middle of the religious wars that shook Europe. As a good Calvinist, he essentially understood religion within the frame of the Mosaic distinction traced by Jan Assmann. Within this frame, religion means exclusive and revealed monotheism. Consequently, religious discord involves religious polemic about the interpretation of a revealed and written text. Further, religious polemic may arise within the boundaries of a specific monotheism such as Christianity, or between opposite and mutually exclusive monotheisms, namely Christianity and Islam. Polemicists assert the supremacy and uniqueness of one revelation, which could already present itself as a polemical text, such as the Qurʾān. In this case, polemicists deal with a text revealed in a foreign and ancient language, such as qurʾānic Arabic. Debating in a public dispute or, more frequently,

2 Jan Assmann, *Of God and Gods, Egypt, Israel and the Rise of Monotheism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008); Karla Mallette, 'Boustrophedon', in *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Role of Arabic in Medieval Literary History*, (ed.) Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallette (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 254–66.

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writing a polemical treatise, polemicists could aknowledge the *grammatica* of the revelation, or they could deliberately ignore it.

Religious polemic, and particularly polemic based on translation, could then be described as a narrative of ignorance. The words *narrator* and *narrative* are derived from latin *gnārus* ('someone who knows', which can also be translated as 'skilful', 'practised' or 'expert'). Thus, the *narrator* is the 'one who knows' and 'who masters the story she or he is telling'. By narrative of ignorance I mean a conscious discourse which creates ignorance (*àgnosis*) around a revealed text. In addition, the active *ignoratio* of the polemicist/translator (through misreading, misinterpretation, manipulation, philological forgery, falsification, and so on) finds its strength in the *ignorantia* of his audience. In general, an early modern audience of polemical treatises doesn't master the language of the revelation, but trusts the polemicist as *gnārus* 'expert' in the *grammatica* of the text to be refuted. Using this trust, the polemicist presents himself as the revealer of the true meaning of the revealed text. Even among Moriscos, and Ottoman Muslims along the Hungarian borders, the audience of public disputes and polemical treatises usually did not have knowledge of qur'ānic Arabic.[3]

According to this interpretation of Scaliger's dictum, the 'ignorance of *grammatica*' seems to overlap and occasionally match with the 'knowledge of *grammatica*'. In fact, at least in the eyes of early modern scholars, both *ignoratio* and *cognitio* of *grammatica* have been the cause of religious discord. In 1608, a few months before Scaliger's death, the Italian poet Alessandro Tassoni, among preparatory materials for his miscellaneous work *Dieci libri di pensieri diversi* (Ten Books of Various Thoughts, 1620), wrote a long chapter about the relation between religion and *grammatica*. Tassoni states that religious discord depends on the knowledge of 'lettere' and 'dottrine'. Especially among heretics, schismatics, Jews and Muslims, textual criticism and textual interpretation can lead to religious conflict and to the fragmentation of the religious and political community. This is the case of Islam, for example:

> Ora, la favolosa e la falsa [religione], le lettere e le dottrine l'hanno sempre guastata percioché hanno scoperto le favole e gli errori che sono in essa e, manifestandoli a' popoli, hanno fatto polular nuove sette, come fecero in Persia il Sofì, il Calife nel Cairo in Egitto, Elmael et Abdul Mumen in Marocco, Omar in Ea, Idris in Zaron, Chemid in Temesnà, lo Sciriffo nel Regno di Fessa, Elarit Ibnù nella città di Bagnaded e tant'altri che sotto

3 On *gnārus* see Valerio Magrelli, *Che cos'è la poesia* (Bari: Laterza, 2005). On forgery and philology see Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

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> nomi di sapienti e di riformatori e d'interpreti della legge maomettana hanno più volte turbata l'Africa e l'Asia. E però astutamente ordinò Maometto che non si disputasse la legge sua, ma che con la spada si difendesse.[4]

In the passage quoted above, which among other things reveals Tassoni's reading of Leo Africanus, Tassoni analyzed religious discord within Islam. He very pragmatically focused on the political unity of religion, arguing that 'letters' and 'doctrines' have always ruined religion, even 'false' and 'fabulous' religion. Muslim 'scholars', 'reformers' and 'interpreters of Muslim law', being able to 'discover and explain to people the errors' of Islam, contributed to spreading new sects and, accordingly, to the fragmentation of the *ʿumma* (the community of believers). For this reason, 'Muḥammad cleverly prohibited disputes about religion'. In Tassoni's opinion, knowledge of *grammatica* is a useful and dangerous tool. It is 'the bread knife' which could be used 'to slice a loaf or to kill a table companion': a murder weapon as sharp as Scaliger's ignorance of grammar.

### Taḥrīf, Tafsīr

Following the research of Hartmut Bobzin, Alastair Hamilton and Angelo Michele Piemontese, Thomas Burman has already keenly highlighted the ambivalence between polemic and philology in the translation of the Qurʾān in medieval and early modern Europe. He stressed the significant role of

4 Alessandro Tassoni, *Pensieri e scritti preparatori*, (ed.) Pietro Puliatti (Modena: Panini, 1986), 'Se per cagion della religione sien necessarie le lettere nella republica', ch. 189, pp. 341–43; 'Letters and Doctrines destroyed even fake religions. In fact, they unmasked their forgeries and theological mistakes. Also revealing their errors to the broad public, they helped the diffusion of new sects, such as the Sofi did in Persia, the Calife in Cairo, Elmael and Abdul Mumen in Marocco, Omar in Ea, Idris in Zaron, Chemid in Temesnà, the Sharif in the Reign of Fez, Elarit Ibnù in the city of Baghdad, and many others that under the name of wise-men, reformers and interpreters of Islam troubled Africa and Asia. Thus Muhammad was very cleaver when he prohibited to dispute his law, and ordered to protect it with the armies instead'. In the printed version of the *Pensieri diversi* the passage is slightly different. Muslim reformers and interpreters are less in number and they are placed next to Greek philosophers. See Tassoni, *Dieci libri di pensieri diversi* (Venice: Marc'Antonio Brogliollo, 1627), p. 335: 'Ora la falsa, e la favolosa, le lettere, e le dottrine l'hanno sempre guastata, havendo scoperte le favole, e gli errori che sono in essa, come già fecero Aristotile, e Socrate, ed altri Filosofi antichi, e manifestandogli a' popoli hanno fatto germogliar nuove sette, come in Persia il Sofì, il Fessa lo Sciriffo, in Babilonia Elarit Ebnù, Omar in Ea, Elmael in Marocco, e tant'altri che sotto nome di riformatori e sapienti hanno più volte turbata l'Africa e l'Asia'.

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philology beyond polemic, arguing that Latin 'translators have wittingly or unwittingly distorted the Qur'ān text so as to make it and Islam look silly or barbaric'. Burman also added that 'such tendentious translation is really rather rare' and that 'translators do make plenty of mistakes', which are 'overwhelmingly the mistakes of translators grappling honestly with the text'. Moreover, these mistakes are essentially the results of 'insufficient learning' and not of 'hostility' towards Islam. I will look at qur'ānic translations from a slightly different perspective. Focusing on qur'ānic embryology, I will analyse one of these 'mistakes', the creation of man out of a leech, and I will suggest that the 'insufficient learning' could be read both as *ignorantia* and *ignoratio* of the Qur'ān, and that the wittingness and un-wittingness of translators (Scaliger's *boni grammatici*), namely the act of 'manipulating the text' and the condition 'to be mistaken', could be both part of the same process of distortion of a revealed text.[5]

Of course, I do agree with the idea that any process of transmission of knowledge, especially based on translation, implies assimilation and refusal. In a recent study, I focused on the assimilation of qur'ānic episodes by early modern European trans-religious readers. For example, ordinary people such as the daring miller Menocchio, and the cheese-maker and prophet Scolio, shared with the Venetian rabbi Leon Modena the same qur'ānic readings, namely the Italian translation by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo (1547), to challenge Catholic worship of saints. In this brief essay, on the contrary, I am interested in analysing strategies of refusal of the Qur'ān, their internal mechanism and, in particular, their diffusion and reception among European readers. In other words, I want to focus on the European history of one specific polemical strategy, based on the misreading of qur'ānic embryology: the case of the the creation of man out of a leech.[6]

The elliptical and allusive style of the Qur'ān, as well as the polysemy of qur'ānic Arabic, permit Christian polemicists and Latin translators to play with the *ignoratio*, *ignorantia* and *cognitio* of its *grammatica*. Polysemy and *pòlemos* are closely tied. The polysemy of an ancient and revealed text, such as the Bible or in this case the Qur'ān, displays many possibilities of translation and makes the boundaries between misreading, manipulation and interpretation blurry. On this complexity, ideal for polemical and apologetical purposes, polemicists base their own power of revelation. Additionally, the *ignorantia* of the reader

5 Thomas Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 20–21.

6 Pier Mattia Tommasino, *L'Alcorano di Macometto. Storia di un libro del Cinquecento europeo* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2013); Harm den Boer and Tommasino, 'Reading the Qur'ān in the Seventeenth-Century Sephardi Community of Amsterdam', *Al-Qanṭara*, 35 (2014): pp. 461–92; esp. pp. 477–81.

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permits polemicists to present their *ignoratio*, tinged in turn with their own *ignorantia*, as a deep *cognitio* of the text. In other words, to use Arabic and Islamic categories, Christian polemicists present their *taḥrīf* (manipulation, falsification) of the Qur'ān as the perfect *tafsīr* (interpretation, commentary). This is evident in polemical texts, but also found, on a different scale, in medieval and early modern Latin translations of the Qur'ān, apparently self-promoting in prefaces and marginal notes as philological and non-polemical works. In these texts, *ignoratio* of *grammatica*, which following Richard N. Proctor we may define as textual agnogenesis, 'creation of ignorance aroud a text, and through a text', seems to be a hidden strategy, often or just occasionally displayed, to defuse and neutralize the revelation of the opponent.[7]

## Greek Leeches

Focusing on the relation between the polemicist and his public suggests that knowledge and ignorance of revelation should be analyzed in terms of power relations. Polemicists used strategies of textual *ignoratio*, and linguistic and theological *ignorantia*, to seduce and persuade their audience. Among medieval and early modern European scholars of Arabic studies, *ignoratio* of *grammatica*, or textual agnogenesis, is a polemical and philological process, apparently overcome by a new 'scientific' approach developed by eighteenth and especially nineteenth-century scholars in Oriental languages. In 1705 the Dutch Orientalist Adriaan Reland published *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (The two Books about the Religion of Muḥammad), later described as 'the first scientific description of the institutions of Islam'. Ziad El-Marsafy, in his study on the Enlightment Qur'ān, illustrated the nature of Reland's work. Reland was actually concerned with demythologizing and correcting medieval and early modern Western views of Islam. The second part of the book lists and corrects numerous European misconceptions about the religion of Muḥammad. Among several examples, Reland challenged the work of the twelfth-century Greek monk and polemicist Euthimios Zigabenos. Zigabenos claimed that Muslims believe that man was created out of a leech. In fact, chapter 36 of Reland's *De Religione Mohammedica* is dedicated to the creation

7 Richard Proctor, *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); see also Proctor, *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007); as well as Proctor, *The Anthropology of Ignorance: An Ethnographic Approach* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). On polysemy in the Qur'ān see now Andrew Rippin, 'Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) and Polysemy in the Qur'ān', in *Books and Written Culture of the Islamic World. Studies Presented to Claude Gilliot on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 56–70.

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of man. Using Muslim sources, Reland corrected the qurʾānic embryology forged by Zigabenos five centuries earlier. Reland wrote:

> The Muslims say that man was created out of a leech (*ex hirudine sive sanguisuga hominem fieri docent Mohammedani*), if we trust Euthymius Zigabenos. *Ek bdélles ánthropon gínestai légei*, Muḥammad said 'that the man was created out of a leech'. This error comes from the fact that the word *ʿalaq*, that occurs in Koran 96, 2 – in which is written that 'man is created by God *min ʿalaq*' – means piece of congealing blood (*partem concreti sanguinem*), and also leech (*hirudinem*). Consider also that *ʿalāqa*, that sounds similar to the previous word, means semen (*semen genitale*). Hence, the Greeks (*Graeculi*), who were very quicked to slander the religion of Muḥammad (*in calumnias et vituperia religionis Mohammedicae nimis ingeniosi*), supposedly confused these words (*confuderunt haec vocabula*).[8]

Reland referred to the first two verses of sura 96, the first chapter of the Qurʾān to be revealed to Muḥammad. These verses are some of the many dealing with the creation of man and the formation of the embryo. Qurʾān 96,1–2 says as follows: '1 *ʾiqrā bismi rabbika alladhī khalaqa | khalaqa al-insān min ʿalaq*' ('1 Read in the name of your Lord, who created / 2 Created man out of *ʿalaq*'). The words *ʿalaq* (Qurʾān 96,2) and *ʿalaqa* (Qurʾān 22,5; 23,14; 40,67; 75,38) are derivatives of the Arabic *ʿaliqa* 'to cling', to adhere', 'to be attached to something'. Both forms of the word (*ʿalaq* and *ʿalaqa*) refer in the Qurʾān to the second stage in the formation and development of the embryo, and, according to Galenic and Islamic embryology, have traditionally been translated as 'blood-clot', or 'piece of congealing blood'. Using commentaries on the Qurʾān by Muslim scholars (al-Jalālayn) and linguistic repertories of Arabic (al-Jawharī), Reland described Zigabenos' strategy as a deliberate act of textual agnogenesis. Reland explains that Zigabeno's strategy is essentially based on the polysemy of the word *ʿalaq*, which could have been translated both with 'congealing blood' (*sanguis crassus*), and with the collective for 'leech' (*ʿalaqa*).[9]

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8 Adriaan Reland, *Hadriani Relandi de religione Muhammadica libri duo* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Gulielmi Broedelet, 1717), pp. 253–54; Ziad El-Marsafy, *The Enlightement Qurʾān: The Politics of Translation and the Construction of Islam* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009), p. 19; Adel-Théodore Khoury, *Polémique bizantine contre l'Islam* (*VIIIe–XIIIe S.*) (Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 148–49.

9 Among the sources of Reland, see also the *Thesaurus linguae Arabicae*, translation of the *al-Qāmūs* by al-Fīrūzābādī, published by Antonio Giggei in Milano, 1632, s.v. *al-ʿalaq* 'Sanguis, Sanguis valde ruber, Sanguis crassior, Sanguis concretus'; *al-ʿalaqa* 'Pars huius-

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During the twelfth century, Zigabenos, possibly following the ninth century Nichetas of Byzantium, translated Arabic *ʿalaq* with Greek βδέλλα 'leech', in order to prove the irrationality of the Qurʾān and in to attack Muḥammad as an unqualified natural philosopher. Moreover, Reland underlined the choices the Latin translator could have had in the rendering of Arabic *ʿalaq*. He distinguished classical Latin *hirudo* from vulgar Latin *sanguisuga*, the latter already attested in Plinius (*Naturalis Historia*, 8, 10). Regarding this distinction, in the second half of sixteenth century the Italian physician Ulisse Aldrovandi already wrote that the interpreters of the *Septuaginta* translated Hebrew *ʿaluqah* (*Proverbs* 30, 15) with Greek βδέλλα 'leech', and Jerome with vulgar Latin *sanguisuga* (*De animalibus*, 7, 2 *De hirudine*). Among other details, such as the Italian regional synonyms of *hirudo* ('in Bologna we called it *sanguettola*, but in Rome and in Tuscany *mignatta*'), Aldovrandi pointed out the use of Arabic *ʿalaq* among the old commentators of Avicenna (item *alag* apud veterem glossographum Avicenna).[10]

The two Latin renderings of Arabic *ʿalaq*, classical Latin *hirudo* and vulgar, christian and medieval Latin *sanguisuga*, are helpful to describe the diffusion of medieval polemics in early modern Europe. This means that the history of language sheds light on the history of reading, permitting us to trace back the different lines of transmission of knowledge and ignorance about the Qurʾān throughout Europe. For instance, Pier Francesco Zini, the sixteenth-century Italian humanist who translated Zigabenos' works into Latin preferred *hirudo* to *sanguisuga*: 'Ex *hirudine* dicunt hominem fieri' (*Panoplia Dogmatica*, 1555). Four decades later, Zigabenos' Greek text was edited and translated into Latin by Friedrich Sylburg in Heidelberg. The passage was rendered as follows: 'Ex hirudine sive sanguisuga, hominem fieri docet' (*Saracenica, sive Moamethica*, 1595). Thus, Latin translations of Zigabenos' polemic circulated throughout Europe before Reland's philological readings, reaching seventeenth-century scholars such as Thomas Browne and Justus Lipsius. Both seem to have used the latter version (1595). Contemporary to Tassoni, and as worried as Tassoni about religious unity, Justus Lipsius in his *Monita and exempla politica* (1605) underlined that Muḥammad's religion was based on superstition. Consequently, Muḥammad was not just a pseudo-prophet but, more problematically, an unreliable ruler. Justus Lipsius described Muḥammad's wonders through the

modi sanguinis'; *al-ʿalaq* 'Quidquid coagulator, Lutum in manu condensatum, et conglutinarum. Certamen. Dimicatio. (et e contra) Benevolentiae necessitudo, Amor'; *al-ʿalaq fi l-mā'* 'Hirudo'; *al-ʿalaqa* 'Singularis hirudo'.

10 Ulisse Aldovrandi, *De animalibus insectibus libri septem* (Bologna: I.B. Bellagambam, 1602), book 7, ch.11, pp. 721–22.

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humanistic lens of Sylburg, reader and translator of Zigabenos: 'Hominem autem ex hirudine aut sanguisuga nasci. Quid addam?' What should Lipsius have added to this?[11]

## Spanish Worms

Greek polemics and humanistic translations have not been the exclusive vehicles of textual agnogenesis about qur'ānic embryology. Since the beginning of the translation process of the Qur'ān into Latin in twelfth-century Spain, there were at least two different lines of translations of the term *ʿalaq*, among Christian translators. In the Western Mediterranean, the term *ʿalaq* was translated both as 'blood-clot' as well as 'leech'. The first translation dates back to Robert of Ketton and the *Corpus islamolatinum* (1143). Ketton translated the term *ʿalaq* with *coagulum sanguineum* (blood-clot), and *ʿalaqa* with *coagulata massa* (clotted lump). Through Robert of Ketton's Qur'ān, and other text of the *Corpus*, such as the *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Saracenorum*, this tradition reached an enormous number of European readers. This is the most traditional interpretation of the term, and it was actually based on qur'ānic commentaries, such as al-Ṭabarī and al-Zamakhsharī.

On the contrary, a second translation dates back to the Latin translation of the Qur'ān by Marcos de Toledo (1210). This text was not a polemical tract such as Zigabenos' treatise, but presents itself as a philological work, as a word by word (*verbatim*) translation of the Qur'ān into Latin. In this text, indeed, the terms *ʿalaq* and *ʿalaqa* are translated into vulgar Latin *sanguisuga*. Qur'ān 96,1–2: '1 Confitere nomen Creatoris tui qui creavit, / 2 creavit enim hominem ex *sanguisuga*', (Confess the name of your Creator, who creates, / he creates the man out of a leech). The same happens in the rendering of Qur'ān 23,14: 'Deinde convertimus sperma (*nuṭfa*) in *sanguissugam* (*thumma khalaqnā al-nuṭfata ʿalaqa*) et *sanguissugam* in carnem (*muḍgha*); convertimus carnem

11 *Euthymii Monachi Zigabeni Orthodoxae Fidei Dogmatica Panoplia, hucusque Latinis incognita, et nunc primum per Petrum Franciscum Zinum Veronensem e Graeco translata* (Paris: Franciscum Barptolomaei Veneti, 1556), book 2, p. 24 ('Adversus Saracenos'); *Saracenica, sive Moamethica, in quibus Ismaeliticae seu Moamethicae sectae praecipuorum dogmatum elenchus, ex Euthymii Zigabeni Panoplia Dogmatica* (s.l.: H. Commelini, 1595), p. 31; Justus Lipsius, *Monita et exempla politica libri duo* (Amsterdam: G. Blaeuw, 1630), p. 25. On Lipsius and the Monita see Jan Papy, 'Fate and Rule, Destiny and Dynasty: Lipsius Final Views on Superstition, Fate and Divination in the Monita and Exempla Politica (1605)', in (*Un*) *masking the Realities of Power: Justus Lipsius and the Dynamics of Political Writing*, (ed.) Erik de Bom et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 195–206.

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in ossa (*ʿizāman*)', (Then we made the seed into a leech, and the leech into a lump of flesh: and then we made the lump of flesh into bones).[12]

This passage is particularly relevant because in another medieval work related to Marcos de Toledo, it is possible to find the same translation of the term *ʿalaqa* taken from Qurʾān 23,14. Marcos de Toledo translated a series of short treatises by Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), founder of the Almohads, who ruled the Maghreb and Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among other works, Marcos de Toledo seems to have translated the *ʿAqīda* (Creed) into the apologetic *Tractatus Habentomi de unio dei* (Treatise of Ibn Tūmart on the Unity of God). In this text, it is possible to read the same translation of the term *ʿalaqa*. *Distinctio* 3, [4] states as follows: 'Deinde creavimus de ipso *sanguisugam*, carunculam quasi sanguinem congelatum, et de ipso sanguine quasi congelato ossa, et induimus ossa in carne, deinde ipsum creavimus hominem (Then we created out of that a leech, a little piece of flesh similar to congealing blood, and from this congealing blood we created the bones)'. Recently, Thomas Burman stated that the *ʿAqīda* by Ibn Tūmart 'seems to have exercised very little influence in Latin thought about Islam'. Burman also added that 'we certainly have no knowledge currently of any readers of these Latin versions of Ibn Tūmart's short work'.[13]

I am less pessimistic than Thomas Burman. We do have knowledge of readers, copyists and even translators into vernacular languages of the Latin translation of the *ʿAqīda*. Recently, Travis Zadeh reminded us of the circulation of Ibn Tūmart's works, along with translations of the Qurʾān, among non-Arabic speaking Berbers of Morocco. In addition, and more interestingly, the Latin translation of the *ʿAqīda*, and fragments of the Latin translation of the Qurʾān by Marcos de Toledo, as Luciano Formisano has demonstrated, circulated throughout Italy and were translated into Italian in Florence around 1460. After that, these Italian fragments were copied in Florence in the Vaglienti codex around 1514 (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1910). Ideologically opened by the text of Marco Polo, this codex contains an anthology of travel writings, as well as Vespucci's letters about the discovery of America and exotic curiosities about the Prester John. It was assembled between Florence and

12 Nàdia Petrus Pons, 'Alchoranus Latinus, quem transtulit Marcus canonicus Toletanus. Estudio y edición crítica' (PhD Diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2008), p. 411. The use of *sanguisuga* for *ʿalaq* and *ʿalaqa* is systematic in Marcos de Toledo. See also pp. 211, 303, 385.

13 Thomas E. Burman, 'Libellus Habentometi de unio Dei', in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical history*, (ed.) David Thomas (Brill Online, 2014). I did not have time to look at the marginal notes to sura 96 by Ricoldo da Monte Croce in the Arabic Qurʾān he owned (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Arabe 384).

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Pisa, after Florence conquered Pisa in 1509 and started planning to transform Porto Pisano into a new Tuscan terminal for Western Mediterranean and especially trans-Oceanic trade. The Italian translation of Ibn Tūmart says: 'Distinctio 3, [4] dipoi creamo di quello la *sangusuga*, la caruncula come sangue congelato, l'ossa, e l'ossa vestimo di carne'. (Then we created from that a leech, a little piece of flesh similar to congealing blood, and from this congealing blood we created the bones).[14]

Just a year after, in 1515, a polemical treatise, which became a European bestseller especially thanks to its Italian translation by Domingo de Gaztelu (1537), was published in Valencia. This book, is the *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* by or attributed to the ex-Muslim scholar and convert to Christianity Juan Andrés from Xàtiva. In this text, the term *ʿalaq* is not translated with *hirudo* or *sanguisuga*, but with *gusanos* 'worms'. The translator interpreted *ʿalaq* as the plural of *ʿalaqa* 'leech', but he seems to have intentionally used its hypernym 'worms'. Juan Vernet argued that Juan Andrés, being a convert and a polemicist, chose from among the possibilities he had the most derogatory meaning of the word *ʿalaq*, that is 'leeches' and, afterwards, simplified 'leeches' into 'worms'. In the first chapter of the *Confusión*, within the frame of the biography of the prophet, Juan Andrés or the religious authorities behind him through their translation workshop, presented the first lines of the Qurʾān to be revealed to Muḥammad, both in Arabic, transliterated into Latin alphabet, and in vernacular. Qurʾān 96: '1 O Mahoma, lee en nombre de *tu Criador*, / 2 el que crió el hombre de *gusanos'*. Moreover, if we read this passage along with Marcos de Toledo we can clearly retrace the line of transmission of this conscious, or unconscious, confusion of the text of the Qurʾān. Marcos de Toledo, in fact, as we already know, translated the Arabic *ʿalaq* with *sanguisuga* and, interestingly enough, *Rabbika* 'your Lord' as *Creatoris tui* 'your Creator'. This is also the case in Juan Andrés' *de tu Criador* 'your Creator'. Both translated Arabic *Rabb* 'lord' as 'creator' (Arabic *Khāliq*). This second example is a textual counter-evidence of the diffusion of medieval Latin translations of the Qurʾān across Catholic and Morisco translation workshops. Moreover, if we compare Juan Andrés' rendering of *ʿalaq* with the Spanish translation produced among Moriscos in 1609 for a Muslim audience, we can easily understand Juan Andrés' polemical strategy and the tradition of translation he followed. The text, edited by Consuelo López-Morillas, translates *ʿalaq* (Qurʾān 96,2) as *sangre espessa*

14 Travis E. Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qurʾān: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegeses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 126–27; Luciano Formisano (ed.), *Iddio ci dia buon viaggio e guadagno. Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 1910, Codice Vaglienti* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2006), pp. 285–86.

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and *ʿalaqa* (Qurʾān 23,14) as *sangre*, as the examples of Adriaan Reland (*sanguis crassus*) and Antonio Giggei (*sanguis crassior*) suggested a few decades later.[15]

Recently, Mercedes García-Arenal and Katarzyna Starczewska have argued that behind the translation of the Qurʾān by Egidio da Viterbo, and the translation workshop in Valencia that produced polemical tracts as the *Confusión* and the *Lumbre de fe* by Martín de Figuerola, there was essentially one translator, namely the Morisco Juan Gabriel de Teruel. Following this stimulating suggestion, we could find another Spanish-Italian connection for this story. The Latin Qurʾān sponsored by the cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1518) translates *ʿalaqa* into 'worm'. In the rendering of Qurʾān 96,1–3, the second verse is actually omitted: '1 Lege nomen domini tui illius qui creavit! / 3 Lege per dominum tuum honoratum!' On the contrary, the rendering of Qurʾān 23,14 translates *ʿalaqa* with *vermis* 'worm': 'postea creavimus sperma, *vermem* revivificatum, et creavimus in *verme* carnem, et creavimus in carne ossa', 'Then we create a seed, and then a revivified worm, and we created a lump in the worm, and we created the bones in the lump'.[16]

Along with the Qurʾān by Marcos de Toledo, the *ʿAqīda* by Ibn Tūmart, and the Qurʾān sponsored by Egidio da Viterbo, Juan Andrés' *Confusión* was also

15 Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*, (ed.) Elisa Ruiz García and María Isabel García-Monge (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003), p. 109. On *Rabb* as 'nourisher unto perfection', see Ali Akbar, *God and Man: The Root of Creation and the Life Hereafter, the Holy Qurʾān and Modern Science* (Leckwith: Seraj Publications, 1982), p. xxv.

16 Mercedes García-Arenal and Katarzyna K. Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham the Catholic': Juan Gabriel as Qurʾān Translator for Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo', *Al-Qanṭara*, 35 (2014): pp. 410–56. Starczewska, 'Latin Translation of the Qurʾān (1518/1621) commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Critical Edition and Introductory Study', (PhD Diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012), p. 345, see also p. 337. Another polemical text, produced in the same Spanish context, does not translate Qurʾān 96,2. See Lope de Obregón, *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus propios libros y de la vida del mesmo Mahoma* (Granada: [n.p.], 1555), fol. 9v: '*O ya Muhemed acra bizmi rabige alledi halach halalça alinçine min halach acra bizmi rabique al-acran alledi allemebil çalam halleme alinçene melen yahlen*. Que quiere dezir: 'O Mahoma, lee en el nombre del Criador el más honrado Señor, que enseño al hombre a escrevir con la pluma, lo que antes no sabía'. To understand the role of Augustinians in the diffusion of the Qurʾān in Humanistic Italy see Angelo M. Piemontese, 'Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alla Corte di Urbino', in *M. Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada alias Flavio Mitridate: un ebreo converso siciliano*, (ed.) Mauro Perani (Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2008), pp. 151–71.

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read and copied in Italy during the sixteenth century.[17] Moreover, through the Italian translation by Domingo de Gaztelu, printed in cheap and handy octavos throughout the sixteenth century, the worms by or attributed to Juan Andrés found many Italian and European readers. Gaztelu's translation states as follows: 'O Macomet, legi in nome d'il tuo Creatore, / quel che creò l'huomo de vermi'. Through the Italian printed translation of the *Confusión*, Juan Andrés' Spanish *gusanos* became *vers* in France, *worme* in England and, among other linguistic metamorphoses, were transformed again into the Latin *vermes* thanks to the pen of the German scholar Johann Lauterbach (1595).[18]

In 1595, the German Johann Lauterbach published his Latin version of Juan Andrés' *Confusión*, while the German Friedrich Sylburg was publishing his humanistic translation of Zigabenos' polemic. Both the Spanish and the Greek line of transmission of this episode of manipulated qurʾānic embryology, respectively represented by the Latin terms *vermis* and *hirudo*, passed through Italian translation workshops and the Italian printing press to reach a broader European readership. During the last decade of sixteenth century, the miller Menocchio could have been among the readers of Juan Andrés. Though this hypothesis is fascinating, it is very unlikely to be true. Using the metaphor of the cheese and worms, the miller Menocchio denied creationism, while in Juan Andrés, it is God who creates the man out of worms. Of course, we may imagine that Menocchio's creative memory could have mixed this passage of the Qurʾān, already manipulated by polemicists and translators, with the autoptic experience of fermentation, as well as with some confused and received ideas about the *creatio ex nihilo*. He could have, or he could have not. In addition, a contrastive analysis of Menocchio's reading of the *Alcorano di Macometto* by Giovanni Battista Castrodardo, printed by Andrea Arrivabene in 1547, demonstrated that Menocchio was a keen reader of the Qurʾān. He simply read the Qurʾān from another source. He understood and assimilated sections of the the text, using his *cognitio* of the *grammatica* of the Qurʾān to

17 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo, book XLIV, ch. 38, fol. 9r: 'Et l'Angiolo disse: Leggi in nome del tuo creatore, il quale creò l'huomo di vermini'. On this manuscript, see Franco Bacchelli, 'Di Leone Africano e di una anonima *Vita di Mahometto* del sec. XVI', in *L'Italia dell'Inquisitore. Storia e geografia dell'Italia del Cinquecento nella descrizione di Leandro Alberti*, (ed.) M. Donattini (Bologna: Bologna University Press, 2008), pp. 231–46.

18 Juan Andrés, Italian translation by D. Gaztelu, *Opera chiamata confusione della Setta Machumetana* (Seville [Venice]: 1537), fol. 11v; J. Lauterbach, *De bello contra Turcas suscipiendo. Commentatio Johannis Lauterbach in Noscovvitz Jurisconsulti confusio Sectae Mahometanae ab eodem Latinitate donata* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1595), p. 115: 'Angelus replicavit: O Mahomet, lege nomen tui creatoris, qui condidit hominem ex vermibus'.

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challenge Catholic worship of saints. In contrast, Justus Lipsius assimilated Zigabenos' confutation of qur'ānic embryology through humanistic Latin translations. He used Sylburg's version of Zigabenos' to challenge Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet and, consequently, as an unreliable ruler and lawgiver. These examples, and the different lines of diffusion of the translation of *ʿalaq*, represented by *hirudo*, *sanguisuga* and *vermis*, lead us to reflect more generally about the reception and the readership of polemical works.

## European Readership, Possible Conclusions

The history of this episode of confutation of the Qur'ān is useful to understand early modern European lines of the trasmission of knowledge and transmission of ignorance about Islam. Edward Said, commenting on Richard Southern's pioneering work, wrote that 'The best part of the book (*Western views of Islam in the middle ages*, 1962) is his demonstration that it is finally Western ignorance which becomes more refined and complex, not some body of positive Western knowledge which increases in size and accuracy. For fictions have their own logic and their own dialectic of growth or decline'. The current re-thinking of European Orientalism, beyond the Saidian discourse and the history of the representation of the other, is trying to demonstrate that 'refined ignorance' and 'knowledge' of Islam, whether positive or negative knowledge, are strictly interconnected during the medieval and early modern eras. 'Fictions' and 'forgeries', 'with their own logic and their own dialectic' actually stimulated the creation of 'knowledge of Islam' and Oriental languages. Thus, early modern Orientalism, along with and in the shade of humanistic Antiquarianism, played an active role in the transformation and development of the critical tools that were brought to bear in modern scholarship. For instance, facing the creation of man out of a leech, as an example of *translatio ignorantiae*, or even better of *translatio ignorationis*, Adriaan Reland turned to Islamic sources to correct Zigabenos' polemical reading of qur'ānic embryology.[19]

Along with the 'logic' and the 'dialectic' of 'ignorance', the lines of transmission of 'fiction' and 'forgeries' are also themselves revealing. Our example shows that focusing on the European corridors of *translatio ignorationis* allows us to describe and analyze the impact of Spanish Orientalism on Italian Renaissance culture, as well as the diffusion of *hispano-arábica* along with *turcica* in the European book market (for example Juan Andrés' *Confusión* and its translations). Early modern Spanish Orientalism, in fact, is particularly

19 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 2014), p. 62.

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interesting, because of its deep medieval Arabic-Latin roots, its overlap with the contemporary rewriting of the history of Spain, and its inescapable relation with the religious, cultural and linguistic issues of Morisco minorities. Moreover, Spanish Orientalism is currently engaging scholars, because its impact on the European and Mediterranean Republic of letters has not yet been systematically examined.[20]

Following *translatio ignorationis*, it could also be possible to read the diffusion of Spanish Orientalism throughout Italy, under the light of its ideological counterpart: the reaction of Italian intellectuals to it, and the different ideological uses of *Maurophilia* and *Hispanophobia* in the formation of the national and regional identities of the Italian peninsula. At least since the early sixteenth century, up to the Risorgimento and then to the War of Spain, Italian intellectuals cyclically debated, refused and sometimes over-reacted against the revendication by Spanish scholars of the role Spain had in European intellectual history. A particular moment of this history is definitely the arrival of Spanish Jesuits to Italy, expelled in 1767 by Carlos III. This expulsion, and the debate raised in Italy among Spaniards and Italians about the supremacy of Spanish or Italian culture, is crucial to understand why the impact of Iberian Islam on Italy has never been properly studied. Still in 1936, for example, the entry *Spain* in the controversial *Enciclopedia Italiana*, referring to the activities of Spanish Jesuits in Italy during the late eighteenth century, states that: 'they [the Spanish Jesuits] confused art and science, poetry and thought, and they wrote no more than a history of culture [sic] with national and apologetical intentions. At least, however, they were able to underline the role of cultural mediator Spain had between East and West during the Middle Ages'.[21]

This episode of *ignoratio* of *grammatica* could lead instead to other conclusions and suggest different directions of research. It could be possible to

20 Pier Mattia Tommasino, 'The Qur'ān in Early Modern Iberia and Beyond', *Al-Qanṭara*, 35 (2014): pp. 397–408.

21 *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1936), s.v. *Spagna*. On-line publication <http://www.treccani.it> [accessed March 2014]: 'I gesuiti, ma specialmente quelli che cacciati di patria trovarono rifugio in Italia (Esteban Arteaga, Juan Francisco Masdeu, Javier Lampillas), furono i più fervidi assertori del patrimonio spirituale della cultura spagnola. Essi la inserirono nel quadro generale della civiltà europea secondo quella linea di svolgimento e di progresso che era consona all'ideologia del tempo; ma tutti, qual più e qual meno, e in modo particolare Esteban Arteaga, Juan Francisco Masdeu, Javier Lampillas, confusero arte e scienza, poesia e pensiero, e fecero più che altro una storia della cultura con intenti apologetici nazionali. Comunque essi seppero mettere in rilievo la funzione mediatrice tra Occidente e Oriente esercitata dalla Spagna durante il Medioevo'.

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compare medieval and early modern textual agnogenesis with contemporary interpretation of the Qurʾān based on *tafsīr al-ʿilmi*, tracing the path that brought qurʾānic embryology from being a topic of Latin medieval polemics to becoming the main battlefield for the apologies of the Qurʾān as a linguistic and scientific miracle. This choice could permit us to follow up on the analysis of *ignoratio*, *ignorantia*, and *cognitio* in commenting on the complex and slippery connections between science, revelation and textual interpretation in contemporary reading of the Qurʾān.

Since the early 1980s, in fact, the spread of technique of reproductive medicine has led Muslim scholars to deal with new ethical problems, and to return to the interpetation of embryology in the Qurʾān, especially of the different stages of formation of the embryo in relation to the moment of the ensoulment. Accordingly to these new trends based on scientific observation of the embryo, the word *ʿalaq* has no longer been translated exclusively as 'blood-clot', but as 'clinging, or hanging form', or metaphorically as 'leech-like clot', considering that between day 7 and day 24 the embryo clings to the endometrium of the uterus, in a similar way that a leech clings to the skin. This is the phase of the implantation of the embryo. This new metaphorical translation of the term *ʿalaq* reflects the strategies of assimilation, negotiation, reconciliation, harmonization between science and revelation already analyzed by Marwa El-Shakri in her book on *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860–1950*. In contrast, Zigabenos' and Juan Andrés' readers used the literal interpretation, that is the literal misinterpretation of *ʿalaq*, to emphasize the unreliable and superstitious irrationality of the same qurʾānic vocabulary.[22]

## The Polysemy of the Reader

Though I find these lines of research very promising, I would rather conclude this brief essay in a still different way. My rhetorical choice clearly reflects the statement of my conclusion: the description of the mechanism of a polemical project does not necessarily explain the causes of its diffusion or the reasons of its reception. Thus, I would not stress the passive and univocal reception of strategies of textual agnogenesis, nor their possible and positive outcomes in terms of philological and theological knowledge of a religious text. Instead, I would like to underline the independence of early modern readers. Even in

22 Marwa El-Shakri, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). See also Maurice Bucaille, *La Bible, le Coran et la science. Les écritures saintes examinees à la lumière des connaissance modernes* (Paris: Seghers, 1976), pp. 200–06.

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the ages of classicism, readers could have deliberately refused to trust agnogenetists, or at least inadvertently neglected their textual strategies. The ongoing scholarly debate about the nature of Juan Andrés' text requires some methodological remarks regarding the study of its reception. It is very important to distinguish the construction of this polemical project, based on the exemplarly conversion to Christianity of the Muslim scholar Juan Andrés, from the great fortune of the text during more than three centuries. In other words, it is necessary to distinguish between the production of a text and its reception, or even better between the project and the projection of a text. In order to explain my point of view, I propose to use the reading practices of Baruch Spinoza. In his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1650), Spinoza observed:

> It often happens that in different books we read histories in themselves similar, but which we judge very differently, according to the opinions we have formed of the authors. I remember once to have read in some book that a man named Orlando Furioso used to ride a kind of winged monster through the air, fly over any country he liked, kill unaided vast numbers of men and giants, and other such fancies which from the point of view of reason are obviously absurd. I read a very similar story, in Ovid, of Perseus, and also in the books of Judges and Kings, of Samson, who alone and unarmed killed thousands of men, and of Elijah, who flew through the air and at last went up to heaven in a chariot of fire, with fiery horses. All these stories are obviously alike, but we judge them very differently. The first one sought to amuse, the second had a political object, the third a religious one.[23]

This passage makes clear that Spinoza was not such a careful reader of Ariosto. Among other errors, his memory confused Orlando with Astolfo, a character that, on the contrary, Giordano Bruno chose as one of his literary alter-ego for his travels to the moon. Nevertheless, this passage of the *Tractatus* shows how

23 Baruch Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologicus-Politicus* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1887), p. 112, quoted in Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (London: Penguin, 1996), p. 14. On the debate over Juan Andrés' text see Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Szpiech, 'Preaching Paul to the Moriscos in the *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) by Juan Andrés', *La Corónica*, 41 (2012): pp. 317–43; Jason Busic, 'Polemic and Hybridity in Early Modern Spain: Juan Andrés' *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*', *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 12 (2012): pp. 85–110. An interesting discussion of Szpiech's work is in the review of Seth Kimmel, *Comparative Literature*, 66 (2014): pp. 361–63.

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the diffusion of narratives of ascension could shed light on the reception of polemical works. Ten years after the translation of Juan Andrés into Italian (1537), Giovanni Battista Castrodardo used Juan Andrés' text to rewrite the biography of the prophet Muḥammad, published in the introduction of his *Alcorano di Macometto* (1547). Castrodardo was neither interested in Juan Andrés' worms, nor in the polemical and personal frame traced by Juan Andrés or by the authorities behind the text attribuited to him. His eyes rested on other sections of the text. Being a commentator on Dante, Castrodardo discovered in Juan Andrés a new version of Muḥammad's ascension to Heaven (*miʿrāj*). Consequently, he read Muḥammad's fabulous journey through the underworld and paradise, not as a fake miracle to be condemned, but as an enjoyable, beautiful and dantesque fiction.[24]

Contrary to Spinoza's model of reading, Castrodardo mixed literary entertainment with politics and religion. His Muḥammad was Orlando/Astolfo, Perseus and Elijah at once. His reading of Juan Andrés, just as other many possible examples, suggests that describing the making of a polemical project does not necessarily explain its reception. As well as *pòlemos* and polysemy, polysemy and reception are closely tied too. Reception could actually be described as a continuing and in theory endless process of semantization of a text. If polemicists used the polysemy of a revealed text to create narratives of ignorance, readers of polemics in turn could have found new meanings to create their own personal narratives.

In Europe of the Old regime, in fact, religious polemics were neither exclusively read as polemical, nor just as religious. During the second half of the sixteenth century, for example, the Italian philologist Giovanni Maria Barbieri, cunningly or accidentally ignoring al-Kindī's arguments about qur'ānic rhetorics, used Ricoldo da Monte Croce, and the Qur'ān itself, to endorse the thesis of the Arabic origins of Romance poetry (1570). At the end of the eighteenth century, Girolamo Tiraboschi, the editor of Barbieri's work, in the middle of a fierce debate among Spanish and Italian Jesuits about Spanish Orientalism and the roots of European civilization, used Álvaro de Córdoba to endorse Barbieri's literary theories. Their reading of medieval polemics was apologetic. Literary and apologetic. Both Barbieri and Tiraboschi, in fact, brought religious polemics out of the frame of religion, just as Castrodardo's reading of Juan Andrés was focused on the fiction. Ironically, at the end the twentieth century,

24 On Giordano Bruno as a reader of Ariosto see Lina Bolzoni, *Il lettore creativo. Percorsi cinquecenteschi fra memoria, gioco, scrittura* (Naples: Guida, 2012), pp. 59–82; Tommasino, *L'Alcorano di Macometto*, pp. 161–88.

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María Rosa Menocal read Álvaro de Córdoba retracing Girolamo Tiraboschi's path.[25]

*Pòlemos* and *religio* could or might not interest readers of religious polemic. In other words, narratives of conversion or narratives of ignorance were possible strategies of production of polemical texts, but they were and they are not the only lens through which we can read and analyze them. This means that Juan Andrés' worms didn't necessarily and univocally attract all the book-worms who opened his book. Those book-worms could have been *boni* or *mali grammatici*, observant readers or just careless, but free, persons who browsed the pages of his book looking for something else.

25 Giovanni Maria Barbieri, *Dell'origine della poesia rimata*, (ed.) Girolamo Tiraboschi (Modena: Presso la Società Tipografica, 1790), pp. 14–15, p. 42. María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little Brown, 2002), p. 66. Feliciano Delgado León, *Álvaro de Córdoba y la polémica contra el Islam. El Indicus luminosus* (Cordoba: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural Cajasur, 1996).

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CHAPTER 6

# A Witness of Their Own Nation: On the Influence of Juan Andrés

*Ryan Szpiech*

Many have now heard the story of how, on 4 January 2007, the first Muslim to be elected to the United States congress – Democratic representative from Minnesota Keith Ellison – was sworn in, not without some controversy. As is the custom, public servants are allowed, in the non-official presentation for the media leading up to the actual swearing-in ceremony in the House of Representatives itself, to place their hand on the Bible while vowing to do their duty. Since Ellison is a convert to Islam, he asked if he could use the Qur'ān rather than the Bible, and he was allowed to use no less than the personal copy of the Qur'ān in English translation that once belonged to Thomas Jefferson, a copy that, after surviving multiple fires in the Capitol, now resides in the Library of Congress. This use of the Qur'ān caused considerable controversy, spurring conservative author and pundit Dennis Prager to declare in an editorial that 'America, not Keith Ellison, decides what book a congressman takes his oath on'.[1] Although this remark was denounced by the Anti-Defamation League as 'intolerant, misinformed, and downright un-American', Prager's views found some sympathetic ears, and a chain email started circulating at this time alleging that US president Barak Obama had similarly been sworn in to the presidency on a Qur'ān instead of a Bible, and that he was actually a clandestine Muslim.[2]

While this story and its fallout are now well known, what is not commonly known is that Jefferson's Qur'ān, a 1764 printing of an English translation made

1 Dennis Praeger, 'America, Not Keith Ellison, Decides What Book a Congressman Takes His Oath On', *Townhall.com* 28 November 2006, <http://townhall.com/columnists/dennisprager/2006/11/28/america,_not_keith_ellison,_decides_what_book_a_congressman_takes_his_oath_on> [accessed 01 November 2015].

2 'ADL Statement on Dennis Prager's Attack on Muslim Congressman for Taking Oath of Office on Koran', 1 December 2006, <http://archive.adl.org/nr/exeres/efa3baa7-9817-40d1-8d2c-60a449e3d717,0b1623ca-d5a4-465d-a369-df6e8679cd9e,frameless.html>. On the chain mail and claims about Obama, see Angie D. Holan, 'Obama used a Koran? No, he Didn't', *Politifact.com*, 20 December 2007, <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2007/dec/20/chain-email-gets-obama-religion-wrong> [accessed 01 November 2015].

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by George Sale in 1734, contains references to Christian readers of the Qur'ān that reach far back into the past, even as far as sixteenth-century Iberia. In his prologue, Sale refers directly to one 'Johannes Andraes, a native of Xativa, in the kingdom of Valencia, who from a Mohammedan doctor became a Christian priest, translated not only the Koran but also its glosses and the seven books of the sonna, [*sic*] out of Arabic into the Arragonian tongue'.[3] This 'Johannes Andraes' is none other than Juan Andrés, the name given as the author of the anti-Muslim treatise *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del alcorán* (Confusion or Confutation of the Muḥammadan Sect and of the Qur'ān), published in Valencia in 1515. Although we know little about who Juan Andrés was, the fact that George Sale mentions his name and text in the eighteenth century is not an anomaly, for he was cited by a continuous stream of Christian writers about Islam from the sixteenth century all the way to the end of the eighteenth, and even on occasion in the nineteenth and twentieth, not only in Spain but throughout Europe and the United States.

In this essay, I will first explore what little is known about Juan Andrés' identity. I will then trace out some of the channels of his influence, explaining the model of testimony within a conversion narrative that he made use of, and considering in particular the influence of Juan Andrés' use of original Arabic texts. By sketching out the reach of his influence in subsequent writing, I will suggest that Juan Andrés, a mysterious, poorly understood figure, served as a unique vector of transmission of medieval polemical writing to the early modern and modern world, and that his representation of the Qur'ān, while not the most accurate or the most exhaustive of Iberian sources, was by far the longest lived and the most influential for centuries after.

## In Search of Juan Andrés

We know very little for certain about the life of Juan Andrés, and most of what little we think we know has come from Juan's prologue to the *Confusión*, where he states that he was born a Muslim in the city of Xàtiva, near Valencia:

> I was born and instructed and taught in the sect of Muḥammad by ʿAbdallāh my biological father, who was a *faqīh* [religious jurist] for the same city. After his death I succeeded him in his office of *faqīh*, in which

3 George Sale, *The Koran: Commonly Called the Alcoran of Mohammed, Translated into English Immediately from the Original Arabic* (London: L. Hawes, W. Clarke, R. Collins and T. Wilcox, 1764), p. xi.

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> I was lost for a long time and had veered off the path of truth, until the year of 1487, when I found myself present in the main church of the illustrious city of Valencia on the day of Our Lady in August, when the very reverend and no less learned Master Marqués was preaching. Suddenly, the shining rays of divine light … removed and cleared the shadows of my understanding, and then opened the eyes of my soul.[4]

Despite the concreteness of this statement, giving Juan Andrés' city of birth, his father's name, and the day, year, and place of his alleged conversion, little to nothing is known for certain who he was. The name of one 'Juan Andrés' appears in a list of canons of the Cathedral of Granada from around 1516, but the list gives no further information to connect this name with certainty to the author of the *Confusión*.[5] It has, despite repeated scholarly efforts, proven extremely difficult to verify his identity – or even confirm Juan Andrés' very existence – with certainty.

One logical place to search for information about Juan Andrés is in the circumstances of his work's publication. In the same year (1515) as his widely popular *Confusión* was published by the Valencian publishing house of Juan Jofré, another text, attributed to the same name of 'Juan Andrés', was published by the same house: the *Sumario breve de la práctica de la arithmética de todo el curso de larte mercantivol bien declarado, el qual se llama maestro de cuento* (Brief Summary of the Practice of Arithmetic in the Course of the Mercantile Art, which is called the Master of Accounting).[6] Although García-Arenal and

4 'Fuy nacido y instruydo y enseñado en la secta mahomética por Abdalla, mi natural padre, alfaquí de la dicha ciudad, por cuya muerte succedí yo en su oficio de alfaquí, en que mucho tiempo estuve perdido y desviado de la verdad, fasta que en el año de 1487 predicando en la yglesia mayor de la insigne ciudad de Valencia, hallándome yo presente en día de Nuestra Señora de Agosto, el muy reverendo y no menos docto varón maestre Marqués, a desora los resplandescientes rayos de la divinal luz … removieron y esclarescieron las tenieblas de mi entendimiento y luego se me abrieron los ojos de la ánima'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*, (ed.) Elisa Ruiz García and María Isabel García-Monge (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003), p. 89. Copies of this text survive in the Biblioteca Civica Queriniana in Brescia and in the British Library.

5 Rafael Marín López, *El cabildo de la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998), p. 438.

6 Juan Andrés, *Sumario breve de la practica de la arithmetica de todo el curso de larte mercantivol bien declarado, el qual se llama maestro de cuento* (Valencia: Juan Jofré, 1515; Valencia: Vicent García Editores, 1999). On this text, see Vicente L. Salavert Fabiani, 'Introducción a la historia de la aritmética práctica en la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XVI', *Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientarumque Historiam Illustrandam*, 10 (1990): pp. 63–91, at pp. 70–72; and Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang,

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Starczewska have suggested that these two works might not be by the same author, I believe that this question must be analyzed in greater depth in light of the multiple editions of the work.[7] While one group of copies of this work (which I will call *Sumario*$_1$) contain a prologue dedicating the work to Serafín Centelles y Urrea, Count of Oliva (1460–1536), a second group (which I will call *Sumario*$_2$, although it is not actually clear if it was the first or second of the two), contains a different prologue dedicating the work to Martín García Puyazuelo (ca. 1441–1521), bishop of Barcelona. A different title page, depicting above the title the heraldic arms of each figure, respectively, accompanies the two editions.[8] While the two groups are exactly the same in all other respects, including the colophon dating the printing to 30 August 1515 (I will call the text shared by both printings simply *Sumario*), the alternate prologue in the *Sumario*$_2$ connects this printing to the *Confusión*, because Martín García is mentioned explicitly in the prologue to the latter work as one of the leaders who oversaw and guided the young Juan Andrés in his polemical projects after his conversion. Based on his statements in the *Confusión*, Juan Andrés was, after his conversion, called by Fernando and Isabel, the Catholic Monarchs, to Granada, where he claims to have become a canon and to have 'preach[ed] to the moors of that kingdom that their Highnesses had conquered where, by my preaching and the will of God, who wanted it so, an infinite number of moors (*infinita morisma*), by rejecting Muḥammad, converted to Christ'.[9] By these claims, Juan Andrés situates himself with the Christianization of the city that took place in the 1490s under the auspices of Hieronymite friar Hernando de Talavera, who was archbishop of Granada beginning in 1492, rather than under

2006), p. 336 n. 8. I am grateful to Professor Davis for discussing Juan Andrés and the *Sumario* with me – it was her suggestion and encouragement that led me to explore the connection between the *Sumario* and the *Confusión* in more detail.

7 Mercedes García-Arenal and Katarzyna K. Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham the Catholic: Juan Gabriel as Qur'ān Translator for Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo', *Al-Qanṭara*, 35 (2014): pp. 409–59, at p. 433 n. 77.

8 According to the colophons of the *Sumario* and *Confusión*, the former was written in Zaragoza in 1514 and published in Valencia on 30 August 1515 (*Sumario*, fol. 144r), while the latter was published on 13 November 1515 (fol. 88v, *Confusión*, p. 230). Both the *Sumario* and the *Confusión* contain the same woodcut of La Virgen del Pilar (*Sumario*, fol. 1v; *Confusión*, fol. 5v). I am grateful to Manuel Montoza Coca for sharing images of the prologue to Martín García in *Sumario*$_2$ with me. Copies of this alternate edition survive in the Biblioteca Lambert Mata in Girona and in the University of London (Senate House).

9 'Fui llamado por los más cathólicos príncipes, el rey don Fernando y la reyna doña Ysabel, para que fuesse en Granada a predicar a los moros de aquel reyno que sus Altezas avían conquistado, donde por mi predicación y voluntad de Dios, que así lo quería, infinita morisma, renegando a Mahoma, a Cristo se convertió'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 90.

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the harsh methods imposed by Cardinal Cisneros at the Catholic Monarchs' request, beginning in late 1499. Talavera insisted on upholding the terms of the capitulations of Granada from 1492, which stipulated that coercion would not be used to obtain conversion, and he thus followed a notably Pauline method of evangelization based on preaching, undertaken with the support of converted Muslims and local *faqīh*s, and made it possible for Muslims to make confession in Arabic.[10] His evangelical policies were largely cast aside after 1499 and by 1502, the capitulations of 1492 had been revoked and all Muslims of Castile were compelled to accept baptism.

Around 1500, not surprisingly, Juan was called by Queen Isabel to leave Granada and continue his missionizing in Aragon, where policies like those of Cisneros had not yet taken root, but his evangelical work there was cut short by the death of the Queen in 1504:

> Giving up then that goal [of missionizing in Aragon], I turned – in order to keep busy – to translate from Arabic into the Aragonese language the entire law of the Moors, called the Qur'ān, with its glosses and the seven [sic] books of the Sunna. I was also moved to do this by the order of the very reverend master Martín García, bishop of Barcelona and inquisitor of Aragon, and my patron and lord, so that in the charge which he had from their Highnesses to preach to the moors, he could confuse and conquer them with the authorities of their own law, which it would be difficult for him to do without that work of mine.[11]

Knowing as we do that Martín García was a canon in Zaragoza in the 1480s, confessor of the Queen after 1487, inquisitor in Zaragoza and Tarazona after 1492, preacher in Granada after 1500 and bishop of Barcelona by 1515, it is possible to construct a rough chronology of Juan Andrés' movements in relation to him.[12]

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10 Mercedes García-Arenal, 'The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada', *Arabica*, 56 (2009): pp. 495–528, esp. pp. 501–02.

11 'Cessando, pues, por entonces aquel fin, yo, por no estar ocioso, convertime a trasladar de arávigo en lengua aragonesa toda la ley de los moros, digo el *Alcorán* con sus glosas y los siete (*sic*) libros de la *Çuna;* movido también a esto por mandado del muy reverendo señor maestre Martín García, obispo de Barçelona y inquisidor de Aragón, mi patrón y mi señor, porque en el cargo que tenía de sus Altezas de predicar a los moros podiesse, con las auctoridades de su misma ley, confundirlos y vencerlos, lo que sin aquel trabajo mío con difficultad podiera hazer'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 91.

12 Various studies of the sermons summarize this chronology of Martín García. See, for example, the now-dated José Ribera Florit, 'La polémica cristiano-musulmana en los

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Apart from the link between the *Sumario* and the *Confusión* provided by the figure of Martín García, however, the former text yields only limited information about the author's religious activities. Unlike the *Confusión*, the *Sumario* offers virtually no evidence of the polemical perspective of a Muslim convert to Christianity, apart from two chapters mentioning Islam and Muslims (one mentioning 'Morisco multiplication, which is in the practice [modo de uso] of the Moors,' and another naming 'a man who was captive in the land of the Moors, whose three sons went to rescue him').[13] Neither of these sections, however, contains any polemical content, although the author does speak with some knowledge about traditions beyond Christianity and praises the Muslim method of accounting as 'the best and most certain although it is not used by Christian merchants, because they do not know it'.[14] The prologue to the *Sumario*$_2$ dedicated to Martín García likewise contains nothing of a polemical anti-Muslim nature.

Thus while circumstantial evidence does connect the *Sumario* and the *Confusión* as the work of the same author and does seem to confirm that Juan Andrés actually did exist, they offer very little to help identify who Juan Andrés might be, beyond his identification in the *Sumario* as 'Juan Andrés, unworthy and humble among clerics' and the statement that the work was written in Zaragoza in 1514.[15] He mentions future plans of writing 'a treatise that we want to make about the great art, that is, the art of algebra', a work that, as far as we know, did not get written.[16] In the prologue of *Sumario*$_2$ dedicated to Martín García, Juan Andrés mentions the former's help in 'any work, as much of arithmetic and practical [mathematics] as in support of the holy Catholic faith, that I might compose', possibly alluding to his *Confusión*, which he spe-

*Sermones* del maestro inquisidor don Martín García', BA thesis. (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1967), 26–32; Joseph Antonio de Hebrera, *Vida prodigiosa del ilustrísimo y venerable D. Martín García, obispo de Barcelona, hijo de la fidelíssima y antigua villa de Caspe* (Zaragoza: Domingo Gascón, 1700); and most recently, Manuel Montoza Coca, 'Edición, traducción y comentario de los *sermones* del I–V de Don Martín García', MA Final Diss., (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma, 2013), pp. 7–10.

13 'La segunda manera se llama multiplicar morisco que es al modo de uso de los moros'; *Sumario*, fol. 31r. 'un hombre que estaua catiuo en tierra de moros y fueron tres fijos suyos para a rescatarlo'; *Sumario*, fol. 133v.

14 'la mas sana y mas segura encara que entre los mercaders cristianos no se usa porque no la saben'; *Sumario*, fol. 31r.

15 'Juan Andrés indigno y humilde entre los clerigos'; *Sumario*, fol. 4r. On the composition in Zaragoza, see *Sumario*, fol. 4r, fol. 143r–v.

16 'un tratado que queremos fazer del arte mayor siquere arte de algebra'; *Sumario*, fol. 51v.

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cifically identifies as a work written under García's direction.[17] He states in the prologue of *Sumario*$_1$ dedicated to the Count of Oliva that, 'I knew your Lordship since your childhood', and given that the Count was born around 1460, this statement implies that Juan Andrés may have been born around that time also, or perhaps a little before, a dating that corresponds roughly to Juan Andrés' statement that he embraced Christianity around 1487, then being already old enough to have replaced his father as *faqīh* of Xàtiva after his death.[18]

Despite these bits of information that might be used to piece together a biography of Juan Andrés, the actual content of the *Confusión*, which offers the most autobiographical information about the author in the prologue, presents a significant problem of interpretation. While Juan Andrés claims, on the one hand, to be from the important and populous Muslim community of Xàtiva and to have been a jurist and teacher who was trained by his father, the *Confusión* contains erroneous statements and confused arguments that would be unexpected from even a moderately educated Muslim. For example, Juan Andrés states that the word 'Qur'ān' means 'gathering of chapters or psalms and verses', which is not only technically not true – the word 'Qur'ān' means 'a recitation' or 'a reading,' whereas a gathering of leaves of the Qur'ān is a *muṣḥaf*, a *kurrāsa*, or possibly a *juz'*, and an anthology of verses is a *majmūʿa.* Also, Juan's claim seems to suggest that he saw the Qur'ān as primarily a written book rather than an oral recitation, which itself is a puzzling claim for an alleged religious leader to posit.[19] In the *Confusión*, Juan follows the description of the Qur'ān common in North Africa of dividing the text into four 'books', each containing a variable number of 'chapters'. However, he also asserts that the Qur'ān contains a total of '211 chapters' (rather than the traditional number of 114 suras), including 175 chapters in the fourth 'book'. According to his description, this book ought to include all material beginning at the sura *Sad* (traditionally sura 38), and should thus contain 76 suras, not 175. Juan Andrés' numbering and count do not match any known distribution.

Juan Andrés also seems to get some basic details wrong in his account of Muslim history. He states that the Qur'ān 'was begun in Mecca in the year in

17 'qualquiere obra asi de arithmetica y pratica como en favor dela santa fe catholica yo composiere'; *Sumario*$_2$, fol. 2r.

18 'Conosciendo yo V.S. de su niñez se que…'; *Sumario*$_1$, fol. 2v. Similarly, Ruiz García speculates that Juan Andrés must have been born by 1467 or before; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 41 n. 60.

19 '*Alcoran* quiere dezir congregación de capítulos o psalmos y versos'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 118.

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which Muḥammad was forty years old, which was the year 630 of our Lord'.[20] Even if we take this as a scribal or typographical error (confusing 'XXX' with 'X' to read 630 rather than the correct year, 610), the other chronological statements made by Juan Andrés confuse things further. Juan Andrés claims Muḥammad revealed the Qur'ān for twenty-three years, not twenty-two, and he elaborates that he was in Mecca for 'ten years', not twelve (610–22) and was then in Medina for 'thirteen years', not ten (622–32) and not twelve.[21] He states that the first three Rashidun Caliphs were in-laws of the Prophet, when in reality only the first, Abū Bakr, and the fourth, ʿAlī, were in-laws (father-in-law and son-in-law, respectively). He also states that ʿUthmān was killed 'by a sword thrown by the hands of ʿAlī … which was poisoned by the hands of ʿAisha',[22] when in reality ʿUthmān was killed by others and it was ʿAlī who was killed with a poisoned sword, having nothing to do with ʿAisha (who by all views, Sunnī and Shīte, was often in conflict with ʿAlī and would, one assumes, never have collaborated with him).

Juan Andrés seems no less confused about the standard texts of Islamic tradition. He claims that the standard books of *ḥadīth* (traditions about the Prophet) were compiled by six sages working as a group, when in reality the canonical books of *ḥadīth* were compiled in different decades and in different places.[23] He further claims that Abū Hurayra (d. 681) collaborated with other *ḥadīth* compilers when in reality he died well over a century before all the other authors mentioned by Juan Andrés (Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī, Nasā'ī) were born. He claims that Muḥammad's mother 'Ymina' (Āmina) 'morió dos años después que Mahoma nasció'. The early biographies of the Prophet (*Sīra Rasūl Allāh*), most representative of which is that of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 760/61), state clearly that Muḥammad's mother lived until he was five or six years of age, after which time he went to live with his grandfather.[24] Such

20 'Fue començado en Mequa en el año que Mahoma uvo quarenta años, que fue año seyscientos XXX de Nuestro Señor'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 120.

21 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 120, p. 125. Juan Gabriel makes a similar error in the Latin Qur'ān of Egidio da Viterbo. See the gloss on Qur'ān 2:49, which states, 'Et Alcoran Machomae fuit in principio indigestum quod diuersis temporibus recepisse fabulantur e caelo spatio uiginti trium annorum, quorum decem accepit in Mecha et tredecim in Medina'. My sincere thanks to K. Starczewska for pointing this out to me and for sharing the text.

22 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 126; also 'Hozmen, tercero algalifa … fue muerto por una espada tirada por las manos de Alí … la qual espada fue metzinada por manos de Axa'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 228.

23 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 131.

24 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 98; Ibn Isḥāq, *The Life of Muḥammad: A Translation of Isḥāq's* Sīrat Rasūl Allāh, (trans.) A. Guillaume (1945; repr. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), states plainly that, 'he was six years old'; p. 73.

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a fact would have been common knowledge even for slightly educated Muslims, and the fact that Juan Andrés mentions the *Sīra* by name in the discussion suggests that he consulted it and his statement thus represents an even more obvious error. One could add many more examples to this list of apparent errors and confused ideas.

Such statements make it impossible to accept as true Juan Andrés' claim in the *Confusión* that he translated 'from Arabic into the Aragonese language the entire law of the Moors, that is the Qur'ān, along with its commentaries, and the seven books of the Sunah'.[25] No text of Juan Andrés' Qur'ān translation has survived, calling his claim further into doubt.[26] Juan Andrés does not make clear just which among the abundant *tafsīr* commentaries he is referring to here, but his reference to 'seven books' constitutes a confused mention of the *Kutub al-sitta*, 'six books' of *ḥadīth* sayings about the Prophet Muḥammad, which all together make up many thousands of pages. (Juan Andrés elsewhere refers to 'six' collections, in which he includes Abū Hurayra, whom other *ḥadīth* authors do actually name although he wrote no known work). The prospect that Juan Andrés successfully made a translation of the *entire* Qur'ān as well as thousands of pages of *ḥadīth* and hundreds or thousands more of *tafsīr* is in itself extremely difficult if not impossible to believe, and the fact that not a single page of Juan's alleged translations has survived apart from the content of Juan's own *Confusión* strains credulity even more. Juan Andrés may have made translations of selected passages, perhaps for use by Martín García and his followers, but certainly not 'the entire law of the Moors', whatever this might be thought to consist of.

Juan Andrés' exaggerated, erroneous or unorthodox statements undermine the possibility that he was an intellectual leader in Xàtiva before his conversion. On the one hand, Harvey has argued that among Moriscos in Aragon, *al-faqīh*, the title Juan Andrés gives himself, does not necessarily mean 'jurist' or intellectual, noting that 'in Valencia the *alfaquí* might be little more than a

25 'Convertime a trasladar de arávigo en lengua aragonesa toda la ley de los moros, digo el *Alcorán* con sus glosas y los siete (sic) libros de la *Çuna*'; p. 91.

26 Then again, if such a Qur'ān translation did once exist, it would not be the first of the period to go missing. For example, nothing of Juan de Segovia and 'Isa ibn Jabīr's multilingual Qur'ān translation has survived except for the prologue. For the text of the surviving prologue, see José Martínez Gázquez, 'El prólogo de Juan de Segobia al Corán (Qur'ān) trilingüe (1456)', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 38.1–2 (2003): pp. 389–410; and the entry 'Juan de Segovia', in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, *Vol.V* (*1350–1500*), (ed.) David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 429–42, esp. pp. 440–42.

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local schoolmaster and teacher',[27] although the exact importance of the position Juan Andrés claims for himself is not at all clear. On the other hand, contemporary references to the *faqīh* of Xàtiva from around 1492 speak of the position as if it carried a good degree of learning and influence.[28] Juan Andrés' clumsy and often confused handling of Muslim sources and tradition suggests that he was, at best, a literate Muslim of rather moderate learning, or that what he presents in the *Confusión* is distorted to fit the extreme rhetoric of polemical writing and does not accurately reflect the author's true knowledge.

Taking the *Sumario* and the *Confusión* together as the work of a single author, we might speculate that Juan Andrés was born a Muslim in Xàtiva around 1460, received a modest education (probably in part from his father) in Islamic tradition and the Arabic language, was trained as an accountant before his conversion in Valencia around 1487, worked in Granada sometime between 1492–99, preaching and translating texts of Islamic tradition in the missionary campaigns of Archbishop Talavera, and found himself in Zaragoza in the early sixteenth century, probably working as an accountant. There he participated in the intellectual circle of Martín García, working under García's guidance to contribute information about Islam for use in missionizing and polemics. He was probably in Valencia in 1515 and in Granada in 1516.[29] Nothing is known of his death but we might speculate that it took place in Zaragoza or Granada before 1530.

Yet the factuality of this biographical sketch cannot be confirmed, and it fails to address the important problems surrounding Juan Andrés' knowledge and the lack of solid information about his life from any other source. Another possibility that must also be entertained, therefore, is that Juan Andrés was a partly real, partly invented personage. Archival information corroborating the story presented by Juan Andrés in the *Confusión* remains to be found in the Archives of Valencia or the crown of Aragón. This absence of documentation is highly suspicious, especially considering the importance of the position that Juan Andrés claims to have had, the existence of other archival documents discussing the religious intelligentsia of Xàtiva during the very years Juan

27 Leonard P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 128.

28 Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), notes 'The primary role of the *faqi* was that of jurisconsult, acting either as counsellor or as arbitrator in litigations between Muslims … the *faqi* also taught in the local school, a task for which his years of study had well prepared him'; p. 265.

29 See also the biographical sketch provided by Elisa Ruiz García in her edition of the *Confusión*, pp. 37–41.

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Andrés' story was supposed to have taken place, and the mention in the archive of Valencia of other, less prominent converts.[30] If other converts are mentioned, why not Juan Andrés? If the activity of the *alfaquí* is discussed in some detail, where is Juan Andrés' story? At the same time, there are details about the religious history of Xàtiva that vaguely echo the details of Juan Andrés' story without confirming it. There is, for example, mention of at least one *alfaquí* of Xàtiva named Abdalla in the early 1490s, not a convert but a former captive from Tunis.[31] Perhaps the 'Juan Andrés' associated with Martín García and Martín de Figuerola and named as a canon of the Cathedral of Granada was a real but unremarkable convert. Perhaps also his story was embellished with the names of plausibly real characters (such as 'Abdalla') from the real history of Xàtiva and his book was composed by a group rather than a single person.[32] Such embellishment could be easily explained as a means pursued by Martín García and those of his circle to legitimately claim that the *Confusión* was based on 'authorities of their own law' and that Moriscos ought to follow

30 See the documents and examples mentioned by Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia*, pp. 231–32 and p. 337 n. 38.

31 On references to the choosing of an *alfaquí* in Xàtiva in 1492 (suspiciously named 'Abdalla', as Juan Andrés claims his father was named), Mark Meyerson notes that 'The career of Abdalla also demonstrates that Mudéjares on the whole respected and heeded the opinions of learned and holy men. Abdalla was known by Muslims throughout the kingdom and was reputed to lead the life of a saint. The *qadi* of Xàtiva, the kingdom's largest *morería*, related why he and the aljama wished to make Abdalla their jurist. Abdalla, the *qadi* pointed out, "is a very good Moor and … leader of prayers (*oracioner*)", so much so that after the death of the former *faqi* of Xàtiva, Abdalla, owing to his "good fame, life and knowledge", was the unanimous choice to succeed him. Clearly, the prestige of Abdalla, a foreigner and technically a slave, and of men like him in the eyes of the Mudejar community, rested neither on wealth nor on family backing; rather their status and influence, both local and, in the case of Abdalla, kingdom-wide, derived from their knowledge of religious and legal tradition and from the holiness of their lives'; Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia*, p. 267. Documents related to Abdalla, including a trial of his activities in aiding escaped captives, are found in the ARV, B1431: fols. 344r–375r.

32 The theory that the text in the *Confusión* was the product of various levels of intervention (author, copyist, typesetter) was suggested by Everette Larson, 'A Study of the *Confusión de la secta mahomátic*a of Juan Andrés', PhD Diss., (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 1981), p. 26. Mercedes García-Arenal and Katarzyna Starczewska have recently suggested that the work may be the product of a team of authors as well. See García-Arenal and Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham', who propose 'that the text attributed to Juan Andrés was not in its entirety authored by him; at the very least, we can argue that his text was created in the circle of Martín García and was put together by different authors and in different hands', p. 436. I am grateful to the authors for sharing the text with me ahead of its publication.

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this 'witness of their own nation'.[33] One can imagine that a few decades after the alleged events, such details about the Muslims of Xàtiva might have seemed vaguely plausible but were too distant to be gainsaid with any confidence. In this way, the real Juan Andrés might have been transformed with a mixture of fact and literary *topoi* to become the authorial persona presented in the prologue of the *Confusión.* On the other hand, there is no reason to postulate a similar case of multiple or pseudonymous authorship for the *Sumario*, which does not speak about events of the past in a testimonial form and has no rhetorical or polemical imperative similar to that in the *Confusión*.

## The Dissemination of Juan Andrés: The Case of the Death of Solomon (Qur'ān 34,14)

Although Juan Andrés' alleged translation of 'the entire law of the Moors' has not survived, Juan Andrés' *Confusión* contains abundant citations, both of qur'ānic suras written in Arabic transliterated into Latin characters an given along with Castilian translations, as well as *ḥadīth* passages given in translation. These citations are an important key to tracing the wide impact of Juan Andrés' writing. Notices of three subsequent Castilian editions following the 1515 printing exist (Valencia, 1519; Seville, 1537; Granada, 1560), although no known copies survive from these later printings.[34] Apart from these missing editions, we can trace Juan Andrés' impact in the peninsula by tracing the appearance of his book in library lists. For example, copies of Juan Andrés' book were held in the library of Joan de Borja i Enríquez, third Duke of Gandía.[35] Bernard Ducharme has also pointed to a document from 1551 describing how Inquisitor Gregorio de Miranda confiscated copies of Pérez de Chinchón and Juan Andrés from some students attempting to use them for polemical arguments with Moriscos,

33 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 91–92.

34 These editions are summarized by Ruiz García, *Confusión*, p. 54, n. 82. Manuel Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino describes a copy of the 1519 printing of Juan Andrés' work in the library of Francisco Fabián y Fuero, bishop of Puebla in Mexico and then later Valencia. 'Es indubitable, haberse impreso en la ciudad de Valencia en castellano, año 1519. Y efectivamente existe en la Biblioteca del Palacio del Sr. Arzobispo de Valencia, D. Francisco Fabián y Fuero, Estante 34, let. E, donde equivocado el rótulo del tronco, yacía en el olvido'. See Manuel Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino, *Verdadero carácter de Mahoma y de su religión* (Valencia: Francisco Burguete, 1793), pp. 37–38.

35 José Luis Pastor Zapata, 'La biblioteca de don Juan de Borja, tercer duque de Gandía (m.1543)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesus*, 61 (1992): pp. 275–308, esp. pp. 290–94.

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on the grounds that the texts contained religious polemic in Romance and, more importantly in the case of Juan Andrés, they cited Arabic.[36]

We can also follow Juan Andrés' impact through a number of other anti-Islamic books written in Latin or Castilian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all of which made direct use of Juan Andrés' *Confusión*: for example, the sermons of Martín García, published in Zaragoza in 1520;[37] the *Antialcorano* of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón from 1532;[38] and the *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus proprios libros, y dela vida del mesmo Mahoma*, by Lope de Obregón, priest in Ávila in the mid-sixteenth century, from 1555.[39] Juan Andrés' influence does not stop with the Expulsion of the Moriscos around 1609. In the seventeenth century, the *Confusión* was cited by the Jesuit Tirso González de Santalla in his *Manuductio ad conversionem mahumetanorum* (1687) and by Manuel Sanz, Spanish Jesuit in Malta, in his *Tratado breve contra la secta Mahometana* (1693). Even a century later, the Discalced Carmelite Manuel Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino drew heavily from Juan Andrés in his *Verdadero carácter de Mahoma y de su religión* (1794), naming or citing him at length over forty times.[40] Juan Andrés' citations of the Qur'ān –

36 Archivo Histórico Nacional, AHN, Inquisición, book 911, fol. 17v, referenced in Ricardo García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad en el siglo XVI, la Inquisición en Valencia 1530–1609* (Barcelona: Península, 1980), p. 237. See Bernard Duchesne, 'De Talavera a Ramírez de Haro. Actores y representaciones de la evangelización de los mudéjares y moriscos en Granada, Zaragoza y Valencia (1492–1545)', in *De la tierra al cielo. Líneas de investigaciones en Historia Moderna*, (coord.) Eliseo Serrano (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2013), p. 44, n. 16.

37 *Sermones eminentissimi totiusque Barchinonensis gregis tutatoris acerrimi necnon immarcessibilis sacre theologie paludamento insigniti Martini Garsie* (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, [1520]). Beyond the study of Ribera Florit, 'La polémica cristiano-musulmana', see also Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, 'Los sermones de don Martín García obispo de Barcelona sobre los Reyes católicos', *Publicaciones de la Universidad de Barcelona*, 33 (1955): pp. 1–94; reprinted under same title (Zaragoza: La Académica, 1956); and Montoza Coca, 'Edición, traducción y comentario'. Montoza Coca is currently preparing an edition of García's sermons.

38 Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Libro llamado Antialcorano, que quiere dezir contra el alcoran de Mahoma* (Valencia: Juan Jofré, 1532); edited as *Antialcorano. Diálogos cristianos. Conversión y evangelización de Moriscos*, (ed.) Francisco Pons Fuster (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000). See, for example, sermon 15.

39 Lope de Obregón, *Confutación del alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus propios libros y de la vida del mesmo Mahoma* (Granada: n.p, 1555), fol. 2r.

40 Tirso González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem mahumetanorum* (Madrid: Juan de Goyeneche, 1687), vol. 2, pp. 8, 11, 16, 42, 395, 405, and others; Manuel Sanz, *Tratado breve contra la secta mahometana* ([Catania, 1691] Seville: Lucas Martín, 1693), p. 4, p. 60. On Manuel Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino's *Verdadero carácter*, see above, n. 31.

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both his Castilian translations and sometimes his transliterations of Arabic – were repeated directly by Pérez de Chinchón, Lope de Obregón, Johannes Maurus, Vicente Ximeno,[41] and Manuel Sanz (who even quotes all of Juan Andrés' second chapter from the *Confusión*), and were translated into Latin by Martín García and González de Santalla.

One concrete example of Juan Andrés' influence on these subsequent texts can be found by tracing the copying and repeated references to one of Juan Andrés' many Qur'ān citations, that of Qur'ān 34:14, a reference to the death of Solomon, which Juan Andrés cites in chapter five of the *Confusión*. Juan Andrés begins the chapter by first citing Qur'ān 27,17–44 (which he numbers as 'book three, chapter nine'), in which an ant warns its fellows to take cover from the approach of Solomon's army, which caused Solomon to laugh.[42] This story is linked to what Juan Andrés calls 'book three, chapter fourteen' (actually Qur'ān 34,14; note that this comes *seven* books after the former citation, not five), which Juan Andrés cites first in transliterated Arabic. The story that Juan Andrés discusses involves a short verse recounting a legend about Solomon's death, claiming that he died leaning on his staff and the Jinn, whom he had imprisoned, did not realize it until a *dābbat al-'arḍi* (creature of the earth) bored through his staff and he fell. The original verse to which Juan Andrés refers reads: 'When we decreed his [Solomon's] death, it was but a crawling creature of earth which indicated to them he was dead, as it gnawed his staff. When he fell, the Jinn realised that, had they known the Unseen, they would not have lasted in their abasing torment'.[43] Juan Andrés renders this fairly literally but makes some small changes, describing 'how the death of Solomon was not revealed to the Jinn (*demonios*) except by cause of a worm (*gusano*) that ate the staff of Solomon himself, for which reason Solomon fell to the ground and the Jinn knew what they had not known up to then'.[44] Juan Andrés then adds to his translation the following commentary:

41 On the Moroccan-Dutch figure Johannes Maurus and his use of Juan Andrés, see Chapter 8 in this volume by Gerard A. Wiegers. On Ximeno's references to Juan Andrés in the eighteenth century, see Chapter 7 by Teresa Soto and Katarzyna K. Starczewska.

42 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 151–52.

43 *The Qur'ān*, (trans.) Tarif Khalidi (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), p. 347. For another discussion of the translation of this verse in other contemporary writing, see Chapter 5 by Pier Mattia Tommasino in this volume.

44 'Cómo la muerte de Salomón no fuera revelada a los demonios sino por causa del gusano que comió la vara del mesmo Salomón, por la qual causa cayó Salomón en el suelo y supieron los demonios lo que fasta allí no supieron'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 153.

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> This story is clearly about how Solomon had many Jinn locked up and put in chains and shackles [*en cadenas y en grillos*] and under torment. And it says that when Solomon came to death, he ordered that they embalm his body and dress him as if he were alive, and sit him on a royal seat to make it seem to the Jinn that he was alive and not dead. They did as Solomon said, and they put a staff in his hand and fixed on the earth so that he was sturdy in his seat. It says that a worm came out of the earth and ate the staff and Solomon fell to the ground, upon which the Jinn found out that Solomon was dead and they came out of their torment and punishment in which they had been place.[45]

This explanation clearly shows Juan Andrés' knowledge of the *tafsīr* tradition of qurʾānic exegesis surrounding this verse, including numerous examples that can be traced to such commentaries. For example, the rendering of 'crawling creature of the earth' as a 'worm' is telling, as this appears in many medieval commentaries.

Yet some details are less common in the commentary literature, and the repetition of these odd bits in subsequent works helps us show how Juan Andrés' explanation served as a source for later writers. The number that Juan Andrés gives to this verse offers one such clue. Pérez de Chinchón, in sermon seventeen of his *Antialcorano*, lists this story of Solomon and the worm although he does not give Juan Andrés' full transliterations. But he certainly relies on Juan Andrés, because even though he also does not call this story 'book three, chapter fourteen', he does give the same group of qurʾānic references to Juan Andrés in the same order as the *Confusión*, and in fact he lists all such references as 'book three, chapter nine', the reference Juan Andrés gave for the first Solomon story about the ants, which he told immediately before this story.

Even more telling for tracing the spread of Juan Andrés' version of this story is the detail that Solomon 'ordered that his body be embalmed' and propped up on his staff while sitting in his 'royal seat' in order to deceive the Jinn and

45 'La qual historia quiere dezir más claramente cómo Salomón tenía muchos demonios encarcelados y puestos en cadenas y en grillos y atormentados. Y dize que quando vino Salomón a la muerte, mandó que embalsemassen su cuerpo y que lo vestiessen así como que fuesse bivo, y que lo assentassen en su silla real por dar a enterder [*sic*] a los demonios que era bivo y no muerto. Y así lo fizieron como el dicho Salomón mandó y porque estoviesse firme en al silla, posieron una vara en su mano y fincada en la tierra. Dize que salió de al tierra un gusano y comió la vara y así cayó Salomón en el suelo, por la qual cosa supieron los demonios que Salomón era muerto y así salieron del tormiento y de la pena en que estavan puestos'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 153.

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keep them in captivity. Most Muslim commentaries say that he died suddenly while leaning on his staff and no one realized he was dead, but very few discuss his 'seat' or that he ordered himself 'embalmed'.[46] Yet numerous writers following Juan Andrés repeat this uncommon detail: Lope de Obregón not only reproduces (like Pérez de Chinchón) Juan Andrés' stories about Solomon in the same order, but he also repeats some of Juan Andrés' phrasing, including the detail that he imprisoned many Jinn *con cadenas y con grillos de hierro* (with chains and with iron shackles), that *se hizo enbalsamar* (he had himself embalmed), and that he was propped up before a 'worm' ate his staff. Most telling of all is the fact that Lope reproduces Juan Andrés' transliterations almost exactly, and reproduces a few small errors.[47] Later writers such as Tirso González de Santalla, writing in Latin, and Manuel Sanz in Castilian repeat Juan Andrés' particular details as well, albeit without the transliterations.[48] Both Sanz and González de Santalla mention Juan Andrés by name and the latter explicitly says that the story is given *teste Ioanne Andrae*, 'by witness of Juan Andrés'.[49] Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino says explicitly that he con-

46 One exception is the Andalusi exegete al-Qurṭubī (d. 1273), who does mention that his body was prepared before death and that he died in his seat. See al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (Beirut: Dār Iḥiyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1985), on Qurʾān 34:14.

47 Juan Andrés' transliteration reads: *fame delle hun hale meutihi ille debbetu alardi te quulu minceteh faleme harra cebeyeneti alginu aunehun leu quenu y ahlemu algaybeme lebiçu filhad ebi almuhi*; *Confusión*, p. 153. Lope's reads: *fame dellehun hale mautihi ille debetu alardi tequulu minçetah faleme hara çebey eneti alginu aunehun leu quenun yahlemun algaybe melebiçu fil hadebi almuli*; *Confutación*, fol. 69v. There is the telling detail of the word 'cebeyeneti' or 'çebey eneti' for what is 'tabayyanati' in the original, both replacing an alveolar 't' sound with a sibilant.

48 Manuel Sanz states, 'como estuviesse dicho Salomon para morir, mando, que le embalmassen y le vistiessen como si estuviera viuo, y assi vestido le pusiesen en un trono o silla Real … para mayor firmeza, y que no cayesse, le pusieron un baston en la mano, y fixo en tierra, sobre el qual estuviesse apoyado … hasta que de la tierrra salió un gusano' (*Tratado breve*, p. 70).

49 González de Santalla states: 'Quinto lib.3 Acorani cap 14 (teste Ioanne Andraea) affirmat, quod Salomon habebat plures Daemones in ergastulo catenis & compedibus ligatos & cum morti appropinquavit praecepit, vt cadaver suum vnguentis condirent, & medicantibus praeservatum in Sella Regia collocarent, vt quasi vivus timeretur. Ita vero fuit executioni mandatum. Caeterum in ipsius dextera virga apposita est, cuius extremitas terrae infixa erat: a qua egrediens vermis virgam corrosit; & sic Salomon in terrano corruit; & hoc pacto Daemones cognouerunt, eum esse mortuum & sic a poenis liberati sunt'; *Manuductio*, 5.32, p. 545. It is interesting to consider that Santalla's work was translated into Polish in 1694 and book two was later translated into Arabic, thus providing a channel in which knowledge of Juan could be disseminated by Jesuits to Arabic speakers who might otherwise not hear of his story. I am grateful to David Vásquez Ruíz and Emmanuele

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sulted various *tafsīr* writers on what he considers a confusing legend, seeming not to make use of Juan Andrés' text. However, although he then adds a note to his translation conceding that his version differs slightly from Juan Andrés' in some details. He follows this remark with a page-long citation taken verbatim from Juan Andrés' *Confusión.*[50]

This one case of the death of Solomon shows the long trail of influence left by Juan Andrés' text as it was reused and cited by later Spanish writers. But this impact could also be traced to writers beyond the Iberian Peninsula. It is well known that his work was also printed six times in Italian, as well as in German, French and Latin, and these were followed in the seventeenth century by two more printings in Latin, plus editions in German, English and Dutch.[51] The English version was cited abundantly by English churchman and orientalist Humphrey Prideaux in his 1697 *Life of Mahomet*, reprinted as late as 1808.[52] Juan Andrés' text – probably in Italian but possibly in Latin – came to Luodovico Marracci, professor of Arabic at Università La Sapienza di Roma, who translated and commented on the Qur'ān in Latin in 1698. This text was picked up and reprinted in 1721 by Lutheran theologian and biblical scholar Christian Reineccius, who again names Juan Andrés by name and quotes from him

Colombo for bringing this translation – preserved in the Biblioteca Vaticana and as yet unstudied – to my attention. For a general consideration of Santalla's work, see Emanuele Colombo, '"Even among Turks": Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam', *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 44, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): pp. 1–41.

50 Traggia de Santo Tomás notes: 'Tambien refiere Mahoma en el capitulo 34 el ridículo género de muerte que sufrió Salomon, y aunque está muy confuso en el Alcorán, se puede entender con la ayuda de los Expositores Arabes. Estos dicen, que estando cuidando Salomón de los artífices que tenía empleados en sus obras, le dió tal dolor al vientre, que se recostó sobre el báculo que llevaba, y con la fuerza del dolor quedó muerto pero en estado y figura tan natural que nadie lo conoció. Tampoco se atrevían à acercarse à él, y quedó en esta situacion por un año entero, hasta que un gusano que subió por el báculo lo carcomió de modo, que se quebró el bastón y cayendo entonces el Rey sin movimiento, conocieron estaba muerto. [Note added here]: D. Juan Andrés refiere este suceso con alguna diferencia accidental, diciendo que muchos creen, murió Salomon sentado'; Traggia de Santo Tomás de Aquino, *Verdadero carácter*, pp. 102–04.

51 On the editions of the text, see the comments of Ruiz García in Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 54–56, although one can add more details to her information, such as the existence of a Dutch edition, on which, see Gerard A. Wiegers, review of *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán*, in *Aljamía*, 16 (2004): pp. 254–60. On the popularity of Juan's work, see also Chapter 8 by Wiegers in this volume.

52 Humphrey Prideaux, *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Displayed in the Life of Mahomet* (London: William Rogers, 1697), pp. 10, 14, 16, 20, 21, and throughout.

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directly.[53] It was referenced by Methodist preacher John Fletcher in 1795 in sermons printed throughout the nineteenth century as late as 1860.[54] And it was the English translation from 1652 that made its way to George Sale in 1734, and so Juan Andrés' name came to pass before Thomas Jefferson's eyes and eventually, lay sleeping under the oath-taking hand of Keith Ellison in Washington only a few years ago. Even if Keith Ellison had not taken up Jefferson's Koran, he still may have seen Juan Andrés' name, because Sale's translation is still easily available, having remained in print in England and the United States as late as 1927.

## The Appeal of Juan Andrés

It is possible to get a good sense of the significance of this dissemination by comparing it to a similar work of anti-Morisco polemic written in the same circle of people within only a few years of Juan Andrés' *Confusión*: Joan Martín de Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el alcorán* (1521). Like Juan Andrés' text, Figuerola's cites abundantly from the Qur'ān. Whereas Juan Andrés only cites a rough, oral transliteration and a Castilian translation of the Arabic text, Figuerola includes original Arabic-script citations of his authorities before then including a transliteration and a translation (Juan Andrés probably intended to include the original Arabic in his text as well, as the text seems to indicate space for it, but the limitations of printing prohibited it, as they would have for Figuerola, had his text been printed).[55] A comparison of the two texts – Figuerola's is still in manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia[56] – shows that the texts were part of a shared milieu but were not composed together or by the same authors. They were both produced in the wider region of Valencia, and their works share certain curious details. Figuerola, for example, mentions the same curious story from the Qur'ān that Juan Andrés mentions (based on Qur'ān 36,13–27) about two 'messengers' sent

53 Luodovico Marracci, *Alcorani Textus Universus* (Padua: [the Seminary Press], 1698). Marracci's comments give evidence of his use of Juan Andrés, such as for example on 580b–81b, *ad* Sura 36, which can be compared to Juan Andrés, *Confusión* pp. 214–15 [repr. in Christian Reineccius, *Mohammedis Filii Abdallae Pseudo-Prophetae Fides Islamitica, i.e. Al-Coranus* (Leipzig: Sumtibus Lanckisianis, 1721), pp. 32–36].

54 For example, John Fletcher, *The Works of the Reverend John Fletcher, Late Vicar of Madeley* (New York: J. Collord, 1833), vol. 4, p. 227.

55 On the question of printing Arabic in these polemical works, see García-Arenal and Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham', pp. 415–16.

56 RAH, ms. Gayangos 1922/36.

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by Jesus to a city (unnamed, but understood to be Antioch), which some exegetes interpreted as referring to Saint Paul.[57] Figuerola similarly refers to the death of Solomon, depicting it in one of his illustrations. Recently García-Arenal and Starczewska have noted a number of similarities between the Qurʾān citations of Juan Andrés and those found in the Cambridge manuscript of the Latin Qurʾān produced under the aegis of Egidio da Viterbo, whose work they also show was undoubtedly influenced by Figuerola's.[58] Figuerola does mention Juan by name on a few occasions and thus certainly must have known of his text.

Nevertheless, in his own work Figuerola himself cites only some of the same qurʾānic verses as Juan Andrés and I was able to ascertain that their transliterations and translations do not exactly match, suggesting that Figuerola, even if he knew Juan's text, did not copy directly from him on all occasions. Comparing their use of Qurʾān 36,19, for example, Juan Andrés transliterates the Arabic and then paraphrases the story without translating this verse in particular. Figuerola, by contrast, transliterates the verse quite differently and then offers a direct, literal translation.[59] I have found similar discrepancies for other verses cited by both authors.[60] Moreover, their statements about the structure

57 RAH, ms. Gayangos 1922/36, fol. 28r–v; and *Confusión*, pp. 214–15.

58 García-Arenal and Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham', pp. 433–36. This argument has also been developed in more detail and with more examples by Katarzyna Starczewska in '*No es esto sino hystorias de los antiguos*: Between Medieval and Early Modern Narrations in Juan Andrés' *Confusión*', *Medievalia*, 18, no. 1 (2015): 217–27. My thanks to the author for sharing this paper ahead of publication.

59 Juan Andrés transliterates the verse thus: *jd arcelne jley hi jzneym faque debuhume fahazezne bi çelicin facalu jne jleyquum morcelun*; *Confusión*, p. 214. Martín de Figuerola, by contrast, transliterates the verse thus: *Idear slne yllain esnayni essayni faqueda un hume fabaçanne bielçalixi facalu yne ylaycum murçaluna*, and then adds the translation, 'y cuando emviamos a ellos dos y desmentieronlos y ayundamoslos con el tercero y dixeronnos, o vosotros embiados' (fol. 28v). Moreover, Juan Andrés claims the two envoys were either Peter and Matthew or Peter and, and that Muslim commentators state that the 'third' sent to help them was 'Pablo sin duda'; *Confusión*, pp. 214–15. Figuerola, by contrast states that the first two messengers were Peter and Andrew and that only 'some commentators' suggest that the third was Paul (fol. 28v).

60 For another example of the same verse being transliterated and translated differently, note that Martín de Figuerola cites Qurʾān 6:38 by saying '*gua mamin debatin filardi guala tibirin yatin brigane aille himamum amcelacum melterrat nefi ylquibabi mizam çunna ilazabi yacxaruna.* Y no hay animal en la tierra ni ave bolando con sus alas que no sean resucitados como nosotros'; RAH, ms. Gayangos 1922/36, 16v. Juan Andrés, by contrast, transliterates and translates the same verse differently: '*guame mindebbetinfiler di guale cayrin yatiro gibeneheyhi ille umemun amçeluquum me farratne filquitebi min seyn çumen*

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of the text are different. Juan Andrés, as we have seen, claims that the Qur'ān contains 211 chapters, including 175 in the fourth book, whereas Martín de Figuerola claims 113. These differences suggest that although the latter names Juan Andrés' work, he does not seem to copy directly from him in all cases. A full comparison of both texts remains a scholarly desideratum, pending the publication of an edition of the *Lumbre* by Elisa Ruiz García.[61]

Although Figuerola's text is more careful and exhaustive in its rendering of Arabic text – both seem to show an influence of oral pronunciation in the norms of transliteration – it was Juan Andrés' text – published at least fifteen times and cited all over Europe for over two centuries – that proved very influential while Figuerola's, never published and leaving no directly discernable impact, at least under its own name, seems to have fallen into the void of history. Why?

Part of this may be chance or luck, and a significant factor was certainly the difference between print and manuscript dissemination – the fact that Figuerola's text was never printed doomed it to obscurity. However, I also believe that another compelling explanation for their different fates is the nature of Juan Andrés' self-presentation: Figuerola presents himself as 'master of holy Theology, acolyte and chaplain of his sanctity, simple beneficiary of the main church of the distinguished city of Valencia'. Juan Andrés, on the other hand, writes from the perspective of a convert and presents his text as a sort of narrative, an unfolding story of conversion and translation. I have analyzed Juan's conversion narrative at length elsewhere, and thus will only briefly summarize his rhetorical strategies here.[62] Juan not only appeals to the authenticity

*ile rabihim yohsarum*, que quiere dezir que todas las bestias de la tierra y todas las aves que con sus alas bolan resucitarán en el día del judicio'; *Confusión*, p. 147. In addition, Figuerola translates Qur'ān 29:46, which he calls 'libro tercero capitulo undecimo', as 'no querais disputar con los que tienen la scriptura', whereas Juan Andrés cites this as 'capítulo noveno, libro tercero … no queráys disputar con judíos ni con cristianos'; *Confusión*, p. 221. Also, when Figuerola mentions baptism in commenting on Qur'ān 2:138, García-Arenal and Starczewska note that, similar to Juan Gabriel, he offers the curious translation of 'trincera de Dios'; 'The Law of Abraham the Catholic', p. 431, whereas Juan Andrés does not, calling it only 'bautismo' (p. 90, p. 214). Each writer, moreover, cites many verses not cited by the other.

61 Access to the manuscript of the *Lumbre* has proved difficult since Ruiz García announced her plans for an edition in 2003. See Elisa Ruiz García, 'Ante la próxima aparición de dos tratados antialcoránicos: Juan Andrés (1515) y Joan Martín de Figuerola (ms. inédito de la RAH)', *Aljamía*, 15 (2003): pp. 89–92.

62 For an extended reading of Juan's conversion narrative, see Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 33–40; and Szpiech, 'Preaching Paul to the Moriscos: The

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of their written authorities, or proof texts, 'the authorities of their own law', but he also makes this appeal through the voice of a convert rather than simply a preacher. The appeal to 'authentic' authorities in their original language is parallel to his appeal to his own conversion narrative, which serves to convince those he calls 'ignorant moors' on the basis of an 'authentic' testimony of a Muslim witness, a 'witness of their nation'. He situates himself as an authority through his use of language and by his references to his own status as a converted *alfaquí.*[63] Juan Andrés likens conversion to translation as similar vehicles of proof and appeal in his text. He calls on Muslim readers to heed the words of their own people, both those written in their sacred texts and, more importantly, those spoken by their own intellectual leaders.

Figuerola does occasionally address Muslims directly, saying 'look now my fellow Moor …' (*mira ahora próximo mio de moro…*) just as Juan Andrés frequently did. However, Figuerola's use seems to be more that of apostrophe, addressing an absent or imaginary Muslim, whereas Juan seems to use a vocative address to appeal to a real Muslim reader or listener, calling on him in to 'note then, and tell me, Moor …' (*nota pues y dime agora tú, moro…*).[64] Nevertheless, Juan Andrés' testimonial missionizing strategy – citing texts without insulting or attacking his reader – stands in contrast to Figuerola's approach, in which he also seems willing to adopt, like Cardinal Cisneros, a Duns Scotian position in favor of forced conversion. The manuscript of *Lumbre de fe* also contains accounts of Figuerola's preaching activities in 1517–18, in the years preceding his commencing work on *Lumbre.* As he describes, he was asked to take over the work of bishop Martín García who had been ordered by King Fernando to preach four sermons a year to the Muslims of Aragon but who, in his old age, could not fulfill his commitment.[65] Whereas Juan Andrés claims to have been very well versed in Islamic literature, and in fact claims to have been a principal source of information for the preparation of Martín García's sermons ('which without my work it have been difficult to do'), Figuerola only claims a modest knowledge, gaining after some time in his post

*Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) of 'Juan Andrés', *La Corónica*, 41, no. 1 (Fall 2012): pp. 317–43.

63 On Juan's status as a converted *alfaquí* among others such as Juan Gabriel, who participated in the preparation of a Qur'ān translation commissioned by Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, see Chapter 7 in this volume by Soto and Starczewska.

64 Cf., for example, *Lumbre*, fol. 16v, and *Confusión*, p. 101. On this phenomenon, see here also Chapter 7.

65 *Lumbre*, fol. 253, published in *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de París*, (ed.) F. Guillén Robles (Zaragoza, 1888), p. lviii.

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'some knowledge of the Qurʾān and scripture of the said moors'.[66] Figuerola, as noted, does mention Juan Andrés by name on a few occasions and seems to rely on his work in various places. Moreover, he notes that the Christians try to preach to and convince 'the most important among them, and if one of them agrees and sees the worth of what they say to him, the others will be easily brought to our faith'.[67] Naturally, his perspective alone would be less compelling to his audience than that of a former Muslim like Juan Andrés, and he claims to have used the help of convert Juan Gabriel of Teruel[68] as well as Muslim 'jurists who became Christians'.[69]

Although Figuerola begins with the intention to speak to the Muslims 'with much love' and not to 'upset them in any way', his mission eventually met with very limited success, and he even admits that he would have been thrown out of the mosque after his first sermon were it not for the influence of Martín García himself.[70] He then describes how, in light of this resistance, he adopted more coercive methods: On 26 February 1517, Figuerola threatened his reader with Inquisitorial investigation:

> I told them … that if they did not want to consent by the path of friendship, that the Holy Inquisition and the Pope would quickly open there a bull and commission of the Inquisition against you, so that he who does not conced the truth about his scriptures, that he be punished … they

66 Juan Andrés claims that he was moved to translate the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* 'por mandado del muy reverendo señor maestre Martín García … porque en el cargo que tenía de sus Altezas de predicar a los moros podiese, con las auctoridades de su misma ley, confundirlos y vencerlos, lo que sin aquel trabajo mío con difficultad podiera hazer'; *Confusión*, p. 91. Figuerola, on the other hand, claims that after taking over Martín García's post, 'continué por algún tiempo, por cuanto tenía alguna noticia del alcoran y scriptura de los dichos moros'; *Lumbre*, fol. 253, printed in *Leyendas de José*, p. lviii.

67 'los dichos xpianos que tomen a los mas principales dellos que si uno dellos asienta y tiene por bien lo que le dirán, los otros serán facilmente trahidos a nuestra fe'; *Lumbre*, fol. 253, printed in *Leyendas de José*, p. lviii.

68 'siendo bien informado … por uno que se decía maestere Johan Grabiel alfaqui que era de teruel, y ahora, por la gracia de Dios, xpno … y assí por el dicho informado, fuimos los dos a la dicha festiuidad a su mesquita'; *Lumbre*, fol. 256, printed in *Leyendas de José*, p. l. García-Arenal and Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham the Catholic', explore this relationship in detail.

69 Figuerola says, 'esto que yo digo lo an scrito alfaquis hechos cristianos'; *Leyendas de José*, p. lxxv. On this claim, see Chapter 7 by Teresa Soto and Katarzyna K. Starczewska.

70 'Si no por cedula que lleue del Reverendisimo obispo de barcelona, maestre martín garcía Inquisidor, me echauan de la mesquita, y a mi y a los que conmigo fueron'; *Lumbre*, fols. 253–54, printed in *Leyendas de José*, p. lx.

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> would make all the Muslim jurists of the kingdom come and in their very own mosques with their books, we would enter into disputation, in order to show how they were lost and outside the path of salvation … When they saw what I told them and how I was preparing the game in this way, they thanked me again very much for what I said and said that they would be very content to go to the designated place [to debate] and make the most important Muslims come.[71]

Figuerola approaches his Muslim listeners from the agonistic perspective of a Christian polemicist, relying on the help of an informer and threatening his audience with force. The contrast between the different styles and perspectives in the books of Martín de Figuerola and Juan Andrés – the former focusing on linguistic expertise and coercive argument, the latter focusing on an appeal to authenticity based on personal testimony – helps account for the radically different fates of the two works over subsequent years.[72]

It thus comes as no surprise that most writers who cite or mention Juan Andrés also describe him as a convert who represents an 'authentic' witness of Muslim ideas. For example, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón tells his reader to 'hear of the life of your Muḥammad taken from one *faqīh* of Xàtiva who wrote

71 'Les dixe … que si por via de amistad no quería en esto consentir, que la Sancta inquisición y del papa se abría y muy presto de una bulla y comissión de Inquisición sobre vosotros, para que no dixesse la verdad de sus escrituras para que sea punido y … a todos los alfaquis del regno les harian venir, y que dentro de sus mesquitas mismas, con ssus libros, entraríamos en las disputas, para dar a conocer como iuan perdidos y fuera de camino de salvación … Ellos que vieron lo que les dezia y cómo se preparaba el juego de esta forma, me regraziaron mucho lo que les auía dicho y que ellos eran muy contentos de hir a hun lugar cierto, en el cual ellos arían venir a los moros más principales'; *Lumbre*, fol. 256, published in *Leyendas de José*, p. lxv.

72 The different approaches and fates of Juan Andrés and Joan Martín de Figuerola resemble those of an earlier pair of polemical writers from Iberia, the thirteenth-century Catalan Dominican Ramón Martí (d. after 1287) and, a few decades after, the Castilian convert Alfonso of Valladolid (*olim* Abner of Burgos, d. ca. 1347). Like Figuerola, Martí was a polemicist but not a convert, interested in wielding original source material and not adverse to adopting coercive and violent rhetoric. By contrast, Alfonso of Valladolid, whose project closely resembles Martí's in sources and content, presents his work in a persuasive and largely non-confrontational way, and similar to Juan Andrés, he appeals to his own conversion story in order to establish his authority as an authentic voice of criticism. I explore the rhetorical strategies of these writers in more detail in chapters one and five of *Conversion and Narrative*.

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it and knew it well'.[73] Similarly, when Lope de Obregón mentions Juan Andrés, he specifies that 'he was Muslim at first' (*Juan Andrés que primero fue moro*).[74] All of the writers who used Juan Andrés' text in the subsequent two centuries put a similar stress on his biography and his converted status in particular.[75] George Sale remarks that Juan Andrés' alleged Qur'ān translation 'may be presumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the Mohammedan religion and learning'.[76] A similar pattern of highlighting Juan Andrés' status as a convert from Islam can be found in references to his work from the nineteenth century,[77] and one even finds references to Juan Andrés' biography in the twentieth in both Christian and Muslim writing.[78] In 1931, the *Islamic Review*, the official magazine of the Woking Muslim Mission (a Muslim group that helped disseminate teachings about Islam in the UK in the first half of the twentieth century), copied Sale's description of Juan Andrés and his conversion as part of a history of Qur'ān translation in the West.[79] In 1939, the American missionary Samuel Marinus Zwemer referred to 'Johannes Andreas, a native of Xativa in the kingdom of Valencia, who from a Mohammedan doc-

73 'Oyd la vida de vuestro Mahoma sacada de un alfaqui de Xativa que la escrivio y la sabia muy bien'; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorán*, sermon 15, pp. 256–57.

74 Lope de Obregón, *Confutación*, fol. 2r.

75 González de Santalla names Juan Andrés as 'Joanne Andrea prius Mahumetano'; Thyrsus Gonçalez de Santalle, *Manuductio*, p. 66, and states 'fuit hic author prius Maumetanus & Mahumetanorum Alphaquius seu Sacerdos in Vrbe Xativa', p. 8. Manuel Sanz states, 'assi lo atestigua Juan Andres, que fue alfaqui, o Doctor de la Secta Mahometana, y despues se hizo Christiano y escrivio contra los errorees del Alcoran'; *Tratado Breve*, p. 4. Manuel de Traggia states that Juan Andrés was 'nacido y criado en la secta mahometana'; *Verdadero carácter*, p. 15, and when he mentions Juan Andrés' name after this, he usually names him 'Juan andres Alfaqui de Xátiva'.

76 Sale, *The Koran*, p. vii. Sale qualifies his remark by adding '… though his refutation of that religion, which has had several editions, gives no great idea of his abilities'.

77 For example, see Johann Georg Theodor Grake, *Das sechszehnte Jahrhundert in seinen Schriftstellern un ihren Werken* (Leipzig: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1852), p. 770.

78 For example, Kentuckian writer Thomas De Courcey Osborne (1844–1925), in a brief work from 1910 describing references to Jesus in the Qur'ān, mentioned Juan Andrés, describing him, in Sale's words, as 'a native of Xativa, Valencia, who, from Mohammedan doctor, became a Christian Priest'. See Thomas De Courcy Osborne, *The Koran Christ: Also Mohammedan Memorabilia and Personal Memoranda of Travel* (Louisville: Baptist Book Concern, 1910), p. 7.

79 Khwaja Nizām-u'd-Din Hasan, 'Why Islam is Misunderstood. II. Islam and the West', *Islamic Review*, 19.6 (1931): pp. 194–217 (at pp. 204–05).

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tor became a Christian priest, translated not only the Koran, but also its glosses and the six books of the Sunna'.[80]

Whether or not he was the man he says he was, Juan Andrés represents one of the most influential polemical authors of the sixteenth century, and his popularity and influence – being cited by writers in every century up to the present – must be understood as a product of his rhetoric as much as of his knowledge and sources. Juan Andrés' book was not the most exhaustive or the most punctilious of early modern anti-Muslim treatises, but it was the only such work to present itself as the natural product of an authentic conversion experience. The work of Juan Andrés stands apart from all others of its kind, representing a central node of transmission of medieval polemical thought to the modern world. Although that experience and the real identity of the man who claims to have had it remain elusive and may very well prove to be embellishments of later writers, the work's influence has extended over five centuries, being carried on the spring tide of legend and the appeal of individual testimony and personal confession that became increasingly prevalent in late medieval polemical writing.

80 Samuel Marinus Zwemer, *Studies in Popular Islam: A Collection of Papers dealing with the Superstitions and Beliefs of the Common People* (London: Sheldon Press, 1939), p. 86. This appears in a summary of 'Translations of the Koran' that was reprinted from an earlier work, found in Samuel Marinus Zwemer, *Mohammad or Christ: An Account of the Rapid Spread of Islam in All Parts of the Globe, the Methods Employed to Obtain Proselytes, its Immense Press, Its Strongholds, & Suggested Means to be Adopted to Counteract the Evil* (Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell, 1916), p. 162.

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CHAPTER 7

# Authority, Philology and Conversion under the Aegis of Martín García[1]

*Teresa Soto and Katarzyna K. Starczewska*

The *Cédula Real* (Royal Charter) signed by the Catholic Monarchs on 24 October 1500 requested secular clergy to go to Granada to participate in the preaching campaigns addressed to the newly converted population.[2] These clergymen came mainly from Castile but also from other places in Spain, as was the case of the future bishop of Barcelona, Don Martín García Puyazuelo (ca. 1441–1521), from Aragon. García, archdeacon of Daroca at the time, had some knowledge of Arabic, and enlisted the help of various other clergymen with varying degrees of familiarity with the language. All of the latter were from Valencia, where, as in Granada, Islam and the Arabic language continued to have a strong presence. Lope de Obregón, Juan Andrés, Joan Martín de Figuerola and Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón participated in this group involved in preaching activities first in Granada and later in Aragon, and also produced books to promote Christianity and to combat Islam.[3] A representative sample of this literature is the books we are going to consider here, written by Juan Andrés (*Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del alcorán*, 1515);[4] and Joan Martín de Figuerola (*Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el alcorán*, 1521).[5] Among the production of preaching material from sixteenth-

1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, project CORPI: 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'.

2 Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, 'Los moriscos. Vida religiosa y evangelización', in *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla. Actas del Symposium conmemorativo del quinto centenario*, (ed.) Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada (Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1993), pp. 497–513.

3 Mercedes García-Arenal and Katarzyna K. Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham the Catholic': Juan Gabriel as Qur'ān Translator for Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo', *Al-Qanṭara*, 35 (2014): pp. 409–59, esp. p. 415.

4 Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* [Valencia, 1515], (ed.) Elisa Ruiz García and María Isabel García-Monge (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003).

5 Joan Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el alcorán*, 1521. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia [RAH], ms. Gayangos 1922/36. Partially edited by

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century Spain, they were the earliest works within this modern polemical production, and were to have a germinal role in the trends of the polemical and preaching literature to come.[6] We would like then to start by introducing the figure of García and his connection to both authors with whom this study is concerned, Juan Andrés y Joan Martín de Figuerola. We believe that his approach to Arabic and Islam was unique among the other trends of the period, and it is clear that around him a distinct circle of authors arose with common ideological underpinnings.

The way Juan Andrés and Figuerola presented their arguments differed, as did their background, but we find that the lines that connect them to one another are compelling enough to merit a comparative study elucidating points where their rhetoric both converges and differs. At the textual and ideological level, they made the fascinating decision to include actual quotations in Arabic from the Qurʾān. Thus, the formal inclusion of this highly 'dangerous' material in their texts will be at the heart of this chapter, where we will examine the context in which such a decision arose, what goals the authors pursued in using (appropriating?) qurʾānic material, and what intellectual risks they exposed themselves to. It is our view that such a use of the Arabic language and Islamic sources as tools to legitimate this anti-Islamic enterprise created a proximity that proved far from comfortable, in fact producing a tension that would manifest itself in an unexpected dependency on the opponent. We will then examine how Figuerola incorporates qurʾānic quotations into his work *Lumbre de fe*. Along the way we will also point out the different argumentative tactics employed by Figuerola and Juan Andrés, and conclude by providing some insight into how Juan Andrés constructs his own authority.

Other than studying the use of a textual authority, represented here in the qurʾānic quotations (and how this text is formally represented), we would also like to consider another aspect that recurs in both *Lumbre de fe* and *Confusión*, which is how the leading figures of the Muslim communities – the so-called *alfaquís*, literally scholars of the law, jurists – are represented.[7] It is striking how dominant the figure of the *alfaquí* is in both texts, which has made us wonder what connection they have with the use of textual authority, and how

F. Guillén Robles in *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Zaragoza: Imprenta del Hospital Provincial, 1888). See Elisa Ruiz García, 'Joan Martí Figuerola', in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. *Vol. 6: Western Europe* (*1500–1600*), (Ed.) David Thomas et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 89–92. Elisa Ruiz García and Luis Bernabé Pons are currently preparing an edition.

6 See in this volume Chapter 6 by Ryan Szpiech.

7 See infra note 71.

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they become such an important rhetorical element in the discourse of both Juan Andrés and Figuerola. Juan Andrés, a converted *alfaquí* himself, and Figuerola (who worked hand in hand with Juan Gabriel, also a converted *alfaquí*), used and represented this figure in ways that are worth considering. While on the one hand there is a clear interest in addressing the leader in order to convert him and bring with him the whole community, there is at the same time a manifest effort to diminish this very same authority so as to accuse the Muslim communities themselves of ignorance. The *alfaquís*-turned-Christian collaborators Juan Gabriel and Juan Andrés are not just mediators but also authorities, not just informants but also figures of speech.

### 'Que vos sabeys arabigo': Preaching under the Aegis of Martín García

It is not very clear what role Juan Andrés and Joan Martín Figuerola had in the sixteenth-century Spanish church. We know that by 1516, a year after the publication of his *Confusión*, Juan Andrés was a *canónigo* in Granada, and that he had translated the 'Koran and the books of the Sunna' by the request of the bishop of Barcelona, Don Martín García (ca. 1441–1521).[8] We also know that Joan Martín Figuerola,[9] a *beneficiado en la iglesia mayor de Valencia*, undertook the assignment at the See of Zaragoza to preach four sermons a year to the Muslims, as instituted by the Catholic Monarchs and at the request of the same García, who was then too old to carry out the task himself.[10] After Aragon, Figuerola moved back to his native city of Valencia and wrote *Lumbre de fe*, which he completed on 19 June 1521. Thus, the name of Martín García recurs in the books produced by both authors, and in both he appears as a key figure

8 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 91. Gerard A. Wiegers identifies Juan Andrés as the canon in his article 'Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe,' *Al-Qanṭara*, 31 (2010): pp. 587–610, esp. p. 589. See also Rafael Marín López, *El Cabildo de la Catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998), p. 438.

9 In his 'Prólogo' he presents himself as: 'Mossen Johan Martín de Figuerola, maestre en sacra teología, acólito y capellán de su santidad, simple beneficiado en la iglesia mayor de la insigne ciudad de Valencia. Principiado el día de todos los santos de 1519…dirigida a Su Majestad el rey'. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, RAH, Gayangos 1922/36 (quoted here as *Lumbre de fe*), fol. 253.

10 'El presente autor predicando en la yglessia mayor de Saragoza en presencia de los moros que eran unos sermones de la fe los quales el rey Católico Fernando de Aragón le mandó que tomara el cargo por la antigüedad del *Mq Xd* Martín García, obispo de Barcelona'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 103r.

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who commissions and leads, and it is not difficult to imagine that he had a preeminent role in the formative period of both priests as well as in the orientation of their ecclesiastic careers.

The trajectory of Martín García was remarkable: in 1487 he preached before the Catholic Monarchs in Zaragoza and was chosen as Fernando II's preacher and Isabel I's confessor, in addition to being made archdeacon of Daroca and Inquisitor of Aragon in 1484.[11] Later on, in 1493, he was given the title of *Reformador de religiosas*, a title which was ratified in 1495, before being finally appointed as the bishop of Barcelona in 1515, six years before his death in 1521. As a churchman distinguished by the Catholic Monarchs, García participated in the evangelization of the Muslims of Aragon, whose conversion did not become mandatory until 1526.

He already had an instrumental role in the evangelization of the population of recently conquered Granada when in 1500 the Catholic Monarchs wrote the aforementioned letter to García, then archdeacon of Daroca, asking him to go and preach to the newly converted Christians from Granada, arguing that his knowledge of Arabic made him the ideal person for this mission: 'to instruct the aforementioned newly converted because we know that you know Arabic and that with your education and preaching and good example they can greatly benefit from you'.[12] When and how Martín García learned Arabic is not clear. He spent most of his early years at the See of Zaragoza, where he learned Latin, philosophy and grammar. Most probably due to his proselytizing activities in Aragon, García learned some Arabic, though he could have also

11 Juan Francisco Sánchez López, 'Martín García Puyazuelo y su papel en el establecimiento de la Inquisición en Aragón', *Anuario del Centro de la UNED en Calatayud*, 13 (2005): pp. 233–44. José María Lahoz Finestres and Eugenio Benedicto Gracia, 'Una relación de Autos de Fe celebrados en Aragón de 1485 a 1487', *Revista de la Inquisición* (*Intolerancia y derechos humanos*), 15 (2011): pp. 13–25.

12 'Maestre Martin Garcia, ya sabeys como todos los moros de la ciudad de Granada se convirtieron a nuestra santa fe catholica; porque muy pocos dellos saben entender hablar sino arabigo y por no haver personas de iglesia que sepan el arabigo, no pueden los dichos convertidos ser bien instruidos en las cosas de nuestra fe y ay mucha necesidad – especialmente agora en los comienzos que no hay en aquella ciudad personas de iglesia que sepan arabigo *para instruir a los dichos nuevamente convertidos y porque sabemos que vos sabeys arabigo y que con vuestras letras y predicacion y buen ejemplo podreys muchos aprovecharles*, porénde nos vos rogamos y encargamos que pues vedes quanto en ello sera servido nuestro Señor querays disponer os a venir a estar algun tiempo a la dicha ciudad para aprovechar en lo susodicho que mas de lo que con ello merecieres de nuestro Señor a nos fareys muy agradable servey'; Ribera Florit, 'La polémica cristiano-musulmana en los Sermones del maestro inquisidor don Martín García' (BA thesis, Barcelona 1967), p. xxix.

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learned it at the University of Bologna, where Arabic was taught at the time and where he earned the degree of Master in Theology in 1480.[13] Little information, however, is found about this very last formative period in Bologna, and nothing at all about his possible knowledge of Arabic.[14] The documents from the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna indicate only the dates of entry and exit from the Collegio and the University, but little else.[15]

In addition to being called to Granada, García's knowledge of Arabic also led to an appointment by the Catholic Monarchs to preach to the Muslim population of Aragon. There he delivered the so-called *Sermones de la Fe* until, as mentioned, Joan Martín Figuerola eventually substituted him in this task. Of note in his sermons, however, is the fact that numerous expressions in Arabic are included for the purpose of exhorting the listener and, as in Figuerola and Juan Andrés, a fair amount of qurʾānic quotations reinforce and support the arguments he constructs in order to prove Islam wrong.[16]

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13 In the Council of Vienna 1311–12 it was decided to establish Chairs of Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean in the studies and universities of the Roman Curia (Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca). In Salamanca, the rules set forth at the council were partially implemented by 1381. See the Prologue by Concepción Vázquez de Benito in *Actas XVI Congreso European Union of Arabists and Islamicists*, (ed.) C. Vázquez de Benito and Miguel Ángel Manzano Rodríguez (Salamanca: CSIC, AECI, 1995), pp. 7–9.

14 In the biography of García written in 1700 by José Hebrera y Esmir (1652–1719), a Franciscan and chronicler of Aragon, we can find abundant information about the bishop even though it also constitutes a rather embellished narration which by turns fictionalizes some of the main milestones in García's life with miraculous events linked to the city of Zaragoza. Among them: his humble origins, the fact of being born to a family of Old Christians from Caspe, and his astonishing progress from being a *pastorcillo* (shepherd boy) to becoming a *Maestro de Teología por la gravísima Universidad de Bolonia* (Master in Theology by the illustrious University of Bologna). Joseph Antonio de Hebrera, *Vida prodigiosa del ilustrísimo y venerable D. Martín García, obispo de Barcelona, hijo de la fidelíssima y antigua villa de Caspe* (Zaragoza: Domingo Gascón, 1700).

15 Antonio Pérez Martín, *Proles Aegidina* (Bologna: Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1979), pp. 384–85.

16 Martín García Puyazuelo, *Sermones eminentissimi totiusque Barchinonensis gregis tutatoris acerrimi necnon immarcessibilis sacre theologie paludamento insigniti Martini Garsie* (Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, [1520]). See Manuel Montoza Coca, 'Edición, traducción y comentario de los sermones I–V de Don Martín García', (MA Final Diss., Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma, 2013). The pattern of inserting Arabic expressions in García's sermons presents itself as follows: 'Igitur, ismaelite, proximi mei, postquam cognoscitis Ihesum, filium uirginis Marie, per sanctissimo propheta, et cum magna reuerentia in scriptis uestris illum notatis dicendo: 'çahidine Yce', quod significat 'Dominus noster, Iesus'; 'aleyiççalem' quod sonat 'gaudetur ipse', et similem matrem suam, uirginem, cum magna reuerentia notatis dicendo: 'çetina Marien', quod sonat 'domina nostra Maria sit benedicta'. Igitur

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## Approaching Arabic

The attitudes of Christian writers and polemists towards the use and knowledge of Arabic were to vary widely through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but were to tend towards a progressive prohibition of the Arabic language, and to unambiguously associate it with Islam.[17] At the first stage of indoctrination, however, Arabic as language is still seen as necessary in order to preach, and to thereby attain the full conversion of the target audience, as is made clear in the Catholic Monarchs' aforementioned appeal to Martín García. Except for this letter, there is little information about what role Arabic actually played in García's preaching in Granada. However, based on the written material García, Juan Andrés and Figuerola left behind, the way in which they included isolated qur'ānic fragments and Arabic expressions seems to indicate that their aim in using Arabic was, for example, quite unlike that of the first archbishop of Granada, the Hieronimyte Hernando de Talavera (ca. 1428–1507), who, at the time of García's arrival in Granada, had been the main figure involved in preaching to the newly conquered population. Nor was their aim comparable to the evangelizing trend dating back to before the foundation of the Society of Jesus (1540), such as the bilingual school in Gandía, the school for girls, and the House of Doctrine, among others,[18] projects which connected

uos, ismaelite, mediante ista uirgine conuertimini ad Christum, uerum pastorem, et hic inuenietis gratiam et in futuro gloriam quam nobis concedat etcetera. Amen'. Martinus Garsie, Sermones, Sermo xxx in: Manuel Montoza Coca, 'El uso de Bernardo de Claravall como autoridad en los Sermones de Don Martín García' (forthcoming). 'You, Ishmaelites, my neighbors, now that you acknowledge Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary, as the most sacred Prophet and with great reverence you call him in your writing saying "çahidine Yce", which means "Jesus, our Lord", "aleyiççalem", which means "Praise be to him"; and equally you most reverently call his mother the Virgin saying: "çetina Marien" which translates: "Praise be to Maria, our lady", therefore, you, Ishmaelites, through this Virgin convert yourselves to Christ, the true Shepherd; and here you will find grace and in the future glory which will be granted to us. Amen'.

17 For more on evangelization in Granada in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 42–56. Also, Rodríguez Mediano, 'Conversion, langue et historie: la christianisation de la langue arabe dans l'Espagne moderne', in *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. Vol. II, Passages et contacts en Méditerranée*, (ed.) Jocelyne Dakhlia and Wolfang Kaiser (Paris: Albin Michel, 2013), pp. 537–63.

18 See the chapter 'Jesuitas y Moriscos (1545–1570)', in Bernard Vincent, *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI* (Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1987), pp. 101–19. Francisco de Borja Medina, 'La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545–1614)', *Archivum*

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in a broad way with the missionary trend initiated by the Hieronimite archbishop. Talavera's approach to conversion implied what could perhaps be called an ideology of substitution, a way of suppressing one already existing religion (Islam) with a new one (Christianity). While the transfer from one faith to the other implied a progressive abandonment not just of religious practice but also of converts' cultural habits and native language, it also involved a search for common ground between both religions.[19] In fact, with the aim of providing the preachers with a basic knowledge of Granadan vernacular Arabic, Pedro de Alcalá – who was a disciple of Talavera but about whose biography we know very little – composed the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga* and the *Vocabulario arávigo en lengua castellana* (1505) following Talavera's instructions and philosophy.[20] The *Arte* and the *Vocabulario* expressed a concept of the vernacular Arabic as a vehicle to offer the new converts Christian doctrine in the language they understood best, and also provided previous concepts that could have been used in the substitution of Islamic doctrine for Christian doctrine.[21] Alcalá's *Arte* is also full of interesting remarks about the dialect and the grammatical components of Arabic that reveal his philological interest in the language, despite his initial declaration of not wanting to delve deeper into the problems of the Arabic language, but rather treat them superficially and offer only insights into the language of the people.[22]

In contrast to an approach like Talavera's, which used the Arabic language as a vehicle for purely Christian doctrine (even if it intended to end up suppressing it), what Martín García and his circle are known for is producing doctrinal

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*Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 57 (1988): pp. 4–137. Also, Youssef El Alaoui, 'Ignacio de las Casas, jesuita y morisco', *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 14–15 (1997–98): pp. 317–39; and by the same author, *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).

19 'Lo primero, que olvidéis toda ceremonia y toda cosa morisca en oraciones, en ayunos en pascuas y en fiestas y nasçimientos de criaturas y en bodas y en baños, en mortuorios y en todas las otras cosas'. In Antonio Gallego Burín and Alfonso Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada según el sínodo de Guadix* (*1554*) (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1968), p. 161: 'Memorial' (from Hernando de Talavera to the Moriscos of the Albaicín).

20 Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga* (Granada: Juan de Varela, 1505).

21 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 39–46.

22 'Pero destos y de otros primores yo no curo, porque mi intención principal es hablar y enseñar la lengua de la gente común y no los primores de la gramática aráuiga'. Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte,* fol. aV.

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works which focused on combating Islam mainly through the use of Islamic sources. These polemical materials in Latin and Romance were fully furnished with qur'ānic quotations, both in translation and also in the Arabic original. It could perhaps be argued that these treatises were made with the average Muslim of Aragon in mind, who did not use Arabic as a spoken language. Thus, the inclusion of Arabic quotations in the preaching materials would have been less important than, say, in Granada. However, we know that by 1516 Juan Andrés was already a *canónigo* in Granada, and that Martín de Figuerola, after his lack of success in Aragón, moved back to his native city of Valencia and wrote his book, which he completed on 19 June 1521, although he never published it. Indeed, in both Valencia and Granada, the Morisco communities at the time were by and large still fluent in Arabic.[23]

There are also some indications which may point towards the oral usage of the material: in *Lumbre de fe*, as in the books by Juan Andrés and García, the vocative expressions ('you, my Moorish neighbor'; 'So now tell me, you Moor')[24] suggest that they were used to actually preach and recite the parts in Arabic. However, it would be difficult to determine if they were in fact performed in real life, and how they may have functioned when read out loud.[25] Perhaps the transcriptions could have been a helpful resource for those who already knew the text by heart, as a sort of 'cheat sheet', and were most probably not to be performed by missionaries without any prior knowledge of Arabic. It is more than plausible that many Muslims of Aragon still memorized portions of the Qur'ān, even if they did not employ Arabic as a spoken language, as is common even today among Muslims in non-Arabic-speaking contexts.[26] Preoccupation

23 It is interesting to consider the conversions that took place in 1521 in the territory of Valencia, which were encouraged and brought on by the revolts of the Germanías (Guilds), as well as Figuerola's possible involvement in this context of outspoken pressure against the Muslim communities. For more on this topic, see: Isabelle Poutrin, *Convertir les musulmans. Espagne, 1491–1609*, (Paris: PUF, 2012), pp. 77–111.

24 'Tú, próximo mío de moro'; 'Pues dime agora tu moro'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fols. 33r, 187r, 189r.

25 Martín García's original sermons were actually translated from Castilian or Aragonese vernacular into Latin, and in the printing process other features were most probably amended or adapted. In fact, even though it contains numeric references to the quotations, translations and some Arabic words, the fragments are not represented in Arabic (neither in Arabic script or Latin) as they are in Juan Andrés and Figuerola.

26 Based on the mistakes that Juan Andrés makes when he is copying fragments of the Qur'ān in the *Confusión*, we can see, as argued by Larson, that he was most likely writing the text down from memory. Everette Larson, 'A Study of the *Confusión de la secta mahomática* [*sic*] of Juan Andrés' (PhD Diss., Washington DC, Catholic University of America, 1981).

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with the proper pronunciation of qurʾānic Arabic, without interferences from vernacular Arabic or romance dialects, was a relevant issue, as some treatises of *tajwīd* ('to make better, to embellish', used to refer to the rules of recitation of the Qurʾān) have been preserved from this very same area of Aragon.[27] In *tajwīd*, the emphasis was placed on how to pronounce Arabic correctly, on the contrary to the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* ('errors of language made by common people'). According to one of the treatises preserved in the Aragonese communities, incorrect pronunciation of the Arabic phonemes would ruin the sacred words, would diminish their value, and would even jeopardize the reward for prayer.[28]

In his prologue to the *Arte*, Pedro de Alcalá explains that categories of words remain the same in the different languages, so if Pedro is a proper name it remains the same in Arabic too. He comments as well that despite the tendency of Arabic to be 'deficient' in verbal structure, this does not imply that it lacks other elements in the rest of the parts of the sentence, which most probably entails an effort to equate the Arabic language to Latin or Castilian as a fully legitimate vehicle to transmit Christian doctrine.[29] There is at the same time an acknowledgment of translation as an operation that entails restrictions, but which can essentially serve as a neutral signifier without carrying any other essential characteristics. When providing questions to ask during the confession, he specifies that 'every language has its own way of speaking', and that not accepting this means 'to confuse more than to interpret'. In such cases, his strategy is to proceed literally or to find a different way to express the same concept: 'many of the questions are thus given literally, rendered word for word in the Arabic because the language could withstand it, and in other cases it is not so because the language could not withstand it, but it is just the same

27 Morisco manuscripts that included these treatises are: Junta 98/3 (*olim*) M-CCHS RES RESC/98.3, and Junta 3 (*olim*) M-CCHS RES RESC/3. Reinhold Kontzi, *Aljamiado Texte. Ausgabe mit einer Einleitung und Glossar* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 348–677; reviewed by Federico Corriente, 'Pronunciación del árabe', in *Memoria de los Moriscos, escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural*, (coord.) Alfredo Mateos Paramio (Madrid: SECC, 2010), pp. 134–37.

28 M-CCHS RES RESC/3, pp. 446, 450–51.

29 'Y esto porque las mesmas difiniciones y declaraciones que ay en una lengua quanto a la comunicación de los términos en su manera, essas mesas son en todas las otras, mirando a la comunicación de los términos della. Ca por la mesma razón que este nonbre Pedro es nombre propio en la lengua latina, por esta mesma lo es en la araviga. Pero porque algunos no piensen que ansí como la lengua araviga es defetuosa de tiempos y modos en la materia del verbo, assí lo sea en defeto de todas las partes de la oración'; Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber*, 'Prólogo'.

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sentence in other terms'.[30] These divergences between Alcalá and García's respective discourses can be understood in connection with the aforementioned problem of how to construct a convert's new faith.

So coming back to García, Juan Andrés and Figuerola, whose involvement in the evangelization of Granada began after 1500, they most probably crossed paths with Pedro de Alcalá and Hernando de Talavera, and likely consulted their material. Martín de Figuerola in fact used Pedro de Alcalá as his reference when copying Arabic letters and vowels.[31] But other than providing the reader with the Arabic alphabet, there is not much in the way of linguistic study to be found in the works of these three men, since they do not include any other reflection on the grammatical or morphological components of Arabic, and do not provide any method for acquiring it, not even a glossary. Minor exceptions would be, for example, when Juan Andrés includes the Castilian counterpart to some of the Islamic words, as in *alhage/romiage* (pilgrimage).[32] Elsewhere, he also makes a comment about a broken plural: 'the chapters of the Koran are called suar and one is called sura in Arabic'.[33] But this is about the extent of the group's interest in Arabic per se.

While the fact of translating the Qur'ān and quoting from it (which is what García, Juan Andrés and Figuerola are doing in their books) obviously entails a range of technical difficulties, there is no clear statement by the authors acknowledging this fact. On the contrary, the texts portray the Qur'ān as a very approachable text (a commonplace that we could call a 'fallacy of easiness'). Is this a part of their polemical language? Here, too, there is a contrast with how Alcalá problematizes the action of translating.

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30 'Deve mirar qualquier persona que leyere el presente interrogatorio y doctrina para los confessores que *cada una de las lenguas tiene su manera de hablar* y con aquella se deve el hombre cuerdo conformar quanto buenamente pudiere porque de otra manera *más sería enfuscar que interpretar* lo que onbre quisiese dezir. Es por esso en el presente interrogatorio *muchas de las preguntas van así al pie de la letra sacadas punte por punte en el aravia porque lo sufrió la lengua, y otras no así porque no lo sufrió la lengua, mas solamente la mesma sentencia aunque por otros términos*'; Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber*, fol. DIII.

31 'Estos son los caracteres de sus letras pero tienen sus vocales que ellos dizen xuclas'; *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 4. In Pedro de Alcalá it reads as follows: 'Es otrosí de notar que los aravigos no tienen letras vocales como los latinos. Mas tienen en lugar dellas ciertas señales que ellos dizen xaclas'; Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber*, fol. c, iv.

32 Other terms: *Beytilleh alharam* 'casa de Dios vedada', 98 [fol. 9r]; *çufehe* 'gente necia', 102 [fol. 10v].

33 'Los capítulos del alcoran se llaman suar y uno se llama sura en arávigo'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 118.

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However, when the Martín García group translates the Qur'ān, as we will show further on, the authors manifest a clear awareness of the importance of another textual apparatus employed in conjunction with the sacred text, namely the *tafsīr*. This, along with various other Islamic sources, indirectly serves to reveal the difficulty of the task. If Alcalá's comments could be understood as a sort of language ideology of Arabic and Spanish as vehicles for the transmission of doctrine, in García's *Sermones*, Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe* and Juan Andrés' *Confusión* we could perceive a use of the Arabic language as an authoritative rhetorical token. Even if there are signs of the texts being intended for oral performance, their effectiveness as such is probably scant, given the authors' carelessness in transcription. It would seem, then, that the texts under analysis here are far less interested in Arabic *gramatiquerías* than in mastering authoritative sources from Islam that could prove the latter wrong, and in arguing that even on the basis of the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān only, the one and true faith is Christianity.[34]

## 'Trahet vuestro Alcorán que yo traheré el mío': Arabic and the Qur'ān as Authority

Martín de Figuerola undertook the campaigns to preach to the Moors in Aragon at the request of the bishop of Barcelona, none other than Don Martín

34 It is interesting to note that polemical materials such as these ended up being subject to censorship by the Inquisition. In fact, decades later, in 1583–84, Quiroga's index explicitly prohibited disputes and controversies between Catholics and heretics, and confutations of the Qur'ān in Romance; Ricardo García Cárcel and Doris Moreno Martínez, *Inquisición. Historia Crítica* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2000), p. 323. There was also the risk of these same materials being used by Muslims as sources of doctrinal information about Islam, as Ignacio de las Casas comments in his *Memorial* to Cristóbal de los Cobos. Las Casas likewise criticizes some of the books of this type produced in Spain as being doctrinally inconsistent: 'Aunque an salido varios cathecismos o contra alcoranes, son en lenguas que ni éstos saben ni ven y los que para los de España an salido en la nuestra, an sido tales que, méritamente, an sido prohibidos, así porque guiándose los autores dellos por solas relaciones y por lo que hallan en otros libros atribuyen a la secta lo que no admite o niegan lo que admite, como por lo principal que se a esperimentado que, no siendo los argumentos tales que valgan a convencerlos bastamente, lo que dellos los v[e]ían, se mofavan de todo y, citando costumbres y lugares del Alcorán, los compravan (más para enterarse en sus ceremonias y costumbres, que las hallaban allí juntas, ya que no les permitían tenerlas de otra manera) que para convencerse'; Youssef El Alaoui, 'El jesuita Ignacio de las Casas y la defensa de la lengua árabe. Memorial al padre Cristóbal de los Cobos, provincial de Castilla (1607)', *AREAS*, 30 (2011): pp. 11–28, esp. pp. 16–17.

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García.[35] Though at the time of this campaign the Muslim community had not yet been forced to convert, Martín de Figuerola exhorted them to do so. To achieve this goal, he managed to outstep the bounds of his actual assignment at the See of Zaragoza – which called for four sermons a year to be delivered to the Muslims, as instituted by the Catholic Monarchs – and went to the actual mosques to preach and debate against Islam, to which the second part of the book attests. In *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*, the book he composed during the 1520s but never published, he narrated his own day-to-day encounters with the Muslim population of Aragon in a first-person account of this particular preaching campaign (1517–18). Despite the emphasis he places on his preaching activities and engagement in polemics against Islam, very often he seems keener on expulsion, or forced rather than voluntary conversion.[36] For example, on one occasion, the son of the *alfaquí* of one of the mosques where he goes to preach says that he would rather go to Africa than have to put up with Figuerola every Friday. In response, Figuerola writes that 'I told him to go ahead and do it', and later on, 'The sooner our land is cleaned up the better'.[37]

In one of the aforementioned preaching campaigns, specifically that of 20 September 1517, he challenged the *alfaquí* as follows: 'To find out if all these questions are true, bring your Koran next Friday, and I will bring mine. Then right here we will see if what I am saying is true'.[38] Earlier that same month and year (11 September 1517) he had entered one of the mosques and brought with him a copy of the Qur'ān. While he was waiting for the service to finish, he looked through the book to find passages which would serve for a disputation and – based on his account – by doing so he troubled the *alfaquí* so much that the latter made no less than forty mistakes in his speech: 'And I took the Koran and began to leaf through it to find the texts with my questions; and the *alfaquí*, who saw that I had the book, became so agitated that he made forty-three mis-

35 'El presente autor predicando en la yglessia mayor de Saragoza en presencia de los moros que eran unos sermones de la fe los quales el rey Católico Fernando de Aragón le mandó que tomara el cargo por la antigüedad del *Mq Xd* Martín García, obispo de Barcelona'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 103r.

36 For more on Martín de Figuerola's attitude on this topic, see Mercedes García-Arenal, 'The Double Polemic of Martín de Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán* (1519)' (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).

37 'Le dixe que mucho en hora buena que lo hiciese'; 'Que primero quede nuestra tierra limpia'; RAH, ms. Gayangos 1922/36, fol. 243r.

38 '… para conocer si son verdaderas estas questiones, traet vuestro alcoran para el viernes que viene, que yo traheré el mío, y aquí comprobaremos si es verdad lo que yo digo'; Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José*, p. lxxiii.

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takes in the prayer he was delivering, according to what I was told by a Moor who was there at the mosque'.[39]

In the challenge that Figuerola posed to measure the *alfaquí*'s copy against his own copy, we can see how the book, as an object, becomes a metonymic stand-in for the whole of Islamic doctrine, and ultimately confrontation comes down to one object wielded against another: 'look here at the book, bring yours here; these are the texts … everybody have a look, take it and read it. In the end, he [the *alfaquí*] did not want to read them'.[40] Indeed, the physical presence of the book illustrated in the foregoing examples mimics fairly well the actual apparatus and construction of the polemical work undertaken by García, Juan Andrés and Figuerola. In their writings, the Qur'ān is recurrently presented in the text by showing and exhibiting passages from it on the written page, in a very similar way to how the physical book is brought to the mosque. There seems to be a parallel in the use of Arabic language which likewise fulfills the role of an authoritative, almost symbolic element. Though carefully included, it is nevertheless not necessarily used as a true communicative vehicle, nor does it function as a means of actually transferring doctrine, as the Arabic language does in Alcalá. In *Lumbre de fe*, fol.12v, [see fig. 7.1] we can see a clear example of how the passages from the Qur'ān are included in the treatise:

> Libro tercero Capitulo segundo alea cient y bint y dos y dize así:
> *Cala acbita mine jarmien bacdum libiedin aduum*[41]

39 'E yo tomé el alcorán, y empecé de cartear para buscar los textos que mis questiones tenían; y el alfaqui que vió que yo estaba con el libro, tomó tanta alteración que erró la oración que azía en cuarenta y tres veces, segun yo fui informado de hun moro que allí estaua en la mesquita'; Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José*, p. lxxiv.

40 'Mirad aqui el libro, venga aqui el vuestro; aqui los textos … mirenlo todos, tomad y leed. En fin que él no quiso leerlos'; Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José*, p. lxxvi.

41 قَالَ اهْبِطَا مِنْهَا جَمِيعًا بَعْضُكُمْ لِبَعْضٍ عَدُوٌّ فَإِمَّا يَأْتِيَنَّكُم مِّنِّي هُدًى فَمَنِ اتَّبَعَ هُدَايَ فَلاَ يَضِلُّ وَلاَ يَشْقَى (20: 123) He said: 'Get ye down, both of you, all together, from the Garden, with enmity one to another: but if, as is sure, there comes to you Guidance from Me, whosoever follows My Guidance, will not lose his way, nor fall into misery'; (trans.) Yusuf Ali. Early Modern Christian polemicists were eager to quote Muslim authorities on the characters of the Old and New Testaments; the gloss to verse 2:198 in Egidio da Viterbo's Qur'ān, a Latin translation closely related to the ones presented here, informs that Adam and Eve met again on the Mount 'Arafāt, having been expelled from Paradise. This exegesis can be found in works of such authorities as al-Zamakhsharī and Ibn 'Aṭiya. See Thomas Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 160 and p. 273, n. 31, 32.

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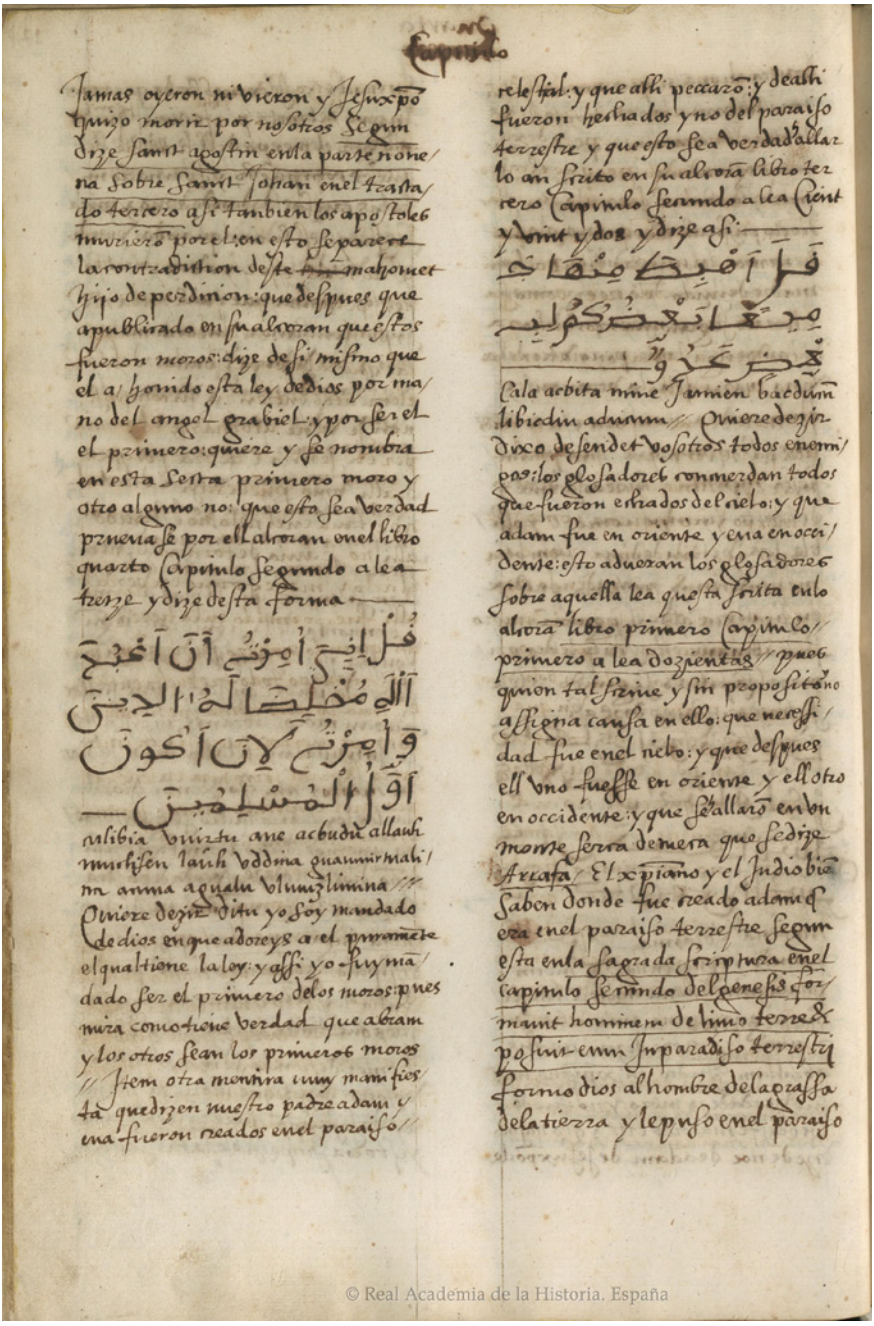

FIGURE 7.1 *Real Academia de la Historia, ms. Gayangos 1922/36: Joan Martín de Figuerola,* Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el alcorán (*1521*); fol. 12v.

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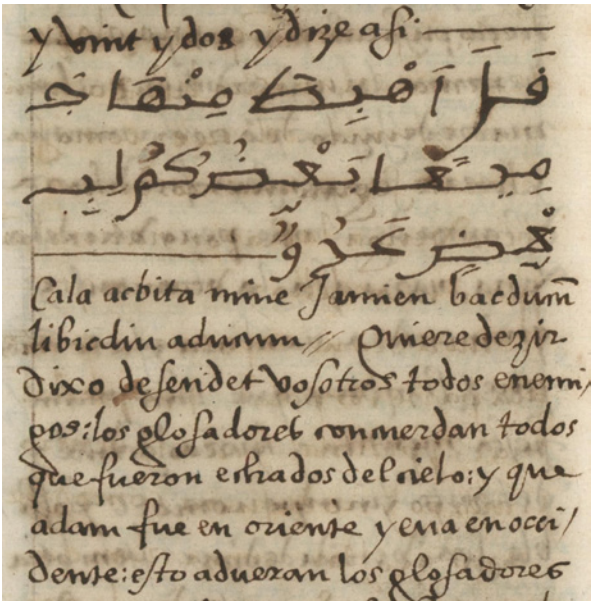
y dos y dize asi:
قل اهبطا منها جميعا
بعضكم لبعض عدو
Cala acbita mine Jamien bacdum
libiedin adium // Quiere dezir
dixo defendet vosotros todos enemi/
gos: los glosadores conmerdan todos
que fueron echados del cielo: y que
adam fue en oriente y eua en occi/
dente: esto aduezan los glosadores

FIGURE 7.2
*Real Academia de la Historia, ms. Gayangos 1922/36: Joan Martín de Figuerola, Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el alcorán (1521); f. 12v, detail.*

> Quiere dezir dixo defendet vosotros todos enemigos. Los glosadores concuerdan todos que fueron echados del cielo, y que Adam fue en Oriente y Eva en Occidente.

The inclusion of such quotations follows this order in a more or less consistent way: (1) Referencing the passage following the four-part Maghrebian division, which was wide spread in the Peninsula in the time.[42] (2) Including the text of the Qur'ān in Arabic and in Latin characters. (3) Translating and commenting on the fragment, and in doing so usually keeping the translation of the Qur'ān separate from its exegesis, sometimes referred to as 'the gloss'. Also somewhat typical is the poor quality of the writing, in this case even cutting the word جميعا into two [see Fig. 7.2].

Martín de Figuerola's clear awareness of the central position of the book within the community is evident in his interactions with the Muslim communities of Aragon and his determined inclusion of qur'ānic passages in his sermons and writings. He seems to have understood that more than just the

42 See Margarita Castells Criballés, 'Alguns aspectes formals de la traducció llatina de l'Alcorà de Robert de Ketton (c. 1141–43) i la seva relació amb el text original àrab', *Faventia*, 29.3 (2007): pp. 79–106 and Consuelo López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo. Edición y estudio del manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha* (Gijón: Trea, 2011), pp. 39–40.

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doctrinal vehicle of the community, it is also a key source of authority. This conception most probably implies in the first place a translation of the Christian idea of the sacred text as one book that contains all the main doctrinal references. Thus, the Qur'ān is seen as the counterpart of the Bible, which mirrors the medieval disputes based on the equivalence between the two texts.[43]

Other arguments defended by Figuerola reflect further basic misconceptions about Islam. Among them, that the message of the Qur'ān was mainly the message of Muḥammad and that it lacked continuity (style-wise) with the previous revelations.[44] He repeatedly attributes the word of the Qur'ān to Muḥammad, as in the following passage: 'One of them replied, saying that whoever wrote it had lied. I replied back, saying: What you say is in the wrong, since he who wrote it, as he is a Christian, is more truthful than you, *and has written more truthfully than your Mohamed*, or any of your scholars, who are full of a thousand vices' [emphasis ours]; or elsewhere: 'Mohamed writes in his Koran book'.[45]

Despite all of his misconstructions and flaws, it seems that the inclusion and exhibition of the Arabic quotations did have an effect on the *alfaquí*, as Figuerola mentions in the anecdote cited above, since the leader of the community gets confused and loses track of what he is saying. Figuerola's portrayal of himself holding the Qur'ān in his hands and looking through it inside the

43 Norman Daniel, when speaking about the nature of the Qur'ān, mentions this old misconception of the Qur'ān as an equivalent of the Bible: 'The Qur'ān has no parallel outside Islam. Christians have sometimes seen it as equivalent to the Bible. They have not always realized that the Qur'ān describes itself (and previous revelations also, though not word for word) as copied from a heavenly prototype, so that it is really unlike anything known to Christianity. Still less have they understood that it is believed to be the uncreated Word of God. This doctrine, which was arrived at comparatively late in the development of the consensus of Islamic opinion, was yet generally accepted two centuries before the period that concerns us. The Qur'ān in Islam is very nearly what Christ is in Christianity: the Word of God, the whole expression of revelation'; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), p. 53.

44 Norman Daniel, on 'The alien qualities of the Qur'ān', asserts: 'Much medieval argument depended on showing that the Qur'ān was incongruous with the other revelations with which it associated itself. This was more a matter of logical inconsistency. It was held to be incompatible with Scripture in its inherent qualities, and not only with Scripture, but with philosophy and natural reason also. Its strangeness and unfamiliarity in certain ways were genuinely shocking to the Latin reader; in Western tradition it stood out as a freak, both in content and in form'. Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 77.

45 'Respondió y dixo uno, que mentía quien lo auía scrito. Respondí y dixe: Vos hablais muy mal, porque quien lo á scrito, siendo xpiano, tiene mayor verda que no vos, y *á scrito más verdadero que vuestro mahomet*, ni todos vuestros doctores, que están llenos de mil maldades'; 'Mahoma Scribe en su Alcoran libro'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 18r.

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mosque thus has a metaphoric value. The scene parallels his use of transcribed fragments of the Qur'ān in the construction of the written polemical discourse of *Lumbre de fe*, the flustered *alfaquí* mirroring Figuerola's desire to unmask the institution of Islam.

Concerning the mechanics of how the Arabic text and Qur'ān are appropriated in the book at the formal level, the inaccuracy of the Arabic script and the poor quality of the transcription are rather striking, especially when compared with other materials such as the already mentioned *Arte* by Pedro de Alcalá, and later catechetical material such as Martín de Ayala's (1504–66) *Doctrina Christiana* (1566),[46] where there is a genuine effort to provide graphic signs for all Arabic phonemes, including the sophisticated use of accents.[47]

However, the qur'ānic fragments inserted in Figuerola's text actually bear a formal resemblance to some of the late production of Islamic materials written in Spain in Latin characters (the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries).[48] This proximity is also mirrored in the use of *tafsīr* (commentaries to the Qur'ān) and other authoritative sources in the translations that are provided, which Martín de Figuerola explicitly mentions: 'Use the Koran, lead them by the hand using their own scholars who glossed the Koran'.[49] Almost all the excerpts are glossed and explained according to Muslim *tafsīr* authorities, at times cited by name: 'Their own scholars, Azamaxeri [al-Zamakhsharī], Beratia [Ibn ʿAṭīya], Buzamarim [Ibn Abī Zamanīn], Almacodi [al-Masʿūdī (?)] say the same thing, that is what the Arabic says'.[50] This reliance on Islamic source material extended beyond *tafsīr* to include a variety of other books that

46 *Doctrina Christiana en lengua Aráuiga y Castellana* (*Compuesta por mandado del illustríssimo y Reverendíssimo Señor don Martín de Ayala Arçobispo de Valencia: para la instrucción de los nuevamente conuertidos deste Reyno*) (Valencia: J. Mey, 1566).

47 Federico Corriente in his edition of Alcalá's vocabulary has commented that despite limitation in his Arabic and linguistic notions, and the printing problems that his work implied, the contribution he makes is still remarkable. Federico Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según Pedro de Alcalá* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988), pp. ii–iii.

48 As in the Mohammad de Vera treatise: 'Y quando acabarás el alguadó, dirás: axahadu an laylahila Allª guahedahu, laxarica lahu gua aztaefirulLª aladi lailahila hugua gua tubu ylLahi gua axahadu ana Mohanmad dun raçurulLª, quiere dezir, Hago testigo que no ay dios sino el verdadero Dios, él solo, sin aparçero; i pido perdón a Dios, aquel que no ay otro dios sino él; y arripiéntome a él; y hago testigo que Mohanmad fue su siervo y su mensajero'; Raquel Suárez García, *El compendio islámico de Mohanmad de Vera. Un tratado morisco tardío* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo), p. 177 (forthcoming). We want to thank Raquel Suárez for sharing her book with us before its publication.

49 'Usa el Alcorán, tómales tú la mano con los doctores suyos que an glosado el Alcorán'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 253.

50 'Doctores suyos Azamaxeri, Beratia, Buzamarim, Almacodi dizen lo mesmo, el arabigo es que dize'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 26v.

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circulated widely at the time, such as the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996),[51] a treatise on Mālikī law that was very common among Mudéjares and Moriscos: 'I would have put more, but I was lacking several Arabic books, and especially one called the Ricella'.[52] Other common sources that circulated widely among the Muslims in Spain in the Modern period were the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* by the Qāḍī 'Iyād. Figuerola claims he also has a copy of this book, and says: 'Azifaçear, a book with a great deal of authority among the Moors because of all the praise it says of Mohamed, which book was composed by one of their scholars called Alcadiajar'.[53] Thus, Figuerola engages in a sort of mimicry of the Islamic sources in circulation in the communities he is targeting. However, this appropriation, whose clear intention is to make a show of the author's familiarity with the material, leaves him in a position of proximity as well.

Far from approaching Islam from the vantage of Christian tradition proper, the attack on the Muslim faith actually inserts itself within the formats and textual tradition of the Islamic community through a relationship of marked dependency that undermines the faith almost from within. Even the exhortation to compare the different Qur'āns that Figuerola mentions in the anecdote quoted before when he challenges the *alfaquí* to bring his copy of the Qur'ān to the mosque, may be something more than an aggressive summons to a polemical contest. It may in fact have been objectively necessary for a discussion to decide what a Qur'ān contains, since most of the material which circulated in Aragon in the sixteenth century consisted of excerpts, fragments, selections of quotes or parts of the entire unabridged version.[54] We also know of fragments and abridged versions of the Qur'ān which circulated among Muslims, and which focused on utterly different aspects of the holy text. And it is here where the distance between the two types of qur'ānic quotes is most noticeable. Consuelo López-Morillas states in her study of the Qur'ān and the Moriscos

51 Mercedes García-Arenal, 'Algunos manuscritos de *Fiqh* andalusíes y norteafricanos pertenecientes a la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial', *Al-Qanṭara*, 1 (1980): pp. 9–26, esp. p. 20.

52 'Pusiera más, sino que he tenido falta de algunos libros arábigos y en especial uno que se dice la Ricella'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 239.

53 'Azifaçear, un libro de mucha autoridad entre los moros por tratar de las muchas alabanzas que dice de Mahomet, el qual libro fue compuesto por un doctor dellos que se dice Alcadiajar'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 134r.

54 On this subject see Consuelo López-Morillas, 'The Genealogy of the Spanish Qur'ān', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 17 (2006): pp. 255–94; and Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de la Sierra', *Journal of Qur'ānic Studies*, (2014): pp. 89–138. Also, Jacqueline Fournel-Guérin in 'Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1540–1620)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 15 (1979): pp. 241–59, mentions that Miguel Luengo, a new convert to Christianity, compared his Qur'ān with another's copy arguing about which one was better and more true: 'disputando qual era mejor y más verdadero'.

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that the thirteen examples of the abridged and abbreviated Qurʾāns used by the Mudéjares and Moriscos 'consisted of the chapters and verses most recited in daily prayer'.[55] Moreover, López-Morillas underscores that the qurʾānic passages translated by Juan Andrés correspond 'only rarely (13 times) to those found in the "standard' abridgement of the Qurʾān so common among the Moriscos'.[56] The Christian polemicists were only using the Muslim commentaries in reference to the core fragments and concepts which they saw as especially convincing in proving the inferiority of Islam, not the 'Qurʾān' that the Mudejares used on a day-to-day basis and were familiar with.

Therefore, in spite of the formal and rhetorical similarities with circulating Morisco material for Muslim use, we can perceive the texts written by the authors from Martín García's circle as being impregnated with a strictly Christian way of reading and analyzing the Qurʾān, albeit with some innovations. Figuerola, who introduces himself as a *maestro en sacra teología* (master in sacred theology), apart from quoting the Qurʾān and Islamic sources, quotes abundantly from the Bible, providing the text in Latin normally followed by its translation into Spanish, in a very similar way as he does with the Qurʾān.[57] Other Christian religious sources also find their place in his writing, such as Dante, Duns Scotus, St Augustine and Llull's *Blanquerna*. He abundantly quotes the *Apocalypse*, *Leviticus* and the *Epistles* of Peter and Paul, as well as St Augustine. An argumentative enterprise of this nature required not only a working knowledge of Arabic sources – mainly the Qurʾān and *tafsīr* on top of other Islamic doctrinal texts as we have said – and expertise in qurʾānic language, but also some familiarity with both the Christian polemical tradition and Islamic doctrinal texts, plus firsthand knowledge of religious practices.

While Martín de Figuerola and Martín García coincide in their use of Christian sources and tradition, Juan Andrés notably does not, rarely drawing on such materials. Thus, Juan Andrés normally proceeds by providing information from Islamic scripture and then contesting it, and sometimes his response is even highlighted in the printed version by the graphic sign of a little hand in the margin, *manecilla*, on the whole following a very methodical, rational way of arguing. Most of the polemical tone is much more contained and far less apparent than in Martín de Figuerola. Although in the prologue he does use – as a much more rhetorical and conventional device – terms such as 'perverse, evil, fake' this language is relatively uncommon in the rest of the text.[58] Even in

55 López-Morillas, 'The Genealogy of the Spanish Qurʾān', p. 262.

56 López-Morillas, 'The Genealogy of the Spanish Qurʾān', p. 277.

57 As in *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 53r, where he quotes Jeremiah, 16: 'Ecce ego mittam piscatores multos dixit Dominus et piscabuntur eos. Dice el señor, yo embiaré pescadores muchos y los pescarán'.

58 Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 91: 'Acordé de componer la presente obra por recolegir en ella

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his style of arguing, with its softer polemic tone and more argumentative structure, the use of Islamic sources is still not neutral or comfortable, but rather creates a complicated tension around authority, since these sources are needed on the one hand in order to prove that they themselves are wrong, while on the other they are sometimes also used to reinforce the Christian message itself.

Juan Andrés, for example, would dedicate the eleventh chapter of his *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* to 'How the Christian faith is proven to be good and holy and true and God-given by the Qur'ān itself and the *Sunna* of Muḥammad and how the Qur'ān bears witness to the existence of Jesus Christ our Lord'.[59] This argument is preceded by several chapters containing an extensive argument questioning the veracity of Islam and the Qur'ān. In a similar fashion, Martín García, in his sermon *Contra infideles et hereticos, in quo probatur messiam uenisse per statuam, danielis 2*, would argue that through the Qur'ān one could learn about the existence of idolatry in the time of Muḥammad, taking this testimony almost as a historical source: 'So the whole world was full of idols and not just the Jewish world, but also the Hagarenes, as Muḥammad bears witness regarding his relatives'.[60]

Another concern that shows through clearly in Juan Andrés, but which is far less prominent in Martín de Figuerola, has to do with the inimitability and perfection of the qur'ānic revelation as a proof of its authenticity. Figuerola in fact seems appalled by the Qur'ān and finds it to be formally incongruous. He sees in its versified form a clear sign of its inauthenticity, engaging again with classical Christian polemical debate, commenting that 'it looks like at the end of the world God turned into a songster'.[61] Juan Andrés, on the other hand,

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algunas de las fabulosas fictiones, trufas, engaños, ninerías, bestialidades, mentiras y contradictiones de passo en passo qu'el perverso y malvado Mahoma, para decebir los simples pueblos, ha dexado sembradas por los libros de su secta y principalmente en el *Alcorán*'.

59 'Capítulo onzeno: tracta como la fe cristiana esta provada por buena y sancta y verdadera y dada por dios por el mesmo alcoran y en la suna de Mahoma como faze testigo Elcorán de Jesu Christo nuestro señor'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 210–17.

60 'Et sic totus mundus plenus erat idolis non solum iudei, sed agareni, ut testatur Mahoma de parentibus suis' Montoza Coca, 'Edición, traducción', pp. 66–67. García will also use the authority of the Qur'ān to reinforce the argument in his third sermon: 'Et dicitur in plerisque azoris, id est, capitulis, quod hic Yce filius Marie fuit messias, quem in arabico nominat Maceh aut Maçiha. Hoc etiam habetur in alcarano, sic dixerunt angeli Marie: *Deus nunciat tibi uerbum suum. Nomen cuius est Ihesus Christus filius Marie magnus in hoc seculo. Loquetur hominibus suauiter adhuc puerulus, et erit primus sanctorum*'.

61 'Parece que dios en la fin del mundo se hiciera copleador'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 9v.

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while indeed presenting the text as having 'no foundation nor reason',[62] avoids any sort of attack based on the formal grounds of the Qur'ān. He criticizes Muslims' excessive devotion to the actual letters and formal structure of the book, depicting pious Muslims as a sort of alphabetical fanatics, a vision that is actually closer to the Muslim perception of the Qur'ān mentioned before as described by Norman Daniel:[63] 'You hold it [the Qur'ān] in such esteem that you kiss it when you take it into your hands and you swear by it: and you mistake it for God';[64] or, more vivid still: 'Because if a Moor took out one letter or misplaced one diacritic or one accent, then he would be sent off to be stoned by the law and by the Sunna'.[65]

In a similar divergence from traditional Christian polemicists, who attacked Muḥammad as a charismatic charlatan, Juan Andrés shies away from personal attacks on his former prophet. For example, explicitly citing the well-known *Kitāb al-Shifā'* by the Qāḍī, cited above by Martín de Figuerola, in his *Confutación* Juan Andrés recounts the anecdote of Muḥammad's scribe 'Abdallah Celen who was originally a Jew', that is the well-know Jewish convert to Islam 'Abd Allāh b. Salām,[66] recounting that, since he 'was familiar with the law of the Jews, he realized that everything Muḥammad told him to write down was fiction and falsehood'.[67] Thus, he undertook a 'great experiment' to alter the endings of the verses while maintaining the rhyme scheme to see if Muḥammad

62 'En la ley de Mahoma no ay fundamento ni razón para que pueda ser verdadera'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*.

63 See note 43.

64 'que te parece de tal escriptura: la qual tienes en tanta reuerencia que la beseys quando lo tomeys en las manos y jureys por el: y lo tomeis en lugar de dios'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 128–29.

65 'Pues dime agora tu moro y mira que ley tienen los moros en el Alcoran y como lo guarden. Ca si un moro quitasse una letra o mudase una tilde o un acento luego le mandarían ser apedreado por ley y por çuna'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, p. 122.

66 "Abd Allāh b. Salām in Muslim tradition has become the typical representative of that group of Jewish scribes which honored the truth, admitting that Muḥammad was the Prophet predicted in the Torah, and protecting him from the intrigues of their co-religionists'. Joseph Horovitz, "Abd Allāh b. Salām', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Brill Online, 2015).

67 Some relevant bibliography about the presence of this book among the Moriscos; Javier Albarrán Iruela, *Veneración y polémica. Muḥammad en la obra del Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ* (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2015); Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, 'El Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ en la literatura aljamiado-morisca', *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 14–15 (1997–98): pp. 201–18; Louis Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos. Un enfrentamiento polémico* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979), pp. 156–59; and Gerard A. Wiegers, *A learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius. Ahmad b. Kasim Al-Andalusi and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit, 1988). See also Chapter 8 in this volume by Gerard A. Wiegers.

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noticed, and indeed, in seven years he did not.[68] The use of this anecdote by a convert *from* Islam is interesting on many levels. For our purposes, we might highlight that, at the very least, the fact of Muḥammad's deceit is not emphasized; another way of reading between the lines of the text is that Muḥammad was merely reciting what had been revealed to him but, unfortunately, the text that Muslims revere today has been adulterated (in this case by none other than a Jew). And this is precisely the argument that Muslim polemists so often used against the Christians and Jews, known as *taḥrīf*, that the revelation was true and the messengers righteous, but its transmission fatally flawed.

As to the issue of whether or not the *alfaquís*, and indeed the Muslim community, were ignorant of their own faith, which, as we shall see in the following section, was one of Figuerola's key allegations, it is also interesting to note that Juan Andrés would recurrently address his interlocutor as 'you who read the Qurʾān every day' and similar formulas. Despite the polemic tone (and also a hint of sarcasm) there is a key difference with regard to Martín de Figuerola's ignorant *alfaquís* and Moors, as Juan Andrés imagines a dialogist who is, at the very least, well read, even though he implies that despite all of this reading the interlocutor has understood nothing.

Thus, subtle differences manifest in Juan Andrés and Figuerola's approaches to the discourse, and in the way they present themselves and the content of their own books. Similar fragments of the Qurʾān are included in both *Lumbre de fe* and *Confusión*, at the same time as Islamic texts and the Arabic language are put on display as a powerful authoritative device, all the while being denigrated and stripped of their authority in a broader sense. Clearly in both Juan Andrés and Figuerola there is an underlying ideology in which it is not enough

68 'En tanto que Mahoma tuvo un escrivano que se llamava Abdalla Celen, el qual era judío de primero, y este fue escribano de Mahoma diez años. Y comoquier que havía estado judío y era entendido en la ley de los judíos, vino a conoscer que todo lo que mandava Mahoma a él d'escrivir era cosa ficta y fingida y no de Dios dada. Y con todo quiso fazer y fizo grande experiencia, la qual fue que quando Mahoma le mandava escribir los versos siempre trastocava la fin del verso, a saber es, mudando las palabras de la fin del verso. Y no mudava el rima ni la consonancia porque avéys de saber que el *Alcorán* va todo por rima y por consonante, así como metros. De manera que quando Mahoma mandava al escribano que escriviesse y posiesse en la fin del verso: *alla hazizum haquini* ponía el dicho escribano: *allha cemihum halim*; que quiere decir que quando Mahoma le fazía escribir que dios era glorioso y sabidor: ponía el escribano: "Dios es oydor y juez" y si Mahoma le mandava escribir que Dios era poderoso y muy alto, ponía el escribano: "Dios es perdonador piadoso" y desta manera estuvo este escribano siete años trastocando la fin de los versos y mudándolos. Y nunca en todo el tiempo hubo Mahoma sentimiento dello y así vino a conoscer este escribano que si el *Alcorán* fuesse de Dios no passara tanto tiempo que Mahoma no oviesse algún aviso de Dios y de su amigo el ángel. Todo esto pruevo por el libro que se llama *Assifa* y por el libro de *Acear*'; Juan Andrés, *Confusión*, pp. 121–22.

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to offer Christian doctrine; rather, the tenets and traditions of Islam must be engaged with, only to be turned against the religion itself, *proving* the veracity of the Christian faith, while inadvertently endorsing certain aspects of Islam. This process of arguing makes us wonder if this unintended proximity could also have affected the preacher's own system of belief. In other words, it raises the question, whose answer is beyond the scope of this paper, of how one can pick apart another's faith, entering into debate and dialogue with them, without accidentally casting doubt on one's own beliefs.

## 'Siendo christiano, tiene mayor verda que no vos': Converted Alfaquís and Christian Source Material

Through his accounts of the *morerías* of Aragon, Martín de Figuerola makes the interesting claim that normally the Muslims from Aragon do not engage in polemics: 'they do not dispute with anybody about their Law'.[69] Figuerola attributes this attitude to teachings of the Qurʾān, but also appears to interpret it as a sort of passivity, a compliance that he sees as a symptom of ignorant believers who blindly follow the *alfaquí*.[70] In fact, it is this figure who becomes the target of the disputation, and consequently is severely distorted in Figuerola's depiction,[71] represented not just as the person who holds religious knowledge, but also the person responsible for feeding his community lies and steering it away from salvation.[72] A similar emphasis on the importance of dispensing

69 'Que no disputan con nadie de su ley'; 'Según yo tengo experiencia de algunas disputas con ellos que no quieren admitir ningún doctor de los nuestros y algunos de los suyos tienen esta astucia que si alguna autoridad trahays de sus doctores que no los satisfaze dizen que el tal doctor no le tienen por auténtico'. Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 32v and 4r.

70 'Donde está la ceguera destos próximos mios de moros que sus alfaquis les dan a entender tales cosas sin dar razón ni causa'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 23r.

71 The term *alfaquí* corresponds to the Romance version of the Arabic *faqīh*, which means an expert in Islamic jurisprudence. However, in the context of the early sixteenth century in Spain, it seems that the term is used in a much wider sense, meaning someone who is knowledgeable in Islam, the leader of the community, and often the one who performs the functions of the Imām in the mosque, as is described in Martín de Figuerola's text. It seems reasonable that the pressure to convert which was on the rise in Aragon, and had already been mandated in other areas of the peninsula, added a new layer to the situation of the Muslims in Spain, and most probably affected concepts such as hegemony and authority within these Muslim communities, where traditional authority roles gradually became more blurry and less visible. About the role of *alfaquís* in Late Medieval Spain, see: Kathryn A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

72 'Pero marauíllome de tantos hombres que aquí están, que uso de razón tienen, que no

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with this figure may also be observed in the *Instructions* for the Valencian Moriscos based on the Juntas of 1561, where agreements were reached on forcing all the *alfaquís* and dogmatists to leave the kingdom, stating that they 'are not to be there because they will ruin every instruction that could be given'.[73]

And yet, at the same time as Figuerola targets this figure as a repository of knowledge, interestingly enough his criticism takes on an unexpected twist by accusing the *alfaquís* themselves of being ignorant. He is actually quite categorical on this point: most of them are flat-out ignorant, do not have a sound command of Arabic, as with the Muslims in the *aljamas* (Muslim neighborhoods), and their only merit is to have learned the Qurʾān by heart.[74]

However, there is still a further twist in such statements as the following: 'but I am surprised that all these men who are here, who have the use of reason, would not see what they have, and they have to content themselves with your simple reason [that of the *alfaquí*], while they all know that what I say was written *by the* alfaquís *converted to Christianity*'. Indeed, his attempt to legitimize his own arguments through reliance on a new Christian / former Muslim authority is a double rhetorical effort: on the one hand, it seeks to open up a channel for polemics from within, while at the same time resolving the preachers' own anxiety over using Islamic sources, filtered through a new Christian faith: 'He who wrote it, as he is a Christian, is more truthful than you'.[75]

During his preaching campaigns in Aragon, Martín de Figuerola was actually accompanied by the new Christian Juan Gabriel, former *alfaquí* from Teruel Alí Alayazar,[76] who did not pen any treatises of his own, but was in fact commissioned by Italian Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469–1532) to translate and transcribe the Qurʾān.[77] In February 1517, they attended prayers at the mosque on the day of the celebration of the prophet Muḥammad's birth, about

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quieran ver lo que tienen, y que de vuestra simple razón se ayan de contentar, conociendo todos ellos, que esto que yo digo lo an scrito *alfaquis hechos cristianos*'; Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José*, fol. lxxv.

73 'Que en todo caso los alfaquies y dogmatistas salgan fuera del Reyno, y que no estén allí porque destruyrán toda la instruction que se hiziere'; Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los moriscos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), p. 110.

74 'No sabeys lo que haveys de guardar y seguir, cosa es confusa tener y seguir una escriptura que nadie la puede entender'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 171v.

75 'Quien lo á scrito, siendo xpiano, tiene mayor verda que no vos'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 18r.

76 García-Arenal and Starczewska, 'The Law of Abraham', pp. 409–59, esp. p. 412.

77 Starczewska, 'Latin Translation of the Qurʾān (1518/1621) commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Critical Edition and Introductory Study' (PhD Diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012). See also Starczewska, 'Juan Gabriel', in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. *Vol. 6*. *Western Europe* (*1500–1600*), (ed.) David Thomas et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 415–19.

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which festivity Juan Gabriel had provided some information. Figuerola waited with him at the mosque while the prayers were taking place, looking for an opportunity to initiate a religious dispute: 'I was well informed of the story and of how he was born [that is the Prophet Muḥammad] by one called master Juan Gabriel, who was the *alfaquí* of Teruel and now, by the grace of God, is a Christian'.[78] Also when quoting Juan Andrés, Martín de Figuerola would refer to him as an expert, since he was a former *alfaquí*, and a new trustworthy Christian source.[79] Juan Gabriel and Juan Andrés are thus not only the informants and mediators, but also authorities.

The use of the intermediation of converts or Muslims is definitely not new, but the insistence, the naming and locating of the precise characters involved, is significant. Since Martín de Figuerola's Islamic and Arabic knowledge was transferred mainly from former Muslims as he himself declares, and specifically former *alfaquís*, his repeated emphasis on the ignorance of the *alfaquí* certainly creates some fissures in his argumentation.[80] One could also wonder if the constant accusation of the lack of knowledge among the Muslim communities at the time in Spain, a commonplace that has persisted down to the present day in the literature about the Moriscos,[81] is perhaps connected precisely to this brand of polemic literature and its *topoi*, and that the time has come to question it or at least examine it from a more critical perspective.

## A Rational Conversion: Oratory, Logic and Grace

Juan Andrés, in the prologue to his book, narrates his own conversion, describing it through semantic elements that could likewise be understood as a way of proposing an ideology of conversion where the latter is reached through

78 'Siendo bien informado de la historia y de cómo nació por uno que se decía maestre Johan Gabriel, alfaqui que era de teruel y ahora por la gracia de Dios, *xpno*'; Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José*, p. lxvi.

79 'Mossen Johan Andres antiguo alfaqui de Xativa y que por ser persona experta'; Martín de Figuerola, *Lumbre de fe*, fol. 30r.

80 'porque el alfaquí, después de haver yo predicado, juntaua toda la gente en la mesquita, según yo fui informado, que les dezía: Todo lo que a dicho mossen figuerola no a dicho verdad ni le creais. Y ellos, como simples ignorantes que no saben lleer ni entender ell alcorán, ni saben algarabía, que todos son algimiados, dauan fé al dicho alfaquí; y yo siendo certificado, vue de tenelles otra arte, y les dixe en una predica todo lo que el alfaquí hazía; y por tanto yo determinaua de hir cada viernes que ellos tienen aljoma, y allí en la mesquita, delante de todos, con el alcorán, les mostraría ser verdad todo lo que yo les predicaua; y assi empezé de hazer las infrascriptas disputas, en su mesquita, á las quales mucha gente, así letrados como no letrados, concurrían'; Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José*, pp. lviii–lix.

81 See Chapter 11 by Mercedes García-Arenal in this volume.

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rational channels. In Juan Andrés' account, he entered the Cathedral of Valencia and upon hearing the renowned fray Juan Marqués preaching, 'The radiant rays of the divine light … stirred and illuminated the darkness of [his] *understanding*, opening up the eyes of [his] soul' (emphasis ours).[82] Afterwards, Andrés says that he then *knew* that only through the law of Christ was salvation possible, and then *decided* to ask to be baptized. Even though, as is to be expected, the narration bears the habitual symbols and narrative conventions of conversion (light, brightness, sudden change),[83] the semantic framing of the process indicates a much more rational event than in conventional narrations of conversion, as Andrés *understands*, *knows*, and *decides* what to do. This choice of wording depicts the whole process as being much more premeditated and thought-based. Understanding the acquisition of a new faith as a reason-based channel would very much justify the nature of a polemic work like Andrés' *Confutación*, Martín García's *Sermones* and Martín de Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe*, where discursive preaching and argumentation are the legitimate means of arriving at the truth. Also, while 'light' could of course be understood as a supernatural component, it could also refer to the light of understanding and reason, as this was also a common trope at the time.[84]

Whether Juan Andrés' Islamic training reflected or not the common training of an Iberian *faqīh* in this period is difficult to analyze based on a book like this one, which evidently passed through the significant filters of its sponsors and printers. We might note however that the strategy of reasoning and arguing to win over converts to Christianity, which is consistent throughout the book, also shares some common traits with the Dominican order and their production of material that exhaustively tracked their opponents' own doctrines.[85] Three woodcuts are included after the introduction to the *Confusión*:

82 'Los resplandecientes rayos de la divina luz … removieron y esclarecieron las tinieblas de mi entendimiento y luego se me abrieron los ojos de la anima'.

83 Ryan Szpiech, 'Preaching Paul to the Moriscos in the *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) by Juan Andrés', *La Corónica*, 41, no. 1 (Fall 2012): pp. 317–43; and Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

84 In the prologue to his translation of the *Disticha Catonis*, Martín García writes: 'Así como lumbre es escuredat / [a] quien tiene privada potential visiva, / quien tiene ofuscada su intellentia / el dezir fundado fallia seguedat'; Martín García Puyazuelo, *La ética de Catón*, (ed.) J.F. Sánchez López (Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Aragoneses, 2009), p. 5.

85 It seems that practices used by the Dominicans in the thirteenth century were centered on the Jews more than on the Muslims, and that their argumentative approach developed into an aggressive tone and exhaustive debates, especially in the territory of Aragon. Examples of these practices are the works by Ramón Martí (d. 1285): *De Seta Machometi* (composed before 1257), the *Explanatio symboli apostolarum* (written in 1257) and *Pugio*

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the Pantocrator; a representation of the Order of Preachers, including their shield and motto, and another of the Virgin Mary standing on a column holding the baby Jesus, with the Apostle St James at her right and the Monarchs at her left. We know that Juan Andrés was not a member of the Order of Preachers and neither were Martín de Figuerola or Martín García. However, Juan Andrés seems to link himself to another ecclesiastical figure, that of Juan Marqués, a Dominican from Valencia and confessor of the king Fernando the Catholic.[86] In his own account, Juan Andrés describes this friar as the preacher who brought about his conversion. Marqués was apparently gifted with outstanding rhetorical skills, which were described as if his words had almost a physical effect on the audience, words like 'great stones', as in the anecdote that Francisco Diago (ca. 1560–1615) relates in his *Historia de la provincia de Aragón de la orden de predicadores* (1600), which involved king Fernando as well.[87] Due to his skills, Marqués was chosen first as the king's own confessor, and then as the monarchs' official preacher in 1476.[88]

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*fidei* (composed in 1278), as well as those by Ramón de Penyafort (d. 1275). See John V. Tolan, *Sarracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 235.

86 Some other biographical references about Juan Marqués may be found in fray Baltasar Sorió, *De viris illustribvs Provinciae Aragoniae Divinis Predicatorum*, (ed.) J.M. de Garganta Fábrega (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1950). He also shows up in Jacques Quétif and Jacques Echard, OP, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Paris 1717–21; Turin, 1961), and Celedonio Fuentes, *Escritores dominicos del Reino de Valencia* (Valencia: Ángeles Pitarch, 1930).

87 Francisco Diago, *Anales del Reyno de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1613), and Diago, *Historia de la provincia de Aragón* ([Barcelona]: Sebastián de Cornellas, 1599). Diago tells how the king heard Marqués preaching, and in a later encounter on the street that same day approached him and made a public display of his admiration by placing his hand on the friar's head and exclaiming in front of the members of his court: 'What great stones Father has thrown at us today!' 'Auiale oydo predicar en Caragoça día de san Esteuan tan a gusto suyo que yendo el mismo dia por la ciudad acompañado de todos los de su corte no lo pudo dissimular. Que viendo todos ellos ponían los ojos en la puerta de una casa pregunto luego lo que mirauan. Y respondiéndole que al maestro fray Ian Marques que se auía puesto allí hasta que su Magestad passasse, lo hizo desde luego salir y poniéndole la mano encima de la cabeça dixo a los grandes. *Que buenas pedradas nos ha tirado oy el padre!*' [*emphasis ours*]. The gesture of the hand over his head could be read as the sign of the beginning of a connection that was to develop into subsequent responsibilities in the church, first as the king's own confessor, and then as the monarchs' official preacher in 1476.

88 Here Diago includes a letter from the king bestowing upon him the title of preacher and enjoining him personally to take on the role: 'Juan Marqués religioso tan letrado que llego a ser predicador. Que ambos los dos titulos le dio en el sobrescrito de una carta que le escrivió desde Tudela a cinco de Abril de mil y quatrozientos y setenta y seys,

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Even though no direct connection has yet been established between Marqués' involvement in preaching activities and the conversion of the Muslim population,[89] the fact that Andrés mentions him by name as the one responsible for his conversion led Ximeno, in the aforementioned work of 1700,[90] to blend together Diago and Andrés' testimonies, so as to portray Marqués as an eloquent and *effective* preacher who converted the *famous alfaquí* from Xàtiva. He writes, 'In his preaching his eloquence was so sublime, and his power of persuasion so powerful and effective, as is made clear by the marvelous conversion of that famous Moor, *alfaquí* of Xàtiva, who at his baptism wanted to be named Juan Andrés'.[91]

It is interesting to note that Marqués and García, the two most hierarchical Church figures in the network around Juan Andrés and Figuerola, shared some of the same positions, since in 1486, just ten years after Marqués was appointed confessor to the king, none other than Martín García was to be found holding the very same position as Marqués, chosen to be the confessor to the queen and official preacher of the monarchs. A similar narration of García's elo-

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mandándole que le fuesse a predicar el Iueves santo y el Viernes santo tambien la qual sacada del Archivo desde conuento y traduzida de Lemosin en Castellano es la que se sigue. *Maestro Marques. Nosotros escriuimos al tesorero del conve*[*n*]*to que os recado con que vengays. Ma*[*n*]*damos os seays aqui en todo caso Miercoles primer viniente para que nos podays predicar el Iueues y Viernes Santos. Y no aya falta. Dada en Tudela a cinco de Abril, mil y quatrozientos y setenta y seys. Rex Ferdinandus*'.

89 A comparison between Marqués' sermons and those of Martín García could perhaps be illuminating in order to track the evolution of the rhetorical apparatus and focus of interest in relation to these topics, but unfortunately Marqués' writings have not been preserved. An inventory of his library was made by order of Queen Isabel, who after his death in 1499 seized it and had it brought back to the court, arguing that she felt a great devotion to him: 'E perque tenim molta devocio en les obres fetes per aquell, volem en tot cas tenirlos'. The list of books made on this occasion contains titles such as the following, which could be understood as sermons named after the day they were meant to be recited: *sermo de Cena Domini*, *sermo de Sanct Julia*, *sermo de Sant Arcis*, *Sanct Senet*, *Sancti Sebastiani*, *Sancte Anne*, *Dominice* IV *Adventus*, *Dominice* III *Quaresme*, *Dominice* X *Adventus*. Some are unfinished ('Sancti Jacobi; *non est acabt*'), and the list also includes the works of the Dominican Aquinas and Augustine's *Confessions*. José Toledo Girau, 'La librería de un obispo valenciano incautada por la reina doña Isabel la Católica', *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*, 44 (1960): pp. 78–88.

90 Vicente Ximeno, *Escritores del Reyno de Valencia, chronologicamente ordenados desde el año* MCCXXXVIII *de la christiana conquista de la misma ciudad, hasta el de* MDCCXLVII (Valencia: Joseph Estevan Dolz, 1747).

91 'En la predicación era su elocuencia tan sublime, y su persuasiva tan poderosa, y eficaz, como lo manifiesta la maravillosa conversión de aquel célebre Moro, Alfaquí de Xátiva, que en su Bautismo quiso llamarse Juan Andrés'.

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quence is offered by his biographer Hebrera, and may also be observed first hand in his production of sermons written in Latin. Moreover, Marqués was succeeded in his position as bishop of Patti in 1500 by Miguel de Figuerola, the uncle and protector of Martín de Figuerola. These biographical facts tracking a series of connections and projects in common, all linked in one way or another to the Catholic Monarchs and the emergence of a new way of approaching an increasingly forced conversion, point to an intriguing network of churchmen. Further study into this line of research could shed light on the emergence of this particular school of polemics and preaching, and the evolution and spread of its ideology of conversion.

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As is probably clear to anyone working with similar topics to the ones covered in this chapter, materials that deal with the idea and praxis of conversion reveal views about how one's faith can become another's faith, what elements are shared, what elements must be erased. In the reality analyzed here – the books produced by Martín García, Juan Andrés and Figuerola – this thinking about how to convert takes on a discursive form (they are written testimonies of what could have been an oral practice) that grew out of a very specific context: Granada and then Aragon in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Thus, in *Lumbre de fe*, *Confusión* and *Sermones*, dealing with another's faith and conversion comes down mostly to words, meaning that attention to language is a high priority in order to understand how such discourses are articulated and constructed. In this verbal battle pitting Christianity against Islam, words can be as physical as stones (as seen in the above-mentioned anecdote about Juan Marqués),[92] and so dynamic that they can flow from one language to another in a constant exercise of translation and interpretation marked by numerous constraints. Considering the language ideology that is inevitably behind every choice made in the so-called polemic literature, we have wished to analyze some key elements that shape this language, the language of polemics, such as the use of Arabic, the insertions of qur'ānic text, and the authorial voice constructed around the former and current *alfaquís*.

The materials examined have shown that Arabic still possessed a very powerful authoritative value at the moment when the texts were used and distributed, serving as sufficient reinforcement to religious arguments even if the language itself was not properly written or widely understood. At the same time, contrasting with more linguistically oriented texts such as those of Pedro

92 See note 87.

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de Alcalá, the lack of background knowledge, or the extreme dependence on others' intermediation, revealed a much more symbolic use of the language in the polemic text that may appear at first glance.

The vehemence and violence that typify the language of polemics has interested us less than the strong capacity of this discourse to propagate a set of long-lasting notions about Muslims that would be passed down in the history of ideas. However, at the same time, by directly engaging with and disseminating knowledge about Islamic beliefs and practice, they created ambiguities about what position to confer to them, which is perhaps more evident in Juan Andrés than in Martín García or Figuerola. Beyond their energetic and straightforward tone, a common element underlying the language of polemics employed by all three authors is, as we have said, a use of the qur'ānic text and the Arabic language itself as important symbolic and authoritative elements. While they of course built their authority through other strategies as well, such as inserting themselves within genealogies of Christian authorities, or presenting religious ideas with a hint of rationalism, of primary interest to us is the fact that to legitimize their arguments in the eyes of both Muslim and Christian communities, these authors focused on Islamic elements sometimes as much or more than Christian doctrine, leading to a perhaps uncomfortable proximity.

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CHAPTER 8

# Polemical Transfers: Iberian Muslim Polemics and Their Impact in Northern Europe in the Seventeenth Century[1]

*Gerard A. Wiegers*

## Introduction

Between 1609 and 1614 the young Dutch scholar of Oriental languages, Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), paid educational visits to various European countries.[2] Having been awarded his master's degree in the Liberal Arts (*magister artium liberalium*) in 1608 at the University of Leiden, at which he studied under such professors as Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), Erpenius' plan was to make the acquaintance of important theologians and Oriental scholars. He began his visits by travelling to England to study with the Arabist William Bedwell (1563–1632).[3] He then went to Paris, where he met the classicist Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) and the French arabist Étienne Hubert (1576–1614). In Conflans, near Paris, he also unexpectedly met a learned Morisco, Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (1570–after 1640).[4] In 1613 Erpenius would become the first scholar to

1 The research for the present essay has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316 CORPI project (Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond), and the HERA funded project *Encounters with the Orient in Early Modern European Scholarship* (EOS) in which I participate as a principal investigator. I also wish to thank the staff and fellows of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg at the Ruhr University Bochum in whose midst I spent a fruitful time as research fellow in 2013–14. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers and to Mercedes García-Arenal, Jessica Fowler and Rosemary Robson for their valuable comments.

2 Erpenius would make three journeys. During the first one he attempted to reach Constantinople but did not make it farther than Venice, see: Hans L. Jonge, 'De *Tractatus de Peregrinatione Gallica* van de Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624)', *Leids Jaarboekje*, 91 (1999): pp. 83–98. Erpenius would never travel to the Middle East, unlike his successor on the Leiden chair of Oriental languages, Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), on whom see further below.

3 See on him Alistair Hamilton, *William Bedwell, the Arabist 1563–1632* (Leiden: Brill, 1985).

4 He wrote to Casaubon that he had met 'a certain Moroccan merchant', *viz*. a common man, see Gerard A.Wiegers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Aḥmad b. Qâsim al Andalusî and Arabic studies in The Netherlands* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit, 1988), p. 48;

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be appointed to the new chair of Oriental languages at Leiden University and in that capacity he won worldwide fame for his Arabic grammar.[5] As I have shown elsewhere, al-Ḥajarī's Arabic and Islamic learning proved to be vitally important to this Dutch scholar.[6] He and Erpenius would have repeated meetings with each other between 1611 and 1613. During their encounters, al-Ḥajarī would share his knowledge of Arabic with Erpenius. In the summer of 1613, he even came to visit him in Leiden. Besides evidence of their co-operation discussed elsewhere, in that same summer Erpenius also read a grammatical commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya* with al-Ḥajarī. In a note on fol. 2r of an interleaved manuscript in his possession, Erpenius states that he had read it with his *amicus hispanus* (Spanish friend), Aḥmad b. Qāsim. His grammatical observations on the inter-leaved pages were the product of those meetings.[7] However fruitful, their conversations were by no means limited to the study of Arabic grammar; religious polemics also occupied an important place in these discussions, as we shall see below.

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Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 301. On Arabic Studies in the Netherlands see the still valuable older study by Wilhelmina Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1931), esp. p. 59*ff*; and the recent study by Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 32–33.

5 Although he finished his work on the grammar in 1611, it was only printed in Leiden in 1613. The ambitious Erpenius had won the competition for the chair of Arabic, defeating a number of other students of Eastern languages in and around the university. On 8 and 9 May 1613, the Curators of the University stated in their records he was to become 'professor of Oriental Languages, except the holy tongues Hebrew and Chaldaic' (Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, p. 74). On 9 November 1620, Erpenius was appointed professor of Hebrew as well.

6 On al-Ḥajarī see now *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAlā ʿl-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels*) *General introduction, critical edition and annotated translation. Reedited, revised, and updated in the light of recent publications and the primitive version found in the hitherto unknown manuscript preserved in Al-Azhar*, (ed.) Pieter S. van Koningsveld, Qasim al-Samarrai and Gerard A. Wiegers (Madrid: CSIC, 2015).

7 Cambridge University Library, ms. Mm 6.23, fol. 2r. In the online catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts, Yasmin Farighi rightly notes the importance of this manuscript for the study of Arabic in Europe, see: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-MM-00006-00023/21> [accesed, 4 May 2015]. See on this manuscript also the discussion in Robert Jones, 'Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)', (PhD Diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, SOAS 1988), pp. 206–07.

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### Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī

Al-Ḥajarī was a native of the Spanish village of Hornachos, whose Spanish Christian name was Diego Bejarano. He was a notable scholar and a serious student of classical Arabic (he had studied Arabic with the Granadan Morisco translator and physician Alonso del Castillo, himself a student of the Flemish arabist Nicolaes Cleynaerts (1495–1542). Al-Ḥajarī had fled Spain around 1599. When he met Erpenius in Conflans, he was serving as personal secretary and Spanish interpreter to the Moroccan sultan, Mawlāy Zaydān (r. 1608–27). Among his other accomplishments, al-Ḥajarī would translate several Spanish astronomical, military, and geographical works into Arabic. In 1637, he would also compose one of the most important polemical treatises ever written in Arabic by a Morisco, *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā ʿl-qawm al-kāfirīn* (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel). In it, he extensively details his discussions with Christians and Jews during his travels in Spain, France and the Netherlands.

The goal of the present essay is not to focus in detail on this scholarly personal encounter, but to concentrate on the broader theme of the circulation of Iberian Muslim polemics in Northern Europe. In other words, I shall study the broader context of the meeting between these two scholars in the context of the religious, political, and scholarly interactions between Spain, the Muslim Mediterranean, and Northern Europe, in particular the Dutch Republic. Narrowing the field even more, I shall concentrate on the impact of a number of anti-Christian polemics, namely those by the Moriscos Muḥammad Alguazir, the aforesaid Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, the anonymous *Gospel of Barnabas*, and the anti-Islamic polemic of the converted Mudejar *faqīh* (religious scholar) and *imām* of the Mudejar community of Xàtiva, whose Christian name was Juan Andrés.

My argument is that in the increasingly globalized early modern world these texts were not considered simply as sources of information about Islam and the Islamic world by European students of Islam, they also formed requisite tools in religious discussions between Jews, Christians, Muslims, and in the intra-Christian polemic, *viz.* among Christian denominations. The most important focus is on the circulations of these texts in transnational scholarly and religious networks. How did treaties between the Dutch Republic, Morocco, and the Ottoman Empire, allies in the struggle against Spain, influence the circulation of these texts? What was the interaction between religion and diplomacy and how did the circulation of texts across 'mixed', often overlapping, audiences (ambassadors, political authorities, scholars of Arabic and Islam) impact their reception and circulation? How were these polemical works utilized in a nascent 'polemical public sphere'?

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## Public Space and Religious Diversity in Spain and the Dutch Republic

When Erpenius and al-Ḥajarī met, the Spanish Crown was in the process of expelling al-Ḥajarī's co-religionists, the Moriscos, descendants of the Islamic minorities who had converted under duress more than a century earlier, the majority in the decades following the fall of Granada (1492). The process of banning the Moriscos, crypto-Muslims and sincere Christian converts alike from Spanish soil began in September 1609 with a public decree ordering the Moriscos of Valencia to leave for the coasts of North Africa.[8] The Spanish decrees claimed that one of the reasons for ordering this expulsion was an alleged dangerous alliance between Moriscos, the Moroccan Sultan Zaydān, and the Dutch Republic. Although the authorities exaggerated the true dangers to the Spanish state in order to justify this highly controversial step, good relations between Moroccans and Dutch, allies in their struggle against Spain, unquestionably did exist. The Calvinist Netherlands had revolted against Habsburg Spain under William, Prince of Orange, and his successor Maurice. Although the Reformed Church achieved dominance, the Roman Catholics were not expelled. Instead, the country was pacified. In 1579 the Union of Utrecht was signed. Article Thirteen stipulated that every individual should be free to practise his own religion.[9] In order to create a new relationship between the individual, state, and religion, a distinction was established between the private and public spheres. Roman Catholics, Jews, Lutherans, and other denominations such as the Anabaptists, were tolerated although their places of worship had to remain inconspicuous. Public space was the prerogative of the Reformed Church, the Republic was a Calvinist state.

In 1609 the Dutch Republic signed a truce with Spain that lasted twelve years. One year later, in 1610, a treaty of friendship was agreed with the Moroccan Sultan Mawlāy Zaydān and two years later, in 1612, with the Ottoman sultan. The driving motivation behind these diplomatic overtures was their

8 Moriscos of Castile and Aragon followed in 1610–11. The last remnants of the population would leave in 1614, see for the process Manuel Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión de los moriscos de España (1609–1614)* (Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Publicacions de la Universitat de Valencia, Editorial Universidad de Granada. Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2011); see for the Expulsion of the Moriscos in its Mediterranean context (including migration and settlement in the Maghreb and Ottoman Empire), Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers (eds.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

9 'dat een yder particulier in sijn Religie vrij sal moegen blijven ende dat men nyemant ter cause van de Religie sal moegen achterhaelen ofte ondersoucken' (that everyone shall remain free in his Religion, and that no one shall be tried or investigated because of it); see Piet De Rooy, *Openbaring en Openbaarheid* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2009), p. 12.

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mutual war against Spain and, in both cases, Moriscos played instrumental roles. In the Ottoman Empire, Moriscos who had migrated to Istanbul via Amsterdam testified that the Protestant Dutch Republic was indeed markedly anti-Catholic and therefore a suitable partner with which to conclude a treaty.[10] This is the context which explains why Erpenius called his Muslim acquaintance 'his Spanish friend'.

All of these events also marked an important moment in the history of Habsburg Spain. The political decision of the Crown to agree a truce with the Netherlands created the situation that made the expulsion possible and initiated a political turnaround: in order to compensate for the ignominy of this concession to the Protestant heretics in the North, the Spanish Crown expelled the Moriscos in the South to prove a Roman Catholic victory against Islam.[11] Also, this was the period in which the attention of the Spanish authorities shifted from the North and its Protestant heretics towards the (Muslim) southern shores of the Mediterranean and Spain's own largely crypto-Muslim minority. Although the Expulsion of 1609 spelled the end of their existence in Spain for the Moriscos, the measure did not come as a bolt from the blue. Discussions about their assimilation or expulsion had been a constant topic for decades.

Bowing to increasing religious repression, some of the converted Muslims in Iberia had already begun migrating to Muslim territories as early as the end of the fifteenth century.[12] By the end of the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century, many Spanish and Portuguese Jews and Conversos would follow in their footsteps. Besides travelling to the Maghreb, the Ottoman Empire, and other parts of the Muslim world, many Conversos relocated from Spain to Portugal and from there to the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch Republic.[13] Many of them would then return to Rabbinical Judaism, especially in cities in Holland, Amsterdam in particular.[14]

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10 Gerard A. Wiegers, 'Nueva luz sobre la identidad de Alonso de Luna, alias Muhammad b. Abi 'l-Asi y su proceso inquisitorial (1618)', in *Los Plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro*, (ed.) Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal (Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Publicacions de la Universitat de Valencia, Editorial Universidad de Granada. Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2006), pp. 403–18, esp. p. 412.

11 See Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión*, pp. 537–39.

12 See Wiegers, 'Managing Disaster: Networks of Moriscos during the Process of Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 36 (2010): pp. 141–68.

13 Tirtsah L. Bernfeld, *Poverty and Welfare among the Portuguese Jews in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish civilization, 2012), pp. 24–31.

14 Yosef Kaplan, *Judíos nuevos en Ámsterdam. Estudios sobre la historia social e intelectual del judaísmo sefardí en el siglo XVII* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1996); Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to*

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Relations between the Netherlands and Morocco also facilitated the migration of Jews from Morocco to the Republic. A substantial number of the seventeenth-century Sephardic Jewish population of Amsterdam, about seven percent, came from a Moroccan background and many had family ties to Moroccan Jews.[15] Examples of Jews with a Moroccan background include the Pallache family and Rabbi Isaac Uziel, all from Fez.[16] The Jewish commercial networks in Spain, Portugal, the Mediterranean and beyond were particularly important to the economic development of the Republic, especially during the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain.[17]

## The Transnational Networks of the Iberian Muslims and Jews

A number of recent studies have shown that, during the sixteenth century, transnational networks were utilized by Spanish Muslims to establish contact with various political, intellectual, and religious elites and indeed with state authorities in various parts of the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. The initiative for establishing these contacts seems to have originated among Morisco elites in such cities and villages as Granada, Hornachos and Pastrana.[18] Repression and its political, military, and spiritual ramifications silenced almost any form of public debate. Islamic and Jewish religious texts had to be circulated clandestinely. Those who were found to possess them were punished severely. By this time, the public sphere, as it had existed during the

*Modernity: The Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam in Early Modern Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation. Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires* (*1540–1740*) (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

15 Bernfeld, *Poverty*, p. 34.

16 Bernfeld, *Poverty*, pp. 21, 22, 33–34, 182; and Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 12*ff*.

17 Bodian, *Hebrews*, p. 1.

18 See, for example, Luis F. Bernabé Pons, 'Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España', *Al-Qanṭara*, 29 (2008): pp. 307–32; Gerard A. Wiegers, 'Managing Disaster'; Bernabé Pons and Jorge Gil Herrera, 'The Moriscos outside Spain: Routes and Financing', in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. A Mediterranean Diaspora*, (ed.) Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 219–38; M. García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, 'Los Libros de los moriscos y los eruditos orientales', *Al-Qanṭara*, 31 (2010): pp. 611–46.

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Middle Ages, had almost entirely ceased to exist.[19] Nevertheless, even in the teeth of growing repression and increasingly limited opportunities to discuss religious matters openly (some anti-Muslim polemics were even put on the index of prohibited books for fear that they might be used by Muslims to spread their faith), the crypto-Muslims of sixteenth-century Spain, the Moriscos, managed to preserve and circulate their religious heritage, including their polemical literature. Unquestionably, Muslim literary culture suffered from repression but, towards the end of the century, in spite of everything, a sort of revival seems to have occurred. Two pieces of evidence of this revival are what are known as the Parchment of the Granadan Turpiana Tower and the Lead Books of the Sacromonte in that city.[20] The parchment was discovered in 1588 during the demolition of a tower, allegedly part of the ancient minaret of the great mosque, to make way for the building of the new cathedral which still stands there today. During the process, among the rubble workmen stumbled on a small chest. Inside the chest were some bones, part of a veil, and a parchment containing a prophecy about the end of time.

The prophecy (a forgery) was attributed to St John the Evangelist and predicted the 'future' Reformation, and the appearance of a Dragon, probably a reference to the Prophet Muḥammad. The prophecy itself was written in Spanish with a commentary in Arabic. The authorship of the prophecy was credited in a Latin sub-script to St John. The accompanying texts in Arabic and

19 See Alex Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

20 There is an abundant literature that cannot be fully dealt with here, see for the latest and most extensive contributions Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); the recent study by Miguel Barrios Aguilera, *La invención de los libros plúmbeos. Fraude, historia y mito* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011); and see also Pieter S. van Koningsveld and Gerard A. Wiegers, 'The Parchment of the Torre Turpiana: The Original Document and its Early Interpreters', *Al-Qanṭara*, 24 (2003): pp. 327–58; and the following chapters in *Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento y estudio del Sacro Monte. IV Centenario Fundacional (1610–2010)*, (coord.) María J. Vega García-Ferrer et al. (Granada: Fundación Euroárabe, 2011); Isabel Boyano Guerra, 'En busca del original a través de la traducción. De nuevo sobre el pergamino', pp. 119–41; Van Koningsveld, 'Le parchemin et les livres de plomb de Grenade. Écriture, langue et origine d'une falsification', pp. 171–95; Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, 'Five Documents Illustrating the Early Activities of Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo in Deciphering and Translating the Arabic Passages of the Parchment Found in the Torre Turpiana in Granada', pp. 215–58; and on the polemical aspects of the Lead Books, Wiegers, 'El contenido de los textos árabes de los Plomos. El Libro de los misterios enormes (*Kitāb al-asrār al-'aẓīma*) como polémica islámica anticristiana y antijudía', pp. 197–214.

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Latin could allegedly be traced to a group of Christians who had lived in Granada in the first century. Among the group was a bishop called Cecilius whose name is mentioned on the parchment in Arabic script. The cloth was purported to have belonged to the Blessed Virgin who had used it to wipe away the tears of her son during the Passion. The bones were allegedly those of St Stephen.

In 1595, seven years after the discovery in the ancient tower, a series of lead tablets with Arabic and Latin texts were also found in caves in a hillock just outside Granada. These plaques were also accompanied by ashes and bones, allegedly the remains of other Christians who had been burned there as martyrs under the Roman emperor Nero. The texts, twenty-two books in varying sizes, all written on leaves of lead, contained prayers, acts of Jesus and the Apostles, and prophecies. They were said to have been written by two brothers from Arabia, Sāʾis al-Āya b. al-Raḍī (whose Latin name was Cecilius, the later bishop) and Tisʿūn b. ʿAṭṭār (Thesifon). A key objective of the Lead Books was to describe an alleged first-century Arabic-speaking Christian community in Spain which awaited the coming of a saviour who had all the characteristics of the Prophet Muḥammad (though without mentioning his name). The books cast doubt on Jesus' crucifixion and present him from an Islamic perspective. A particularly interesting aspect of the books is their prediction of a future council, a sort of *majlis*, to be held in Cyprus.[21] During that council, to be presided over by a non-Arab king, the true religion was to be determined by a young man on the basis of his interpretation of the Lead Books. The predicted non-Arab king to whom the texts refer was probably the Ottoman sultan; hence the true religion would have been Islam. This is interesting for various reasons, among them the fact that throughout a large part of the sixteenth century Cyprus had been a Venetian possession. The island was the object of Ottoman campaigns in the sixties and had been finally conquered in 1570. These references to the Ottomans in the Lead Books are very intriguing, especially considering the long-standing Morisco-Ottoman relations in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century.[22] They indicate a clear awareness of the Ottoman power among the Moriscos in Spain, a point I shall return to below. It

21 Such public gatherings are often mentioned in the context of polemical works, see Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 194–95; Bernard Heyberger, 'Polemical Dialogues between Christians and Muslims in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal for the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 55 (2012): pp. 495–513; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh et al. (eds.), *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1999).

22 José Enrique López de Coca, 'Mamelucos, otomanos y caída del reino de Granada', *En la España Medieval*, 28 (2005): pp. 229–57, Tijana Krstić, 'The Elusive Intermediaries: Moris-

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is also important to note that difficulties in deciphering and translating the texts of the Parchment and the Lead Books led the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Vaca de Castro y Quiñones (1534–1623), to seek the assistance of erudite scholars in Oriental languages from Spain and abroad. Among the Spanish humanists involved were such famous scholars as Benito Arias Montano (1527–98) and Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620), and also Eastern Christians, among them Marcos Dobelio.[23] In 1623–24 Castro invited the aforementioned Dutch scholar Thomas Erpenius to travel to Granada to translate the Lead Books, but eventually nothing came of this plan.[24]

These texts did not stand in isolation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century other polemical texts were produced. I shall discuss three of them in more detail on the basis of their influence in Northern Europe. The first work is a polemical text in Spanish written by a Morisco called Muḥammad Alguazir, which I have described and analyzed elsewhere.[25] Alguazir was probably raised in Pastrana, an important Morisco intellectual centre. His work, as well as another by a converted priest, a certain Juan Alonso, were written in Spanish and became particularly influential among Moriscos in the Maghreb, especially Tunis, one of the preferred locations of Morisco refuge when their situation in Morocco deteriorated on account of civil wars there. In Tunis, we can observe important efforts by Morisco scholars to inculcate orthodox Islam in fellow Moriscos as well as a lively interest among them in anti-Christian polemics. It was at the end of the 1630s that the third intriguing text appeared, al-Ḥajarī's polemical work *The Supporter of Religion against the Infidels*. It was first composed in Egypt in 1637 as a summary of a much larger travel account. After completing an initial version, the author continued work on it after settling in Tunis shortly after leaving Egypt. The origins of *The Supporter* can be traced to the Iberian Peninsula, Granada in particular. Its author, al-Ḥajarī, had

cos in Ottoman and Western European Diplomatic Sources from Istanbul, 1560s–1630s', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 19 (2015): pp. 129–51, esp. p. 130*ff*.

23 See on him García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 245*ff*; Pieter S. van Koningsveld and Gerard A. Wiegers, 'The polemical works of Marcos Dobelio and the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte (Granada)', (forthcoming).

24 See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*; Grace Magnier (ed.), *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006); Juan Martínez Ruiz, 'Cartas de Thomas van Erpen (Thomas Erpenius) en un archivo en Granada', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 55 (1975): pp. 264–306.

25 Gerard A. Wiegers, 'The Andalusi Heritage in the Maghrib: The Polemical Work of Muhammad Alguazir (fl. 1610)', in *Poetry, Politics and Polemics: Cultural Transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, (ed.) Otto Zwartjes et al. (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 107–32.

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been invited by the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro, to translate part of the Parchment and some of the Lead Books found there in 1588.[26] His readings made a profound and lasting impact on him and increased his interest in the Jewish and Christian scriptures.

### The Notion of Muḥammad as the Messiah

A central element in all of these late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century polemical works, in various mediums and literary forms, is the idea that the Prophet Muḥammad should be seen as the Messiah, as a Mahdi figure and universal saviour. This is a key concept in the Lead Books and in the polemical texts written by Juan Alonso and Alguazir. The same is true of the anonymous *Gospel of Barnabas*, a pseudo-epigraphical gospel text containing Islamic content, written by an unknown author, and extant in two undated manuscripts, one in Italian (GBV)[27] and the other in Spanish (GBS).[28] The first is the older of the two and was likely copied around the turn of seventeenth century in an Ottoman milieu. In it, 'Barnabas' tells about the life and ascension to heaven of Jesus from a Muslim perspective, claiming that Jesus is not God's son but that he announces the coming of the messiah, Muḥammad, and that Judas was crucified instead of him. The text takes the form of a gospel harmony, a gospel text in which elements of the four canonical gospels have been rearranged ('harmonized') into a single encompassing narrative. There are textual relationships with Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the *Vulgate*. The Spanish text includes a prologue (absent from the Italian manuscript), in which the authorial voice is a certain Fray Marin[o] (presumably a pseudonym) who claims he discovered the *Gospel of Barnabas* in the library of Pope Sixtus V (1585–90), whereupon he converted to Islam. The prologue, clearly a literary construct (an example of the *manuscrit trouvé* motif) but perhaps not entirely devoid of historical foundation, also mentions that the text was translated in Istanbul by Mustafá de Aranda, 'a Muslim' from Ambel in the kingdom of Aragon (Spain). There is no conclusive evidence to confirm the assertion of authors, among them Luigi Cirillo, who

26 See I. Boyano Guerra, 'Al-Hajarī y su traducción del pergamino de la Torre Turpiana', in *¿La Historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano*, (ed.) Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008), pp. 137–57.

27 GB [V]ienna, Ősterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2662, containing marginal glosses in Arabic.

28 GB [S]ydney, Fisher Library, Nich. 41. See Gerard A. Wiegers, 'Gospel of Barnabas', *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three* (Brill online, 2014).

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argued that the extant text builds on and preserves older, even 'primitive', Judaeo-Christian source material. Most scholars believe the text is a blatant forgery and point out its medieval or early-modern elements.[29] While their claims might be just, the author did clearly build on earlier Muslim anti-Christian polemics and gave the text the outward appearance of a 'proto-Qur'ān'. The historical milieu in which the *Gospel of Barnabas* originated seems, at least according to a number of researchers, to be one of Moriscos and Christian converts to Islam (at the time often referred to as 'renegades'), who encountered each other before and after the expulsion from Spain. As do other texts written in such circles, it shares the assertion that Muḥammad is the Messiah.[30]

The *Gospel of Barnabas* was cited for the first time amongst Moriscos in Tunis during the first half of the seventeenth century and then resurfaced in the late seventeenth century in the library of a resident of Amsterdam. The earliest traces of the text itself point to its origin in a Morisco milieu in Istanbul.

## The Anti-Christian Polemics of Muḥammad Alguazir and Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh

We shall begin by discussing the text written by Muḥammad Alguazir. All we know about him is that, after migrating from Pastrana where he was born, he was a member of the entourage of the Moroccan sultan, Mawlāy Zaydān, in Marrakesh. Zaydān retained various Moriscos at his court. Besides the aforesaid Muḥammad Alguazir, whose official functions are unknown, we also hear about a Morisco from Cordoba, ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurṭubī, who was a court physician, Aḥmad al-Maṣyūb, the 'court' astrologer, and, of course, al-Ḥajarī himself, who was the sultan's Spanish interpreter and secretary.[31] We can assume (although there is no conclusive evidence) that it was no coincidence that Muḥammad Alguazir's polemic was extensively used in a Spanish text presented to the Dutch Stadholder, Maurice, Prince of Orange, after he and his brother-in-law met the Moroccan ambassador, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mārūnī, in The Hague in December 1610. This text presented by Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh is basically the first part of the text of Alguazir (as I have demonstrated elsewhere), but was presented to Maurice in the name of the ambassador. Of the

29 See Wiegers, 'Gospel of Barnabas', and the literature referred to.

30 Gerard A. Wiegers, 'Muhammad as the Messiah: A Comparison of the Polemical Works of Juan Alonso with the *Gospel of Barnabas*', *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 52 (1995): pp. 245–91.

31 Gerard A. Wiegers, 'Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in Europe', *Al-Qanṭara*, 31 (2010): pp. 587–610; Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 216.

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original text sent to Maurice we only have a Latin translation; the Spanish text is no longer extant.[32] The unique manuscript including this text later came into the possession of the English orientalist John Selden (1584–1654) and it was edited much later by Zacharias Grape, a Protestant theologian in Rostock. The Islamic arguments found in it served as a source of later Socinian, and Unitarian (that is, anti-Trinitarian) polemics against orthodox Trinitarian Christianity in England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[33]

There are a variety of ways by which to explain the production and diplomatic use of the Alguazir text. Most importantly, the exchange of polemical texts in the context of diplomatic encounters was not unusual. Secondly, we must take the social and political context I discussed above into consideration. Between 1609 and 1613 on various occasions plans were made for an alliance between the Ottomans, Moroccans, and Dutch against the Spanish, and the Moriscos played a role in each of these. In 1613, al-Ḥajarī personally discussed such an alliance with Maurice during a visit to The Hague, as he describes in his *Supporter*. Earlier in 1610, plans for an alliance had been discussed in a diplomatic letter from the Ottoman general, Khalil Pasha, to the States-General in which he listed various considerations to do with the potential conclusion of a treaty. The original letter was written in Turkish using Hebrew letters. Upon its arrival in Holland, it was first translated into Dutch by a Jew, probably Rabbi Joseph Pardo (see below), then into Spanish by the Amsterdam Mennonite inn-keeper and student of Hebrew, Arabic, and 'Ethiopian' (Amharic), Jan Theunisz (1569–1635/40), so that it could be used in deliberations with the Moroccan delegates.[34] Theunisz had been studying and teaching Arabic and

32 Wiegers, 'The Andalusi Heritage', p. 121. On the Socinian uses see Martin Mulsow, 'Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship', *Al-Qanṭara*, 31.2 (2010): pp. 549–86.

33 Mulsow, 'Socinianism, Islam'; Justin Champion, '*I remember a Mahometan Story of Ahmed ben Idris*. Freethinking Uses of Islam from Stubbe to Toland', *Al-Qanṭara*, 31.2 (2010): pp. 443–80; Dietrich Klein, 'Muslimischer Antitrinitarismus im Lutherischen Rostock. Zacharias Grapius der Jungere und die Epistola theologica des Ahmad ibn Abdallâh', in *Wahrnehmung des Islam zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung* (Munich: Finck, 2008), pp. 41–60.

34 Spanish was the language of diplomacy with Morocco, see García-Arenal and Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds;* H.F. Wijnman, 'De hebraïcus Jan Theunisz. Barbarossius alias Johannes Antonides als lector in het Arabisch aan de Leidse Universiteit (1612–13). Een hoofdstuk Amsterdamse geleerdengeschiedenis', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 2 (1968): pp. 1–41, and pp. 149–77; D. Van Dalen, 'Theunisz and Abd al-Aziz. To flap with wings, like the birds: A Romance in Arabic Studies in the Seventeenth Century', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and Its Sources* 43, no. 1 (2016): pp. 161–89.

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Hebrew in Leiden where he worked in close collaboration with Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–97), one of the first students of Arabic in Leiden and a well-known printer of Arabic texts, for which he designed his own types, and the author of a *Lexicon Arabicum* (Arabic dictionary).[35] Leiden was the first place in Europe after Rome in which Arabic was printed. As an acquaintance of the English Puritan, Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), Theunisz had translated the former's polemic against Judaism into Dutch for use in discussions with the Jews of Amsterdam. The title of the Hebrew text was *Parshegan na-nishtevan ish ivri* (Copy of a Letter to a Hebrew Man) and was originally accompanied by a Latin translation.[36] It was the Amsterdam rabbi and physician David Farar who challenged Broughton to a public disputation about it. Broughton was one of the first Protestants in the Low Countries to try to convert the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam. At some stage, Theunisz dropped his studies of Hebrew and intensified his study of Arabic, probably in 1610 after meeting the Moroccan diplomat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad. The encounter between the two was pure chance: they met accidently in the streets of Amsterdam and the diplomat decided to lodge with him for a time as a guest in his house in Amsterdam. Focusing on philological studies, but not overlooking religious dispute, Theunisz, in close collaboration with his Moroccan guest, prepared a polemical treatise in Arabic and Latin in which they expounded their Muslim and Christian views. In the summer of 1610, Theunisz presented it to the States-General and the University of Leiden as evidence of his capability as an Arabist.

In the autumn of 1610 the Moroccan ambassador, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mārūnī, arrived in the Netherlands in the company of the Moroccan agent of the sultan, Samuel Pallache. The former inspected Theunisz's polemical manuscript, spoke with him, and wrote a testimonial to his knowledge of written and spoken Arabic.[37] This series of encounters (partly diplomatic, scholarly, and religious) formed the immediate antecedent for the banquet in The Hague in December 1610, during which Maurice and his Roman Catholic brother-in-law, Emmanuel of Portugal, discussed Muslim views of Jesus and which ultimately resulted in the sending of the text by Alguazir / Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh. Though there is no evidence to prove it, there could well have been a relationship between Theunisz's polemical text and this debate.

35 Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, pp. 17–20.

36 Bodian, *Hebrews*, p. 69.

37 Wijnman, 'De Hebraïcus Jan Theunisz', p. 16.

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## The Anti-Islamic Polemic of the Muslim Convert to Christianity, Juan Andrés

So far, we have discussed the impact of Muslim polemics against Christianity in Northern Europe. Now let us turn to the case of an Iberian convert to Christianity, Juan Andrés (*fl.* 1510, conversion to Christianity 1487), who had previously been a *faqīh* in Xàtiva and later became a preacher and canon of the cathedral in Granada.[38] In 1515 this man published his *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del alcorán* (Confusion or Confutation of the Muḥammadan Sect and of the Qur'ān), a work that was translated into various European languages (including Dutch). One of the reasons for its popularity was undoubtedly the authority of its author as an ex-Muslim, with an unquestionable knowledge of Arabic and Islam. In Northern Europe it was viewed as an important source of knowledge about Islam and a useful aid in preparing Christians (merchants and others) who would encounter Muslims during their travels and risked being tempted to convert and join the ranks of the so-called renegades who were often involved in piracy. Two telling examples from the Republic are relevant here. This first is that, for a time, Erpenius' student and successor to the chair of Oriental languages in Leiden, Jacobus Golius, worked on a Latin translation of the text. The manuscript which includes this work is still at Leiden University but remains incomplete.[39] Secondly, Juan Andrés' polemical work was also used extensively by one Johannes Maurus in his own anti-Muslim polemical works.[40] In all probability, Johannes Maurus was the son of a Moroccan of high standing who took his Christian name from his role model and predecessor, Juan Andrés. Around 1640, Johannes' father decided to relocate from Morocco to the Dutch Republic, allegedly attracted by its social and economic standards of living, to raise his son as a Christian. Johannes was baptised and lived as a student of Theology in Leiden where he frequently visited Golius, perhaps even living in his house.[41] He wrote several anti-Muslim polemical texts. It is particularly interesting to observe that this Moroccan convert, besides studying theology with the objective of converting Muslims to Protestantism and as preparation for a career as a missionary pastor, also

38 See Chapter 6 in this volume by Ryan Szpiech.

39 Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 1272. I am grateful to Pier Mattia Tommasino for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

40 E. de Bruijn, 'Een Marokkaan in het Statencollege. Johannes Maurus en zijn disputaties over de islam', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis*, 13 (2010): pp. 139–46, esp. p. 140.

41 In one of his works he qualifies him as a second father. It is indeed well known that Golius was very hospitable and received many students.

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studied Chinese. It is well known that Golius was interested in studying Chinese and that he even travelled to Antwerp to work with an expert missionary whose name was Martino Martini (1614–61). This proves that the study of Oriental languages and cultures could be a very far-flung enterprise and encompassed many languages of the still largely unknown Eurasian and Asian worlds.

## Again al-Ḥajarī and Erpenius

Now let us return to the encounters between al-Ḥajarī and Erpenius in 1613, a few years later. Unquestionably, these meetings were important to Erpenius. He learned a lot about Arabic and Islamic culture and religion from the Morisco and the contacts between him and Erpenius were continued by the latter's successor as Professor of Arabic at Leiden University, Jacobus Golius (1596–1667).[42] In a recent article, Romain Bertrand uses the term 'amateur' philologists and manuscript collectors to describe students of Oriental languages in the Republic who distinguished themselves from professional scholars by their lack of a university education and by their possession of a combination of practical commercial skills.[43] Among them he mentions Peter Floris van Elbinck, a Dutch merchant who travelled in South East Asia, including Southern Thailand, Northern Sumatra and Nothern Thailand in the early 1600s

42 Golius had spent time in Morocco and Constantinople for political and scholarly purposes in the twenties of the seventeenth century. See Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, p. 119*ff*; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 41*ff*; Otto Zwartjes, 'Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) and Martino Martini (1614–61). The Vocabularium Hispano-Sinense (Bodleian Library, ms. March 696) and the Study of Chinese in the Netherlands', in *The Sixth Fu Jen University International Sinological Symposium: Early European (1552–1814) Acquisition and Research on Chinese Languages* (Fu Jeng: Wesolowski, 2011), pp. 307–46, esp. p. 310. We are well informed about his contacts in this period about Arabic manuscripts and learning Arabic with al-Ḥajarī in Morocco. It is from this period that we still have al-Ḥajarī's editorial work on a copy of *Kitāb al-Musta'īnī*, a work written in the Andalusian tradition of botanical and medical scholarship (Leiden University Library, ms. Or 15); see Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance*; and Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, p. 59 n. 22.

43 Romain Bertrand, 'The Making of a "Malay Text": Peter Floris, Erpenius and Textual Transmission in and out of the Malay World at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century', *Quaderni Storici*, 28 (2013): pp. 141–65.

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and studied the Malay language. Floris copied, wrote, and collected the Malay manuscripts which later came into the possession of Thomas Erpenius.[44]

Comparing the career of Peter Floris with that of Erpenius, Bertrand demonstrates that the early Orientalists' skills: 'were probably not the scholar's privilege, but were distributed across a larger and moving field comprising men of all sorts'.[45] Indeed, around this same time in the Republic, as well as other parts of Europe, a number of pioneers began to devote themselves to the study of Arabic as part of the scholarly endeavour we now know as Oriental Studies.[46] This study included a wide array of languages besides Arabic including Hebrew, Syriac, Turkish, Persian, Samaritan, Ethiopian, Malay, and even Chinese.[47] The most important of these were Hebrew and Arabic because the study of these languages was deemed imperative for scholarly, diplomatic, commercial, and religious reasons. Though Bertrand does not mention him, the Mennonite inn-keeper, Jan Theunisz, fits exceptionally well into the first stage. Erpenius and Golius, can be seen as representatives of a second stage of Arabic and Oriental Studies which began with the appointment of Erpenius to the chair of Oriental languages at the University of Leiden. Al-Ḥajarī's autobiographical texts serve as an excellent window on the religious and cultural atmosphere of those days. While in France and the Republic al-Ḥajarī, secretary and translator at Zaydān's court, introduced many individuals in France and the Republic to ideas and traditions current among his co-religionists in Spain and Morocco as well as his own personal religious convictions. I shall briefly touch upon four examples.

In his discussions of the Prophetic miracles, al-Ḥajarī frequently refers to Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, a book which exalts the position of the Prophet Muḥammad and details the miracles he performed.[48] His ideas about the Bible were shaped by his experiences with the Lead Books, which he believed to be genuine and a conclusive refutation of the Incarnation, in particular as it is outlined at the beginning of the Gospel of John. He was also able to convince his opponents that it was not sufficient to know only the Arabic text of the Qur'ān to understand Islam. To do this properly, they must also be familiar

44 These manuscripts are now in Cambridge (with Erpenius' other oriental manuscripts in Arabic, Hebrew, Persian and Turkish).

45 Bertrand, 'The Making of a Malay text', p. 6.

46 Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 79.

47 See note 42.

48 It was very popular in the Maghreb. See Chapter 7 in this volume by Soto González and Starczewska.

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with the vast Hadīth literature.[49] Finally, both in France (Bordeaux) and The Netherlands (mainly Amsterdam),[50] he conducted religious discussions with Jews. In the tenth chapter of his *Supporter*, entirely devoted to these discussions, he tells us that most of them had come from Portugal and Spain. He engaged in a discussion with an Amsterdam rabbi who 'had come from the East', probably Joseph Pardo (d. 1619), who had been born in Salonika, become a rabbi in Venice, and then travelled to Amsterdam. In order to refute the Jews, he tells us, knowledge of their own sources is necessary, and hence, besides polemical works against them such as 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-ʾIslāmī's, *Al-Sayf al-mamdūd fī ʾl-radd ʿalā aḥbār al-yahūd*,[51] he used a Spanish translation of the Bible, probably the Protestant Cipriano de Valera version, published in Amsterdam in 1602. Al-Ḥajarī does not mention anything about Jews who were critical of Rabbinical Judaism, were skeptical about religion in general, held deistic ideas, or were outright atheists, opinions known to have been held among them in later in the seventeenth century.[52] Nor does he discuss the sort of criticism against the Roman Catholic veneration of images or the messiahship and divinity of Jesus which the Jews were known to have voiced.[53]

Al-Ḥajarī also corresponded with Moriscos in Istanbul. As argued above, the *Gospel of Barnabas* was probably created in that city in the early seventeenth century. It was spread among Moriscos in the Maghreb in the thirties, and then appeared in Amsterdam, where it had probably already been in circulation at the end of the sixteenth century. As said, relations between Moriscos in Istanbul and Amsterdam were already close as they had migrated from Amsterdam to

49 Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance*, pp. 48–51.

50 Besides Amsterdam, Sephardi Jews also lived in The Hague. In Leiden there was no Jewish community at the time. Sephardic Jews who studied at Leiden University in the seventeenth century either lived in Amsterdam or The Hague (Yosef Kaplan, 'Sephardi Students at the University of Leiden', in *An Alternative Path to Modernity*, pp. 196–210); among the visitors were also Moroccans, as among them Salomon Levi Hebraeus and Zaadus Abraham (p. 197). The University was accessible to students of all religions, although its Faculty of Theology was not. Constantijn l'Empereur, who had become professor of Hebrew in 1620, was also appointed Professor *controversiarum judaicarum* in 1634 and paid an extra salary to engage in polemics with Jews; see Van Rooden, 'Constantijn l'Empereur (1591–1648). Professor Hebreuws en Theologie te Leiden. Theologie, bijbelwetenschap en rabbijnse studiën in de zeventiende eeuw' (PhD Diss., Leiden, 1985), p. 105.

51 Esperanza Alfonso (ed. and trans.), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-ʾIslāmī, *Al-sayf al-mamdūd fī ʾl-radd ʿalā aḥbār al-yahūd* (Madrid: CSIC, 1998).

52 Bodian, *Hebrews*, p. 123.

53 Bodian, *Hebrews*, p. 99. See on Jewish responses to Islam also Harm den Boer and Pier Mattia Tommasino, 'Reading the Qurʾān in the Seventeenth-Century Sephardi Community of Amsterdam', *Al-Qanṭara*, 35 (2014): pp. 461–92.

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Istanbul at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Italian manuscript of the *Gospel of Barnabas* was seen there in 1709 by the deist and freethinker John Toland (1670–1722), who used it in his famous anti-Trinitarian work *Nazarenus*. According to an owner's note on the flyleaf, at that time the manuscript was in the possession of Johann Friedrich Kramer, a jurist born in Steinfurt sometime after 1660. He lived in Amsterdam and The Hague as the Prussian Minister-in-Residence, and died in the latter in 1715.[54] Toland said that the previous owner had been a man of 'great name and authority in Amsterdam, who during his life, was often heard to put a high value on this piece, whether as a rarity or as a model of his own religion, I do not know'.[55] Jan Slomp has suggested that this 'individual of great authority' was Gregorio Leti, the Italian chronicler of the city of Amsterdam. According to an auction catalogue, Leti's library was indeed sold in 1701.[56] Be that as it may, Leti was interested in the Jewish community in Amsterdam, as Jonathan Israel has demonstrated.[57] Further study is still necessary to find a definitive determination of the identity of the Amsterdam owner of the Italian manuscript of the *Gospel of Barnabas*.

## In Conclusion

During and after their forced conversions to Christianity and subsequent expulsions and migrations of the Muslim and Jewish minorities from Spain to other parts of the Mediterranean, the expelled minorities used their transregional and transnational networks to improve the conditions of their settlement and prepare for a possible return. These networks included contacts with the political and intellectual elite of the enemies of Spain, in particular Morocco, the Ottoman Empire, and the Dutch Republic. Moriscos in the Diaspora

54 See Johann Friedrich von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Kanonischen Rechts von Gatian bis auf der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: F Enke, 1875–80), p. 82.

55 John Toland, *Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile and Mahometan Christianity* [1718], (ed.) Justin Champion (Oxford: Oxford University, Voltaire Foundation, 1999), ch. 5, p. 143.

56 Jan Slomp, 'The Gospel in Dispute: A Critical Evaluation of the First French Translation with the Italian Text of the So-called Gospel of Barnabas', *Islamochristiana*, 4 (1978): pp. 67–111, esp. p. 82, p. 107. *Catalogus librorum variarum facultatum et linguarum sed in quibus eminunt historici italici quorum auctio habibitur Amstelodami in aedibus Gregorii Leti historici* (Amsterdam: Theodori et Henryci Bruyne, 1701); the auction catalogue only lists Leti's printed books, no manuscripts are mentioned.

57 Jonathan Israel, 'The Dutch Sephardi Élite at the End of the 17th Century: The observations of Gregorio Leti (1631–1701)', in *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires* (*1540–1740*) (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 589–09.

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adapted themselves to the new circumstances in the Maghreb, Europe, and the Ottoman Empire.[58] Through these networks the polemical texts discussed here, written in Spain and in the Diaspora, reached other places and influenced discussions elsewhere, including Northern Europe. These transregional contacts were facilitated by these new alliances. The Iberian sources discussed here were used by early students of the East for the study of Islam and missions among Muslims, but also by conflicting Christian groups in their intra-Christian polemics. Therefore the forced conversions in and migrations from Iberia influenced the development of new religious and intellectual debates in a public sphere being transformed by these migrations and by new commercial and diplomatic relations with the Muslim world. This held true for Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire as well as for France, England, and the Dutch Republic. Hence, these developments stimulated processes of change in the public sphere analyzed in a recent study by Jesse Lander.[59] According to Lander, although the Reformation did irrevocably cause a social and religious rift, it also led to the formation of a public sphere in which writers used their agency to refute their religious opponents through the use of printed texts. In this new setting, the hitherto unknown term 'polemic' became a common designation.[60] While disputations had been a regular phenomenon in Medieval Iberia, they were banned from the public sphere in Counter-Reformation Spain.[61] Nevertheless, in Northern Europe, the polemics between Muslims, Christians and (Portuguese) Jews re-emerged, but this time in public spheres which were dominated by the polemics between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Furthermore, engagement in polemics on Roman Catholicism was not unusual among Jewish religious leaders in Amsterdam. However, even though they were not allowed to speak out in public against Calvinism,[62] most of their polemics were directed against Calvinists, Remonstrants and anti-Trinitarians, whom they recognized as having freed themselves only from 'material idolatry' (as they called the veneration of crucifixes and statues of saints), but not from 'spiritual idolatry'.[63] The emergence of a polemical public space was

58 Wiegers, 'The Andalusi Heritage'.

59 Jesse Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

60 Lander, *Inventing Polemic*, p. 4.

61 Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation.*

62 Bodian, *Hebrews*, p. 61. This prohibition was mentioned in Grotius' *Remonstrantie*, drawn up in 1619.

63 Bodian, *Hebrews*, p. 68, p. 105. Polemical and apologetic authors mentioned by Bodian are Saul Levi Mortera, Menasseh b. Israel, Immanuel Aboab, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, Isaac Orobio de Castro and Isaac Cardoso. As Bodian remarks, studies about the polemics

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accompanied by an unparallelled interest in new worlds and new languages. In the Dutch Republic pioneers began to study a wide array of religions and languages from the Muslim world and beyond, as demonstrated by the interest of Golius, and that of the Moroccan convert Johannes Maurus, in Chinese. In addition to scholarly motives, the value of language to medicine, law, philosophy, mathematics, history, geography, and literary studies, religious and (Protestant) missionary objectives was strong, but these fields of interest were closely related to more mundane and practical matters: the interests of politics, diplomacy, and trade.

Without discussing all the details of the texts, I hope to have shown that there are reasons to assume that the Alguazir polemic, the works of Juan Alonso, the *Gospel of Barnabas*, and perhaps the Lead Books originated within networks of Iberian Muslims who maintained connections between Granada, Pastrana, Madrid, Hornachos, Istanbul, Fez, Tetouan, Marrakesh, Tunis, and other places. With the assistance of such networks, I suggest, these texts spread to Northern Europe. This transfer of ideas, texts, and persons was facilitated by the treaties between the Dutch Republic and Morocco (1610) and the Ottoman Empire (1612). The use of the texts themselves was not confined to nascent 'academic' Oriental Studies and studies of Islam, was also very apparent in religious polemics *within* Christianity, for example by Protestants against Roman Catholics, but also anti-Trinitarians and Trinitarians, Jews and Christians, and Roman Catholics and Protestants against each other.

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between Portuguese Jews and Calvinists are still lacking. See also Van Rooden, 'Constantijn l'Empereur', p. 174.

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# PART 3

## *Conversion and Perplexity*

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CHAPTER 9

# Assembling Alumbradismo: The Evolution of a Heretical Construct[1]

*Jessica J. Fowler*

The heresy of Alumbradismo is far from an unknown topic of study, but it remains one of the most confusing terms in Spanish historiography.[2] It has appeared in general studies of the Spanish Inquisition since the beginning of the twentieth century.[3] An increasing interest in this heresy as part of, and contributing to, a broader and more nuanced assessment of the Spanish spiritual climate of the sixteenth century produced a number of important articles in the mid-twentieth century.[4] Larger studies of these specific heretics and their beliefs would appear beginning in the late 1970s.[5] This trend was quickly followed by efforts to make the inquisitorial documents dealing with Alum-

1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, project CORPI 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'. The author would also like to thank the tutors and participants of the 2015 Summer Academy of Atlantic History for their comments and suggestions on this paper.

2 Alison Weber, 'Demonizing Ecstasy: Alonso de la Fuente and the *Alumbrados* of Extremadura', in *The Mystical Gesture: Essays on Medieval and Early Modern Spiritual Culture in Honor of Mary E. Giles*, (ed.) Robert Boenig (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 141.

3 Among others see Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1911); Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907); Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

4 Among these works see Melquíades Andrés Martín, 'Recogidos y alumbrados. Nueva visión conjunta del alumbradismo español', *Salmanticensis*, 21 (1974): pp. 151–63, and Andrés Martín, 'Los alumbrados de Toledo según el proceso de María de Cazalla (1532–34)', *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, 8 (1984): pp. 65–81; José C. Nieto, 'The Heretical Alumbrados Dexados: Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 52 (1978): pp. 293–313; Ángela Selke de Sánchez, 'Algunos datos nuevos sobre los primeros alumbrados: el edicto de 1525 y su relación con el proceso de Alcaraz', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 54 (1952): pp. 125–52.

5 Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, 5 vols. (Madrid: FUE, 1978–94); Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Bernardino Llorca, *La Inquisición Española y los Alumbrados* (*1509–1667*)

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bradismo accessible to a larger audience, resulting in the publication of source material relating to this heresy, specifically the *procesos* of at least some of the accused.[6] This immense historiography most often focuses on the group identified as Alumbrados in 1520's Toledo, occasionally mentioning the next appearance of the heresy in Extremadura, but rarely making any effort to understand how and why the heresy continued to appear sporadically in Spain and its colonial holdings during the rest of the sixteenth century and beyond.[7] Studying individual manifestations of alumbradismo in a particular time and place has left us with a fractured understanding of what the Spanish Inquisition understood as a coherent and unified sect.

The initial group that became known as Alumbrados lacked a formal statement of doctrine or clear leader. The understanding that they constituted a distinct heretical sect was the product of the Spanish Inquisition's efforts to identify, define, and categorize suspicious individuals in and around Toledo in the 1520s. There was no such thing as an Alumbrado heresy, or even an Alumbrado heretic, until the Inquisition elected to identify and persecute them. As R.I. Moore points out in *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 'heresy exists only in so far as authority chooses to declare its existence'.[8] Thus, from its inception, the heresy of Alumbradismo and the supposed threat it posed was a construct of the Inquisition that would develop and evolve over the course of the sixteenth century: 'The Inquisition created the vocabulary of

(Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1980); Antonio Márquez, *Los alumbrados, orígenes y filosofía, 1525–1559* (Madrid: Taurus, 1980).

6 See Milagros Ortega-Costa, *Proceso de la Inquisición contra María de Cazalla* (Madrid: FUE, 1978); Javier Pérez Escohotado, *Antonio de Medrano, alumbrado epicúreo. Proceso inquisitorial* (*Toledo, 1530*) (Madrid: Verbum, 2003); Alastair Hamilton, *El proceso de Rodrigo de Bivar* (*1539*) (Madrid: FUE, 1979); Lu Ann Homza (ed. and trans.), *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006) among others.

7 Occasionally some of the historiography has treated the second manifestation of Alumbradismo in the Extremadura as a way to close their discussion of the Toledo group. General studies of the Inquisition in the Spanish colonies regularly mention Alumbrado cases that appear within the particular jurisdiction under study. Specific studies about this heresy in Mexico include Adriana Rodríguez Delgado, *Santos o embusteros. Los alumbrados novohispanos del siglo XVII* (Mexico: Estado de Veracruz, 2013); and Nora Jaffary, *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). For an effort to start understanding Alumbradismo within a more imperial context see Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda, 'On the Alumbrados: Confessionalism and Religious Dissidence in the Iberian World', in *The Early Modern Hispanic World: Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approaches*, (ed.) Kimberly Lynn and Erin Rowe (Cambridge: Cambrige University Press, 2016), pp. 119–50.

8 Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*: *Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), p. 64.

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the Alumbrado heresy, taught it to the public, who denounced practitioners in their communities, and catalogued its existence in trial proceedings'.[9]

This essay unites the manifestations of Alumbradismo in Spain and New Spain during the sixteenth century to demonstrate how the Inquisition's definition of the heresy could evolve and spread without impairing the fundamental understanding of it as a coherent and unified sect. Grouping together the Alumbrados of the 1520s, a group of Converso *beatas* and their male followers who practiced an interior spirituality devoid of any form of external expression, with those of the 1590s, a sensual cadre of religious men leading groups of *beatas* who experienced public raptures and ecstasies, has led many historians to dismiss the charge as a catch-all encompassing such a plethora of deviant behaviors and practices that it became effectively meaningless by the late sixteenth century.[10] Such an assessment, however, fails to consider the inquisitorial reasoning that occurred between these dates which would explain the conglomeration of these seemingly disparate religious trends. A better approach would consider the larger context created by the Inquisition in its efforts to prosecute those it labeled as Alumbrados as well as the inquisitorial logic and processes that contributed to understanding these groups as analogous. Too often historians reproduce the categories used by the Inquisition without examining the development, or even exact meaning, of these classifications, assuming them to be static entities.[11] Rather than becoming too vague to be meaningful, the charge of Alumbradismo developed over time, as most understandings of heterodoxy do, and its evolution is clearly traceable through the sixteenth century. The documentation pertaining to this alleged sect demonstrates a clear progression of inquisitorial thought as individuals and experiences contributed to redefining the parameters of what constituted this heresy. However, ideas were not enough to generate heretics. The appearance of Alumbrados throughout the sixteenth century required not only a definition of this heresy, even if it was evolving, but also individuals willing to work

9 Jaffary, *False Mystics*, p. 16.

10 Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, p. 91; Adelina Sarrión Mora, *Beatas y endemoniadas. Mujeres heterodoxas ante la Inquisición, siglos XVI a XIX* (Madrid: Alianza, 2003), pp. 196, 213; Jacqueline Holler, 'More Sins than the Queen of England: Marina de San Miguel Before the Mexican Inquisition', in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, (ed.) Mary E. Giles (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 220; Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 92.

11 Mercedes García-Arenal, 'Creating Conversos: Genealogy and Identity as Historiographical Problems', *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, 38, no. 1 (2013): pp. 1–19, esp. p. 4.

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with, and sometimes for, the Inquisition to ensure its eradication.[12] Alumbrados and their 'heretical deviance was not something to be discovered; it was something to be constructed from the interplay of social anxieties as well as competing personal and institutional agendas'.[13]

## Formulating Alumbradismo: Toledo, 1520s–1530s

The heresy of Alumbradismo was officially formulated by the Spanish Inquisition in 1525 to denominate a group of suspects preaching and practicing an interiorized and antinomian spirituality in and around Toledo. The threat posed by these individuals seemed particularly potent considering the religious milieu of the moment. After decades of aggressive activity against Conversos and their alleged judaizing practices, the Spanish Inquisition had checked the most obvious excesses that had originally inspired the institution's founding. However, the fact that the majority of suspects eventually designated as Alumbrados were Conversos stirred old suspicions about the New Christian population and their heretical proclivities.[14] Further complicating the suspects' position was their advocation of an interior spirituality. A strong reform movement spearheaded by the Franciscan order had recently enjoyed the patronage of some of the highest ranking Spanish ecclesiastics, including Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, and this had led to an

12 Important recent works demonstrate the key role individuals played within the institutional apparatus of the Inquisition. See Kimberly Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional: The Politics of Spanish Inquisitors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Sara T. Nalle, *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, The Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001); also sincere thanks to Sara T. Nalle for sharing her forthcoming piece, 'A Forgotten Campaign Against the Conversos of Sigüenza: Pedro Cortés and the Inquisition of Cuenca', in *Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond. Vol.3*, (ed.) Kevin Ingram (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

13 Alison Weber, 'The Inquisitor, the Flesh and the Devil: Alumbradismo and Demon Possession', in *Dämonische Besessenheit: Zur Interpretation eines kulturhistorischen Phänomens*, (ed.) Hans de Waardt (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2005), pp. 177–91, esp. p. 189.

14 For further reading about the converso matrix from which alumbrado beliefs emerged, see Stefania Pastore, *Una herejía española, conversos, alumbrados e Inquisición* (*1449–1559*) (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010); Maria Laura Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe. Élites conversas entre Inquisición y patronazgo en España* (*siglo XV y XVI*) (Madrid: FUE, 2004); Ángela Selke, 'El iluminismo de los conversos y la Inquisición. Cristianismo interior de los alumbrados, resentimiento y sublimación', in *La Inquisición española. Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, (ed.) Joaquín Pérez Villanueva (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980).

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increasing interest in forms of interior devotion. In fact, efforts to differentiate between the practices of *recogimiento* (recollection) and the more extreme *dejamiento* (abandonment) were put to particularly polemical use in efforts to define, denigrate, and delineate what became known as Alumbradismo from other more orthodox practices.[15] Such reforms also made Spain a particularly fertile ground for the critiques of Erasmus, at least at the beginning of the century, although his influence would quickly wither in the face of the Lutheran threat.[16] After the Diet of Worms and Martin Luther's immediate excommunication in 1521, it became clear that reconciliation with the Catholic Church was impossible, and Carlos V ordered the confiscation of all Lutheran works in Spain. However, this prohibition required reiteration in 1525, just six months before the official condemnation of Alumbrados, after news that Luther's works were nonetheless finding their way into Spain.[17] The religious atmosphere which had previously favored calls for reform within the Church was suddenly confronted with the incontrovertible fact that such efforts could produce unintended results. Those accused as Alumbrados, and the spirituality they supposedly espoused, found themselves located at the nexus of these diverse trends. Most of the accused were Conversos with strong ties both personally and spiritually to the reformed Franciscans and who, in some cases, admitted enjoying the works of Erasmus, which only augmented suspicions about their potential Lutheranism.[18] This left these individuals in a particularly liminal position: outside the bounds of strict orthodoxy but without precisely conforming to previously created categories of deviance.[19]

15 There is an extensive historiography on these forms of spirituality. On its relation to Alumbradismo see Andrés Martín, 'Recogidos y alumbrados'; Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, pp. 29–32; Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 102–12.

16 Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, (trans.) Antonio Alatorre (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), p. 72.

17 Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, p. 190; Selke, 'Algunos Datos', p. 130; Lu Ann Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

18 In fact, initially, the fiscal Diego Ortiz de Angulo worked diligently to convince the inquisitors that Judaizing should be among the list of charges applied to at least some of the accused, but he ultimately failed. Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*, p. 143; Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, pp. 69–71.

19 The historiography of the Toledo Alumbrados is brimming with discussions about which of these religious tendencies had the greatest impact on what became known as the heresy of Alumbradismo and in what ways. Some of the most enlightening recent work includes Stefania Pastore, *Una herejía española* and María Laura Giordano, *Apologetas de la Fe*. The work of Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España* is the classic text relating to the role of Erasmianism on the Alumbrados, but it has not gone unchallenged, see Eugenio

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### *A Category Created, Perpetrators Punished: An Edict, an Auto de Fe*

The inability to strictly classify this group as Lutherans or Erasmians or Judaizers forced the Inquisition to construct a novel heretical identity for these individuals. Thereafter, it would be incorporated into the Inquisition's General Edicts of Faith which were periodically read aloud to the public to teach them about the heretical practices the institution was interested in pursuing.[20]

The Inquisition's mandate to enforce orthodoxy required it to delineate and categorize that which failed to correspond to this mold: 'In a society defined by faith the power of defining the faith itself was the key to every door'.[21] This need was especially acute during periods of breakdown or questioning of traditional religious categories.[22] At no time was Catholicism a monolith, despite the Church's best efforts, and the parameters of orthodoxy were neither fixed nor always agreed upon. Spiritual practices and opinions only became 'heresy when authorities declare[d] it intolerable'.[23] Once this occurred, the Inquisition had to provide concrete classifications and definitions, based on institutional memory as well as contemporary investigations, of who and what was to be persecuted.[24] Formulating heretical identities and categories for these groups facilitated the Inquisition's work of persecution, while producing knowledge about heresy. Even repression had productive qualities.[25] These novel descriptions of heresy were then codified in inquisitorial records and confirmed through the public punishment of those the Inquisition elected to place within

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Asensio, *El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales afines; conversos, franciscanos, italianizantes* (Salamanca: SEMYR, 2000). The work of Márquez, *Los alumbrados* is obviously seminal to any discussion of alumbrado beliefs and origins.

20 A similar process occurred during the high Middle Ages with the Free Spirit heresy. Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 39, 83.

21 Robert I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2012), p. 150.

22 Talal Asad, 'Medieval Heresy: An Anthropological View', *Social History*, 11 (1986): pp. 345–62.

23 Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, p. 64. See also Elia Nathan Bravo, 'La Inquisición como generadora y trasmisora de ideologías', in *Inquisición novohispana*, (ed.) Noemí Quezada, M. Eugenia Rodríguez and Marcela Suárez (Mexico: UNAM, 2000), p. 280.

24 Nathan Bravo reminds us that it was actually incipient persecution that led to a definition of delinquents and not the other way around, and that this definition then provided a means to justify and amplify its persecution; 'La Inquisición como generadora', p. 279.

25 Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp. 51–52.

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these new categories.[26] In turn, this entire process verified the need for the Inquisition's continued existence as it became obvious that the heretical threats it identified were indeed real and required persecution. This procedure resulted in the Inquisition's ability to take on its own impetus after identifying a deviant group by forcing itself into the position of guarantor of the sect's existence.[27] By releasing the Edict of Faith of 1525 the Spanish Inquisition set this process into motion for the heresy of Alumbradismo. However, this is not to say that those prosecuted under this charge in the following years were not actually deviating from Catholic orthopraxis. The Inquisition did not create their heterodox behavior but rather constructed a heretical identity for them so that they could be effectively persecuted. Such identification by the Inquisition provided a level of cohesion and coherence for groups, including Alumbrados, which they were incapable of claiming independent of or before their persecution.[28] Alumbrados became a menacing heretical sect only when the Inquisition identified them as such despite the fact that they would not have identified themselves with either the name 'alumbrados' nor recognized themselves as a unified group with shared beliefs.[29] In this sense, the Spanish Inquisition constructed the heretical identity and discourse of an Alumbrado sect.

According to the 1525 Edict of Faith which allegedly outlined their beliefs, the Alumbrados rejected exterior manifestations of faith and proscribed Catholic rituals believing that salvation did not require intermediaries between the individual and God. They renounced the veneration of images, lowered their eyes during the consecration of the host, denounced fasts and good works as unnecessary, advocated mental over oral prayer, and proclaimed confession

26 Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, p. 184; John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 54–56, 76–90.

27 Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition, 1609–1614* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980), p. 208.

28 Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, p. 67.

29 Similar ideas have been pursued in relation to other forms of religious deviance by various authors. In addition to what has been cited earlier in this paragraph and an immense and well-developed historiography concerning witchcraft see also Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); James Buchanan Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Lerner, *Heresy of the Free Spirit*.

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to be a man-made rather than divine law. They spoke out against the taking of holy vows and claimed that in the 'matrimonial act' couples were closer to God than when in prayer. However, with the exception of one *beata*, the group was not known for indulging in illicit sexual behaviors.[30] They mocked those who gesticulated during the celebration of the Mass, saying 'it was nothing but playing with the body in church'.[31] Some of the leading figures of the supposed Alumbrados were even known for reproaching certain Franciscans for the scandal caused when they experienced public raptures and ecstasies. Again, apart from the *beata* already noted for her sexual impropriety, the first alleged Alumbrados did not claim to experience visions, revelations, or any sort of somatic experiences considered indicative of divine favor or gifts.[32]

Deciding how to handle these suspects produced a range of opinions. In the case of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, considered to be one of the leaders of the group, thirteen judges were consulted regarding his punishment. Of these, seven voted that he be 'relaxed to the secular arm' and burned for his heretical crimes, while the other six were more merciful in their judgments.[33] Among these harsh judges was the Dominican maestro Juan de Ochoa, a permanent member of the esteemed Colegio de Santo Tomás in Seville since 1520. He would later take up a position in the University of Osuna before returning as regent to the Colegio de Santo Tomás. During his tenure in Seville he participated in identifying the first Protestant cell in the area and was later called upon to assess some of the most complex theological cases of the period, including those of Juan de Vergara and Bartolomé de Carranza.[34] Ochoa was a well-

30 Mary E. Giles, 'Francisca Hernández and the Sexuality of Religious Dissent', in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, (ed.) Mary E. Giles (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 75–97.

31 Copies of the Edict of Faith can be found reprinted in various locations, among them Márquez, *Los alumbrados*, pp. 273–83; Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, Vol. V.

32 'La tendencia de los 'dejados' se caracteriza por una gran desconfianza hacia toda manifestación llamativa de amor divino. Las gracias sobrenaturales que una espiritualidad ambiciosa se complace en publicar, las tienen ellos por engaños del demonio, y aun sospechan que son pura comedia'. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, p. 171.

33 Alastair Hamilton, 'Merciful Inquisitors: Disagreements within the Holy Office about the Alumbrados of Toledo', in *Querdenken: Dissens und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Hans R. Guggisberg*, (ed.) Hans R. Guggisberg and Michael Erbe (Mannheim: Palatium Verlag im J and J, 1996), pp. 123–33, esp. p. 128.

34 Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez and José Vives Gatell (coords.), *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España* (Madrid: CSIC, 1972–87), p. 1802; Diego Ignacio de Góngora, *Historia del Colegio Mayor de Santo Tomás de Sevilla* (Sevilla: E. Rasco, 1890), vol.

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respected theologian by 1527 when he was asked to provide his opinion on the early Alumbrados. He argued that not only should Alcaraz burn but also his accomplice Isabel de la Cruz since 'it would be great nonsense to condemn the disciple and save the teacher'. He continued by arguing that Gaspar de Bedoya deserved the same fate because of his fervor, which exceeded even that of his teachers, Alcaraz and De la Cruz. Ochoa went on to warn that unless this heretical spark was extinguished, Spain would be consumed by its fire. He claimed that the reach of this evil was already extensive and growing by the day and that like rotten meat it must be cut away to save the rest.[35] Ultimately, however, the Consejo chose to handle the Toledo Alumbrados with leniency, prescribing public punishment and reclusion rather than flames. Although Ochoa's opinion was deemed excessively harsh in these cases, this did not prevent him from sharing what he knew and how he thought about Alumbrados and the dangers they posed in the future.

## Re-Defining Alumbradismo: Extremadura, 1570s

Despite continuing suspicions that occasional individuals, mostly intellectuals and humanists, maintained a form of this heresy in the wake of the 1520s, it was only in the 1570s that a group, this time in Extremadura, was identified as Alumbrados.[36] However, the accused and their practices differed dramatically from their Toledo predecessors, and the Consejo elected to redefine the heresy in a new Edict of Faith that was released in 1574. By the time this group was punished in Extremadura, the definition of what it was to be an Alumbrado had evolved significantly.

The development of the meaning of Alumbradismo between the 1525 and 1574 Edicts of Faith reflected the changing preoccupations of the time. The culmination of the Council of Trent and nearly immediate acceptance of its precepts by Felipe II resulted in, at least in Spain, efforts at a Catholic Reformation intent on reaffirming the role and function of the institutional

2, pp. 46–50. There is another man by this name in the employ of the Inquisition as a fiscal in Cuenca and Seville before serving as inquisitor of Galicia between 1606 and 1611. See Jaime Contreras, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Galicia* (*poder, sociedad y cultura*) (Madrid: Akal, 1982), p. 190, p. 323.

35 Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], Inquisición (all documents from this archive are from the Inquisition section unless otherwise specified), Leg. 106, Exp. 5, fol. 368.

36 On the influence of Erasmus on the early Alumbrados see Bataillon, *Erasmo y España.*

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Catholic Church.[37] Of particular significance to the redefinition of Alumbradismo were the efforts to reform the clergy, encourage the laity to hear sermons and take communion more frequently, centralize and formalize the process of saint-making, and force *beatas* into convents. However, the zeal of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was not always effectively translated into more local settings.[38] Despite how quickly and completely the mandates of the Council of Trent were or were not accepted locally, the impetus of the Tridentine decrees facilitated an expansion of the inquisitorial mandate. Originally established to police the habits and beliefs of New Christians, the efforts to homogenize Catholic practice provided the Inquisition with a forceful justification for the prosecution of Old Christian practices and beliefs that lay outside the bounds of the orthodoxy reaffirmed by Trent.[39] The report of Dominican Alonso de la Fuente, which would eventually bring these latest Alumbrado suspects before the Holy Office, was steeped in rhetoric and examples of how this group failed to adhere to Tridentine ideals and thus warranted inquisitorial interest.

### *The Crusader: Alonso de la Fuente*

The Dominican Alonso de la Fuente, who would bring the latest cases of Alumbradismo to the attention of the Consejo, was a native of Extremadura. He was born in Fuente del Maestre in 1533 to Old Christians with his father and grandfathers all members of the Military Order of Santiago. Sent to attend the Colegio de Santo Tomás in Seville, he took the Dominican habit in 1557 at the Real Convento de San Pablo in that same city. After over a decade at the Colegio,

37 Many historians prefer this term to 'Counter-Reformation' on the grounds that the Catholic Church did much more than react to the Protestant Reformation with Tridentine reforms. On this issue see John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

38 There are numerous local studies on the effectiveness of Tridentine decrees in Spain. For a sampling see Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press,1993); Sara T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Allyson M. Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Peter Burke, 'How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint', in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, (ed.) Kaspar von Greyerz (London: German Historical Institute, 1984); Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, 'Discipline, Vocation and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a Tridentine Microclimate', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999): pp. 1009–28.

39 Sarrión Mora, *Beatas y endemoniadas*, p. 180.

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first as a particularly talented student and later teacher, De la Fuente accepted a preaching position in Badajoz at the end of 1570 in his native Extremadura.[40] His experiences in Seville at these renowned Dominican institutions would make him a particularly difficult voice to dismiss in the future when he began to claim that the Alumbrado heresy had infiltrated southern Spain. What we know about Alonso de la Fuente's role in pursuing Alumbrados – his discovery, ability to identify them, and his ensuing efforts to persecute them – are predominantly self-reported. The key document is his letter to King Felipe II in 1575, but its current whereabouts are unknown. Fortunately, it was transcribed in the early twentieth century although without reference to its location. Since then it has been copied, corrected, and the orthography modernized by Alvaro Huerga.[41] Much of what is known about De la Fuente and his early crusade against Alumbrados comes from this document.[42]

According to De la Fuente, upon returning to Extremadura, he encountered a preacher with a company of *beata* followers. Although local opinion held the group in high esteem as pious and holy, De la Fuente became quickly disillusioned upon hearing that these *beatas* were experiencing ecstasies and raptures, especially after engaging in spiritual contemplation. De la Fuente ordered them to desist in the practice since, according to Catholic teaching, somatic experiences were meant to be the final step toward spiritual perfection rather than one of the first. His admonitions were met with ridicule and

40 Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, Vol. I, pp. 49–55.

41 Huerga, 'Alonso de la Fuente, Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', in *Historia de los alumbrados*, vol. I, pp. 329–77. All citations to De la Fuente's report to Felipe II are from Huerga's transcription, cited hereafter as 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II'. Huerga has reproduced many documents relating to cases of Alumbradismo in Extremadura, Cordoba and Mexico in the respective volumes of *Historia de los alumbrados*. The original archival citation, rather than Huerga, is provided if the researcher has confirmed the document's location and transcription.

42 Based on writings from De la Fuente, the Consejo, and the Llerena tribunal, it is clear that De la Fuente wrote with a zeal that matched his persecutory fervor. However, the documentation that remains of his crusade of the pen is limited, making his petition to Felipe II particularly important. Alvaro Huerga has attributed the enormously rich dossier found in AHN, Leg. 4443, exp. 24 to De la Fuente. However, upon consulting the original, nowhere on the document is there any clear indication of authorship by De la Fuente. The dossier seems to have been compiled in the seventeenth century (based on its archival location) to be consulted by the Consejo. Huerga discusses and acknowledges the difficulties of this document but maintains that it is the work of De la Fuente. Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, vol. I, pp. 319–20, pp. 378–442.

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mocking. Undeterred, De la Fuente spent the next five years traveling and preaching against this genre of deviance all the while keeping the local inquisitorial tribunal in Llerena abreast of his discoveries. The tribunal, however, proved unresponsive, requiring De la Fuente to eventually address his concerns to the Consejo and even the king. Admitting that his reports contained 'things very new, very dark, and never seen by the Inquisition', his frustration at the indifference of the tribunal was palpable: 'I actually see the heresy clearly and openly, and I could not show it to the Holy Office nor find eyes able to see it'. Not only was the tribunal unconcerned, but his efforts to preach against these irregularities were often received with ambivalence, if not clear rejection. De la Fuente even began to suspect that individuals were reporting him to the Inquisition for causing scandal, although conceding that he 'never tired nor did the theme of Alumbrados ever leave my mouth'.[43] His preaching, at least according to his own reporting, did convince a handful of individuals to abandon the heterodox group and return to the Catholic fold, and he utilized their knowledge and confessions to formulate more specific allegations against those who had previously been their co-religionists.

Based on De la Fuente's allegations it is clear that he was familiar with the 1525 Edict of Faith against Alumbrados but was in no way satisfied with its moderate assessment. While echoing certain concerns from that document, he drastically enhanced others. According to him this latest group believed that an individual could reach a point of spiritual perfection when virtuous works became unnecessary, as did obedience to prelates, the Pope, or the king because they were governed directly by God. They denigrated the sacraments of holy orders and marriage, even encouraging women not to participate, much less delight, in the fulfilment of the conjugal debt. Furthermore, they disparaged the need for fasts, claiming the superior efficacy of mental prayer and contemplation, which required them to eat well and not abstain from meat. Mental prayer was elevated to a sacrament and believed to be all that was necessary to comply with divine law. These Alumbrados advocated receiving communion in many forms so as to garner more grace. Nonetheless, averting one's eyes at the moment of the Host's consecration remained standard practice. Finally, there was no need to obey the Commandments to achieve salvation.[44]

At least part of what De la Fuente described resonated with the earlier understanding of Alumbrados. However, from this starting point he went on to

43 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 340–41, p. 351.

44 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 373–76.

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identify the dangerous threats posed by this type of spirituality and claimed that these alleged Alumbrados had fallen victim to the worst of them. His description was imbedded in contemporary understandings that perceived within the call for an increasingly interiorized spirituality the threat of demonic possession and sexual lasciviousness.[45] De la Fuente accused members of this group of being witches (*hechiceros*) and practicing the magic arts (*arte mágica*). He claimed they were inspired by the demonic, alternatively describing what he uncovered as the work of Satan, the Antichrist, or demons. They invoked the Devil and made explicit pacts with him.[46] Upon listing the 'Life and Errors of the Alumbrados', De la Fuente gave primacy to the proposition, 'They are great witches and magicians and they have a pact with the Devil'.[47] The close alliance between this doctrine and the Devil, according to De la Fuente, ultimately resulted in the Devil taking possession of these individuals, transforming them into *endemoniadas*. In this state, he claimed, the possessed members of the group would refuse communion at which time it would be administered to them forcibly so as to exorcise their demons. However, while conceding that a number of individuals had suffered sincere *endemoniamientos*, De la Fuente warned the Inquisition that some suspects may feign their possession by the Devil in an effort to dodge inquisitorial punishment.[48] While the women involved in these raptures and ecstasies understood them as evidence of the divine, De la Fuente identified them as demonic in origin.

The demonization of liminal religious groups was a reoccurring theme in Western European thought.[49] However, this demonization was often accompanied by efforts to sexualize such individuals by claiming they practiced all sorts of deviant erotic behaviors as well. Once he made clear the demonic nature of the group, De la Fuente went on to describe how this influence led to the indulgence of base carnal desires. He explained how many of the women involved 'were terribly inflamed with desires of the flesh', a problem for which their teachers provided the 'natural remedy' in the form of kissing these women's mouths, chest, and touching their 'shameful parts', claiming that such acts were not sinful because they were gifts of 'spiritual people'. These 'remedies' were frequent and advanced enough that steps were taken to ensure the

45 Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, pp. 1–10.

46 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 333, 339, 340, 342, 348, 350, 354, 356, 360, 365–69.

47 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', p. 373.

48 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 370–71.

49 Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (New York: Basic Books, 1975).

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women did not conceive. Such flagrant sexual license, however, did not remain solely in the realm of mortals. De la Fuente reported that the Devil had sex with some of these women, occasionally appearing in the form of Christ crucified and causing them thousands of 'pollutions'. To hide their abominable acts, the teachers of the doctrine demanded a monopoly on their followers' confessions as well as their complete obedience, negating the need to follow the demands of other authority figures, whether ecclesiastical or familial.

To assure himself of the righteousness of his cause, De la Fuente chose to consult learned men in Seville, including the senior inquisitorial theologian maestro Juan de Ochoa, who had previously examined the Alumbrados of Toledo. These men all agreed that what De la Fuente described was a serious matter, but it was Ochoa who explained to him that what he presented was 'a portrait of what the Alumbrados of Toledo taught'.[50] Having earlier provided his opinion that the first Alumbrados should burn for their heretical crimes, Ochoa was in a position to not only enlighten De la Fuente about the type of heresy he had uncovered but also to share his vitriol towards this group. Although the Consejo failed to punish the Toledo Alumbrados according to Ochoa's suggestion, this did not dampen his reputation or prevent the Inquisition from consulting him on serious theological issues later. He participated in the trial of the Spanish humanist Juan de Vergara, and despite already being in his seventies Ochoa was part of the Spanish contingent sent to Rome during the trial of Bartolomé de Carranza, where he would die in 1574.[51] Whether De la Fuente had previously recognized the resemblance between what he encountered in Extremadura and the earlier Alumbrados of Toledo is unclear. However, in the following years, he readily accepted and proclaimed this similarity. Available documents indicate that at least by the beginning of 1573 De la Fuente was calling the individuals he uncovered Alumbrados.

### *A New Definition of an Old Category: 1574 Edict of Faith*

The Consejo finally dispatched orders to send all of the papers relating to these alleged Alumbrados cases in Extremadura to Madrid after one of their own, Rodrigo de Castro, was personally approached by De la Fuente and presented with yet another of his reports. Castro would sign each of the ensuing

50 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', p. 340.

51 Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Miscelánea Beltrán de Heredia. Colección de artículos sobre historia de la teología española* (Salamanca: Editorial OPE, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 480, 491, 493; vol. 4, pp. 372–73.

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directives regarding the transmission of these materials from Llerena to the Consejo. In short order, the papers arrived and the Consejo ordered the tribunal to take action against 'those that they call Alumbrados'.[52] Nonetheless, De la Fuente remained unsatisfied. He wrote directly to yet another member of the Consejo, Martín de Salvatierra, and this letter was dispatched to the Llerena tribunal by August of 1573 to be taken into consideration as they investigated the cases.[53] De la Fuente continued to address members of the Consejo directly and he wrote personally to the newly appointed Inquisitor General, Gaspar de Quiroga, in early 1574.[54] His earlier communication with Castro resulted in the dispatch of papers from Llerena to the Consejo, and his letter to Salvatierra had been sent to Llerena as a tool to be used in the investigation. His contact with the Inquisitor General resulted in orders that he personally appear before the Consejo in Madrid.[55] When asked his opinion of the ongoing cases, De la Fuente denounced the incompetence of the Llerena tribunal, claiming its members lacked the theological capacity necessary to comprehend 'such subtle and hidden' matters.[56] De la Fuente suggested an inquisitorial inspection, or *visita*, be conducted and recommended Juan López de Montoya be appointed to the task. The Consejo consented. López de Montoya was promoted to inquisitor, dispatched to Extremadura laden with De la Fuente's writings, and ordered to consult with De la Fuente during his '*visita* of the alumbrados'.[57] Although he struggled to gain the ear of the Llerena tribunal, the Consejo proved significantly more amenable to De la Fuente's concerns as well as suggestions.

In preparation for his task, López de Montoya was armed with a revised Edict of Faith defining the heresy of Alumbradismo, which clearly demonstrated the influence of De la Fuente's opinion on how it was understood.[58] A number of key doctrinal points from the Edict of 1525 reappeared in the 1574 Edict, especially those repeated by De la Fuente in his reports. These included the preference for mental over vocal prayer, speaking ill of religious orders and their members, and rejecting the need for corporeal manifestations of faith, the adoration of images, and hearing sermons. Augmenting the latest Edict

52 AHN, book 578, fols. 82v, 86r–v, 91v, 101v.

53 AHN, book 578, fol. 107v.

54 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', p. 360.

55 AHN, book 578, fol. 182r.

56 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', p. 362.

57 AHN, Leg. 4573, caja 3, pliego 11.

58 AHN, book 578, fols. 186v–187r; AHN, Leg. 4573, caja 3.

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were demands for obedience to the teachers of the doctrine and rejection of any authority that interfered with their mental prayer. This included an increasingly exclusive idea that the only means to salvation was through the teachings of these same Alumbrados. The importance of communion as a means to experience the divine was emphasized while at the same time devaluing the necessity of its consecration. Most divergent from the earliest Edict, and also the earliest accused Alumbrados, was the addition of a clause that certain fervors, tremors, pains, shaking and fainting spells were indications of God's love and demonstrated the presence of the Holy Spirit in the individual.[59] It had been De la Fuente who had first brought these somatic experiences of the Extremadura group to the Consejo's attention. Therefore it is clear that at least some of his allegations found their way into the revised Edict of 1574 sent with López de Montoya on his investigations in Extremadura.

Despite the visible influence of De la Fuente's reports in the construction of the new Edict of Faith, the Consejo was not wholly convinced by his polemics, especially in relation to who constituted the Alumbrado menace. In his report to Felipe II De la Fuente implicated the Jesuit Order, which he regularly referred to as 'teatinos' in the heresy of Alumbradismo.[60] He also echoed the concern about the presence of reformed Franciscans, which had been present since the earliest cases in the 1520s.[61] While the reference to the Franciscans had clear precedents, it was De la Fuente's concern over the Jesuits that signified the future trajectory of the allegation despite its lack of originality. The distinguished Dominican theologian Melchor Cano had identified connections between alumbrados and Jesuits immediately following his participation in the Council of Trent.[62] The founder of the Company of Jesus, Ignatius Loyola,

59 In fact, such exterior manifestations would have appalled the Alumbrados of Toledo. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, pp. 170–71.

60 De la Fuente repeatedly refers to the 'teatinos' in connection with Alumbrados, 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 339, 344, 355, 372, 376. De la Fuente makes the connection between his use of 'teatino' and Jesuits explicit in the report he submitted to Cardinal Infante Don Enrique in Portugal: 'Memorial en que se contiene la herejía y engaño sutilísimo que enseñan los Alumbrados de Castilla y es doctrina que mana de los Teatinos, que por otro nombre se llaman de la Compañía de Jesús'; Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, vol. I, p. 452.

61 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 349–50.

62 Melquiades Andrés Martín, *El misterio de los alumbrados de Toledo, desvelado por sus contemporáneos* (*1523–1560*) (Burgos: Aldecoa, 1976), pp. 33–37; Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, pp. 108–09.

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was in fact repeatedly questioned by the Inquisition on suspicions of Alumbradismo. Additionally, concerns that Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* led people away from orthodoxy proved a reoccurring anxiety throughout the sixteenth century. Despite De la Fuente's equation of Jesuits and Alumbradismo, the Consejo failed to codify any such connection in the new Edict of Faith.[63] Nonetheless, in the future an increasing number of Jesuits, those practicing forms of spirituality reminiscent of the Jesuits, and those with Jesuit confessors, would find themselves before the Inquisition accused as Alumbrados, a phenomena foretold by De la Fuente.

De la Fuente also referred to the notion of an Alumbrado-Converso nexus originally posited during the Toledo cases earlier in the century. He reported that the entire population of the town of Zafra was Converso and that every one of them were Alumbrados, or at the very least relatives and friends of Alumbrados. He went on to claim that in that town sixty of the seventy priests were in fact Jews.[64] Of the nineteen individuals who would eventually be punished as Alumbrados in the upcoming auto, nine were either *vecinos* or *naturales* of Zafra. Nonetheless, not one of these individuals was identified as a Converso in the report of the *auto de fe*.[65] Therefore this preponderance of suspects from Zafra was, in all likelihood, more related to the town being one of the first locations visited by Inquisitor López de Montoya rather than any sort of continuing understanding about the entanglement between Alumbrados and Conversos. Ultimately, De la Fuente's efforts to associate these two groups in his petition to the king were half-hearted at best.[66] He demonstrated a significantly greater concern about the possibility of a Jesuit infused spirituality and the participation of the Devil rather than any remnants of Jewish practice or belief. Although De la Fuente proves that the concept of an Alumbrado-Converso nexus had not been forgotten, it held significantly less traction in a post-Tridentine religious landscape than it had in the decades following the expulsion and mass conversion of the Jews.

If the Consejo ignored De la Fuente's concerns about Alumbrados as either Jesuits or Conversos, they also failed to adopt his concerns about particular

63 For an overview of Loyola's interactions with the Inquisition see Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, vol. V, pp. 221–36. See also Ignacio Cacho Nazábal, *Iñigo de Loyola el heterodoxo* (San Sebastián: Universidad de Deusto, 2006).

64 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 342, 363.

65 AHN, Leg. 1988, exp. 12.

66 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 363–66; Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, vol. I, pp. 145–47.

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Alumbrado practices and beliefs. Alison Weber has best summed up these rejected points as De la Fuente's 'eroto-demonic theory of heresy'.[67] Despite the immense effort De la Fuente put into both demonizing and sexualizing those he called Alumbrados when writing to Felipe II, the new Edict never mentioned the Devil or any form of sexual misconduct. Although the Edict pre-dated De la Fuente's report to the king, it obviously failed to rein in his most exaggerated claims. Nonetheless, even De la Fuente's more dramatic concerns would find a certain measure of vindication in later years.

According to De la Fuente, the freshly appointed inquisitor to Extremadura, López de Montoya, struggled to determine whether the alleged Alumbrados' inspiration was holy or demonic. Acting as informal consultant, De la Fuente insisted that if the lives of these suspects were taken into account, not just their claims but their manner of living, the origin of their beliefs would become clear. This advice and the ensuing investigation into the habits of the Alumbrados, proved sufficient to convince López de Montoya of their deviance.[68] The advice to judge the heterodoxy of suspected Alumbrados based on their lifestyle would become a regular directive in later persecutions of Alumbrados but also spiritual women in general.[69] In fact, De la Fuente and his advice were judged useful enough for the Consejo to promote him to a salaried member of the inquisitorial staff. Henceforth he was paid to accompany López de Montoya on his *visita*.[70]

### *New Men, New Instructions, a New Auto de Fe*

The growing number of suspects generated by the work of López de Montoya and De la Fuente convinced the Consejo that the Llerena tribunal needed additional personnel. The inquisitor of Toledo, Antonio Matos de Noroña was sent 'to find out the truth of the said matter of the Alumbrados'. Upon his arrival, the newest appointee delved into the mass of already accumulated documentation regarding the alleged Alumbrados, and the Consejo granted him permission to appoint theologians to assess the suspects. De la Fuente, López de Montoya, and Matos de Noroña, formed an inquisitorial cadre whose mission was to root out the heresy of Alumbradismo from Extremadura. These

67 Alison Weber, 'Demonizing Ecstasy', pp. 141–58, esp. p. 153.

68 'Carta y Memorial a Felipe II', pp. 367–69.

69 Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, pp. 197, 204–05.

70 His salary consisted of three and a half reales a day. AHN, book 578, fols. 274r–v, 301v, 304r, 322r.

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men would become the experts on this heresy as they worked to eradicate it. In the process, all of their careers benefited, each earning promotions for their diligent work in identifying and helping to stamp out Alumbradismo.

In 1578 the concerns of De la Fuente that had been dismissed in the 1574 Edict were partially addressed. As investigations continued, the accuracy of De la Fuente's allegations about the group's sexual practices became clear. The Consejo released a *carta acordada* in January 1578 demanding the following clause be added to the 1574 Edict of Faith: 'If they know that between the said Alumbrados and their devout daughters of confession and communion that certain touching of kisses and embraces and other dishonesties occurred, saying that they give it and the women receive these for consolation, strength and inspiration to maintain them in the prayer and meditation that they teach'.[71] This was the first time Alumbrados were officially charged with any form of sexual depravity, an indictment absent from both the 1525 and 1574 Edicts. Although De la Fuente made it clear from the beginning that this was inherent to the Extremadura group, the Consejo only conceded the point after an additional four years of investigation and interrogation.

Finally on 14 June 1579 the Llerena tribunal conducted a public *auto de fe* in which nineteen individuals were punished 'for the sect and doctrine of Alumbrados'. All were forced to *abjure de levi* with six religious men sentenced to the galleys, one of the harshest punishments in the Inquisition's repertoire short of death. All of the men accused ultimately confessed to indulging in various forms of sexual license with their female penitents. Some admitted, including those subjected to torture, to teaching 'Alumbrado doctrines' but failed to specify what exactly this entailed.[72] The *beatas* who were punished received one hundred lashes and were required to spend three years in reclusion and were henceforth assigned confessors. Some of the *beatas* also faced fines ranging from 30,000–50,000 maravedís. This *auto de fe* made it clear that by 1579 De la Fuente's allegations of sexual misconduct had been validated. Although the Edict of Faith of 1574 made no mention of such misbehavior, the 1578 *carta acordada* remedied this omission, and by 1579 the erotic characteristics of the heresy were formally acknowledged to the public in the *auto de fe*.[73]

71 AHN, book 579, fol. 122.

72 AHN, Leg. 1988, exp. 12.

73 It is important to remember that 'We cannot prove with certainty that the "fondling" that the Llerena Alumbrados confessed to never took place. But before we accept that the

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## Deploying Alumbradismo: Spain

The Alumbrados of Extremadura failed to embody the most radical of De la Fuente's accusations, but the appearance of a group of alleged Alumbrados in Cordoba a short while later provided the Inquisition with an opportunity to reassess his claims. De la Fuente had alerted the Consejo to suspected Alumbrados in Jaén as early as 1574, before the Extremadura cases concluded, but only in 1586 would the Consejo dispatch Juan López de Montoya to investigate the heretical threat.[74] The most experienced *vistador* on the matter of Alumbrados, López de Montoya's earlier work persecuting and punishing Alumbrados in Extremadura could only be a boon for the Cordoba tribunal confronting its first cases of this heresy.

For this *visita* López de Montoya was instructed not to involve his old colleague De la Fuente in the investigation.[75] By this time the anti-Alumbrado crusade of De la Fuente had taken him to Lisbon, where he blatantly accused the Jesuit order of participating in the heresy. This escapade landed De la Fuente briefly in the inquisitorial jails of Seville and required no small amount of diplomacy to resolve.[76] This was neither the first nor the last time that De la Fuente would implicate the Jesuit order in the heresy of Alumbradismo, however, his allegation failed to resonate with the Inquisition in Portugal. Refusing to be silenced, De la Fuente wrote directly to his other former colleague from the Alumbrado persecution in Extremadura, Antonio Matos de Noroña, who had since been promoted to a seat on the Consejo.[77] De la Fuente's earlier efforts directed at particular members of this body had borne fruit for his cause and there was no reason to believe that this time would be any different. De la Fuente reminded Matos de Noroña that he had already denounced Alumbrados

Alumbrados were indeed an orgiastic sect, we must remind ourselves that charges of sexual deviance are a common and effective stratagem in narratives of persecution; denunciations were made under the duress of an *Edicto de fe*; and the Alumbrados, many aged and ill, confessed after long periods of imprisonment and after being subjected to torture'. Weber, 'The Inquisitor', p. 189.

74 AHN, book 581, fols. 30v–31; AHN, Leg. 2394 s.f. Previous investigations had been made in Baeza, also in the jurisdiction of Cordoba, see Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, Vol. II, pp. 97–126, 143–74.

75 By this time De la Fuente was a prior in Úbeda; AHN, book 581, fol. 58.

76 For more on the 'Portuguese Adventure' of De la Fuente, see Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, Vol. I, pp. 160–223.

77 AHN, book 578, fols. 304r, 306r, 307v.

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in Jaén, and that recently his suspicions had only been confirmed: 'It is important for the service of God that the gentlemen [of the Consejo] understand that the suspicions of the sect of Alumbrados are true and that they are in the Kingdom and particularly in the bishopric of Jaén'.[78] A short while later, De la Fuente was ordered to appear yet again before the Consejo and he used this opportunity to deliver additional reports about the Alumbrado threat in Cordoba.[79]

López de Montoya continued his *visita* without the assistance of De la Fuente, and his report is the most detailed existing document about the Alumbrados of Jaén.[80] However, because his job consisted only of gathering testimony, a process that lacked the safeguards of an inquisitorial trial – defense attorney, character witnesses, and the ability to respond to accusations – the report provides only the darkest possible portrait of this group.[81] The multifarious accusations against the supposed leader Gaspar Lucas included sexual misconduct, crimes against the sacraments of confession and communion, as well as claims that he could discern and dispel evil spirits, all in association with his devoted *beata* followers. He regularly engaged in sexual acts with his *beatas*, both inside and outside of the confessional, including kissing, embracing, and fondling while discussing 'the spirit of fornication'. He demanded a monopoly on his *beatas*, confessions and obedience, while assuring them that they could not sin without the intent to sin. His *beatas* were known for taking daily communion at his encouragement, often without previously confessing. It was typically during communion that these women would fall into fits, throwing their arms up, screaming, howling, gritting their teeth, and sometimes even fleeing the church. In such moments, despite these defiant actions, Lucas would pry their mouths open and forcibly administer the sacrament of communion to cure these women of what they claimed was proof of their *endemoniamientos*. Triumphing over the Devil was a common hagiographical trope and was understood to be part of the process toward union with the Divine. In this case, the *beatas* hoped that by demonstrating their triumph over the demonic within them, with the help of their confessor, that they were proving themselves as holy women.[82] Not surprisingly,

78 AHN, Leg. 2394 s.f. Letter from Alonso de la Fuente a Don Antonio Matos de Noroña.

79 AHN, book 581, fol. 71; AHN, Leg. 2394 s.f.; Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, Vol. II, p. 241

80 Their *procesos* no longer exist.

81 Weber, 'The Inquisitor', p. 189.

82 José Luis Sánchez Lora, 'Demonios y santos: el combate singular', in *El diablo en la edad*

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testimony abounded against Lucas' followers as well. They experienced and publicized visions, revelations, raptures, clairvoyance, and ecstasies, which most witnesses claimed, at least to the *visitador*, were feigned to convince their audience of their holiness and thus garner material rewards. Eventually a number of the accused *beatas* would confess to simulating their supposed gifts, and some would even testify against Lucas. By the conclusion of what was already an extensive report, López de Montoya stated: 'Many other things I have received in this *visita* against other *beatas* and individuals given to these exercises, that, to relieve the long-windedness, will not be included'. Apparently there was no lack of witnesses.[83]

### *Another Auto de Fe, Another Appraisal*

The *auto de fe* held in Cordoba on 21 January 1590 punished eight individuals 'for the sect of Alumbrados and feigning raptures and demonic possession'.[84] The leader Lucas was charged with taking sexual license with his *beatas* and encouraging them to regularly partake of communion, frequently causing scandal when the *beatas* fell into various states of supposed rapture. The tribunal found him guilty of knowing and consenting to the *beatas*' counterfeit behavior and then supporting their claims that they were *endemoniadas*. Denying everything initially, his will softened after torture, and he admitted to inappropriately touching these women and then vaguely to 'having treated the doctrines of which he was accused'. The fact that this statement was elicited only in the wake of torture begs the question of what Lucas even understood about the heresy he confessed to teaching and spreading. Although Lucas was clearly identified in the report of the *auto de fe* as a Converso, he was the only one among the suspects punished as Alumbrados. The foremost *beata* of the group, María Romera, faced charges for acting as Lucas' concubine and eventually confessed to feigning raptures, revelations, and visions in an effort

*moderna*, (eds.) María Tausiet and James S. Amelang (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2004), p. 176; Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, p. 27; Sarrión Mora, *Beatas y endemoniadas*.

83 AHN, Leg. 1856 s.f., 'Relación de la visita que se hizo en la ciudad de Jaén y los lugares de su comarca por la Inquisición de Córdoba en 1586'. Also transcribed in Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, Vol. II, pp. 540–614.

84 The report of the 1590 *auto de fe* in Cordoba can be found at AHN, Leg. 1856/1, s.f. For a full transcription of the 'Relación' of the 1590 *auto*, see Rafael Gracia Boix, *Autos de fe y causas de la Inquisición en Córdoba* (Cordoba: Diputación Provincial, 1983), pp. 224–47. Huerga has transcribed the portion of the report pertaining to alumbrados. Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, Vol. II, pp. 617–24. For a discussion on how anxieties about feigned possessions became legal categories see Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, pp. 188–97.

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to be taken as saintly or, alternatively, as possessed by the Devil, although she was sure to clarify that she had never made a pact with him. The rest of the accused were sentenced as accomplices and often imitators of the deceits of Lucas and Romera. Most of the accused eventually confessed to simulating their demonstrations of sanctity and demonic possession, some under torture, some freely.

If the Inquisition originally dismissed De la Fuente's 'eroto-demonic theory of heresy' in relation to the cases in Extremadura, the cases in Cordoba required a re-evaluation of his claim. By 1590 the Inquisition had clearly come to appreciate the sensual characteristics of the Alumbrado heresy, as posited by De la Fuente, however, the Cordoba group forced them to reconsider the role of the demonic. However, just as De la Fuente had predicted in his reports about Extremadura, in Cordoba the defendants ultimately chose to confess to feigning their demonic possessions rather than risk the consequence for being truly possessed by the Devil. Had the accused not confessed to faking their possessions, perhaps other aspects of De la Fuente's 'eroto-demonic theory of heresy' would have proven more influential. However, with these confessions, the tribunal had no need to inquire further into the role of the Devil among these Alumbrados. In Cordoba the guilty were punished not only as Alumbrados but also for 'feigning raptures and demonic possession', a designation dramatically different from categories assigned to earlier Alumbrados and which acknowledged the duplicity of their alleged possessions. Although the Consejo failed to accept De la Fuente's idea that the Devil lurked in Alumbrado shadows, it was willing to concede that at least some Alumbrados pretended that was the case.

In many ways, the Alumbrados of Cordoba more closely resembled the heresy outlined by De la Fuente than those he intended to describe from Extremadura. This was the product of a laity primed to denounce and the deployment of inquisitorial expertise, both possible due to the temporal and geographic proximity of the two outbreaks. De la Fuente had proudly admitted to undertaking a five year preaching campaign against Alumbrados anywhere and everywhere he could since he first discovered them in 1570. His campaign was so persistent and stubborn that some considered him deranged, and he feared others denounced him to the Inquisition for causing scandal. Although often encountering ambivalence, occasionally De la Fuente was confronted with outright hostility. In one instance, a *beata* stormed the pulpit following his sermon, brandishing a cross and decrying everything he had said before she was forcibly removed. Other times he would be met with counter-sermons against his message. De la Fuente was even ordered to cease preaching at one point because of the uproar he caused. This extensive and even dramatic

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preaching campaign would have exposed a wide audience to De la Fuente's infamous topic, Alumbrados, influencing the laity's understanding of what this heresy entailed, who could be charged with it, and who and what they should denounce.[85] By this time the laity would also have been exposed to the heresy of Alumbradismo through its punishment at the *auto de fe* of 1579. The most potent aspect of this event as a public spectacle was not learning how to be orthodox, but rather how to identify heterodoxy. The *auto* would have directly informed those present about the heresy of Alumbradismo while also stimulating discussion that would reach further and last longer than the event itself.[86] It is difficult to imagine that an adjacent inquisitorial jurisdiction would not have heard reports, or at the very least rumors, about an *auto de fe* and extensive preaching campaign. As the inquisitor Salazar de Frías pointed out about charges of witchcraft in 1612, 'There were neither witches nor bewitched until they were talked and written about'; the same thing seems to be true of Alumbrados.[87] The laity in Cordoba was primed, by De la Fuente's preaching campaign and the recent punishment of Alumbrados to identify and denounce *en masse*, at least according to the report of López de Montoya, suspect behaviors related to this heresy when an inquisitorial *visitador* came to town.[88]

Without the laity the Inquisition was incapable of functioning and pursuing suspects.[89] However, once the laity provided denunciations the inquisitorial machine was set in motion. The deployment of a cadre of inquisitorial personnel

85 'It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of evangelism in the dissemination of ideas, and of the itinerant preacher, the archetypical outsider, in prompting the questioning of habits of life and deference long accepted as simply how things are'. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, p. 322.

86 Vincent Parello, 'Inquisition and Crypto-Judaism: The 'Complicity' of the Mora Family of Quintanar de la Orden', in *Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, 1: Departures and Changes*, (ed.) Kevin Ingram (Leiden: Brill, 2009). Another example of the dissemination of a heretical discourse amongst a laity through inquisitorial procedure is the case of the *benandanti*, see Ginzburg, *The Night Battles*.

87 Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*. See also Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

88 Elia Nathan Bravo, 'La Inquisición como generadora y trasmisora de ideologías', p. 276. I appreciate Carlos Cañete taking the time to challenge me to consider the ramifications of orality and oral transmission.

89 There are a number of studies demonstrating this point. In particular see Bartolomé Bennassar, 'Patterns of the Inquisitorial Mind as the Basis for a Pedagogy of Fear', in *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind*, (ed.) Ángel Alcalá (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1987), pp. 177–84; and Werner Thomas, *Los protestantes y la Inquisición en*

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who had worked together to identify, define, and prosecute Alumbrados in Extremadura helped ensure that the persecution of this heresy in Cordoba closely resembled that precedent. De la Fuente, López de Montoya, and to a lesser degree Matos de Noroña, based their work in Cordoba on their recent experiences in Extremadura. It is therefore not surprising that the Cordoba group of Alumbrados closely resembled those of Extremadura. Both groups were prosecuted under the terms of the same Edict of Faith by men who had all profited professionally from their work discerning and extirpating this heresy previously and who were, therefore, convinced of its existence and the dangers it posed: 'It is entirely to be expected that once the authorities began to look for heretics they would have no difficulty finding them'.[90] Furthermore, in the wake of Extremadura, both the local tribunals and the Supreme Council of the Inquisition increasingly accepted at least certain aspects of the theory of Alumbrados originally posited by De la Fuente. Although the Inquisition failed to incorporate the most radical of his tenets into the 1574 Edict of Faith, the ensuing *carta acordada* of 1578, *auto de fe* of 1579, and finally the *auto* of 1590, demonstrated a marked and increasing acceptance of at least some of De la Fuente's ideas.

## Deploying Alumbradismo: New Spain

De la Fuente's contributions to the redefinition of Alumbradismo extended beyond the Iberian Peninsula. The release of the 1574 Edict of Faith, including his input, was quickly followed by its dispatch to each of the local inquisitorial tribunals, including the one recently founded in New Spain. Rather than release a special Edict of Faith solely addressing Alumbrados, the tribunal of New Spain incorporated this material into its General Edict of Faith.[91] However, just as the *carta acordada* of 1578 failed to be integrated into the sixteenth century General Edicts of Faith against Alumbrados in Spain, it similarly failed to

*España en tiempos de Reforma y Contrarreforma* (Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 2001).

90 Moore, *War on Heresy*, p. 296. See also Lerner, *Heresy of the Free Spirit*, p. 125: 'since Inquisitors were commissioned to look specifically for heretical beghards and beguines they usually managed to find them. At least they maintained that they did'.

91 Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico) [AGN], Inquisición, Vol. 1481, fols. 121v–125r; Vol. 1511, fols. 14–19; Vol. 1564, exp. 31, fols. 1–3v. All documents from this archive are from the Inquisition section. Museo Nacional de Antropología (Mexico City), Colección Antigua, 341, fols.1–8v.

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find a place in New Spain's General Edicts.[92] Nonetheless, the mere existence of propositions about Alumbrados, according to current inquisitorial understandings of the heresy, did not produce denunciations. Although readily available within the inquisitorial catalogue of heresies and regularly presented to the public alongside other heresies, the charge of Alumbradismo remained unused for nearly two decades.

### *A New Crusader?: Dionisio Castro*

The Dominican Dionisio Castro presented the first denunciation against Alumbrados in New Spain in 1593. The General Edict of Faith had been read aloud in Mexico City on 14 March and was, in all likelihood, a catalyst for Castro's denunciation, which was being forwarded to the tribunal of New Spain by 1 April.[93] In this document Castro explained why he decided to denounce these particular individuals after hearing about their teachings: 'not feeling good about this language, because it smells and seems a lot like the Alumbrados that existed in Spain in the land of Extremadura, against whom I preached and was present for their imprisonment and punishment'.[94] Clearly, this meant that Castro was familiar with the work of De la Fuente, as the driving force behind the investigation and persecution of Alumbrados in Extremadura. However, one historian has gone so far as to claim that Castro was De la Fuente's protégé.[95] Although difficult to prove, there is plenty of circumstantial evidence that attests to this possibility. Castro was also a native of Extremadura, twelve years De la Fuente's junior, who would follow in his footsteps, taking the Dominican habit at San Pablo and attending the Colegio de Santo Tomás in Seville.[96] Despite whether or not these men personally knew each other, the Dominicans of Seville clearly provided them with a shared intellectual and spiritual formation.

Castro's denunciation of Alumbrados in New Spain conformed to the 1574 Edict of Faith, including its remnants from the 1525 Edict. He explained how the male leaders of this group, specifically the chaplain of a local convent in Puebla, Juan Plata, and his assistant, Alonso de Espinosa, advocated for an

92 The *carta acordada* was clearly received and was listed in a 1711 compilation of instructions and similar orders. AGN, Leg. 1481, fols. 157v–158r.

93 AGN, Vol. 1564, exp. 31, fols. 7v.

94 AGN, Vol. 180, exp. 1, fols. 10.

95 Jaffary, *False Mystics*, p. 32.

96 AGN, Vol. 180, 1, fols. 10r–15v. Castro was born approximately in 1545 based on the author's calculations. See also Julio Jiménez Rueda, *Herejías y supersticiones en la Nueva España. Los heterodoxos en México* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1946), pp. 139–56.

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interior and antinomian spirituality unencumbered by exterior demonstrations of faith. They rejected the rites of confession and communion claiming that these could be done spiritually without the need for intermediaries or even the body. They discouraged the taking of holy orders as well as the use of rosaries and images believing all of these only shackled individuals to the world of the profane. These characteristics, originally posited in the 1525 Edict of Faith, had survived the redefinition of the heresy in 1574 and remained part of the inquisitorial understanding of Alumbradismo.[97]

Castro, however, also referenced a number of behaviors that made his familiarity with the more novel understandings of Alumbrados formulated in Extremadura clear. He repeatedly discussed the scandal caused by the leaders of this group within the convent they oversaw. Their favouritism toward certain nuns, especially Agustina de Santa Clara, whom they alleged was particularly saintly, resulted in rumors that this partiality had descended into the fulfillment of more base desires. Castro further recounted rumors that these men embraced and fondled the nuns in their care. When Plata was questioned about such actions, he claimed no sin had been committed since it had all been done with good intent and not with the will to sin, and he assured skeptics that his interactions with the nuns were dictated by godly revelation. Such behaviors were more reminiscent of the Alumbrados of Extremadura than their earlier precedents in Toledo.[98]

Despite Castro's role initiating investigations against alleged Alumbrados in New Spain he was never an adamant anti-alumbrado crusader in the model of De la Fuente. Nonetheless, his denunciation provided the tribunal with a starting point from which it could assume its own investigative impetus. Eventually the majority of these suspects would be arrested for 'following and approving of the sect of Alumbrados'.[99] However, the Inquisition's investigations did not always result in the expansion of initial allegations.[100] At times the investigative procedures of the tribunal allowed it to act as a mitigating force in heresy accusations, and this was the case for Alumbradismo in New Spain.[101]

97 AGN, Vol. 180, exp. 1, fols. 10–15, 17–18.

98 AGN, Vol. 180, exp. 1, fols. 10–15, 17–18.

99 AGN, Vol. 209, exp. 6, fol. 131; Vol. 180, fol. 1v; Vol. 210, exp. 2, fol. 62v.

100 For a discussions of how this process functioned see Ginzburg, *The Night Battles;* Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, among others.

101 The Spanish Inquisition is best known for acting as a moderating force in the face of allegations of witchcraft. See Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*.

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The supposed Alumbrados of New Spain shared similarities with those accused in Extremadura but also with those in Cordoba, although how much the tribunal of New Spain would have known about the latter considering their very recent punishment is questionable. Alonso de la Fuente would have easily recognized the suspects in New Spain as Alumbrados, especially considering their rampant sexual misconduct.[102] These individuals also attempted to convince others that they were saintly through the use of prognostication and claiming that they could see, and even assist, souls in purgatory. One *beata* was infamous for her very public displays of what she claimed were divine ecstasies and raptures, even going so far to demonstrate these before the inquisitors while she was being interrogated.[103] Although in Cordoba *beatas* had feigned demonic possession to demonstrate their ability to overcome this well-known obstacle on the path to saintliness, in New Spain these women chose to feign sanctity by explaining their somatic experiences as blessings directly from God. De la Fuente would have recognized in these suspects of New Spain many of the traits he posited about the Alumbrados of Extremadura.

### *Investigation and Inquiry*

During the trials of the suspects in New Spain there were numerous reasons and opportunities to identify them as Alumbrados. The initial denunciation of Castro labeled them as Alumbrados. The tribunal's prosecutor ordered their arrest 'for following and approving of the sect of Alumbrados'. The most damning of the theological assessments indicted the beliefs of one suspect as reflecting 'content that seems to be of the Alumbrado dogmatists of Llerena'.[104] Another calificador suggested that this group's rejection of exterior acts of faith was 'suspected of the doctrine of alumbrados'.[105] A plethora of other assessments included various forms of the word 'alumbrar', from which the label 'Alumbrado' stemmed but without necessarily or explicitly linking these to the charge of heresy. Individuals were described variously as 'suspected of alumbramiento',[106] demonstrating 'indications of alumbramiento and illusion'[107]

102 The details of these deeds litter the case files of Juan Plata, Agustina de Santa Clara and Marina de San Miguel. AGN, Vol. 180, exp. 1– 2; Vol. 210, exp. 3.

103 Evidence of such behavior can be found throughout the *proceso* of Marina de San Miguel, AGN, Vol. 210, exp. 3. See Holler, 'More Sins than the Queen of England', pp. 216–20.

104 AGN, Vol. 210, exp. 2, fol. 73.

105 AGN, Vol. 209, fol. 165.

106 AGN, Vol. 176, exp. 9, fols. 196–99.

107 AGN, Vol. 209, fol.165.

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or 'alumbramientos, illusions, and deceits'.[108] Nonetheless, by the time of the prosecutor's formal accusation and the presentation of these subjects in the public *auto de fe* in 1601, there was no mention of the heresy of Alumbradismo. The guilty were punished instead for 'diverse crimes' and for participating in deeds 'close to and suspected of heresy, but not formal heresy'.[109]

The closest any of the suspects came to being associated with formal heresy was the last tried, Juan Núñez. Although arrested, like his co-religionists, for 'approving and following the sect of Alumbrados', during his trial it became clear that his heresies lay elsewhere. As testimony accrued the theological concern turned from Alumbradismo to suspicions of Lutheranism and eventually rested on allegations of Judaizing. His appearance in the *auto de fe* of 1603 was 'For lying and being vehemently suspected of keeping the Law of Moses' as well as 'other pernicious, erroneous, and offensive propositions', but never for Alumbradismo.[110] Despite this change in accusation from Alumbradismo to Judaizing, how this happened demonstrates that it was not a conflation between Alumbradismo and judaizing practices. While Conversos could still be Alumbrados, the assumption that Alumbrados were always Conversos had largely fallen by the wayside. Furthermore, the allegations of Núñez as a Judaizer only came to light when his cellmate in the inquisitorial prison decided to denounce him to the inquisitors. Assisting the Inquisition in its pursuit of heretics was a well-known means of courting leniency for oneself. The witness utilized common and well-known conventions of Judaizing accusations to implicate Núñez, claiming that he wore clean clothes on Saturday, refused to eat pork, and gave greater esteem to the Old Testament than the New.[111] In all likelihood, the recent burning of a number of Judaizers in the large 1596 *auto de fe*, including the infamous Luis de Carvajal, helped inform the witness' decision to accuse Núñez of this heresy in the belief that it would readily pique the Inquisition's interest. Therefore, the imprisonment of Núñez as an Alumbrado and his final punishment for Judaizing speaks more to dynamics functioning within the tribunal of New Spain at this time rather than understandings about the heresy of Alumbradismo.

Ultimately, the charge of Alumbradismo faltered in New Spain, at least in its first appearance. Despite clear resonance with the Alumbrados of Extremadura,

108 AGN, Vol. 180, exp. 1, fol. 194v.

109 AHN, book 1049, fols. 232v, 257.

110 AHN, book 1064, fols. 320v, 324v.

111 AGN, Vol. 210, exp. 2, fols. 74–77.

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and even Cordoba, the tribunal of New Spain did not find the charge appropriate for their current concerns and circumstances. Those imprisoned for 'approving and following the sect of Alumbrados' were ultimately punished for 'diverse crimes', 'lies and deceit', and at their most suspicious 'lying and vehemently suspect of guarding the Law of Moses'.[112] What most differentiates those accused as Alumbrados in Spain in the wake of the 1574 Edict and this group in New Spain were the radically differing judgments by their local tribunals. Although every tribunal possessed the same inquisitorial definition of the heresy of Alumbradismo, how they chose to use it varied. In all likelihood, there were many factors and reasons why the threat of Alumbradismo failed to resonate with the tribunal of New Spain. However, one clear issue that sets this manifestation of alleged Alumbrados apart from those in Extremadura and Cordoba was the lack of willing persecutors. Unlike Cordoba, the tribunal of New Spain lacked personnel experienced in prosecuting Alumbrados as well as a laity attuned to this heresy based on recent preaching campaigns and public punishments. Whereas Extremadura, and later Cordoba, reaped the benefits of a zealous anti-Alumbrado crusader in the person of De la Fuente, in New Spain no such figure existed. The mere presence of ideas and discourses about heresy did not always result in the appearance of heretics. Until the participation of individuals, willing to denounce heresy coincided with the Inquisition's own interest, it was nearly impossible to pursue any group of heretics: 'the explanation lies not with the victims but with the persecutors'.[113]

## Conclusion

The inquisitorial construction of the heresy of Alumbradismo originating in the 1520s underwent significant developments over the course of the century. The result was that starkly different individuals and crimes were labeled as indicative of this heresy, depending on where and when it was discovered and prosecuted. Tracing this evolution makes it clear that Alumbradismo was never used as an all embracing accusation in the sixteenth century. Instead, it evolved in a linear manner as new information, allegations, and punishments were considered by the Inquisition and factored into the equation of what constituted Alumbradismo. Categories of heresy rarely emerged fully formed, and

112 AHN, book 1049, f.232v, 247v; book 1064, fol. 320v.

113 Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, p. 63.

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the fact that the persecution of Alumbrados was 'subject to processes of historical modification and selection' does not prove that these were made carelessly.[114] Rather than a sign of weakness, the adaptability of the Inquisition helped ensure its continuation across centuries and continents.

Tracing the evolution of the heresy of Alumbradismo through the course of the sixteenth century also illuminates a network of men in the employ of the Inquisition, or at the very least exposed to its process, who connect each of these individual appearances of this heresy into a coherent whole. The fact that the major appearances of Alumbradismo in the sixteenth century in Spain and New Spain can be connected, not only by the heretical crime they were accused of but also by a network tied to the Inquisition speaks volumes about the institution's organization of educated and religious men who were capable of spreading their ideas about heterodoxy amidst their efforts to police orthodoxy. While De la Fuente was clearly the most outspoken of these men his work was the product of other's earlier thinking about Alumbrado heretics and went on to heavily influence not only how other inquisitorial personnel, but also the Inquisition as an institution, understood this heresy. Despite the death of De la Fuente in 1592, Dominican *calificadores* continued to cite his work, assuring the Consejo of their qualifications to judge suspected Alumbrados 'because we have the papers of our Order, among them those of padre maestro fray Alonso de la Fuente'.[115] By the time the Edict of Faith against Alumbrados underwent its final revision in 1623, it fully embraced the charges of sexual impropriety posited by De la Fuente decades earlier and maintained that Alumbrados did in fact claim to experience raptures and various forms of ecstatic fits although it remained silent on the issue of demonic participation.[116]

Ultimately, the necessary requisites for the prosecution of Alumbrados by the Inquisition included the dissemination of the inquisitorial discourse about this heresy and individuals, often but not always in the employ of the Inquisition, willing to pursue it. After the initial Edict of Faith in 1525, it is clear that this first ingredient was circulating. While lay accessibility varied, this inquisitorial construct achieved its greatest exposure in the wake of preaching campaigns and public punishments. Similarly, only following continuing appearances of the heresy did a cadre of inquisitorial personnel develop an expertise on Alumbradismo, leading to professional promotions of their own, which only encouraged them to continue to actively seek to root out these

114 Weber, 'The Inquisitor', p. 187; Moore, *War on Heresy*, p. 261.

115 AHN, Leg. 2960 s.f.; Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. II, pp. 96–97.

116 AHN, book 1231, fols. 648r–653v.

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heretics. Failing these components, as happened in New Spain, alleged Alumbrados were brushed aside as instances of deceit rather than heresy. If the individuals in Extremadura and Cordoba were Alumbrados, then so too were those accused in New Spain in the 1590s. The difference in how the charge of Alumbradismo was deployed, prosecuted, and ultimately judged, says more about the inquisitorial context in which these occurred, than the deviants it was meant to describe.

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CHAPTER 10

# Doubt in Fifteenth-Century Iberia[1]

*Stefania Pastore*

In Jean Bodin's *Démonomanie* there is a fascinating description of a strange sort of possession: a possession by doubt. Bodin talks of this possession as something which happened to a friend of his. A daemon often came to him in the early morning and somehow planted the seeds of doubt, forcing him to 'open the Bible to find which, of all the debated religions, is the true one'.[2] This account took place in France in around 1567, as the country was being ripped apart by religious warfare. Bodin, as one of the foremost theorists of absolutism, would eventually put forward an external and strictly political solution to this conflict, allowing the daemon of doubt to roam free only within his conscience. Slightly later, at the opposite end of the country, from his retirement in Bordeaux, Michel de Montaigne would, reflecting on war and religious pluralism, propose a path to relativism very close to that suggested by the champion of religious tolerance Sébastien Castellion.

We are used to seeing in Montaigne, in the reflections of Sébastien Castellion or in the drastic solution put into practice by Bodin, the roots of the history of doubt and tolerance, of the path to modernity taken by a West that is faced for the first time with a divided Christianity and a multi-confessional society. Here, nation no longer equals religion, and the idea of political and religious unity within a Christian universalism has been tragically torn asunder by the Reformation's spread across Europe. Luther's confessional fracture, with its hundreds of scattered shards, and the bloody religious wars in France, pave the

1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, CORPI project, 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'.

2 'Lire la Bible pour trouver laquelle de toutes les religions debatues de tous costez estoit la vraye'. Jean Bodin, *Démonomanie des sorciers* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1587 [1580]), fol. 11v; there is an abridged English translation: *On the Demon-mania of Witches* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995). On this episode see Christopher R Baxter, 'Jean Bodin's Daemon and his Conversion to Judaism', in *Jean Bodin. Verhandlungen der Internationalen Bodin Tagung in München*, (ed.) Horst Denzer (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1973), pp. 1–21. Paul L. Rose, *Jean Bodin and the Great God of Nature: The Moral and Religious Universe of a Judaiser* (Geneva: Droz, 1980).

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way for doubt and comparative thought in the Western tradition. This in turn leads to the advent of an inner space for an untouchable conscience that is independent of the political or civic ties that bind the citizen on the exclusively external plane. Thus were the teachings of religious Nicodemism, as well as one of the strongest and most convincing theorizations of absolutism at the hands of Jean Bodin. But the daemon of doubt, or rather the anxiety to compare the truth of faith, which possessed Bodin's friend – or perhaps Jean Bodin himself – had for quite some time been possessing a great many Spaniards.

The paths of doubt – and with it of modernity – however, rarely wind their way through the Spanish world. The main thoroughfares carved out by European philosophy do not appear to cross through Spain and the Hispanic Empire, and neither do the paths charted by the history of tolerance, or the routes of the radical thought which culminates in Baruch Spinoza and in a long tradition of radical Enlightenment.[3]

Whether we turn to Paul Hazard's classic account of the crisis of European conscience and the birth of a new critical conscience unhampered by dogmas and confessionalisms,[4] or to the great master-narratives of European tolerance, from Richard Popkin's crucial history of European skepticism,[5] to Guy Stroumsa's recent effort to spotlight the birth of religious comparativism, it is always France, Holland and England that take up center stage in historical speculation on this subject.[6] Spain, at the most, may figure in these narratives as the place from *whence* the pathways of doubt and the routes of modernity hurriedly depart or flee, as with Yirmiyahou Yovel's Marranos, with their 'split identities' and their modernity, biological defined, as it were, by their 'Converso DNA'.[7]

3 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

4 Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne, 1680–1715* (Paris: Boivin et Cie, 1935).

5 Richard Popkin, *The History of Scepticism: From Savonarola to Bayle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

6 Guy Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

7 Much has been written in recent years on the Marranos, and the Iberian cultural background of the Dutch diaspora has been increasingly viewed as a fertile land for radical cultural tolerance. This may be seen in the pioneering works of Richard Popkin, who was surprised to discover the Iberian Jewish, or rather Marrano, origins, of many of the 'skeptics' he studied, adding new insight, also present in Révah's work, on the Jewish-Marrano circles revolving around Spinoza. More recently, Yosef Kaplan and Yovel's work have opened up a perspective in which the Marranos, together with the much-debated concept of tolerance, appear as a

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However, in these studies on the Marranos, and even more so in those on the history of the idea of religious tolerance, Spain and Europe were systematically portrayed as having parallel but distant histories, almost as if Spain remained in everyone's mind exclusively the Spain of the Inquisition, of intolerance and obscurantism, as if the identity myths and the *topoi* of the Spanish Black Legend in Europe had actually succeeded in erasing all trace of conflict, every last gasp of resistance, forcing truth and fiction to coincide.

I think it could be equally significant and fascinating to direct this investigation on the permanence and persistence of doubt to the very heart of the Spanish world: a violent and difficult world, but one where – more than anywhere else – during the Middle Ages, diversity and doubt, the many, too many one might say, certainties of faiths were experienced. Despite the sudden shutdown imposed in the late fifteenth century with the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims, the creation of the Inquisition, and the choice of a single mono-confessional identity, this world of doubt persisted. It is important not to forget the traumatic transition that led to the twin birth of the Inquisition and of a mono-confessional Spain, and to try to convey the incredulous reaction of those who had to live through it, to know what they read and what proposals left their mark. In this Chapter, I would like to recall a small part of this history of doubt in the Iberian world in an attempt to make clear how, long before Jean Bodin and Michel de Montaigne's Europe was ravaged by religious war, the paths of doubt and comparativism had already been trodden in a multi-confessional and multi-cultural Iberian world, which had had no other choice than to come to terms with the fact of multiple faiths and revelations. Very often these proposals were attempts to reconcile new certainties with old, and this frequently led to syncretic solutions which incorporated elements of the old law and the new, building bridges between Judaism and Christianity and between Christianity and Islam, stressing the elements of continuity between the two – sometimes even between the three – revealed religions. Interpretations reflecting this aspect of continuity often led to emphasis being placed on mutual affinities, while disputes and differences were set aside:

driving force of modernity. See for example Y. Kaplan, *An alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam in Early Modern Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Y. Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos; Split identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). For the 'Marrano' shift in Richard Popkin's perspective, see Y. Kaplan, 'Richard Popkin's Marrano Problem', in *The Legacies of Richard Popkin* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), pp. 198–212. But for a global discussion that places the Iberian reality at the center, see the absolutely necessary historiographical revision by M. García-Arenal, 'Creating Conversos: Genealogy and Identity as Historiographical Problems (after a recent book by Ángel Alcalá)', *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, (2013): pp. 1–19.

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the controversial doctrine of the Trinity, which alienated Jews and Muslims and made any type of rational acceptance of Christian doctrine more difficult, was usually the first element to be abandoned. The pathway to Biblicism, to Hebrew philology, and to comparativism had been opened up by the long disputes on medieval faith and the bitter confutations of converted former Talmudists. Forced to come to terms with its Jewish origins and to compare doctrines and revelations – not in far-off Constantinople but in the Aragon of the Morisco lords, a part of Spain characterized by its attempts to assimilate the two ethnic minorities – a very special part of heterodox Spanish thinking came extremely close to certain deistic standpoints that subsequently, in late sixteenth-century France and seventeenth-century Holland, were to find more ample expression.[8]

This did not mean that the drive toward syncretism was necessarily the most common outcome. Many, after due reflection and comparative consideration, opted for a form of radical skepticism, which resulted in the denial of the immortality of the soul and of the validity of all religious precepts, echoing the centuries-old theories on the three rings, or the three impostors.[9]

8 In addition to the more widely known example of Miguel Servet, I would like to mention just one other almost unknown case, culled from Inquisitorial documents, to reinforce this statement, the Greek scholar Juan del Castillo. Burned at the stake as an Alumbrado in 1537, del Castillo had developed an eclectic theory of salvation in which he mixed Origen's apocatastasis with Lutheran and Alumbrado ideas. He believed in a double revelation, both for Christians and Muslims, that would cancel all differences of faith and grant everyone salvation. The general idea that 'all will be saved' was supported by a complex theory that mixed sophisticated arguments and folk beliefs, combining Origen with the Moriscos' idea of two prophets and a single God. The example of del Castillo is particularly relevant to my argument, because it proposes an intellectual rereading of a folk idea which is typically Spanish at first, with its need to compare different laws, and largely European in its later development. I have dealt with this subject at greater length in S. Pastore, *Una herejía española. Conversos, alumbrados e Inquisición* (*1449–1559*) (Madrid: Marcial Pons 2010).

9 There has been extensive work on the tale of the three rings and its tradition, in a certain sense opposed to and complementary to that of the three impostors. For a long-term perspective spanning from Boccaccio all the way to Lessing's Nathan the Wise, see Niewöhner, *Veritas sive varietas. Lessings Toleranzparabel und das Buch Von den drei Betrügern* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1988). For a historiographical revision that also focuses on non-European traditions, see Iris Shagrir, 'The Parable of the Three Rings: A Revision of its History', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997): pp. 163–77. The tradition of the three impostors and the mysterious book appeared at the end of the fifteenth century; see Germana Ernst, 'Campanella e il *De tribus impostoribus*', *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, 2 (1986): pp. 144–70; and Sergio Landucci, 'Il punto sul *De tribus impostoribus*', *Rivista storica italiana*, 112 (2000): pp. 1036–71.

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But hiding behind the ritual syncretism exhibited by many Spanish Conversos there often lay conscious positions that, eschewing doctrinal barriers, hinged on the idea that each individual human being was guaranteed salvation, regardless of doctrinal conflict. The forced coexistence of three religions, therefore, caused strife and violence, but also engendered a strange system of syncretic beliefs which intermingled all three monotheisms. This occurred throughout the fifteenth century, but became particularly evident after 1492, when in Spanish society there remained only new converts and officially there were no longer any Jews. The Spanish archives are brimming with the depositions of people who tried to explain to the inquisitor their belief that the three rival religions could exist, each with its own prescriptions and laws, notwithstanding the fact that each individual remained convinced that the law he or she followed was the true law.

Many of these people simply accepted that all of the three religions were true and that everyone could be saved by following the law into which they were born.[10] The way this belief was often expressed was by stating that there were three revelations and three prophets, but one equivalent truth. In 1480, for example, one Converso man from Zaragoza explained to the inquisitors that he believed in Christ, Moses and Muḥammad, but that 'he had less regard for Muḥammad than for the others' (*menos tenía a Mahoma que lo de los otros*), while a Granadan Morisco woman in 1556, Catalina de Quesada, explained during her inquisitorial trial that there is only one God and one law, and the difference was due to the fact that God gave the law to the Christians with his right hand and to the Jews and Muslims with his left. This fact, she explained, made a difference only in the way of writing (from left to right for Christians, from right to left for Muslims and Jews) but nothing more.[11]

Whatever the case, doubt had made deep inroads into the Castilian communities; joined with a habit for comparing and questioning, it animated coexistence in the villages, and, later on, filled the inquisitors' papers with accusations. This was both a popular and an intellectual phenomenon, whose roots and consequences have not been fully explored, except with regards to its folk and syncretic aspects, in Stuart Schwartz's groundbreaking 2008 study.[12] I

10 See Chapter 11 by Mercedes García-Arenal in this volume.

11 'que Dios era criador de todas las cosas y que avia repartido la ley a los christianos y a los moros y a los judios. A los christianos con la mano izquierda y a los otros con la derecha. Y por eso unos escriben hazia delante y los otros hazia tras'; Catalina de Quesada, Morisca de Granada, 1556. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid [AHN], Inquisición, leg. 4519–3, exp. 13.

12 Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

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am strongly convinced of the circularity of these kinds of skeptical approaches to religion and wish to stress not only the folk but also the intellectual branches, which are very closely intertwined.

On the other hand, I am convinced that, instead of subscribing to the idea of a sort of genetic propensity toward doubt on the part of the Marranos, we have to understand this propensity in its particular historical context. I do not believe that every convert, each Converso or Marrano, was genetically endowed with the seeds of doubt. Rather, I believe that Spain, long before other countries in Europe, became a place where the problem of belief and religious belonging, in a multi-confessional society, came to be the problem *par excellence*.

Before I come to my main argument I must make a few preliminary remarks. The first regards a terminological issue. I will be using the word skepticism with reference to a very special context, Spain and Italy in the sixteenth century, and in this context I am referring to skepticism mainly as a kind of religious skepticism, the expression of doubts, that is, concerning the truth of conventional religion, especially as regards the afterlife, rather than skepticism which questions the possibility of truly knowing anything.

Doubts over the truths of faith and the deepest-held of beliefs, that of the immortality of the soul, weighed heavily upon the late-medieval Iberian world. In Spain the mixed and multi-religious atmosphere, which gave rise to encounters, clashes and polemics between the three revealed religions, had engendered a particularly attentive and receptive environment in which religious doubt had become an integral part of a tendency toward interreligious polemics and comparative thought. The fifteenth century opened with one of the longest and most famed disputes, that of Tortosa, where from 1412 to 1414 Christian theologians and Jewish rabbis faced off in public for over a year-and-a-half, drawing on Bible interpretation and syllogisms.[13] In Tortosa, as on numerous other occasions, the most controversial points of the text of the Bible were discussed and analyzed, and rabbinical glosses and Christian interpretations were carefully examined and contrasted in polemics that made full use of the philological and philosophical tools of the day. Moreover, the reality in Spain was one in which commentaries on Aristotle and philosophical rationalism had circulated far and wide since the thirteenth century, and where the commentaries of Averroes had passed from Cordoba to Toledo across a Christian-Muslim frontier that was still extremely porous and permeable, long

13 Yitzḥak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. Vol. 2, The disputation at Tortosa (1413–1414)* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society 1966), vol. 2, pp. 170–243.

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before 1217 and before the Paris editions.[14] Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, perhaps the most important written attempt to reconcile Talmudic glosses with classical philosophy, was read and appreciated in Castile, and not just within the confines of the Jewish communities. It is highly significant that during this very period Christians' curiosity about Maimonides was such that one of the leading families among the Spanish nobility, the house of Mendoza, commissioned a version of it in Spanish from the Converso Pedro de Toledo, who worked on the project from 1419 to 1432.[15]

Christian preachers and Jewish rabbis alike lashed out at what they saw as an excessive tendency toward philosophical rationalism and the use of Aristotle or Averroes to overcome the contradictions of the Bible. In around 1411, right in the midst of a bloody anti-Jewish campaign, Vicente Ferrer was warning against the new schemes of the Antichrist, who with great 'rhetorical subtlety' was calling to 'place your faith in arguments'.[16] Meanwhile, Yitzhaq ben Moshe Aram, one of the most interesting Hispanic-Jewish thinkers in the period prior to the expulsion, was in turn to be found speaking out against how

14 See the volume by Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds.), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), wherein the latest contributions to the topic have been collected and discussed, underscoring the centrality of the Iberian world in the transfer of knowledge from Arabic to Latin Averroism.

15 Moshe Lazar (ed.), *The Text and Concordance of B.N. Madrid, Ms. 10289. M. Maimonides' Mostrador e enseñador de los turbados* (*Pedro Toledo's Spanish Translation*) (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987); and Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, (ed.) M. Lazar (Culver City: Labyrinthos, 1989); also D. Rosenblatt, 'Mostrador e Enseñador de los Turbados: The First Spanish Translation of Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed', in *Studies in Honor of M.J. Bernardete* (New York: Las Américas Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 47–82; and Sarah Stroumsa, *Maimonides in his World: Portrait of a Mediterranean Thinker* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

16 Vicente Ferrer, *Sermones sobre el Anticristo*: 'E los siervos del Antichristo començaran a fablar por manera de encantadores e dirán muchas sotilezas con actoridad falsa e farán muy muchos argumentos. E desque ayan dicho los del Antichristo, querrán fablar los maestros e non podrán e dirán: – 'Me, me' … Agora – ¿Queredes buen consejo? Que aunque los maestros callen, que vós estedes firmes en la fe cathólica; non querades poner vuestra fe en argumentos non en razón alguna, assí como si te fuesse hecha questión cómo que Padre e Fijo e Spíritu Santo non es sinon un Dios, tú dirás: – 'Yo lo creo, pues mi Señor Ihesú Christo lo ha dicho e los apóstoles lo han predicado'. E así dirás: – 'Non tengo yo mi fe en argumentos, ca yo lo creo, pues mi Señor lo dixo, pues El no puede mentir nin ser engañado non engañar. E, assí, yd en ora mala con vuestros argumentos'. Cited in Pedro Cátedra, *Sermón, sociedad y literatura en la edad media. San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla* (*1411–1412*) (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994), pp. 542–43.

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heavily Aristotelian rationalism in the vein of Averroes had, as a folk tradition, permeated the culture of the Castilian Jewish community, distancing it from the truths of faith.[17]

According to an anonymous dialogue that circulated widely in fifteenth-century Castile, the *Coloquio entre un cristiano y un judío*,[18] it was once again argued that this excess of philosophical analysis would lead the Jews, and along with them a great many Christians, into to the most dangerous of doubts, namely as to the mortality of the soul.

Reasoned from a clearly Christian perspective – the problem was neither as clear nor as pressing in the Talmudic literature – what was singled out as among the worst 'ways to go astray'[19] once again pointed to a mixed environment that was only intellectually oriented in appearance. In the eleventh chapter the Christian launches into his decisive attack on Judaism, accusing some Castilian Jews of being firm believers in the nonexistence of the hereafter, of paradise and hell, which was a serious test for laws and social conventions. Without the fear of a day of reckoning, of rewards or punishments for the acts of this life, 'man has no reason to be good before evil'.[20] Thus, in the fast-paced morals of the dialogue, an essentially religious problem becomes first and foremost a social one. The response put in the mouth of the Jewish character was disconcerting to be sure: this was but a folk phenomenon with no sway on the learned communities of Castile. The Castilian rabbis and *letrados* believed in and upheld the existence of an afterlife with reckoning and punishment. It was the less educated Jews who denied the immortality of the soul, based on a single line from the Psalms. At this point the argumentation of the dialogue bursts apart into a whole range of complex nuances: the Christian does not seem convinced by this explanation that the mortality of the soul is just a folk phenomenon, but rather holds it to be rooted in high Judaism itself. Indeed, it is the sages themselves who suggest it with their glosses that are too subtle and

17 Isaac ben Moses Arama, *Akeydat Yitzchak: Commentary of Yitzchak Arama on the Torah*, (trans.) Eliyahu Munk (Brooklyn: Lambda, 2001); and B. Septimus, 'Yitzhaq Arama and Aristotle's Ethics', in *Jews and Conversos at the Time of the Expulsion*, (eds.) Yom Tov Assis and Yosef Kaplan (Jerusalem: Merkaz Zalman Shazar le-toldot Yiśra'el, 1999), pp. 1–26. A very similar opinion is to be found in Solomon Alami, *Iggeret Musar*, who accused 'those scholars who attempted to interpret the Scriptures in the Greek manner and clothe it in Greek dress. They believed that Plato and Aristotle had brought us more light than Moses our master'. The text is cited in *The Judaic Tradition*, p. 398.

18 Aitor García Moreno (ed.), *Coloquio entre un cristiano y un judío* (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2003).

19 'maneras de yerros'; García, *Coloquio*, p. 148.

20 'non vale al onbre ser más bueno que malo'; García, *Coloquio*, p. 148.

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refined, modifying the meaning of the Bible. It is not a matter of ignorance but just the opposite: it is excessive philosophy that gets in the way of interpreting divine law and leads to disbelief. Moreover, the desire to compare and contrast different interpretations leads to a space in which all religious belonging appears to be erased: 'all those with knowledge of your law, you are all heretics and poor believers in the law, since you are neither good Jews nor good Christians'.[21]

The polemical intentions here are clear, and are connected to the wide circulation in Castile of 'high' texts like those of Maimonides, or even to the extent of what has rightly been called 'popular Averroism'. But clearer still is the anonymous author's fear of infection: doubt spreads and slithers from one community to the next, and Jews who are no longer Jews nor Christians are perhaps more terrifying still than actual Jewish believers. Once again this is a widespread and trans-confessional fear. Throughout the 1400s a great number of rabbis, when condemning the Castilian community's lack of adherence to Judaism, identified the cause as this mixed environment where conversions and passage from one faith to another had shaken the certainties of one and all. As they saw it, this had led many to attempt to overcome the logical incongruence between the two opposing faiths, both of which claimed to be the sole truth, through the juxtaposition and rational analysis of their foundational texts.[22]

This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the forms of heterodoxy in fifteenth-century Spain and the numerous groups that seem to have drawn closer to doubts concerning the truths of faith. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight the common element that ties them together and plainly sets them apart from what was to take place in Europe or in the Italian Peninsula: these were multi-confessional communities where contact and comparison with the other revealed religions of the Iberian Peninsula was the principal motor driving doubt and criticism with regard to one's own confession.

Thus, the so-called Durango heretical movement, which might appear reminiscent of elements of the European heresies of Wycliff and Huss, in Spain seems to have evolved through a careful comparison with Islam and the forms of revelation associated with it. Indeed, many followers ended up crossing over

21 '… todos los sabidores de vuestra Ley que todos sodes erejes e malos en la creençia de la Ley, ca nin sodes bien judíos nin bien cristianos'; García, *Coloquio*, p. 148.

22 Baer, *A History of the Jews*, vol. 2, p. 253.

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into Granada and converting to Islam, and were well received in the Naṣrid Kingdom.[23]

Doubt arising from comparison and contrast seems to have also motivated one of the most intriguing radical movements in fifteenth-century Spain – one which the Franciscan Alonso de Espina denounced as a community of 'Sadducees' – which emerged from a mixed and strongly intellectual environment wherein Christians and Jews compared one another's truths, only to arrive at a form of religious skepticism bordering on materialism.[24] It was a syncretistic vision partway between Judaism and Christianity, combined with magical and astrological elements, which held that the texts of the Scriptures were profoundly corrupted. It decried Christian 'fides' as a 'hoax' (a term that closely echoed that used in the medieval tradition of the three impostors),[25] and had a strong impact on public opinion due to the mixed Jewish-Christian rituals practiced by part of the community. A further echo comes from Shlomo Ibn Verga's famous *Shevet Yehuda*, which in pondering the bitter trials and tribulations besetting Spanish Jewry, provides what is considered one of the first and most detailed tellings, after Boccaccio, of the parable of the three rings.[26]

However, doubt quickly trickled from these readings of Averroes and Aristotle, and the ideas suggested by Maimonides, down into people's everyday life. In either case the texts had long-lasting consequences, and were not to be confined to scholarly discussions. The widespread consequences of Averroism can be traced, as demonstrated by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, in numerous

23 Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, 'Un franciscano heterodoxo en la Granada nasrí. Fray Alonso de Mella', *Al-Andalus*, 25 (1950): pp. 233–50, and also, with a perspective I myself do not share, Iñaki Bazán Díaz, *Los herejes de Durango y la búsqueda de la Edad del Espíritu Santo en el siglo XV* (Durango: Museo de Arte e Historia, 2007).

24 Alonso de Espina, *Fortalitium fidei contra Iudeos, Sarracenos, aliosque Christiane fidei inimicos* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1485). On this episode, see Mario Espósito, 'Une secte d'héretiques à Medina del Campo', *Révue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 32 (1936): pp. 350–60.

25 'Sexto quod fides catholica erat quedam truffa, et quod nihil aliud erat in hac vita nisi nasci et mori'; Espósito, *Une secte d'héretiques*, p. 356.

26 I am citing from the Spanish translation, Shlomo ibn Verga, *La vara de Yehudah. Sefer Šebeṭ Yehudah*, (ed.) María José Cano (Barcelona: Riopiedras, 1991), see the introductory pages of Y. Baer therein, *Sefer Shebet Yehuda* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957), pp. 12–15. For a global discussion focusing on the multicultural heritage of medieval Spain, see Friederich Niewöhner, 'Are the Founders of Religions Impostors?', in *Maimonides and Philosophy: Papers Presented at the Sixth-Jerusalem Philosophical Encounter*, (ed.) Shlomo Pines and Yirmiyahu Yovel (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), pp. 233–45, wherein the chapter becomes a response to Maimonides.

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literary works from the period,[27] as well as in the often Lucretius-like naturalism of Juan Ruiz's *Libro del Buen Amor*.[28] In the same way, Maimonides is disseminated and made popular through literary works such as the *Visión Deleytable*, which, too, revolves around the dizzying chapter on the non-existence of God. Here, the intellect is led to explain how, faced with the world's unfathomable and irrational nature, and the fact that *todo es caso ynçierto e ventura mudable* (all is uncertain chance and shifting fortunes), one comes to the conclusion that 'man was made for nothing more than to die, and after death there is nothing at all'.[29]

The mass conversion and violent baptisms imposed upon Spanish Jews, and their abrupt shift from one belief system to another, created countless pockets of disbelief and skepticism, of hybrid visions that attempted to hold together differing sets of dogmas and truths.

The chronicler Hernando del Pulgar offers us a glimpse of this moment in his description of the confusion that reigned as the families of Toledo attempted to maintain both old and new beliefs, old and new habits, where each person believed and followed a law of their own:

> In the city of Toledo several men and women were found who conducted Jewish rituals in secret, and who, out of great ignorance and endangering their souls, followed neither one law nor the other; indeed, they were not circumcised as Jews, as is mandated by the Old Testament, and although they observed the Sabbath and fasted on some Jewish fasting days, they did not observe every single Sabbath, nor fasted on all fasting days, and if they carried out one ritual they failed to carry out another, such that they were guilty of falsehood according to either one of the two laws. And in

27 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, 'El caso del averroísmo popular español (hacia la Celestina)', in *Averroes dialogado y otros momentos literarios y sociales de la interacción cristiano-musulmana en España e Italia. Un seminario interdisciplinar*, (ed.) André Stoll (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1998), pp. 33–54.

28 C. Heusch, 'Juan Ruiz and the heterodox naturalism of Spain', *Romanic Review*, 103 (2012): pp. 11–47, on an interesting heretical group in León.

29 'el omne non se fizo synon para morirse, e después de la muerte non ay cosa alguna'; Alfonso de la Torre, *Vision deleytable* (ca. 1450), (ed.) J. García López (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1991). Luis Girón Negrón has written at length on the radicalness of a similar text and its textual dependence on Maimonides, in *Alfonso de La Torre's Visión Deleytable: Philosophical Rationalism and the Religious Imagination in 15th Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), which goes so far as to discuss atheism. However, see also Harm den Boer, 'The *Visión deleitable* under the Scrutiny of the Spanish Inquistion: New Insights on converso literature', *European Judaism*, 43 (2010): pp. 4–19.

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> some houses it was found that the man observed some Jewish ceremonies, and the wife was a good Christian, and one son and daughter were good Christians, and another held Jewish opinions. And in a single house there were diverse beliefs, and they all covered for one another.[30]

With much harsher vehemence against the Jews, an anonymous pamphlet that began to circulate in the late 1400s likened them to *Alboraique* (al-Burāq), the mythical hybrid animal believed to have carried Muḥammad up to heaven.[31] Beyond choosing one faith or the other, the Conversos would have ended up distancing themselves from all three of the revealed religions, as underscored by the court chronicler himself. It was with this same hybrid nature, and with considerable difficulty, that the Cathedral of Seville's anonymous woodcarver must have sought to sculpt the two monsters in the choir, each an amalgam of different fauna, represented devouring a skull. Below them, as if to guide the reader through this indirect representation and to leave a permanent record of the infamy of the Conversos of Seville, the carver chose to explain the meaning of this iconographic image to the reader, glossing it as 'Alboraiques'.[32]

As hybrid beings who participated in different and irreconcilable natures and realities, it was among the Conversos that religious doubt took root most strongly, to a certain extent becoming an integral part of their identity as converts. This evidence, which is by no means exhaustive, points to the fact that religious doubt emerged in Spain as a variant of the broader Judaizing heresy, which is precisely how it was classified and interpreted by the Inquisition. Several years ago, in a wonderful study on a well-to-do Converso family from

30 'Se hallaron en la çibdad de Toledo algunos onbres e mugeres que escondidamente fazían ritos judaycos, los quales con grand ynorancia e peligro de sus ánimas, *ni guardavan una ni otra ley*; porque no se çircunçidaban como judíos, segund es amonestado en el Testamento Viejo, e aunque guardavan el sábado e ayunavan algunos ayunos de los judíos, pero no guardavan todos los sábados, ni ayunavan todos los ayunos, e si façían un rito no façían otro, de manera que en una y en la otra ley prevaricavan E fallóse en algunas casas el marido guardar algunas çerimonias judaycas, y la muger ser buena christiana, e el un jijo y hija ser buen christiano, y otro tener opinión judayca. E dentro de una casa aver diversidad de creençias, y encubrirse unos de otros'; Hernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Católicos Reyes don Fernando y doña Isabel* (Madrid: Juan Mata Carriazo, 1943), p. 210 (emphasis mine).

31 David M. Gitlitz, 'Hybrid Conversos in the *Libro llamado el Alboraique*', *Hispanic Review*, 60 (1992): pp. 1–17.

32 Agustín Bustamante García, 'Alboraique, un dato iconográfico', *Archivo español de arte*, 70 (1997): pp. 419–25.

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Seville, the Benadevas, Ollero Pina noted how the women were charged with Judaizing relapses in the intimate realm of the home. These accusations were connected to domestic or culinary rituals and habits, such as changing the linens and lighting candles on Fridays, for example. The men, on the other hand, were almost across the board accused of disbelief.[33] As had already taken place in the mixed community of Medina del Campo, the contrast between the different Scriptures and truths had the potential to bring about a wholesale rejection of faith.

A significant number of Spanish Conversos, hunted down and brought to trial by the Spanish Inquisition with the charge of Judaism – as 'Judaizers' – confessed that they believed neither in the Christian nor the Judaic religion, and stated instead their belief that nothing exists after death. They believed, it emerges from their trials, that human experience comes down to the acts of living and dying; nothing more, they stated, than 'to live and die' (*no hay sino nascer e morir*), or to even 'to live and die like beasts' (*nascer e vivir como bestias*).

Scholars of Jewish communities used to refer to this way of thinking as popular Averroism. It may be that the roots of this skeptical attitude are found in the rationalistic beliefs that grew out of Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle. However, throughout the fifteenth century it became extremely common, enjoying a particular popularity in the Converso communities, but also among the so called Old Christians, as Edwards demonstrated in 1990.[34]

The phenomenon must have been readily noticeable, and not limited to the Spanish Conversos, judging from how, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Maese Rodrigo chose to devote an entire treatise to refuting those who, as 'beastly Sadducees', denied the immortality of the soul, and with it Heaven and Hell, and God's justice and judgment, even pronouncing with their blasphemous lips the words *en este mundo no me veas mal pasar: que en el otro no me veras penar* (in this world you will not see me upset, nor will you see me suffer in the next).[35]

33 José Antonio Ollero Pina, 'Una familia de conversos sevillanos en los orígenes de la Inquisición, los Benadeva', *Hispania Sacra*, 40 (1988): pp. 547–86.

34 John Edwards, 'Religious Faith and Doubt in Late Medieval Spain: Soria circa 1450–1500', in *Religion and Society in Spain, c. 1492* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996). See also C. John Sommerville, 'Debate: Religious Faith, Doubt and Atheism,' *Past and Present*, 128 (1990): pp. 152–55; and Edwards, 'Reply', pp. 155–61. On this problem in the Muslim world see Patricia Crone, 'The Quranic Mushrikūn and the Resurrection', *Bulletin of SOAS*, 75 (2012): pp. 445–72; and *Bulletin of SOAS*, 76 (2013): pp. 1–20.

35 'y aun no poca lumbre a algunos ciegos obstinados de contraria condicion que no trascienden sus corporales sentidos: ni alcançan con su entendimiento que ay anima: y de

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Religious disputes, forced coexistence, but also the presence of dialogue had smoothed the path for what would later become modern comparativism. In any case, doubt emerged in a mixed environment, where two religious confessions confronted one another and exchanged views. These ideas could take on complex forms, as those observed in the community of Medina del Campo, or they could find expression at a popular level. In any case the circulation between high and low culture seems to have nourished and kept alive a phenomenon which I believe should receive more attentive and sustained scrutiny.

It is, crucially, also a phenomenon that is heavily Spanish. To perceive this fact clearly and to understand just how unique and novel it was, I think it is crucial to compare and contrast with what was taking place during this same period in the nearby Italian Peninsula. In Italy this discussion appears to have remained confined to a purely philosophical and intellectual level. The thesis that the soul was mortal, as held by the Converso Juan de Lucena upon returning from Rome,[36] was the subject of heated debate among intellectuals, and filled up the pages of learned dialogues and scholarly debates. It did not circulate among perplexed new converts divided between the two laws, but in the academies and schools. Such was the case, for example, of the 'cult' that the Milanese ambassador in Rome described to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, which was discovered soon after the conspiracy of 1468, and arose around the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto. It was made up of 'learned youths, poets and philosophers' who 'were of the opinion that there was no other world than this, and that once the body died the soul died too, *et demum* that all was naught

aqui como bestiales saduceos niegan haber espiritu: y deste error se derruecan en negar la inmortalidad del alma. E como puersos [sic, *puercos*] hablan consejas ajenas y contrarias a la pura y santa ley de dios, diciendo ser semejante el fin de los hombres al fin de las bestias: creyendo que el anima racional perece como la bestial. De donde se sigue que niegan el parayso y el infierno: y la justicia y juizio de dios. E con estos descomulgados errores sueltan las riendas en su desfrenada, mas muerte que vida y osan decir con su prophana boca en este mundo no me veas mal pasar: que en el otro no me veras penar'; Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella, *Tratado de la inmortalidad del anima* (Seville: J. Kromberger, 1503); the treatise, in the shape of a dialogue, has fourty-five chapters and is dedicated to the Count of Cabra D. Diego Fernández de Cordoba.

36 Juan de Lucena, *Diálogo de vita beata* [1463], see Bertini's edition, *Testi spagnoli del XV* (Turin: Gheroni, 1950). The text has traditionally been interpreted as a Castilian remake of Bartolomeo Facio's original text, when in fact it actually contains a great number of other extremely interesting elements, among them the (rather unconvincing) chapter on the immortality of the soul. For a detailed analysis of the text, see Pastore, *Una herejía española*, pp. 85–116.

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but for paying heed to pleasure and delight'.[37] The controversy was rekindled by Pomponazzi's *De immortalitate animae*, and Rome's prohibition on broaching the subject of the soul's mortality did little to silence the debate. This is a long and largely well known story, of which it is perhaps only worth highlighting that, unlike in Spain – where over the course of the course of the 1400s an intensely popular version of Averroism developed – in Italy Averroism was essentially a scholarly doctrine that was very clear-cut and recognizable in philosophical terms.

An all-encompassing study gathering together possible encounters and exchanges between these two worlds has yet to be conducted. What were the impacts, for the Italy of scholarly Averroism, of such encounters with the less precisely defined Jewish Averroism, and with Judeo-Spanish Biblical and rationalist culture? We know that ties between the University of Padua and the Ferrara Jewish community were close and constant. We also know that Ferrara's Jewish printing presses published a series of key texts in the Judeo-Spanish anti-rationalist debate, which shows the extent of a controversy that seems to spill out beyond Iberia and follow the path of the Sephardic diaspora. We are also beginning to suspect that part of this Spanish culture of skepticism and disbelief was to influence on texts seemingly very distant from the philosophical and theological debates such as *Rime* and chivalric romances, which were the Spanish publishing industry's best sellers in Italy in the early 1500s.[38]

Thus, it comes as no surprise that at a time in Italy when Converso refugees were pouring in, fleeing from the Inquisition – some of them in search of their own Jewish roots, and some just looking for a safer, calmer place to live – in popular speech the term Marrano slowly became a synonym of 'unbeliever'. Likewise, a telling expression came to characterize the muddled and dubious

37 'docti gioveni, poeti et philosophi … tenevano opinione che non fusse altro mondo che questo, et morto il corpo morisse l'anima, *et demum* che ogni cosa fusse nulla se non attendere a tuti piaceri et voluptà'; cited in Eugenio Garin, *Storia della filosofia italiana* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1966), pp. 324–25. There was also a reference to the theory of the three impostors: 'Dicevano che Moyses era stato un grande inganator de homini con sue leze et Christo un seductore de populi et Machometo homo de grande ingegno, che se tirava dreto tuta gente per industria et malitia sua, siche era grande mancamento ali moderni docti sequir tal leze e norme se non viver al suo modo' (They said that Moses was a great deceiver of men with his law, and Christ a seducer of peoples, and Mohamed was a man of great intelligence who pulled all the people along with him by his cunning and malice, and so it was a great impediment to modern men of learning to follow these laws and rules instead of living life in their own manner), p. 325.

38 This is part of ongoing research that I have only been able to partially illustrate in this article.

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religiosity of Spaniards in early sixteenth-century Italy, namely the 'Spanish *peccadillo*'.[39] Over the course of thirty years this expression evolved from a rather nasty way of alluding to Spaniards' judaizing Conversos to a supposedly inherent anti-Trinitarianism, typical of the new converts from Judaism and connected to a syncretistic and comparative predisposition, and eventually to an attitude of open disbelief, an almost seventeenth-century atheism.

There is always a measure of risk involved when trying to write history based on stereotypes, especially in such a case as this, which is so closely connected to the anti-Spanish period in Italian history, and to a lurking anti-Judaism. This situation means that, in many cases, they were defamatory and decontextualized accusations lacking any real ideological depth, and were at times even interchangeable and reciprocal. Still, I believe that delving a bit deeper into these two harsh epithets used against the Spanish can help us to understand the extent to which this forgotten world, buried under the later-imposed self-image of a uniformly Catholic Spain, could open up new and fascinating horizons. Indeed, it reveals just how much representations of the Spanish in this period, however exaggerated and stereotyped, were a far cry from the image of the sanctimonious, pious Spaniard, which would later prevail in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Starting in the last decades of the fifteenth century, Spain's presence in Italy became firmly entrenched, through a process that was doubly connected to the Catholic Monarchs' new brand of confessional politics. 1492, the year of the Jews' tragic expulsion from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, and 1505, the year the Iberian Jews were expelled from Portugal, represented the two peak moments in a flow of immigration that was to continue from then on, in response to the Tribunal of the Inquisition's waves of repression.[40] The problem of the fleeing Iberian Conversos was a global one, but in Italy and in Papal

39 Stefania Pastore, 'Il `peccadiglio di Spagna´: incredulità, scetticismo e politica imperiale nell'Italia del primo Cinquecento', *Rinascimento*, 53 (2013): pp. 3–37; and also 'From Marranos to Unbelievers: The Spanish Pecadillo in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe, (ed.) M. Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzig (Basinstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 79–93.

40 A comprehensive study of Spanish immigration in Italy has yet to be undertaken. However, the information that has been gathered to date does seem to favor interpreting it in the light of the repressive politics afoot in Spain. See Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, 'Una realtà nazionale composita: comunità e chiese spagnole a Roma', in *Roma capitale (1447–1527)*, (ed.) S. Gensini (Pisa: Pacini, 1994), pp. 473–91; Vaquero Piñeiro, 'Valencianos en Roma durante el siglo XV, una presencia en torno a los Borja', in *El hogar de los Borja* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001), pp. 185–98; and Alessandro Serio, 'Modi, tempi e uomini della presenza hispana a Roma nel primo Cinquecento (1503–1527)', in *L'Italia di Carlo V. Progetti, politiche di governo e resistenze all'impero nell'età di Carlo V. Atti del Congresso Internazionale* (Rome: Viella, 2003), pp. 433–76.

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Rome it became readily visible, right before the people's eyes. The violent realism of the famous *Retrato de la Lozana andaluza* offered perhaps the most beautiful portrait, though surely the wildest and most lively, of the Converso community in Rome, located between Campo dei Fiori and Piazza Navona. The *Lozana*, a picaresque account of a Spanish courtesan in Rome, was published anonymously in 1529 by Francisco Delicado, another fleeing Cordovan, perhaps escaping from the Inquisition itself. In Rome the lovely Lozana paraded about, along with the rest of the Spanish women who lived there as refugees *desde el año que se puso la Inquisición* (since the year the Inquisition started), with their makeup and their hybrid tongue, the cooking tests that earned Lozana, who cooked with oil like all the other Conversos, the title of queen of wit and dissimulation.[41] It was a community teeming with shops, exchanges and new freedoms, where the Jews, 'many of them, and friends of ours … are on good terms with the Christians' (*muchos, y amigos nuestros … tratan con los cristianos*). Even the most famous *conversa* in Spanish literature had a shifting and changing identity, which, in the context of Italy, found new spaces and new possibilities of expression, safe from the dangers of the Spanish Inquisition. With all her nerve and cunning, Lozana would claim to be Castilian, Andalusian or Turkish, depending on the circumstances and the people she was dealing with. This must have been a particularly vibrant and readily identifiable commonplace in the Italian Peninsula at the outset of the sixteenth century. Her male counterpart is Ariosto's Negromante, who 'from land to land in order to hide / changes his name, attire, language or nation / Now he is Giovanni, now he is Pietro; sometimes he pretends to be / Greek, others from Egypt, others from Africa / And truth be told he is a Hebrew by origin, / Of the ones who were kicked out of Castile'.[42]

41 In *mamotretos* VI and VIII of *La lozana andaluza*, Lozana, who has just arrived in Rome, is forced to pass a cooking test before being accepted by the other Spanish women, who want to find out whether she is 'one of ours', for example, of Jewish or Old Christian origin. I am citing from the edition of Giovanni Allegra (trans.), Francisco Delicado, *La lozana andaluza* (Madrid: Taurus, 1985), but see also the important introduction to the edition by Bruno Damiani, as well as the latter's monograph, Damiani, *Francisco Delicado* (New York: Twayne, 1974). On Delicado and the Converso problem, consult Francisco Márquez Villanueva, 'El mundo converso de *La Lozana andaluza*', *Archivo Hispalense*, 171–73 (1973): pp. 87–97; and Ruth Pike, 'The conversos in *La lozana andaluza*', *Modern Languages Notes*, 84 (1969): pp. 304–08. Also addressing these topics, in a dense article full of intriguing reflections, is James Amelang, 'Exchanges between Italy and Spain: Culture and religion', in *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society and Religion* (*1500–1700*), (ed.) Thomas Dandelet and John A. Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 433–55, to which I refer the reader for a much richer picture of the cultural encounters and exchanges between Italy and Spain in this period.

42 'di terra in terra per nascondersi / Si muta nome, abito, lingua e patria / Or è Giovanni, or

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The identity of the Spanish, and in particular of the Spanish Conversos – ready to return to Judaism as soon as they set foot on Italian soil, but also willing to shift their identity and adapt once more, to stay in Italy or to head toward the Levant – is an identity in constant flux, which changes in accordance with their surroundings and circumstances. And this is the perception cruelly held by the majority of Italians, that some come to Rome to try their luck and restart a career cut short in Spain, while some knock on the door of the Apostolic Penitentiary and then return to Spain with an absolution that will allow them to evade the Inquisition and start over.[43] Thus, behind every Spaniard there is a possible second identity, an impostor.

We may recall from the classic study by Farinelli how the word 'marrano' – which Minturno explained *non fu italiano ma della gente loro istessa il trovatore* (was not Italian but found by their own people) – entered into the mainstream Italian lexicon in the mid-1500s.[44] It became the most widely used insult against Spaniards of all walks of life. Although initially coined as a derogatory term for an ethnic and religious group with varying degrees of Jewish ancestry, a stain on the much sought-after 'blood purity' of the Spanish, in Italy it quickly came to be used as a general synonym for hypocrite, impostor and traitor. Lack of faith and an uncertain identity was also taken as a sign of betrayal, of religious, political and interpersonal infidelity. Recall how the ghost of the betrayed Argalia shouted at the Spanish knight Ferraù, 'You faithless *marrano*!'[45] Contemporary chronicles from Italy tell of numerous cases in which duels were called or fights broke out over a Spaniard being called a 'marrano', in the sense of a traitor.

Naturally, the insult 'marrano' also applied to the many Spanish political representatives whose policy from the 1520s to the 1550s was altogether

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Pietro; quando fingesi / Greco, quando d'Egitto, quando d'Africa / E è per dire il vero giudeo d'origine, / di quei che fur cacciati di Castilia'. Ariosto, 'Il Negromante', in *Commedie*, (ed.) Andrea Gareffi (Turin: UTET, 2007), p. 553 (act two, scene one).

43 The archives of the Vatican's Penitentiary have only recently been reopened to the public. An overview published before it was opened to the public – and harshly condemned by the Roman Curia, who revoked the author's status of 'Monsignore' – is that of Filippo Tamburini, *Santi e peccatori. Confessioni e suppliche dai Registri della Penitenzieria dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (*1451–1586*) (Milan: Istituto di propaganda libraria, 1995), pp. 300–02; and Tamburini, *Ebrei, Saraceni, Cristiani. Vita sociale e vita religiosa dai registri della Penitenzieria Apostolica* (*secoli XIV–XVI*) (Milan: Istituto di propaganda libraria, 1996), substantially re-explored in his most recent article 'Inquisición española y Penitenciaría apostólica', in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2000), vol. 3, pp. 207–24.

44 Arturo Farinelli, *Marrano. Storia di un vituperio* (Geneva: Leo S. Olschki, 1925), p. 9.

45 'A Ferraù parlò come adirato, / E disse: ah mancator di fe, marrano!'

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different than the warm and placid pro-Papal alliances that were to characterize the second half of the century. During these years, from the sack of Rome to Carlos V's final attempts to reach a doctrinal agreement with the Lutherans, the critic Baldassare Castiglione used the label Marrano against Carlos V's secretary, Alfonso de Valdés,[46] as well as the Imperial ambassadors in Italy, and in particular the *arcimarrano* Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and his successor, Juan Manrique de Lara. Even Carlos V himself was referred to as a Marrano, by his implacable enemy Gian Pietro Carafa, who later became Paul IV.[47] In this tale of slurs and stereotypes, of clichés and prejudices that seem to repeat themselves over and over, there is actually an important break. Between 1530 and 1540, the epithet Marrano, without losing its ethnic and religious connotations, would gradually take on the meaning of nonbeliever. Even Luther, in his *Table Talk*, refers to Alexander VI as *ein maran qui plane nihil credidit*.[48] Meanwhile, in his lengthy invective in verse, Aretino's ex-secretary Niccolò Franco likened the former's skepticism and unbelief to that of the Spanish: 'But you don't believe it, and all I say is in vain: nor does it surprise me, as the Spanish who do not believe are also called Marranos'.[49] This is yet another nuance, which, significantly, will also come to apply to the expression 'Spanish *peccadillo*'. Ariosto, too, in his Satire of Pietro Bembo, used the expression as an explicit allusion to anti-Trinitarianism, joking about the vices of tutors:

> And beyond this note, the Spanish
> *peccadillo* harmed him so, that he does not believe
> in the unity of the Spirit the Father and the Son.[50]

46 From the controversy following the publication of Alfonso de Valdés' *Diálogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma*, which may be reconstructed based on documents published in A. de Valdés, *Obras completas*, (ed.) Ángel Alcalá (Madrid: Turner, 1996); in particular, 'Respuesta del conde Baltasar Castiglione, nuncio en España, a la carta de Valdés de agosto de 1529', ap. III.

47 According to ambassador Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, among other things Carafa accused Carlos V of being a 'fementido engañador, puto judio i otras virtudes'. See the Letter to Granvelle of 13 December 1549, in *Algunas cartas de don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza escritas 1538–1552* (ed.) Alberto Vázquez and R. Selden Rose (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 143.

48 M. Luther, *Discorsi a tavola*, (ed.) L. Perini (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1969).

49 Niccolò Franco, *Rime contro Pietro Aretino* (Lanciano: R. Carabba, 1916), pp. 52, 111.

50 'Et oltra questa nota, il peccadiglio / di Spagna gli dànno anco, che non creda / in unità del Spirito il Padre e il Figlio'; Ludovico Ariosto, 'Satira VI A Messer Pietro Bembo', in *Opere*, (ed.) Mario Santoro (Turin: UTET, 1989), vol. 3, pp. 425.

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More than thirty years later, this accusation would have undergone a semantic drift of the same sort as the term 'marrano'. A scathing text by Annibale Caro dating from the 1540s relates the story of a Spaniard who went to a priest to confess his sins, only to come right back again to say that he had forgotten one small sin – *a peccadillo* – 'not believing in God'.[51]

The examples could go on, but I believe that, beyond the obvious difficulties involved in following the course of a stereotype – for example, in the France of Catherine de Medici, *marrano* was a French insult for Italians – what is nonetheless clear is that in the collective imagination of Italy at the time, the world of the Spanish was seen as one of hypocrisy and affectation, the result of too many religious identities and too many truths in which to believe. It mattered little whether the seeds of doubt that spurned the sharp intelligence of the newly converted, forced to pass from one truth to another, were the Trinitarian doubt of Ariosto's satires, or the more radical doubt of 'not believing in God', recorded by Annibale Caro. The fact of the matter is that the image of the Spanish in Italy was connected to the pluralism of Spain's cultural roots, in other words, with the fact of its new converts from Islam and Judaism. It was an identity born of the mixing of different creeds, capable of undermining the foundations of the doctrine of the Trinity. Perhaps this was in search of the common roots of the three monotheistic faiths, or perhaps it was in fact a much more radical form of contesting the truthfulness of any religious law. The traumas of fifteenth-century Spain, the passage from the old law to the new, the forced conversions, and the breakup of a core identity based on community and religious membership, gave rise to a new way of living the phenomenon of faith, one which was unwittingly modern. This is reflected, to a certain extent, in the semantic drift from Marrano to 'nonbeliever', and the changing uses of the expression 'Spanish *peccadillo*'.

Surprises are surely in store for whomever should attempt to carefully trace the evolution of these expressions, which would add a key piece to the puzzle of heresy in Italy. In this context, a movement such as the one that grew up around the charisma and teachings of the Spaniard Juan de Valdés, a powerful member of the Imperial party and spiritual teacher, engended offshoots, the

51 A. Caro, *Commento di ser Agresto da Ficaruolo sopra la prima ficata del padre Siceo* (1538): 'E parmi che abbi fatto come quello spagnuolo che, quando si fu confessato di tutti i suoi peccati, ritornò al confessore a dire che s'era dimenticato d'uno peccadiglio, e questo era di non credere a Dio'. For more on this expression, which once caught the attention of Benedetto Croce, and on its profound implications for attempts to flesh out an attitude that was very different from the religious conformism typical of Iberian multiculturalism, see Pastore, 'Il "peccadiglio di Spagna"'.

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most radical of which would lead to positions closely related to the trends of fifteenth-century Spain. Among these were Girolamo Busale and Giulio Basalù, who went from believing 'only in that which is the same in both laws, namely the Hebrew and the Christian', to the conviction that religion was nothing more than the 'invention of well-off men'.[52] And this was at the very time in which the most mysterious book of all time, the *Treatise of the Three Impostors*, was beginning to crop up in Italy.[53]

Through forms and channels that I believe remain wholly unexamined, a brand of skepticism, which took root through beliefs that until now have been regarded as belonging to the common folk, found new forms of expression in late Renaissance Italy. Comparativism, the need to compare and contrast diverse laws and revelations, made up the bedrock and the most characteristic, typically Iberian element of this trend, born out of the extremely unique conditions of debate and controversy in fifteenth-century Spain. It is a story that has yet to be told, but one which I believe will reveal a 'southern way', an Iberian-Italian route that is still completely undiscovered. It is another path toward the story of European religious tolerance and comparativism, wherein the Iberian experience proved to be a remarkable and violent laboratory for interfaith disputation and debate.

52 'solo quello che concordava nell'una e nell'altra legge, cioè hebrea et cristiana'; 'inventione di huomini al ben vivere'. The stances of Busale and Basalù have been dwelt on at length by Aldo Stella in *Dall'anabattismo al socinianesimo nel Cinquecento veneto. Ricerche storiche* (Padua: Liviana, 1967), pp. 33–38, pp. 75–83; and Stella, *Anabattismo e antitrinitarismo in Italia nel XVI secolo* (Padua: Liviana, 1969), pp. 15–43; and *passim* L. Addante, *Eretici e libertini nel Cinquecento italiano* (Rome: Laterza, 2010), pp. 25–30; and, from a broader perspective, Massimo Firpo, *Tra alumbrados e 'spirituali'. Studi su Juan de Valdés e il valdesianesimo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1990).

53 For more on this now vast topic, see at least Ernst, 'Campanella e il *De tribus*', pp. 144–70; and S. Landucci, 'Il punto sul *De tribus impostoribus*', *Rivista storica italiana*, 112 (2000): pp. 1036–71.

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CHAPTER 11

# *Mi padre moro, yo moro*: The Inheritance of Belief in Early Modern Iberia[1]

*Mercedes García-Arenal*

The period of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was a time of crisis and paradigm shift in wide-ranging areas of cultural, intellectual and spiritual life throughout Europe, as a long century of religious strife ended in a stalemate between Catholics and Lutherans, but also with the consolidation of numerous sects among the followers of the *Sola scriptura*.[2] By the mid-sixteenth century, the fiercest moments of the struggle between Lutheran reformers and orthodox Catholics had passed. Luther had blazed a trail in his criticism of the Church's authority and once that authority had been challenged, a need arose to seek out a criterion for truth.[3]

This crisis also affected Spain, and its manifestations were juxtaposed alongside the long-running problem caused by the mass conversions of Jews and Muslims in the early sixteenth century and by the continued existence of significant, identifiable groups of Converso origin. These groups of 'new converts' meant that Iberian Catholics became 'Old Christians'. As a result, Iberia was to witness phenomena of great interest such as reactions of a relativist, comparativist or even skeptical nature, inextricably linked to dissimulation and doubt.[4]

1 The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, CORPI project 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'. This contribution was translated into English by Martin Beagles. Special thanks are due to Miriam Bodian and to James Amelang for reading and offering insightful comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

2 Among a wide secondary bibliography, see as an overview Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

3 Richard Popkin, *The History of Scepticism: From Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 41.

4 I would like to refer the reader to two texts which were fundamental in the creation of this paper and which will be frequently cited throughout it: Jeremy Robbins, *Arts of Perception: The Epistemological Mentality of the Spanish Baroque, 1580–1720* (London: Routledge, 2007), and Michele Olivari, *Avisos, pasquines y rumores. Los comienzos de la opinión pública en la España del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2014).

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There is wide and varied evidence that coerced conversion on a massive scale produced a lessening of faith within part of the converted groups, and that the systematic evangelization campaign of the early sixteenth century sowed doubts even in the minds of some Old Christians.[5] Conversion, in short, eroded belief, as this paper will try to show. The difficulty lies in assessing the influence of conversion on religious dissidence and establishing how such dissidence came to be categorized as heresy, and frequently identified with converts from Islam and Judaism. The main aim of this paper is to reflect on how Spanish ecclesiastical authorities, and especially the Inquisition, worked on a definition of heresy and heterodoxy by categorizing a series of commonly held propositions (*proposiciones*, statements or pronunciations considered as deviant by the Inquisition), placing particular stress on those statements which postulated that 'each is saved in his own law', or that 'we believe by inheritance and in accordance with the religion of our parents', or that 'belief may legitimately be dissimulated when the believer is subjected to violence'. All in all these propositions suggested acceptance of the idea that one believes by 'inheritance', and that any transference of allegiance from one religion to another is necessarily doomed.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, statements of this kind were repeatedly attributed to converts of Muslim origin, known as Moriscos, and this led to many Christians regarding such ideas as typical Islamic beliefs. Propositions showing various kinds of religious dissidence, which were widespread throughout Spanish (and European) society, became identified with Islam and with the practice of Islam, as will be shown in these pages.

Some of the attitudes and manifestations to be considered in this essay were also related to a widespread feeling of deep pessimism. Recent historiography has established a link between that feeling of pessimism and a skeptical attitude. The rise of interest in Skepticism that occurred in late sixteenth-century Spain compelled Spaniards to confront the moral and political consequences of human ignorance and a world-view premised on the omnipresence of deceit and the treacherous relationship between appearance and reality. Jeremy Robbins has vividly described the main features of a mentality steeped in epistemological (and thence moral) pessimism, largely fostered by the sustained creative interaction of the Skepticism and Stoicism that were so characteristic of seventeenth-century Spain. This interaction forged a distinctive view of the

5 John Edwards, 'Religious Faith and Doubt in Late Medieval Spain: Soria circa 1450–1500', in *Religion and Society in Spain, c.1492* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996).

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nature and extent of human knowledge and had a decisive influence on questions of agency, morality, reason of state, trust and honor.[6]

It is clear that the inability to know, based on ignorance, repression and perplexity, is not the same as philosophical inability to know, but I want to suggest that both could overlap and have wide political and social implications. Epistemological and moral pessimism for example, was closely related to the specific hopelessness caused by the failure of the Spanish church's pastoral strategies, particularly as far as the Moriscos were concerned.[7] Many of the clergy believed that this failure had occurred as a result of the lack of proper attempts to persuade new converts, rather than because of an unshakeable clandestine Islamic religion. In other clergymen, reactions to a realization of failure gave rise to attempts to mitigate their own responsibility by claiming, for instance, that evangelization had been impossible because in groups such as the Moriscos, belief was inherited, or that Jews could not be converted.[8] The Muslims held, they claimed, that one must always follow the faith of one's parents. As one frustrated missionary wrote, 'Terrible are the mute and silent arguments that make the blood cry out within their veins. After we preach to them, these wretches respond *my father Moor, Moor myself*'.[9]

The practical impossibility of spreading the gospel among the Muslims was also explained by reference to the idea that Muslims thought dissimulation was legitimate, meaning that a genuine assessment of their real beliefs could never be made, their heart of hearts never be pierced. Such claims, which lie at the core of this essay, occasionally led commentators to go so far as to express doubts about the transformational capacity of baptism. The claim that belief was inherited ultimately resulted in an identification between cultural or religious characteristics and physical inheritance.

The failure, therefore, was not only about evangelization, but also about identifying sincere belief. The failure or uncertain success of the Inquisition itself in controlling other faiths meant that orthodoxy became identified with

6 This is the general argument of Robbins, *Arts of Perception*, especially chapters 1–2.

7 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones. La monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos*, (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Diputació, 2001), and 'The Religious Debate in Spain', in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, (ed.) M. García-Arenal and G.A. Wiegers, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 102–31.

8 Miriam Bodian, 'Behind Closed Doors: A Dominican Friar's *Debate* with a Dutch Jew, from the Records of an Inquisition Trial, Lisbon 1645–1647', *Jewish Studies Quaterly*, 21 (2014): pp. 362–90, esp. p. 382.

9 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'Notas para una sociología de los moriscos españoles', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 11 (1962): pp. 39–54.

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genealogy.[10] And so we will see throughout this paper the enormous theological and doctrinal contradiction that led Iberian Church authorities from a messianic, Pauline hope of universal conversion, to the creation of what I will call the Spain of blood and milk.

## The Jesuit Pedro de León on How to Convert the Moors: the Three Major Obstacles

I would like to begin by taking as the central axis of the first part of this essay the text written by the Jesuit Pedro de León (1545–1632) a few years after the Expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–14). In 1616 León finished his *Compendio de algunas experiencias en los ministerios de que usa la Compañía de Jesús con que prácticamente se muestra con algunos acaecimientos y documentos*, of which only the first volume has ever been published.[11] The third volume of this work includes the chapter: *Trátase de cómo se an de convertir los Moros y Moriscos provándoles que van errados en seguir la seta de Mahoma* (On how to convert the Moors and Moriscos by proving to them that they err in following the sect of Muḥammad).[12] According to remarks in the text itself, the Jesuit composed it immediately after the Expulsion. However, it is in fact the summary of a much longer text probably conceived when the presence of Moriscos on the Iberian Peninsula still made their evangelization at least a theoretical possibility.

Pedro de León is a well-known figure, though not for this part of his religious and intellectual activity. He is more renowned for his participation in popular missions in Spain and his work with prison inmates and prostitutes in Seville.[13] In his youth he had lived in Granada and it was in this city that he had, in the 1570s, become a disciple of the famous Morisco Jesuit Juan de Albotodo, defined by León as an honor to the Company 'because despite his Morisco

10 David Nirenberg's excellent article is required reading on this subject: 'Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-century Spain', *Past and Present*, 174 (2002): pp. 2–41.

11 Partially edited and studied in Pedro de León, *Grandeza y miseria en Andalucía. Testimonio de una encrucijada histórica* (*1578–1616*), (ed.) Pedro Herrera Puga (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1981).

12 Vol. 3, fol. 201*ff* of the manuscript of the Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca ms. 579. I am grateful to Michele Olivari for pointing out to me the existence of this unpublished manuscript. Stefania Pastore provided me with photocopies of the copy kept at the Biblioteca Universitaria de Granada.

13 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'Vida y obra del P. Pedro de León', *Archivo Hispalense*, 83 (1957): pp. 157–96. For a subtle reading, see Olivari, *Avisos, pasquines*, p. 368*ff*.

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caste, he was a rose among thorns'.[14] León had first-hand experience of the perils represented by these thorns, for he was present in the valleys of the kingdom of Granada during the well known and fierce revolt known as the Alpujarras War (1568–70). In order to analyze his text of 1616, it is necessary first to consider the connection between the different kinds of missionary work León carried out during his life. Michele Olivari has claimed that it was this work that led León to undertake his analysis of the attitudes and moral behavior of the Moriscos, in preparation for a catechizing mission which he never undertook or which may have been interrupted by the Expulsion of 1609–14.[15] But although León may have had the opportunity to participate in pastoral work among the Moriscos at the time of his presence in Granada during key periods of the Morisco problem, the fact is that he never did so. León's missions took place in the mountains of Granada between 1590 and 1591, several years after the Granadan Moriscos had been expelled to Castile. He focused his attention on the mainly Galician populations sent to re-populate the region and whom he found (or so he claimed) to be worse in many ways than the Muslims who had preceded them. León used the Granadan Muslims as a point of comparison and a model of industry, austerity and piety towards their own people, especially widows and orphans; he also portrayed them as having been so honest that they never stole from a neighbor and never got drunk.[16] The populations León found most difficult in his pastoral work, those he found most resistant when it came to receiving any kind of religious message, were, in his own words, the men who worked in the tobacco industry and those who worked as tuna fishermen in the *almadrabas* (fisheries) of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. León regarded these men as worse than Muslims, arguing that at least the latter believed in God. León's thoughts on this subject may therefore not have been intended to express appreciation of the Moriscos so much as to show the populations who were the object of his mission how they ought and ought not to behave, and how their behavior placed them at a extremely low level on the human scale, lower even than that of the Moors. This was probably also the reason for other literature on the supposed indoctrination of Muslims,

14 León, *Grandeza y miseria*, p. 198, *apud* Olivari, *Avisos, pasquines*, p. 370. On Father Juan de Albotodo and other Morisco Jesuits see Francisco de Borja Medina, 'La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545–1614)', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 57 (1988): pp. 4–137. For the most famous of them all, Ignacio de las Casas, see 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), p. 574.

15 Olivari, *Avisos, pasquines*, p. 368.

16 León, *Grandeza y miseria*, pp. 104–08.

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as occurred in other seventeenth-century Jesuit treatises of polemics against Islam:[17] the aim was to teach and revive the Catholicism of the peoples among whom he carried out his missionary work rather than to polemicize with the scarce number of Muslims still living in the Peninsula.[18]

This does not mean that León did not know what he was talking about when he discussed the Moriscos. He felt a hostility towards them that was occasionally tempered by piety and sympathy. He was also filled with piety and sympathy in his dealings with his flock of convicts and prisoners, and the sincerity of his feelings led many such individuals to listen to him and become reconciled to the faith.[19] León begins his text by pleading for compassion for the Moriscos, both for their souls and their bodies. Such compassion was intended to be a way of bringing about their conversion.

Regardless of whether León had a relatively moderate attitude towards the Moriscos, the aspect of his text which is of greatest interest here is the way in which he uses it to diagnose and tease out three major obstacles to the conversion of the Muslims. The first and main difficulty is that the Moriscos 'cling to their sect (although they do not understand it) because their parents followed it: my father was a Moor and I am a Moor'.[20] León claims that the Moriscos largely lacked knowledge of Islam (both in dogma and in law) and did not understand it. They were also ignorant of the tenets of Catholicism. They lived without a law, and he wrote that 'when we want to say that someone lives at their whim, or at their own free will, we say that he is like a Moor without law',[21]

17 Especially the still unpublished treatise by the Jesuit Juan de Almarza, who in the mid-seventeenth century wrote his *Catecismo de moros*, Real Academia de la Historia [RAH], ms. 9–2263. Another Jesuit, Francisco Alemán, rector of the Jesuit College from 1625 to 1627 was the author of an *Explicación de la doctrina cristiana para los moriscos de Granada con la refutación de sus principales errores.* See Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2006), p. 77.

18 Such is the conclusion of Emanuele Colombo on the work of the Jesuit Tirso González de Santalla, *Convertire i musulmani. L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento* (Milan: Mondadori, 2007).

19 'Debemos tener compasión por sus cuerpos, tan castigados, penitenciados, encarcelados, amedrentados y desterrados, y assí con una misma medicina se curarán las llagas de sus almas y de sus cuerpos' (We should have compassion for their bodies, which are so sorely punished, with penances imposed upon them, imprisoned, intimidated and banished, and with the same medicine will be cured the wounds of their souls and their bodies); León, *Compendio*, fol. 201r.

20 'están asidos a su seta (aunque no la entienden) es porque sus padres la siguieron: mi padre moro y yo moro'; León, *Compendio*, fol. 201r.

21 'cuando queremos decir que vive uno a su alvedrío, decimos que es como moro sin ley'; León, *Compendio*, fol. 203v.

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in a very expressive identification of disbelief, heresy and Islam. This is also a highly significant association with Islam of belief in the lack of importance of one's own law, or in any case, ignorance of Islam. Though I will not be dealing with converts from Judaism in this essay, it is important to point out that exactly the same accusation of ignorance of their own law and religion was addressed at them as well.[22] I will return to this issue further on.

León was not the only anti-Islamic polemical author to express such ideas; other authors, like Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón in his *Antialcorano*, wrote in similar terms.[23] Such authors insisted that the Moriscos did not know their own religion.[24] León argues in a fictitious dialogue with a Muslim that it is not a good thing to follow one's parents if they are in error, as are the Gentiles or the Jews, but to use reason.[25] To this the Muslim says that Christians also follow the faith of their parents, but León argues that they are not Christians because their parents were, but because they follow 'truth', 'the true law'.[26] León devotes a long passage of development to this point, no doubt with the intention of arousing horror in the reader or listener with the examples he offers of awful things that parents can do: to what extent are we to follow our parents' beliefs and behavior? It is at this point that he discusses parents who kill their children, fathers who practice sodomy and so on. Unlike the Muslims, León says, Christians are not Christians out of love for their parents but out of love of God. This is a highly important claim: Muslims are said to love their parents above and beyond their love or search for God. But Muslims also cling to the tradition of their parents because this is the way in which they reach certainty about what must be considered the true law. If their ancestors 'were

22 See as an example Bruno Feitler, *The Imaginary Synagogue: Anti-Jewish Literature in the Portuguese Early Modern World (16th–18th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 89–91.

23 Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Libro llamado Antialcorano, que quiere dezir contra el alcoran de mahoma* (Valencia: Juan Jofré, 1532) [edited as *Antialcorano. Diálogos cristianos. Conversión y evangelización de Moriscos*, by Francisco Pons Fuster (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000)].

24 'Todos por la mayor parte sois gente que ni sabeys leer ni escrevir: ni sabeys nada de dios ni del cielo, ni de la tierra: sino andar por los campos como salvages a la manera que andan los alarabes en bervería'; Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano*, pp. 41–42 (fols. clxviii, bis v– clxi).

25 'Si el padre es ciego, no por eso el hijo se saca los ojos' (If the father is blind, this does not mean that the child has to pull out his own eyes). León, *Compendio*, fol. 202v.

26 'Y si nos dijesen los moros y los gentiles y vosotros los christianos, ¿no seguís tambien la ley de vuestros Padres? Debemos responderles que seguimos su fe y ley [note the use here of the two terms *fe* and *ley*] pero no la seguimos porque ellos la siguieron sino porque sabemos que es la verdadera en que nos havemos de salvar'; León, *Compendio*, fol. 202v.

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condemned', they should not be so stupid as to condemn themselves also, says León. And herein lies the second and related difficulty, that of their belief, which according to León is also their response to León's arguments about the nature of the true law in which to attain salvation: their dictum *que cada uno se salva en su ley* (each is saved in his own law).

The third obstacle to the effective conversion of Muslims was the issue of their dissimulation of belief. They were unaware of many aspects of their own law and did not practice others out of fear of Christians, but they clung to their desire to be Muslims over and above these circumstances, 'and since the law of Muḥammad says that even if they say otherwise in public, this will be enough for them to be saved'. León continues: 'For they hold that in cases of coercion they may act in this way, holding in their hearts that they are Moors (though they say otherwise with their mouths), and that this will be enough for them to be saved'.[27] The Muslims lived without a law because they did not know their own law but were permitted by Muḥammad to dissimulate, to have one faith in their hearts and practice the regulations and rituals of Catholicism in order to keep up appearances without losing their status as Muslims. They were, in other words, without law. *Y algunos de los moros dicen que cada uno se salva en su ley* (And some Muslims say that each is saved in his own law).[28]

Ignorance of their own law and, above all, the practice of dissimulation, made it virtually impossible to know anything about the internal beliefs of the Moriscos. This was also the conclusion of a *Memorial* written to Felipe III in 1608, shortly before the Expulsion: 'No hope is or can be had, judging morally and in accordance with Christian prudence, that they will persevere in any faith other that the one they have now, or that they will want to know anything of ours; and if they do know of it, it will be in order not to believe it'.[29] Even more pessimistic was the position on the possibility of conversion held by Fray Francisco de Ribas of the Order of the Minims, who thought it was futile even to attempt to convert Muslims: 'With there being so little hope of their conver-

27 'y que la ley de Mahoma permite que aunque digan otra cosa de fuera bastará para salvarse (…) Pues tienen para sí que en caso de violencia pueden, teniendo en el corazón que son moros (aunque digan otra cosa con la boca) y que esto bastará para salvarse'; León, *Compendio*, fol. 203v.

28 León, *Compendio*, fol. 203r.

29 'Ninguna sperança se tiene ni puede tener, juzgando moralmente y según prudencia christiana, de que perseverarán en otra fe que agora tienen, ni de que querrán saber de la nuestra, y que en caso que la sepan será para no creerla'; Antonio Mestre, 'Un documento desconocido del Patriarca Ribera escrito en los momentos decisivos sobre la expulsión de los moriscos', in *Estudios dedicados a Juan Peset Aleixandre*, (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 1982), pp. 737–39; cited in Benítez, 'The Religious Debate', pp. 106–07.

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sion, to insist that they do so is nothing more than to give them reasons for belittling us, for in the end we allow them to live in their religion knowing that we know they are Moors'.[30]

The idea that the Moriscos lacked both knowledge and belief, and that their own inability to know obliged them to cling to the religion of their fathers is, in my view, a fundamentally skeptical position in the minds of the inquisitors. León's text also contains skepticism and doubt, as it often expresses the difficulty of ascertaining what it is that the Moriscos think or believe, which leads him to doubt the ability of the Inquisition to make judgments in matters of belief. One very explicit example can be found in his story of a young Morisco girl who was handed over by the Inquisition to the secular arm of the law to be executed. The prisoner had been accused of crypto-Muslim practices by her own relatives and other Morisco neighbors. But it was thought that it was the very sincerity of her Christian beliefs which had led to the accusations and to false evidence being given against her. León admits that the judges sentenced her *secundum allegata et probata*, but his final comment is a manifestation of skepticism: 'God knows what this is all about'.[31]

## Each Follows the Religion of his Parents, Each is Saved in his Own Law

León was not the only author to categorize the same three obstacles to the conversion of the Moriscos. They can be found over and again in many different types of sources.

Inquisition records contain frequent mentions of the belief discussed by Pedro de León that 'each is saved in his own law', a crime codified and expressly persecuted by the Inquisition.[32] For many of those who were tried for saying 'each is saved in his own law', this belief had brought the comforting thought that parents and grandparents who had died before the publication of the decrees enforcing conversion might still be saved. It was also a statement against the imposition of one sole truth, and it contains a dose of relativism

30 'Haviendo tan poca esperança de que se conviertan el porfiar que lo hagan no es más que darles materia para que nos tengan en poco, pues al cabo los dexamos vivir en su secta sabiendo ellos que nosotros sabemos que son moros'; Benítez, 'The Religious Debate', p. 107.

31 'Dios sabe lo que hay en esto'; León, *Grandeza y miseria*, p. 485.

32 Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

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and detachment from established religion. It had an impact on the very concept of religion because of the skepticism it entails.

The dictum 'each is saved in his own law' also shows the degree to which early modern Spain was a polemical arena. Anti-Muslim polemicists held that belief in this dictum was one of the major errors of Islam. Indeed, the already quoted preacher Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, in his *Antialcorano*, published in 1535, notes that 'some of the learned men among the Muslims say that each is saved in his own law: the Jew in his, the Christian in his, the Muslim in his'. It was singularly present in the work of other seventeenth-century Jesuits who wrote on how to convert Muslims. Such was the case of Tirso González de Santalla, who criticized the statement in the Qur'ān that each could be saved in his own religion, Jews within Judaism, Christians in Christianity and Muslims in Islam.[33] In the climate of enthusiasm over the victory of the Holy League at the Battle of Vienna (1683) which halted the advance of the Ottoman Empire, González de Santalla, a professor at the University of Salamanca and future Superior General of the Company of Jesus, published his *Manuductio ad conuersionem mahumetanorum* (Madrid, 1687).[34] This book was very widely read. González de Santalla poured into this manual an account of his experiences as a preacher, apologist against Islam and ardent missionary. Like Pedro de León, he had spent most of his life crisscrossing Spain as a preacher in popular missions and in order to catechize and instruct Christians. González Santalla had devoted huge efforts to the composition of lengthy sermons for the benefit of the very small numbers of Muslims (generally captives or the slaves of noble families) still to be found in the towns and cities of Andalusia, and had orchestrated the public staging of their conversion to Catholicism.

Manuel Sanz, a Spanish Jesuit and *calificador* of the Inquisition of Malta,[35] insisted that González had converted Muslims and disavowed them of their belief that each is saved in his own law. The target of Sanz's diatribe seems to have been the same as in the case of González Santalla, namely Lutheran and Calvinist beliefs, rather than Islam itself, which is likely to have been a just a pretext. Gaspar de Escolano, in his *Memorial* of 1600 on the history of Valencia, drew up a list of 'Muhammedan errors', amongst which he highlights that of 'believing that although our law is good and holy, so is theirs and that of the

33 Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani*, p. 47.

34 Elías Reyero, *Misiones del Padre Tirso González de Santalla, XIII prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús* (*1665–1686*) (Santiago: Editorial Compostelana, 1913).

35 Manuel Sanz, *Breve trattato nel quale con ragioni dimostrative si convincono manifestamente i Turchi esser falsa la legge di Maometto e vera solamente quella di Cristo* (Catania, 1691; Seville, 1693).

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Jews, and that all are saved who keep to them', and then insisted that one of the Moriscos' clear errors was the belief that each is saved in his own law (*creer que cada uno se salva en su ley*).[36] By contrast, Juan de Almarza, also a Jesuit and author of a *Catecismo de moros*, specified that there were 'two classes of Muhammedans, those who believe that each is saved in his own law and others who say that none can be saved unless it is within the law of Muḥammad'.[37] This is a very important statement because it discriminates between different kinds of Muslims and does not identify the belief in each being saved in its own law with the tenets of Islam. In fact, Almarza draws a more complex picture than most of other writers on the conversion of the Muslims. Almarza had previously explained that there were four laws, those of the Christians, Moors, Jews and Gentiles or pagans. And he added: 'There are no other laws than these. There is no law of Atheists, because there is no nation which follows this error. Atheists are found in all of the laws, because there is no shortage of evil people in any one of them, though more in some than in others, and such people say that there is no God, and no life beyond this present one'. There were those, then, who believed there was no God, and that one is only born and then dies.[38] Let us take this as 'atheism'.[39]

Is Almarza associating the quasi-agnosticism that can be an ingredient of 'each is saved in his own law' with atheism? The quotation sheds interesting and revealing light on the state of affairs in seventeenth-century Iberia: according to Almarza, atheists could be found in any of the religious communities. More revealingly, Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, writing in 1611, classified seven kinds of atheists.[40] This included a group who live without faith or law, desiring to be externally and internally free and to live at their own free will. Others rejected all forms of law. The freedom to follow the law or not is what was adopted by the Marabouts of Barbary, for example the masters of

36 Rodrigo de Zayas, *Los moriscos y el racismo de estado. Creación, persecución y deportación (1499–1612)* (Cordoba: Almuzara, 2006), doc. XLII, p. 478, p. 485.

37 Almarza, *Catecismo de moros*, fol. 61v.

38 This was another proposition persecuted by the Inquisition. See Francisco Márquez Villanueva, 'Nasçer e morir como bestias (criptoaveroísmo y criptojudaísmo)', in *De la España judeoconversa. Doce estudios* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2006), pp. 203–27.

39 'No hay ley de Ateistas porque no ay nación que siga este error. Los Ateistas se hayan en todas las leyes, porque en qualquiera dellas no faltan algunos desalmados, en una más y en otra menos, que dicen que no ay dios ni más vida que esta presente'; Almarza, *Catecismo de moros*, fol. 13r.

40 Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Diez lamentaciones del miserable estado de los atheístas de nuestros tiempos* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius and Huberto Antonio, 1611), pp. 12–24.

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the Sufi brotherhoods who had given themselves up to ascetic practices to such an extent that beyond a certain level they became free of all law.[41] Gracián ends by explaining that the Muslims and the Jews, as well the heretics of his day, which is to say the Lutherans (all three religions were in his view mixed up with atheism), tended towards atheism when they realized that theirs was not the true sect, instead of turning to and joining the Catholic fold. Evangelization and polemics could therefore convince them that their original religion was false, but not that Catholicism contains the truth. According to Gracián converts can even become proper, full-blooded atheists. Cervantes wrote the words *fino ateista te muestras* (a fine atheist you show yourself to be) in describing ironically a character in *La gran sultana* who is a renegade and who directly admits *yo ninguna cosa creo* (I do not believe in anything).[42] This was the case, according to Gracián, of 'the Jews who live in Amsterdam, where they have built them a synagogue, for most of them are atheists even though they follow the external rites of Judaism'.[43] Other contemporary Portuguese sources address this question of atheism in regard to descendants of converts from Judaism, linking, as Gracián does, atheism to the Judaizers' indecision in matters of religion and to their ignorance of both laws. Valerio de San Raimundo tells converts from Judaism 'you are neither Christians nor Jews. You can be called atheists' and his contemporary Estêvão de Santana: 'You live like Atheists, without God, without Law … Receiving the Sacraments in the Church and practicing yours in the Synagogue! This is not being a Christian or a Jew or

41 'La segunda libertad es la de las leyes, y por exemplo della dirè lo que oy día passa en los Marabutos de Berbería. Tuvieron estos principio de dos hijos de Haly, sobrino y succesor de Mahoma, que se dieron en cierto tiempo a increýbles abstinencias y asperezas de cuerpo; y viniendo un día ante su Padre disfigurados, flacos y en los huessos, dixoles el Padre, que (según la ley de Mahoma su tío), ya estavan libres de todas las leyes, y podían cessar de hazer penitencia y cualquiera cossa que hiziessen de allí adelante, sería santa y perfeta. Hallóse presente un moro llamado Marabutin, y escrivió un libro de la secta de los Marabutos, en que dize, que llegando una persona a cierto grado de perfición (que ellos imaginan se alcança con sus asperezas), está libre de toda la ley, y cualquiera cosa que hiziere, será santa. Y assí me contó quien lo vio por sus ojos, que llegando un Marabuto dessta secta carnalmente, en vna calle publica, delante de todo el mundo a una borrica, acudieron muchos moros a tomar pelos della, para reliquias, como sanctificada por su Marabuto'; Gracián, *Diez lamentaciones*, pp. 58–60. In Spain the late Alumbrados, such as those of Extremadura in the 1570s thought that the act of confession could be dismissed, even before taking communion, if one's soul had already attained a certain level of perfection, at which point they could no longer sin and therefore had no need for confession.

42 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Moros, moriscos y turcos en Cervantes. Ensayos críticos* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2010), p. 157.

43 Gracián, *Diez lamentaciones*, pp. 278–79.

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a believer or a Catholic. So what is it? It is to be phantasms of religion, chimeras of faith, atheists of all laws because you are heretics of one and the other, hobbling in both'.[44]

Fray Gerónimo Gracián's text neatly expresses two of the main underlying ideas of this paper. Firstly, there is the tendency to cluster together all heterodox trends and to attribute them to Moors and Jews. Secondly, there is the notion that conversion from other religions frequently leads to a degree of lack of belief or disengagement from religion, described by Gracián and others as 'atheism'.

### Muslims can Pretend to Believe a Law Other than the One in their Hearts

The notion of legitimate dissimulation was nevertheless seen as the main obstacle, and the one which obsessed preachers and authors of treatises on Muslims. Almarza, whose text often resembles that of León, also makes reference to the idea of permitted dissimulation:

> Muḥammad teaches in his Koran … that a Muhammedan can for fear of some evil outwardly pretend to believe a law other than that in his heart: so that if he is afraid that some harm will come to him by saying that he is a Muslim he may say that he is not: and he can for the same reason be baptized, and confess, though in being baptized and confessing he has others believe he is a Christian and not a Muslim. The reason given is that God is only worshipped from the heart and if they have the law of Muḥammad in their heart it does not matter if they deny it with their mouths, or by their actions, if by confessing this they bring some harm upon themselves: thus they do not sin if they deny it outwardly but confess within.[45]

Another example is Fray Marcos de Guadalajara, a staunch apologist for the Expulsion of the Moriscos, who also insisted on two determining character-

44 'Viveis como Atheistas, sem Deos e sem ley… Receber os Sacramentos da Igreja e praticar os vossos na Sinagoga! Isto nem e ser Christao nem Judeo, nem fiel, nem Catholico. Pois que he? He de ser fantasmas da religiao, quimèras da fé, Atheistas de todas as leys; porque hereges de huma, e outra, claudicais en ambas'. Quoted by Bruno Feitler, *The Imaginary Synagogue*, pp. 90–91

45 Almarza, *Catecismo de moros*, fol. 156r–v.

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istics of Morisco belief or disbelief. Guadalajara wrote that the Moriscos 'punctiliously obeyed the precepts of the Qur'ān, and did what the Church commanded (if they could not avoid it), protesting within themselves that they were forced to do so. They held as true that each of us could be saved in his Christian, Jewish or Moorish law, holding faithfully to it: which is why St Vincent Ferrer converted so few of them'.[46] Also: 'With the permission and license granted them by their damned sect, they were able to dissemble outwardly on forced occasions, without sinning, any religion with such insistence that they conserved their heart for their false, swindling Prophet; we saw so many of them die adoring the Cross and speaking with approval of Our Catholic Religion at the same time that they were inwardly true Muhammedans'.[47]

The late sixteenth century witnessed the spread of this belief that Moriscos deemed it legitimate to dissimulate in order not to lose their status and identity as Muslims. In 1587 the Bishop of Segorbe wrote to Felipe II to explain to the king some of the problems he had encountered during his preaching campaigns:

> It is a certain and plain fact that all the Moors in Spain, and outside it, by tradition from some to others and through doctrine and the teachings of their *alfaquís* and masters, believe as a point of faith that if to excuse some violence or from fear of some punishment they receive Christian baptism or confess to Jesus Christ or perform any other Christian duty, they do not offend Muḥammad if in their hearts they believe, love and adore him … and that to pray in accordance with both rites does not violate the sect of Muḥammad if they hold it dearly in their hearts and perform some of its ceremonies secretly, out of fear of some violence or

46 'Obedecían con puntualidad los preceptos del Alcorán, hazían lo que la Iglesia mandaua (si no podían escusarlo) protestando interiormente que lo hazían forzados. Tenían por cierto que cada uno se podía saluar en la ley de Christo, Judío y Moro, guardándola cada uno fielmente: de donde nació convertir tan pocos dellos San Vicente Ferrer'; Marcos de Guadalajara, *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Assiayn, 1613) fol. 159r–v.

47 'que con el permiso y licencia que su maldita Secta concedía, que en ocasiones forçosas pudiesen fingir en lo exterior, y sin pecar, qualquier religión con tal empero que conservasen el coraçon para su falso y embaydor Profeta; vimos morir tantos dellos adorando la Cruz y hablando bien de Nuestra Religión Cathólica siendo en el interior finos Mahometanos'. De Guadalajara, *Memorable expulsión*; *apud* Florencio Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España* [Madrid: Imprenta de la RAH, 1857] (Seville: Espuela de Plata, 2006), p. 215.

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> punishment and for this reason it is easy for them to request and receive Christian baptism and outwardly confess the faith of Jesus Christ.[48]

Although one could provide further quotations of this sort, this one speaks for the rest.[49]

### Is There Islamic Doctrine in Support of the Propositions of which Moriscos were Accused?

What were the main Islamic principles that may have lay behind the points made by León and virtually all the contemporary polemicists who wrote on this subject throughout the seventeenth century?

One notion which does exist in Islam is that, according to some Muslim theologians, man possesses an innate capacity to know God. That innate capacity, part of human nature, receives the name of *fitra* in the *ḥadīth* containing the following words of the Prophet Muḥammad: 'each infant is born with a right religious nature (*fitra*), it is his parents who make him a Christian, a Muslim or a Zoroastrian'.[50] However, this is one of several contradictory traditions on the ability of the infants of unbelievers to be saved,[51] and Islamic

48 *Parescer de don Martín de Salvatierra, obispo de Segorbe, del Consejo del R.N.S. dado por mandado de su magestad … acerca del estado en que están los moriscos del reyno de Valencia y de la reformación en instrucción que se trata de darles*, 30 July 1587, Biblioteca Nacional de España [BNE], ms. 5785. Document published in Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* [Valencia: Francisco Vives y mora, 1901], (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 618–19. The italics are mine. To cite further fragments of the text: 'Item, se confirma mas esto y la notable burla y menosprecio que todos ellos hacen de la religión xpiana … y procuran ser compelidos y apremiados a hacer estas obras christianas con injuria suya porque tienen en doctrina de sus maestros y antepasados que en ello ganan gran mérito delante de mahoma y que pueden exteriormente negar a mahoma reteniéndole en sus corazones …', p. 622. 'Item, como esta dicho tienen por fee y por doctrina … que si se les hiciere alguna fuerza o violencia para haverla de negar [su secta], la pueden negar, retiniendola en el coraçon questo les basta para salvarse', p. 623.

49 See Diego Rubio, 'La *taqiyya* en las fuentes cristianas: indicios de su presencia entre los moriscos', *Al-Qanṭara*, 34 (2013): pp. 529–46, and its references for a complete view.

50 Yasien Mohamed, *Fitrah: The Islamic Concept of Human Nature* (London: Ta-Ha Publishers, 1416/1966); and D.B. MacDonald, 'Fitra', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II (1991), pp. 931–32: and Camilla Adang, 'Islam as the Inborn Religion of Mankind: The Concept of *Fitra* in the Works of Ibn Ḥazm', *Al-Qanṭara*, 21 (2000): pp. 391–410.

51 Ana Fernández Félix, 'Children on the Frontiers of Islam', in *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001), pp. 61–71.

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theologians have remained uncertain and in some disagreement over the question of *fitra*. According to Ibn Rushd, the innate character of man's ability to know God guarantees his salvation with very little effort. For many others, the text evidently meant that every child is born naturally a Muslim, but is perverted after birth by his environment, an interpretation that clashes with the idea of the sovereign will and *hidaya* (guidance) of Allah. Al-Gazhali, an author who was very widely read in Al-Andalus, seems to have interpreted *fitra* not as Islam but as a proper 'original nature' that can be altered by environmental circumstances.[52] It is very striking that Christian polemicists, and perhaps also Hispanic Muslims, followed this interpretation, for example in holding it to be a Muslim teaching that every human being is primordially born a Muslim. In this reading, human nature and man's innate reason lead him to Islam, and he is only swayed from that right nature by the education received from his parents and the place where he happens to have been born. Spanish polemicists certainly knew of this *ḥadīth*. For example, Joan Martín de Figuerola, in his work of anti-Islamic controversy *Lumbre de fe contra la secta mahometana y el alcorán* (1521) cites the Qur'ān 4:17 to explain the Mudéjares of Aragon's belief that 'the children of the Jews and the Christians are all born Moors and the Jews make them Jews and the Christians Christians … all human beings are born within the law of Muḥammad. I wonder at you, *alfaquí*, for God has given laws as it is written … and if God makes them be born as Moors, how does He also give other laws?'[53]

As for the alleged Muslim belief that each is saved in his own law, both González Santalla and Sanz seem to have been referring to either Qur'ān 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 Qur'ān 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'.[54]

With regard to dissimulation, there is an Islamic concept known in Arabic as *taqiyya* which expresses the legitimacy of dissimulation in situations of

52 Al-Gazhali, *Al-Munqid min al-dalal* [*Confesiones. El salvador del error.* Spanish trans. by Emilio Tornero (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989), p. 30].

53 'que los ninyos de los judíos y los christianos todos nascen moros y que los judíos los hacen judíos y los cristianos cristianos … que todos los seres humanos nascen en la ley de Mahoma. Estoy maravillado de ti, alfaquí, que Dios tiene dadas las leyes como está escrito … y si dios les hace nascer moros, ¿cómo después da otras leyes?'; *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*, RAH, Gayangos 1922–36, fol. 89v.

54 *The Holy Quran*, (trans.) M.H. Shakir (Tehran: A Group of Muslim Bros., 1970).

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violence or compulsion. Christian polemicists seem to have known and made use of this precept of *taqiyya* or legitimate dissimulation of belief. The term itself is never employed by the polemicists; neither does it ever appear in Morisco texts, not even once. But to Christians, the conviction that such dissimulation took place became a source of anxiety and mistrust, and they were permanently on the alert to its dangers.[55]

The total absence of this term from Morisco texts has led some scholars to think that the Moriscos dissimulated in the same manner as many other dissident or heterodox groups.[56] Modern historians have long known and written of legitimate dissimulation as a prevalent mind-set in the sixteenth century. It was not exclusive to the new converts nor to the Iberian Peninsula, as can be seen from the contemporary phenomenon of Nicodemism, the doctrine allowing religious dissimulation which was attacked by Calvin and others.[57] Indeed, there are even some historians, such as Pérez Zagorin, who have characterized this period as a European 'age of dissimulation' which affected not only religious belief but also political attitudes.[58] It was not a device that was exclusive to ideologically marginal or minority groups or individuals, whose viewpoint was completely closed: it was also deployed among the political and social elites, where simulation and dissimulation became a 'way of life' with positive associations linked to prudence and the manner of governing oneself when obliged to live under the yoke of tyranny.[59] Nevertheless, it should be high-

55 See the monographic section dedicated to the topic of '*Taqiyya,* legal dissimulation', *Al-Qanṭara*, 34 (2013), coordinated by Mercedes García-Arenal.

56 Luis Bernabé Pons, '*Taqiyya, niyya* y el Islam de los moriscos', *Al-Qanṭara*, 34 (2013): pp. 491–527. An opposing view is held by Rubio, 'La *taqiyya* en las fuentes'.

57 'Excuse de Iehan Calvin a messieurs les nicodemites, sur la complaincte qu'ilz font de sa trop grand' rigueur' (1544), in Calvino, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. VI (Brunsvig, 1867). Eleonora Belligni, *Evangelismo, Riforma ginevrina e nicodemismo. L'esperienza religiosa di Renata di Francia* (Cosenza: Brenner, 2008).

58 Pérez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). Also Jon R. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

59 Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione. La lotta politica nel Seicento* (Rome: Laterza, 1987); Albano Biondi, 'La giustificazione della simulazione nel Cinquecento', in *Eresia e Riforma nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Firenze, Chicago: Sansoni, Newberry Library, 1974). More recently: Luca Addante, *Eretici e libertini nel Cinquecento italiano* (Rome: Laterza, 2010). For Spain, see for example, Fernando R. de la Flor, *Pasiones frías. Secreto y disimulación en el Barroco hispano* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2005).

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lighted that the term *taqiyya* is frequently used in legal texts from the Al-Andalus period which the Moriscos knew and used.[60]

We can conclude, then, that there did exist an Islamic doctrinal basis for the claims of Christian polemicists concerning a series of attitudes and beliefs they had detected in the Moriscos. However, on re-reading these deeply significant extracts one cannot help feeling that these polemical texts are indulging in a game of mirrors in which orthodox Christians displayed a defensive attitude, not only towards Islam but towards all beliefs deemed deviant and dangerous within the heart of Hispanic Catholicism. An attempt was being made to combat a number of beliefs and attitudes among the Christian flock by resorting to the device of presenting them as embodied in the Muslim adversary. This can be seen even more clearly in the case of pronouncements made concerning the inheritance of belief.

## Belief is Inherited. *Natura* or the Iberia of Blood and Milk

Endless Inquisition trial records contain examples of the following statement, as uttered by Moriscos: *mi padre moro, yo moro* (my father was a Muslim, therefore I am a Muslim). The belief that one tends to follow the religion of one's father was, despite the texts alluded to here, not restricted to Muslims. We can also find many instances of it in Inquisition trial processes of Old Christians and Conversos. The notion that an individual followed the faith of his ancestors was widespread and firmly rooted at all levels of society. Belief was part of one's legacy, part of the genes transmitted by one's ancestors, without the need even to have been educated in it. Following this same line of thought, Old Christians often called themselves *cristianos de natura* and many Conversos confessed that they had 'judaized' because their parents had been Jews. *Nación* and *natura* are words derived from the same root which point both to the group of people among whom an individual is born and, at the same time, to the religion into which one is born (*judíos de nación*), which is transmitted by blood or even milk. *Mamé la fe católica con la leche*, as formulated by Cervantes in the mouth of a character in *El Quijote*.[61] It was believed that the *naturaleza* of the blood that runs through an individual's veins as well as the milk sucked at the breast of one's mother contained his or her beliefs and values. Belief could, according to some, be transmitted by the milk of wet nurses to the suck-

60 Devin Stewart, 'Dissimulation in Sunni Islam and Morisco *taqiyya*', *Al-Qanṭara*, 34 (2013): pp. 439–90.

61 *El Quijote*, vol. 2, ch. 63.

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ling baby, and there was a current of opinion claiming that it should be forbidden for women of Jewish or Muslim origin to nurse Christian babies.[62]

Birth, nation, nature, belief: all these concepts are embodied in the two words, *nación* and *natura*. It is sometimes extended to cultural manifestations related to religion such as the use of language. Thus it was that Antonio de Sosa, author of a famous sixteenth-century work about Algiers, wrote of certain renegades and their children that, although born in Algiers, 'at the breast they learned the natural Christian talk of their fathers and mothers and they speak it as well as if they had been born in Spain or Italy'.[63]

Christian belief in the connection between faith and the corrupting nature of Jews had been commonplace since the fifteenth century.[64] But less attention has been paid to the fact that this belief also encompassed the Moriscos. Their religion came to be equated with 'nature' in the sense of biological origin, as was made clear by the Inquisitor of Valencia, Pedro de Zárate, on 6 July 1587: 'As these new Christians have their sect from their mother's breast, as by nature, there can be no confidence that out of fear of punishment they will

62 Julio Caro Baroja has gathered very interesting texts in the chapter 'La leche mamada y el fermento' in his book *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa. Religión, sociedad y carácter en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Akal, 1978), 489 and *ff*. For example, the text by father Juan de Pineda, 'que mujer morisca ni de sangre de judíos criase a hijo de cristianos viejos, porque aun les sabe la sangre a la pega de las creencias de sus antepasados, y sin culpa suya podrían los niños cobrar algún resabio que para después, de hombres les supiese mal'. Also, about Jewish nurses who nurture babies who become judaizing men, Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid: Arion, 1961), vol. 2, pp. 306, 409.

63 'Dejemos aparte que hay muchos turcos y moros que han estado captivos en España, Italia y Francia, y, por otra parte, una multitud infinita de renegados de aquellas y otras provincias y otra gran copia de judíos que han estado acá, que hablan español, italiano y francés muy lindamente, y aun todos los hijos de renegados y renegadas que en la teta deprendieron el hablar natural cristianesco de sus padres y madres, le hablan tan bien como si en España o Italia fueran nacidos'. Antonio de Sosa, text published under the name of Diego de Haedo, *Topografía e Historia General de Argel* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1927–29).

64 *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960), vol. 1, p. 109. Year 1527, 'estos christianos nuevos de Portugal son como un enfermo que tiene una dolencia yncurable y sin embargo desto tienen otro mayor mal que tienen el ayre e baho tan dañado e con tanta ponçoña que dapña e corronpe a qualquier que a el se llega y estoy en punto de dezir que abasta en ponçoñar con la vista solamente a los que de su calidad son, pues luego bien será que con tiempo sea esto remediado antes que mas dañados ayan … porque este dapnificamiento que cada dia va creciendo a rienda suelta sin parar se puede mui bien ver por esperiencia que los que fueron baptizados pequenos y ansy los que después nacieron son tanto dañados como los viejos'.

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give up their Moorish ceremonies and sect'.[65] The Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de las Casas made reference to mother's milk when he complained that the Moriscos took no notice of those like himself who had made sincere conversions and were learned men, instead saying to them things like *como tu te as criado con esa leche desde niño, sábete bien* (since you have been brought up on that milk since you were a child, it tastes good to you), or *si tu ubieras gustado* (*la leche*) *de tus antepasados, no dixeras eso* (if you had tasted the milk of your ancestors you would not say that).[66] And it was the argument that it was impossible to abandon one's own nature that was used by a group of Muslims who themselves sought to dissuade one of their own who wanted to convert, Juan de Santa María.[67]

Even more interesting is the famous trial process of an Old Christian from Cuenca, Doctor Eugenio de Torralba.[68] In Rome, Torralba had met a man of Converso origin named maestro Alfonso, who had confronted him with doubts over which religion to believe in and hesitation over which of them might be best for achieving salvation.[69] In this particular case of Doctor Torralba, these doubts, which he shared with Alfonso, were resolved thanks to the milk drunk at his mother's breast, which had instilled Christianity in his physical being. When interrogated by the Inquisitors, Torralba confessed his periods of doubt regarding the Catholic faith:

> He said he had been in that error for a period of twenty years, sometimes believing it for as long as three years but then returning to faith in Christ and when he said the words that witnesses claimed they had heard him say, he believed and held that Christ was not God and that a teacher called Alfonso who had been in Rome and was first a Jew and then a Moor and then a Christian, talked to this confessor of his crimes and told him that everything in the Old and New Testament was deceit and that Christ did not die, denying that there were any apostles and denying all the other sacraments of the Church, and that he believed in the law of Muḥammad and that he persuaded him of this often in his younger days,

65 'Como estos christianos nuevos tienen su secta desde la teta, como por naturaleza, no ay confianza que por temor de la pena dexarán sus ceremonias y secta de moros'.

66 El Alaoui, *Jésuites, Morisques*, p. 574.

67 Juan de Santa María, *Thesoro de cosas raríssimas históricas, sacras y profanas* (Brussels: Fernando de Hoeymaker, 1622) BNE, R–36503: 'no vees que todo lo que piensas hazer es falso, qué aguardas que no te vas a tu natural?'

68 Archivo de la Inquisición de Cuenca, *Cartas del Consejo*, IV: fols. 214–18.

69 The cases of Jews who change religion several times and finish by not believing in any of them are to be found in Caro Baroja, *Los judíos*, vol. 1, pp. 489, 491–95.

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> for this was more than twenty years ago, telling him not to believe in the Old and New Testaments but in the law of Muḥammad, but this confessor felt scruples in his heart and was made to leave and wander from the path of truth.

He said those things so many times that he doubted and went stray from the path of truth. Also: 'He said he had been diverted from the faith by the teacher Alfonso and became ambivalent and doubtful whether to be a Jew or Moor for if he decided to do so he would not come to Spain but would rather go to Turkey or Barbary to become a Moor, but since he had drunk Christianity at his mother's breast he had never been completely determined nor had the intention to abandon his true Redeemer'. Although this man had been 'doubtful, confused and perplexed', he had in some sense been saved by the milk drunk at his mother's breast, for example by the belief that he had imbibed Christianity as a biological inheritance, and in effect had been born into it.[70]

## Doubts about the Efficacy of Baptism in the Case of Muslims

The idea that belief was inherited was certainly implicit in the principles underlying the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, and in the classification of offences drawn up by the Inquisition to reflect the ethno-religious origin of the accused. In fact, this Inquisitorial recourse to genealogy implied a recognition of failure, firstly in the attempt to impose religious conversion, and secondly when trying to judge an accused prisoner's intimate beliefs, which were beyond all scrutiny. There was no way of being certain of the sincerity of converts or their descendants, no way of reaching their inner conviction – if indeed they had one, especially when dissimulation was known to be sanctioned. In my

70 *Apud* Julio Caro Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición* (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), vol. 1, p. 249: 'Que un maestro Alfonso que estava en Roma, que antes fue judío y después moro y después christiano, hablando a este confesante le dixo que todas las cosas del testamento biejo y nuevo eran burlería y que Christo no murió y assí negava que no huvo apóstoles y todos los sacramentos de la Iglesia y que creya en la ley de Mahoma y que tantas vezes le persuadió aquesto en sus tiernos años … que con esto este confesante pasó escrúpulo en el ánimo y le hizo apartar y desbiar del camino de la berdad'; 'como en la leche mamó ser christiano'; 'aunque estuvo dudoso, confuso y perplexo … nunca enteramente se animó ni tuvo intención de dexar a su verdadero Redentor'. In another declaration, Torralba confesses that he had experienced doubts about the immortality of the soul because of people he met in Italy and went astray from the doctrine of his parents and the 'preceptos de España'; p. 248.

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view, the most outstanding consequence of this belief in religion by nature is not only its relation to *limpieza de sangre*, but also that doubts concerning the efficacy of the baptism of Muslims were made explicit in the writings of high church officials when they recommended that priests should stop baptizing their children. Indeed, it was proposed and debated at the end of the sixteenth century that the practice of baptizing Morisco children should be abandoned because they would inevitably end up apostatizing. Biological propositions indicted the whole community, including children, who 'have the infected root within their guts'.[71] The argument was that the sacrament was insulted when it was known that such children would act like their parents, or would be corrupted by them. One leading proponent of this line of thought was the Archbishop of Valencia Juan de Ribera, one of the architects of the Expulsion of the Moriscos and canonized as recently as 1960 by Pope John XXIII.[72] In his time as Bishop of Badajoz, Ribera had already made clear his belief in the union between nature and religion in the case of Jews. In 1565 he denounced, in a sermon devoted to the Holy Office in Badajoz, the heretical vice of Judaism as a sin inherent to the race; that was the reason why Jesus had been forced to address his preaching to the Gentiles, ignoring the portion of his flock that it would have been simply impossible to persuade. For Ribera, those people whom the Holy Office had undertaken to repress were incarnated in 'corrupt churchmen and other Illuminist persons'.[73] Thus this model bishop of the Counter-Reformation offered a formula by which the sin of heresy was linked to the traumatic history upon which Spain's unity of religion had been constructed through decrees of mass conversions and the banning of Judaism and Islam.

Later in his life, when Ribera had become Archbishop of Valencia, he wrote in 1582 on the Moriscos of his diocese, claiming that it was better not to baptize their children. He thought that it would cause 'much less harm to let them go

71 Louis Cardaillac, 'Vision simplificatrice des groupes marginaux par le groupe dominant dans l'Espagne des XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles', in *Les problèmes de l'exclusion en Espagne* (*XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles*), (ed.) Agustín Redondo (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993), p. 14.

72 Giovanna Fiume, *La cacciata dei moriscos e la beatificazione di Juan de Ribera* (Rome: Morcelliana, 2014).

73 San Juan de Ribera, *Sermones de los tiempos litúrgicos* (Valencia: Corpus Christi, 1987–89), vol. 5, p. 267. It was a paradoxical claim in light of the support that Patriarch Ribera gave to circles that were thought of as Illuminist, both while he was bishop of Badajoz and later as bishop of Valencia. See Francisco Pons, *Místicos, beatas y alumbrados. Ribera y la espiritualidad valenciana del siglo XVII* (Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1991), pp. 13–48.

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to limbo than to allow the name of God to be blasphemed'.[74] Ribera considered Morisco blood to be abominable and a transmitter of faithlessness; thence his fear of the Moriscos of the Crown of Castile, who were able to go completely unnoticed and mingle with Old Christians. His view seems to have been that the negative ferment of the Moriscos was transmitted via the blood, making it impossible for children to escape it.[75] Ribera justified his claim with an example from the Bible: on two occasions the sacred text refers that Rehoboam, king of Judah and son of Solomon, had a mother, Naamah, who was an Ammonite, that is to say a Gentile, 'as if by saying that having a Gentile mother and being brought up by her made the son a Gentile'.[76] This might explain his fear that through mixed marriages the malignant Morisco ferment would be spread throughout Spain.

Archbishop Ribera was not the only man to express doubts about the efficacy of baptism for Moriscos: the Dominican fray Luis Bertrán held a similar view from as early as 1579, when he expressed it in a *Memorial* where he argued in favor of not baptizing Morisco children unless they were in danger of death. It was better, Bertrán argued, that they remain Muslims than become heretics and apostates.[77] Jaime Bleda was also of this school of thought and was therefore, like Ribera and Bertrán, in favor of the total and final Expulsion of Moriscos from Iberian territory, thereby introducing further confusion into the use of notions of faith, customs and unbelief.[78] It becomes even easier to

74 'mucho menos daño dexarlos yr al limbo que no dar ocasión para que el nombre de Dios sea blasphemado'.

75 A text from the first *papel* (1601) corroborates this: 'Criándose un hijo con padres moros y decendiendo dellos, ha de ser moro' (A child brought up by Muslim parents and descending from them is bound to be a Muslim).

76 1 Kings 14,21; 2 Chronicles 12,13. Francisco Escrivá, *Vida del illustrissimo y excellentissimo señor don Iuan de Ribera, patriarca de Antiochia y arçobispo de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1612), p. 354.

77 *Memorial* of 30 December 1579 (Zayas, *Los moriscos*, pp. 464–65); in the summary of Bleda's *Defensio fidei in causa neophytorum siue Morischorum Regni Valentiae, totiusq. Hispaniae* (Valencia: Juan Crisóstomo Gárriz, 1610).

78 'Que también se colige su infidelidad, heregía y apostasía de otros infinitos indicios … Que se apartan de la vida común de los fieles y sus costumbres en todo lo que toca a la fe, en tanto grado que si pudiesen caminar andando hazia atrás, lo harían porque los christianos andan azia adelante. No usan de los vasos de los christianos ni de los propios suyos si algún christiano se ha servido dellos. Su perfidia se conoce en su modo de hablar pues dizen de ordinario: nosotros y vosotros'; 'Sus hijuelos pequeños huyen de los christianos porque sus padres con la leche les enseñan este terror'. He does everything 'por tener la misma creencia que sus padres tuvieron'; Zayas, *Los moriscos*, ch. 13, pp. 431–32. 'No se administre el baptismo a los hijos niños si han de vivir en casa de sus padres, porque ay

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understand Ribera's fears if we examine his reactions to the prospect of coexisting with Anglican Englishmen. His was a fear of infiltration, undoubtedly, but also a fear of relativism, comparativism, and the idea that if comparisons came to be made, Catholics might not look best in the eyes of some. In summary, his was a fear of the existence of doubt. Ribera was one of the first to denounce an aspect to be feared in the improvement of Spain's relations with the English, who were to reap the benefits of tolerance towards Anglican religious services on Spanish territory, as permitted by the peace agreement of 1604. Coexistence with those who had rebelled against the Catholic church and who were flagrant and unpunished in their rebellion, would lead the Spanish to abandon what was, according to Ribera, a deep-rooted and healthy attitude of hatred of heresy and heretics. The Patriarch wrote: 'And it is at least very certain that the general astonishment and revulsion that used to be felt with regard to the heretics has been lost because as they are encountered every day in the street … and it is seen that many of them are true to their beliefs more than Catholics, and are more agreeable in their manners, people start to grow fond of them, which is highly inconvenient because of the dependence and brotherhood between love and benevolence of the person and belief in his words and teachings'.[79]

Not all Spanish thinkers of the time held such views. But even in the more moderate proposals concerning the Moriscos, the idea of blood and inheritance still prevailed. Pedro de Valencia, author of an important *Tratado sobre*

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evidencia moral que serán Apóstatas como ellos, y más vale que sean Moros que hereges o Apóstatas. Es tan intrínsecamente malo dar, fuera del peligro de muerte, el baptismo a estos niños presupuesto todo lo sobredicho, como si un christiano baptizase los niños hijos de los moros que están allende … Y es averiguada cosa que este christiano pecaría mortalmente, no por hazer injuria a los padres que consienten en ello, sino por la injuria que se hace al sacramento y a la fe … Por tanto, lo más acertado será suplicar a Su Magestad de proponer este negocio clara y distintamente al Vicario de Jesuchristo (al Papa) para que Su Santidad determine lo que se ha de hazer y el cómo. Y assí se eviten tantas blasphemias contra Nuestro Señor y por consiguiente aplaque su yra y no nos embíe tantos castigos de hambres y esterilidades como en este Reyno padescemos' (Zayas, *Los moriscos*, p. 465).

79 'Y por lo menos es certísimo que generalmente se ha perdido el asombro y grima que se solía tener de los herejes, porque como los topan cada día por las calles … y ven que muchos dellos guardan verdad más que los Cathólicos, y son más agradables en el trato, viene la gente a aficionárseles, lo que es grandíssimo inconveniente por la dependencia y hermandad que tiene el amor y benevolencia de la persona con el dar fe a sus palabras y creherles lo que enseña', *Carta que escribió … Juan de Ribera sobre las pazes.* sf (1605) Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona, ms. 1008–1010, vol. 1, fols. 53–59, quotation on fol. 55r. *Apud* Olivari, *Avisos, pasquines*, p. 93.

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*los moriscos* written in 1606 in the midst of the debate over a possible Morisco Expulsion,[80] came down against the measure but advocated instead what he called *permistión*, that is, a deliberate mingling of blood via mixed marriages, in order to bring about the end of the Moriscos and leave only Old Christians remaining. Such a strategy would have to be supported by a lack of discrimination against the children of mixed marriages when it came to awards and benefices. The ultimate aim was to bring about the disappearance of 'that nation and caste [of Moriscos], as a result of their having been mixed up and mingled'. Valencia concluded by pronouncing: 'It would be best, then, not for the Moriscos to be equal in offices and honors to the Old Christians, but for the Moriscos to come to an end and for there to remain only Old Christians in the kingdom; all the republic would be made up of people of one name and purpose, undivided, so that there should be no dissension'.[81] The idea that only Old Christians would remain as a result of the proposed inter-mingling implied that Old Christian blood would dominate the mix and produce the beliefs and mentality required. In the battle of the bloods, the Old Christians would emerge as victors.

The opinions of Juan de Ribera and those who thought like him represent an acknowledgement of total failure with regard to the Moriscos and the grand enterprise of total conversion which had started a century earlier in a messianic, optimistic spirit. But they also convey a lack of belief in the grace bestowed by the sacrament of baptism and reveal skepticism not only in regard to the attainment of truth but also the transmission of the true faith to others. The ethnic aspect of religion certainly implies the existence of racialist or racist notions, but it also implies that of a deep-seated skepticism.

This skepticism was philosophical and epistemological. It is worth remembering that in Spain the work which contributed most decisively to the dissemination of the ideas of Sextus Empiricus was that written by none other than Pedro de Valencia, *Academica sive de iudicio erga verum ex ipsis primis fontibus*, published in Antwerp by Plantin in 1596.[82] Pedro de Valencia's work shows that substantial and detailed knowledge of ancient Skepticism (the Skepticism of Cicero in his *Academica* and of Sextus Empiricus and Pyrrho) was available in late Renaissance Spain and considered relevant to contemporary social and political issues. It could form part of a humanist

80 Pedro de Valencia, *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*, (ed.) J. Gil Sanjuán (Málaga: Almuzara, 1997). See also by Pedro de Valencia, *Sobre el Pergamino y Láminas de Granada*, (ed.) Grace Magnier (Oxford, Bern: Peter Lang, 2006).

81 Valencia, *Tratado acerca*, pp. 123–25. See Benítez, *Heroicas decisiones*, pp. 124–25.

82 Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*. Vol. III: *Academica* (León: Universidad de León, 2006).

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intellectual's repertoire of historical and philosophical knowledge. According to Valencia himself, writing towards the end of the sixteenth century, the ideas of Sextus Empiricus were extremely well known in Spain.[83]

### Implicit Faith and Natural Law

In the preceding pages I have analyzed the propositions attributed by seventeenth-century polemicists to the Moriscos and explored the possible roots of these claims in Islamic Sunni doctrine. However, and in spite of anything that may have been written by the polemicists, such notions were not solely Muslim, nor were they proffered only, or even mainly, by Moriscos. For example, the Inquisition persecuted belief in the existence of an 'implicit faith' and the upholding of the idea that such implicit faith together with natural law were enough for men to be redeemed. This fideistic tradition lasted throughout the whole of the sixteenth century and diluted the polemical force of the claim that knowledge and love of God were not only innate in the human heart, but also that the different manifestations of that innate belief in the form of religions were of no more than secondary importance. Fray Luis de Granada (d. 1584) famously argued that love of one's parents and love of God are by nature connected and stamped on the hearts of all men[84]:

> Other reasons were given by the philosophers, and Tullius (Cicero) rightly took much notice of them. One of these was the idea that although there are so many nations in the world and they are so varied, there is not a single one so barbarous nor so savage that, although it does not know which might be the true God, it nevertheless understands that there is One and honors Him through some form of veneration. The cause of this is (apart from the beauty and order of this world, which bear witness to the fact that there is a God governing it) that the Creator Himself, just as He impressed on the hearts of men a natural inclination to love and revere their parents, did also impress upon them another similar inclination to love and revere God as the universal father of all things and as their upholder and ruler (Psalm IV). And from this derives the custom of

83 John C. Laursen, 'Pedro de Valencia and Academic Scepticism in Late Renaissance Spain', in *Renaissance Scepticisms*, (ed.) Gianni Paganini and José Maia Neto (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2008), pp. 111–23.

84 Fray Luis de Granada, *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe* (Salamanca: Herederos de Matías Gast, 1583), p. 39.

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> worship and religion which, though it may be false, can be seen in all the nations of the world. All this is so impressed on human hearts that to defend it some nations fight with others without there being any other reason to fight, as we can see in the case of the Moors and the Christians. Because of each one's belief that their law is the true law and that God is truly honored through it and not the others, they feel obliged to speak out for their God and to wage war on those who do not honor Him as they understand He should be honored: to such an extent is the worship and veneration of God impressed on human hearts.[85]

This is a fideistic position, to the extent that Fray Luis does not see reasons for war between Christians and Muslims since they are all devoted to the love of God imprinted by nature on their hearts. The idea of a natural law common to all men also implicitly assumes man's capacity to be saved by this knowledge of God, independently of the religion professed. This was clearly stated by the Dominican Francisco de la Cruz who went only a little further and because of it was burnt in Lima in 1578 for heresy after having, among other things, proclaimed that native religiosity expressed an implicit faith which might have sufficed for salvation, and therefore having dissociated faith from Christian Catholicism.[86]

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85 'Otros motivos tuvieron los filósofos de que Tulio (Cicerón) hace mucho caso y con mucha razón, y uno dellos es que, con ser tantas y tan varias las naciones del mundo, ninguna hay tan bárbara ni tan fiera que, dado que no conozca cual sea el verdadero Dios, no entienda que lo hay y le honre con alguna manera de veneración. La causa desto es porque (demás de la hermosura y orden deste mundo, que está testificando que hay Dios que lo gobierna) el mismo Criador, así como imprimió en los corazones de los hombres una inclinación natural para amar y reverenciar a sus padres, así también imprimió en ellos otra semejante inclinación para amar y reverenciar a Dios como a padre universal de todas las cosas y sustentador y gobernador dellas (Psalmo IV). Y de aquí procede esta manera de culto y religión, aunque falsa, que en todas las naciones del mundo vemos. La cual de tal manera está impresa en los corazones humanos, que por sola defensa della pelean unas naciones con otras, sin haber otra causa de pelear, como lo vemos entre moros y cristianos. Porque creyendo cada uno que su ley es la verdadera y que por ella es Dios verdaderamente honrado y no por las otras, paréceles estar obligados a tomar la voz por su Dios y hacer la guerra a los que no lo honran como ellos entienden que debe ser honrado: tan impreso está en los corazones humanos el culto y la veneración a Dios'.

86 Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuit method of Accommodation: between Idolatry and Civilization', *Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 74 (2005): pp. 237–80, esp. p. 246. Vidal Abril Castelló, *Francisco de la Cruz. Inquisición. Actas. Anatomía y biopsia del Dios y del derecho Judeo-Cristiano-Musulmán de la conquista de América* (Madrid: CSIC, 1992).

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Towards the end of the century the Hieronymite friar Padre José de Sigüenza was also tried by the Inquisition (1591–92). Among other things, he was accused of supporting the following propositions:

> That many barbarians and Gentiles and Turks and Moors, although they have no knowledge of our faith, just by believing and understanding that there was but one God and by living in accordance with natural law, could be saved; and that a Turk or Moor who receive any information about our faith and also that of their sect, in doubt over which of these to follow, could find salvation just by believing that there is one God and by living in accordance with natural law.[87]

In his defense Sigüenza tried to qualify his claim, stating that what he had said 'was the express doctrine of St Thomas, who argued that with implicit faith it was possible to justify those who lived in a holy manner in accordance with the commandments of the law of God, which are those of natural law, and God would not fail such people and would illuminate them in the ways that He knows'. Sigüenza was nonetheless accused of sustaining that 'each is saved in his own law' and that the doubts that might be aroused (and which undoubtedly were aroused in many, as Sigüenza himself implied) by the atmosphere of Iberian religious polemic over whether to belong to one religion or another were not doubts that had to be, or perhaps even could be, solved. Or perhaps he held that no one set of dogmas ever could – or even should – attain complete ascendancy. Human beings could only save themselves by believing that there was one God and by following natural law.

### Popular Skepticism?

Many different historians of the fifteenth century have spoken of 'popular Averroism' in their studies of the Jewish and Jewish Converso communities, and have identified as one of the manifestations of that popular Averroism the statement so frequently seen in Inquisition records to the effect that 'there is nothing more [to life] than being born and dying', 'no hay sino nacer y morir'.[88] Is it right to speak in this case of 'popular skepticism'?[89] Were the different

87 Gregorio de Andrés, *Proceso inquisitorial del Padre Sigüenza* (Madrid: FUE, 1975).

88 Márquez Villanueva, 'Nasçer e morir', in addition to his introduction to Juan Álvarez Gato.

89 Nicholas Griffiths, 'Popular Religious Scepticism and Idiosyncrasy in Post-Tridentine Cuenca', in *Faith and Fanaticism: Religious Fervour in Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 95–128.

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attitudes and propositions analyzed in this essay related to modern skepticism? Reason cannot prove that one of the religions is the true religion. It does not even help one to become a follower of a faith. Jewish polemicists of the Late Middle Ages affirmed that faith was not acquired via argumentation but by other means, especially inheritance, separating this faith from any kind of demonstration, which at all events had to be subordinated to the former. During the lifetime of Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) this fideistic position, close to agnosticism, which dissociated the world of faith from that of reason, was very well received in Jewish circles, where it was seen as the best defense against aggressive Christian apologetics. Luis Vives' apology *De veritate fidei christianae* sought to combat the fideistic, traditionalistic and quasi-agnostic flank he saw in Judaism by advocating the inescapable need to reason one's faith, to furnish it with the appropriate testimony of reason. At the same time Vives frequently stressed the limitations of human knowledge and his skepticism about the possibility of acquiring rational knowledge with certainty.[90] With this went the observation that the Judeoconversos did not see it necessary to follow the law in order to be saved.[91]

Inquisition records showing this sort of attitude are very common throughout the seventeenth century, and it was not only Judeoconversos or Moriscos who were responsible. Only those who stated that 'each is saved in his own law' have so far been systematically studied in the important work of Stuart Schwartz. Those who expressed doubts concerning various Catholic orthodox dogmas have yet to be analyzed. I would like to consider here the case of Francisco de Marcilla, a twenty-three-year-old Latin student, who in 1609 appeared voluntarily before the Inquisition tribunal of Cuenca.[92] Marcilla went to turn himself in because his confessor, to whom he had explained his doubts, had told him that he was unable to absolve him and that he had to go to the bishop or the Inquisitors, which the young man duly did, probably not only because his confessor had recommended him to do so, but also because he had expressed many of his propositions and doubts in public and therefore faced the risk of being turned in by others. Francisco had said in conversation with others that Jesus was not God, but just a 'big Jew'.

90 Lorenzo Casini, 'Self-knowledge, Scepticism and the Quest for a New Method: Juan Luis Vives on Cognition and the Impossibility of Perfect Knowledge', in *Renaissance Scepticisms: International Archives of the History of Ideas. Vol. 199* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), pp. 33–60.

91 See in particular the commentaries of Pedro de Valencia on the Epistle of St Paul to the Galatians: 'Los flacos en la fe de los convertidos al judaísmo no lo creían para sí necesario el observar la Ley para salvarse'.

92 ADC, Leg. 380, exp. 5393, years 1609–12.

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Francisco had been assailed by doubts for four years, wondering, for instance, whether Jesus Christ was God or whether the miracles attributed to him were true. But above all, and apart from his doubts, he approved of the belief that there is but one God and that it was enough to follow natural law 'without forcing men to believe faithfully the other articles that we have and the evangelical precepts … he thought that it was enough to believe in one sole God and not to do to others that which one did not want for oneself'. Francisco thought this was best, 'and it made most sense to him because it seemed to him that it was achieved almost by natural demonstration'. He thought, further, that men should live their lives in accordance with 'natural reason', placing in doubt the certainty of faith. He had arrived at these positions by comparing and relativizing, seeing that 'there was such a wide variety of sects' and that the members of these sects all honored God in their own way, just as he honored God within the Catholic faith which he professed. For all these reasons he had reached the conclusion that 'the safest thing was to follow natural law'.

But Francisco was also periodically assailed by doubts about the existence of God. At times he did not know if there was a God or whether 'nature produced us', and at times he thought that 'there was no more than being born and dying like irrational animals; sometimes he thought it might be like this and at others he had his doubts'. And he thought that each found salvation in his religion because he thought it impossible that so many Muslims and so many Lutheran Christians or so many Gentiles should be condemned if it were true, as he found it hard to accept that there was only one true religion. Indeed, there were occasions when he read some of the canons of the Holy Council of Trent in which some heresies were condemned and it seemed to him that the Council was not right and that its opponents, those classified as heretics, might be. He also thought that the Pope and the Church might be wrong in some articles of faith, given that the Pope himself had free will. Francisco had an additional problem with free will and asked himself how it could tally with the omniscience of God, if 'man himself could move himself to do good or evil, whether he can take the liberty to do this or whether God has guided him'.

In Francisco de Marcilla's trial process we find examples of many of the propositions analyzed above, linked to beliefs of a naturalistic kind and other issues raised by the Lutheran reformers. There are also examples of what contemporary literature described as 'atheistic' ideas, as we have seen, and which involved the denial of immortal life. This was clearly enunciated by Pedro Calderón de la Barca in his *A Dios por razón de estado* in the dialogue between *Thought*, *Wit* and *Atheism*, in which *Atheism* shows its lack of certainties and its inability to decide whether God exists or not, arguing instead that 'Yo no se que hay / más que nacer y morir. / Y así argumentos dejemos / y porque amigos

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seamos / comamos hoy y bebamos / que mañana moriremos' (I do not know that there is / anything more than being born and dying. / So let us leave off our arguments / and be friends, / let us eat and drink today, / for tomorrow we will die).

## Skepticism and Inheritance of Belief

After analyzing the materials above, I believe it is indeed possible to ask oneself to what extent the debates within the heart of Catholic Christianity, and the attacks on Catholicism from other reformed versions of Christianity, were transferred into an inter-religious Iberian polemic, for example whether the beliefs of dissidents, reformers and Protestants were attributed to the Conversos, and whether a 'heterology' was constructed which encompassed dissidents, heretics, and Moriscos.[93] One might ask whether the struggle against fideistic ideas which we have just seen had any impact on how polemicists and evangelizers re-interpreted certain principles of Islam. This form of speaking to others really came down to speaking to oneself. This is what the available material seems to indicate, without this proposal being incompatible with the fact that the Moriscos based or thought they based their positions on Islamic principles. It is also impossible not to raise the issue of the connection between these attitudes and currents of skeptical thinking present in Spain since the mid-sixteenth century.

In the part of this paper in which I presented statements made by men like Juan de Ribera on the inevitability of the inheritance of belief, I made a connection between, on the one hand, this way of thinking and a racialist conception of religion, and on the other the *limpieza de sangre* statutes. But it was also a deeply skeptical position. It was skeptical to believe that one's religion was an accident of birth.

In his well-known essay 'Apologie de Raimond Sebond' (1580), Montaigne enunciates a form of racial and cultural relativism, stating, 'We are Christians in the same way that we are Perigordians or Germans'.[94] This essay was in fact

93 Heterology is 'discourse that is other and of the other' in the words of Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies. Discourse of the Other* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986). Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda, 'On the *Alumbrados*: Confessionalism and Religious Dissidence in the Iberian World', in *The Early Modern Hispanic World: Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approaches*, (ed.) Kimberly Lynn and Erin Rowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

94 Michel de Montaigne, *Ensayos completos* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2013), p. 449.

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a critique on the positions of the Catalan philosopher Raimundo de Sabunde (d. 1436) whose *Theologia Naturalis* Montaigne had translated into French in 1569. Against Sabunde, Montaigne argued that neither reason nor the natural order can lead man to the knowledge of God. Against the skeptics who claimed that it was impossible to state or deny the truth or falsehood of anything and that there was no difference between right and wrong, the French fideists (like Montaigne, who wrote that true belief is a lucid acceptance of the religious traditions of one's country, and is distinct from conviction) opted for adapting one's behavior to prevailing custom, to what everybody else did.[95] This is a form of skepticism not far from that of the proponents of each person believing in the religion of his own parents, as the only way of solving the problem of the absence of a criterion for truth, of reacting in the face of doubts regarding man's capacity to know. Religious polemic had been able to demonstrate the falsehood of some 'truths' but had never been able to provide convincing proof of any. Implicit in the idea of 'the inheritance of belief' were many points that skeptics were subsequently to raise: the relativity of opinion, the lack of criteria for certain judgment, the inaccessibility of truth, and the need to separate matters of faith from all other areas of human knowledge. In early modern Spain, as Robbins has shown, skepticism came to be identified with the claim that no certain knowledge was possible in any area of human activity, from intellectual disciplines down to simple acts of perception, this latter point becoming the central focus of discussion and the key moral dilemma for many Spaniards in the seventeenth century.[96]

95 Juan Marichal, 'Montaigne en España', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 7 (1953): pp. 259–78.

96 Robbins, *Arts of Perception*, pp. 34–37.

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CHAPTER 12

# Tropes of Expertise and Converso Unbelief: Huarte de San Juan's History of Medicine

*Seth Kimmel*

In the chapter of his *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* devoted to medicine, the physician Juan Huarte de San Juan (d. 1588) recounted an entertaining and likely apocryphal story about the French king François I, who in 1542 was suffering from an illness that no Christian doctor in his court could cure. Desperate to regain his health, it occurred to François that a Jewish doctor might know an appropriate treatment, and so he dispatched a message to his rival, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain Carlos V, to ask him to send such a physician. According to Huarte, 'This demand was much laughed at in Spain, and everyone concluded that it was the caprice of a feverish man'.[1] Despite this dismissive reaction, Carlos attempted to satisfy François' desire. Fifty years after the 1492 conversion-or-expulsion decree promulgated by Carlos' grandparents, the Catholic Monarchs Fernando and Isabel, however, there were no more Jewish doctors easily to be found in Spain. And so Carlos did what he considered the next best thing: he tracked down a New Christian doctor of Jewish decent and sent him to François' court.

The 'very amusing' first exchange between François and this Converso began with the King poking fun at what he believed to be his Jewish interlocutor's misguided anticipation of the Messiah. The doctor calmly responded to the jibe by insisting that he was not awaiting the savior promised in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, he added in case there remained any doubt, 'we Christians have the number of days since his coming well counted, since from then to today are one thousand, five-hundred and forty-two years, and he was in the world thirty-three years, and at the end of them he died crucified, and on the third day he resurrected, and then he ascended to the heavens, where he is

1 Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* [1575], (ed.) Guillermo Serés (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989), p. 505: 'La cual demanda fue harto reída en España, y todos concluyeron que era antojo de hombre que estaba con calentura'. This essay benefited from the generous feedback of participants in Wesleyan University's Renaissance Seminar. I would like to thank Nadja Aksamija, Michael Armstrong Roche, Samuel García, Kenneth Stow and Magda Teter, as well as Or Hasson and the co-contributors to this volume, for their helpful comments and references. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

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today'.[2] François answered this statement of chronological dogma by suddenly shifting into a more direct mode of questioning: 'Then, you are Christian?' he asked. 'Yes, sire, by the grace of God', responded the doctor, maintaining the sort of concise assurance that he had undoubtedly cultivated in case the Spanish inquisitors ever came searching for him. François was disappointed. 'I was after a Jew', the King exclaimed in a play on inquisitorial interrogation, 'for in my opinion they are the ones who have the natural ability to cure'.[3] But he remained determined, and after giving the Converso doctor leave to return to Spain, he asked his Ottoman allies to send him a real Jewish doctor from Constantinople. This second doctor, who perhaps hailed from Sultan Suleiman I's court, where the number of Jewish physicians nearly equaled the number of Muslim ones, was able to cure François, just as the ill King had anticipated in his bout of feverish insight.[4] But as Huarte noted in the anecdote's concluding zinger, the successful prescription ended up being nothing more than a bit of donkey milk.

At first glance, François' simplistic understanding of the relationship between professional expertise and religious identity seems to be the butt of Huarte's joke. Reading the text in Spanish, we laugh along with Carlos' subjects at François' apparently narrow-minded wish to see only a Jewish doctor. And we enjoy the anecdote's ending, which leaves open the possibility of effective popular remedies and underscores the misguidedness of François' Jewish doctor obsession – no need to wait on Sephardic wisdom from the East when donkey milk abounds at home, the anecdote seems to teach. But upon further consideration, this pleasure of shared mockery blurs into the discomfort of the mocked. Consider in this regard the cultural and religious history marking the decades leading up to the appearance of the first edition of the *Examen de ingenios* in 1575: the *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, or blood purity statutes, which beginning in the late fifteenth century had excluded New Christians from full participation in some local educational and religious institutions, had by the mid-sixteenth century been adopted, not without conflict, in

2 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, pp. 505–06: 'Pero puesto el médico en Francia y delante el rey, pasó un coloquio entre ambos muy gracioso … Ese número de días tenemos los cristianos bien contados, porque hace hoy mil y quinientos caurenta y dos años que vino, y estuvo en el mundo treinta y tres, y en fin de ellos murió crucificado, y al tercero día resucitó, y después subió a los cielos donde ahora está'.

3 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 506: 'Rey: Luego, ¿vos sois cristiano? Médico: Señor, por la gracia de Dios. Rey: … ¡Por judío lo había yo, los cuales en mi opinión son los que tienen habilidad natural para curar!'

4 Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), vol 18, pp. 74–77.

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important seats of peninsular erudition, such as the Cathedral of Toledo and the University of Salamanca.[5] These laws institutionalized the ontological presupposition that buttressed both François' admiration of Jewish doctors and the popular, anti-Semitic perception that all Jews were instinctively and irredeemably treacherous. For converts from Judaism to Christianity, baptism had opened the path to eternal salvation, but this world's political and economic positions of power nevertheless remained out of reach. From this more unsettling perspective, François was ridiculous not simply because he thought only a Jewish doctor might be able to cure him, but also because he failed to see the basic equivalency, codified by the blood purity statutes and popularized by more than a century of polemical literature, between the Converso and the Jew. Conversion did not eradicate the Jew's innate perfidiousness any more than it destroyed his 'natural ability to cure', which was how Huarte's François glossed Jewish medical expertise.

Taking seriously François' point, Huarte defined the qualities of a good physician and reimagined medical education by invoking and historicizing this image of the Jewish or Converso expert. In so doing, he grappled with negative as well as positive medical stereotypes, such as that of the fraudulent doctor who only pretended to possess qualifications and knowledge or the popular healer who hawked falsehoods to a gullible crowd. Like their more flattering counterparts, these stereotypes of the inept or picaresque doctor were intertwined with anxiety around conversion: some doctors feigned their expertise just as some Conversos dissimulated their Christianity. Rather than obscuring this worrisome correspondence between tropes of professional expertise and New Christian unbelief, Huarte highlighted it. He employed what for him and his immediate audience was an obvious if worrisome parallel between the history of medicine and the history of the Jews as a test case for his larger objective in *Examen de ingenios*, which was accurately to map the influence of ancestry, climate and custom in the proclivities and abilities of the Spanish republic's inhabitants.[6] Such a map was important to Huarte not primarily for the pur-

5 Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII*, (trans.) Mauro Armiño (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010), pp. 89–133; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la edad moderna* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991), pp. 53–79. For a famous mid-sixteenth-century criticism of the statutes, especially in the context of debate over minority communities and the health of the republic, see Agustín Salucio, *Discurso sobre los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* (Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, 1975), pp. 24–29.

6 Regarding the privileged place of medicine and, by extension, the history of the Jews in Huarte's schema, remember that on the title page of *Examen de ingenios* the author was listed as 'el doctor Juan Huarte'. Perhaps Huarte was particularly attuned to the formal parallel be-

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pose of eliminating heterodoxy, but rather because it served as a tool for the management of the realm's human resources. To align each individual's *ingenio*, the name Huarte gave to these proclivities and abilities, with his or her best suited education and vocation was to foster the development of productive subjects. Together, these subjects might create a prosperous and efficient republic, one able to counter the ministrations of the recently established French-Ottoman alliance in the Mediterranean and to maintain imperial preeminence elsewhere in the Spanish empire.

As I show in this essay, most striking about Huarte's model of what a modern pedagogue might optimistically call 'enlightened tracking' is his candidness about the importance of Jewish and Converso history for demarcating the discipline of medicine and, by extension, for offering a taxonomy of other professions and their attendant bodies of knowledge. Such forthrightness demonstrates that by the late sixteenth century, anxiety about the illegibility of Converso belief was more than a stimulus for the blood purity statutes of the previous decades. My argument is that this anxiety also produced a newly flexible and skeptical scholarly language for addressing some of the period's most pressing epistemological questions: What was the relationship between inherited nature and acquired practices? How should conflicting views of this relationship shape evangelical strategy? To what extent was professional training and accreditation the product of savvy lobbying as well as intellectual commitments or public policy concerns? And finally, what was the role of narrative in the concomitant professionalization of doctors and related medical professionals, on the one hand, and the policing of Conversos and other New Christians, on the other hand?

Like Felipe Pereda in his contribution to this volume, Chapter 13, my goal is to explore the professional consequences and opportunities generated by the frayed connection between devotion and its always potentially duplicitous representation. Without ignoring the actual pain suffered by Conversos, Moriscos and other heterodox Christian groups in late medieval and early modern Spain, I argue that the multifaceted skepticism engendered by the forced conversions that began in the 1390s and concluded in the 1520s had by

tween professional expertise and religious identity because his own medical credentials and Christianity were dubious. See, for instance, Mauricio de Iriarte, *El doctor Huarte de San Juan y su Examen de ingenios. Contribución a la historia de la psicología diferencial* (Madrid: CSIC, 1948), pp. 17–45. It is worth noting, however, that a recent archival survey has uncovered no definitive evidence that Huarte actually was a Converso. See Javier Virués-Ortega et al., 'A Systematic Archival Inquiry on Juan Huarte de San Juan (1529–88)', *History of the Human Sciences*, 24 (2011): pp. 21–47.

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the end of the sixteenth century become an engine of pedagogical reflection and professional self-definition, not to mention an occasion for humor. Put concisely, anti-Semitic polemic and debate about forced religious conversion led to scholarly innovation as well as lived violence.[7]

Since this essay focuses on the professionalization of medicine as a discipline, my corpus consists of early modern works that elaborated taxonomies of medical expertise, including not only Huarte's *Examen de ingenios*, but also the Converso doctor Enrique Jorge Enríquez's *Retrato del perfecto médico* of 1595, the jurist and linguist Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa's *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes* of 1615, and the Granadan humanist Pedro de Mercado's *Diálogos de filosofía natural y moral*, first published in 1558. These authors' varied approaches to sanctioning doctors as experts occurred against the backdrop of the Crown's repeated early modern efforts to reform the office of the *protomedicato*, which examined and licensed the realm's professional healers. It was through these extended debates over how to define and cultivate medical expertise that the image of the doctor as an accomplished reader of both corporal and textual signs took shape. The essay concludes by demonstrating that Huarte and his contemporaries understood this capacity for interpretation as a distinctively Jewish talent. This is why they often retold the François anecdote: since it was both a case history and good story in need of a careful gloss, the anecdote highlighted the relationship between literary interpretation and doctoring, even as it also explored the influence of religion on both skills. By the end of the sixteenth century, in sum, the image of the threatening but effective Jewish or Converso doctor had become a useful trope for defining both medical expertise and Christian orthodoxy.

## Jewish Genealogies of Empiricism, Skepticism and Secularism

The Hebrew Bible provides several key pieces of evidence for Huarte's genealogy of Jewish medical expertise. This is because some ancient authors traced the origins of medicine to Egypt, where, as the book of Exodus recounts, the Israelites dwelt as slaves for several hundred years. Huarte explained that because mathematics, astrology and 'all those sciences that belong to the imaginative category were invented in Egypt', it made sense to presume that medicine, which according to Huarte required a particularly active capacity for

7 I develop this argument at length in my book, though the focus there is on law, philology and history writing rather than medicine. See Seth Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

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imagination in the interpretation of symptoms and identification of diseases, also originated there.[8] In a *translatio studii* story, Huarte suggested that although the Israelites had rushed through the divinely parted Red Sea with their bread unleavened, they managed to leave Egypt with a deep familiarity with local medical knowledge.[9] The François anecdote implied that this Jewish familiarity with Egyptian medicine included popular remedies as well as bookish erudition. For although Pliny the Elder and other ancient physicians documented donkey milk's special benefits as an anti-poison or cosmetic, its use became particularly associated with Egypt, not least because of the still persistent myth that the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra bathed in it to maintain her healthy skin.[10]

Not all of the Israelites' medical knowledge was of the erudite or popular variety, though. The experience of manual labor in a hot Egyptian climate and the consumption of local food and water also had left their imprint, but in a physical and emotional rather than a scholarly or folkloric way. Huarte argued that the Israelites passed along to their scattered descendants the corporal qualities acquired in Egypt, just as Ethiopians bestowed black skin upon on their progeny, even those living in Spain or elsewhere outside of Ethiopia.[11] In the case of the Israelites, the suffering of slavery in particular was key to the development of their inborn natures: 'Egyptian qualities stuck with the Israelites … Since those that live in bondage, sadness and suffering in foreign lands generate a lot of burning anger (*cólera*) on account of their lack of freedom to speak about or avenge their grievances; and this humor, having been dried out', added Huarte in a creative application of his day's Galenic theory of medicine, 'is an instrument of cleverness, industry and malice'.[12] Elsewhere in this same chapter, Huarte underscored the correspondence between industry

8 'Todas las ciencias que pertenecen a la imaginativa, todas se inventaron en Egipto'; Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 504.

9 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 504, n. 27.

10 Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1855), book 28, chs. 45, 47, 49–50.

11 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, pp. 522–23. For Huarte, there was something like a racial component to Israelite and Jewish medical expertise. But Huarte understood race to be dynamic and flexible in ways that a modern geneticist would consider erroneous. He wondered, for instance, about the length of time it would take for a group of black Ethiopians, divinely transported to 'our region' (nuestra región) just as the twelve tribes of Israel had been taken out of Egypt, to 'lose their colour, without mixing with white people' (vinieran a perder el color, no mezclándose con los blancos).

12 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 508: 'al pueblo de Israel se le pegasen las calidades de Egipto … Porque los que viven en servidumbre, en tristeza, en aflicción y tierras ajenas, engendran mucha cólera requemada por no tener libertad de hablar ni vengarse de sus injurias; y este humor, estando tostado, es el instrumento de la astucia, solercia y malicia'.

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and imagination, arguing that the two terms were distinct names for the same choleric quality.[13] I will return in a moment to the choleric's attributes, which suggest an unsettling if familiar equivalence between roguery and doctoring. For the moment, I simply want to emphasize that in Huarte's view, one that enduring Passover celebrations of the Exodus story seem to confirm, Jews continued to mark and remained marked by their experience in Egypt even several millennia after the fact.

Continuing this interwoven narrative of Jewish and medical history, Huarte invoked the Israelites' appetite as the first and best gauge of their natures, which, having taken shape through the process of acculturation in Egypt, were changeable rather than static. After the Israelites had spent generations adapting physically as well as culturally to their lives as slaves there, the sweet water and delicate manna that God provided during their escape to the Sinai wilderness was poorly suited to their hardy stomachs. Although this divine nourishment commenced a long process of spiritual transformation, it was at the time contrary to the fugitives' tastes. In offering this gastronomic account of the Israelites' departure from Egypt, Huarte underscored the parallel between eating the appropriate food and marshaling one's *ingenio* to the appropriate profession. Similarly, just as 'God accommodates himself to natural means' in offering the Israelites sustenance in the desert, personal and communal flourishing in the early modern republic required the ability to adapt to local circumstances.[14] As historians of the early Jesuits or colonial Spanish America will recognize, this idea of accommodation was a contested, global evangelical strategy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The adaptation of evangelizers, conquistadors and diverse groups of indigenous peoples to

13 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, pp. 500–01: 'it is a gift born of the fecundity of the imagination, which goes by another name of *industry*, and which with common signs, doubts, conjectures, and little certainty can in the blink of an eye achieve a thousand different things related to power of healing, as well as prognosticate with certainty' (es gracia que nace de una fecundidad de la imaginativa que por otro nombre se llama *solercia*, la cual con señales communes, inciertas, conjeturales y de poca firmeza en cerrar y abrir el ojo alcanzan mil diferencias de cosas en las cuales consiste la fuerza del curar y pronosticar con certidumbre). On the fine line that Huarte and his contemporaries understood to differentiate an overactive, unbalanced imagination from a dynamic, productive one, see Elena Carrera, 'Understanding Mental Disturbance in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century Spain: Medical Approaches', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 87 (2010): pp. 105–36.

14 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 512: 'Dios se acomoda a los medios naturales'. This citation is from the 1575 princeps edition published in Baeza. The 1594 edition replaces the word 'medios' with 'médicos,' which seems to be the work of overeager editorial correction rather than inquisitorial censorship, discussed below.

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each other's eating practices was connected to the mutual transformation of their respective rituals and beliefs. Eating certain kinds of flora and fauna in the far reaches of the Spanish and Portuguese empires was a measure, however imperfect, of orthodoxy and accommodation as well as an experiment in comparative pharmacology and evangelical Galenism.[15]

On the peninsula too, the meaning and limits of accommodation were topics of intense debate. In his sixteenth-century edition and gloss of the Aragonese inquisitor Nicolau Eimeric's late fourteenth-century guide for fellow inquisitors, *Directorivm inqvisitorvm*, for instance, Franciso Peña acknowledged that first generation Conversos might convincingly explain their abstention from pork products – forbidden by Jewish law – by invoking taste. But for their children and grandchildren, such abstention was a sure sign of apostasy.[16] Huarte's attention to food in his discussion of the histories of medicine and Jews echoes this conversation about the ambiguous relationship between Converso cultural practices and Christian orthodoxy. In both Peña and Huarte's views, the only hope for delineating this line between orthodoxy and apostasy, whether to root out false converts or to protect their sincere counterparts, was to think historically. Like Peña, that is, Huarte argued that tastes and other culturally inflected corporal markers changed across generations, even if, as Mercedes García-Arenal shows in her essay for this volume, Chapter 11, other contemporary polemicists emphasized that belief itself was inherited. My point is that in focusing on a biblical history of Israelite consumption, Huarte argued that professional expertise was analogous to culinary tastes. What looked

15 Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 19–53, pp. 156–86. The two most well-known of the early modern pharmacological compendiums with a global scope were the Portuguese Jewish physician's García de Orta's *Coloquios dos simples e drogas e cousas mediçinais da India* of 1563 and the Portuguese botanist Cristóbal Acosta's *Tratado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales*, published in Spanish in 1578. These texts complemented the Spanish converso doctor Andrés Laguna's Spanish translation and expansion of the ancient Greek physician Pedanius Dioscorides' encyclopedia of medicines, the *Materia médica*.

16 Nicolau Eimeric, *Directorivm inqvisitorvm* (Venice: Marcum Antonium Zalterium, 1595), p. 443. I have also consulted a modern Spanish translation of this text by Francisco Martín, *El manual de los inquisidores* (Barcelona: Muchnick, 1983), p. 161. For an amusing study of food stereotypes and insults, such as calling Jews and Conversos 'aubergine eaters' for their preference for eggplant as a meat substitute, see Juan Gil, 'Berenjeneros: The Aubergine Eaters,' in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Departures and Change*, (ed.) Kevin Ingram (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 121–42.

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like the Israelites, Jews and finally the Conversos' natural facility in particular professions was in fact a feature of slowly shifting custom.

Given the sluggish pace of adaptation to new climactic and social conditions, Huarte urged the individual and the republic alike to accommodate rather than resist the pedagogical and professional circumstances on the ground. Even though it was neither an ideal nor permanent state of affairs in Christian Spain that Jews and Conversos be admired as skilled doctors, in other words, in Huarte's view it was imprudent public health policy to ignore this fact. Better to acknowledge these individuals' special skills, and to act accordingly. This was King François' insight, to which Huarte dedicated nearly the entirety of his chapter on medicine.[17] Offering a realist pedagogical plan for imperial efficiency, Huarte aimed to jumpstart a languishing peninsular science. Although there were complex economic and political reasons for the disparity between Spain and Italy, France and England in the scientific fields, the oppression and subsequent departure of many of Spain's highly educated Jews and Conversos was one important factor, even if it was also true that critics from Spain's rivals nations tended for political and religious reasons to exaggerate both the scientific disparity itself and Spain's relative Jewishness. Nevertheless, Huarte was doing more than simply rebutting a dually 'lachrymose' narrative of peninsular Judaism and scientific inquiry, one whose high water mark of Jewish prestige, security and intellectual innovation was in the late Middle Ages.[18] Huarte aimed instead to transform the actual conditions

17 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, pp. 504, 507, 517. However entertaining, the François anecdote was crucial to Huarte's argument, which is why he introduced it as a form of convincing evidence: 'But the *argument that most convinces* me on this issue is that, François of Valois' [emphasis mine] (Pero el argumento que a mí más me convence en este propósito es que, estando Francisco de Valois). Upon completion of the story, moreover, Huarte presented the remainder of the chapter as a 'demonstration of the opinion of the King of France' (demostración de la opinión del rey de Francia). Finally, near the end of the chapter, Huarte underscored again François' crucial insight, 'marvelously' (maravillosamente) reached and utterly reliable, though perhaps Huarte protests a bit too much: 'and what he said was neither a rant, nor even less the invention of the devil' (y no fue delirio ni menos invención del demonio lo que dijo). The Jewish role in peninsular public health policy of the late medieval period undoubtedly shaped Huarte's view that Jewish medical expertise was central to the wellbeing of the republic. See Luis García-Ballester's study of the *regimina sanitatis*, in his collection of previously published articles (with their original pagination), *Medicine in a Multicultural Society: Christian, Jewish and Muslim Practicioners in the Spanish Kingdoms, 1222–1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 119–29, ch. 5.

18 On the early modern costs of Jewish coercion and expulsion, see José María López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica en la sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona: Labor Universitaria, 1979), p. 73; Luis S. Granjel, *La medicina española renacentista* (Salamanca:

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of scientific inquiry and practice. Although he was largely unsuccessful as an institutional reformer, that diverse readers ranging from Enrique Jorge Enríquez in the late sixteenth century to the historians José María López Piñero and Julio Caro Baroja in our own day have focused on *Examen de ingenios* in general and cited the François story in particular underscores Huarte's lasting influence on conceptualizations of the relationship between professional expertise and Converso unbelief.[19]

Despite all his Galenic vocabulary and biblical history, the central paradox that Huarte reformulated to his own innovative ends was in fact a late medieval and early modern peninsular one: to be a good doctor was to risk being perceived as a bad Christian. This was the paradox that allowed the trope of Jewish medical talent to coexist with a darker, anti-Semitic narrative of arrogant Jewish and Converso physicians who poisoned or dismembered Christian babies and sought to harm adult Christian patients, just as their ancestors supposedly had requested the crucifixion of Jesus. The late fifteenth-century polemicist Alonso de Espina is perhaps the most famous proponent of this narrative, but as contemporary stories of the torture and mutilation of St Simon of Trent or the poisoning of the Niño de La Guardia in Toledo demonstrate, the idea that Jewish doctors employed their specialized knowledge of narcotics and dissection to nefarious ends was a widespread one among late fifteenth and sixteenth-century Christians.[20] So systemic in the peninsular context were such accusations of Jewish perfidy that the verb *quintar* came to denote, among other more inoffensive things, Jewish doctors' deliberate killing

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Universidad, 1980), pp. 12–14. On the spectacular professional success of some medieval Jewish doctors, both on the Iberian Peninsula and beyond, see Joseph Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine and Medieval Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 56–77.

19 López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, pp. 75–76; Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid: Arion, 1961), vol. 1, p. 172; Enrique Jorge Enríquez, *Retrato del perfecto médico* (Salamanca: Juan and Andrés Renaut, 1595), p. 146; David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 286.

20 Alonso de Espina, *Fortalitium fidei contra iudeos saracenos aliosque christiane fidei inimicos* (Nurenberg: Anton Koberger, 1494), book 3, consideration 7, 'crudelitas' 13. Some of these stories of murderous Jews became newly popular during Huarte's day. For instance, Friar Rodrigo de Yepes published his *Historia de la muerte y glorioso martirio del Sancto Innocente, que llaman de La Guardia* in 1583, a text that served as inspiration for Lope de Vega's play *El niño inocente de La Guardia*. Outside of the peninsular context, Martin Luther referenced Jewish doctors' familiarity with potentially toxic medicines to suggest that they would kill all Christians if they could. See Baron, *A Social and Religious*, vol. 12, pp. 158–64; Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder* (New Haven: Yeshiva University Library and Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 26–50.

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of one out every five patients.[21] However troubling these sorts of accusations, they served as an explanatory narrative for what in the early modern period was an imprecise art of healing. Doctors of that period labored with limited resources on the knife's edge between life and death. Medical outcomes were inconsistent and doctors' standings unstable.

Nowhere was this linked fragility of life and reputation more apparent than at the bedside of the gravely ill. While physicians concentrated on clinical matters and sought to rally the strength of the patient, priests charged with administering the last rites aimed to turn the patient's focus toward the world to come. According to the historian Andrew Keitt, longstanding tensions between physicians and priests only ebbed in the high and late Middle Ages, as the former began successfully to define and protect their professional autonomy and the latter grew increasingly concerned about a wide range of popular superstitions.[22] For dying patients of sixteenth-century Jewish and Converso physicians, however, an intensified sense of religious distrust paradoxically accompanied this hard-earned clinical legitimacy, whose consolidation I examine in more detail below. That is, after the formation of this alliance between physicians and priests against superstition, ill-intentioned doctors possessed greater power to delay or withhold the last rites, an act that paralleled tinkering with lethal medications or playing fast and loose with the scalpel. Control over the soul was in this way inseparable from control over the body. Against this backdrop of competing anxieties over death and doctors, to consult a folk healer, even a New Christian one, did not perhaps look like an imprudent option. At the very least, such consultations, like the one between Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and an elderly Morisca reported by the Jesuit historian and author of the 'false chronicles' Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, made for encouraging stories of successful treatment and effective criticism of erudite medicine. As Michele Olivari has suggested, moreover, to narrate the early sixteenth-century story of Cisneros' consultation with a Morisca, an option suggested, according to Román de la Higuera, by a Granadan Jewish woman previously baptized by Cisneros, also represented a subtle call

21 Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social*, p. 147. Citing Domínguez Ortiz, López Piñero reminded his readers of the more pleasant trope of Jewish expertise, captured in an aphorism of the period: 'Without any particular reason, they take the swordsman for an Old Christian and the doctor for a Jew' (Sin más razón, tienen al espadero por limpio y al médico por judío); see López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, p. 75.

22 Andrew W. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 156–57.

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for the re-imagination of peninsular cross-cultural encounter in the late sixteenth century, when the Morisco expulsions loomed.[23]

In his *Plaza universal de todas las ciencias y artes*, an early seventeenth-century translation of the Italian Tomaso Garzoni's 1585 taxonomy of scholarly knowledge and professional expertise, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa opened his discussion of doctors by underscoring this inconsistency and potential treacherousness of medical treatment with a series of entertaining vignettes about ancient thinkers' advice for avoiding physicians all together.[24] Socrates and Cato the Elder, recounted Suárez de Figueroa, suggested barring doctors from cities in order to save ordinary citizens from the mortal danger posed by malpractice, ignorance and fraud. Ausonius thought that luck rather than medical skill or knowledge was the usual explanation for the recovery of sick patients. And in an emblematic image of the authority born of popular experience rather than university study, Herodotus and Strabo described how the Lacedaemonians, Egyptians and Portuguese brought their sick to the public plazas, where others who had themselves suffered and survived illness could offer their personal advice. Even in these three centers of medical erudition, many thought it preferable to chart a path to recovery with the help of a trustworthy neighbor than with an unknown and potentially dishonest or inept interloper, whatever his supposed qualifications.[25] Although these vignettes suggest ways to circumvent fraught encounters with doctors, they at the same time reiterate a longstanding tension between medical training based on philosophy or natural science and empirical know-how gleaned from clinical experience.

23 The Cisneros episode is recounted and analysed in Michele Olivari, *Avisos, pasquines y rumores. Los comienzos de la opinión pública en la España del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2014), pp. 385–91. On Morisco clinicians and the tension among academic, empirical and folk medicine, see García-Ballester, *Medicine in a Multicultural Society*, pp. 246–52, ch. 8.

24 As Suárez de Figueroa's indebtedness to Garzoni suggests, the histories of Spanish and Italian medicine are linked, particularly in the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Colegio de España in Bologna welcomed a considerable number of aspiring doctors from Spain. Fewer made the journey by mid-century, when Felipe II, concerned about a peninsular 'brain-drain', prohibited Spaniards from studying or teaching at universities abroad. See Jon Arrizabalaga, 'Spanish Medical Students' *peregrinatio* to Italian Universities in the Renaissance', in *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789*, (ed.) Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizbalaga (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 93–126.

25 Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, 'De los médicos' (discourse 16), in *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1615), p. 68.

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Pedro de Mercado's *Diálogos de filosofía natural y moral* thematized the boundaries between disciplines and their respective standards of evidence and modes of interpretation by similarly addressing the problem of professional ineptitude in a cross-cultural context. The text's fifth dialogue featured a testy discussion between the doctor Juanicio and an unnamed jurist, who disagreed over the relative value and efficacy of their chosen professions. While Juanicio invoked the universality of medicine by pointing out that among 'Greeks, Latins, Jews, Christians and Moors, and all nations one will find those knowledgeable of it', the jurist saw medicine more cynically.[26] In his view, incompetence was the only quality that universally characterized medicine in its global diversity of practice. He joked that Greek doctors killed their patients by bleeding them from the side of their pain while Arab doctors achieved the same result by bleeding them from the opposite side. 'You put the whole business into such doubt', exclaimed the jurist to Juanicio, who struggled with his defense of doctors, 'that it becomes necessary to ask the patients if they want to be cured according to the Greek or Arab method'.[27]

Through Huarte, Suárez de Figueroa and Mercado's complementary lenses, the professionalization of the field of medicine looks more like a futile endeavor to unmask the varied hucksters who masqueraded as skilled experts than an earnest concern about medical training. Given the limitations of the period's medicine, however, it was difficult in practice for sick and injured patients to distinguish between dishonesty and ineffectiveness and for doctors to protect themselves against the accusations of both. When court advisors and doctors advocated in the sixteenth century for more rigid protocols for training, examining and licensing new medical professionals, they were seeking to address these problems. The shortcoming of this strategy was that although the professionalization of medicine slowed or softened charges of ineptitude, it exacerbated the accusation of religious dishonesty. For Huarte, this was a deal he was willing to cut. He mitigated uncertainty about professional expertise by actively replacing it with a different kind of anxious humor about New Christian dissimulation. In his pragmatist view, I argue, the loss of *only* one out of five patients appeared to be convincing evidence of medical skill rather than proof of apostasy.

26 Pedro de Mercado, *Diálogos de filosofía natural y moral* (Granada: Hugo de Mena and René Rabut, 1558), fifth dialogue (n.p.): 'Griegos, Latinos, Judíos, Christianos, y moros, y de todas las naciones se hallarán sabios en ella'.

27 Mercado, *Diálogos de filosofía*, fifth dialogue (n.p.): 'poneys el negocio en tanta duda, que es necessario preguntar a los enfermos, si quieren ser curados segun Griegos o Arabes'.

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Moreover, by overlaying geographic and climactic genealogies for the faculty of imagination, Huarte employed Jewish history to secularize medical expertise as whole. The Jews possessed a uniquely admirable and fearsome combination of moral relativism and practical aptitude that ran counter to sincerity of faith. However useful the figure of the stubbornly literalist Jewish reader was as a tool of self-definition for generations of Christian scholars, in *Examen de ingenios* Huarte invoked a different kind of Jewish reader, one who may have been blind to Christ but who nevertheless was uniquely attentive to the referents hidden beneath corporal and textual surfaces. Huarte's Jewish reader understood his own imagination as a form of interpretive authority, and he was unafraid to wield it. By building his account of medical expertise up from the foundation of the François story and its varied readings, Huarte underscored the professional power inherent in this particularly Jewish mode of interpretation. This Jewish mode of interpretation, furthermore, was generalizable to life beyond the clinical context: glossing Democrates and Hippocrates in the second prologue to the 1594 edition of *Examen de ingenios*, Huarte saw the world itself as an enormous clinic, one where 'man from birth to death is nothing but a perpetual sickness'.[28] However counterintuitive it may seem, because of Huarte and others' popular anti-Semitic idea that Jews and Conversos were by nature astute readers of bodies and texts as well as vengeful, greedy and duplicitous heretics, medicine came to stand out as unique among the various peninsular communities of scientists. Unlike engineers, cartographers and other groups of experts, only medicine experienced both a process of professionalization *and* secularization during the sixteenth century.[29]

From the extra-peninsular perspective of the intellectual historian Richard Popkin, this capacity for imagination and interpretation was the condition not only for an empiricist medical practice, but also for what he called 'constructive or mitigated skepticism'.[30] Ignited by the revival of Sextus Empiricus and other ancient skeptics, early modern epistemological doubt about the workings of the human mind and body, the laws of physics, and even theological order drove the emergence of a new empiricism. Unable to know with certainty the nature of the cosmos, late sixteenth-and early seventeenth-century scientists such as Marin Mersenne, Pierre Gassendi, and René Descartes manipulated and represented it with new precision. Although, as Jeremy

28 'El hombre dende que nace hasta que muere no es otra cosa más que una perpetua enfermedad'; Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 174.

29 López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica*, p. 52, p. 71.

30 Richard Popkin, *The History of Skepticism: From Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 129–50.

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Robbins has argued, there were numerous Spanish intellectuals and artists who were either familiar with the above figures or participated in the European-wide debates that produced them, the peninsular story of skepticism's rise is nevertheless distinct. For as I claim in this essay, in Spain the 'skeptical posture' was closely tied to the history of false conversion and partial assimilation in addition to a renewed interest in the ancient skeptics.[31] Galen's perspective on the uncertainty constitutive of natural philosophy and medical practice is as crucial to this story as the multiple strands of fifteenth-century peninsular doubt examined by Stefania Pastore in her contribution to this volume, Chapter 10. Read through Huarte's later chapter on the connected histories of the Israelites and medicine, for instance, the description of medicine as a necessarily uncertain science points toward his larger point: Jews and Conversos were particularly well suited to the inexactitude of medicine because of their capacity for relativism, which in the medical context entailed pragmatic empiricism as well as intellectual flexibility. It was Old Christian doubt about the beliefs and commitments of the Conversos as well as the disillusionment of the New Christians themselves that, as my reading of *Examen de ingenios* demonstrates, shaped the image of science in early modern Spain.[32]

For Huarte, 'choler' was the Galenic linchpin holding together the processes of professionalization and secularization and the word he employed to denote the skeptical posture described above. Although there was a Paraclesian strand of naturalistic and anti-academic medicine in early modern Europe, Galen's theory of the humors, along with his balance between erudition and clinical experience, constituted the foundation of the period's medical education and practice. Galen's prestige in the sixteenth century was the result of the recovery and careful edition of some of his Greek texts by scholars like the Italian physician Niccolò Leoniceno, and the translation into Latin of those texts by the doctor and linguist Thomas Linacre, among others. Between 1500 and 1600 more than 590 separate editions of Galen were published, and during that same period the famous Venetian Aldine press published complete works of

31 Jeremy Robbins, *Arts of Perception: The Epistemological Mentality of the Spanish Baroque, 1580–1720* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 5; Ruderman, *Jewish Thought*, p. 276. The phrase, 'skeptical posture' is Ruderman's, but the idea has a storied history among hispanists such as Américo Castro and Stephen Gilman. Popkin's principle nod to the Converso history of peninsular skepticism occurs during his analysis of the philosopher Francisco Sánchez, who spent most of his life in France.

32 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 348. See also Robbins, *Arts of Perception*, pp. 32–33. This is a slightly different question than the danger or desirability of doubt about both New and Old Christians' ancestry. Here debate about Morisco expulsion as well as Converso integration was central. See Salucio, *Discurso sobre los estatutos*, fols. 22r–24v.

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both Galen and Hippocrates in the original Greek.[33] Unique about Huarte's Galenism amidst this explosion of interest in Galen was its diachronic quality and explicitly political use. Huarte employed Galen's vocabulary as a tool of historical inquiry and contemporary polemic. Along with the three other temperaments (sanguine, melancholic, and phlegmatic) determined by imbalances of the bodily fluids, the choleric temperament was for Huarte more than a sign of illness. 'This dried out choler … was the instrument of cleverness, industry, shrewdness and malice', he explained in a charged repetition of the list cited above. Huarte linked medical skill to this choleric constitution, which, as he put it, 'is accommodated to the conjectures of medicine, and with it one hits upon the illness, the cause and its remedy'.[34] Good doctors possessed the very same traits that made the Conversos both effective dissemblers of false Christianity and social malefactors who slaughtered Christians. It made so much sense to Huarte's contemporaries that to be fit for medicine was also to be fit for picaresque or heretical deception that inquisitorial officials thought it necessary in the late 1570s to censor this very list of adjectives. The censors left only the first term, 'cleverness', in the expurgated 1594 version of *Examen de ingenios*, which according to Huarte's son was corrected by the author himself before his death in 1588.[35] The inquisitorial guardians of the Christian community undoubtedly worried that to characterize doctors, even Christian ones, in these unfavorable terms was imprudent if not also unorthodox.

Despite this history of censorship, in the revised version of *Examen de ingenios* Huarte preserved his subtle recuperation of Converso cleverness as a condition of medical proficiency. This recuperation was a feature of his redefinition of *ingenio*, a word that, like *astucia*, *solercia*, *industria* and other related terms, carried the ambiguous connotations of deception and unscrupulousness as well as practical knowledge.[36] My point is that the ready stockpile of

33 For a collection of previously published articles (with their original pagination) on Galen, see Luis García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism: Theory and Medical Practice from Antiquity to the European Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), especially chapters 2 and 10. Other helpful introductory resources on Galen are the 'Medicine' and 'Galen' entries in Paul F. Grendler (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance* (New York: Scribners and The Renaissance Society of America, 1999), vol. 3, pp. 1–2; vol. 4, pp. 100–01.

34 Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 517: 'Esta cólera retostada … era el instrumento de la solercia, astucia, versucia, y malicia; y esta es acomodada a las conjeturas de la medicina, y con ella se atina a la enfermedad, a la causa, y al remedio que tiene'.

35 See Guillermo Serés' introduction in Huarte, *Examen de ingenios*, p. 114.

36 I have examined the religious, political and literary uses of these various related terms, particularly *industria* and *ingenio*, in Seth Kimmel, '*No milagro, milagro*: The Early Modern Art of Effective Ritual', *Modern Language Notes*, 128 (2013): pp. 433–44.

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images and preconceptions surrounding the history of the Jews and Conversos served Huarte as an instrument of pedagogical reform and professional self-definition, rather than as a tool of Converso apologetics, as David B. Ruderman has suggested. That Huarte managed to find a diverse and eager audience for *Examen de ingenios*, which was published in numerous late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century versions and in a host of vernacular translations, suggests that novel uses for familiar tropes of professional expertise and New Christian unbelief were at least thought provoking or entertaining, if not also convincing. Most early modern Spaniards found doctors, along with Jews or Conversos, to be liminal and threatening figures, even though (or precisely because) they cared for monarchs and consorted with powerful royal advisors. This was why historical episodes of Converso doctors, such as Elija Montalto, whom Queen Marie de Médicis invited to Paris, or Rodrigo López, who cared for Queen Elizabeth in London, drew so much accusatory interest and perhaps inspired Tirso de Molina and Shakespeare.[37] Although the relevant archives have revealed grains of truth to the accusations against these doctors, the mixture of imperial tension and royal and religious intrigue that characterized the episodes was the stuff of fiction. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Huarte did not seek to capitalize on this threatening Jewish and Converso monopoly on medical expertise. He instead demystified it in order to transform medical discourse from a debate about the inescapability of nature to one about the political stakes of education.

## Conclusion: The Law and the Lure of an Exemplary Story

Huarte's sly use of his day's tropes of professional expertise and Converso unbelief must not obscure the long and earnest legal struggle to distinguish doctors from crank healers and assorted superstition peddlers, who, as Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have argued, often traded in a variegated economy of New Christian talismans and magical symbols.[38] The peninsular legal codes collected in the early nineteenth-century

37 Baron, *A Social and Religious*, vol. 14, pp. 108–10; Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

38 Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 115. On Galenism the medical critique of superstition, see Andrew W. Keitt, 'The Devil in the Old World: Anti-Superstition Literature, Medical Humanism and Preternatural Philosophy in Early Modern Spain', in *Angels, Demons and the New World*, (ed.) Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 15–39.

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*Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* recount the history of this struggle in fascinating detail: around the time of the founding of the inquisition in Spain, the Catholic Monarchs Fernando and Isabel began the effort to centralize the licensing of medical professionals. Drawing on some late medieval precedents, they created the royal office of the *protomedicato*, which was charged with examining and certifying the knowledge and skill of doctors and, to a lesser degree, of other medical professionals. By insisting that the head of this office, the *protomédico*, fulfill his duties in proximity to court, soon-to-be Carlos V tried to crack down on what between the 1490s and 1510s evidently had become a corrupt process. As with so many other early modern Spanish institutions, the conflict here was between an imperial center that attempted to consolidate power and regional or local authorities that aimed to protect their longstanding privileges. After numerous minor addendums, in 1588 the chronically ill Felipe II significantly expanded the educational prerequisites that aspiring doctors had to complete before their examinations, insisting, for example, upon two years of medical school after the bachelor of arts. He also enlarged the *protomedicato* by dividing examination responsibilities by field of specialization and naming larger panels of experts.[39] Although it is tempting to chart this peninsular history of professionalization as one of collusion between kings and doctors, in fact it was a period of conflict and compromise. Competing communities of doctors, whose local interests often clashed both with each other and with the privileged practitioners that cared for the Habsburg Monarchs, negotiated the new boundaries and implicit hierarchies of their field in conversation with the Crown. As the ample 'medico-political' literature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and the imperial tensions of Huarte's François episode suggest, the politicization of medical expertise accompanied its professionalization.[40]

39 *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* (Madrid: J. Viana Razola, 1805), vol. 4, book 8, titles 10–11. For an introduction to this legal material and its medieval precedents, see Rafael Muñoz Garrido and Carmen Muñiz Fernández, *Fuentes legales de la medicina española* (*siglos XIII–XIX*) (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1969), pp. 13–21; Michelle Clouse, *Medicine, Government and Public Health in Felipe II's Spain: Shared Interests, Competing Authorities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 15–41. On the *protomedicato* and the physicians in the service of Felipe II, see Francisco Javier Puerto Sarmiento, *La leyenda verde: naturaleza, sanidad, y ciencia en la corte de Felipe II* (*1527–1598*) (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2003), pp. 233–38.

40 Despite this process of professionalization, popular belief in the king's healing touch existed in Spain, though to a much lesser degree than it did in France. This difference adds another layer to the humor of Huarte's episode, which from this perspective looks like a

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Just as the gradual sacralization of Converso and Morisco cultural life through the expansion of the blood purity statutes served the interests of inquisitors, this growing medical bureaucracy served the interests of doctors. It was paramount for physicians to establish a clear hierarchy among the myriad medical providers, which included bone-setters, surgeons, blood-letters, barbers, midwives, apothecaries, uroscopists (who diagnose illness from examining urine), lithotomists (who operate on bladder stones) and varied folk healers, while also emphasizing and celebrating a high religious and educational barrier of entry to working as a doctor proper.[41] The articulation of this hierarchy unfolded in distinct ways in different places. While Huarte and his Spanish contemporaries privileged medical expertise based on a combination of interpretive acumen and experience with diverse patients, in late sixteenth-century Padua, for example, to be an elite doctor was to be skilled surgeon.[42] To borrow an apt image employed by the influential *protomédico* Luis Mercado in his address to readers at the beginning of his work on the art of bone-setting, this process of stratified professionalization in the field of medicine was an attempt to close a 'doorless corral' (*corral sin puerta*).[43] As Zacuto Lusitano,

jab at the overlap between French nationalism and superstition. On royal thamaturgy in the Spanish context, see 'Medicinal Monarchy,' in Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, pp. 183–201.

41 On the variety of specialists competing in the early modern medical marketplace, see the entry on 'Medicine' in Grendler (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, vol. 4, p. 98. With the extension of the blood purity statutes over the course of the sixteenth century, Jews and Conversos were at least technically barred from medical education, though many found ways around the prohibition. As the founding of the University of Granada medical school as a tool of assimilation in the 1530s underscores, the story of the Moriscos and medicine is different. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 115–20; Luis García-Ballester, *Los moriscos y la medicina. Un capítulo de la medicina y la ciencia marginadas en la España del siglo XVI* (Barcelona: Labor Universitaria, 1984), pp. 52–54.

42 As Cynthia Klestinec has shown, the surgical theaters of Padua and elsewhere, constructed in the 1580s and 1590s, transformed Italian medical education and helped to recuperate the image of the surgeon, whom until that point physicians had dismissed as an empirical technician. Even so, those very physicians who cultivated interests in philosophy and natural history as well as clinical work eventually managed to co-opt and redefine surgery and anatomical knowledge as more than a necessary component medical craft and education. See Cynthia Klestinec, 'Medical Education in Padua: Students, Faculty and Facilities', in *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789*, (ed.) Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizbalaga, pp. 193–220; and Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 55–123.

43 Luis Mercado, *Instituciones para el aprovechamiento y examen de los Algebristas* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1599). Explaining why he chose to write his guide to bone-setting in

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Francisco López de Villalobos, Andrés Laguna, Rodrigo de Castro and other early modern Converso doctors undoubtedly recognized, there were many formal similarities between the effort to encircle this metaphorical corral by defining medical expertise and the effort to demarcate Old and New Christians by pursuing an inquisitorial agenda.[44] Converso doctors involved in the professionalization of medicine turned their own hard-earned lessons of religious exclusion to the project of professional apologetics.

Not surprisingly, in their efforts to define this increasingly professional physician, Huarte's first readers and commentators were drawn in particular to the François anecdote. In his *Retrato del perfecto médico*, published just a year after the appearance of the revised edition of *Examen de ingenios*, the converso doctor Enrique Jorge Enríquez reiterated Huarte's insistence upon the utility to the republic of a skilled class of doctors and underscored his distinction between the expertise born of erudition and experience. He also notably included the entirety of the François story within an extended gloss on Huarte's account of the relationship between imagination and medical skill. In Enríquez's view, doctors required imagination because of its link to knowledge of particular examples of illnesses and treatments. Successful implementation of the 'conjectural art' of medical diagnostics entailed a flexibility born not of adherence to incorruptible universals, Enríquez explained, but rather of a wide experience with actual illnesses suffered by diverse patients.[45] Transitioning from this defense of experiential knowledge to Huarte's François story, Enríquez highlighted both the humor and the analytical purpose of the episode by recalling Huarte's straight-faced admiration of 'King François' imagination'.[46]

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Castilian rather than Latin, Mercado explained that the field had been 'abandoned by the learned and lettered; it is now unknown and unpracticed except by pastors, or rustic laborers, or women of little reputation, who, lacking another diversion by which to live, enter this field through a little door, or better said, a doorless corral' (desamparada de los doctos y letrados, ya no la conocen ni tratan sino pastores, o labradores rústicos, o mujercillas, que a falta de otro entretenimiento para vivir, se entran por este portillo, o por mejor decir, corral sin puerta). On the question of vernacular writing's 'utility,' see Michael Solomon, *Fictions of Well-Being: Sickly Readers and Vernacular Medical Writing in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. 16–39.

44 Julio Caro Baroja, *Inquisición, brujería y criptojudaísmo* (Valencia: Círculo de Lectores, Galaxia Gutenberg, 1996), pp. 106–10; Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España*, vol 1, pp. 177–86.

45 Enríquez, *Retrato del perfecto*, p. 141: 'arte conjectural'.

46 Enríquez, *Retrato del perfecto*, pp. 145–47: 'imaginacion del Rey Francisco'. For more on Enríquez's reformulation of Huarte and his own view of medicine's utility to the republic, see Jon Arrizabalaga, 'The Ideal Medical Practitioner in Counter-Reformation Castile: The

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By attributing the faculty of imagination to the sick king in addition to the Jewish doctor, Enríquez connected the dots established by Huarte: to truly comprehend the complex nature of medical expertise, it was necessary to know how to read and interpret stories. Enríquez recognized that the concurrence between the imagination of the king and his doctor rendered the episode both illustrative and humorous.

Enríquez's reframing of Huarte's story thus highlights the extent to which early modern empirical medicine was, as a late modern doctor might anachronistically put it, also narrative medicine. Beginning in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Lyonese physician Symphorien Champier began a trend of collecting *historia medica*, which were case histories culled from ancient and medieval sources as well as contemporary experience. Champier's *Galeni historiales campi* of 1532 established a precedent that the Italian antiquarian Luigi Mondella and Zacuto Lusitano expanded with their mid-sixteenth-century *Theatrum Galeni* and *De medicorum principium historia* of 1636, respectively.[47] The rise of these case collections, which were a combination of reference text, short story anthology and self-promotion, meant that it was possible to gain breadth of expertise through close readings as well as clinical experience. That is, doctors could improve their ability to read the signs of the sick body and interpret the clues proffered by ailing patients by studying medical anecdotes in these new compendiums, which marginalized the philosophical bookishness of sixteenth-century medical humanism even as they confused the boundary between the narrative and the empirical. To interpret *exempla* or *historiae* – precisely Huarte's project in the *Examen de ingenios* chapter on medicine – was to cultivate clinical skill.

I have joined Enríquez in retelling and analyzing Huarte's account of François' illness for the same reason as Ruderman, Caro Baroja and López Piñero, not to mention Miguel de Cervantes, whose Don Quijote is a choleric with an overly active literary imagination if there ever was one: because the story is a gracefully crafted, succinct and entertaining representation in what is otherwise a dense and challenging text.[48] By allowing the anecdote's literary

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Perception of the Converso Physician Henrique Jorge Henriques (c. 1555–1622)', in *Medicine and Medical Ethics in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: An Intercultural Approach*, (ed.) Samuel S. Kottek and Luis García-Ballester (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press of Hebrew University, 1996), pp. 61–91, esp. pp. 74–88.

47 Gianna Pomata, '*Praxis Historialis*: The Uses of *Historia* in Early Modern Medicine', in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, (ed.) Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), pp. 105–46, esp. pp. 105–06, and 122–37.

48 On *Examen de ingenios* as a source text for *Don Quijote* and a diagnostic manual for its eponymous hero, see Otis H. Green, 'El Ingenioso Hidalgo', *Hispanic Review*, 25 (1957): pp. 175–93, pp. 313–32. Numerous scholars have sought subsequently to refine Green's

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quality to coexist with its argumentative usefulness, it is possible to see that Huarte employed narrative to train his readers' interpretive attentiveness and religious nimbleness. He demonstrated that along with tropes of unbelief, stories were also tools for the demarcation of professional expertise. To read the François anecdote as a doctor reads his patients was thus to participate in the politicization of knowledge in the early modern period, and it remains so for us today.

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argument. See, for instance, Chester S. Halka's attention to the relationship between Don Quijote's sleep and his lucidity in 'Don Quijote in the Light of Huarte's *Examen de ingenios*: A Reexamination', *Anales Cervantinos*, 19 (1981): pp. 3–13.

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CHAPTER 13

# True Painting and the Challenge of Hypocrisy[1]

*Felipe Pereda*

'Non est animus ισπανιζειν'.

ERASMUS *of Rotterdam* (*23 August 1517*)

• • •

'Le vrai, toujours le vrai, c'est ta seule devise'.

THÉOPHILE GAUTIER

• •
•

Arguably the most influential date for the reception of Spanish painting is 1838, the year the famous *Galerie Espagnole* or Spanish Gallery opened at the Louvre. There, more than 400 paintings of the Spanish Baroque were displayed, the result of careful collecting in the previous years by Louis-Philippe as part of an institutional campaign that cost the French government 1.3 million francs.[2] The exhibition would last only ten years, but the impact it had in the European art world for both painters and critics alike can still be felt today.

1 The research in preparation for this study has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) ERC Grant Agreement number 323316, CORPI project 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'. Previous versions of this text have been presented at several conferences (Jerusalem: 'Hypocrisy and Dissimulation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam', Center for Jewish Studies, The University of Chicago, Jerusalem, 2012; Northwestern University, 2013; the annual meeting of the Sixteenth Century Society Conference, Puerto Rico, 2013; Johns Hopkins University, 2013; Harvard University, 2014). The paper has benefited from the questions and discussions following it. Rebecca Quinn Teresi edited the text improving my limited English. I am particularly thankful to Stefania Pastore for discussing this argument with me over the years. This article is dedicated to her.

2 Francisco Almela y Vives, 'El poeta Théophile Gautier ante el pintor José Ribera', *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 32 (1961): pp. 24–38. On the reception of Spanish painting in nineteenth-century France, see Ilse Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Alisa Luxenberg, *The Galerie Espagnole and the*

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It was not only the moment in which painters of the generation of Édouard Manet were confronted for the first time with the works of Velázquez, Murillo or Zurbarán, with very well known artistic consequences, but was also the time when the existence of an *École Espagnole* was first seriously considered, lying somewhere on the margins of the best-known established artistic traditions, mostly those of Italy and Flanders.

'One leaves the Spanish gallery' – wrote one critic – 'dazzled by the brilliance of the colours, gripped by the energy of execution and the power of the *truth* of this original painting'. 'Truthfulness' was to become one of the keywords that critics would begin insistently using from the 1830s, the other one, 'devotion'. Most of the paintings painstakingly collected by Louis-Philippe's agent in Spain, Baron Taylor, were religious paintings, unambiguous in their intensity, and crude in their style. Art critics labeled Murillo as the artist of 'tender and amorous devotion', Zurbarán 'cadaverous and monastic', Ribera's martyrdoms, 'bloody and savage'. All painters, however, coincided in bringing to the heart of Paris the extreme piety and crude superstition that three centuries of the Black Legend had prepared people to expect coming from South of the Pyrenees. The romantic fascination with Spanish paintings and its pervasive rhetoric continues to poison the art historical well. While recent literature and a few important exhibitions have revisited Spanish baroque painting not in isolation from but in creative dialogue with the artistic currents of its time, they have done nothing but reinforce the idea that Spanish art was the truthful expression of Spaniards' deep, almost primitive religiosity. Sincere belief became a condition of Spanish painting, one that at the same time distinguished this tradition and rendered it exotic.

Interestingly, a more complex understanding can be read in between the lines of the most perceptive comments of the French critics of the French *Galerie Espagnole.* In one of the earliest reactions recorded, Théophile Gautier praised Ribera's commitment to pictorial truth (*le vrai, toujours le vrai*) with verses that paradoxically coupled his obsessive representation of martyrdoms with the suggestion that, far from being the expression of orthodox faith, Ribera's work was in fact the traumatic result of the artist's birth in a land infected with converted Jews and Muslims:

> Reckless peasant, sketchy beggar
> *Moor that baptism could hardly make a Christian* [emphasis mine]
> While another might seek the beautiful, you seek out the shocking
> … the truth, always the truth, it's your only currency.

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*Museo Nacional 1835–1853: Saving Spanish Art, or the Politics of Patrimony* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

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By the time it had reached Gautier's verses in 1838, the 'trope' of Spaniards' insincere religiosity was little more than a poetic fossil, used as in this poem less to respond to the intrinsic violence of the painting than to stimulate if not produce the reader's estrangement. But this had not always been the case, rather quite the opposite. As I would like to explore in this article, there is a long history behind this trope, one that goes back to a crucial moment in the history of Spanish painting, a time when the tension between Spaniards' religious images as the signs or expression of their interior beliefs had become problematic. And what is important for an art historian, a time when the need to fix or bridge in painting what seemed broken or incomplete in social life – conversion, in the terms of the poem – became a major force of artistic creativity[3]. In order to uncover this track we will not only need to recuperate the early history of the cultural, even 'racial', prejudice expressed in Gautier's poem, but also like him, to problematize the relation of religious painting to people's beliefs: not to question them, but not to take them for granted either. It is in the paintings themselves, I will argue, and not anywhere 'behind them', that I believe these anxieties can be read. Needless to say, my goal is not to reinstate Gautier's romantic approach but, on the contrary, to follow his poetic intuition, and consider Spanish early-modern religiosity not as the solution or the response to the extreme confessional nature of its artistic culture, but instead, as the problematic condition from which to rethink its obsession with truth.

In order to explore this problem I will look into some very precise as well as thoroughly documented works of the mid-sixteenth century at a key moment in the process of the creation of Spanish devotional painting. First, however, I need to historically problematize our current use of the word 'devotional'. Illustrative will be the case of Esteban Jamete, a sculptor tried for heterodoxy. Arrested in the year 1557, Jamete represents a extraordinarily well-documented example of Protestant 'Nicodemism' in sixteenth-century Spain, a term coined by Calvin to refer to those people who followed common religious practice by hiding their true heterodox convictions.[4] According to the document recording his Inquisitorial trial, while he attended to his religious duties

3 For the broader cultural implications of early modern discourses of ethnicity, see for example, James Taylor, 'Why do you tear me from Myself?': Torture, Truth and the Arts of the Counter-Reformation,' in *The Rhetoric of Sincerity*, (ed.) Mieke Bal and Hent de Vries (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 19–43.

4 'Nicodemism' refered to crypto-Protestants living in Catholic land. The term however began to circulate after 1544. See Carlo Ginzburg, *Il nicodemismo. Simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970), and the critique of Carlos Eire, 'Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10 (1979): pp. 45–69. See also, Pérez

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as would any other citizen of Cuenca, the Castilian city where he established his workshop in 1545, his private life was troublingly at odds with his public behavior. Several of the colleagues or apprentices who had collaborated with him vividly recalled the lyrics of a song he used to sing while at work: 'El papa de Roma que se faze Dios engaña a los hombres en cada un lugar, matad vuestras candelas, ypocritas, ypocritas, dexad los ydolos e adoremos a Dios' (The Pope in Rome, who behaves as if he were God, fools men wherever he goes, put out your candles, Hypocrites, Hypocrites, give up your idols, and let us adore God).[5]

What we know of the sculptor's life sheds some light on his strange behavior. Born in Orléans (France) at the beginning of the century, Esteban or Étienne Jamet had arrived in Castile in his twenties attracted by the wealth of its artistic market. Although he claimed that his religious convictions had been corrupted after his arrival in Castile, it is more convincing to think that Jamete himself had been an active agent in the dissemination of heretical ideas. The transcript of his trial suggests that his spiritual convictions had slowly matured from some kind of mild skepticism of Catholicism towards a mixture of anticlericalism and certain Calvinist beliefs. This transformation was partly a matter of personal choice, but it was influenced by exposure to the thoughts and ideas of his fellow artists, most of whom came from France, Flanders and other parts of Northern Europe. Perhaps Jamete thought that his status as a *familiar* of the Holy Office – the tight denunciation network that the Inquisition had woven by the recruitment of thousands of working-class members – offered him a degree of protection; or maybe it was just his love of wine that

Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 63–99.

5 Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Proceso inquisitorial contra el escultor Esteban Jamete. Transcripción, extractos y notas preliminares* (Madrid: JAE, 1933), p. 23. On Jamete's heretical ideas, see Werner Thomas, *Los protestantes y la Inquisición en España en tiempos de Reforma y Contrarreforma* (Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 2001), pp. 635–37; María Luz Rokiski Lázaro, 'Proceso de Alexandre Francés y noticias de artistas que trabajaron en Cuenca', *Archivo español de arte*, 184 (1973): pp. 440–48; Jean-Louis Flecniakoska, 'La propagation des idées protestantes par les français en Espagne et l'Inquisition de Cuenca, 1554–78', *Bulletin de la societé de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, 120 (1974): pp. 532–54. For Jamete's biography see André Turcat, *Étienne Jamet alias Esteban Jamete. Sculpteur français de la Renaissance en Espagne, condammé par l'Inquisition* (Paris: Picard, 1994); Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer, 'Protestant Threat? Esteban Jamete', in *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, (ed.) R. Kagan and A. Deyer (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 36–63; and soon, Fernando Marías, 'Censurando imágenes públicas. La Inquisición y una estampa de Esteban Jamete' (forthcoming).

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loosened his tongue. Whatever the case, at the time of his arrest, Jamete had become outspokenly anticlerical, and sharply critical of the Papacy together with some of the fundamental doctrines of the Church. First, he forbade his wife from attending mass, he attended church only on a sporadic basis, and when he did, only for the reading of the Gospel and the consecration (for different reasons in each case). He also participated in debates involving such delicate subjects as the meaning of Trinity, and began to share some wild ideas with a widening circle of relatives and friends, including casting doubts on the existence of Purgatory and the reality of the sacraments. Finally, it seems that he denied public reverence of religious images to the point of radically questioning their presence in altarpieces. As he put it to one of his pupils, the Burgundian Isaac de Juni:

> it was not right to put [images of] Saints in the altarpieces, and it would be better to decorate them with other carvings and fantasies, but not images of Saints and their stories, as people were so absorbed in praying to those images that often they did not even pay attention to the Holy Sacrament.[6]

Such an indiscreet remark was not out of the ordinary in sixteenth-century Spain except for the fact that Jamete, of course, was an artist, working mostly as a sculptor. Although during the three decades he spent in Spain Jamete usually avoided the manufacture of cult images, having specialized instead in producing decorative architectural elements, his work often forced him to work in the making of more iconic works. To offer only one example, in one altarpiece from the Cathedral of Cuenca, dated 1551–52, five years before his arrest by the Inquisition, Jamete collaborated with a local painter. Martín Vázquez made the figures of two fullsize saints against a gold ground – a tradition that would most probably be considered old-fashioned in many parts of Europe at this time, but was to survive in Castile well into the sixteenth century. Meanwhile Jamete provided the wooden structure, including not only decorative 'fantasies' – as he would later recommend to his pupil – but also an image of the Veronica, one of the favourite targets of Calvinist attacks on Roman idolatrous practices. As developed in Calvin's *Treatise of Relics* (1543),

6 'que no era bien poner santos en los retablos, que antes era mejor adornar los retablos de otras tallas o fantasias que no ymaginarias de Santos e sus ystorias porque la gente se embebeçia tanto en rezar a aquellas ymagines que muchas vezes no se acordaban del Santo Sacramento'. Domínguez, *Proceso Inquisitorial*, p. 10.

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the Veronica, together with the Holy Shroud, brought shame to the Christian cult as it had no Scriptural support but only that of superstitious traditions.[7]

That Esteban Jamete would have worked carving this Veronica, while at the same time whispering his favourite French song – 'Hypocrites, Hypocrites, give up your idols, and adore God' – should at least alert us to the serious problem with using the term 'devotional' in an unproblematized way. When it comes to artists, Nicodemism has attracted little in the way of scholarly attention, despite the fact that foreign-born artisans (this category including artists) were one of the social groups most closely policed by the Holy Office. After those working in the textile and printing industries[8] it was artists or artisans – sculptors, painters, clockmakers and silversmiths according to the statistics collected by Werner Thomas – that constituted the largest number of the accused in Inquisitorial jails between 1519 and 1648, 43 percent of the jailed foreigners.[9]

Jamete's case is interesting for multiple reasons. The most obvious is that it questions the non-reflexive correspondence between devotional art and religious belief. Second, more interesting and challenging in the eyes of an art historian, is whether this separation between ritual practice, art making and belief that Jamete called 'hypocrisy' – a situation that he not only denounced but to which he contributed – can tell us something about the kind of strategic decisions that artists made in this period: in this precise case, for example, the conflation of image and relic in the Veronica, or the use of the old-fashioned gilt background for cult images in the *retablo* [see fig. 13.1]. Because, as Jamete's example shows, the tension between representation and belief always takes the point of view of an outsider (no one, apparently not even Jamete, thinks or thought of himself as a being a hypocrite), in the rest of this paper I will explore this tension's artistic consequences by taking just such an external perspective: that is the paintings Sebastiano del Piombo made for Spanish patrons, and their reception.

7 Jean Calvin's *Traité des reliques* first appeared in Geneva in 1543, to soon be translated into several languages (Latin, German, English, Flemish). On Calvin's attitude towards relics and images, see Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 195–233.

8 Clive Griffin, *Journeymen-Printers, Heresy and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

9 Thomas, *Los protestantes y la Inquisición*, p. 175 *ff*. There is nothing original about such proportions. See for example the case of Venice, John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 244–46.

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FIGURE 13.1 *Martín Gómez el Viejo and Esteban Jamete, Altarpiece (1551–52). Cathedral of Cuenca (Archivo Catedralicio, Cuenca).*

## **The Cobos** Pietà

To provide a background to what is arguably one of the most influential paintings ever imported to the Iberian Peninsula, Esteban Jamete's biography can be of help. During the three decades he spent in Spain, Jamete enjoyed the

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protection of some very important patrons, both religious and secular authorities. Among them the most relevant was doubtlessly Francisco de los Cobos (Úbeda, ca. 1497–1547), counselor to the Emperor Carlos V and Grand Commander of the military Order of Santiago at the time of his 1530 journey to Italy on the occasion of his Imperial coronation.[10] As Cobos managed to have Titian paint a portrait of his mistress, Cornelia, his Italian sojourn certainly shaped his interest in the new *all'antica* architecture (called *al romano* in Spain).[11] Jamete worked for the decoration of his palace in Valladolid in the 1530s, and was called again by Cobos in 1540 to work on the construction of his magnificent Renaissance funerary chapel in Úbeda (Jaén, Andalusia). Among many other sculptures, the French artist contributed some of the earliest representations of pagan gods of the Spanish Renaissance, carved in the interior part of the triumphal arch leading into the chapel, a task about which, we might assume, he felt much more comfortable[12] [see fig. 13.2].

It was for this same chapel that Francisco de los Cobos commissioned the so-called 'Cobos *Pietà*' from Sebastiano del Piombo in Rome, today in the Prado Museum (Madrid), a painting that might be considered the paradigm of the 'devout mode' that guided Spanish commissions in Renaissance Rome.[13] The painting is extraordinarily well documented thanks to a handful of very impor-

10 Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary to the Emperor Charles V* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960). On the chapel itself, see Caroline Horstmeier, 'Die Sacra Capella de El Salvador in Úbeda (Andalusien): eine Studie zur Memorialkunst und Sepulkralkultur der Neuzeit in Spanien' (PhD Diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 2011); for Jamete, pp. 50–52.

11 On Cobos' art patronage in Italy, particularly Titian's portrait of Cornelia see Diane H. Bodart, *Tiziano e Federico II Gonzaga. Storia di un rapporto di committenza* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998), esp. pp. 80–81, and documents: 66, 71, 74, 75, 78, 82, 85 (pp. 217, 219, 220–222, 224 and 225). There are also extensive references to his role as commissioning mediator in Matteo Mancini, *Tiziano e le Corti D'Asburgo: Nei Documenti degli Archivi Spagnoli* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1998), pp. 23–26; Francesco Caglioti, 'Il *San Giovannino* mediceo di Michelangelo da Firenze a Úbeda', *Prospettiva*, 145 (2012): pp. 2–81, considers (24–33) that the marble 'San Giovannino' destroyed in Úbeda in 1936 might have arrived to Cobos' hands during his stay in Florence in 1536.

12 André Turcat, *Étienne Jamet alias Esteban Jamete. Sculpteur français de la Renaissance en Espagne, condammé par l'Inquisition* (Paris: Picard, 1994).

13 Miguel Falomir, 'Sebastiano e il 'gusto spagnolo'', in *Sebastiano del Piombo 1485–1547* (Milan: F. Motta, 2008), pp. 66–71; Falomir, 'Dono italiano e 'gusto spagnolo' (1530–1610)', in *L'arte del dono. Scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550–1650*, (ed.) Marieke von Bernstorff and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda (Rome: Silvana Editoriale, 2014), pp. 13–26; Piers Baker-Bates, 'Sebastiano del Piombo's Úbeda Pietà: Between Italy and Spain', *Art, Site and Spectacle: Studies in Early Modern Visual Culture. Melbourne Art Journal*, 9 (2007): pp. 34–43. Particularly interesting on 'devout' painting is the documentation collected in

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FIGURE 13.2 *Esteban Jamete, Sacra capilla de El Salvador (Úbeda, Jaén), entry arch, interior. Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli.*

tant letters published by Michael Hirst that give a detailed account of the six-year-long process of negotiations beginning in 1532.[14] It was not until 1539 that it finally made its way, through Genoa, and maybe Valladolid, to its final destination in Úbeda.[15] Surprisingly, the letters by the Duke's Roman secretary express an ambivalent, at points even critical stance towards Sebastiano's 'Spanish' paintings. If on the one hand they refer to their pious nature, they also suggest that Spanish interest in painting's devotional mode was a sign of

Edward L. Goldberg, 'Circa 1600: Spanish Values and Tuscan Painting', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51 (1998): pp. 912–33.

14 Michael Hirst, 'Sebastiano's *Pietà* for the Comendador Mayor', *The Burlington Magazine*, 114 (1972): pp. 585–95. Documents had been previously, although fragmentarily, published in Giuseppe Campori, *Sebastiano del Piombo e Ferrante Gonzaga* (Vincenzi, 1864) and Pietro D'Achiardi, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Rome, 1908). Cobos would have seen the painting before 31 March 1538: Clifford M. Brown, 'A Further Document for Sebastiano's Ubeda 'Pietà', *The Burlington Magazine*, 132 (1990): pp. 570–71.

15 And not through Sicily the year after, as Hirst thought. See Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, 'Domenico Giuntalodi, peintre de D. Martinho de Portugal à Rome', *Revue de l'art*, 80 (1988): pp. 52–60.

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simulation or moral deceit.[16] As Miguel Falomir for example has noticed, the letters express a prejudice very widespread in Italy: a suspicion towards the faithfulness of Spanish religiosity that was grounded in Spain's long history of mass conversions.[17] On the other hand, however, the emotional overtones of the paintings have been systematically read as an expression of Spanish 'interior' religiosity, without considering the strategic move of the artist to meet specific requirements.

In my opinion it is much more fruitful to read both the Italian moral criticism expressed in these letters and the *Pietà*'s style not as different aspects of the painting's context but as part of one and the same discourse; in other words, consider Sebastiano's Spanish paintings as sophisticated exercises created to address and at the same time negotiate with the (hypocritical) Spanish 'taste'. In the last part of this article I will briefly look into the history of the painting's afterlife in Spain in the mid-sixteenth century. By exploring Sebastiano's Spanish reception, I hope to shed some light on the problematic nature of Spanish visual confessionalism. With this perspective in mind, let us return to the painting as it is first mentioned in the letters.

*In Spagna piacciono le pitture di devozione con attitudine quiete, senza svolgimenti* (In Spain, they like devotional paintings, with calm attitudes, without [excessive] gestures). The sentence does not refer to one of Sebastiano's paintings but to a 1599 commission made in Florence for the Marquesa del Valle.[18] The claim, however, was equally true half a century before, and even more so further into the past as I will shortly demonstrate. Most probably painted for the altar of Francisco de los Cobos' magnificent funerary chapel, the solemn 'Cobos *Pietà*' is first mentioned in 1533 in a letter written by the Roman agent of the Gonzaga court. The letter's recipient, Ferrante Gonzaga, who was ultimately responsible for the commission, had first-hand information of Spanish 'taste', as his mother – none other than one of the most accomplished patrons of Renaissance Italy, Isabella d'Este – had him travel to the Iberian Peninsula and join the Emperor's court between 1523 and 1524.[19] Back in Mantua, Ferrante

16 According to Sebastián de Covarrubias, 'hipocresía … vale disimulación, fingimiento, apariencia exterior', *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* [1610] (Madrid: Castalia, 1995), p. 638.

17 Falomir, 'Sebastiano e il "gusto spagnolo"'.

18 Goldberg, 'Circa 1600'.

19 Considering his correspondence with his mother, Isabella d'Este, Spanish art, much less Spanish architecture, raised little interest or praise. His secretary, Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola, only refers to the *brutissimi edificii ala fogia de Spagna*, and the only image mentioned is a 'San Giacomo' that Ferrante acquired in Santiago de Compostela to send it to his mother, assuming that it would please her, *perché ha tocato tutte queste sante*

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FIGURE 13.3 *Sebastiano del Piombo,* Cobos Pietà*, 111 × 124 cm* (*ca. 1540*). *Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli.*

now struggled to find a painting that would please the powerful counselor of the Emperor to decorate the magnificent funerary chapel that he was beginning to build in his native town of Úbeda, in Andalusia.

In this first letter Ferrante's ambassador Nino Sernini explains how the painter had offered two different models to paint: first, a Virgin and Child, the other – which was the one finally chosen – a *Pietà*, 'our Lady with her Son in her arms, *a guise di quella della febre'*, that is, in the form of Michelangelo's *Pietà* at the Vatican. To this Sernini added 'that the Spanish, to simulate being

*reliquie* ... Both in Raffaele Tamalio, *Ferrante Gonzaga alla corte spagnola di Carlo V nel carteggio privato con Mantova* (*1523–1526*). *La formazione da 'cortegiano' di un generale dell'impero* (Mantua: Arcari, 1991), p. 82, p. 240.

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good Christians (*per parer buon Cristiani*), usually love these sorts of pious things (*cose pietose*)'.

Sernini's characterization of Spanish taste was thoughtfully oriented to find the right and successful gift for the Emperor's counselor. In the previous years, Spanish patrons had become an important part of Sebastiano's market. Clerics who happened to live in Rome – as was the case of the Burgos canon Díez de Lerma – and several Spanish ambassadors, all of whom ended their lives buried in magnificent funerary chapels in their native country, commissioned works from Sebastiano.[20] These Spanish commissions fostered a tendency towards a dramatic simplicity that is already perceived in Sebastiano's narrative paintings, but was only fully developed in his close-up depictions of passion scenes. Jerónimo Vich y Valterra, ambassador to Fernando the Catholic (1506–16), had him paint a very important triptych for his private chapel in Valencia, but also one *Portacroce* where the narrative is reduced at the expense of its iconicity. This process culminates in two more versions of the same subject painted for Spanish patrons, one of them yet to be identified [see fig. 13.3], the other for the ambassador's successor in Rome, the Count of Cifuentes, a gloomy version of Christ carrying the cross to which I will return shortly [see fig. 13.4].

At the same time, Sernini's identification of 'pious' painting with a Spanish urge to show off their status as good Christians, and his association of devotional painting with simulation, has a complex background. Before we further explore the context for this prejudice, however, let us look briefly into the evidence provided by the Cobos *Pietà*.[21] Sebastiano worked from a drawing probably provided by Michelangelo in order to compose a painting that looks for a balance between late medieval devotional models and modern artifice.[22] Christ's body is fully exposed to the viewer, with the Virgin Mary at his back having no physical contact with his sacramental body. Its dramatic effect is enhanced by the painting's support, black slate, a very exceptional medium

20 Fernando Benito Domenech, 'Sebastiano del Piombo y España', in *Sebastiano del Piombo y España* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1995), pp. 41–79.

21 Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 128–31.

22 Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 151–53. For Michelangelo's drawings in relation to the Cobos Pietà see also Erwin Panofsky, 'Die Pietà von Ubeda. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Lösung der Sebastianofrage', in *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser zum 60. Geburtstage* (Zürich Leipzig, Viena: Amalthea, 1927), pp. 150–61, who considers but leaves unanswered the question of whether the drawing was made with the Spanish commission in mind.

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FIGURE 13.4 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ carrying the Cross*, 43 × 32 cm, oil on slate, (1532–35). © Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

with which, according to Pietro Bembo,[23] Sebastiano had begun experimenting some years before in order to render his works 'eternal'.[24]

23 Pietro Bembo to Vittore Soranzo, Camariere Clement VII: 'i colori súbito che sono asciutti, si uniscono col marmo di maniera che quasi impetriscono, et ha fatto ogni prova et è durevole. Ne ha fatto una imagine di Christo et halla mostrato a N. Sig.' Cited by Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, p. 124.

24 Although I cannot follow up on this connection at this time, it would be worthwhile to remember not only that black slate was especially preferred by Sebastiano's Spanish patrons, but also that, when some years after, Titian received his first commission of a devotional passion-panel from Emperor Carlos V, slate was again the support requested by the patron.

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FIGURE 13.5 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Christ carrying the Cross*, 104.5 × 74.5 cm, oil on slate, (1537). The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

Sebastiano's *Pietà* is also unique in its iconography: the Virgin hovers behind the sepulcher where her son's body lies dead. This is covered with a white cloth wrapped around the tomb's border. Two more characters, maybe apostles, seem to attend the scene from the shadows, one entering the sepulcher, the second leaving.[25] The Virgin holds three nails in her right hand, and a second piece of cloth upon which Christ's face is printed, with her left. As far as I know there is no precedent for this iconography either in Italian or in Spanish painting. The figure has been identified as a non-narrative image, a sort of conflation

25 Only in-person viewing can fully perceive these two figures which, notwithstanding, must have been clearly perceptible in the sixteenth century, as none of the panel's copyists failed to interpret their meaning.

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of the Virgin with the Veronica but, as I will suggest later, a much more economic and historical explanation is in my understanding possible.[26]

If the support and its composition render the painting extremely severe, this contrasts with the emotional expression that we can read in it. There are few signs of grief: there is neither blood on Christ's breast nor any other sign of the passion in his body, nor tears flowing from Mary's eyes who, instead, stares stoically at the cloth hanging from her hand. What Ferrante Gonzaga's Roman agent meant when he said that the Spanish liked 'simulating' devotion can now be better understood, but also complicated, against the backdrop of this visual evidence. Sebastiano's mastery of devotional subjects was very well known across Italy, but his emotional tendency was also troubling. Alexander Nagel has noticed that the letter's concern is not an isolated document, but one among a larger number of testimonies expressing an increasing tension between the aesthetic and religious functions of devotional paintings in Italy.[27] Without leaving the realm of the Gonzaga patronage, in 1524 Ferrante's brother Federico, the Marquis of Mantua, when asking for a painting by Sebastiano's hands, underlined that it should be 'of any kind so long as it is not about saints, but a picture that is lovely and beautiful to look at' (*una qualche pictura vaghe et belle da vedere*). More interesting though, when three years later (1527) Pietro Aretino mediated in a commission by the same artist and for the same patron, he wrote: 'I have written to Sebastiano, miraculous painter, that your will is that he makes a painting with whatever invention he likes, only, that there should be no hypocrisies (*ipocrisie*), nor stigmata, nor nails'.[28] That Sebastiano would paint exactly such a 'hypocritical' panel for Francisco de los Cobos, a painting that was to be considered an exercise in 'simulation', is enlightening, but must also be considered carefully. At this point, it might be necessary to clarify what exactly the term 'hypocrite' might have meant for these actors.

26 See most recently Elena Calvillo, 'Authoritative Copies and Divine Originals: Lucretian Metaphor, Painting on Stone, and the Problem of Originality in Michelangelo's Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66 (2013): pp. 453–508.

27 As cited in Alexander Nagel, 'Experiments in Art and Reform in Italy in the Early Sixteenth Century', in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 385–409; Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

28 Nagel, 'Experiments in Art.' The letter is in Pietro Aretino, *Lettere. Il primo e il secondo libro* (Milano: Mondadori, 1960), p. 8; it is also in Bodart, *Tiziano e Federico*, doc. 20, p. 197.

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## On Hypocrisy

Hypocrisy, according to Thomas Aquinas, is a lack of correspondence between the sign and its reference, between *signum* and *signatum*, between outward words, deeds or any sensible objects and what they pretend to signify.[29] It is a corruption of language. This might help us interpret the 'hypocrisies' referred to by Aretino, the pious 'signs' to be read on the surface of the painting. In fact, while the wound occupies the center of the composition, it is discretely drawn on his breast as a thin line, almost illegible. Regarding the nails, reflectography shows that the composition went through very few changes during its process, but among which is one very significant for us now: the nails were originally much bigger, but he had them corrected to make them look smaller, a sign, it can be argued, of the painter's insecurity on this sensitive matter. Again, Christ's Classical, Apollo-like beauty is not deformed by the signs of the passion experienced by his body. Sebastiano struggled to meet the requirements of his patron, or what it was he thought his patron would have liked, while at the same carefully lessening what would have exposed him to moral criticism. Of what kind?

Aretino's censure of Sebastiano can be read as a general aesthetic prejudice at the outset of the Counter Reformation. In fact, as recent literature has pointed out, the modern era saw an increasing concern with the correspondence between belief and practice, 'moral distance between public forms of behavior and private thoughts and feelings', a 'correspondence' – in Aquinas' words quoted before – that religious patronage was sometimes aimed to bridge.[30] In Renaissance Rome, however, this 'moral distance' was also embedded in more local polemics, and turned into a current topic of discussion, one in which Spain and hypocrisy would occasionally have been even interchangeable. In the Erasmus of Rotterdam quotation at the beginning of this article, the Dutch scholar made it into a refined formula. In a famous letter to Thomas More in 1517 explaining to his friend why he would turn down Cardinal Cisneros' offer to move to Spain to contribute to the Polyglot Bible, Erasmus

29 T. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, IIa, IIae, q.111: 'Mala ergo intention in hypocrisi consideratur sicut signatum, quod non respondet signo. Exteriora autem vel verba vel opera, vel quaecumque sensibilia consideratur simulation et mendcacio sicut signa'.

30 Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 67: 'when conventional behavior is seen as being essentially *representational* [emphasis mine] and essentially independent of the self, the possibility is opened up of deploying it in games of power'.

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enigmatically concluded: *non placet Ισπανιζειν*).[31] For such a reader as More, it wouldn't be difficult to understand Erasmus' word-play: *ispanizein* – to be among or behave like a Spaniard – echoing, I would suggest, the word *iudaizein*, a verb coined by St Paul (Gal 2.14) for those who, being Jewish converts, remained imprisoned in a legalistic understanding of religion.[32] Spanish Christian religion, it seems Erasmus was ironically implying, had only reached the flesh of the rituals, but not the spirit of a true conversion.

From this understanding of Spanish society as being deeply semiticized to considering their ritualistic practice of religion as a sign of hypocrisy, there was only a short step that Italians would prove eager to make. Fifteen years later, in Rome, accusations of hypocrisy had become endemic. In 1532 Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, a member of Carlos V's court just like Ferrante Gonzaga, published his Latin *Antiapologia* defending Alberto Pio against Erasmus of Rotterdam.[33] The year before, the former had denounced the Dutch Humanist's attacks on religious Catholic rituals and practice, with special attention to images. Joining now the Prince of Carpi, Sepúlveda challenged Erasmus to stand on his accusation that this was all about hypocrisy, 'for who is ignorant of the fact that the Greek hypocrisy means nothing other than the Latin *histrio* or *simulator*?'.[34]

Painting being a major instrument in the construction of public religious identity, it is not surprising that art criticism frequently turned to this aspect of moral 'simulation'. Aretino, in fact, had not been the only one to make use of the term as a derogatory aesthetic judgment. In the 1550 edition of his *Lives of the Artists*, for example, Giorgio Vasari used it to describe the style of Giovanni Antonio Sogliani, whose devout and pious compositions (Vasari claims that he

31 Erasmi Roterodami, *Opus Epistolarum*, III, Ep. 628. Also cited by Marcel Bataillon, but while he insisted on Erasmus' anti-judaic prejudices, he overlooked his irony: M. Bataillon, *Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991 [1966]), p. 77.

32 For the cultural and hermeneutical consequences of such a trope, see David Nirenberg, 'Figures of Thought and Figures of Flesh: 'Jews' and 'Judaism' in Late-Medieval Spanish Poetry and Politics', *Speculum*, 81 (2006): pp. 398–426, now also in *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), pp. 117–41.

33 See on this episode, Nelson H. Minnich, 'The Debate between Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam and Alberto Pio of Carpi on the Use of Sacred Images', in *Annuarium historiae conciliorum. Internationale Zeitschrift für Konziliengeschichtsforschung*, 20 (1988): pp. 379–413.

34 Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Antiapología en defensa de Alberto Pío frente a Erasmo de Rotterdam*, in *Obras completas* (Pozoblanco, Cordoba: Ayuntamiento, 2003 [1532]), vol. 7, p. 144.

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greatly admired Fra Bartolomeo) were *secondo l'uso de gli ipocriti* ('following the use of hypocrites').[35] Like Sebastiano's critics, Vasari also paired the term with that of *devoto* or 'devotional', one that he used almost exclusively to describe the pious work of the Dominican painter Fra Angelico, now beatified, an artist to whom Counter-Reformation critics continuously turned when looking for a model that would reconcile artifice with religious *decorum.*[36] It is not a coincidence that the largest cycle of Fra Angelico's Roman frescoes – those that have unfortunately now disappeared at Santa Maria Sopra Minerva – had been the commission of a Spanish prelate, none other than the converso cardinal Juan de Torquemada.[37] Although better known for being the uncle of the famous Inquisitor, Torquemada was a skilled theologian who extensively polemicized on the status of religious images with Jews and Muslims, on the one hand, but also wrote against the Hussites on this same matter.[38] In his writings, Torquemada not only turned his eyes to the mosaics of the early Christian church, and the image-relics preserved in the city, he also relied on Thomas Aquinas for defending the highest degree of veneration for religious images. It had been to Fra Angelico, and later to his follower Antoniazzo Romano, that Spanish patrons had usually turned in Rome when looking for a devout style that one late fifteenth-century contract for San Giacomo degli Spagnoli describes as *Ad modum Yspaniae.*[39]

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35 'Fu persona che viveva con religion … La maniera sua molto piacque allo universal, faccendo egli arie pietose e devote, secondo l'uso de gli ipocriti'; Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani da Cimabue, insino a' tempi nostril. Nell' edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550* (Torino: Einaudi, 1986), vol. 2, p. 761.

36 Fra Angelico's popularity in Counter-Reformation Spain has been beautifully reconstructed by Falomir, 'Dono italiano'.

37 See for these, Gerardo di Simone, 'L'ultimo Angelico. Le *Meditationes* del cardinal Torquemada e il ciclo perduto nel chiostro di S. Maria sopra Minerva', *Ricerche di Storia dell'arte,* 76 (2002): pp. 41–87; Angi L. Elsea, *Reconstructing the Lost Frescoes of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome from the Meditationes of Cardinal Juan de Torquemada* (Lewiston: Eldwin Mellen Press, 2009). For Torquemada's commissions from Angelico, see also Miklos Boskovits, 'La fase tarda del Beato Angelico, una proposta di interpretazione', *Arte Cristiana*, 71, no. 694 (1983): pp. 11–24.

38 For Torquemada's writing on images, see F. Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia. Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), pp. 237–38, pp. 408–10 (forthcoming English translation). For his polemic against the Hussites, see *Reprobationes triginta octo articulorum quos tenant usiti de moldavis*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 976, fols. 71–94. I don't know of any literature on this very interesting document.

39 Gisela Noehles-Doerck, *Antoniazzo Romano. Studien zur Quattrocentomalerei in Rom* (Münster: Noehles, 1973), p. 545, doc. LIX. It is neither clear (nor necessary for my argu-

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Spanish interest in devotional painting, however, might have seemed paradoxical in the eyes of Roman viewers: in 1498, the same bishop responsible for the renovation of San Giacomo in Piazza Navona (from where this panel comes) was tried in Rome for heresy in a public *auto de fe*. Along with the charges of anti-trinitarianism, or praying *more ebraico*, Pedro de Aranda, as he was named, was accused of rejecting religious images and even of having them destroyed, calling them *immunditias et tristitias*. ...[40] I will go back to this paradox in a moment, but I must briefly return first to the Aretine critic.

'Hypocrisy' would become a major concern of Aretino in the following years,[41] as well as a source for literary inspiration, exactly at the same pace as the religious climate paved the way towards the Counter Reformation in Italy. In his satirical dialogue *Raggionamento delle corti* (1538), two of the most relevant protagonists of this process and, in the words of Christopher Cairns, Aretino's 'two great ecclesiastical enemies', were made his targets: Gian Pietro Carafa, later Pope Paul IV, and the famous Cardinal of Verona, Gian Mateo Giberti.[42] It is certainly not a coincidence that both religious reformers developed similar policies against the demonstration of visual signs of the Passion in sacred images: as a part of his program of ecclesiastical reform in the dioceses of Verona in the 1520s, Gian Mateo Giberti ordered that excessive blood

ment) that such a term refers to a pictorial mode, as argued in Fernando Marías, *El largo Siglo XVI. Los usos artísticos del Renacimiento español* (Madrid: Taurus, 1989), p. 98; or as an iconographic reference, in Falomir, 'Sebastiano e il 'gusto spagnolo'. On Antoniazzo, see now S. Petrocchi and A. Cavallaro (ed.), *Antoniazzo Romano. Pictor urbis 1435–1440/1508* (Rome: Silvana, 2013).

40 Anna Foa, 'Un vescovo marrano: Il proceso a Pedro de Aranda (Roma, 1498)', *Quaderni Storici*, 99 (1998): pp. 533–51. See also Foa, 'Converts and *conversos* in Sixteenth-Century Italy. Marranos in Rome', in *The Jews in Italy: Memory and Identity* (Bethesda: University of Maryland Press, 2008), pp. 109–29. Also Stefania Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada. L'Inquisizione di Castiglia e I suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2003), pp. 79–80. On the Inquisition attention on newly-converted's attitudes towards images, see Pereda, *Las imágenes de la Discordia;* Pereda, *'Through a Glass Darkly: Paths to Salvation in Spanish Painting at the Outset of the Inquisition'*, in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 263–90.

41 'the theme of hypocrisy was a constant leitmotiv during Aretino's Venetian period', Christopher Cairns, *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice. Researches on Aretino and his Circle in Venice 1527–1556* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1985), p. 179.

42 Cairns, *Pietro Aretino*, p. 77.

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should be erased in representations of the Crucifixion. This, he argued, was against the understanding of Christ's triumphant glory.[43]

For his part in 1556, Paul IV Carafa ordered that crucifixes should have no more than *quattro piaghe* (four wounds), again limiting the excessive signs of the Passion in iconography.[44] Scripture, and not popular imagination, was to reestablish the limits of *decorum.* Sebastiano's strategy for Francisco de los Cobos follows a similar path: his painting blurred the pain of the passion while at the same time not only employed one of the most traditional types of Christian devotional painting, but also underlined its reference to the foundational sacred models of this tradition. At this point I need to correct what I think has been a continual misunderstanding of the painting's iconography. The depiction of the *Pietà* as part of a narrative scene at the sepulcher is certainly not new in the pictorial tradition. Having the Virgin Mary, however, holding an imprint of Christ' face on a cloth is. Traditionally art historians have solved this narrative inconsistency by appealing to the devotional or transhistorical nature of the painting. This is however, in my opinion, hardly necessary.

## Veronica or Sudarium? A Note on Iconography

Sebastiano's representation of the *Pietà* is not only justified by Scripture, but also by the iconographic tradition, even if one needs to go back in time to find eloquent comparisons. As a matter of example, in the miniature from the Ottonian Gereon Sacramentary [see fig. 13.6], the Virgin finds two different pieces of cloth at the tomb: one wrapped around the tomb's border, and another much smaller one which she holds in her hands, pressing it to her face. This is obviously consistent with Scripture – according to John 20: 6–8, a linen cloth or *linteamina* and also the square *sudarium* covering only Christ's face were found at the empty tomb – and it is frequent to find the separate representation of both pieces of cloth in Christian iconography (from early Ottonian miniatures to Fra Angelico), either as a square blank piece of cloth or even

43 Antonio Fassani, *Riforma pretridentina della diocese di Verona: Visite pastorali del vescovo G.M. Giberti 1525–1542* (Vicenza: Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e di storia religiosa, 1989), p. cxxx. Also in Nagel, 'Experiments in Art'.

44 Paul IV, bull of 1556, in Antonio Carracciolo, *Vita et gestis di Giovan Pietro Carafa cioè di Paolo IV* (Naples, 1619), Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 349, fols. 392r–v. I thank Pierroberto Scaramella for the reference, and Hannah Friedman for checking it for me.

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imprinted with Christ's face.[45] While in the sixteenth century the independent portrait of Christ recalled of course Veronica's relic in Rome along with its medieval legend, Sebastiano's insertion and re-framing of Christ's portrait in the place and time of Christ's entombment immediately forces its identification with the funerary *sudarium*.[46]

This reconsideration is not only meaningful as an effort to replace fiction with the truth of history – in fact none other than Calvin himself used Scripture to undermine both the authenticity of the Veronica as well as the pretended full-length *sudarium*, the Holy Shroud –[47] but also to find a balance between the narrative and iconicity that emphasized pictorial evidence: as recorded in John 20:6–8 it was the proof provided by this discovery that convinced Peter and John that the resurrection had really taken place: *vidit et credidit*, 'he saw and believed', in John's words; no doubt one of the strongest affirmations of visual recognition, or autopsy, in the Gospels.[48] At a moment when the author-

45 Trond Lectionary (Liège, 1160–80). Morgan Library, 883, fol. 51v; Book of Hours, Dutch, early fifeteenth. ms. Laud Lat. 15 Bodleian Library (Oxford).

46 As Von Dobschütz's collection of sources makes in fact clear, *sudarium* is the term most often used in early sources to refer to the Roman relic: *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 221 n. 8, p. 279 n. 10 n. 11, n. 15, n. 16, and so on. For the early history of the Veronica see Jean-Marie Sansterre, 'Variations d'une legend et genèse d'un culte entre la Jérusalem des origines, Rome et l'Occident', *Passages. Déplacements des hommes, circulation des textes et identités dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Méridiennes, 2013), pp. 217–31. Sansterre discusses the emergence of the Veronica cult in competition with the Lateran *sudarium* of which there is nothing not but literary traces. The historical confusion or overlapping of these two relics, or their textual referents has not as far as I know been the object of consideration.

47 In his *Traité des reliques* (1543), Calvin not only dismissed the Veronica for its lack of Scriptural basis, he also discussed the authenticity of the Holy Shroud (at the time not yet in Turin) for not corresponding with John's description of the square *sudarium*: 'Ce que aussi l'évangéliste exprime, quand il dit que saint Pierre vit les linges d'un côté, où le corps avait été enveloppé, et d'un autre côté le suaire, qui avait été posé sur la tête. Car telle est la signification de ce mot de suaire, de le prendre pour un mouchoir ou couvre-chef, et non pas pour un grand linceul qui serve à envelopper le corps. Pour conclure brièvement, il faut que l'évangéliste saint Jean soit menteur, ou bien que tous ceux qui se vantent d'avoir le saint suaire soient convaincus de faussetés et qu'on voie apertement qu'ils ont séduit le pauvre peuple par une impudence trop extreme'; Jean Calvin, *Traité des reliques suivi de l'excuse à messieurs les Nicodémites* (Paris: Bossard, 1921), pp. 129–30.

48 Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006); Samuel Byrskog, *Story as History, History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), are exemplary analyses of this aspect.

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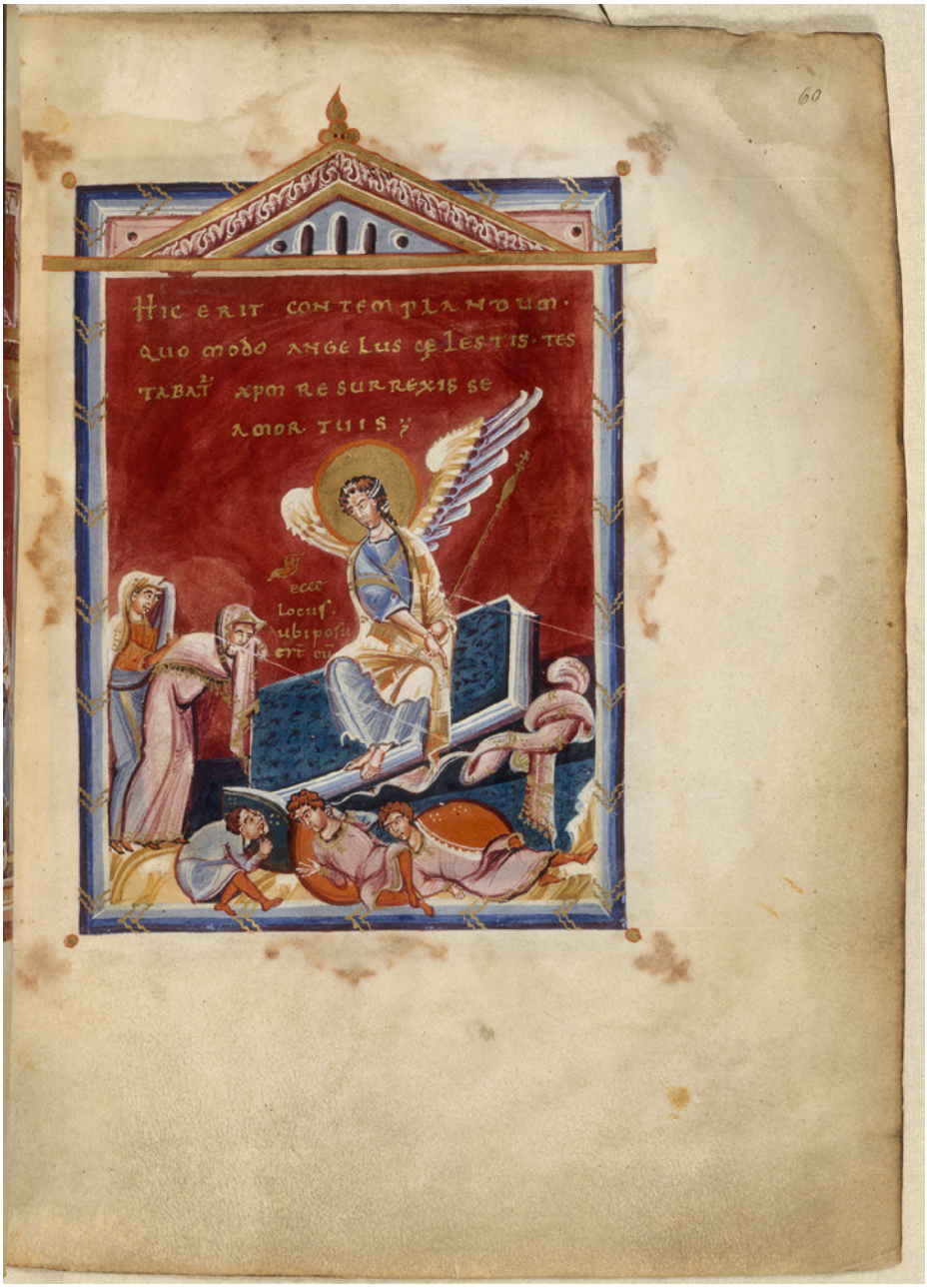


FIGURE 13.6 *'Maries at the Sepulchre', Sacramentarium Sancti Gereonis Coloniensis, Lat. 817, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Île-de-France.*

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ity of image-relics was debated and questioned, Sebastiano seems to have deliberately chosen to emphasize the evangelic tradition of image-making.

That the Venetian painter Sebastiano acted in a way to please both his patron, Ferrante Gonzaga, and the final addressee of the painting, Francisco de los Cobos, has left extensive evidence in the correspondence that crossed between the patron and his Roman agent until its final delivery in 1539. As I have already established, hypocrisy as an aesthetic and moral prejudice was spreading in mid-sixteenth century Italy, but it also had a much more local, if not xenophobic component to which it is urgent now to turn our attention. If in the already-mentioned satire against Hypocrisy, the *Raggionamento delle corti*, Aretino had made his friend, the poet Ludovico Dolce, a character in his dialogue, some years later, Dolce turned him into the protagonist of his famous dialogue *L'Aretino*, named of course after his memory, a major text of Renaissance art criticism.

As a character of Dolce, Aretino expresses here again his disapproval of Sebastiano del Piombo, but now in a much more specific and at the same time enigmatic way. When discussing Ariosto's ranking of painters, in which Sebastiano del Piombo had been placed at the top, sharing the place with Raphael and Titian, Aretino expressed his strong opposition to comparing him with either of these two painters. Immediately afterward, Aretino added: 'such a *peccadillo* (to use a Spanish term here) does not keep Ariosto from having been that perfect poet that the world adjudges him to be'.[49]

That the *pecadillo* was a familiar term in the world of Venetian painters is proved by Paolo Pino. Nowhere but in his *Dialogo de la pittura* (1548) does Pino refer to the *pecadiglio dell'Hispagnuolo*, in his use, a euphemism that masks with a diminutive the gravity of a serious error.[50] To know what offensive mistake they were referring to, it is worth asking Ludovico Ariosto himself. In his *Satira a Bembo*, the author of the *Orlando Furioso* put it plainly: *Et oltra questa nota, il peccadiglio / di Spagna gli dànno anco, che non creda/in unità del Spirito il Padre e il Figlio* (And also this, the Spanish *pecadillo*, which is of those who do not believe in the unity of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son).[51]

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49 Mark W. Roskill, *Dolce's* Aretino *and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 92–93.

50 'fornire il ragionamento vostro vi riman lo *peccadiglio dell'Ispagnuollo*, riposto da lui nel fondo della confessione come più leve, et *era più grave che tutti gli altri insieme* [emphasis mine]'; Paolo Pino, *Dialogo della Pittura* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1954).

51 For more examples see Benedetto Croce, *Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinacenza* (Bari: Laterza, 1917); Arturo Farinelli, *Marrano* (*storia di un vituperio*) (Geneva: Leo S. Olschki, 1925); and Chapter 10 by Stefania Pastore in this volume.

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As Benedetto Croce made clear a century ago, Venetians, and more generally Italians, perceived Spaniards as incredulous – cases like the just-cited *auto de fe* of Pedro de Aranda no doubt contributed to it – but they also interpreted such incredulity as an indelible stain deeply rooted in Spain's recent history of multi-confessionalism and forced conversions. And they soon found a word for it: Spaniards – wrote Aretino's secretary Niccolò Franco – *per non creder, si chiamano* marrani ('because they don't believe, they are called *marrani*'). Even the previously-cited Ginés de Sepúlveda, writing in 1532, seems to have shared this criticism when, defending the friars' fondness for external expressions of piety, he argued that this should not be seen as an expression of 'superstitious judaizing'.[52]

'Marranism' turned out to be a useful interpretive tool when it came to framing and also counteracting any form of infectious heterodoxy. It is not surprising therefore that it was soon applied to religious history and relics, the two subjects of our painting. In 1528, Count Baldassare Castiglione, the Mantuan agent of Pope Clement VII at the Castilian court, responded to Alfonso de Valdés' written defense of the Imperial responsibility for the Sack of the Holy City, recalling among other sad episodes, the way the *Santo Sudario di Cristo* [sic] had been 'stepped on and vilified' by those who called themselves faithful, the troops of the Emperor.[53] It should come as no surprise that Castiglione identified Valdés' Erasmian critique of Roman 'superstitious' relics and images as a sign of his *marranismo*. And in fact, Valdés' Converso origins were very well known.[54]

In conclusion, when only five years later, another Mantuan agent of Ferrante Gonzaga, this time in Rome, considered that Spaniards liked 'pious' painting *per parer buon cristiani* (to look like good Christians), he not only meant that such was their taste, as it has usually been argued,[55] but he also implied that

52 See n. 32.

53 Baldassare Castiglione, 'Respuesta del Conde … nuncio en España, a la carta de Valdés de agosto de 1528', in Alfonso de Valdés, *Obra Completa* (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 1996), pp. 540–74, esp. p. 551.

54 See most recently Stefania Pastore, *Un'eresia spagnola. Spiritualità conversa, alumbradismo e inquisizione* (*1449–1559*) (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2004), p. 167*ff*. On the Italian reception of the Valdés brothers see Massimo Firpo, *Tra alumbrados e 'spirituali'. Studi su Juan de Valdés e il valdesianismo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1990). For a reconsideration of these exchanges see James Amelang, 'Exchanges Between Italy and Spain: Culture and Religion', in *Spain and Italy: Politics, Society and Religion 1500–1700*, (ed.) Thomas Dandelet and John A. Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 433–55.

55 Starting with Michael Hirst's work on Sebastiano, this also applies to Spanish bibliography.

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painting had become one true mask of their less truthful religious convictions (whether he was right or not is of course another question). Whatever Francisco de los Cobos personally thought is of the little relevance. More important now, though, is on the one hand how this tension was played out in the pictorial field; and on the other what the broader cultural consequences were. I have briefly analyzed the sophisticated strategy followed by Sebastiano in his famous *Pietà*, but his was a fragile balance, and not always equally successful. Let us now dig further into this fascinating problem.

According to the same epistolary documentation that we have been using so far, Francisco de los Cobos visited Sebastiano del Piombo in 1539, and finally contemplated the finished painting. At his workshop, Cobos would have also seen a second painting that Sebastiano had finished, this time for the Count of Cifuentes, Carlos V's Ambassador in Rome. We do not know what Cobos thought of this other painting, but this one Sernini did not like at all:

> If your Eminence had seen the Christ with a cross on his shoulder that he painted for the Count of Cifuentes you would have been very disappointed, because not only would you not have liked it, but it was offensive to look at (*offendeva da vederlo*).[56]

It is not difficult to imagine now what Sernini found so 'offensive' in the painting. Unlike in the Cobos *Pietà*, Christ's painful expression is here disturbing as the thorns of the crown penetrate into his forehead. It is interesting to note that the *Portacroce* was one of the most popular of all of Sebastiano's compositions in Spain, having been copied on multiple occasions, some even signed as originals of Sebastiano (like in the unpublished panel at the Descalzas Reales which is presented here for the first time) [see fig. 13.7].[57] At least one second copy, now in Ávila, preserved the authority of the model by giving acknowledgement to Sebastiano as its 'inventor'.[58] The author of this last copy, the Portuguese painter Manuel Denís, has a peculiar significance to our discussion, as Denís is the translator of Francisco de Holanda's early criticism of Sebastiano's style, the famous *Dialoghi romani*, in which the Venetian is described as *desmelanconizado*, a term that according to Covarrubias means something like 'non saddening' or 'non grieving', lacking pathos, a restraint of

56 Hirst, 'Sebastiano's *Pietà*'.

57 Inv. 00610683. I thank Ana García Sanz for helping me identify this painting.

58 María José Redondo Cantera y Vitor Serrâo, 'El pintor portugués Manuel Denís, al servicio de la casa real', in *El arte foráneo en España. Presencia e influencia* (Madrid: Departamento de Historia del Arte, IH-CSIC, 2005), pp. 61–78. See also Falomir, 'Sebastiano del Piombo'.

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FIGURE 13.7 *Sebastiano del Piombo,* (*copy of*) Christ carrying the Cross*, Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid.*

expression for which his Spanish interpreters would be eager to compensate.[59]

59 Francisco de Holanda, *De la pintura antigua seguido de 'El diálogo de la Pintura'. Versión castellana Manuel Denís* (*1563*) (Madrid: Visor, 2003), p. 186. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure about the exact words that Denís translated, as the original manuscript – copied in Madrid in the nineteenth century – has disappeared. Two opposing versions circulate: according to one [based on Joaquim de Vasconcelos (ed.) *Vier Gespräche über die Malerei geführt zu Rom 1538* (Vienna, 1899), p. 96] the original said *muito desmanencolizado* a beautiful and eloquent neologism [Holanda, *Da Pintura Antiga*, Portuguese edition by A. González García, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, Casa da Moeda, 1983), p. 289]. This I take as the most probable. For reasons not explained in the paratext, a recent edition of the Portuguese text says just the opposite: *muito melancólico* [Holanda, *Dialoghi di Roma* (Roma: Bagatto, 1993), p. 140]. Most puzzling is the recent English translation: 'the *very carefree*

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This process is better seen in the interpretation of Sebastiano's *Portacroce* trademark by the more gifted painter Luis de Morales. Here, however, with interesting changes with which I would like to conclude.

## Inventive Reception: The Case of Luis de Morales

The reception of Sebastiano del Piombo's paintings in Spain was extraordinary, deeper maybe than any other Italian artist of the Renaissance and more long-lived, enduring well into the Baroque [see fig. 13.8].[60] Extensively interpreted and copied, his models were subject to certain significant changes precisely where Sebastiano's religious 'signs' had remained blunted, if not ambiguous. The earliest copy of the 'Cobos *Pietà*' that we know of brings us back to the beginning of this study. It is a small panel of the exact measurements of its model, dated circa 1550 and attributed to Martín Gómez el Viejo (d. 1562), the same artist with whom Esteban Jamete collaborated in the altarpiece mentioned at the beginning of this article [see fig. 13.9].[61] The panel's provenance is the Inquisitiorial jail of Cuenca, the very same in which Jamete was confined between 1557 and 1559, although there is no reason to consider this more than a disturbing coincidence. The painter has rendered evident what in the original is only suggested: the size of the nails, the tears on the Virgin's face and, more than anything, the blood flowing from Christ's wound.

Much more interesting, though, is the way Sebastiano's model was reinterpreted by the painter who was arguably the most gifted at Spanish passion iconography, the just-mentioned Luis de Morales (ca. 1570, Academia de Bellas

Sebastiano …' [Holanda, *On Antique Painting*, (trans.) Alice Sedgwick Wohl (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2013), p. 206]. Manuel Denís' response, in any case, would be then aligned with later Counter-Reformation responses, such as those of Giovanni Andrea Gilio ['Dialogo nel quale si ragiona degli errori e degli abusi de' pittori circa l'istorie, 1564', in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento. Fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, (ed.) Paola Barocchi (Bari: Laterza, 1961), p. 40], or Antonio Possevino, *Tractatio de poesi et pictura ethnica, humana et fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta et sacra* (Rome, 1594), book XVII, p. 545, both of which criticized the whips at the flagellation in the Borgherini Chapel, which seemed made of 'soft wool' instead of hard matter.

60 From Juan de Juanes ('Christ with Angels', Dallas Museum of Art) to Francisco Ribalta (Madrid, Museo del Prado). See F. Benito Domenech, *Los Ribalta y la pintura Valenciana de su tiempo* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1987), pp. 146–47.

61 Pedro Miguel Ibáñez Martínez, *Pintura conquense del siglo XVI* (Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 1993). There is an abundant number of early copies of the Cobos *Pietà* in Spain. See some of these collected in Benito, 'Sebastiano del Piombo', p. 75.

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FIGURE 13.8 *Juan de Juanes (d. 1579),* Christ with Angels, *153.67 × 102.87 cm, oil on panel. Dallas Museum of Art.*

Artes de San Fernando, Madrid), a formal ascendancy that, as far as I know, has received no attention [*see* fig. 13.10].[62] Morales' dependence on Sebastiano is as deep and as significant as his deviation from his model. His famous *Piedad*

62 There are two more versions of the same composition, one autograph at the Louvre (Paris), and a second one in Caen. The one in the Academia (Madrid) was previously in the posession of the Jesuits in Cordoba; Ingjald Bäcksbacka, *Luis de Morales* (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1962), p. 113.

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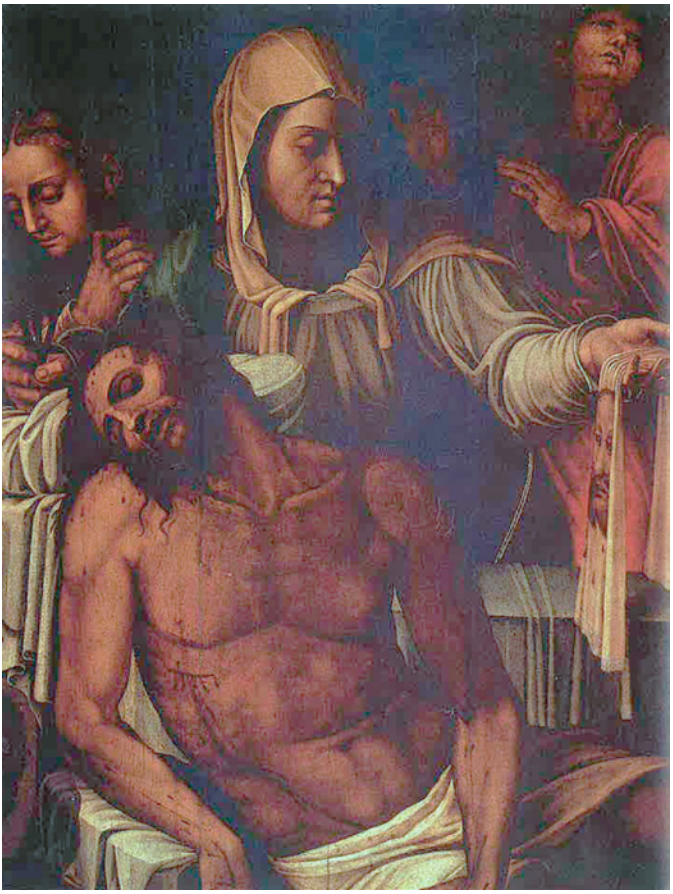

FIGURE 13.9 *Martín Gómez el Viejo* (*d. 1562*), *'Piedad', Ministry of Justice* (*Madrid*). *Provenance: Inquisition Jail* (*Cuenca*).

departs from Sebastiano's emotional control into dramatic expression; from psychological detachment into physical engagement.[63] The comparison between the two panels creates an eloquent contrast: at the same time a close dependence and yet a very different sensibility. Morales has pushed the close-up even further towards the viewer, situating the group in between us, the viewers, and the cross raising up directly behind the figures. The physical and emotional distance between Mary and her Son has been suppressed, and it is

63 For Luis de Morales, Bäcksbacka, *Luis de Morales*; see Carmelo Solís Rodríguez, *Luis de Morales* (Badajoz: Fundación Caja Badajoz, 1997). Efforts to frame Morales' painting in the context of Spanish early modern spirituality include Marías, *El largo siglo XVI*, pp. 340–49; see Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'El mundo espiritual de Luis de Morales', *Goya*, 196 (1987): pp. 194–203.

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FIGURE 13.10 *Luis de Morales, 'Piedad'. Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.*

now the Virgin who painfully holds Christ's emaciated, lifeless body. Some details, however, betray its origin: besides the general composition, Christ's left arm, for example, still remains identical to Sebastiano's. In order to reformulate his invention, Morales then looked for alternative models. Interestingly enough, he did not find them in Flemish art, but in Italian. Morales seems to have combined Sebastiano's composition with the next most authoritative referents of this iconography, both from Michelangelo. Certainly he drew upon the Virgin *della febbre* – which he could have studied in any of its early prints – but maybe also the Florence *Pietà*.[64] In Michelangelo's *Pietàs* Morales found

64 Bernardine Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print: Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). The exact position of the twisted arm seems to evoke even more clearly the Florentine *Pietà*; however, no print is known previous to the painting.

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FIGURE 13.11 *Michelangelo, 'Florentine Pietà'. Engraving* (*Rome, 1566*).

a convincing solution for the Virgin holding the dead body from the ankle and the head of Christ falling backwards on his shoulder; in the Florentine sculpture (again as translated most probably in a print) its particular twisting, and even the position of Nicodemus looking diagonally to the corpse [*see* fig. 13.11].

Unlike in any of these two models, however, Morales had Mary's hands completely embrace Jesus, holding his corpse tight as possible to her own body, showing even His flesh receding under the pressure of her fingers. Another

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striking contrast comes from the penitential signs of the passion: the tears on the Virgin's cheeks and the blood running neat and clean along Christ's forearms, side and forehead. The composition turns into a sophisticated *tour de force*, reaching the highest emotionalism possible while at the same time allowing the Virgin to maintain her moral dignity. It is as if Morales had worked to transform the ungrieving *desmelancolizado* Sebastiano del Piombo – in the term used by Manuel Denís – to produce a highly expressive icon.

## Mary at the Foot of the Cross

Morales' painting is striking, no doubt one of the most successful inventions of Spanish devotional painting. Its economic composition and critical appropriation of Michelangelo's models, envision a complex emotional drama. This can only be fully grasped when seen against the context of the debate on Mary' performance at the foot of the cross, a debate that was inextricably devotional, political and at the same time artistic in mid-sixteenth century Italy and Spain.

Again Jamete's Inquisitorial deposition allows us to step into the argument. During his trial, the French artist was suspected of having complained that some painters represented the Virgin overwhelmed by the pain, fainting into John' arms, and not 'with great dignity' (*estuvo con grán ánimo*) as they should. Jamete argued (wrongly, in the eyes of the Inquisitors) that Mary remained still, contemplating her son's 'labors' … 'because only in her son's deeds remained her faith' (*porque en ellos sola quedó la fe*).[65] His remark is far from naïve: Jamete's dismissal of that precise iconography was articulated, as we can see, as a polemical rejection of Mary's co-redemption.[66] Interestingly enough, Jamete tried to get around the Inquisitor's suspicion by citing as his source a book on the life of Christ written in none other than Antonio de Guevara's

65 'fallo alli un libro que se llama Monte Calvario e que el leyo que decia que al tiempo de la passion de Nº Sr quando le pusieron en la cruz y su madre Nª Sª la Virgen Maria que estava presente e veía como le crucificavan que no cayo de su estado sino que *siempre estuvo con gran animo e contemplando los trabajos de su hijo porque en ellos sola quedo la fe* [emphasis mine] aunque aca en las pinturas que se fazen de aquel auto la pintan cayda en los brazos de San Juan e no tiene otro mas que dezir ny declarar ny se acuerda de otra cosa'. Domínguez, *Proceso Inquisitorial*, p. 31.

66 As beautifully demonstrated by Otto von Simson, '*Compassio* and *Co-redemptio* in Roger van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*', *The Art Bulletin*, 35 (1953): pp. 9–56. See also Amy Neff, 'The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross', *The Art Bulletin*, 80 (1998): pp. 254–73.

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best-seller *Libro del Monte Calvario*, in which, however, consistent with sixteenth-century remarks on the problem, the Emperor's confessor emphatically defended the opposite: according to Guevara, Mary had fainted because of her unbearable suffering.[67]

Jamete's failed argument of defense was only possible because of the unclear position of the Church regarding this particular lack of consistency between Church teachings and artistic practice. This is a problem that deserves more attention than I can devote in these pages, but let me summarize the basic elements of the debate. Mary's swoon had been an object of discussion in years previous, and Julius II had even asked Cardinal Cajetan to investigate the case, resulting in a 1506 decree (republished 1529) that considered it inappropriate both on scriptural and theological grounds to celebrate the feast of her *Spassimo*: this was a violation of Mary's physical dignity and moral perfection.[68] The recommendation was very much ignored both in Italy and Spain, where the swooning of Mary continued to be a regular element of deposition scenes well into the sixteenth century.[69] But it does not seem it was that reasoning that made Jamete feel uncomfortable with the paintings. While for Cajetan her collapse would have been a 'bodily defect' incompatible with her state of grace (Uke 1), the French artist arrived at a similar conclusion using different, if not even opposite arguments. What he argued was that the representation of an overwhelming pain equated her suffering to Christ's suffering, placing on her painful labor a redemptive value that 'only' (*solo*) corresponded to her Son. So if Jamete shared with Cajetan the critique's target, but not its reasoning, where did he get it from? Erasmus in my opinion is the strongest candidate.

The debate over Mary's swoon had been reopened in the following years by the Dutch humanist, now in terms that insistently considered the visual evidence. Erasmus' remarks (however they might have arrived to Jamete's knowledge) seem to be echoed by those of Jamete during his trial. His lengthy comment on Mary' attitude at the foot of the cross came as a response to his

67 Mary's swoon is extensively discussed in chapter xliii [Antonio de Guevara, *La primera parte del libro llamado Monte Calvario* (Valladolid: Sebastián Martínez, 1552), fol. 80v: 'juntamente se yva el cielo anublando … el hijo de Dios se muriendo, y la triste madre *desmayando* … al pie de la cruz estaba *cayda*']. The *Monte Calvario* was published 1542, 1545, 1546, 1548, 1550 and subsequently. The Italian translation went through 14 editions, 1555–75.

68 Harvey E. Hamburgh, 'The Problem of *Lo Spassimo* of the Virgin in *Cinquecento* Paintings of the *Descent from the Cross*', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12 (1981): pp. 45–75.

69 An exception might be Pontormo's Deposition, as analysed by Leo Steinberg, 'Pontormo's Capponi Chapel', *The Art Bulletin*, 56 (1974): pp. 385–99.

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Sorbonne censors. In his edition of the Gospel of Luke (27), the Rotterdam humanist was censured for writing that Jesus wanted His death to be *non lugubrem, sed gloriosam*, as was clear from His response to the crowd of women that escorted him lamenting and weeping on their way to Calvary. Turning to them, Jesus had said: 'do not cry' (*nolite flere*),[70] what Erasmus understood as an invitation not to share in His suffering, but on the contrary, to take it as an instance for adoration, as His sacrifice was performed for the salvation of humanity.

The censure of the Sorbonne's theologians gave him material for a lengthy digression of which only the last section interests us at this moment. In it, the humanist strongly opposed those 'stupid artists' who showed the Virgin overwhelmed with grief when in fact they should be expressing her *gaudium*, or joy, for her Son's redemptive sacrifice. The macabre (*lugubrem*) representation of the Virgin at the foot of the cross was also strongly rejected by Erasmus as the product of the artists' invention,

> especially in panels and sculptures, represented in the most miserable way, and not taken from the evangelic histories, but from the artists' imagination. And in this manner, they paint the mother of Jesus swooned at the foot of the cross collapsing to death, although if protested by Chrysostomus. And these same [artists] paint her [heart] pierced with seven swords. To this kind of images weep and sigh the unlettered (idiotae). But the same would equally cry if they were to see Euripides' Hecuba.[71]

70 For the larger problem of Erasmus (and other Reform theologians) on the joyous celebration of Christ's death, see Michael A. Screech, *Laughter at the Foot of the Cross* (London: Penguin, 1997).

71 'Videmus interdum in spectaculis, cum per homines etiam leves repraesentatur mors *Christi*, quibusdam praesertim mulierculis erumpere fingultus ac lacrymas. Idem efficiunt picturae etiam mendaces, veluti quae repraesentant *Christum* novies collapsum, similiter & eorum oratio, qui Domini cruciatus effictis atrocitatibus reddunt miserabiliores, praeterea & tabulae statuaeve, ad speciem quam maxime miserabilem effictae, non ex historia evangelica, sed ex artificis imaginatione. Sic quidam pingunt *Jesu* matrem syncopi sub cruce collabentem exanimari, sed reclamante *Chrysostomo*. Eamdem pingunt septem perfossam gladiis. Ad hoc genus imagines suspirant & illacrymant idiotae. Sed iidem yllacrimaturi sint, si spectent agi Euripidis Hecubam;' Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* IX (Lyon, 1706), p. 826. Erasmus here probably conflates Euripides' play with Hecuba's lament when Achilles kills her son Hector (*Iliad*, XXIV). Hecuba can be considered the 'paradigm of mourning motherhood'; Nicole Loraux, *Mothers in Mourning* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 40.

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It is in connection to, if not direct dependence on this reasoning that Jamete's Inquisitorial deposition seems to be aligned: Mary's swoon was inappropriate as it distracted from Christ's redemptive sacrifice. For Erasmus, ultimately, it was even pagan (Hecuba's grief for the death of her son Polydorus, for which she will take revenge, acts here as an obvious inversion of Mary's divine, compassionate, motherhood).

Given this particular background, Luis de Morales' *Piedad* can now be seen as a sophisticated exercise.[72] It revisited and finally reformulated Sebastiano's 'Cobos *Pietà*' and it did so struggling to find a satisfactory solution in between two extremes.[73] His *Piedad* fits on the one hand with a growing sensibility to Mary's dignity and decorum (as an increasing number of voices kept on claiming at the outset of the Counter Reformation).[74] She 'stands' still (John 15:25–27), right at the foot of the cross, her stiff body replicating the verticality of the cross behind her. On the other hand, Christ is not just lying on her lap – the way traditional iconography showed her – but she is holding Him up. Her redemptory agency is made visually explicit, passively, in her grimacing face, but also actively in her body language. Summing up, the Virgin is at the same time overtaken with pain without having her faith stumble.

Morales' is a masterful response in the search for a visual language that paired decorum with emotion, empathy with respectful worship. It was this aesthetic and moral balance that made Luis de Morales' paintings very popular among Spanish ecclesiastics, such as San Juan de Ribera, the well-known Bishop of Counter-Reformation Valencia – who owned the *Portacroce* mentioned before – or the Bishop of Cordoba and Inquisitor, Diego de Simancas, who patronized some of his works as Bishop of Badajoz in the later years of his life. In finding this balance, the status of images as religious mediations themselves played a crucial role. I will now turn to this final aspect.

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72 In Spanish the most proper term for this iconography in the sixteenth century encapsulates its theological meaning: *Quinta Angustia* (Mary' Fifth Sorrow).

73 Analogous experiments were developed in Flanders in the fifteenth century. Morales, however, turned as we have seen only to Italian sources. For the former, see Reindert L. Falkenburg, 'The Decorum of Grief: Notes on the Representation of Mary at the Cross in Late Medieval Netherlandish Literature and Painting', in *Icon to Cartoon: A Tribute to Sixten Ringbom*, (ed.) M. Trettu Knapas and A. Ringbom (Helsinki: Taidehistorian Seura, 1995), pp. 65–89.

74 Later Catholic reformers, such as St François of Sales or Cardinal Bellarmine, would insist on Mary's self-control; see Donna Spivey Ellington, 'Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin's Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion Sermons', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 48 (1995): pp. 227–61. I know at least one instance of such a criticism in Counter-Reformation Spain (Fray José de Sigüenza's remark on Pellegrino Tibaldi's Crucifixion scene at the Patio de los Evangelistas, El Escorial).

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### Reception: Images and Worship

Out of the numerous ecclesiastical patrons for whom Luis de Morales worked in his lifetime only the last one, Diego de Simancas, is credited with having written extensively on religious images. In his *Institutiones Catholicae* (1552), written, as the title reads, 'for the extirpation of heresy', the Inquisitor and maybe even patron of Morales' *Piedad* put 'idolatry' and 'images' at the very top of his list of heterodox deviations from Catholic doctrine.[75] The date (1552) is important as it predates by more than a decade the Council of Trent's pronouncement on the doctrine of religious images. Obviously, Spanish religious authorities were reacting in the context of the Counter Reformation, but also with their own religious and political agenda.

After asking for the highest form of adoration for religious images, the cult of *latria*, an extreme that would be hard to find in any coeval Italian source, Simancas quoted the Sixth General Council (680) for banning all 'indecent images, that move to lasciviousness or laughter more than piety together with those pictures that, in panels or any other [support] seek to deceive the eyes [*oculorum praestigiatrices*], to corrupt the minds, or incite to voluptuousness. So they should not be painted again. And whoever does it, should be excommunicated'. It is important to notice that Simancas' unequivocal support of image adoration and his fierce judgment on the 'deceptive' nature of art cannot be taken together as representing something like an 'Inquisitorial taste'. During his Roman trial, Archbishop Carranza – the most famous of Simancas' victims – quoted by heart exactly the same medieval Council against a witness that had seen him remove some religious paintings imported from Brussels from the altar. 'Painters do not paint as they used to anymore' counter-attacked Carranza in a tone of regret, as he recommended replacing some of the 'old ones' (*imágenes de las antiguas*). It seems that Inquisitor and accused came to coincide in their artistic conservatism.[76]

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75 Diego de Simancas, *Institutiones Catholicae* (Valladolid: Egidio de Colomies, 1552). The hypothesis that Diego de Simancas might have been Morales' patron for the *Piedad* is developed by Bäcksbacka, *Luis de Morales*, pp. 113–27, and is followed in later literature (Rodríguez de Ceballos, 'El mundo espiritual', p. 199). It is not conclusive nor necessary for my argument. Diego de Simancas was Bishop of Badajoz (1569–79) but his relation to Luis de Morales needs to be completely revised. On Diego de Simancas, see now Kimberley Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional: The Politics of Spanish Inquisitors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

76 See the trial in José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Fray Bartolome de Carranza, documentos históricos* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962–81), ch. 5, pp. 95–96 and ch. 4, pp. 457–58.

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However, against the backdrop of Simancas' defense of image adoration and confessional function we can at least guess why the work of Luis de Morales would have pleased the Inquisitor's criteria. Standing out against the deep black background, Morales' *Pietà* negates spatial depth, substituting the artifice of perspective with the real presence of Christ's body, marked with the signs of His Passion. If Sebastiano's solution had been to stress the painting's iconicity while blurring both emotional and physical exterior signs, Morales, on the contrary, chose to emphasize the historical or testimonial nature of painting. In exegetical terms Sebastiano gravitated towards a parabolical *figura* of Christ's sacrifice, while Morales turned to the historical witnessing of his suffering. However paradoxical, Morales' painting is the result of a process of pictorial experimentation that had begun half a century before, in Rome, with a formula created to address, and at the same time sidestep the threat of hypocrisy.

• • •

When three hundred years later Théophile Gautier still considered 'truth' the one fundamental rule distinctive to the Spanish School, consciously or unconsciously he also pointed out the complex historical ground in which Spanish realism seemed to be rooted. My claim is not that we should follow Gautier's 'inquisitorial' logic. I am not proposing to deconstruct this tradition by unmasking painters' and painting's shameful intentions, nor I am arguing that Spanish art of this period should be seen through the lens of Nicodemism. At the same time, however, the story told here shows that when considering the religious and political tensions that pervaded Spanish social life, by carefully listening to people's fears and anxieties we will better understand those – often not less careful – decisions artists were making. These had to do with doctrinal matters debated in this time of political reform, but also with a more dramatic break that raised, and immediately after questioned that images were the direct expression of people's beliefs. Artists were now forced to consider and then respond to this challenge. In the end, whether sixteenth-century Spaniards believed or not is a question better left in the hands of the Inquisitors.

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