Frontier Identities and Migrating Souls: Re-conceptualizing New Religious and Cultural Imaginaries in the Iberian Worlds
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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation studies the presence of hybridity, in both text and images, as a way of representing the different ethnic groups that resided in the Iberian Peninsula in texts belonging to lay and religious culture in the late-fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century. The category of hybridity in conjunction with the construction of spaces and counter-spaces present in the texts and images of my dissertation serve as the unifying principle of this study by providing a particularly fruitful case study of ethnic representations of Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos* in late Medieval and Early Modern Iberian cultural studies.

The project highlights those images and spaces that began to be created in texts and illustrations representing Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos* in the Spanish kingdoms in the decades that followed the statutes of blood purity in 1449, at a time when Spain’s national hegemonic project begins to emerge, and throughout the sixteenth century, during a time of imperial creation and expansion. In addition, it examines, particularly, how images previously used to depict Jews and Muslims in different textual and artistic traditions in the Middle Ages in order to illustrate religious differences began to be re-articulated in the second half of the fifteenth century to denote racial differences between that which was conceived of as autochthonous to the Iberian Peninsula, Christian and descendant of Visigoth, and that which gradually was perceived as threatening and foreign, Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos*.

Some of the texts analyzed in this project were written by key religious and lay figures who took part in the heated debates over the inclusion or exclusion of the different ethnic groups in the
religious and socio-political landscape of the Iberian Peninsula. At the same time, other texts capture the shifting and divergent notions and sentiments over these ethnic groups, which circulated in the cultural and religious imaginaries of the period. Thus, the selection of texts and images of this study provides an interdisciplinary and comprehensive sample of sources while studying their historical and textual specificity. Moreover, this dissertation establishes a dialogue between texts belonging to different traditions, diatribes, polemical works, propagandistic literature, poetry, legends, sermons, and historical texts in order to demonstrate how the images of hybrids, animals and monsters were employed as a rhetoric of exclusion in some circles but also became a tool used by some *conversos* and *moriscos* in order to advocate the inclusion of ethnic groups to the Spanish hegemonic national and imperial project.
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It takes a village, and I am eternally grateful for mine.
To my family
Introduction

In the “Book Against the Jews” (Book III) of Friar Alfonso de Espina’s monumental five-volume religious treatise in Latin titled *Fortalitium Fidei* (c. 1458-64), in the section of the *considerationes* against the Jews, the author portrays the Jews as monsters, hybrids and an aberration of nature. Jews were the monsters and evil descendants of Adam’s union with Lilith, the winged female demon who was believed to have been Adam’s first wife. In addition, Jews were depicted as having for adoptive mothers the mule and the *marrana* or sow, and the serpent for their stepfather. The Jews’ innate monstrous nature is later illustrated in the book through a series of libel stories exemplifying the Christians’ perception of how pernicious was Jewish presence in the Christian world, and, especially, in the Iberian kingdoms. A few years later in the Iberian Peninsula circulated the anonymous anti-*converso* (Jewish converts) polemical pamphlet the *Alborayque* (c.1465-67). Instead of the lovely, all-white winged hybrid which, in the Islamic tradition, had been the half-mule, half-donkey steed of the Prophet Mohammed, the Spanish al-Buraq represented the grotesque, fearsome, and threateningly non-human body of the *converso* (Jewish converts). In the first decades of the sixteenth century, the *converso* Friar Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, in his collection of sermons for the indoctrination of the *moriscos* of Valencia (Muslim converts), titled *Antialcorano* (1532), depicted Muhammad as a false prophet, “bestia,” and an arch-heretic, but, on the other hand, described *moriscos* (Spanish Muslim converts) as hybrids in a positive light; *moriscos* resided in an in-between space of no longer being Muslims, nor fully Christians. For the friar, *moriscos* were quasi-Christians, and on their way to becoming fully integrated to the Christian community through indoctrination and acculturation.

This dissertation seeks to study the presence of hybridity, in both text and images, as a way of representing the different ethnic groups that resided in the Iberian Peninsula in the texts
outlined above, along with a number of late fifteenth century and sixteenth century texts belonging to lay and religious culture. The category of hybridity in conjunction with the construction of spaces and counter-spaces present in the texts and images of my dissertation serve as the unifying principle of this study by providing a particularly fruitful case study of ethnic representations of Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos* in late Medieval and Early Modern Iberian cultural studies.

Rather than focusing on well-established and studied categories of *convivencia* or *mudejarismo*,¹ this project endeavors to highlight those images and spaces that began to be created in texts and illustrations representing Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos* in the Spanish kingdoms in the decades that followed the statutes of blood purity in 1449,² at a time when Spain’s national hegemonic project begins to emerge, and throughout the sixteenth century, during a time of imperial creation and expansion. The project examines particularly how images previously used to depict Jews and Muslims in different textual and artistic traditions in the Middle Ages in order to illustrate religious difference, began to be re-articulated in the second half of the fifteenth century in order to denote racial difference between that which was conceived of as autochthonous to the Iberian Peninsula, Christian and descendant of the Visigoths, and that which gradually was perceived as threatening and foreign, Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos*.

¹ Traditionally the term *convivencia* refers to the medieval period in the Iberian Peninsula in which the three main religions, Jews, Christians and Muslims, coexisted and intermingled culturally and socially. On the other hand, *mudejar* or *mudejarismo* is usually understood as a mix or juxtaposition of “Muslim” and “Christian” elements in religion, art, literature and values. Both terms are usually employed by critics in order to refer to the culture and

² During the revolt in Toledo in 1449, the citizens of Toledo rose up against King Juan II and his valido Álvaro de Luna. A document, Pero Sarmiento’s *Sentencia-Estatuto* or statutes of blood purity, was created in order to restrict or bar New Christians and their descendants from having access to legislative, governmental and ecclesiastical positions.
Accordingly, the selection of texts and images of the dissertation include significant works of their time that have been understudied. The project entailed extensive archival research conducted both in France and Spain, as most of my primary sources are manuscripts, incunabula and early printed texts. Some of the texts analyzed in this project were written by key religious and lay figures who took part in the heated debates over the inclusion or exclusion of the different ethnic groups in the religious and socio-political landscape of the Iberian Peninsula. At the same time, other texts capture the shifting and divergent notions and sentiments over these ethnic groups, which circulated in the cultural and religious imaginaries of the period. Thus, the selection of texts and images aims to provide an interdisciplinary and comprehensive sample of sources, while studying their historical and textual specificity. Moreover, this dissertation seeks to establish a dialogue between texts belonging to different traditions, diatribes, polemical works, propagandistic literature, poetry, legends, sermons, and historical texts, in order to demonstrate how the images of hybrids, animals and monsters were employed as a rhetoric of exclusion in some circles, but also became a tool used by some conversos and moriscos in order to advocate the inclusion of ethnic groups to the Spanish hegemonic national and imperial project. In order to clarify the critical framework that guides this dissertation, the following section briefly reviews critical approaches to the corpus of texts and images under study.
Critical Approaches

In the past fifteen years, various studies engaging in postcolonial approaches to Medieval and Early modern Iberian culture have proven to be interesting and fruitful to the study of frontier or pluralistic societies as they existed in the Iberian Peninsula. Some of them include María Judith Feliciano and Leyla Rouhi’s edition of *Interrogating Iberian Frontiers*, in which the special edition volume interrogates the paradigms that preside over the discussion of *convivencia* and *mudejarismo*, as well as looks into different notions of hybridity in medieval and early Modern Iberian Peninsula. In *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, Barbara Fuchs examines the role that hybridity and Moorishness plays in the imaginary construction of Spain in early modernity. This dissertation strives to productively engage in the study of Medieval and Early modern Iberia from a postcolonial framework as well as a historical and cultural specificity. Homi Bhabha’s notions of hybridity\(^3\) and mimicry\(^4\) are especially useful when thinking about real and imagined encounters and disruptions between the construction of an autochthonous Spanish subject that went hand in hand with the formulation and identification of other religious and ethnics groups as foreign and marginal subjects at the eve of the emergence of a Castilian and Aragonese hegemonic project and its later imperial

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3 Bhabha argues that hybridity is the product of the discriminatory effects of the discourse of cultural colonialism: “Produced through the strategy of disavowal, the reference of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different—a mutation, a hybrid” (153-4). This double force disturbs the visibility of the colonial presence and makes the recognition of its authority problematic. While the hybrid is the articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of power is enacted, it also reveals the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority and enables a form of subversion. Thus, the hybrid turns the discursive conditions of dominance into grounds of intervention (154).

4 Bhabha explains that mimicry is an affect of hybridity: “The metonymic strategy produces the signifier of colonial mimicry as the affect of hybridity—at once a mode of appropriation and of resistance, from the disciplined to the desiring... Then, as discrimination turns into the assertion of the hybrid, the insignia of authority becomes a mask, a mockery” (162).
endeavors. At the same time, research conducted by medievalists, such as Jacques Le Goff, Jacques Voisenet and Caroline Walker Bynum, on the presence of hybrids and monsters in various medieval textual and artistic traditions, have been enlightening in re-thinking how these categories were re-articulated in late fifteenth century and sixteenth century in the Iberian Peninsula.  

However, since this project comprises a variety of texts and examines the complex and dissonant voices that took part in religious and socio-political debates over the role of two different ethnic groups in this period, on the one hand, Jews and conversos and on the other, Muslims and moriscos, the project follows two critical perspectives. First of all, this study dialogues with the particular literary tradition and critical reception of each of the texts that have been studied. Secondly, my dissertation combines the attention to the specificities of each text with the wider perspective brought by the intersections and exchanges between the other texts of the project and other literatures and cultures of medieval and early modern Iberia. Thus, the dissertation provides an overview of which images, portrayals and arguments were used for one of the ethnic groups and how these changed, re-circulated or were re-articulated in the representation of another ethnic group.

In this respect, this dissertation dialogues with different critical traditions from Jewish Medieval Iberian Studies, Spanish Medieval and Early Modern Literature and Cultural Studies, Medieval Art History, Early Modern Historiography, Translation and Pseudo-Translation Studies, among others. One specific work of literary and ethno-cultural criticism with which my

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5 See Homi Bhabha’s chapter “Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817.”

6 Caroline Walker Bynum discusses how at the end of the twelfth century various words and concepts emerged in order to denote change or mutatio, such as transformation, metamorphoses, and hybrids. Hybridity in this period is dialogic, for its contraries are simultaneous and in conversation with each other. However, hybrids both destabilize and reveal the true nature of the world. For Bernard of Clairvaux, the bird-insect-ness of Arnold of Brescia reveals his hypocritical and heretical nature, since he had two tongues and two truths (Metamorphosis and Identity 160-1).
dissertation converses is Javier Irigoyen-García’s *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain*. Of particular interest in the context of this dissertation is Irigoyen-García’s discussion of how an already codified vocabulary employed in order to denote marking and breeding selection of sheep herding, became the first semantic approach to the subject of genealogy difference in the Peninsula. Moreover, as the critic explains, this vocabulary was applied in order to demarcate those ethnic differences that were not visible: “The mass conversion of Jews and Muslims during the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, along with the homogenization of sartorial practices, needed a new vocabulary in order to articulate and exteriorize an invisible, genealogical difference, which it would find in discourse of breeding the Merino sheep” (40-1). I argue that the presence and re-articulation of medieval zoomorphic images as well as marvelous elements in religious texts, poetry and popular literature circulating in the second half of the fifteenth century were part of a larger debate taking place in the Iberian Peninsula on how to identify, classify and locate different ethnic groups: Christians, Jews, Muslims and *conversos*.

In addition, this study revisits and expands Irigoyen-García’s study of pastoral literature and nation construction in early Modern Spain by looking into which other images or foundational myths were invoked in the process of national and imperial formation during the sixteenth century. While one of the frequent images that circulated was the image of the Good Shepherd as a way of portraying the Spanish nation as a Christian flock, another important source was the story of don Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king of the Peninsula. Both sources became vehicles in which writers, friars, chroniclers and translators, among others, advocated the inclusion or exclusion of *conversos* and *moriscos* in the period.
One significant aspect that this dissertation examines is the representation of Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos* at a time when there is a shift from conceiving of each group in religious and legal terms, as it had been for the most part in the Middle Ages, to a gradual new notion that emerged during the fifteenth century in which the identity and characteristic of each group is transposed to their genealogy. Different critics of the period have debated over the most appropriate term to use, “race” versus “ethnicity,” when referring to matters of genealogical difference in late medieval and early Modern Iberia. Schaub, Sebastiani and Nirenberg have commented on how, in the aftermath of World War II, with the German National Socialists’ implementation of a radical and explicit racial ideology that culminated in persecution and extermination of those races conceived as degenerate, race was discredited as a form of discourse both in the biological and social sciences.

In the case of the pre-modern period, some scholars stressed that a notion of race with its biological connotations was not present in pre-modern Europe. While that might be the case of other European languages and nations, such as in the case of England and France, the term of *raça* and *linaje* emerged in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century, and were part of “a complex of closely associated terms that linked both behaviors and appearances to nature and reproduction” (Nirenberg, “Was There Race Before

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7 For the purpose of this dissertation, I have opted to use the concept of ethnicity when talking about Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos* as groups, as it encompasses different aspects that define a community, such as religious, cultural, linguistic, genealogical, political, and economic.

8 While Irigoyen-Garcia prefers the use of ethnicity over race, other critics, like Netanyahu, make use of the terms “race” and “racism” to describe discrimination of the Jews across different periods and contexts. For an overview of the term “race” in Spain, see Nirenberg’s “Was There Race Before Modernity? The Example of ‘Jewish’ Blood in Late Medieval Spain.”

9 Schaub and Sebastiani illustrate the difficulty in attempting to define the term “race” in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization’s (UNESCO) *Déclaration sur la race* (1950). At first, the document gave a negative connotation to the “race question” and reduced it to a “social myth,” and replaced the term race with ethnic groups. This generated the dissatisfaction of a number of scientists, and in a second *Déclaration sur la race* published in 1951, the document stated that the term race would not be abandoned, but that it did not refer to a biological phenomenon (23-24).
Modernity?” 248). Thus, the vocabulary of race was applied to Jews, Muslims and their descendants.

Gil Anidjar describes the process that transpired in the Iberian Peninsula in this period as a rise of blood, or of a community of blood. The core element used to identify the community is the identifiable and invisible, blood, “which orients the community toward immanence and immunity (protection and preservation)” (Blood 66). Moreover, Anidjar asserts that at this time the community of blood in the Peninsula was engaged in reinventing and self-fashioning itself:

Paradoxically perhaps, this ultimately means that we must shift our attention away from racism and exclusion (outward projections) and ask about inward-oriented practices, the formation and fashioning of the community that constitute itself as a community of blood, a *socius sanguis*, and only subsequently supplements this self-referential gesture with the exclusion of those whose blood, by logical deduction and historical consequence, is deemed impure or tainted. (67)

Rather than simply examining the opposition between New and Old Christians, Anidjar suggests that what was being fashioned is a new kind of Christian, in fact, different kinds of Christians, including the so-called “Old Christians” (67).

Furthermore, I study in this project the correlation between race and invisibility, and the anxiety that this provoked in some circles. Schaub and Sebastiani note that the relationship between racial thought and invisibility seems particularly close: “One can even argue that racial reasoning responds primarily to the need to reveal distinctions that the eye is no longer capable of recognizing. This is the proper political response to a social phenomenon considered as threatening” (“Between Genealogy and Physicality” 29). As I will analyze in the various texts of this project, the texts resort to the use of the marvelous, animals, monsters and hybrids in order to
reveal and externalize what was invisible, racial difference. In addition, this project studies the emergence and elaboration of the term race in its different variations as a fluid and uncertain concept, which was appropriated, modified and re-elaborated in the texts. Therefore, I will use the terms present in the texts and analyze them in their context, from the term *genus*, the different connotations of *linaje*, the word *secta*, and the term *raça*.

This dissertation is divided into four chapters that analyze texts from three pivotal historical periods: from the second half of the fifteenth century to the years that precede the Jewish expulsion from the Peninsula in 1492, the dawn of the sixteenth-century until 1566, the year of the Morisco-Spanish conflict known as the Alpujarras’ War, and the subsequent years of the war and prelude to the Moorish expulsion in 1609. This division aims to give a comprehensive vision of the different processes that occurred during the hundred and fifty year period that this study undertakes through the analysis of historical and social phenomena in conjunction with the textual analysis of the works, such as views on conversion and acculturation, incorporation and marginalization or displacement, centralizing monarchy and regional nobility, and conflicts between religious reformations and doctrinal beliefs.

The first chapter is a discussion of Book III, the Book against the Jews, in Alfonso de Espina’s monumental Latin polemical text *Fortalitium fidei* (*The Fortress of Faith*) (c. 1458-1464). The chapter gives a brief overview of the tumultuous historical events that had shaken the foundations of Jewish-Christian relations in the Iberian Peninsula from the pogroms of 1391 to the statutes of blood purity promulgated a decade earlier than the composition of *Fortalitium fidei*. The chapter examines three main aspects of the book: first, Espina’s portrayal of Jews, in text and images, according to Christian-Jewish polemical text in his *considerationes*; second, the role of libel stories in the text in creating a cultural mapping of Jewish crimes and expulsions in
the section of *crudelitates*; third, the emphasis that past Jewish expulsions from Jerusalem, France, England and Spain play in the text. While *Fortalitium fidei* was conceived as a preacher’s manual, I argue that the book has an evident political agenda: to propose the expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula as a way of cleansing the body politic of the Spanish kingdoms, and the importance of the *inquisitio* as a way deciphering true Jewish converts from Judaizing converts.

The second chapter examines how a variety of texts and images that circulated in the second half of the fifteenth-century in the Peninsula debated the problem of classifications, and, also, theorized the boundaries and sites where each of the ethnic groups that inhabited the Iberian kingdoms, Christians, Jews, Muslims and *conversos*, should reside. The chapter studies how the legend of the marvelous bust of Tábara, the anonymous poem *Coplas del perro de Alba*, and the anonymous propagandistic treatise of *Alborayque* expose to the reader real and imagined frontiers and/or boundaries of where Jews and Jewish converts should be located, and their role in the socio-religious context of the period. Also, the texts exhibit and problematize the heated debate concerning the identity of Jews and *conversos* in terms of their genealogical background that took place in the years preceding the establishment of the Inquisition in the Peninsula in 1480.

The third chapter centers on two main texts, Friar Hernando de Talavera’s *Católica impugnación* (c. 1480-1) and Friar Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s *Antialcorano* (1532). The texts provide a testimony of specific pivotal issues that surfaced in the religious domain at the beginning and the end of the fifty years that I examine in the chapter: from the *converso* and Judazing problem at the eve of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in the Crown of Castile to the indoctrination of the newly converted Muslims in the Crown of Aragon after the
Revolt of the Germanias or revolts of the Valencian guilds and the decree of conversion, which put to an end to the mudejar status in the Spanish kingdoms. The chapter also has an interlude, which discusses Hernando de Talavera’s pivotal role in Granada, as the first Archbishop of Granada, after the fall of the last Muslim kingdom in 1492. This section of the chapter analyzes the vertiginous processes and changes in policies that took place in Granada in the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The fourth and the last chapter of the dissertation focuses on the role of historiography, re-vision and re-circulation of previous texts in the second half of the sixteenth century. I study the complex socio-political context in the second half of the sixteenth century with an emphasis on the problematic and turbulent context of Granada after the Hispano-Morisco conflict known as the Alpujarras’ War (1568-1570), in order to explain the raison d’être of some of these re-visions, re-circulation and invention of texts, such as a new version of Alborayque and Perro de Alva, and the emergence of some pseudo-histories or pseudo-translations, such as Miguel de Luna’s 1592 Verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo. I study how the new version of the Alborayque re-frames the text in a completely different historical context from its earlier incarnation, and the way a late sixteenth century version of Perro de Alva, El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva, re-locates the Jewish and converso problem into an ethnic amalgam. In addition, I analyze the role that translation plays in Miguel de Luna’s Verdadera historia, or in this case, pseudo-translation, and how it becomes a vehicle through which Luna, as a morisco, could present a counter-history of the proto-national legend of King Rodrigo.

Regarding those hybrid images and marginal spaces and counter-spaces conceived for the different ethnic groups residing in the Iberian Peninsula in this period, this dissertation poses and considers the following questions. What was the reason behind the conception and creation of
ethnic groups as hybrid or marginal subjects? How do the depictions of these ethnic groups vary from one region to another and throughout the different periods? Who were the agents or centers of power fomenting and designing these spaces, and for what purpose? Conversely, who formed counter-spaces in the fissures of the structures designed by the centers of power? Finally, how does this dissertation, by studying the depiction of Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos* in the scope of this period in lay and religious culture, contribute to a better understanding of the diverse representations of these ethnicities in late Medieval and Early Modern Iberian cultures?
Chapter one: “Accidit semel quod iudeus quidam crudelissimus volens vindicari de christianis cogitat modum”: the War against the Jews in Alfonso de Espina’s Fortalitium fidei

The second half of the fifteenth century was a turbulent period full of social revolts, social-religious persecutions, conflicts between the Crown of Castile and the nobility, while a series of reformations were ongoing in the economic and socio-political spheres. After the death of Juan II in 1454 and with the succession of his son Enrique IV, resurge past tensions between the nobility and the king, for the nobility aimed to gain more power and control in the kingdom in order to repress the attempt of a centralizing and absolutist monarchy. In the social domain, a tense climate still lingered after the 1449 revolt in Toledo where the Sentencia-Estatuto de Sangre, the first statutes of blood purity, was decreed against conversos (Jewish converts). At the same time, in the religious domain, certain religious orders, mostly Franciscan and Dominican, were advocating for the creation of a new inquisition that would be under state jurisdiction in order to solve the converso problem, Judaizing conversos, while the matter and fate of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula was also under debate. It is in the middle of this complex and tumultuous context that Franciscan friar Alfonso de Espina composed his monumental five-volume work, Fortalitium fidei (Fortress of Faith), in defense of the Christian faith and against those enemies, heretics, Jews, Muslims, and witches and demons that threatened the fortress of the Christian faith.

In the following chapter, I will center my study on the third book, the Book against the Jews, and how Jews and conversos were represented in the text and images of the book as blind, evil and hybrid monsters that do not belong in the Iberian kingdoms. For this, I will first give a brief overview of Jewish-Christian relations in the Iberian Peninsula, from the riots and pogroms of 1391 to the 1449 revolt in Toledo in which the first statutes of blood purity were decreed. I
will then analyze Alfonso de Espina’s portrayal of the Jews in the text and images present in the sole surviving manuscript of *Fortalitium fidei*. While the first part of my discussion of Book III is on the religious arguments typically found in Jewish-Christian polemical texts, Espina focuses on Jewish blindness to the truth and New Law, and the role that Jews played in Christian society. I specifically examine those textual images used in order to depict Jewish innate insidious nature in his *considerationes*.

The second part of my analysis focuses on Espina’s use of libel stories, pseudo-historical texts and chronicles in order to illustrate Jews as a contaminating element, and how some nations have opted to expel them. In the words of Miri Rubin, between the wish to make Jews act as guarantors and witnesses of Christian faith and the fear of the danger they posed to Christian society and nation’s body politic, interesting interpretations and stories developed (*Gentile Tales* 31). Furthermore, I argue that libel stories took part in an imaginary cultural mapping that was circulating in Castile in the period where alleged Jewish crimes and their subsequent expulsions had taken place. Finally, in the last section of the chapter, I look into the Espina’s contradictory notions of the role of the Jews and *conversos* in the Iberian Peninsula, and his views of possible solutions to these groups: the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, and an *inquisitio* in order to sort true Jewish converts from Judaizing converts.

*Riots and Mass Conversions Campaigns: from 1391 riots and pogroms to 1449*

*Sentencia-Estatuto de Sangre*

During the thirteenth century, a series of semi-coerced conversion campaigns of Jews and Muslims took place in the Iberian Peninsula. However, in 1391, waves of violent attacks and massacres of the Jewish population spread out through the Peninsula. In turn, these went hand in hand with mass forced baptism campaigns sweeping the Jewish population in the Spanish
kingdoms. As David Nirenberg discusses in *Communities of Violence*, in the case of Valencia, the significant Jewish community was completely destroyed, and the majority of the surviving members were forced to baptize. Other cities and towns in which the Jewish populations suffered the violent attacks and conversions in Aragón were Borriana, Castellón and Xátiva; the riots also spread to Seville, Toledo, Burgos, Córdoba, among others.

These politics of conversion and episodes of violence against the Jewish and Muslim community, among others, are going to continue throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth century. During this period, a series of processes materialized in order to segregate the Jewish community from Christians, and, especially, *conversos* or New Christian converts. Different measures were gradually undertaken in order to eliminate entire Jewish communities from various cities and towns in the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, the notion of Jews perceived as a polluting presence in the Iberian body politic increases. *Conversos* were regarded as the ones more in danger of being infested with the Jewish heresy. This historical episode introduced a shift in social-religious difference in Spanish kingdoms.

For the inquisitors, this episode marked the beginning of the eradication of Judaism in the Iberian Peninsula. Religious figures, such as Dominican friar Vincent Ferrer, campaigned fervently for the completion of the proselytism begun in 1391. Even though various monarchs were not entirely in favor of the conversion campaigns, they believed in the importance of monitoring that new Christian converts did not incur in Judaizing practices or return to their old faith. The process of forced mass conversions was used as an apparatus for the coercion and manipulation of non-Christian communities, and, furthermore, as a way of homogenizing a society composed of three different cultures and religions. Forced mass conversions disturbed the social order, since they destabilized the traditional social structure. The exacerbated rhythm
of the evangelization doctrine of conversion provoked the creation of differentiating politics in order to demarcate and seclude New Christians (cristianos nuevos) from Old Christians (cristianos viejos), which resulted in the social unrest that led to the revolt in Toledo in 1449 and the decree of the Sentencia-Estatuto.

In 1449, the citizens of Toledo rose up against King Juan II and his valido Álvaro de Luna. What began as popular outburst against Luna’s demand for an extraordinary tax, turned into a purge of the city’s social-political and economic enemies, which targeted the conversos. The rebels singled out and subjected conversos to a set of legal retributions and religious-genealogical persecutions. As Ruano E. Benito in “‘La Sentencia-Estatuto’ de Pero Sarmiento contra los conversos toledanos” explains, one of the first victims was the converso Alonso Cota, the city’s tax collector, whose property was looted and burned as a retribution for the involvement in the new tax. Because the rebels set themselves as the new city’s council, the persecution of conversos became systematic. In the midst of the tense environment, reports of apostasy circulated, which led to a series of inquisitorial proceedings, confiscation and destruction of property and executions (281).

Moreover, a document, Pero Sarmiento’s Sentencia-Estatuto, was created in order to restrict or bar New Christians and their descendants from having access to legislative, governmental and ecclesiastical positions. According to the document, in the inquest conducted by cathedral authorities, the majority of the conversos were found guilty of Judaizing practices. In turn, this proved that conversos were political enemies of cristianos viejos or Old Christians, had allied with Álvaro de Luna, and had mismanaged the city while they were in office. Hence, only cristianos viejos should hold official and ecclesiastical office.
King Juan II sought help from lawyers, theologians and the Pope on the rebellion. Pope Nicolas V decreed three bulls on the matter, *Humani generis inimicus, Si ad reprimendas, Nuper siquidem ad aures*. The bulls stressed three aspects: the rights of *conversos* and their descendants as Christians, their rights to access secular and ecclesiastical office, and the excommunication of the rebels. The revolt lasted a year, and in 1450 the city returned to royal obedience and the *Sentencia* was revoked. However, attitudes toward New Christians had reached a point of no return, and the sentiments of the revolt and the *Sentencia* reverberated from then on in the social-political landscape of the Iberian Peninsula. It is in the midst of this turbulent context, in the years after the *Sentencia* and a decade prior to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1480, that Espina composes his *Fortalitium fidei*, and where he exposes his view on Jews and *conversos*.

**Alfonso de Espina and Fortalitium fidei**

Alfonso de Espina was a Franciscan friar who was an itinerant Crusade preacher, and primarily known for his authorship of the *Fortalitium fidei*. He was also the confessor of King Juan II of Castile and, his valido, Álvaro de Luna. In *Misera Hispania: Jews and Conversos in Alonso de Espina’s Fortalitium fidei*, Rosa Vidal Doval comments on Alfonso de Espina’s biography. According to Vidal Doval, Espina was a leading figure in his order, Observant Franciscans, and also in the Castilian Church. He was described by his contemporaries as an extremely persuasive and charismatic preacher, able to move his audience to extreme devotion and penitence (20). Espina also obtained certain standing in the court of Juan II and Enrique IV.

Not much is known of his origins and background. Although it has been speculated that he was a *converso*, but there is not enough information to prove this claim. We do know that he earned the degree of Master of Theology at the University of Salamanca, and that by 1452 he
was the regent of Salamanca’s Franciscan studium. In 1453 Juan II entrusted him with the announcement to Álvaro de Luna of his impending death sentence. Later, during the reign of Enrique IV, the king gave him the task of preaching Pope Calixtus III’s bull for the crusade against Granada.

In the 1460’s, Alfonso de Espina, with the Observant Franciscan Order, approached Enrique IV to adopt a stricter measure against Judaizers. The Observant Franciscans sought the support of the Hieronymite Order in their appeal to the king for the implementation of a new kind of inquisition. The notion for this new Castilian inquisition was not a novel idea, since it sought to establish an inquisition akin to the one operating in France. Various authors and religious figures from the pro-converso and anti-converso camp concurred on this proposal as a solution for the Judaizing problem. We have to remember that the inquisition had been operating in the past centuries as a means of eradicating heresy. In addition, the Council of Basle, convened in the first half of the fifteenth century, had decreed the inquisition as the appropriate institution to deal with Judaizing heresy. Nonetheless, Alfonso de Espina’s and the Observant Franciscan’s zealously anti-converso and anti-Jewish sentiments soon found a firm opposition from important converso religious figures, such as Juan de Torquemada, Alfonso de Cartagena and Alonso de Oropesa. In the end, Enrique IV distanced himself from Espina’s and the Observant Franciscan’s anti-converso sentiments. It is not clear the date of Alfonso de Espina’s death, but some critics believe that he died around 1466. However, rumors circulated over the cause of death of the friar. According to an inquisitorial document in the case against the converso family Arias Dávila in the 1480’s, the accused Diego Arias confessed to poisoning Espina, for he did not like the friar’s anti-converso and anti-Jewish propaganda.

10 I will discuss further in the third chapter the works of these religious figures.
Fortalitium fidei was written between 1458 and 1464. We know that Espina also wrote sermons for his preaching, since he makes reference to them in the Fortalitium, yet they do not survive. The Fortalitium fidei is a vast compendium of preaching material for the defense of the Christian faith. The text is divided into five books: a guide for Christians to keep their faith (Book I), heretics (Book II), Jews (Book III), Muslims (Book IV), and demons and witches (Book V). While Fortalitium fidei is a challenging and difficult text to study, because of its extension and the fact that researchers have to polish their Latin and paleography training in order to undertake their task, the text is one of the most significant works on the topic of anti-Judaism and the development of the converso problem in the fifteenth century. Some of the critics who have made important and insightful contributions on the topic of the Jews and conversos in the Fortalitium fidei are Yitzhak Baer, Bezion Netanyahu, Geraldine McKendrick, Steven J. McMichael, Monsalvo Antón, Alisa Meyuhas Ginio and Rosa Vidal Doval, among others. There is only one surviving manuscript (c.1464), and it is the only one that contains the images. The text also survives in a series of incunabula and later printed editions. The book was also translated to French, and there was a partial translation into German. For the purpose of this study, I will be using the manuscript held at the Cathedral Library in Burgos de Osma, and an incunabulum held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

**Book III, the Book against the Jews: polemical considerationes**

The first image that the reader encounters in the manuscript of Fortalitium fidei is a fortress or citadel of faith besieged by the enemies of the Christian faith (image below). At the

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11 In Secrecy and Deceit, David M. Gitlitz mentions that the Fortalitium fidei was widely use in the Iberian Peninsula and in Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century (31).
12 Bishop Pedro de Montoya (1454-1475) commissioned the manuscript of Burgo de Osma. Although the miniatures are not signed, they have been attributed to the Master of Osma, a Hieronymite monk called Spinosa (Echevarria 107).
top of the tower, Christ is sitting in his ordained throne pointing with his right hand to heaven, and, in his left hand, holding a cross. Christ is portrayed bleeding from the wounds of his crucifixion, as a reminder of his sacrifice for humanity, which is what the fortress must strive to defend. Next to him are the Virgin Mary and the apostles. Therefore, what reside at the top of the tower are the foundations of the Christian faith. At the same time, the fortress is protected with militant angels, cherubs, and the army of God- composed of the clergy, monks, and nuns. Nevertheless, it is in the ground where the magnitude of the battle is depicted through a scene full of chaos and bloodshed. Confusion reigns on the battlefield, since kings, emperors, knights, clerics from different orders, Muslims, Jews, and demons are all engaged in the war.
The enemies of the faith remain at the gate and circumvent the fortress, and they are always vigilant for their next attack. In the lateral sides of the citadel reside demons, which have been defeated by angels. On the left side of the battleground, we encounter what could be Muslims or pagans segregated, and digging themselves deeper in a hole because of their error to the true faith. Not far from the ditch, we see heretics condemned to the stake. On the other side of the battleground, we observe another group segregated inside of a ditch, the Jews. In the image, Jews are portrayed with their Jewish ring in their heads, blindfolded, holding their scriptures in their hands, and in chains.

The different characteristics of the Jews illustrate various iconographic stereotypes associated with Jews in the Middle Ages. Schreckenberg describes how in the course of the Middle Ages the Jewish hat, which initially and for some time served as a neutral group characteristic, becomes a negative symbol. As Schreckenberg explains: “Thus the well-know signs of Jewishness appear: alongside the pointed hat above all the ring, massively in pictorial depictions of anti-Jewish legends (ritual murder, profanation of the host, profanation of images); they are also trivial in the highly polemical ‘Judensau’ scenes” (22). The blindfolds covering the Jews' eyes while holding their scriptures symbolize their blindness to discerning the true faith, and the scriptures in their hands portray the adherence to an antiquated law and, also, their error in interpreting the scriptures withhold them from seeing the light of their errors. Furthermore, the chains represent the fact that they are restrained because of their erroneous condition, and, therefore, they are without a chance of being set free from their error and knowing Christ's message.
The importance of an image of a fortress of faith that must be warded against all the enemies of the faith is vital in a polemical treatise like the *Fortalitium fidei*.\(^1\) Since the treatise was intended as a preaching manual, the author aimed to engrave in the reader's mind how alarming was the war against the enemies of the faith. The image also encompasses all of the apocalyptic, demonic, monstrous, and insidious characteristics present in the literary images that depict the war against enemies in the book.

Image production and image-worship was a controversial issue in the late Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula; it was slowly blossoming in Castile until the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, by the 1450’s the practice had flourished significantly, especially in anti-Jewish polemical treatises (Pereda 276; Schreckenberg 22). At the end of the Middle Ages, and in the early modern period, the production of anti-Jewish polemic graphic art increases tremendously, particularly at the time of the Reformation (Schreckenberg 22).\(^2\)

The third book in the *Fortalitium fidei* is on the war of the Jews (*de bello iudaeorum*) against the fortress of the Christian faith. The book on the Jews is the most copious one of all five books in the text, about 170 folios. Even though many critics have commented on the lack of originality in Espina’s work, nevertheless, the book contains an impressive amount of sources on Christian-Jewish polemics. It is important to note that Espina did not know Hebrew, and that most of the sources that he used in the book are secondary sources of the author that he alludes to in the book. Notwithstanding, as McMichael suggests, Alfonso de Espina’s book on the Jews is

\(^{1}\) Bishop Pedro de Montoya (1454-1475) commissioned the manuscript of Burgo de Osma. Although the miniatures are not signed, they have been attributed to the Master of Osma, a Hieronymite monk called Spinosa (Echevarría 107).

\(^{2}\) So far, the image of the fortress or citadel of faith overrun by its enemies from the *Fortalitium fidei* is the first representation that I have encountered of its kind in medieval manuscripts in the Iberian Peninsula. I have found other illustrations of its kind in manuscripts, and early printed editions from the sixteenth century.
one of the most comprehensive encyclopedic texts in the Christian anti-Jewish literary tradition: “In fact, there is no other work as comprehensive in its argumentation against the Jews” (228).

The arguments and interpretations of the Jews in the third book tend to follow a polemicist format in which the author is debating against an imaginary “Jew.” At times, Espina makes use of pseudo-quotations to validate or counter-argue his point by saying: “the Jews’ say” or “Jews believe.” When commenting on certain Jewish doctrinal sources or religious practices, the author makes a point of mentioning that his information comes from reliable sources, either Jewish or conversos’ texts or their personal accounts. From the first consideratio, Espina transmits to his audience a portrayal of Jews as evil, monstrous and obdurate in their nature. Moreover, these attributes are then inscribed and discussed in their religious scriptures. This perpetuates their error, and ultimately dooms them to remain blind to the true message of the Scriptures and the message of the Gospels. By making use of various arguments and images against the Jewish nature, which were already present in a Jewish-Christian polemic tradition, Espina presents to the reader the notion that these striking Jewish conceptions do, after all, come from their own scriptures and belief system.\(^\text{15}\) Therefore, Jewish texts are presented as his source for exemplifying the Jewish nation as monstrous creatures related to animals and reptiles (mules, marranas or sow and serpents), and the rightful heir of the Inferno.

Some of the well-known religious authors that Espina used in his text as his sources are Thomas Aquinas’ Summa contra Gentiles (c. 1264), Ramón Martí’s Pugio Fidei (c.1270), and several works by Nicholas of Lyra, including Responsio ad quemdam Iudeum (c.1381). An important anti-talmudists’ corpus that Espina quotes or makes reference to belongs to converso

\(^\text{15}\) Ginio discusses how Espina did not have a firsthand knowledge of the masaktot of the Talmud, but that he acquired his material from Jerónimo de Santa Fe. Both Meyuhás Ginio and Netanyahu believe that none of the rabbinic texts cited in the Fortalitium actually came from their original sources, but that the author gets all of his material from secondary sources.
authors, such as Alfonso of Valladolid’s *Liber Belorum Dei* (end of the thirteenth century), and Jerónimo de Santa Fe’s participation in the Disputation of Tortosa (1413-14) and *De iudaicis erroribus ex Talmut*, among other works.

The division between the second book, on heretics, and the third book, on Jews, in the *Fortalitium fidei* is designated by marginalia written in red ink that states: “Incipit liber tertius de iudeorum bello contra fidei fortalitium.” (image below) The marginalia is followed by a large letter "h" pertaining to the first word in the book’s prologue, *hereticorum*. Inside the “h” there is a miniature image of blindfolded Jews, and some of the men are pointing to the manuscripts that they are carrying in their hands. The miniature image serves to illustrate the main topic of the book, the blindness of Jews to the true faith, Christianity, and their error when interpreting the scriptures. Both ideas were common *topoi* present in diatribes against the Jews and in polemic literature in the Middle Ages. However, the miniature image also serves as a way of introducing the first impression that the book is going to fix in the reader’s mind: Jews are tempted to attack Christianity, “like a blind man that goes to the battlefield against a man that has sight,” destined to its own defeat. At the same time, Espina also states that even though Jews have been defeated in their war against Christianity, they continue adamant in their blindness and obstinacy in their erroneous ways.

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16 In Christian iconography of the allegorical paired Ecclesia and Synagoga, the representations of Synagoga usually present what initially could be interpret as a controversy, “in which the subjected opponent usually continues to have a remnant of dignity even in defeat (its visible symbolically: her crown falls from her head; the tables of the law are lowered or held upside-down, i.e. with the rounded end lowermost, or falling from her hand, and her military stance is shattered; Synagoga’s gaze is lowered, or she is already lying on the ground or mounted on a failing steed)” (Schreckenberg 16). For more information on the biblical origins of the representation of Synagoga see Schreckenberg’s *The Jews in Christian Art: an illustrated history*. 
The third book is composed of twelve considerationes or interpretations of the Jewish war. The first five considerationes look into Jews’ true nature: their blindness, origins according to the Talmud, the discrepancies in the foundations of their faith (which is at the core of the confusion that lingers among the different views of their faith), their arguments according their Mosaic Law, their arguments against Christianity. These arguments are based on apparent contradictions between Christianity and Mosaic laws. The sixth consideratio takes on some theoretical and philosophical interpretations from the Gospels, including the discussion of the teachings of Jesus to the Apostles, some doctrinal discussions (in particular, the doctrines of transubstantiation and original sin), and the belief in the salvation of the human race through Christ’s death and resurrection. The next four considerationes revolve around Jewish attacks against the Christian faith, in theory and practice, including: series of cruelties perpetrated against Christians, their stupidity, their wrongdoings and justification for their expulsions from different parts of the world throughout history, and their obstinacy in not recognizing God’s miracles, according to Christian sources. The last two considerationes have to do with the role and the place that the Jewish community occupies in Christian society, both in the present and in the near future. The eleventh consideratio mentions Jewish prescriptions according to canon law, civil law, and royal decrees at the time. However, the future of the Jews is discussed in the twelfth consideratio, where Espina explains various reasons why the true conversion of the Jews
to Christianity has not taken place. Following Franciscan treatment of the Jews in the apocalyptic thought, Espina describes the Jews’ involvement in the coming of the Antichrist and how they will finally see the ways of their errors. It is only with the Last Judgment that Jews will ultimately convert to Christianity.

The first *consideratio* discusses the reasons behind Jewish blindness and questions whether they will ever be able to overcome their condition. To explain their blindness, Espina turns to Bernard Oliver’s treatise *Contra caecitatem iudaorum*, (late thirteenth century) where the condition of the Jewish people as blind is caused by their sins against God. Their sins against God are both in spirit and practice, since they harbor evil in their hearts. Their sins are also the root of their ignorance, which translate to their misunderstanding when interpreting the Sacred Scriptures. The error of their ways and their ignorance is what clouds the true message of the scriptures, condemning them to remain in darkness and obscuring their access to the true message.\(^\text{17}\)

The author continues his argument by quoting various biblical passages and several religious figures, among them: Nicholas of Lyra, R. Selomoh Yishqi (Rasi) and *doctores moderni*. According to the author’s sources, Jewish perfidy is greater in the newer generations than their predecessors’, since they insist on remaining in their errors. The passage also points to the lack of veracity and/or interpretation from the rabbis in the transmission of the scriptural message from the Pentateuch to illiterate Jews. Therefore, both the erroneous interpretation of the religious leaders and the message transmitted to Jews perpetuate their misunderstanding of God’s divine message.

\(^{17}\text{The passage in Latin says: “Erraverunt ceci in plateis, errare enim in plateis nihil aliud eft quam deficere in scripturis claris et manifestis circa quas non proprie dicuntur errare qui nolunt ipsas recipe sed illi qui volunt intelligere et tamen dicunt se eas tenere, sicut non dicit vere cecus cui eft absens visibile objectum sed que presente obiecto non potest habere vifionis actum” (folio 159).}^\)
For Espina, the sole cure for Jewish perfidy will arrive with their acceptance of the spiritual medicine that Jesus offered to his Apostles. Their acceptance of Christ’s message in the Gospels is the only remedy for their perpetual blindness. Towards the end of the discussion, the author offers a prayer for Jews by citing Saint Bernard’s message: “Let us pray in favor of the perfidious Jews” (fol. 162). The prayer implores that the Jews recognize Christ’s message and that the Sacred Scriptures may be a medium for their conversion.

The second *consideratio* serves to illustrate the arguments discussed in the previous *consideratio*. The author mentions that Jews claim to come from a noble lineage, because they are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. However, as Espina explains, both the Old and New Testaments describe the Jewish nation by defamatory names, such as “*generation mala et adultera*,” “*generation incredula*,” and “*generation infidelis*,” among others (fol. 162). Moreover, Espina indicates that even the Jewish religious scriptures, the book “that they call Talmud,” mentions their shameful lineage. The author sustains the statement by making use of Rabi Eleazar’s interpretation of Genesis in the *Masseket Yabamot*. According to Espina, the text describes how Adam knew carnally every female animal and beast in the Garden of Eden, and how he remained unsatisfied until he met Eve. ¹⁸ In a way, the passage serves to illustrate the belief that Jews are an unfaithful and aberrant nation, and, at the same time, it proves that their interpretations of the Scriptures are inaccurate: “you can see how abominable and vile is this, and also wrong because of two reasons” (fol. 162).

The first reason is that according to Talmud’s authorities, in which Espina is referring specifically to the *Maséket Sanhedrín*, the text comments on Adam’s member: “Adam went from earth to heaven, consequently his members must had have the adequate proportions; hence, how

¹⁸ The passage in Latin mentions: “Apparet ex hoc textu que Adam habuit copulam carnalem cum omnibus feminis omnim animalium et non fuit refrigerata voluntas eius quousquem habuit coninuctionem cum eva et ideo dixit […]” (folio 162).
could he have had sexual relations with a hen and others” (fol. 162). The second one depicts the fact that during the time of Creation, the days only had twelve hours. Therefore, Espina concludes that Adam did not have enough time to commit all the alleged insidious acts. Hence, the text and the authorities contradict each other proving that they are fraudulent and false statements (fol. 162).

In De bello iudaorum: Fray Alfonso de Espina y su Fortalitium fidei, Alisa Meyuhas Ginio explains how in the second consideratio Espina follows an argument already established in twelfth century Christian polemics. In this tradition, polemists attempted to make a literal reading of the Talmud’s misdrasim as a way of attacking Jewish scriptures (16). At the same time, most of the attacks against Jewish scriptures in the third book follow an anti-talmudist’s polemic. According to Monsalvo Antón, after the Paris Disputation of 1240, Judaism began to be attacked by Christian religious authors not only by contending against biblical scriptures, but also by refuting Rabbinic Judaism (1067). The Talmud was publicly burned during the Paris Disputation, and the whole post-biblical Jewish tradition was also condemned. The anti-talmudist tradition looked to denounce Jews as anti-Christians: fanatics that followed immoral beliefs that departed from the precepts prescribed in Mosaic Law (Monsalvo Antón 1067). Therefore, we can see all through the second consideration how Espina follows anti-talmudists’ notions already present in a well-established tradition.

In the consideratio, the author continues his reasoning in a debate-like format by first quoting the works of different rabbis as his sources against a “Jew” (iudeus) and latter contradicting each one of the quotes. It’s in this part of the Fortalitium where Espina portrays to his audience a prominent image of Jews as aberrant others. They are described in the passage as monsters, animals, aberrations, and demons, among other images. First, Espina mentions that,
according to Rabbi Eleazar, a breed of monsters was born from Adam’s abominable sexual relations with animals. In this manner, the author arrives at two assumptions: Jews are not only related to monsters, but also mules and sow or marranas are their adoptive mothers\(^\text{19}\) (fol. 162).

To this argument, the “Jew” responds by stating that since the whole humanity descends from Adam, Christians must also be related to monsters. Espina counter-argues the Jew’s statement by indicating that Jews are the only ones that believe in this hideous source, therefore the statement applies only to them.

The next argument discusses Rabbi Selemoh’s comments on the relationship between Adam and Lilith, the winged female demon who was believed to have been Adam’s first wife. According to this source, the relationship that lasted a hundred and thirty years procreated monsters, hybrids and evil spirits. In this manner, the Jews’ ancestry is intertwined with the devil, and Jews and demons are, after all, going to inherit hell (fol. 163). On the other hand, from Rabbi Ysnya comes the comparison between serpents and Jews. If the Jews’ adoptive mothers were the mule and the marrana or sow, their stepfather is none other than the serpent since they emulate several traits that serpents possess. Similar to serpents, Jews are venomous, and they are adamant in not listening to Christ’s doctrines or believing in his miracles. Like serpents, Jews also attack Christians with their tongue: piercing venom comes out of their mouth with their accusations against Christ and their blasphemy against the Church.

From the third to the sixth consideratio, Espina proceeds to depict different philosophical and theological arguments that Jews use in their war against Christianity. In the third consideratio, he continues illustrating the discrepancies and contradictions between Jews and their religious traditions. Citing Alphonso Converso, the author names various Jewish groups or

\[^{19}\text{The original in Latin states: “quicquid sit de falsitate huius doctrina patet quod ibidem dicit rabi elezer, quod adam coivit cum omnibus brutis et iumentis et inde geniti sint hominess monstruosi si ex quo concluduntur duo. primo quod iudei sunt frates hominum mostruosorum. Secundo quod azina et porca cunt noverce eorum” (folio 162).}^\]
sects that exemplify the mutability of their doctrines, and the fact they can’t even agree among themselves.\textsuperscript{20} The passage ends by declaring how “all of the Jews in this kingdom [of Castile], and almost all the Jews in the rest of Spain, especially in the city of Burgos, are Sadducees and heretics.” The arguments of the considerationes fourth, fifth and sixth expose to the reader how Jews reason in their war with Mosaic precepts, their distortions of the message of the Gospels, and a summary of their arguments in the format of a disputation.\textsuperscript{21}

Throughout the discussion of these considerationes, the author makes use of several metaphors and similes of Jews as animals and insects to exemplify Jewish stubbornness and incapability of seeing the truth.\textsuperscript{22} Moreover, the images employ to depict Jews as monsters, hybrids and descendants of devils, serve as a way of illustrating Jews as liminal or marginal creatures that should reside at the limits of the Christian cosmography. Nevertheless, it is on the seventh, eighth and ninth considerationes that we may find the most gruesome depictions of Jews, and their menace to Christian societies, particularly the realm of Castile. In these three considerationes, the author discusses Jewish cruelties (consideratio seventh), their expulsions from several Christian kingdoms (consideratio eighth), and also their refusal in accepting Christian miracles (consideratio ninth). Espina makes use of prevalent medieval stereotyped minorities’ phobias and depictions already fixed in religious, political and cultural imaginaries. Most of the narratives or exempla revolve around the portrayal of Jews as bloodthirsty enemies.

\textsuperscript{20} Among the different Jewish groups that consideratio numbers are: Rabbis and Pharisees, which believe in the Talmud; Karaitees, who believe only in the bible; Sadducees, that don’t believe in an afterlife; Kutaisi, that supposedly only converted to Judaism under threat of lions and a group that the Jews themselves view them as heretics.

\textsuperscript{21} Disputationes in the Middle Ages were a formalized method of debate designed to uncover theological or philosophical truths. Fixed rules governed the process: first, the parties needed to use only written authorities in the debate, and second, each part had to possess a thorough understanding of the topic.

\textsuperscript{22} Among these similes and metaphors is the one that appears in the introduction to the twenty-four impossibilities, that is, the nature of the de bello iudaeorum found in the sixth consideratio. Espina mentions how the war of the Jews against Christianity is like a fly that is flapping its wings attempting to obscure our rays of sun: “Si forte posit illud expugnare ac si musca volatu alarum suarum niteretur obscurare claritate, solis” (folio 235-6).
always lurking on the sidelines and waiting to inflict their evil and abomination onto innocent Christians.

*Seventh consideratio: between histories, stories and urban legends*

I have discussed Espina’s use of religious sources, both Jewish and Christian, in the past *considerationes* in order to depict Jewish innate insidiousness and perfidy. However, in the seventh *consideratio*, Espina presents a collection of stories in the seventeenth *crudelitates* that illustrate Jewish insidiousness throughout Europe, but, especially, in Castile. Espina’s sources for the stories include chronicles, romances and well-known continental medieval libel stories, some of which had circulated in the past two centuries and others more recent. It is most probable that Espina became acquainted with these stories in his work as an itinerant preacher. The crimes described in the seventeenth cruelties were typical accusations that circulated in the cultural imaginary against Jews in the late Middle Ages: from Jewish treason, desecration of the host, ritual murders, witchcraft or black magic, poisoning of whole populations, among others.

At the beginning of the seventh *consideratio*, Espina makes a correlation between the history of Jewish cruelties and the infamous cruelties of the Romans. As the author states, just as Pyrrhus cut off the head of Polyxena and spilled her blood on top of his father’s grave, Achilles, and Hannibal’s betrayal of Rome and other infamous and barbaric Roman crimes, so are Jewish cruelties. Before venturing into each story, Espina mentions that Jewish cruelty is characterized by three main points. First, the cruelty that the Jews had inflicted against Jesus, the Messiah and God. Second, the cruelty that they had inflicted against themselves, since they acknowledged publicly their responsibility in Christ's crucifixion. By making themselves the perpetrators of such a hideous crime, they in turn condemned all of their descendants to carry their punishment for the crime. Third, there were the cruelties that they have perpetrated against Christians, which
he is going to illustrate through the seventeen monstrous cruelties that have taken place “in the present time,” even though “there should be many more that are unknown to us” (fol. 263). As I will discuss, the stories portray imagined encounters between Jews and Christians, while giving a significant insight of Jewish “true” evil feelings against Christian, and also revealing to the Christian audience the Jewish violence and maleficent intents that transpired in the streets of towns, homes, countryside, and even in palaces. In addition, these powerful accounts affected hundreds of communities, and the lives of thousands of Jews and Christians. Therefore, I will examine the correlation that Espina makes between some continental libel stories and those that he describes as happening in the Iberian Peninsula, and, more specifically, what was the underlying message of his Iberian accounts.

It is not mere happenstance that the *crudelitates* are framed by Iberian stories. The first cruelty takes place in Toledo. In order to exemplify how noxious Jewish presence had been in the Iberian Peninsula, the list of *crudelitates* begins with the story of don Rodrigo, and the role that the Jews played in helping the Saracens conquer the last Visigothic kingdom in Toledo when they vanquished King Rodrigo. As I will discuss further in the fourth chapter, the story of don Rodrigo circulated in various chronicles, histories, and historical romances in the Iberian Peninsula throughout the Middle Ages. However, Espina’s reference to the treason of the Jews during the Berbers’ invasion in the Iberian Peninsula comes from Lucas de Tuy’s version of the legend of King Rodrigo in his *Chronicon mundi* (c. 1238). According to Tuy’s version, the Jews were the ones who opened the doors of the city of Toledo and gave way for the enemy to conquer the city without any major effort. Their betrayal is portrayed as the source for the

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23 The passage in Latin says: “[…] crudelitatis damnavit versa in servi diversis in mundi partibus inaudita crudelia opati sunt, et continue ut possunt feritaten bestiarum excendentes crudelissime… ut collegere potui ex diversis scripturis et relatione virorum fidelium usque in praesens tempus ex eo tunc quo propter peccatum occisionis christi sui per orbem in captivitatem sunt dispersi” (folio 263).
bloodshed that erupted, causing the death of every single Christian. The motive behind the Jewish betrayal is attributed to their lust for material things, since they were well rewarded by the Saracens for their participation in the conquest of Toledo where they remained and lived among the Saracens for centuries.\textsuperscript{24}

The next \textit{crudelitates} comprises a series of libel stories that took place in France, Germany, Italy and Castile, among other countries. The genre of libel stories flourished in the thirteenth century, and remained popular until the fifteenth century. As Miri Rubin indicates in \textit{Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews}: “The narrative emerged dense with internal reference and logic, rich in its \textit{dramatis personae}, resonant in its appeal to an ideal order of justice and piety which emerged again and again victorious over Jewish unfaith, filth and cruelty (1). Moreover, Rubin discusses how these types of narratives, as all myths, ground their meaning in the past, but also reassert their presence in the present in tangible and demanding ways. In this manner, the myth and stories of Jewish violence and deicide in the past took its form from strong notions and attitudes of Jews in the present.

Furthermore, Jody Enders comments, in light of Ervin Goffman’s work, that these stories, myths and/or urban legends function as a “frame fantasy,” “referring to the special ability of anecdotal evidence to construct imaginary yet enduring boundaries to experience. Far from detracting from the reality of experience, its fictive nature actually enhances reality” (\textit{Death by Drama and Other Medieval Urban Legends, XXIV}). What gives the libel story, myth or urban legend plausibility or veracity is a series of precise, authorizing, and localizing details that are introduced by the individual narrator. Moreover, as Jan Harold Brunvand illustrates, these stories

\textsuperscript{24} Patricia E. Grieve mentions that neither earlier nor contemporary versions of the legend of King Rodrigo had portrayed the Jews as having such a prominent role in the fall of Spain in 711 as Lucas de Tuy. As Grieve notes, while there were plenty of scapegoats to justify the fall of 711, for Lucas de Tuy the Jews were the biggest contributors to the invasion of Toledo, the seat of the Visigothic kingdom (253, note 11).
construct their veracity in the fact that the witness or source is a “friend of a friend” that is a reliable source:

The truth factor in urban legends is most often simply a matter of people not questioning the teller’s details while trusting the narrator’s supposedly reliable sources. People believe an urban legend because the plot stays within the realm of possibility… and the storyteller is someone “who would never lie” and who can cite the authority of the famous “friend of a friend” to whom the remarkable thing actually happened. (cited in Jody Enders, Death by Drama and Other Medieval Urban Legends 8).

As we will see in the crudelitates, Espina refers to some events in the stories as “it was well-known,” while at other times he mentions the source or a reliable witness that saw or heard the story. At the same time, each narration of the story is accompanied by a commentary made by Espina, in which he emphasizes different aspects of the Jews’ innate vicious nature.

The next three crudelitates occur in the nearby kingdom of France, and the three stories narrate ritual murders that were stereotypically attributed to Jews in the Middle Ages. It is important to note that the three stories take place during the reign of Phillip Augustus II (1165-1223), who drove the Jews out of the lands that he directly governed in 1182. The second crudelitas narrates the libel story believed to have provoked the expulsion of the Jews. The account describes how Jews would commit ritual murders of Christians in the underground crypts and tunnels of Paris. The ritual would occur every year during the Jewish Passover. One of their victims was a little boy that was later canonized as Saint Richard, who was buried in the church of Sancti innocenci in Paris. When Phillip II heard about these crimes, he decided to
The stories narrating the ritual murders of little boys circulated in early medieval collections of religious tales dating back to the sixth century. Nonetheless, the dissemination of the tale of the ritual death of the innocent boy greatly grew when the story was incorporated into Marian folklore. In the Marian tradition the boy is not Christian, but Jewish. The story narrates how the Jewish boy has a Christian religious encounter or experience that bewilders him. When the son narrates his experience to his father, the father, enraged like a demon, throws his son inside an oven or cauldron full of boiling water. However, the boy is miraculously saved by the Virgin Mary, his father is punished by death, and the mother decides to convert with her son to Christianity. Thus, the story underlines the power of miracle and conversion. Conversely, other stories narrated the ritual murder of a Christian boy by a group of Jews and sometimes with the participation of Jewish converts. In the different versions of the legend, the story takes place during Passover when malicious Jews capture a Christian boy, and recreate Christ’s Passion on the little boy’s body. As Rubin mentions, these narratives have a mimetic purpose, for the narrative prefigures as well as refigures the action in each of its variations of the story (2). Hence, the story reminds the audience of the role that Jews played in the killing of God’s son, Christ, while warning the audience of their presence in society as an impending menace.

Moreover, as is seen in the legend of Sancti inocenci of Paris, most of the libel stories, including the saint boy and the desecration of the host, emerged in locations with dense Jewish

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25 The story also describes how Jews used to have Christian servants and slaves, and how they would desacralize sacred Christian objects. It also recurs to the images of the Jewish presence as a type of pest that would spread in both cities and villages, and it would be in contact with all social strata.

26 The story of the Jewish boy was disseminated in several Marian collections throughout Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the case of Spain, the story is present in Alfonso X’s Cantigas de Santa Maria and Gonzalo de Berceo’s Milagros de Nuestra Señora.
populations. Therefore, the story either already has inscribed in it the violence, destruction or annihilation that the Jewish communities suffered because of the alleged murder or promotes it. In the case of Sancti innocenci of Paris, the legend is presented as the reason for the expulsion of the Jews. As Espina stresses, the landscape of the city changed with the expulsion, old synagogues were transformed into new churches, and the Crown benefited from the banning as they kept Jewish properties. The third crudelitas also mentions the incident of Jews perpetrating a public ritual of Passion to a Christian in Champagne. According to the story, King Phillip II happened to be nearby, and, upon getting news of the insidious act, went directly to the town and eighty-four Jews were burned.

In the fourth crudelitas, the story presents a case of Jewish sorcery. According to the Espina, the sources of the account are trustworthy acquaintances who told the author about a Jew who befriended an executioner or verdugo. In the story, a Jew tries to bribe the verdugo into getting him a Christian heart for medical purposes. The executioner, who is described as a miser, decides to accept the money “in the name of his friendship or his greed” (fol. 265). However, the executioner’s wife, suspecting that there was something suspicious in the matter, dissuades and convinces him of giving the Jew a pig’s heart instead of a Christian’s heart. The Jew, believing that he had a Christian’s heart, proceeds to perform his witchcraft and buries the heart in a forest.

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27 Similar to the legend of the Jewish boy, various versions of the Saint boy victim of the ritual murder circulated in the continent. A version of the legend was disseminated in Spain, the story of El Santo Niño de la Guardia at the eve of the Jewish expulsion.

28 While the story of the Sancti innocenci of Paris appears in different sources of the period, the account is narrated in Gesta Phillippi Augusti composed by the monk Rigord (c. 1186). Nevertheless, historically prior to the expulsion of the Jews, Philip II had implemented a series of measures against the Jews of France: in 1180, he imprisoned all the Jews of his land and released them after the payment of a heavy ransom, the next year he annulled all loans made to Christians by Jews, and, in 1182, he confiscated all Jewish property and land, and banned them from his kingdom.

29 Espina mentions that the source of both accounts comes from Vincent de Beauvais’s Speculum Historiae (folio 264).

30 Espina mentions in Latin “ministry iusticie qui lingua nostra dicitur verdugo” (264). Ginio explains that Espina’s use of the word verdugo in vernacular is with the intention that his Castilian secular public would understand clearly the message of the story.
The sorcery attracts a stampede of deranged pigs to the site where the heart was buried, and they proceeded to tear each other apart until there was not a single one left alive.\(^{31}\) The king of France, Philip II, hears of the incident, and, after an investigation, the Jew was captured. Before his execution, the Jew confesses that his intention was to drive the people of the region into madness and to have them kill each other.

The story presents a series of conventions found in libel stories: a Jew performing some sort of medical function or, in this case, claiming to be performing one, Jewish doctors as noxious agents that poison Christian towns, the devious figure of the Christian that helps Jews in their fatal plans, and the woman who intercedes in the story. Women were represented in libel stories as both the accomplices of Jews and the interceptors of abuse. On the one hand, women’s weakness of mind and moral judgment appeared in the stories as deceiving Christians and collaborating with Jews. On the other hand, they were the quintessential detectors of abuse and deception from their Jewish neighbors, and would intercede in the matter (Rubin 73). While the verdugo is portrayed as a devious character, easily manipulated for evil purposes, the intercession of the verdugo’s wife is depicted in the story as God’s providential intercession.

Nevertheless, the planned witchcraft and its unforeseen results illustrate some curious aspects. First, the verdugo’s wife encourages his husband to give a pig’s heart to the Jew. Of all the animals, as I have discussed earlier in the chapter, pigs or marranos were associated with Jews. Second, the spell of the deranged pigs stampeding to where the heart was, and then ripping each other apart, arouses a feeling of revulsion and terror. The spell that was intended for the neighbors of the location imprints on the audience the horror of humans being reduced to the worst kind of bestiality; it threatens the boundaries between human and beast. In a way, the

\(^{31}\) The description of the passage in Latin goes as follow: “eft que post dies paucos congregata est in campo illo inmutabile multitudo de porcorum non solum domesticorum sed etiam silvestrium, et tanta fuit lis et pelium inter eos que omnes mutuo rabidis se morsibus dilacerantes occiderunt fic ut nec unus remanent vivus” (folio 265).
portrayal of the Jew in the story illustrates how Jews not only are masters of manipulation and witchcraft, but that they also could transform or reduce whole populations into an animal/bestial state, beyond the limits of what is recognizable as human. Hence, they could ultimately be turned into deranged marranos and/or Jews.\footnote{\textsuperscript{32} In “Homicidal Pigs and the Antisemitic Imagination,” Jody Enders examines pigs’ trials in medieval and early Modern France and their correlation with anti-Semitic attitudes in the period. Enders describes in particular pig trials, and how sows and pigs were accused and condemned to death for the murder of Christian children, in a similar manner that Jews were accused of murdering Christian children in libel stories.}

The fifth and eighth crudelitates are cases of child ritual murders. In the fifth cruelty the victim is a little girl from Pforzheim in Baden, Germany, while the victim in the sixth cruelty is a little boy from Ancona. For the purpose of this chapter, I will discuss the case of the little boy from Ancona, since the eighth and ninth crudelitates are narrated by Emanuel, a Jew who wanted to convert to Christianity, that Espina happened to meet in the monastery of the frates minores in Valladolid.\footnote{\textsuperscript{33} Alfonso de Espina visited Medina del Campo in the Province of Valladolid frequently during the 1450’s for preaching purposes.} In his conversation with Emanuel, Espina asks him how he came become aware of Jewish error. To this question, the Emanuel replies, “Jews assassinate and sacrifice Christian infants wherever they can.”\footnote{\textsuperscript{34} The passage in Latin says: “quod iudei imponiter sed que occident et sacrificant infants christianos cum eos habere possunt” (folio 266).} The two incidents that he recounts to Espina are the stories that made him turn away from Judaism, and made him believe in the Christian faith. The first account is one that comes to him through oral tradition for it is a story well known in Italy. However, the second account is an incident that he witnessed himself.

The eighth crudelitas takes place in the town of Ancona, and the crime was perpetrated by a Jewish doctor, magister Simon, who because of his profession would travel “to different locations, and had also access to important residences and palaces” (fol. 266). Under unclear and dubious circumstances, the doctor attained a four years old Christian child. He took the child to
his residence in Pavia, where he proceeded to lay him on a table and decapitate him. The doctor then placed the infant’s head on the table and took the body to a secret room, where he was believed to have perpetrated other perverted acts with the child’s corpse. While the doctor remained in the other room with the child’s body, by the decree of God (deo ordinante), a big dog entered the house, took the child’s head in his mouth, and exited through the window. Thanks to the dog, the authorities (ministry iusticie) were able to follow the traces of the child’s blood that led them to the Jews’ house, where they encountered the gruesome crime scene. The authorities were not able to apprehend the Jewish doctor. It was believed that when the Jews noticed that the Christian child’s head was missing, fearing the worst, he fled the country and sailed to Turkey.

Once again we encounter the topos of the dangerous Jewish doctor that wanders in and out of different towns. At the same time, the story does not mention how the doctor received the little boy, but in a way it is implied that there was an intermediary, probably a cunning Christian as in the case of the verdugo. On the other hand, the dog is depicted as God’s messenger. It is through the dog’s intercession that the crime is discovered and the boy’s body is recovered. As we will see further along in this section, this is not the only passage where dogs play an important role in revealing the hideous crime committed by Jews against innocent children. Yet in the story, in true urban-scary legend fashion, the threat of the murderous doctor is still lurking, for the Jew was never apprehended. According to Emanuel, the incident was a well-known story to Jews (pentibus meis) and many others, since it is an infamous incident in Italy. However, as Emanuel says at the beginning of his story, the message of the story is “to warn Christians of those that act according to the zealousness of their belief,” the Jews (fol. 266).
Nevertheless, the most dramatic and gruesome account of all the collection comes from Emanuel himself in the ninth *crudelitas*. The ninth *crudelitas* illustrates to the readers Jewish abhorrent beliefs to its maximum manifestation. The account is a testimony given by Emanuel of a ritual murder that he witnessed at a Jewish home. We see in the passage how Espina goes to great lengths to transmit a meticulous description of Emanuel’s testimony by mentioning the location, actors of the crime and details of how the crime was perpetrated, as to prove to the reader the validity of the account. The author begins by mentioning the place where the incident occurred: the city of Savona in 1452, a city that was under the jurisdiction of Genoa. In the city, “seven or eight Jews” gathered in a Jewish home, and they made a pact and swore the secrecy of their crime of infanticide. They abducted a Christian infant of two years of age, and placed him in the middle of the room next to the vessel used to collect Jewish infants’ blood during circumcision ceremonies. They proceeded to commit a *passio* ritual: the infant is held naked on top of the vessel while his head was held up high and his arms were stretched to the sides “in forma crucifixi extensum” (fol. 267). One of the Jews placed a wet cloth in the infant’s mouth to suffocate his screams. They then proceeded to poke him with iron needles (*ferreos aculeos*) on his stomach and his sides until one of them reached the child’s heart. Soon after, another Jew pierced the infant’s chest with a spear, and the infant’s blood poured into the vessel while he was still alive.

After witnessing the frightful crime, Emanuel, not being able to bear the scene, ran to another room in horror. His father followed him and made him swear that he was not going to divulge the incident to anyone. Upon rejoining the rest of the Jews in the room of the crime,

35 The passage stresses the fact that Emanuel was a witness to the crime: “Consequentet narravit id quod propriis oculis conspexit sub forma que sequit” (folio 267).

36 The passage in Latin emphasize on a dubious ambiance of secrecy and hiding, as to stress the fact that it is impossible to know what happens in the Jewish households and their conniving thoughts: “secretissime et clausis ianuis diligentissime iuramentum fortissimum omnes fecerent de zelando id quod facere volebant” (folio 267).
Emanuel noticed that the infant was already dead. Furthermore, the Jews were atrociously eating pieces of fruit that they were dipping in the infant's blood. Emanuel was forced to partake in the gruesome feast. However, he could not muster to eat anything the day after, and, out of fear and horror, he discharged his bowels. After the incident, Emanuel left Italy and went to the monastery where Espina met him in Valladolid. According to Espina, Emanuel was later baptized in the Church of Saint Jacob. Emanuel’s baptism was a celebrated event, and many distinguished ecclesiastic and lay authorities that had heard of his story came to witness his baptism.

The ninth *crudelitas* exemplifies Espina’s commentary at the end of the fifth cruelty. As we saw earlier in the discussion, according to the various religious authorities that Espina cites, Jews claimed for themselves and their ancestry Christ’s crucifixion. Therefore, the crime makes them and all of their people suffer and carry Christ’s bloodstain until they repent for their sins. Because of their suffering, Jews hunt in every city and town for Christian blood as a way of relieving and/or releasing their anguish. Nevertheless, it is only through baptism that both their sin and their suffering may be relieved. Espina introduces in his text Emanuel’s testimony as a way of trying to persuade the audience that he was reliable and ocular witness, a Jew, while also trying to prove the veracity of the incidents that have incriminated the Jews throughout the centuries. For Espina’s dramatic and persuasive purposes, the character of Emanuel in the story, confirms the Jewish stereotype of conniving, bloodthirsty people that are always plotting their next gruesome Christian bloodshed in secrecy. Even though Emanuel has heard of stories incriminating Jews in various horrific incidents, as he narrates in his first story, it is only when he bears witness to the hideous infanticide perpetrated by his father and a group of Jews that he realizes the customs and nature of his people (*pentibus meis*). It is in the act of him partaking in
the ritual, when he is coerced into ingesting the fruits dripping in the Christian infant’s blood, that he later decides not to remain among the Jews who perpetuate their error and perfidy.

We do not know if a figure named Emanuel did exist, nor if the accounts did happen, but is most probably they were product of Espina’s imagination. Emanuel’s story follows the typical structure of a witness tale, where a Jew or Jewish action effects the conversion of others through the personal experience of miracle or, in this case, the revelation of Jewish perfidy and illumination to Christian truth. The moment of enlightenment could not have been portrayed in a more dramatic and graphic manner. Emanuel’s reaction to his participation in what may be considered a Jewish rite of passage could not have been more visceral; he literally defecates the blood ritual or what marks him as a Jewish descendant. Thus, it is at that moment that he refuses to remain any longer among his Jewish people and decides to convert to Christianity. As Espina mentions, it is only through baptism that Emanuel can be cleansed and relieved of his Jewish curse.

It is not serendipitous that Espina chose to insert in his story the fictive testimony of a Jewish convert an ocular witness of the fearsome ritual murder, in order to narrate the most gruesome libel story of his collection. Emanuel as a Jewish convert is presented in the account as a liminal figure; he narrates the events of his previous life as a Jew and his new path as New Christian. In this manner, the narrative of the story serves as a way of illustrating his transformation. The plot moves from problem to resolution, and from violation to restoration and incorporation to the Christian domain.

From the tenth to the fourteenth crudelitates, Espina describes incidents that occur in Castile, while in the remaining crudelitates (fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth), he makes use of Castilian examples or authorities to illustrate Jewish presence in the Iberian Peninsula. In
these particular crudelitates, we see how the author presents to the reader many local
descriptions and details as a way of transmitting a sense of something familiar and Castilian, and,
therefore, to demonstrate the veracity of the accounts. At the same time, it seems that Espina is
presenting through the stories an imaginary cultural mapping of either towns that have
experienced conflicts between Jews and Christians and local authorities and the Crown, or
imaginary banns that occurred in the Castilian towns where the Jewish crimes were allegedly
committed. Moreover, most of these stories are said to have occurred during the turbulent reigns
of Juan II and Enrique IV, the years preceding and during Espina’s composition of Fortalitium
fidei.

The tenth crudelitas takes place in Tábara, the dioceses of Astorga in the province of Zamora. The account describes how a young Jew in Tábara was accused and condemned by the court to be executed. Upon his death, his father decides to avenge his son's death. The father feigns for years to appear as a mad man to the public eye. The Jew would wander around the town screaming and banging on people's doors with a hammer as a way of portraying himself to the town as a harmless madman. Meanwhile, the Jew had been cunningly planning his revenge with his servants' help, which included the manufactured iron needles (aculeos ferreos) in his household.

It is important to note that Espina provides to a Castilian reader an explanation of the artifacts in the vernacular language, “in our language they are called abroios, which they are what our enemies use to hold back or stop people and horses” (268). On the passages that we encounter Espina's use of the Castilian words, we perceive how the author looks to familiarize

37 The explanation in Latin is the following: “In domo vero sua secretissime cum pueris suis fabris faciebat quasdam laminas ferreas perforatas quibus posset denocete omnes portas domorum conclavare fecit etiam aculeos ferreos que lingua nostra abroios nominantur qui communiter ab inimicis seminantur pro pedibus equorum & hominum conclavandis” (folio 268).
the reader with the subjects and objects that he is describing. At the same time, he is stressing the importance of knowing and transmitting the vernacular words, since these are stories that were going to be transmitted in Castile by preachers.

As the story depicts, the Jew avenged his son's death on a stormy night when he proceeded to seal all of the Christian homes in the town of Tábara, and lay the iron needles on the entrance of the houses. He then ignited the town on fire, causing the death of numerous Christians and wounding many others with the iron needles. Upon hearing the news of the famous incident (*publica fama*), the king awarded the lord of the region the legal authority to execute every Jew that lived in the city. Espina mentions how the incident is still remembered in a popular proverb that says that there is not a Jew or a *converso* that would set foot in Tábara, since he would be under the threat of death.38

The message implied in the account is to signal alleged expulsions of Jews from the Castilian realms. Jews are portrayed as dangerous role-players. As it has been presented in the different accounts, they either pretend to be friendly or crazy, but in secret they are always scheming to attack Christians. Hence, under the menace of their presence spreading like wildfire, they must be eradicated from the Castilian social landscape. The proposition of possible scenarios that could ultimately justify the Jewish expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula is one that Espina elaborates in various passages of the third book, as we will see in the discussion of the section on Jewish expulsions.

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38 The proverb is explained in the passage as the following: “et ideo in proverbium traductur in illis partibus contra iudeos. predicta verba iudeus in tavara et iudeus extra tavaram nec amplius iudeos aliquis ibi habitavit usque in hodiernum diem” (folio 268). The town of Tábara was a locus in various sources of the period, Espina’s text, legends and poetry, as a place where Jews, and sometimes *conversos*, were banned from entering the town. In the next chapter, I will revisit the discussion of the town of Tábara in a poem of the Comendador Diego de Román dedicated to the *converso* poet Antón de Montoro, and the legend of the magic bust of Tábara.
The eleventh *crudelitas* presents another infanticide ritual murder around 1454 in Castile. In the story, Jews capture a Christian child, kill him in the forest, and then extract his heart and bury his body. In a similar scenario to the one discussed in the ninth cruelty, two shepherd dogs are the ones that uncover the crime. They dig out an arm and a leg from the child's corpse and reveal the site where he was buried to the authorities. The presence of dogs in both the ninth and eleventh cruelties depicted as guardians of Christians are in accordance with the portrayal of dogs in other sources of the period, such as the legend of the *perro de Alva*, a legend that I will analyze in the next chapter.

One important aspect in this *crudelitas* is that the lord of the region wanted to prosecute the Jews who had confessed their crime. However, the Jews had written letters to the king, and the king ordered to cease their case and possible execution. The author comments how the decision to not prosecute the guilty Jews was only possible because of the *conversos* at court, which the author describes as *de genere illo* as the accused. As the author has pointed out in past accounts, the presence of Jews and/or *conversos* at the royal chancery is viewed as problematic and a menace to the realm since they are perceived as cunning and manipulating the king for their advantage.

Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi in his lecture ‘Servants of Kings and Not Servants of Servants’: *Some Aspects of the Political History of the Jews*, gives an insightful look at the types of alliances that Jews have forged throughout history in order to ensure their survival and certain autonomy in different territories. As Yerushalmi illustrates, Jews favored vertical alliances with the kings or emperors in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. Different Jewish charters developed across Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire in which by royal decree Jews enjoyed freedom of religion, freedom of trade and community autonomy, royal protection was
guaranteed in different degrees according to the region and the period. In turn, Jews paid considerable taxes to the king, and remained the most loyal subjects, for the stability of Jewish communities depended on it. Hence, the royal alliance was predicated on the assumption that Jews belong to the king and were only under royal jurisdiction; this is why the Jews were named in England “the king’s Jews,” in France “Juifs du roi,” and in the Sacro Roman Empire, “serf of our treasury” (14). In the case of the Iberian Peninsula, Jewish courtiers constituted an entire class that served both Christian and Muslim rulers; they were tax farmers, financiers, advisors, diplomats, translators, and physicians. Iberian Jews’ perception of their status maybe heard in the words of Bahya ben Asher of Saragossa: “He who is the vassal of one of the king’s nobles is not much of such high station as though he were vassal of the king, for the vassal of the king is feared even by the nobles and ministers, out of fear of the king himself” (cited in Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, ‘Servants of Kings and Not Servants of Servants’ 14). Notwithstanding, these alliances came at the expense of neglecting to forge horizontal covenants with local authorities.

Moreover, the story in this crudelitas is actually a real case that Espina prosecuted in Valladolid in 1454. Rosa Vidal Doval mentions that Espina was in Valladolid in 1454, where he brought an accusation of the ritual murder of a little Christian boy against a Jew of Valladolid. Nonetheless, his case was dismissed. It is interesting how Espina merges in this crudelitas his own creation of an accusation of a ritual murder with a so-called case that was “known” in Castile. He also denounces the presence of conversos in court as the reason why the accused Jew was not punished. Therefore, as Espina comments in the eleventh crudelitas, at times, there was a conflict between local and royal authority regarding Jewish matters, which provoked the resentment of the Christian town’s authority, residents and, especially, his own rancor.
The creation of a new and powerful class of *conversos* with the campaigns of mass conversions, *conversos*, as new Christians, had access to positions that Jews in the past were banned from because of their religious background. Nonetheless, as we saw with the revolt in Toledo and the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, animosity against *conversos* grew and their identity was re-located from their new Christian status back to their Jewish lineage. Resentment and outbreaks against *conversos* escalated during the 1460’s and 1470’s as we will see in the next chapter.

The twelfth *crudelitas* narrates two cases of attempted ritual murders of little boys perpetrated by Jews in Tábara in 1457. The first case describes how two Jews kidnapped a little Christian boy in a depopulated part of the town. The boy’s members were torn apart, and the Jews ran away with the child’s blood. The Jew was never apprehended due to negligence on the part of the authorities. Espina mentions that Alfonso de Vivero, bishop of Salamanca, was the one that told him the story. The second story is also the kidnapping of a little Christian boy in Tábara in the same year. However, the boy was saved when Christian neighbors heard the child’s screams, and the Jew was accused of his crime in the Consejo Real. According to Espina, this account was narrated to him by one of the town’s residents, a *vir simplex*. Thus, both stories employ the “friend of a friend” tale as a way of demonstrating that the sources are trustworthy.39

What it is interesting in these stories is that Espina narrates three different libel stories that took place in the town of Tábara. Hence, what is the importance or insistence in situating incidents in Tábara? As I will discuss in the second chapter, a legend circulated in the first half of the fifteenth century in Castile in which Jews were banned from the town of Tábara. In various sources from the second half of the fifteenth century, the legend and the town of Tábara

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39 In *Hidden Heritage*, Janet Jacobs mentions that Alfonso de Espina was the first to introduce the charge of ritual murder to Spain with the accusations against a group of Jews in Tábara who were charged with the crucifixion of a Christian boy (24). Therefore, either Espina made the same accusation of the ritual murder of a Christian boy perpetrated by the Jews in Valladolid and Tábara, or he replicated the story twice in *Fortalitium* for shock value.
appears as a locus where Jews were prohibited to enter the town. Therefore, Espina contributes to the *topos* of the famous town by including three libel stories that explained the reasons why Jews were expelled from Tábara.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth *cruelitates*, Espina attacks Jewish doctors. In the thirteenth *cruelitas*, the author mentions how medicine has become an effective way for Jews to harm Christians. As we have already seen in previous libel stories, Jewish doctors are depicted as monsters that can perform malignant witchcrafts, poison, harm or kill from one individual to whole populations. However, in Espina’s explanation on how Jewish doctors afflict Christian patients, he criticizes Christian society, and, particularly, Christian doctors’ for their poor learning and execution of the discipline of medicine. According to the author, Jews took notice of the lack of Christian physicians and strived to excel in the field by making themselves indispensable in Christian society. He stresses the fact that Jewish doctors are present and cherished everywhere, from distinguished nobles to clerics and common men: “One can hardly find one of them [nobles and clerics] that does not have a Jewish demonic doctor in great esteem, and they say of Christian doctors, that even the most knowledgeable, ignore the art of medicine” (fol. 269).

Espina continues his explanation by indicating the methods employed by Jewish doctors to inflict Christians, such as phlebotomies and purgatives. He tells a story that took place while he was in Segovia, when a Jewish doctor gave a Christian a purgative that killed him. The passage concludes with the author stating that Jewish physicians pride themselves in their killing of Christians, “for one they cure, they kill fifty” (fol. 270). He urges Christians not to rely on Jewish doctors.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ The passage also describes certain prescriptions present in the Talmud that indicate that Jews shouldn't accept any medicine from Christians, they should never remain alone with them, among others. Hence, one can interpret in the
The topic of Jewish doctors poisoning innocent Christians is present in the fourteenth century, where another episode of a doctor poisoning Christians is narrated. Nevertheless, after narrating the story, Espina makes a connection between Jewish doctors poisoning individuals in the towns of the Iberian Peninsula to the wider threat they pose by spreading their poison to monarchs and rulers. If in the *crudelitates* that took place in France, King Phillip II is portrayed as an exemplary monarch that punished Jewish communities for the crimes committed against Christians, and ultimately decided to ban the Jews from his kingdom, in this passage Espina provides examples of bad monarchs that did the opposite in the Iberian Peninsula by alluding to Alfonso VIII and Pedro el Cruel.

King Alfonso VIII reigned in Castile from 1158 to 1214, and he is best known for winning the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which was the decisive turning point in the Christians’ military drive to conquer the remaining parts of Muslim Spain. However, in the legend of Alfonso VIII, the king is described as a sinner and bad monarch. The source of his shortcomings is his seven years’ affair with his Jewish mistress. In some versions of the legend, God punishes the king for his sins when he is defeated in the Battle of Alarcos in 1195, but promises that he will win the next important battle, which was Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Because of his affair, the king is punished and will not have any male heir; his grandson, his daughter’s offspring, is the one who will inherit the kingdom.

Other versions further describe the affair between the king and the Jewess. According to these versions, the Jewess’ seductive power bewitches the king, making him neglect his wife and kingdom. The court councilors also feared that Jewish leaders were manipulating the king through the Jewess. Finally, the councilors decide to cut the throat of the Jewess and of those who aided her.

passage that Espina wanted to show how Jews are wary, and protect themselves against Christians, probably because of their own vicious intentions. Something that, in turn, Christians do not do, which exposes them to being in danger to Jewish perfidy.
who were with her. After the Jewess’ murder, the king remains secluded, mourning the lost of his lover. Yet one night he receives a visit from an angel that tells him that he had sinned, and that he needed to dedicate himself to his kingdom. As David Nirenberg comments, the story of the Jewess presents medieval anxieties over interreligious sexual relations and concubinage, but, moreover, the story reveals conflicts over new forms of monarchical governance, such as royal favorites, ministers and bureaucracies, in medieval politics (“Deviant Politics and Jewish Love” 19).

On the other hand, Pedro el Cruel, who reigned from 1350 to 1369, was accused of “Jew-loving” because of all of the Jewish councilors that he had in his court. The accusation emerged when Pedro’s half-brother, Enrique de Trastámara, wanted to dispossess his brother from the throne and propagated the rumor of his brother’s predilection for Jews. The rumor also claimed that the queen, out of fear of not giving the king a male heir, exchanged their daughter for a Jewish boy. In this manner the story, in a similar way as the legend of Alfonso VIII and the Jewess, exposes anxieties over the role that Jewish courtiers played in the governance of the kingdom. David Nirenberg elucidates this dynamic in the Iberian political landscape of the period:

But regardless of whether the “Jewishness” of fiscality was a product of real Jews in royal service, of Christian political theology, or some combination thereof, what is clear is that complaints about Jewish influence and charges of royal philo-Semitism became a preferred weapon in the increasingly sharp debates over taxation and administration that marked the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. (“Deviant Politics and Jewish Love” 25)
In this manner, “Jewish-love” became the defamation par excellence used against kings when there were conflicts between different political factions, as it was the case during the reigns of Juan II and his son Enrique IV in the fifteenth century.\footnote{For a detailed analysis of Alfonso VIII and Pedro el Cruel, see Patricia Grieve’s chapter “Granada is the Bride” in \textit{The Eve of Spain}.}

In the last three \textit{cruelitatem}, Espina portrays different scenarios in which Jews are detrimental to several aspects of everyday life of Christian society. The fifteenth \textit{cruelitas} present how Jews curse Christians and wish for the destruction of their kingdom in several of their prayers.\footnote{The author states that Jews have four specific prayers where they wish harm to Christians. The first is a prayer professed during the Feast of Mardoqueo, a feast celebrated mid-March, in which Jews throw ceramic objects to the synagogues’ floor and say: “In the same manner that Amon was destroyed, so let it be to the Christian kingdom.” The second is a prayer that Jews supposedly say when passing in front a Christian Church in Hebrew: “orant enim sic in sententia secundum hebraicum suum domus superstiorum prosternet te deus.” The third prayer is one that they profess when they are passing through a Christian cemetery. The fourth prayer is the prayer of the heretics that Jews pray three times a day. Espina uses\textit{conversos}' texts as his source for the passage (folios 272-3). This accusation is also present in other texts of the period, as I will analyze in the \textit{Alborayque}.} Something noteworthy in the passage is the numerous \textit{conversos}' sources that the author quotes, such as Jerónimo de Santa Fe, Alfonso Converso, Juan Converso, and Pablo de Burgos. While the fifteenth \textit{cruelitas} examines how Jewish prayers defame and condemn Christians, the sixteenth \textit{cruelitas} depicts the difference in the intentions and considerations between Jews and Christians. According to Espina, Christians pray for Jews to see the truth and not for their demise, while Jews only wish for Christians harm and destruction. The author declares that if Jews are under the jurisdiction of Christian societies, their ill intentions and defamation of Christians can be perceived as another kind of cruelty on their part.

Finally, in the seventeenth \textit{cruelitas}, Espina exposes Jewish usury as a mode of Jews keeping Christians under their captivity.\footnote{Espina’s outrage and lividness in the passage may be seen from the first sentence of the \textit{cruelitas}: “The pen can not write all the acts and calamities that Jews have caused through their usury. Therefore, they can not be regarded as human beings, but as satanic beings” (folio 275).} Through usury, Jews keep Christians under their dominium: “they create usury contracts that oblige one generation after another. Therefore not
only the peasants that work the land, but also the landlords and knights are constraint to their contracts like captives. And the moment that an animal, like a chicken, is born in a farmer's land, they confiscate their chicken” (fol. 275).

James A. Arieti describes the four main reasons why usury was conceived as a sin in the medieval Christian society. First, the explicit commandment in Deuteronomy 23:20: “You will not lend your brother money at interest.” The commandment left unclear the exact meaning of “brother.” Second, living by earning interest on loans was considered contrary to God’s will, for it did not entail the sweat of one’s brow. Therefore, earning a livelihood from financial instruments circumvents the requirement of work, since money comes in without sweat (“Magical Thinking in Medieval Anti-Semitism” 198).

Third, interest is an insult to nature. The Church accepted from Aristotle the idea that the purpose of money is use in exchange, that is, someone gives money and receives money in the exchange of something else. The earning of interest is the multiplication of the same thing, more money. To incur in this practice was perceived as going against nature and God. However, since Jews were already condemned, they could incur in the practice of usury. Finally, usury was considered an affront to God. As Dana Katz explains, “since usury does not involve an exchange of goods, it is as though the interest were produced ex nihilo; thus, by creating money from nothing, a usurer would be presuming to act like God” (cited in Arieti, “Magical Thinking in Medieval Anti-Semitism” 198).

Another aspect of usury that Espina exposes in this passage is how monarchs and rulers are influenced by Jewish usury in their palaces, since they not only have Jews as treasurers, but they are also persuaded to borrow money from Jews. Therefore, through Jewish usury, the whole kingdom, from monarchs to knights, chickens and farmers, are captives of the Jews. Rowan
William Dorin in his interesting dissertation, *Banning Usury: The Expulsion of Foreign Moneylenders in Medieval Europe, 1200-1450*, argues that in the thirteenth century emerges a correlation between the blooming necessity of moneylenders with the growth of trade and commerce, the anxieties that it provokes, and the expulsion of Jews from various nations in medieval Europe. Dorin explains that in the midst of a growing and changing economy and society, princes and prelates resorted to Jewish moneylenders in order to meet their fiscal needs: “Cash-strapped princes were quick to see moneylenders as ready sources of revenue, whether through forced loans or arbitrary fines, while preachers regularly reminded Christian lenders of the threat of eternal damnation should they fail to make amends for their usurious practices” (3).

However, by the second half of the thirteenth century, kings, popes and other authorities began to command foreign lenders at interest, such as the Jews, to be banished from their realms. Some of these include the Jewish expulsions from England and France that Espina discusses in the seventh *consideratio*.

The ninth *consideratio* is dedicated to four Jewish expulsions that took place in different historical moments in Jerusalem, France, England and Spain. The expulsions depicted to the reader are based on pseudo-historical events that either come from chronicles or legends. Although each expulsion is supposed to occur in a particular historical context, the justifications for the expulsions echo from one region to the other. Espina also exposes and reflects on each expulsion something pertaining to the Jewish problem in the Iberian Peninsula.

Moreover, something that critics have commented on in the *Fortalitium fidei*, and we have seen in the third book discussion, is that most of Espina's sources are secondary texts. Monsalvo Antón discusses Espina's use of history as a way of investing his anti-Judaism with a legitimate historicity. As he illustrates: “Recurría al registro de una memoria pseudohistórica y
legendaria en la que a lo largo de los tiempos aparecían los judíos como pueblo perseguido legalmente, y concretamente expulsado de algunos reinos” (1070). As we will discuss in the case of the expulsions, Espina underlines in each expulsion his sources, which are mostly chronicles or histories and reliable witnesses.

In the prologue of the ninth consideratio, the author indicates that it is because of their ignominy and crimes that Jews have been and should be expelled from different lands and countries: the Holy Land, France, England and Spain. For the first expulsion, Espina uses John of Salisbury’s Policratus in order to describe the events that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. Espina specifically includes in the section Salisbury’s paraphrase of the passage from Flavius Augustus The Siege of Jerusalem that narrates the account of Miriam, daughter of Eleazar of Bet Ezob. The horrific episode portrays how Miriam, out of hunger and despair, kills her baby, and eats him in order to spare him of his misery and for her own survival. Espina includes the first line of Augustus’ history as a way of exemplifying Jews’ insidiousness and barbarism in the words of such an illustrious historian:

But why dwell on the commonplace rubbish which the starving were driven to feed upon, given that what I have to recount is an act unparalleled in the history of either the Greeks or the barbarians, and as horrible to relate as it is incredible to hear? For my part I should gladly have omitted this tragedy, lest I should be suspected of monstrous fabrications. But there were many witnesses, I should do poor service if I were to suppress their story of what took place. (fol. 301)

What is interesting in Espina's discussion in the Jews' first expulsion is that he dovetails the historical context and justifications for the Jewish expulsion of Jerusalem in order to debate Jewish claims of their arrival to the Iberian Peninsula before the death of Christ. To this claim,
the author poses the following question: did they come voluntarily or were they forced to come to Spain? If they arrived of their own will, then they did not observe their laws and ceremonies \((legem nec cerimonias)\) they used to follow; therefore, they were apostates and not true Jews \((apostate et non iudei)\). However, if they were forced to arrive in Spain, then why did they not return to their country with a license from King Darius?

According to Espina, if they remained in Spain, “they were bad Jews, incredibly divided, and confused, completely apart from the good Jews” (fol. 302). However, it is curious that the author does not clarify what is his conception of a “good Jew,” or if he even thought that there was a paradigm of “good” Jews. Nevertheless, he proceeds to depict how the Jews that inhabit the Peninsula at the time were idolaters, since from Nero to Constantine paganism was practiced in the Iberian Peninsula. As the author argues, there is not an account that documents Jews being prosecuted for practicing their religion. Therefore, they must have worshiped pagan gods.

Regarding this passage, Ginio comments on the fact that Espina attributes to pagan society the same totalitarian notions of guarding and protecting a faith as in Christian society (77-8). At the end of the section, the author concludes that Jews do not seem to know or agree on their origins, and if they arrived to the Peninsula before Christ’s time, they came as rebels, and they were irreverent to their own laws and traditions.\(^{44}\)

In the second expulsion of the Jews, the author describes their expulsion from the kingdom of France during the reign of Philip IV in 1306. Espina goes to great lengths to underline the fact that he acquired his information from a group of monks from Cluny that he

\(^{44}\) The passage concludes with the following notions: "Et dicunt que sunt de tribu iuda. Alii que funt de tribu levi. Alii que funt de tribu manassem. Alii que sunt de tribu effraim quod cum veritate probare non possunt quare si sunt de tribu iuda quare ergo non fuerent ad suos reges anni christi adventum... Sed si anni adventum christi permanerent in hyspania ibidem remaserunt sic rebelles et desperati" (folio 302).
met in Medina del Campo (Valladolid). One of the monks mentioned that the expulsion was propelled by an event that took place in Paris in which a Eucharist was desacralized. The account is a libel story narrating the desecration of the Host. A Jew manipulated a Christian woman into getting him a Eucharist in exchange for an object that she had pawned. The sacred Host was rescued from the malicious Jew through one of God's miracles. In the end, the Jew was burned alive with the Talmud in his hands, and his wife and son converted to Christianity.

Both Rubin and Enders discuss the account known as the *Sainte Hostie*. Rubin notes that in the thirteenth century emerged the popularity of the stories of the accusation of the desecration of the Host by the Jews. The account manifested the anxiety present in religious and popular culture over the lack of boundaries between Jews and Christians, and the perception of Jews desacralizing that which defined Christian identity, the communion with Christ. As Rubin explains: “Jews were increasingly seen as being true to their nature in the enactment of contempt for Christianity and evil intent towards its God in His eucharistic manifestation” (28).

The desecration of the Host legends follow more or less the same pattern: a Jew, most of the times an usurer, bribes a Christian *mauvaise femme* into getting him an Eucharist; the women, through one of the sacraments, either communion or the last rite, gets the Eucharist; the Jew then subjects the Host to a series of tortures, from stabbing it to throwing it into a cauldron full of boiling water; finally, a miracle happens, his wife and son convert to Christianity after witnessing the miracle, while the Jew is detained and burned at the stake. Similarly to the account of the *Sancti inocenci* of Paris, the legend is presented as the reason for the expulsion of

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45 Alfonso de Espina was in Medina del Campo in Valladolid also in 1458 preaching a series of sermons after learning of a group of *conversos* who where denying the Gospel. Rosa Vidal Doval mentions that after his preaching, Espina got the news of thirty *conversos* who were circumcised in preparation for an emigration to North Africa, where they intended to live openly as Jews (129).

46 While Rubin studies the origin and different versions of the legend of the desecrated Host in medieval Europe, Enders examines the legend and its later manifestations in other versions of the story, histories and theater in France.
the Jews from France. Nevertheless, Espina mentions that it is hard to determine what the true reason was behind the Jewish expulsion from France, since it could have been the episode of the Eucharist, the account of the heart and the deranged pigs (fourth cruelty), or the torture and execution of the Christian (third cruelty).

An image of Jews performing a ceremony of desecration of the Host by throwing the Host into a cauldron with boiling water

Just as Espina did at the end of the passage of the first expulsion, he gives an account that links the French expulsion with the Spanish context. Espina narrates the story of a French pilgrim on his way to Santiago de Compostela. On the Spanish- French border, the pilgrim was harassed by a group of Jewish tax collectors who were demanding that he pay them the taxes for

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47 Phillip IV had similar reasons as his predecessor, Phillip II, to order the ban of the Jews, financial reasons. The royal treasuries were empty, therefore, the king kept the Jews’ properties and demanded that Christian debtors pay him their debt, instead of paying Jewish moneylenders.
a prayer book with golden letters in his possession. The pilgrim becomes aggravated by the Jews’ demands, but he could not avenge his insult since there were several Jews against him. The pilgrim leaves the place enraged, questioning why he should be insulted if, after all, the Jews of France were being expelled at that moment, and he was the only one letting some Jews remain on his land. At that moment, he promises to God that if he has a safe return, he will kill every single Jew that he encounters along the way, and he kept his promise.

Although Espina does not give any insight or comments to the story, the criticism is quite implicit. He criticizes the Jews as tax collectors to the king—a frequent complaint from the most conservative and anti-Jewish sectors of the nobility and the Church. As the passage illustrates, Jews not only abuse their position, but they are also irreverent to Christians’ customs. Furthermore, Espina exposes the question of why Jews are still allowed to remain in Spain if they are after all being expelled from nearby countries, as is the case with France. In a way, the pilgrim’s resolution is portrayed as a valid solution for Spain: either Jews are expelled or, if they remain, they can be executed. Interestingly enough, these are going to be the same exact stipulations present in the Jewish Expulsion decreed in 1492.

In the third expulsion account, we see that even though the author is supposedly establishing the third expulsion on historical events that occur in England, this is the section of the ninth consideratio where the historical details are vague and lacking dates, names, and facts. This historical vagueness may be attributed to the subject that he is depicting, the converso problem. Espina begins the passage by naming the two alleged events that led to the Jewish expulsion from England: a ritual infanticide crime, and a trial decreed by the king of England for the converts of his kingdom. According to the story, the king, whose name is not

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48 Espina is referring to the Jewish expulsion in England in 1290. However, he depicts the expulsion in a vague, and absurd legend that he supposedly read in cronicis anglorum antiquis (folio 305).
mentioned, forced all of the Jews of his kingdom to be baptized. The forced baptisms were a way of purging the kingdom and appease God’s wrath, since England had been suffering from plagues, famine, and war. However, the mass baptisms did not alleviate the kingdom’s miseries, and little time had passed since their faked conversion (*ficta conversione*) when they began to sin again. The passage even emphasizes how the Jews soon after their conversion were worse than before. Moreover, converts also proceeded to usurp official posts in the reign, therefore, having Christians captives of their caprices.

Noticing that his kingdom remained under the same miseries and tribulations, the king decided to purge his kingdom by putting the new converts to a trial. He gathered all the converts on the beach, where he had installed two tents in the seashore: one of the tents had the Torah, and the other tent had a cross. The king indicated to the converts that they were free to choose which tent they truly wanted to enter, and all of the converts chose the one with the Torah (*ad torath cucurrerunt*). In the end, the king opted to kill all the converts, and threw them to the sea. The passage ends with a clear and direct message from Espina to his Spanish audience: “¡Be attentive Spaniards, and ponder if nowadays a similar plague is in vigor and continues to grow among them!” (fol. 306).49

It is at this point in the third book that the *converso* problem is magnified and problematized. As we have seen in the discussion of the different arguments and accounts that Espina presents throughout the third book, the author oscillates in his portrayal and role of *conversos* in Christian society. At times, he underlines the fact that it is only through baptism that Jews are going to be cleansed from the Jewish curse, such as the messages depicted in the

49 During 1200’s in England, a series of measures were taken against Jews. For example, they were not allowed to own land, and after the death of a relative, the money did not go to his heirs, but to the king. In 1275, King Eduard I passed a law forbidding the Jews from usury. Jews could perform other tasks, such as trade and farming, but they were not allowed to belong to guilds. In the 1290, they were exiled from the kingdom.
third, eighth and ninth crudelitates. In addition, most of the stories where some sort of miracles appeared, there is a kind of Jewish conversion. However, in other passages, Espina stresses the fact that even after their conversion converts still share the same genus as Jews. There is always a past that cannot be eradicated through baptism, and, worst of all, they are accomplices of their fellow Jews. Part of what is puzzling and problematic about Espina’s portrayal of converts is the fact that he can describe in the same section, as in this consideratio, conversion both as an intercession from God and a moment of recognition of the true faith for Jews (as is the case of the wife and son of the Jew that was condemned in Paris), and in the next passage he illustrates converts as crypto-Jews (as is the case of the converts trial in England). Nevertheless, as the discussion of the third book progresses, in the remaining considerationes of the book, Espina finally reveals his true conception of conversos as Jews.

The English expulsion serves as a way of exposing several socio-political problems taking place in the Iberian context regarding the Jews’ and conversos’ presence. As Espina mentions in the story, mass conversions were not an effective solution for purging the country of polluted Jews. We have to remember that Espina began writing Fortalitium fidei a little over sixty years after the Jewish pogroms and the forced mass baptisms that took place in 1391, and a few years after the Sentencia-Estatuto in 1449. The author alludes directly and indirectly to these episodes in his text, and this is probably why Espina in the end does not perceive conversion as a reasonable path in order to solve the Jewish presence in the Iberian kingdoms. Therefore, the author denounces conversos as the worst version of Judaism, since they are heretics. Through conversion, Jews also had found a way of having access and securing their presence in high positions in the various monarchies in Spain.
The fourth expulsion exposes how during Sisebutus’ reign in 613, Sisebutus, who is described as a “bonus christianus,” had numerous Jews in his kingdom, and a good number had been forced to convert to Christianity. However, the king, seeing that the converts were not true Christians, opted to expel them from his kingdom. As in the fourth expulsion, Espina portrays conversos as false Christians, and also depicted conversion as not a feasible solution for the Jewish problem. This is something that is illustrated in the last part of the section, where the author describes how prosperous was Sisebutus’ reign, and how disastrous were the reigns of kings that let the Jews back into their kingdoms.

It is not surprising for a reader to see a Spanish expulsion in the last section of the ninth consideratio. Sisebutus is deemed as a model monarch because of his decision to purge the Visigothic kingdom of Jewish presence. Therefore, he is compared with other lesser monarchs, such as Alfonso VIII and Pedro el Cruel, who were influenced by Jews. Moreover, it is important to note that this section of the crudelitates began with the story of King Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king, who caused the fall of his kingdom with the Berber invasion in 711. In the medieval cultural imaginary in the Iberian Peninsula, Rodrigo’s transgressions had caused the invasion of those polluted Others, such as the Berbers, which had broken the body politic of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, at this time, the Trastamara was fashioning its dynasty as the rightful heirs of the Visigothic monarchy, and restorers of the Iberian body politic. Hence, the fact that Espina exposes in the last expulsion, the Spanish expulsion, an example of a Visigothic monarch, who foresaw the noxious presence of the Jews in his kingdom and opted to expel to prevent the corruption of his kingdom, must have resonated with the socio-political landscape of the period.
Eleventh consideratio: Jews in the Western Christian Legal Tradition

In the eleventh consideratio, Espina discusses diverse legal corpora in order to illustrate to the reader how Jews had been inscribed in Western legal tradition, and, thus, their place in Christian society and the body politic. Among the legal traditions that the author compiles in the section are Roman law, Canon law, Visigothic law (Fuero Juzgo), and, especially, the ordenamiento regio of Castile created in 1412. The Castilian ordinance contains a whole spectrum of anti-Jewish prescriptions, from their exclusion and marginalization from certain administrative positions and professions to their spatial and social segregation in Castile. Since Espina gathers and discusses in the section various legal corpora, from the most remote to the one decree in the fifteenth century in Castile, the laws become repetitive and contradictory at times, as they pertain to different historical contexts and legal traditions.

Nevertheless, Espina’s motivation for compiling a whole catalogue of heterogeneous anti-Jewish decrees, in the same way that he has done with each consideratio, is to reiterate to his reader how and why Jews are located in the margins of Christian society, and how these prescriptions were not being followed at the time. Monsalvo Antón argues that in a doctrinal treatise like the Fortalitium, what matters are not the norms per se or the application of the law, but the exposition of the reader to a whole legal culture where anti-Jewish conceptions were prescribed. As Monsalvo Antón illustrates, anti-Jewish legislations reside in the text in an intermediate place:

[...] entre las aspiraciones o motivaciones reales, que eran muy diferentes entre sí, y el ideario como tal, más uniforme y estandarizado. La legislación, sometida en sí misma a una gradación según las fuentes... venía así a ser ese ámbito pragmático de lo posible, intermedio entre las motivaciones inconfesables o inconsciente del odio y los argumentos
explicitos de un ideario estereotipado, algo así como una condensación realista entre los
deseos o móviles más profundos y las justificaciones ideológicas pertinentes,
inaplicables. (1071)

In this manner, the section looks to present Jewish legal inferiority in Christian society, their
exclusion and marginalization, or to suggest their expulsion or eradication from the body politic.

Let us discuss some of the arguments depicted in the eleventh consideratio that illustrate
Espina’s tone, and general regard toward Jews and conversos. The section is divided into eight
items that have their respective articles, where the argument is reasoned. The tone of the section
begins with none other than the explanation of why Jews are permitted to reside among
Christians, even though “it would be better if they were all killed, and expelled from this
world”\textsuperscript{50} (fol. 311). From this hostile and violent image, the author embarks on explaining the
five justifications that permit Jews to participate in Christian society, which are the following:
because of Christian charitas, in order to reinforce and confirm the Catholic faith, their presence
serves as a reminder of their divine punishment because of their sins against God, for them to
remember Christ’s suffering, and, finally, to fulfill the prophetic role that Jews will play during
the Last Judgment with their conversion to Christianity.

One important aspect that is exposed in the fourth point is the converso problem. As we
have already seen in the discussion of the previous consideratio, as the third book comes to an
end, Espina problematizes even more the converso presence in Castilian society. While the fifth
article of the section mentions how conversos and Jews should be separated, in order to prevent
conversos to return to old practices, in the sixth article the author explains that the offspring of
conversos should be separated from their parents to avert any type of religious and moral

\textsuperscript{50} The sentence states in Latin: "Potius enim videtur quod deberent omnes occidi & expelli de mundo" (folio 311).
corruption. The children should be sent either to a convent or to be raised by adoptive Christian parents who are reverent to God (Christianis mulieribus viris deum timentubus) (fol. 314-5).

Thus, Espina regards both Jews and conversos under the same optic; they are both highly contagious to Christian society, and they need to be segregated even from their own children.

The last point of discussion of the eleventh consideratio emphasizes the corruption and hypocrisy that prevails in Castile: “many Christians converted to Judaism or maybe those who were clandestine Jews, were now practicing in the open. Some converted to Islam. Others were circumcised” (fol. 320). Once again, as he did at the end of the section on expulsions, he urges monarchs to be aware of the laxness in which the laws pertaining to Jews are been implemented. He also recalls once more the story of King Rodrigo and Witiza as cautionary examples of past monarchs who left the Jews of the kingdom unrestrained. As Espina remarks about Jews: “they do not cultivate the country nor do they protect it, they only sin, manipulate, and devour Christian sweat and labor and they inherit their properties, just as Jeremiah 5, 27: ‘Like cages full of birds, their houses full of deceit; they have become rich and powerful’” (fol. 321). Espina then objects to how in the palaces there are distinguished nobles that serve as defenders, and advocates for the Jews (advocatus vel defensor). Like a plague, Jews transmit their blindness to Christians; therefore, turning the Christian realm upside down, and leaving their insidious acts unpunished.

**Fourteenth consideratio: Jews, conversos and inquisitio**

Finally, in the fourteenth and last consideratio of the third book, he examines Jewish conversion to Christianity during the Last Judgment. Espina begins the passage discussing the problem of conversion during his time in Spain. As the author had already discussed in several passages of the book, one of the aspects that inhibit Jews to experience a true conversion to
Christianity is the emphasis Jews place on erroneous Biblical interpretations found in the Talmud. Nevertheless, the author goes on to mention three illustrious *conversos*: Pedro Alfonso, Juan Converso and Jerónimo de Santa Fe, that were able to successfully convert to Christianity. Once more, we encounter Espina’s oscillation in his perception of *conversos*. The next three sections fluctuate between some other obstacles that hinder Jews from having a true conversion, like the importance of family in the Jewish community and usury, and the possibility of truly converting with dedication, good intentions, study, and through a divine guidance or even through torture.\(^{51}\)

However, the fifth point depicts what should be done with Jews who return to their beliefs or vomit (*ad vomitum iudayfmi*). Espina argues that Jews are not following the laws of the realm or *Fuero Juzgo*, which stipulate that every Christian who is found circumcised or returning to Jewish customs could be executed. One particular passage that it is interesting is the author’s descriptions of a contract that all converts signed during Sisebutus’ reign in the seventh century. According to Espina, all new converts promised to break all ties with the Jewish community, and to eat pork without any disgust or obstacle. They also promised that if any of the newly converted were to be found Judaizing, he would be lapidated or burned alive by one of them. However, if the king wished to keep him alive, they could also turn the apostate into a slave, and confiscate his possessions and give them to the Crown.

As we already discussed in the Spanish expulsion of the Jews, Espina resorts to mention Sisebutus’ monarchy as one where several prescriptions regarding the presence of Jews in the kingdom were decreed, such as the laws present in the Visigothic legal tradition, and the canons

\(^{51}\) The passage is a bit puzzling, since it begins with positive acts or signs that Jews that truly wish to convert can follow in order to achieve a successful conversion, and it ends with the acts of torture and tribulations as a way of also achieving conversion: "Et fic iudei taliter venientes poterunt venire ad rectam intentionem fidei cum dei adiutorio ultra ex usu quo exercitabant in ea. vel quod Deus faciet eis aliqua signa ut sic eum cognoscant in suis operibus. vel quia dabiet eis aliquas tribulationes ut corrigantur et redeant ad bonum […]" (folio 324).
established in the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633. For the author, the infraction and laxness of these decrees throughout the centuries, and the deviation of different monarchs from these precepts, are what have resulted in the corruption and propagation of judaizing practices and heresies that have plagued Spain during his time. Furthermore, Espina underlines the fact that all converts of Toledo and of Spain, for that matter, and their offspring, were bound by the seventeenth century contract.

At the end of the passage, the author makes a direct remark, in which he declares that if there were an investigation (*inquisitio*) in Sisebutus’ time, “innumerable stakes would have burned with those who were caught having returned to their Jewish practice” (fol. 326). The author ends the passage by saying that he prefers to live during his time (*isto tempe*), since there is the possibility of carrying out effective ways of investigating those that are Judaizing, at which time, “the fire of the stake will burn until reaching the skies” (fol. 326). Espina's message could not be more straightforward: through *inquisitio* Spain could be purged of those who are false *conversos*, a notion that Espina truly believed if we consider the fact that he was ardently advocating, at the time, to have an *inquisitio* under the jurisdiction of the state.

As we have seen in the chapter, Alfonso de Espina composes his *Fortalitium fidei* at a critical moment in the Iberian Peninsula when the perception of *conversos* is shifted from their status as Christians or New Christians to their Jewish genealogy. In Book III, Espina’s conception of *conversos* oscillates between those Jewish converts that he believes that are true in their conversion to the Christian faith and the perception that all *conversos* are Judaizers and, worse, they will always be, in essence, true to their Jewish *genus*. At the same time, Espina’s use of the term *genus* denotes genealogy or a blood lineage. Therefore, as the friar explains, regardless of baptism, *conversos* still possess Jewish *genus* or Jewish blood. We have seen
Espina’s conception of Jews as marginal and threatening creatures that reside in the limits between human and monster. Moreover, Jewish adverse nature and blindness to Christian truths have condemned them to damnation until their conversion during the Last Judgment.

In addition, in the collection of libel stories, Espina narrates examples of imaginary or plausible encounters between Jews and Christians in towns, countryside, and cities in which Jews are always lurking and plotting to harm their Christian neighbors. Espina’s sources range from popular known libel stories, chronicles, “reliable sources” and even, if Espina is to be believed on this point, testimonies from people who witnessed the Jews’ crimes, such as the case of the testimony of Emanuel. Through the stories and legends, the friar creates an imaginary cultural map and pseudo-history of Jewish crimes against Christians in Europe.

Some libel stories, in conjunction with the examples of the expulsions, serve to illustrate what Espina considers a good and bad monarch, which went hand in hand with the proximity or liberties that the monarchs granted to the Jewish population and, especially, to Jewish courtiers. Furthermore, Espina correlates the expulsion of the Jews with their crimes committed against Christians. Espina provides the example of France, where libel stories were the urban legend justification for each of the bans of the Jews, and tries to formulate the same correlations in the Iberian Peninsula. In the Fortalitium fidei, the friar presents some alleged crimes and bans that had occurred in Castilian towns, such as the example of Tábara. In this manner, more than a preachers’ manual, in the Fortalitum, Espina presents his political and religious conception of how to purge the Peninsula of the Jews and the converso problem. For Espina, monarchs should follow Sisebutus’ example of expelling the Jews from their kingdoms; as for the converso problem, a new inquisitio would be an effective way of sorting true convert from Judaizing converts.
Chapter two: “Porque ellos tienen la circuncisión como moros, y el sábado como judíos, e el nombre solo de cristianos”: Classifying *conversos* in the Late 15th Century

Si nos face n’estoient semblables, on ne sçauroit discerner l’homme de la bête; 
si elles n’estoient dissemblables, on ne sçauroit discerner l’homme de l’homme. 

(Michel de Montaigne, *De l’expérience*)

Throughout the fifteenth century circulated in Castile a popular legend of a magic iron bust or head in the town of Tábara that would announce the entrance of any Jews to the town. According to the legend, Albertus Magnus had an iron bust made by astrologers, which had the magic power of answering questions on any subject that was addressed to it. This magic head was later destroyed by Albertus Magnus’ disciple, Saint Thomas. Nevertheless, as the legend narrates, a similar bust was said to have existed in the town of Tábara, in the region of Zamora. The magic bust of Tábara had the ability to discern what was not evident to human eyes, any Jewish presence that would infiltrate the town. The moment a Jew would enter the town, the magic head would cry: “¡Judío en Távara! ¡Judío en Távara!” The head would only cease its cries once the Jew had left the town. According to the story, the town’s residents ultimately destroyed the bust, since they did not believe in its announcements.

The first author to make reference to this version of legend is Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal, bishop of Ávila (Rafael Ramos 196). However, by the second half of the fifteenth century the popular legend was not only circulating in ecclesiastic texts, but also in courtly poetry. An example of this popularity is a poem of the Comendador Diego de Román.

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52 The legend of the magic bust takes place in the same town of Tábara as the one seen in the tenth cruelty of the *Fortalitium fidei*. While I use the modern spelling of the town as Tábara, the name of the town was spelled Távara in fifteenth century Castilian.

53 Rafael Ramos studies various versions of the legend in “‘Que si a Távara passáis vós serés apedreado por hebreo’: una nota a la poesía del Comendador Román.”

54 Rafael Ramos comments that Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal alludes to the legend of the magic bust in several of his texts. However, it is in his commentaries on the book of Numbers, composed between 1436 and 1438, that he mentioned the location of the legend as taking place in the town of Tábara (196-98).
Comendador mocks *converso* poet Antón de Montoro’s Jewish lineage by announcing: “aunque estéys acristianado,/ yo me creo/ que si a Tavára passáis/ vos serés apedreado por hebreo” (Ramos 194).

A recurring topos in Castilian poetry composed at the end of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century, was the frequent practice of insults and accusations of poets defaming one another for their alleged Jewishness. Even though the accusations were often a *jeu poétique*, in which the poets would mock each other’s physical features and denounce dietary customs usually attributed to Jews, what becomes evident in these stanzas of the Comendador Román is that a new modification was made to the legend of the magic head of Tábara. The stanzas present two scenarios: either that the magic head is denouncing the presence of anyone that possesses Jewish genealogy, or that the town is simply banning the entrance of both Jews and *conversos*. In this manner, the legend and the stanzas of the poem in a way echo sentiments regarding the debate over the identity of Jews and *conversos* that was taking place in the Iberian Peninsula at the time. While in the past, matters over which roles Jews and *conversos*’ played in a Christian society had pertained mostly to the religious and legal domains, for certain sectors, this had become a question of Jewish nature or genealogy.

The legend also exposes certain anxiety about a lack of differentiation between the people that circulated in Tábara. The inhabitants of Tábara could not decipher a person’s background at first sight. Therefore, the head, with its magical powers, is portrayed as the only thing that can accurately sense the presence of anyone from a Jewish background. These aspects of the legend raise several questions. Why was the lack of an external marker in order to identify the origin of the inhabitants of Castile such a big concern in the period? Were there other popular

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55 At the end of the sixteenth century, the Hieronymite friar Rodrigo de Yepes mentions the legend of Tábara. However, in Yepes’ account of the legend, he merges two traditions: the magic bust and the Alfonso de Espina’s libel story of the vindictive Jewish father of Tábara.
texts using non-human characters or elements in order to manifest this anxiety over the lack of differentiation? In addition to this, was the banning of the Jews and conversos in the legend part of a wider cultural imaginary mapping taking place in several texts that exhorted the dispersion of groups that possessed Jewish genealogy? In turn, did these imaginary bannings illustrate and/or prefigure the dispersion of the converso and Jewish communities that took place throughout the Iberian Peninsula in the last third of the fifteenth-century, and that culminated with the exile of the Jews in 1492 from the Peninsula?

In this chapter, I will examine how a variety of texts and images that circulated in the second half of the fifteenth-century in the Peninsula debated the problem of classifications, and, also, theorized the boundaries and sites where each of the ethnic groups, Christians, Jews, Muslims and conversos, that inhabited the Iberian kingdoms should reside. I will study in which manner the anonymous poem *Coplas del perro de Alba*, and the anonymous propagandistic treatise of *Alborayque* expose to the reader real and imagined frontiers and/or boundaries of where Jews and Jewish converts should be located, and their role in the socio-religious context of the period. Also, I will discuss how the two texts exhibit and problematize the heated debate concerning the identity of Jews and conversos in terms of their genealogical background that took place in the years preceding the establishment of the Inquisition in the Peninsula in 1480.

Furthermore, I will consider how both *Coplas del perro de Alba* and *Alborayque* recur to the use of animal and zoomorphic imagery present in the long standing tradition of medieval bestiaries, hagiographies, biblical references and oriental tradition in order to re-articulate and illustrate how to conceive of that which was regarded as natural and autochthonous to the Iberian kingdoms, and that which needed to be expelled from its borders. As we already discussed in the first chapter with *Fortalitium fidei*, a significant catalogue of images portraying Jews as a
beastly, monstrous, and demonic race had been circulating in the Middle Ages through a long tradition of Christian polemics that may be rooted in the Church Fathers’ writings. In this manner, Iberian polemists, preachers and writers re-worked and disseminated these representations of Jews in their works. However, after the 1449 revolt in Toledo against conversos, and at a time when there is a shift in displacing conversos’ identity from their New Christian’s status back to their Jewish ancestry, conversos began to be depicted in texts and illustrations with the similar negative images attributed to Jews.

In addition, if the animal in Coplas del perro de Alba illustrates the portrayal of the ideal and faithful defender of Christianity, in the propagandistic treatise of Alborayque, the re-working of a medieval tradition of zoomorphic imagery gave way to a new and innovative production of the monstrous hybrid, in order to exemplify how conversos did not belong to the Spanish body politics. Both texts also may be read as cases that advocate the expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula, at the same time that they problematized disparate conceptions of conversos.

The recurring topic of the prohibition of Jews and conversos from Castilian towns in Castilian poetry and popular legends throughout the fifteenth century, and, more so, in the second half of the century point, in a similar way as other texts from the period, like Fortalitium fidei, to the socio-political crisis in the Peninsula where the religious categories of Jews, Christians and the new category of conversos underwent a gradual process of destabilization, transformation, and dislocation. While the difference between Christians and Jews had been construed during the Middle Ages in religious and legal terms, such as Jews prescribing to an old and outdated law or their role in Christian society as serfs of the kings, a gradual new notion emerges throughout the fifteenth century in which the identity and characteristic of each group is transposed to their genealogy.
As I have discussed previously, the decisive moment in history that propelled the crisis occurred with the 1391 pogroms, where riots and attacks to *alhamas* throughout the Iberian Peninsula erupted, followed by the mass conversions of thousands of Jews. Another pivotal period of Jewish conversion was from 1412 to 1415, mostly due to Vincent Ferrer preachings, and his conversion campaigns. The voluminous amount of Jewish conversions to Christianity, and their incorporation into Christian society, shook the very foundations of what previously was intrinsic and characteristic of each religious and social group, both Christians and Jews.

Nonetheless, as the fifteenth century progressed, there was a shift in the way Jewish converts were perceived in the Peninsula. A growing tendency in some Iberian religious and social spheres was to re-locate Jewish converts’ identity from their new Christian status back to their Jewish lineage. As David Nirenberg explains: “These ‘identity crises’ catalyzed on both sides the reconstruction of distinction and discriminations in terms that proclaimed their continuity with the old but were also decidedly different. Briefly put, the transformation of the convert from Christian back into the ‘Jew’ required a century of vast sociological and theological change” (“Figures of Thought” 417).

With the 1449 rebellion in the city of Toledo, where the first “statute of purity of blood” was decreed, the ongoing debates and tensions of how to classify or where to locate Jewish converts came to a boiling point. The emergence of the statutes of “limpieza de sangre” hindered the integration of Jewish and Muslim converts into the social-political landscape, since each person needed to prove that they were free from any Jewish or Muslim blood to be considered as “true” Christian and/or “autochthonous” Spaniard. Therefore, a discourse of blood was generated in order to ban *cristianos nuevos* (New Christians) from royal and ecclesiastical institutions, as well as certain guilds and professions that became exclusive to *cristianos viejos* (Old Christians).
Even though the Toledo rising was subdued and its leaders were driven from the city, hostility against conversos increased from 1465 to 1475. Riots against conversos erupted throughout the Spanish kingdoms, resulting in the violence and death of many conversos and their supporters, such as a new uprising in Toledo in 1467, a similar outbreak in Sepúlveda in 1468, in Córdoba in 1473, and in Jaén and Segovia in 1474 (Haliczer, “The Castilian Urban Patriciate and the Jewish Expulsions of 1480-92” 42). At the same time, a whole new vocabulary was also created in order to name and classify each group, such as cristianos nuevos, conversos, confessos and marranos for Jewish converts, and cristianos viejos and cristianos de natura for Christians whose genealogy could allegedly be traced back to the “origins” of the Peninsula, the Visigoths.

In The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain, Javier Irigoyen-García discusses how both zootechnical and ethnic terminology were constantly used interchangeably during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Iberian Peninsula. A vocabulary pertaining to the domain of sheep herding began to be employed in matters regarding the genealogy of Muslims and Jews. As Irigoyen-García explains, the term of almagre, which in sheep herding refers to the branding of the flock, appears in the texts of the period as a way of alluding to the distinctive marks and clothing that Muslims and Jews were prescribed to wear in the Iberian Peninsula. The first Sartorial laws decreeing that Muslims and Jews had to wear these in order to distinguish them from their Christian neighbors date back to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and were later implemented in Castile during the thirteenth-century by Alfonso X in the Siete Partidas. In this manner, almagrar became a term used

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56 Irigoyen-García cites the entry of “Jew” in Sebastián de Covarrubias’s Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española (1611) as an example of the correlation between the term almagre and Sartorial prescriptions to Jews:

En tiempo del rey don Enrique, cerca de los años del mil trezientos y setenta… se mandó que los judíos que habitavan en el reyno, mezclados con los christianos, truxessen cierta señal con que fuessen conocidos y diferenciados de los demás. Estos se llamaron judíos de señal… Y de aquí entiendo les vino el llamarlos los enalmagrados, porque parecía señal de almagre, que se pone al Ganado para distinguir un hato de otros, y dende a tres años mandarnos traer moros otra señal de paño azul. (39-40)
interchangeably to denote an external marker for both sheep herding and ethnic-religious groups in the Peninsula (39-40).

Moreover, as the critic explains, a new vocabulary was applied in order to demarcate those ethnic differences that were not visible: “The mass conversion of Jews and Muslims during the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, along with the homogenization of sartorial practices, needed a new vocabulary in order to articulate and exteriorize an invisible, genealogical difference, which it would find in the discourse of breeding the Merino sheep” (40-1). Additionally, Irigoyen-García illustrates how most of the Castilian terminology of racism came from the semantic field of sheep herding. The first documented meanings of the word raza allude to a distinctive defect or stain in woolen cloths. It was also a term employed metaphorically as a derogatory attribute that was intrinsic to Muslim or Jewish lineages. Therefore, the term raza implied the notion of a negative marker that Old Christians lacked (42).

In this manner, the use of an already codified vocabulary applied in order to denote marking and breeding selection, such as the one of sheep herding, becomes the first semantic approach to the subject of genealogy difference in the Iberian Peninsula: “The borrowing of metaphors referring to observable traits in sheep and fabrics had the advantage of conferring ontological connotations to racial terms that would be otherwise hard to grasp, and of exteriorizing inner qualities that are otherwise invisible” (43). Thus, the correlation between zootechnical and race terminology, and what was conceived as belonging to Muslim and Jewish

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57 Irigoyen-García notes that during the fourteenth century in Juan Ruiz’s Libro de buen amor, the term raça appears first in the proverb “non ay paño sin raça,” and second as a complaint about how money is used to cover people’s defects: “con el dinero cumplen sus meguas e sus raças.” In Antonio de Nebrija’s Vocabulario de romance en latín (1516), the definition of “raça” exhibits this notion of race: “Raza en el paño, la hilanza que se diferencia de los demás hilos de la trama… Raza en los linajes se toma en mala parte, como tener alguna raza de moro o judío” (Irigoyen-García 42).
genealogy, becomes almost interchangeable during the fifteenth century. As we shall examine in the first two texts of this chapter, in both *Coplas del perro del Alba* and *Alborayque* there is a slippage between zoomorphic imagery and the process of identifying the identity of Jews and conversos. Similarly to the texts of the period that made use of sheep herding terminology to refer to Jewish and Muslim genealogy, *Coplas del perro de Alba* and *Alborayque* recur to the medieval animal world as a way of approaching, exposing and demarcating Jewish, Muslim and converso lineages as inherently different from the Castilian one.

**Coplas del perro de Alba: the dog as the faithful Christian/ Castilian**

A similar story to the legend of the magic bust of Tábara circulating during the second half of the fifteenth century is the legend of the notorious dog from the town of Alba de Tormes. In the poem *Coplas del perro de Alba*, we will examine how the text presents a test-case that explores a possible scenario for the expulsion of Jews and conversos from a small town of Castile. The poem exhibits the tensions produced by years of convivencia between Christians and Jews in the town of Alba de Tormes. The text also exposes how the tensions among the different inhabitants of the town are rooted not only in Castilian politics or religion but, more so, they are relegated to a racial domain. As we shall see, we enter into an animal world in the text, since it is in the figure of the dog that the racial and political tensions, and violent intolerance, are manifested. Furthermore, the dog is also the one that will carry out the racial cleansing and banning of the Jews and conversos from the town.

Little is known of the composition of the legend of the perro de Alba. Critics believe that the coplas were first composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, before the Jewish
expulsion in 1492, and they were transmitted orally.\(^{58}\) The earliest versions of the poem to survive are two editions composed by Juan Agüero de Trasmiera printed in the first half of the sixteenth century (c. 1522).\(^{59}\) However, it is difficult to determine the exact date of the composition of Trasmiera’s *coplas*, since the author was born in the second half of the fifteenth century in Cantabria, and wrote all of his works before leaving the Iberian Peninsula for the Caribbean in 1512.\(^{60}\) Nevertheless, it is most probable that Trasmiera transposed in paper the oral version of the *coplas del perro de Alva*. As Adrienne L. Martín asserts, the style and structure of *Coplas del perro de Alva* points to the original oral sources of *coplas*, in addition, the language used in the text is fifteenth century *castellano* (303).\(^{61}\) While *Coplas del perro de Alva* was not known nor praised for its style or rhyme, as the popular saying illustrates “esto no vale más que las coplas del perro de Alba,” the story of the perro de Alba enjoyed great popularity in the sixteenth century, and, especially, in Golden Age theater and literature.\(^{62}\) Evidence of the popularity of the poem and its hero, perro de Alba, may be seen in the later editions of the poem printed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and also the frequent appearance of

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\(^{58}\) To my knowledge, there are only two articles written on this subject: “The Coplas Del Perro de Alba” by Joseph E. Gillet and “Antisemitismo canino en las *Coplas del perro de Alba*” by Adrienne L. Martín. Other critics have only made brief comments on the texts. For references see, María Sánchez Pérez’s article “Un libelo antijudío en la literatura popular impresa del siglo XVI,” Carlo Carrete Parrondo’s transcription of the text *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae*. I. *Provincia de Salamanca*, and in Dwayne Carpenter’s introduction to his edition of Alboraique.

\(^{59}\) The earliest extant printed versions of Juan de Trasmiera’s *Coplas del perro de Alva* are two versions currently held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España under the title of *Este es el pleito de los judíos por el perro de Alva, y de la burla que les hizo* (R/9429 and R/9495). I will be using R/9495 for the purpose of this chapter.

\(^{60}\) I will discuss further Juan Agüero de Trasmiera’s works and life in my discussion of *El pleito de los moríficos con el perro de Alva* in the fourth chapter.

\(^{61}\) In *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae*, Carlo Carrete Parrondo’s dates the text as a fifteenth century poem.

\(^{62}\) The line “esto no vale más que las coplas del perro de Alba” appears in the seventeenth century text of anonymous novella *La tía fingida*.
the perro de Alba as a character in several *entremeses* and literature of the Spanish Golden Age.\(^6\)

For the purpose of my study, I will be using Juan de Trasmiera’s early printed version, entitled *Este es el pleyto de los judios por el perro de Alva, y de la burla que les hizo* (c. 1522). On the first page, the reader encounters at the top of the page the full title of the text: *Este es el pleyto de los judios por el perro de Alva, y de la burla que les hizo. Nuevamente trobada por el bachiller Juan de Trañmiera refidente en Salamanca, que hizo a ruego y pedimento de un feñor.* Underneath the title, the reader finds an image in which an imposing and menacing black dog, the *perro de Alva*, is attacking a man, one of the Jews of the town of Alba de Tormes (image below). In the image, the *perro de Alva* is considerably bigger than the Jew. At the same time, the Jew is depicted as wearing a folded tunic, *un sayo*, that was commonly used in the fifteenth century, and he is also wearing a turban on his head, which could represent the Jewish *tortil*.

\(^6\) Gillet mentions that some of the *entremeses* where the Perro de Alba appears are Cervantes’ *Entremes de los Alcaldes de Dogaço* and some of Lope de Vega’s *entremeses*. He also explains that the character is mentioned in Spanish picaresque novels, such as *Pícara Justina* and *Estebanillo González*, and some *comedias*, like Andrés de Claramonte’s *El Valiente Negro de Flandes* (417-18).
The poem narrates the story of how the Jews of the town of Alba de Tormes one day decide to go before the mayor of the town in order to submit a *pleito* or lawsuit against Anton Gentil’s dog. According to the group of Jews representing the town’s *alhama*, the dog is persistently attacking them in their *alhama* and all over town. They proceed to submit the document of their lawsuit to the town’s mayor explaining the justifications for their lawsuit, and also demanding that the dog be sentenced to death by hanging in the town’s pillory. In order to prove the validity of their complaint against the dog, different representatives of the *alhama* give testimonies of how they were persecuted and attacked by the dog. Finally, the mayor decrees that the owner of the dog must hand over his dog to the authorities.

The authorities take the dog into their custody, and after the uproar and the rejoicing of the Jews, the day of the dog’s hanging arrives. Nevertheless, when the dog is taken to the pillory and realizes his imminent death, he frees himself of his choker and unleashes his fury against all
the Jews present in the town’s square. The dog massacres most of the town’s Jews, and the few
that survive flee the town. The poem continues narrating how the dog lives the rest of his days
guarding the town against the entrance of any Jew like a “good Christian.” Upon the dog’s death,
he receives a dignified Christian burial by the people of the town, and a bust with his face is
erected on top of his grave. Even though the exiled Jews from the town hear the news of the
dog’s death, they are too afraid to return. Nevertheless, in the end, the Jews do return to the
town.

As we analyze the poem and the role of its protagonist, perro de Alba, we must look into
the role that animals played and the way they were represented in different texts throughout the
Middle Ages, especially in medieval bestiaries, hagiographies, legends and oriental tales.
Medieval bestiaries were important pedagogical instruments that encompassed diverse textual
traditions- most of them Judeo-Christians- that aimed to transmit a moral or spiritual lesson to
the Christian reader. The bestiary sources included an array of traditions, including: classical
literature, the Bible, hagiographies, Paleo-Christian texts (Physiologus and the writing of the
Fathers of the Church), folkloric oriental tales, and Celtic and Germanic motives, among others
(Voisenet, Bêtes et Hommes dans le Monde Médiéval 2). Therefore, the animals present in the
bestiaries were embedded in a polyphony of symbolisms that would offer to priests, monks, and
scholars numerous possibilities in which animals could be interpreted according to the didactic
aim of each text. As Le Goff describes:

La multiplicité des critères d’évaluation (image déjà souvent multiple et contrastée dans
la Bible et les textes de référence, variété des fonctions d’un animal dans sa relation avec
l’homme, signification mouvante provenant des fausses étymologies, des diverses
potentialités du milieu naturel, de l’intrusion de systèmes de valeur annexes ou externes
tels que la taille ou la couleur) conduit à ce kaléidoscope sémantique qu’offrent à peu près tous les animaux”. *(Bêtes et Hommes dans le Monde Medieval x)*

In this manner, the role that an animal played in a text would vary in consonance with the different textual tradition it followed, and, moreover, to the message that the animal was intended to convey, from social to political and moral, to religious or spiritual.

One of the animals whose symbolism fluctuated the most from one source to another was the dog. In the Mediterranean tradition, one of the main sources to portray dogs in a negative light is the Old Testament.  

Several passages from the Old Testament allude to dogs in order to indicate animal-like, and censurable behavior of men. One of these instances lies in Deuteronomy, where it mentions the term *petrium canis* or “dog wages” in order to refer to male prostitution wages in Canaan society (Deut. 23:18). Another instance may be found in Proverbs with the representation of sinners as dogs, where it states that in the same manner that dogs eat their vomit, sinners fall back on their behavior by indulging in the same sins soon after their confession (Prov. 26:11). In addition, a recurrent source for pictorial and literary representations of Christ’s Passion was Psalm 21 in the late Middle Ages. The animals in Psalm 21, bulls, lions, and dogs, served as allegories of Christ’s tormentors during his Passion, which were often interpreted by medieval exegetes as the Jews. As one of the passages states: “For dogs are all

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64 Another source that portrayed dogs in a negative light is the comment on canine curse found in Sanhedrin 108b of the Talmud (Girón Negrón, “La maldición del can: la polémica antijudía en el Libro del Cavallero Zifar” 284). According to the Talmud, during the Flood sexual relations were forbidden to all species aboard Noah’s ark. Nevertheless, three couples, dogs, crows and Ham, violated this prescription. According to the story, their transgressions resulted in the punishment of the species: for dogs, the “coital tie,” crows, their “spit,” and Ham received a “skin affliction,” which condemned his descendants to be black skinned. Dog’s “knot” or “coital tie” is the temporary incapacity of dogs to dismount their mate after their copulation. In this manner, the canine affliction is regarded in the Hebrew tradition as God’s punishment for their transgression. For possible Talmudic sources and the circulation of the story in the Iberian Peninsula, see Luis Manuel Girón Negrón’s interesting study in “La maldición del can: la polémica antijudía en el Libro del Cavallero Zifar.”
around me; a company of evildoers encircle me…/ They stare and gloat over me…” (Psalm 21, verses 16-18). 65

On the other hand, there is a long tradition from Antiquity onward that portrays dogs in a positive light, as faithful companions and protectors of their owners. Most of the positive representations of dogs in medieval Christian texts come from the Church Fathers’ writings and hagiographical accounts. Both Saint Jerome and Saint Ambrose comment on dogs’ good sense and sensibility. 66 For Saint Ambrose, the dogs’ attributes, being faithful and loyal protectors of their masters, epitomize the figure of the good and faithful Christian:

What shall I say about dogs who have a natural instinct to show gratitude and to serve as watchful guardians of their masters' safety? [...] To dogs, therefore, is given the ability to bark in defense of their masters and their homes. Thus you should learn to use your voice for the sake of Christ, when ravening wolves attack His sheepfold. Have the word ready on your lips, lest, like a silent watch-dog, you may appear because of your unfaithfulness to abandon the post entrusted to you.

(Hexameron, VI, IV)

In hagiographical accounts we encounter mixed portrayals of dogs. While some saints guard against rabid dogs (Saint Guiteria, Saint Vitus and Saint Ulrich), others are associated with dog imagery. One of these saints is Saint Christopher, which, in some versions of his life story, it is said that he came from the Cynocephali, a mythical race of dogheads. Other saint figures, like

65 In “Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ’s Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance,” James Marrow provides an insightful analysis of how Psalms 21 and 56 became the common textual sources for the representation of Christ’s Passion in paintings, illuminations, tracts and literature. As Marrow indicates, the tradition of interpreting Psalms as the prophetic expressions of Christ’s words during his Passion comes from the Church Fathers’ corpus (170). Marrow also analyzes in his article several pictorial and literary sources in Northern Europe of Christ tormentors as dogs, bulls and lions, which were associated with heretics, pagans, and, especially, Jews in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

66 Saint Jerome writes the following of dogs: “Canibus, quod sagacissimum animatium est” (Bestiarium Medievale 91).
the dog Saint Guinefort, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, and, of course, Saint Dominic, are linked with representations of dogs in a positive light. The dogs that appear in these stories are loyal protectors of their masters. In the case of Saint Dominic, founder of Dominican order, the “Dogs of the Lord” (*domini canes*), dogs become emblems of the order’s mission to eradicate heresy and to preserve Catholic orthodoxy. In addition to these portrayals, in some hagiographies, dogs are also depicted as healers, as it is narrated in the hagiography of Saint Roch, or possessing physical attributes that cured ulcers or wounds. 67 In *Coplas del perro de Alba*, the dog is portrayed as protector of the Christian faith, yet its exemplary depiction is a bit problematic. As we will examine, the poem presents a test-case, where the lines between law and practice, human and animal behavior, are blurred.

The poem begins when a group of Jews approach the town’s mayor in order to submit their *pleito* or complaint against Anton Gentil’s dog. The text stresses the fact that the lawsuit is a criminal one, and not a civil lawsuit. The Jews are not pursuing any type of compensation from the dog’s owner, but only that the dog be sentenced to death. The lawsuit in the poem follows the customary procedure prescribed in the Castilian medieval legal code of *Siete Partidas* when a person or group presents a complaint to a judge. In the poem, the town’s mayor presides as judge, and the group of Jews state their complaint or *querella* before him: “Uirtuoso y noble señor/ juez desta villa y su tierra/ nos por quitarnos de guerra/ con vn perro muy traydor/ pedimos que por rigor/ de derecho castigueys el perro del dicho Anton/ tomada su informacion/ de sus males nos vengueys” (verses 10-18). However, as we continue reading in the following stanzas, the Jews appeal to the mayor’s sense of justice, while threatening to denounce him to a higher authority. They demand that he comply with their lawsuit in their favor, or they would

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67 According to the account of St. Roch, the saint protector of the plague, became a victim himself of the plague. In the hagiography, a hunting dog brings him a loaf of bread. Hildegard of Bingen also commented on the believed physical healing attributes of dogs: “The heat of a the dog’s tongue will cure wounds and ulcers” (*Physica*).
appeal to the duke: “Y si aquesto no hizieredes/ al Duque lo contaremos/ quanto daños padecemos”\(^68\) (verses 20-3). In another instance, the Jews also threaten the mayor that they would go before the king to present their complaint (v. 80).

The poem’s first stanzas expose certain tensions between the law and the special jurisdiction that Jews had in several kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula. According to Castilian prescriptions, Jews had a special status in the kingdom as the “king’s serfs.” As I discussed in the previous chapter, this meant that they enjoyed significant legal privileges and had within the city or town walls a self-governing community, the *alhama*, which were only under the jurisdiction of the Crown and not the municipalities.\(^69\) In a way, the Jews of Alba are reminding the town’s mayor of their legal status in order to pressure him to hear them out, and resolve the complaint in their favor.

But most of all, the Jews are demanding a penalty for the dog that is not decreed in *Siete Partidas*, since they are not suing the dog’s owner, Anton Gentil, which would be the custom to follow according to the law, but his dog. In *Siete Partidas*, the law pertaining to those harms made by man or beasts to a person or a person’s property stated that in a case of a harm committed by a person’s animal under his care to another person, the owner should take care of the victim’s medical treatment. If the victim remained disabled from the injury inflicted by the animal, the owner should compensate the victim with an indemnification decreed by a judge (*Partida 7, Título 15, Ley 23*).\(^70\) However, the law does not specify anything regarding the fate of the animal.

\(^68\) Even though the poem does not mention the name of the duke, most probably he is the Duke of Alba.

\(^69\) As discussed in the first chapter, Jews’ servitude to the kings in Christian medieval thought date back to Augustinian theology, and was later mandated in the papal bull *Sicut Judaeis* during the twelve century. In the Iberian Peninsula, their status is decreed in the legal codes of *Fuero Juzgo*, and *Siete Partidas*.

\(^70\) The law decrees the following regarding an animal harming or attacking a person:
Nevertheless, the only restitution that the Jews are seeking in their written lawsuit is that the dog be sentenced to death: “Nos los que paz deseamos/ la noble aljama y caal/ contra vn perro natural/ desta villa nos quexamos/ y a vos señor demandamos/ le colgueys de la picota/ porque nos muerde y destruye/ nunca de nosotros buye y nos trae al estricota” (verses 37-45). Furthermore, the Jews urge the judge to either hand the dog over to them, so they can take matters into their own hands, or for the dog to be hanged in the town’s square pillory. Regardless of the location of where the dog is to be sentenced to death, what is eminent for the Jews is that he must be put to death as soon as possible: “pedinos lo que quereys/ presto señor muera muera” (verses 53-4).

Three Jews, Abrayme, Abenaron, and Ysaac describe their tribulations before the mayor. It is through their testimonies and dialogue with the judge that we get a description of perro de Alba. The dog’s physical attributes are depicted as an “alano,” and black, “perro pietro,” since black dogs had a special symbolism in several continental texts. We will discuss later in the chapter the portrayal of ‘black dogs’ in continental legends and exempla. At the same time, the testimonies also depict the dog’s animosity against the Jews. The Jews even denounce the dog’s possible demonic provenance, expressing that they don’t know which law or god has a hold on him.

One particular aspect of the poem is how it exposes a racial profiling of Jews. According to the group of Jews the dog would start barking and/or attacking them the moment he sees or
smells them in his vicinity. In this manner, the text exposes how the dog not only could identify Jews by their clothes, physical features, dietary customs or the locations designated for them in the town, the alhama or the synagogue, but, more so, by the intrinsic smell of their race or linaje.

However, one of the witnesses declares what the Jews perceived as the dog’s ultimate mission, to drive away or eradicate Judaism from the town. As the witness, named Borox, states: “O ninguno aya piedad/ de perro tan endiablado,/ no ay rabi tan auisado/ cierto en esta vezindad/ trae tanta crueldad/ que espanta la vieja ley” (verses 73-8). Several Jews also complain of how the dog’s demeanor brings infamy to their people. In another testimony, a rabbi decries that the dog not only makes attempts against his life whenever he sees him, but that he also has resorted to crawl throughout the village like a dog in the his presence: “so la tierra con mi abuelo/ el cuerpo aqueste lo tiene/ para cada y quando viene/ que me arrastro por el suelo” (168-71). The images of “espantar la ley vieja” or the rabbi crawling on the town’s ground like a dog to the point of almost consorting with his buried grandfather, allude to the recurrent representation of Jews as dogs and Christ’s tormentors during his Passion. Thus, the passage can be interpreted as a confrontation between the Christian dog, the perro de Alba, and the Jewish dog, the rabbi, and how the perro de Alba’s ultimate aim is to subdue, eradicate and/or bury into the ground the Christian tormentor’s presence in the town.

After hearing out the Jews’ lawsuit, the mayor accepts the written querella, and indicates that the Jews must prove their allegations against the dog with witnesses. Nonetheless, the Jews remain suspicious of the mayor’s capacity to oversee their lawsuit, and, more so, to rule in their favor. Therefore, they inform the mayor that since they distrust the process, they will assign a Jewish convert and a Jew to oversee it. This is the only passage in the text that alludes directly to a converso. The poem portrays the converso as a Jewish ally; someone who is not only
trustworthy in the eyes of the town’s *alhama*, but also one who will still protect Jewish law:

“Nos consentimos en eso/ y a las costas nos ponemos,/ pues que justicia tenemos/ para en prueba del proceso/ *presentamos vn confessos* que vino deste linaje,/ y a otros desta mesma seta/ damos en pena perfeta/ porque mas no nos vltraje” (verses 92-99). In this manner, the poem resorts to the common stereotypes of *conversos* at the time as still in essence Jewish, since the *confesso* shares the same *linaje*.

After the mayor receives the written lawsuit, a series of testimonies from the dog’s victims are narrated as proof of the injuries suffered by the town’s *alhama*. The testimonies provide a humoristic element to the poem. The Jews’ misfortunes are narrated in a satirical manner: the shoemaker loses his working bench while trying to defend himself from the dog, and has to resort to use a *fardel* or cloth as a bench; the blacksmith is hunted down like a hare in middle of the town’s square; the doctor literally defecates himself when he sees the dog; another Jew is bitten in his buttocks, among other stories. After listening to the different testimonies, the mayor rules in favor of the Jews. He announces that the dog must be handed over to the authorities, and it is to be sentenced to death.

Nevertheless, there is a part of his verdict that is somewhat puzzling to the reader. The mayor declares that the dog is to be hanged, and, afterwards, his cadaver must be burned. The dog’s ashes must be given to the Jews, so they can scatter them in their meal and devour their enemy: “Item mando sea quemado/ hecho poluos bien molido/ todo aquesto asi cumplido/ en su manjar sea echado/ porque comaran de grado/ cosa de tal enemigo” (verses 253-58). As we saw in the first chapter, some of the popular depictions of anti-Jewish accounts that circulated throughout Europe were the alleged ritual crimes that they perpetrated against Christians. In several of these stories Jews not only murdered their Christian victims, but they sometimes also
ingested their blood.\textsuperscript{71} The fact that the town’s mayor not only complies in favor of the Jews in the lawsuit, but also provides the means for them to carry out one of their rituals against Christians, demonstrates the mayor’s inadequacy as a Christian leader. He has not only succumbed to the Jews’ threats of denouncing him to a higher authority, but, more so, he is an accomplice to a Jewish heretical practice.

Finally, the day of the execution arrives, and the town is in an uproar anticipating the hanging. The whole \textit{alhama} gathers in the town’s square to witness the dog’s punishment. However, the event’s outcome turns out differently than expected. The poem narrates how when the dog is taken to the pillory, and upon hearing the horn announcing the death sentence, he unleashes an uncanny strength that frees him from his rope. Once free, the dog proceeds to kill the \textit{espingardero} that was supposed to execute him, and every Jew that was in his sight: “Los judios espantados/ cayeron amortecidos/ vnos rotos y mordidos/ otros del todo finados,/ luego fueron enterrados/ los que el perro degollo./ los que despanto murieron/ en sus huessas los pussieron/ y el perro en sagrado entro” (307-15). As a result of the Jewish massacre, the remaining Jews of Alba de Tormes opt to self-exile themselves to Oviedo.

After the incident and the departure of the Jews, the dog is proclaimed and admired by the whole town as a faithful defender of its Christian residents: “El perro despues quedaba/ en la villa muy potente/ para siempre residente/ en quanto natura dava/ a los christianos amava/ como persona discreta/ a los judios si veya/ las carnes les comia/ todo por su via rezia” (verses 325-33). One peculiar aspect of the poem is that the only Christian voice that we hear during the \textit{pleito} is that of the town’s mayor. None of the residents of Alba, nor the dog’s owner, Anton Gentil, intervene in order to defend the dog or to even question the dog’s inordinate punishment. This

\textsuperscript{71} As previously examined in the first chapter’s discussion of \textit{Fortalitium fidei}, Emanuel’s testimony in the ninth \textit{crudelitas} provides this type of depiction by describing how the Jews killed an infant, and then proceed to ingest fruits dripped in the infant’s blood.
element, among others present in the poem, raises a series of questions. Why does the town tacitly accept the dog’s sentence? Why do animal instinct and violence supersede human reasoning and order in the story? Moreover, was there a tradition of dogs, specifically, black dogs, depicted in a similar manner in other continental stories or exempla in the Middle Ages?

One exemplum that foreshadows similar aspects of the poem is the one of the *canis nigerrimis et magnus*. Historian Grado Giovanni Merlo discusses the role of animals and heretics in this exemplum found in a *Spicilegium* of the Ottobonian Codex *Latinus 522*, composed either in the second half of the twelve century or the first half of the thirteenth century, held at the Vatican Library. The exemplum narrates the story of a dualist heretic, who after confessing publicly his heterodox doctrines is condemned to death by an inquisitor. The declaration of his sentence is made publicly, when suddenly a mysterious black dog of significant proportions (*un cane nerissimo e di rilevanti dimensioni*) shows up out of nowhere, walks through the crowd, and attacks the heretic by biting violently his neck until he suffocates. Soon after, the dog departs as unexpectedly as he had appeared, while leaving the heretic’s lifeless body on the ground (“Animali ed eretici medievali” 71).

For Merlo, the message of the exemplum, and the portrayal of the dog is nothing less than a perplexing one. According to Merlo, first, it is not clear why the dog would carry out the death sentence given the fact that the inquisitor had already found him guilty. Secondly, it is not clear if the dog represents divine or demonic intervention in the story. Is the dog an agent of God that is going to carry out the heretic’s punishment in front of the town, or is he a demonic agent illustrating the punishment that awaits heretics in hell? (“Animali ed eretici medievali” 72). I believe that the dog represents the Dominican Order coming to inflict the sentence. We have to remember that the Dominican Order was a mendicant order militant in their fight against the
punishment and eradication of heresy. Hence, both dogs in the texts discussed above, the *perro de Alba* and *canis nigerrimis et magnus*, are carrying out a violent punishment for those who are perceived as menaces, in one way or another, to the Christian faith.

To a certain extent, *Coplas del perro de Alva* points to what may be perceived as an inadequacy in the law and order that would oversee and/or protect in a fair manner all of the town’s residents, especially its Christians. The person that represents law and order in Alba de Tormes, the mayor, seems to cave under the Jews’ threats of denouncing him to a higher authority, and also fosters Jewish heretical practices. On the other hand, the town’s Christian inhabitants lack any type of voice, or agency throughout the poem. Thus, it is in the figure of the dog that the text depicts how deficient is the town’s law and order, and in Castile for that matter, when there are Jews inhabiting the location.

This idea is a recurring argument in anti-Jewish polemics of the *adversus Judaeos*. The notion that Jews corrupt the body politics of Christian kingdoms was present in several Christian polemic texts, as seen in *Fortalitium fidei*, since they infiltrated the kingdom by being the king’s advisors, moneylenders, and doctors, among other influential positions. According to the polemic topos of the *perfidii iudeii*, these Jewish professions and positions in the kingdom render them the power to persuade the king, and to pollute the kingdom with their insidious agendas.

Hence, the dog attacks on Jews in the poem manifest the undercurrent friction that certain Christian sectors felt as product of the *convivencia* in the period. In a similar manner as the

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72 The Dominican Order was in charge of administering the Spanish Inquisition. The first Grand Inquisitor was the Dominican friar Tomás de Torquemada, who was from a *converso* family. On his zealous quest for eradication of Judaizers and Jews from the Spanish kingdoms, Torquemada oversaw the case of the Santo Niño de la Guardia. The story of the Santo Niño de la Guardia conformed to the libel stories of the ritual murder of a child and the desecration of the Host that we saw in the first chapter. The accused were tried and executed. The case aroused the outrage of the population, and, ultimately, helped to convince Isabel and Fernando to sign the Decree of the Jewish Expulsion. The festivities of the Santo Niño de la Guardia are still celebrated in the town of La Guardia.
tensions and riots bursting in the Peninsula during the fifteenth century, the conflict in the poem erupts through visceral violence.

Several passages of the poem underline the fact that the dog could sense and smell the Jews, and, therefore, he would attack them. The text narrates how even after the Jews are expelled from Alba de Tormes, the dog remains the town’s faithful Christian protector; safeguarding that neither Jew nor converso would set foot in the town. As the poem narrates, “Si algun judío topaua/ con capa de algun christiano/ tocaualo con su mano/ la qual luego besaua/ al judio lo arrastraaua/ no llegando a tal uestido,/ si el christiano se vestia/ con capa de juderia/ luego en ella estaua asido” (verses 334-42). In this manner, animal instinct and sense of smell can decipher and recognize what human sight and reason cannot, racial difference. The passage also addresses the converso problem, since those who “dress up” as Christians are still in essence Jewish. Therefore, the dog would attack and drag them out of the town. On the other hand, those who were attired or covered themselves with anything Jewish, but are in essence Christian, were disrobed of any Jewish element.

After the Jewish massacre in the town’s square and the remaining Jews self-exiled themselves out of fear, not a single authority, neither the mayor nor the Duke, intervene in favor of the Jews. A new order is established, the one imposed by the perro de Alba, and the town’s residents seem to agree with this new order. Upon the dog’s death, a bust is erected at his grave with the two golden engravings that said: “aqui yaze el Bravo can/ que nunca comia pan/ salvo hombre o muger judia”, and “aqui esta vn Bravo Leon/ para los Judios passio/ cuya fama siempre vive” (verses 362-69). Both inscriptions allude to Christian religious animal imagery: the dog

73 In a way, the passage narrating the dog’s commemoration at his death and the bust erected at his tomb in Perro de Alba resembles another Continental legend, the legend of the holy greyhound. In the legend, the main character, a black greyhound, is wrongfully accused of killing an infant and is murdered for it, while in fact he was trying to protect the infant from a snake. The truth is revealed after the dog’s assassination, and he becomes a saint and
sustained himself not with bread, which could symbolize Christ’s body or Eucharist, but with the flesh of Christ’s enemies, the Jews; and, as a lion, an animal that represented the figure of Christ in medieval images and literature, he slaughtered them. In a way the second inscription transposes the roles that Jews and Christians played in Christian accounts; the instigators of Christ’s crucifixion, the Jews, become victims of Christian judgment and retribution in the hands of the lion, that is, the *perro de Alba*.

After the dog’s death, his *fama* still succeeds him, since the Jews were still too afraid to return to the town after his death. Even after they return to the town, the Jews claimed that the dog’s bust barked at them: “Ellos querian sacar/ el perro de donde estaua/ como fueron a la caua/ en el bulto oyan ladrar/ todos se van sin tardar/ y porque de ay se quitasse/ y el bulto no ladrasse/ se junto la juderia” (verses 379-87). In a similar manner as the legend of the head of Tábara, the dog’s bust is portrayed in the poem through the figure of prosopopoeia, since Jews attribute to the inanimate and cold object the faculty of barking at them. In a way, the *perro de Alba*’s bust represented the lingering order that the dog safeguarded in the town while alive. The Jews’ petition to a judge to have the removal of the dog’s carcass and bust from the town represents the ultimate eradication of the dog’s presence. What the town’s Jews did not obtain while the dog was alive is symbolically accomplished in his death, for the judge gave the order to remove the dog’s carcass and bust. The poem attributes to an important medieval Jewish figure in the Iberian Peninsula “aquel grande Salomon,” who most probably refers to Rabbi Salomon Ha Levi, as the

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protecor of the people of the region, Saint Guinefort. See Jean-Claude Schmitt’s *The Holy Greyhound*. Another source for the story might be the Oriental tradition transmitted in *Calila e Dimna* and *Libro de los engaños* (*Sendebar*), which began to be translated to *castellano* in the thirteenth century, and several editions were published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Peninsula. The texts were stories in which the animals fulfilled or learned a didactic lesson.
person that petitions to the judge the removal of the carcass and bust from the town. Therefore, the previous politics and convivencia practiced at the beginning of the poem is reinstated in the town.

In the final stanza of the poem, the author underlines the veracity of the account narrated in the poem: “Assi el buen can fenecio/ con muy gran virtud y honra/ los judios con deshonra/ y vituperio dexo/ todo acuesto assi passo/ no penseys que fue fingido/ porque es de cierto verdad/ publico en esta ciudad/ como a muchos lo e oydo” (verses 397-405). As we have discussed previously, the poem was probably written in the second half of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the mentioning at the end of the poem of “el grande Solomon” points to the fact that the event narrated in the text probably took place at the end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Therefore, we can either conclude that the story narrated in Coplas del perro de Alba was an account that had been transmitted orally throughout the centuries in the Iberian Peninsula, or that the author chose to place the story in the past in order to construe, in a satirical manner, ongoing tensions between Jews, conversos, and Christians in Castile in the second half of the fifteenth century.

It is most probable that both scenarios are plausible. It seems that the story of pleito contra el perro de Alba was a folk tale that was transmitted at first orally, and, later, was reworked in various versions and genres during the Middle Ages and early Modern period. As we will further examine in chapter four in Pleyto de los moriscos contra el perro Alvan, the story re-emerges during the second half of the sixteenth century as a pleyto made by moriscos (Muslim

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74 The passage does not state clearly which “grande Solomon” is it referring to in the poem. The Rabbi Solomon that comes to mind is Solomon Ha Levi founder of the finest school of Talmudic studies in northern Spain, and chief rabbi of Burgos. In 1390, he converted to Christianity and adopted the name of Pablo de Santa Maria. After his conversion, he did theological studies at the University of Paris, and befriended the future pope, Benedict XIII. He returned to the Iberian Peninsula, where he had a notable career as Bishop of Cartagena, later Bishop of Burgos, member of the royal council and also a papal legate.
converts), and even a rabbi, against the dog Alvan. As we have analyzed in this chapter, the story mostly served to illustrate political and religious tensions between the minority groups that inhabited the Peninsula, and it also presented a case for the expulsion of these minorities.

Nonetheless, as we have already seen, the poem depicts the main character, el perro de Alba, as a model of loyalty and guardian of the Christian faith- an aspect that echoes Saint Ambrose’s views on dogs. The dog’s animal instinct and animosity towards the Jewish presence in the town manifests the tensions, intolerance and violence existing in Castile, as well as other kingdoms in the Peninsula, between Jews, conversos and Christians in the period. Like the episodic violence and riots against Jews that had erupted throughout the Peninsula since 1391, the dog would periodically attack the town Jews until the tension finally erupted in a massacre, which prompted their exile. The banning of the Jews and conversos from Alba de Tormes during the remaining days of the dog’s life, exposes the ongoing discussion taking place in various texts, as well as in different circles in Castile and throughout the Iberian Peninsula, about the future of the Jewish population and the imminent solution of expelling them from the Spanish kingdoms.

Moreover, the pleito del perro de Alba exposes the notion of raza and/or linaje as a distinctive attribute linked to Jewish genealogy. The text exhibits the anxiety in certain Old Christian circles of the time over a lack of distinction or marker to accurately identify those possessing Jewish ancestry from the rest of the Castilian population. The racial marker in the poem is one imposed by the dog, inasmuch as his animal sense of smell manifests what it is invisible to human senses. The story underscores how Jewish appearance and customs are distinguishable from Christians, but, more so, their blood is inherently different from Christian Castilians’ blood. The poem also presents a test-case, illustrating the tensions between the town’s
Jews, and *conversos* by extension of their Jewish lineage, and it proposes a possible solution to
the problem. The town of Alba de Tormes in the poem, as well as other towns such as Tábará in
the legends and poems, become sites in the Iberian cultural imaginary where a mapping of the
banning of the Jews, and of *conversos* for that matter, took place during or even before they
actually started to be dispersed from various towns and cities throughout the Peninsula from
1465 onward, until the Decree of Expulsion of the Jews in 1492.

*Alborayque: the threatening monstrous-hybrid body of the *converso*

In *Coplas del perro de Alba* we saw the representation of an animal, the dog, as a way of
presenting through humor the prevalent tensions in the town between Jewish, and by extension
*conversos*, and Christians’ relations in the small town of Castile. The dog’s attributes, his
rampant intolerance of the Jews, his benevolence towards Christians, his sense of smell, his
animal instincts, and his visceral ferocity, are all portrayed in a positive light, and an example to
follow for the Christian audience. Nevertheless, as we already discussed at the beginning of the
chapter, the depiction of animals and beasts in medieval literature and images would vary
according to its intended message. During the Middle Ages and early Modern period,
zoomorphic imagery was frequently used in order to represent those social or minority groups
that were perceived as threatening to the social core, and, therefore, they were portrayed and
located on the edges of Christian society. As we will study in the propagandistic treatise of
*Alborayque*, the debate over the conception of the identity of Jewish converts as heterogeneous,
Jewish in essence yet Christian through baptism, which transpired in various textual sources of
the time, materializes for the first time through both visual and textual expressions in a text. In
*Alborayque*, *conversos’* invisible composite essence acquires a tangible form in the image of the
monstrous figure of the hybrid *alborayque*. Thus, text and image of the *alborayque* expose in the
treatise how threatening and aberrant were *conversos*, how they ultimately did not belong in the Iberian kingdoms and, therefore, should be expelled together with their Jewish brothers.

The treatise *Alborayque* is believed to have been composed around 1465 to 1467, the years after Espina’s *Fortalitium fidei*, during the turbulent reign of Enrique IV.⁷⁵ In his critical edition of *Alborayque*, Dwayne Carpenter provides a description of the extant ten to eleven manuscripts and printed editions of the text. For the purpose of this study, I am using Carpenter’s edition, the one found in the Biblioteca Barcarrota.⁷⁶ However, not much is known of the origins of the *Alborayque*, since the treatise is anonymous. The place of its composition is also not clear nor its particular aim. Just as other texts that circulated at the time, such as *Fortalitium fidei* and *Coplas del perro de Alba*, the text seems to follow the general anti-Jewish and anti-*converso* sentiment that was present in certain circles in the period. In the critical study of his edition of *Alborayque*, Dwayne Carpenter asserts that the intended audience for the treatise was not the educated clergy, but the popular masses: “Su público no es la alta clerecía, sino el vulgo; su propósito no es persuadir, sino ridiculizar; sus armas no son la espada esgrimida, sino una retórica incandescente” (14).

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⁷⁵ Various critics, including Dwayne Carpenter, Moshe Lazar, Benzion Netanyahu and José Guadalajara, date the composition of the *Alborayque* in 1465 or in the 1460’s decade. On the other hand, David M. Gitlitz dates the composition of the text c. 1488, probably because that is the date of the earliest extant version of the text held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Furthermore, in *Heresy as an agent of change: Inquisition in the Monastery of Guadalupe*, Julie A. Evans examines the testimony of Juan de Texada, who mentions that he went to Erena with two other friars, and brought back to the monastery “un libro que se llama del Alborayque.” As Evans argues, the *Alborayque* was probably composed in 1467:

[…] from Juan de Texada’s testimony it is clear that the text was circulating in the 1460’s. Specifically, Pedro Alemán, the prior who released Texada, held office from 1467-1469. While the exact year of the text’s arrival to Guadalupe is not clear from Texada’s testimony, it had to have been during that three year period, and very likely refers to Alemán’s final and rather tumultuous years as prior, in 1468-1469… Thus, recent speculation of the year 1467, as the book’s actual year of conception, is strongly supported by the news of the text’s reception and circulation by Juan de Texada. (cited in Carpenter, note 90, 63-4)

⁷⁶ The *Alborayque* that I analyze in this chapter is Dwayne Carpenter’s edition of the Biblioteca Barcarrota, printed in the sixteenth century. However, I have consulted the earliest extant version of *Alborayque* (c. 1488), a manuscript held at Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in order to compare the content of both versions, and I have concluded that they are similar.
Even though, as we will see, the main subject of the treatise is to mock and attack conversos, the text operates in a similar manner as other polemical anti-Jewish texts, where the distinction and lines between New Christians and Jews in the texts become indiscernible by the end of the treatise. At the same time, the treatise not fuses cultural images and stereotypes of conversos and Jews, but also links conversos to an imagery pertaining to another minority group living in the Peninsula, the Muslims. Moreover, we will analyze how Alborayque parodies the world of the bestiaries, not only in order to ridicule Jewish converts, but also as a way of exposing how they, as a group, do not belong in the Iberian kingdoms.

As I have already discussed in the first chapter, from its early beginnings Christianity defines and affirms its identity against Judaism through a series of binary and contrasting images: Christianity as the “New Law” against the Judaic “Old Law”; the representation of both traditions as the thriving and unyielding Ecclesia, and the declining and blinded Synagoga; Christians as the “sons of light and righteousness,” and Jews as the “sons of gloom and darkness.” However, in the Church Fathers’ writings, a new ideology of contrasts was created between Christianity and Judaism, the former as the divine and the latter as diabolic.

Moshe Lazar discusses how, over the course of centuries, the opposition of the Christian and the demonic Other articulated a system of symbols that depicted a dehumanized image of the Jew (“Anti-Jewish and Anti-Converso Propaganda” 153). As Lazar describes, the symbolization process incorporated visual and verbal tropes from diverse semantic and iconic fields: anthropology, biology, zoology, botany, and astronomy, which generated a growing catalogue of antithetic images accessible to the illiterate masses, such as “dove and raven, lamb and goat, sun and moon, young and old, lily of the valley, and ‘Judas ears’” (“Anti-Jewish and Anti-Converso
In addition to the wide spectrum of Jewish depiction present in this system of symbols, demonic and apocalyptic images were also correlated with Jews:

Adding to the terrifying presence in everyday life of the Christians, a Jewish Antichrist and Jewish devils, demonized anthropoids of imaginary monstrous races, zoomorphic humanoids as well as a host of fantastasmagoric sea and land beasts, preachers and artists extended the limits of a landscape of fear which was to shape the mental make-up of Christianized Europe. (“Anti-Jewish and Anti-Converso Propaganda” 153)

Hence, monstrous figures, which included hybrids, deformed animals and humans, demons, and insects, became the primary conceptual catch-all of any rival sect or ethnic group in Christian Europe, and in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, monstrosity became the way of representing Jews, conversos, and Muslims.

It will be useful to examine one of the works of the Church Fathers, John Chrysostom’s, and what kind of imagery and concepts of Jews and Judaizers were already circulating in the fourth century (CE). In one of his homilies, Chrysostom addresses approaching festivities of the Jews, and warns against the contagiousness of those who are “sick with the Judaizing disease” (Homily 1, 1:5). He continues his discourse alerting Christians that the Judaizing disease is so alarming and acute that it must be averted by staying away from all that is Jewish. Chrysostom then gives a plethora of examples in order to illustrate how Jews are pitiable, beastly, repulsive and demonic. Among the portrayals used are Jews depicted as dogs. Chrysostom cites St. Paul’s words in the matter: “Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the mutilation.

77 Judas ears or *auricularia auricula-judae* is a type of fungus that grows in trees. The fungus is used in folk medicine as a remedy for sore throats, sore eyes, among other ailments. However, in the folk tradition, it was believed that Judas hanged himself from an elder tree after betraying Christ. Since the fungus grew in these trees, the fungus acquired the name of Judas’ ears. Nevertheless, the fungus was also known as Jew’s ears, wood ears and jelly ears.
For we are the circumcision” (Homily 1, 2:2). He also describes Jews as stiff-necked, since they chose not take up Christ’s yoke.

Chrysostom proceeds to denounce in his homily how Jews are drunkards and gluttonous, which turns them into brute animals; Israel is portrayed as an obstinate stubborn heifer, and Jews as an untamed calf. Since Jews are similar to idle beasts, and just as the unfit animals for work must be exterminated, Jews should be slaughtered: “And this is what happened to the Jews: while they were making themselves unfit for work, they grew fit for slaughter” (Homily 1, 2:6). Moreover, the synagogue is portrayed as a carnivalesque site, where the root of all debauchery and evil resides. The synagogue is no better than a theater that gathers robbers, wild beasts, “choruses of effeminates and a great rubbish heap of harlots” (Homily 1, 2:7). Furthermore, since Jews have turned their back on God, and their temple is a place of debauchery and animal-like behavior, it represents a place of diabolic worshiping: “But when God forsakes a people, what hope of salvation is left? When God forsakes a place, that place becomes the dwelling of demons” (Homily 1, 3:1).

Such maligning and calumnious textual descriptions and images of the Jews from the Church Fathers’ corpus, such as the one of John Chrysostom’s, circulated from early Christianity, and were transmitted and re-articulated throughout the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, Sara Lipton argues that even though a negative portrayal of Jews had been present in polemics and other textual traditions since the beginning of the Middle Ages, it was not until the thirteenth century that a whole repertoire of anti-Jewish images began to proliferate (Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography 110). According to Lipton, this emergence of anti-Jewish images coincides with a new kind of Passion narrative that illustrated more graphically and contentiously the participation of Jews in the Crucifixion: “it blames Jews for the
Crucifixion, dwells in sometimes horrific detail on their cruelty, describes their raging faces and open mouths, and labels the ‘bestial,’ recalling the beak-like noses and coarse features of our glaring Jews” (110). At the same time, a second textual source, the birth of the ritual murder legends in the twelve and thirteenth century, coincides with the representations in art of the hostile and uncompassionate Jew (128).

Lipton indicates that an inventory of graphic facial expressions illustrating Jews’ vileness and derision flourished at the time. A new representation of Jewish physiognomy and facial expressions appeared in art as well as texts, ascribing to Jews coarse and cruel expressions. As Lipton also explains, portrayal of Jews materialized for the first time in various textual traditions:

In contrast to the previous centuries, when images of Jews, though steadily proliferating, had remained largely confined to biblical manuscripts and sculpture or liturgical objects evocative of the historical past, Jews now began to appear in a far wider variety of genres (illustrated apocrypha and apocalyses, biblical commentaries, bestiaries, miracles of the Virgin, lives of saints, treatises on virtue and vice, histories of the world) and to be associated with a broadened range of objects or animals, many recognizable from everyday life. (132)

In these various textual traditions, Jews begin to be portrayed, in the corpus and the images of the texts, in a series of depictions representing the society of the period, such as illustrations of the end of the world with images of the Antichrist with his followers, the money-clutching Jews, or images of heresy showing Jews inviting students to worship a cat (132).

It was in the second half of the thirteenth century that first appeared in art what has been denominated as the “Jewish face.” The so-called “Jewish” or Gothic “Jew’s face” is composed of a range of facial features assigned to depict Jewish iniquitousness, like the bony hooked nose and
the pointed beard. In this manner, these external features manifested visually to the public what was otherwise undetectable to the senses, the Jewish true vile nature (177). We will study in the *Alborayque* which pictorial attributes frequently utilized when representing Jews in the Middle Ages were employed in the illustration of this propagandistic treatise, and which new depictions were created in order to portray the new monstrous figure of the *converso*.

The first thing that the reader notices when she/he opens the printed edition of *Alborayque* is an image that has as a rubric with the name “Alboraique.” (figure 1) The heading serves as a way of announcing how the animal/subject in the illustration has been classified, and it also introduces to the audience the theme of the treatise per se. In a way, the image of the *alborayque* functions in the text in the same manner as the illustrations of birds, animals, fishes, hybrids, and monsters, among others, did in the bestiaries. Michael Camille describes the function of the images in the bestiaries as follows: “The most common type of illustrated book depicting animals was the Bestiary, but in them each beast is framed in a visual stereotype that is as strict as the theological interpretation presented in the text” (*Image on the Edge* 47).

As we can observe in the entry of the eagle in a medieval bestiary (figure 2), the illustration of the eagle portrays those aspects or peculiarities of the bird that are going to be addressed in the text below the image. In this manner, the image precedes, introduces and complements the texts, at the same time that it illustrates, through pictorial representations, those symbolisms associated with the animal represented. However, what the reader realizes when

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78 In *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, Debra Higgs Strickland also notes how textual images of Jews became a challenge for artists to transpose to pictorial images, illuminations, and architecture, among others. As Strickland describes, an artist needed to transmit to the spectator through their illustrations a correlation between the monstrous and ugly, and moral abject and sinful character of the marginal group depicted: “During the Middle Ages, rendering ugliness posed formidable challenges for artists, who had to find visual ways to express largely abstract ideas about moral degeneracy, perversity, godlessness, demonic allegiance, and a whole host of other characteristics regularly attributed to various enemies of Christendom” (8).
looking at the image in *Alborayque* is in fact that the creature in the illustration, the *alborayque*, is one that is not present in any medieval bestiary. Therefore, we will discuss how both, text and image, in *Alborayque* operated as parody of any animal that could be present in a medieval bestiary. Nonetheless, the *alborayque* is actually a parody of the Prophet Muhammad hybrid steed, the heavenly creature al-Buraq, in order to depict that and/or those which elude any known classification in the Peninsula, the *conversos*.79

Bestiaries in the Middle Ages were used primarily as a didactic source in which clerics would illustrate, through a Christian optic, the characteristics and symbolisms attributed to those animals and creatures, both real and imaginary, that had been classified since Antiquity, and where a series of traditions merged, such as: Oriental, Germanic, Mediterranean, among others. The animals and creatures in the bestiaries fulfilled different pedagogic roles, one of which was the role as mediator between body and soul, the natural world and the cultural world, heaven and earth, health and damnation, sin and grace (Le Goff, *Bêtes et Hommes dans le Monde Médiéval* VIII). Through these animals and creatures, men and women could learn more about their own complexities, nature and role in life.

Moreover, the animals and creatures in the bestiaries also illustrated a sense of space and order in the universe according to each animal’s physical and moral characteristics. The bestiaries presented an organized cosmology of those animals and creatures that belonged at the center of the Christian world with its own divisions and limits (domestic animals lived in towns and cities while wild animals resided in the forest), and those who were placed in the peripheries.

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79 I am referring to the term parody as Linda Hutcheon discusses it in *A Theory of Parody: the Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Form*. Hutcheon explains that the etymology of the word parody in Greek comes from the suffix “odos” which means song, and the prefix “para” which signifies besides. In this manner, a parody is a contrast or conciliation between two texts. As Hutcheon describes, a parody, in a way, activates in the reader’s mind a limited version of a tradition by giving it a new and often ironic context: “Parody, therefore, is a form of imitation characterized by ironic inversion, not always at the expense of the parodied text… Parody is, in another formulation, repetition with critical distance, which remarks difference rather than similarity” (6).
Monsters, hybrids, any man/animal with a deformity, hypertrophy or a missing limb were located in the edges of Christianity, the Middle East or Asia; those terrifying lands inhabited by the frightening people of the Gog and Magog.

Medieval clerics illustrated through these animal and creatures what man should emulate or abhor. Sins, transgressions, brutality or mere otherness were projected unto the animals and creatures of the bestiaries. Jacques Voisenet describes the psychological aspects of these portrayals:

Sa familiarité mais aussi sa marginalité font de l’animal, par une sort d’annexion psychologique, un être sur lequel on projette ses envies et ses angoisse et que de ce fait on admire ou bien déteste. Ce double mouvement, d’élan ou de répulsion, se produit dans le cœur de l’homme qui manifeste ainsi sa capacité à intégrer l’animal pour le faire participer à sa destinée de pécheur et de croyant voulant se dépasser. (Bêtes et Hommes dans le Monde Médiéval 259)

Additionally, monsters, hybrids, deformities and animals or creatures where some sort of metamorphosis occurred, were examples of how man’s infractions and his humanity could easily slip or be transformed into bestiality. Humankind’s transgressions and estrangement from God could turn them into beasts and monsters, rendering them astray from salvation, and, ultimately, exiling them from the Christian world where they would live out their damnation. By taking into account the world of the bestiaries, especially its portrayal of space and order in the Christian world, I will discuss how, in the treatise of the Alborayque, the anonymous author makes use of this cosmography in order to parody the religious and racial landscape of the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the fifteenth century.
As I mentioned earlier, the first thing that the reader encounters in the *Alborayque* is the image of the animal/subject. At first, the illustration resembles a figure that relates to the equestrian world. (figure 3) However, when we take a closer look, what at first appears to be an image of a horse is actually a hybrid beast composed of a horse head with what looks like donkey’s ears; a composite tail that has a crane’s head at its end; and four different legs, a horse’s hoof, a man’s footwear, a bird’s claw, another quadruped’s paw, among other attributes. In a way, the illustration of the *alborayque* begets paradoxical impressions and reactions from its readers, a combination of bewilderment, fascination, aversion, and/or derision.

By introducing the treatise’s subject matter through the image, the text recreates and reactives in the reader’s mind a familiar textual model, the bestiary, and it clearly transmits the message to its audience that the beast represented in the image is a foreign creature, like the ones that may be found in the Orient and at the margins of the Christian world. Nonetheless, the image and the rubric “*Alborayque,*” both conjointly transmit to the audience the notion that this exotic and foreign figure has been displaced from its original place, and it is actually dwelling in the Peninsula, an idea that the anonymous author ultimately wants to covey to its reader.

Not much is known of the artist that created the image of *alborayque,* or how the image circulated in the Peninsula. However, as the anonymous author explains in the treatise, the name and representation of *alborayque* pertains to the Islamic cultural imaginary, the figure of Al-Buraq, which is the heavenly creature that transported Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and back during the Isra and Mi’raj or “Night Journey.” Therefore, as the author explains in the text, the image of the Spanish *alborayque* is a pictorial parody of the beautiful and sacred hybrid Al-Buraq (figure 4), which has been transformed into the grotesque and ludicrous beast in order to represent the fearsome *conversos.*
Nonetheless, before discussing the pictorial representation of the Islamic Al-Buraq, and how the artist of the illustration of alborayque created a new and innovative image in order to represent conversos, we must look at other pictorial images of hybrids used in the portrayal of Jews, and the Apocalypse circulating in the Middle Ages. One of the monstrous figures that was used in order to represent Jews was the Manticore. (figure 5) In the bestiaries, the Manticore was believed to be an Indian beast with a triple row of teeth set alternately, a man’s face with gleaming eyes, a ruddy hue, with body that resembled a lion, and its tail stung like a scorpion’s. Manticores were believed to have a shrill voice, resembling the sound of a pipe, and were feared for being avid pursuers of human flesh (Medieval beasts 44). However, as we see in the illustration of the Jewish’s Manticore, the human face of the beast shows attributes frequently used to depict Jews in art: the pointed hats, hooked nose and striking beard, which carried a double significance as signs of demonic properties and sexual lasciviousness, and the Manticore’s ferocious teeth eating human flesh.  

On the other hand, monstrous and demonic hybrids were usually employed in order to depict scenarios of the Apocalypse. For example, in the eight-century representations of “The Angel of the Abyss and Locusts” in a manuscript of Beatus of Liébana’s Comentario de la Apocalipsis, recurring images of monstrous hybrids and demonic beasts were used in pictorial representations of the Book of Revelations. (figure 6) The image below portrays a series of monstrous quadruped beasts with lion-like claws, their body is covered with feather and/or scales, the tail resembles that of a serpent, their head is a mixture of an ox/bull’s head, they have two horns, and a curious mane, among other attributes. It is important to keep in mind this image

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80 In Saracens, Demons and Jews, Higgs Strickland discusses how, in Christian interpretation of the Levitican, condemnation of physical deformities featured in the moralized Bibles extends to aberrant noses, including those too large, too small, or crooked. Hooked noses were a physical attribute transferred in the representations of Jews as part of their demonization process (77). In a similar manner, goats’ beards, which were associated since classical literature with demonic or lascivious sexuality, were also a characteristic used in order to portray Jews in art (78).
of the Apocalypse in the following discussion of Alborayque. As I have mentioned previously, a frequent topos in anti-Jewish and anti-converso propaganda was the association of Jews with the Devil, and, moreover, their connection with the Antichrist and the important role of their conversion in the Last Judgment.

The treatise of Alborayque begins by contextualizing the origin of the name of alborayque. According to the author, the town of Llerena in Extremadura gave the name of “alborayco” to those Judaizing conversos that had converted in the last sixty years: “agora ha sesenta años y más de la guerra que estonce se fizo en toda España por muerte de espada, conviene a saber, destrucción en las aljamas de los judíos. E los que quedaron bivos, por la mayor parte los baptizaron por fueça”(67). The passage alludes to the riots that erupted against the alhamas and the forced mass conversions that took place in 1391 throughout the Peninsula, from Seville to Valencia. From these conversions, the new Christians comprised two groups: the “hanuzýn”,81 those who were forced to convert, but still followed in secret the Jewish rituals and traditions; and the “mesumad”, that according to the author means in Hebrew “rebovedor’, que los rebuelve con los christianos” (68).82

However, the Jewish converts that the author is going to discuss and attack in the beginning are the “hanuzýn.” As the author describe, the “hanuzýn” or alboraycos elude any type of classification:

Empero, porque ellos tienen la circuncision como moros, y el sábado como judíos, e el nombre solo de christianos- e ni sean moros, ni judíos, pero no guardan al Talmud ni

81 The correct term in Hebrew is anusim (pl.) and anus (sing.). For an in-depth discussion of the complexity and different perceptions among Jewish Rabbis and Jewish intellectuals on the topic of Jewish converts, anus and mešumad, in Spain, see Benzion Netanyahu’s The Marranos of Spain.

82 Dwayne Carpenter comments in his edition of Alborayque that the translation of the Jewish term mešumad (pl.) and mešumadim (sing.) as “rebovedor” is not an accurate one. The Hebrew word mešumad implies one that has departed or betrayed from the Jewish faith (Note 99, 68).
cerimonias todas de judíos, ni menos la ley christiana-, e por esto les fue puesto este sobre nombre, por mayor vituperio, conviene a saber, ‘alboraycos’ a todos ellos, e a uno solo ‘alborayco.’ (69)

Therefore, the converso or alborayco nature is composed of diverse and contradictory elements, their imprecise adherence to any ethnic or religious customs, since they do not prescribe to Christianity, Judaism or Islam. But, more so, as the passage exposes, the alborayco’s body, with their circumcision and clothes, exhibit their disparate and hybrid essence.

In a similar manner as the entries of the creatures of the bestiaries, where etymologies, the Bibles and Fathers of the Church’s writings were used as references in order to describe the animal, the author mentions the sources that he consulted in order to address his topic, which include the Old and New Testaments, Albertus Magnus’ encyclopedic work De natura animalium, and the Koran. It is in the Koran where he finds the origin of the beast called al-Buraq, in Spanish, alborayque.

Pictorial and textual representations of the beautiful and heavenly creature that carried Muhammad, accompanied by the angel Gabriel from Mecca to the farthest mosque, Jerusalem, narrated in the Isra and Mij’raj or “Night Journey”, varies according to its tradition. Even though most pictorial images of al-Buraq portray a beautiful hybrid, smaller than a mule, but bigger than a donkey, with a human face, this portrayal is not present in the hadiths or early Islamic references. Starting in the fourteenth century, illuminations in manuscripts began to portray al-Buraq with a woman’s face and a crown. This depiction is the one that still prevails today, sometimes al-Buraq appears with a tail of a peacock, in Egyptian pilgrimage murals, Islamic religious posters, and in Persian and Indian illustrations (The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World).
Therefore, the Spanish illustration of Alborayque presents to the audience a grotesque and risible version of the majestic al-Buraq in order to elaborate further in the texts what the author conceived as the monstrous nature of the fearsome conversos or alboraycos. As the author explains, alboraycos escape any type of characteristics intrinsic to the three religions and cultures cohabitating in the Peninsula in the period: “como tal animal no sea en ley de Escriptura ni de ley de gracia, assí se concluye que ellos ni son judíos, ni cristianos, ni menos moros…”(70). The fact that the author is referring to conversos as animals, alboraycos, follows an already established tradition of animal imagery used in Middle Ages in order to represent Jews. At the same time, in a similar manner as other words used for slander against conversos, such as marranos (pigs) or tornadizos (turncoat), the word alborayco inserts itself to the anti-converso defamatory vocabulary circulating at the time.

However, the author stresses the fact that the alborayco is like no other animal, since it is a beast where twenty different animal attributes merged. Of course, these attributes are the most noxious and gruesome aspects from each animal, which he enumerates as follows: a wolf’s mouth, a horse’s head, man’s eyes, dog’s ears, a hackeney horse’s neck, a bull’s body, a serpent’s tail, at the end of the tail a crane’s head with a peacock’s body, a man’s legs wearing elegant footwear, a horse’s leg with its horseshoe, an eagle’s leg with its paws, a lion’s leg without its claws, a multi-color fur, it eats all kinds of food, its sex is not quite male nor female, it has a lavish saddle with a shaft from a fig’s tree branch, braces made up of several metals, and the animal’s bit made of fine steel (71).

The next section of the text, which makes up most of the treatise, is where the author explains each of the twenty characteristics of the alboraycos. Each physical feature of the alborayco serves to exemplify a moral sinister attribute. These correspondences between
The physical and moral characteristics of animals were already present in most of medieval didactic literature, including the bestiaries. The anonymous author adheres to the same structure of the bestiary, in which each characteristic of the animal whether it describes a good or a sinful moral attribute is followed by biblical passages that illustrate the desired message.

Most of the physical descriptions of the *alboraycos* make use of the already established catalogue of anti-Jewish images. An example may be seen in first attribute of the *alborayque*, their wolves’ mouth, since they are hypocrites and false prophets: “Esto es que estos alboraycos son ypócritas e falsos prophetas, llamándose christanos, e no lo son” (71). One of the animals in the Middle Ages that was portrayed the most with noxious and diabolic characteristics is the wolf. The wolf and wolf-like characteristics often became synonymous with heresy. Therefore, the association between the wolf’s mouth, and hypocrites and false prophets was a prevalent depiction of someone accused of heresy or not being a good Christian, which in turn illustrate the accusation of *conversos* as false Christians. Thus, the discussion of *alboraycos* as false prophets resonates with common accusation made in polemical texts against Jews for being blind to Christian truth, and their ignorant condition since they are still waiting for a false Messiah:

“Falso propheta es llamado el que cree por venir cosas mentirosas e las dize que sean assí” (72).

Another creature frequently associated with the Devil as well as heresy is the serpent, which is mentioned in the seventh entry. According to the author, *alboraycos* have a serpent’s tail, since they spread around the world their heresy, and the only thing that comes out of their mouth is the venom of their blasphemy.83 Furthermore, this entry is the first of the many of the treatise that

83 The crime of heresy and/ or a heretical practice is one of the most evasive concepts in the Middle Ages and early modernity. A person suspected of being a heretic or incurring in heresy would be a person that would not fully believe nor follow the Church’s dogmas and beliefs. Notwithstanding, as Virgilio Pinto explains, what is recurrent in confessional and inquisitorial manuals is a lack of a fixed or comprehensive definition of the term. Most definitions were like the following: “Haeresis… est enim voluntatis et pertinax error, in material fidei catholica contraria, in homine, qui se christianum esse profitterur” (“Sobre el delito de la herejía” 195-6). Pinto describes how the texts that addressed the matter spent less time providing a precise and broad definition of the term, but rather focused more in
alludes to the connection of Jews with the birth of the Antichrist: “Por lo qual fue dicho as su padre, Dan, fijo de Jacob, a la hora de su muerte, le dixo a Jacob, porque de su linaje nascera Antechristo” (80-81).

In other instances, it is interesting how the treatise presents opposite characteristics for the same animal, such as the case of the horse. In the second entry, the author mentions that alboraycos have a horse’s face. The customary positive attributes of a horse, its agility and bravery, become a negative marker, since they are portrayed in the text as means to slaughter and spill human blood. For the passage’s purpose, the author resorts to the use of the image of alboraycos acting like a herd of horses that are eager to crush Christian’s prophets: “E assí, esta maldita generación fueron e son ligeros, e se fizieron fuertes para matar los prophetas…” (75).

However, since Antiquity horses usually were associated with strength, agility, bravery, and grandeur, which were attributes that later on came to exemplify different aspects of Christianity. Images of horses were frequently seen in Paleo-Christian tombs representing the deceased’s soul galloping to its eternal life. At the same time, Christian depiction of Fide et Veritate were usually through the image of a white horse (Bestiario medievale 113-23). The entry of the alboraycos’ serpent tail makes use of the image of the horse representing Christianity. In the entry, the author quotes an interpretation of the Bible, which states that from Dan’s offspring, Jacob’s son, will come the Antichrist: “(‘Sea Dan culebro en la carrera, serpiente en el camino por moder en uñas del cavallo para derribar el cavallero atrás’). Esto es, para derribar el anima que está en el cuerpo, atormentará los cuerpos de los christianos” (81). Hence, we can see how the different
The characteristics of an animal vary according to the role or symbol that they come to represent in the text, either they incarnate a positive aspect of the Christian world or something that its threatening to Christianity, in this case, to the Spanish kingdoms.

The text also mentions dog’s physiognomy, “orejas de perro de lebrel,” as a malicious characteristic. As we discussed earlier in the chapter, dogs were one of the animals whose symbolism varied the most in textual and image representations. The dog’s animal behavior, the fact that he is not ashamed to defecate in public, exemplifies the alboraycos’s ignominious Judaizing behavior: “assí, estos ombres perros no han vergüença de Dios- ni aun del rey- ni de las gentes de fazer sus faziendas ni ceremonias judaycas…” (77). Another image, the one of a dog returning to eat its own vomit (Prov. 26:11), is mentioned in the passage in order to illustrate conversos’ habit of returning to their Jewish customs after being baptized: “estos canes tornan al sabad, e adafina” (77-8). The passage also alerts the reader of alboraycos as rabid dogs. In the same way that a rabid dog bites the hand of its own owner, the alborayco bites and infects Christians with their venomous and diabolic hate.

Other slanders against the alboraycos are the same ones used against Jews in polemical works, such as their pompousness and idleness, the fact that they like to parade around like peacocks and hackeney horses; their double sexuality, they are hermaphrodites, among others. Yet the four characteristics of the alborayques’ legs illustrate, to different degrees, how alboraycos are detrimental to any Christian kingdom. These arguments echo the same portrayal of the noxious Jewish presence in Christian society, like: their man’s leg and the horse’s leg symbolize alboraycos desire to subjugate Christians through theft and usury.

__84__ Adafina is a traditional Sephardic stew made out of chickpeas, onions, vegetables, eggs, and meat. It was customary to prepare it on Fridays, and it would be consumed on Saturdays (Dwane Carpenter, *Note* 144, 78).
However, it is in the twelfth entry, the passage that describes *alboraycos* as possessing an eagle’s leg, where the author makes a direct attack on *conversos* by denouncing their usurping nature; *conversos* creep their way to high positions in court, as tax collectors, and, more so, in Church: “Así, los alboraycos biven de rapina, robando los yglesias, comprando los obispados, canongías e las otras dignidades de la Madre Sancta Yglesia, tomando órdines de clérigos, e no creen la sancta fe chathólica ni la missa que dizén” (85). *Conversos* were frequently accused from both sides, Jews and Catholics, of converting to Christianity for their convenience and profit. Through their conversion, New Christians were able to occupy the same positions and privileges that the Jews had in the past. This raised a lot of suspicion and resentment in both camps, and disseminated the defamation that they were feigning their Christianity for their own benefit. The fact that the author is slandering the *converso* presence in the Church may seem contradictory given that some of the most prominent defenders of Catholicism during the fifteenth century were themselves *conversos*, such as Pablo de Santa María, Jerónimo de Santa Fe, Alonso de Cartagena, Lope de Barrientos, Alonso de Oropesa, first Grand Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada, and Hernando de Talavera, among others.

Several passages in the treatise allude to the correlation of Jews and/or *conversos* and the Antichrist. One of these passages is the thirteenth entry, a lion’s leg without its claws. In the same manner that a lion loses his strength when he is stripped of his claws, Jews have been devoid of their power and have remained in captivity for centuries: “E assí han pierna de león sin uñas. Descienden del tribu de Judá, que es llamado león, mas no han, ni avrán, rey del dicho tribu de Judá fasta la fin, que se convertirán al Nuestro Señor Jesú Christo…” (87). According to the treatise, and to other apocalyptic prophesies circulating at the time, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 marked the beginning of the first manifestations of the
Antichrist, which, in turn, announced the approaching conversion of all Jews during the Final Judgment. It is interesting that the author stresses how both *conversos* and bad “*cristianos viejos*” are the ones that would join the Antichrist, and would suffer their death in battle against God’s messengers, while Jews would stay alive until their ultimate conversion (90). Thus, in a way, the passage equates all *conversos* to bad “*cristianos viejos.*”

Even though the treatise of *Alborayque* is a propagandistic text against *conversos*, we have examined in multiple passages how most of the text’s slanders or damaging images against Jewish converts were in fact Jewish depictions and *topoi* already established in a long anti-Jewish tradition rooted in early Christianity and the Church Fathers’ corpus. The treatise presents to its reader paradoxical notions of *alboraycos* or *conversos*. While in certain passages *alboraycos* are equated to all types of *conversos*, and, for that matter, Jews, in other passages, the author underlines the differences between the types of *conversos*. The sixteenth entry describes the Peninsula’s demography of *conversos*: true converts are in the north, while the south is plagued with heretics:

> E esto no deven aver por reproche los buenos de los conversos de Castilla, antes por honra, que si oviessen de ser juzgados con los conversos andaluzes-y aun tholedanos-, todos serian condenados por malos hereges, lo qual no es assi, mas lo contrario. Ca assí como en Castilla Vieja, Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid, Çamora, León, etcétera, a penas fallarán dellos, de los conversos naturales, hereges ningunos; assí en el reyno de Tholedo e Murcia e Andaluzia, Estremadura, a penas fallaredes dellos ninguno christianos fieles,

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85 Moshe Lazar notes that both *Confutatio libri talmud* and *Alborayque* were written during the anti-*converso* riots in the 1460’s, and amidst millenarist anxieties and messianic expectation among Jews and *conversos*. He also describes how testimonies of *conversos*’ trials, like the one of Ysabel Arias, echoes the same beliefs. The woman declares that she found on different texts the date of 1465 as the year that the signs of the Antichrist would become manifest, and on 1470 as the coming of the Messiah (163-4).
Various critics have commented on the passage, and have stipulated what could be the author’s intentions in his attempt to present to the reader a mapping of where true and good converts reside in the Iberian Peninsula, while pointing to which regions and cities are plagued with false converts. Nonetheless, in a similar manner as in *Coplas del perro de Alba*, the treatise is contributing to an imaginary cultural mapping, where Castile is depicted as a region free of Judaizers and the land of good Christians.

While the passage may be perceived as a way of establishing some type of distinction between where true and false converts, and where the centers of false converts or heresy reside, the treatise ultimately does not present a clear differentiation between *conversos*. At the end of the treatise, not only there is no difference between all *conversos*, since they are all considered as *alboraycos*, but, moreover, the lines between *conversos* and Jews are completely blurred. In the last entry, the author comments that the only way of suppressing the *alboraycos’* presence is through “fuego y espada”: “E Sant Ysidro dize: ‘Levatar se ha una heregia en España de las gentes que crucificaron a Christo, e durará lxx años, e al cabo del año de lxx serán destruydos por los fuegos y espada’” (100). In a way, this image echoes the descriptions narrated at the beginning of the treatise of the mass conversions that took place throughout the Peninsula “por muerte de espada.”

The treatise ends with a short list of “maldades que dizien los judíos e conversos contra nuestra fe.” The list contains sixteen slanders that the Jews supposedly say against Christians and the Church. Once again, the author does not make a distinction between *conversos* and Jews.

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86 Some of the critics that have discussed the passage are: David M. Gitlitz in “Hybrid Conversos in the *Libro llamado el Alboraique,*” Benzion Netanyahu’s *Los orígenes de la Inquisición,* and Dwayne E. Carpenter’s introduction to his edition of *Alborayque.*
However, in the fifteenth maldad, the author mentions the following: “A los buenos conversos que son con nosotros, dizen mesumadism alcihi, no sea a ellos’ salvación” (102). Meaning that the Jews did curse those “good Jewish converts” that reside in the Iberian Peninsula. In the end, the text never establishes a clear delineation between converts, “buenos conversos”, and “falsos conversos.”

Finally, the treatise of Alborayque follows the anti-Jewish and anti-converso sentiments, similar to Fortalitium fidei and Coplas del perro de Alba, which pervaded different circles in the Iberian Peninsula of the 1460’s. The treatise of Alborayque enjoyed a similar trajectory as Coplas del perro de Alba and Fortalitium fidei. Different versions of the text circulated throughout the centuries, and well into the nineteenth century. One wonders, if the text presents a case for the expulsion of Jews and conversos, why did it continue to be popular after the Decree of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1492? We will further explore this in the fourth chapter in a sixteenth century version of El pleito de los moriscos con el perro Alvan.

As studied, this anonymous treatise of Alborayque for the first time materializes to the public a detailed physiognomy, depicted both in image and text, of conversos’ “composite nature” as the monstrous and fearsome hybrid. More importantly, by parodying the bestiary tradition, the anonymous author exposes to the reader a moral and racial blueprint of conversos as an inherently duplicitous and iniquitous, which correspond to the grotesque and dreadful physical features of the hybrid alborayque. Conversos or alboraycos lack of classification, since they do not belong nor ascribe to any ethnicity or religion, Judaism, Islam or Christianity, consigned them to the margins of the Peninsula. In this manner, the text also equates religious groups with genealogy or “generación.” Nonetheless, similarly to other texts debating the converso problem in the period, in the end it never reconciles discrepant notions of conversos:
are all *conversos* in essence Jewish and “malos christianos”, or is there such thing as the elusive “buenos conversos” that reside in Castile?

As I have discussed in this chapter, after the 1449 revolt in Toledo a significant shift occurs in the way the Jewish and Muslim inhabitants of the Peninsula start to be regarded not by their religious beliefs but by their genealogy. At the same time, the term *raza*, a terminology associated with sheepherding, begins to be employed in order denote those who lacked the lineage *cristianos viejos*. The correlation between the zootechnical and race terminology in order to refer to Muslim and Jewish genealogy becomes interchangeable from the second half of the fifteenth century on. Similarly, various textual and cultural productions theorized ways of exposing or marking race difference in the Peninsula at times through the use of a whole catalogue of zoomorphic images already present in the medieval corpus of bestiaries, hagiographies, folktales, exempla, fables and the Bible, and, at other times, with the inclusion of images pertaining to other cultural and religious imaginaries, such as the Islamic figure of al-Buraq.

However, as seen, in *Coplas del perro de Alba* and *Alborayque*, animal imagery serves as a way of identifying Jewish lineage by signaling something that is invisible to human eyes, either through the animal senses of the dog or by designating a series of grotesque attributes to those who have Jewish genealogy. Moreover, the texts depict imaginary cultural mappings placing Jews and *conversos* at the limits of towns and cities of the Peninsula or at the margins of the kingdoms. In this manner, the texts propose the expulsion of Jews and their descendants, *conversos*, from the Spanish kingdoms at a time when riots against *conversos* were taking place, and before the gradual expulsion of Jews from different towns in the Peninsula during the decades of the 1470’s and 1480’s until their ultimate expulsion in 1492.
In 1519 Carlos I, king of the Crown of Castile and Aragon, acquired the title of Emperor Carlos V as he added to his inheritance the Hasburg dominium. The young emperor became the monarch with the most titles and possessions in Europe with territories that extended across Europe and the Americas. While one of the challenges that Carlos I faced was the heterogeneity of his dominions, and how to create some coherence in order to push forward his hegemonic political aspirations, the young monarch found in Christianity the unifying element of his empire and decided to become the head and proponent of the secular Christian world. During this period, a frequent image that circulated in literature, poetry, indoctrinating texts and histories, among others, was the image of the Good Shepherd (John 10:16) as a way of portraying the flock of the Spanish Christian nation under the rule of their prophetic emperor. Therefore, the scriptural prophesy of a united flock under Christ, was politically re-articulated; Carlos I was deemed as the one who would unify the Spanish nation and empire. As Hernando de Acuña expressed in his sonnet that alludes to the young emperor: “Ya se acerca, señor, o ya es llegada/ la edad gloriosa en que promete el cielo/ una grey y un pastor solo en el suelo,/ por suerte a vuestrros tiempos reservada” (cited in Irigoyen-García, *The Spanish Arcadia* 44).

Nevertheless, Carlos I, and later his heirs Felipe II and Felipe III, would press forward a process that had begun fifty years prior, on 1469 when Isabel of Castile married Fernando of Aragon. With the secret nuptials between Isabel and Fernando, the two most powerful kingdoms
of the Peninsula were united. However, the years that followed the marriage were the turbulent years of the civil war in Castile due to a contested line of succession between Isabel’s faction and Juana’s faction, Enrique IV’s daughter. In addition, the decades after Isabel’s accession to the Castilian throne are characterized by their vertigious reformations and centralization of power in the political and religious domain with the following processes: the Congregation of the Clergy of Seville placed the appointments of prelates and dignitaries under royal jurisdiction; Pope Sixtus IV awarded the bull *Exigit sicerae devotionis* which granted the Monarchs jurisdiction over the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition; Pope Sixtus IV also granted the Monarchs the first crusade bull against the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim bastion in the Peninsula. The Monarchs conquered Granada, and then decreed the expulsion of the Jews, gained domains in the Americas, and established other measures in order to develop their hegemonic project.

Furthermore, these were decades full of civil, religious and political unrest, especially against *conversos*, Jews, Muslims and *moriscos*, with attacks against *conversos* and Jews throughout Castile, the persecution of the *conversos* by the Inquisition, followed by a process of acculturation, indoctrination and forced conversions of the Muslim population. Amidst this complex context, the religious community navigated the rapid transformations as they faced an Inquisition that had shifted from being an ecclesiastical to a state institution. They also met the challenge of dealing with the conversion campaigns of the Jewish and Muslim communities, some made by the Church some by the frenzied mobs, and the indoctrination of the newly baptized subjects. Dissonant voices emerged in the religious domain to express their views in these matters. Among them were the distinguished figure of Hernando de Talavera, Bishop of Ávila and first Archbishop of Granada, and friar Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón.
The following chapter will examine the complex and turbulent last three decades of the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century through Hernando de Talavera’s *Católica impugnación* (c.1481) and Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s *Antialcorano* (c.1532). As I will analyze in the chapter, both works address the problem of the integration and indoctrination of the newly converted, the *conversos* in the Kingdom of Castile and *moriscos* in the Kingdom of Valencia. In Hernando de Talavera’s *Católica impugnación*, a defense of Catholicism and *conversos*, the friar offers to the reader real and imagined frontiers and/or boundaries of where Jews and Jewish converts should be located, and their role in the socio-religious context of the period. Moreover, I will argue how Hernando de Talavera, a Jewish convert himself, who belonged to the higher ranks of the Church, re-locates in his text the *converso* debate from the genealogical position back to the religious domain. While Talavera defends arduously the Pauline precepts of baptism and conversion, which made all Christians equal in the eyes of God, he does make use of the same animal imagery and insults present in the polemical texts of the time in order to underscore the difference between good and bad Christians.

On the other hand, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s *Antialcorano*, a collection of twenty-six sermons, addressed the lack of indoctrination of the newly converted Muslims in Valencia. I will examine how throughout the *Antialcorano*, Pérez de Chinchón employs a rhetoric of “bestiality” and “animality,” typically seen in Christian-Muslim polemics, in order to depict and draw the boundaries between Christianity and Islam. Moreover, while in Talavera’s text there is a clear re-location of the *converso* problem from a genealogical standpoint to the religious domain, the *Antialcorano* exhibits an oscillation in the author’s definition of *linaje* between a racial and religious conception. Nonetheless, similarly to Talavera, Pérez de Chinchón, a
converso himself, does believe in the full integration of the newly converted Muslims through a process of indoctrination to the Christian community. Therefore, as we will see, the texts provide a testimony of specific pivotal issues that surfaced in the religious domain at the beginning and the end of the fifty years that we will examine in the chapter: from the converso and Judazing problem at the eve of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in the Crown of Castile to the indoctrination of the newly converted Muslims in the Crown of Aragon after the Revolt of the Germanias and the decree of conversion, which put to an end to the mudejar status in the Spanish kingdoms.

_Hernando de Talavera’s Católica impugnación: a converso’s defense_

In the analysis of the texts in the previous chapter, _Coplas del perro de Alba_ and _Alborayque_, we looked into the correlation between the use of zoomorphic and monstrous images in the texts, and exposing racial difference in the Iberian Peninsula. Both texts expose how Jewish and New Christians, by sharing the same lineage, were conceived in essence to be vile and iniquitous, and, therefore, were inherently different from cristianos viejos. The texts also exemplify the anti-Jewish and anti-converso propaganda disseminated in the peninsula after the 1449 anti-converso revolt in Toledo, which sought to obliterate any distinction between Jews and New Christians by recurring to a blood purity discourse as a way of justifying the exclusion of both groups from elite and influential positions at court, local municipalities and religious circles.

As we have already discussed, a series of attacks against conversos exploded in various towns and cities of the peninsula in the 1460’s and 1470’s. We will further examine in this section of the chapter how the socio-political situation of Jews and Jewish converts worsened during the tumultuous decades of 1470’s and 1480’s. These were years full of political unrest,
and also, of social and religious tensions that were exacerbated with the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1480. Amidst this complex scenario, Hernando de Talavera composed his \textit{Católica impugnación} as a response to an incandescent \textit{libellum} that circulated in Seville in 1478 attacking the Catholic Church and portraying all \textit{conversos} as Judaizers.

We will examine how Talavera, a \textit{converso} himself, addresses the complex political and religious context in the Peninsula from 1478 to 1481. This period comprises a time when alleged outbursts of Judaizing groups erupted in the South of the Iberian Peninsula in the years preceding the official establishment of the Inquisition, and also the immediate aftermath of the first measures taken by the Holy Office against Judaizing groups in Seville. We will analyze how Talavera re-locates the debate against \textit{conversos} from a problem of racial difference back to a religious one. Talavera argues fervently in favor of true converts, and promotes the importance of evangelization and the Pauline precepts, which underscore the ideal that all Christians are equal after the sacrament of baptism. Thus, Talavera focuses his discussion on what can be conceived as a good and a false Christian, the allegations of Judaizing foci of \textit{conversos} by punctuating the difference between those that err out of ignorance and those that are apostate.

Moreover, he exposes his reservations regarding the newly appointed Holy Office. We will explore how Talavera returns to the use of the same animal images and slander present in Christian polemics and anti-Jewish propagandistic treatises, and how he also advocates for the eradication of the segregation of \textit{conversos} from certain “Christians” sites in the town and cities of the Peninsula.

The tumultuous social and political landscape of the Peninsula during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries fomented attacks against the \textit{alhamas}, which resulted in abundant deaths and injuries to its inhabitants, and also ignited campaigns of massive conversions of Jews, at times
forced and at other times more or less voluntary, throughout the Iberian Peninsula. To a certain extent, Jewish converts profited from their new status as Christians. As historian Stephen H. Haliczer indicates: “The converted Jews, who were now freed from their legal, cultural, and religious constraints that had kept them as a class apart during the High Middle Ages, could fully enter Christian society, bringing with them all of the technical, administrative, and financial skills that were a legacy of Jewish culture” (Haliczer, “The Jewish Expulsions of 1480-92” 40). Haliczer describes how the demographic and economic growth of the fifteenth century promoted economic opportunities that allowed conversos to move rapidly into the ranks of middle and upper classes in the Peninsula.

Nevertheless, the most significant rise of the converso in the socio-political scene was their growing presence in municipal government. Since positions on city councils were under the royal patronage system, conversos’ close association with the kings, as tax farmers and royal administrators, gave them access to participate and benefit from the municipal governments. By mid-fifteenth century, their presence was palpable in city councils all over Castile (Halizcer, “The Jewish Expulsions of 1480-92” 41). Resentments from Old Christian factions, a knight class that had been displaced by royal appointees and the pecheros (taxpayers), culminated in the rising against conversos in Toledo in 1449. Revolts against conversos continued from 1465 to 1475 in the Peninsula: a second revolt in Toledo in 1467, much of Andalusia in 1473, Valladolid in 1474 and Segovia in 1476. Moreover, the anti-converso revolts escalated during

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87 Haliczer gives an overview of the animosity that both groups, pecheros and knights, felt against the royal administration, and by extension, the converso presence in municipal administration. First, the substitution of appointed official for elected city officials broadened the gap between the appointed officials and the mass of the taxpayers, who had lost their electoral privileges. Second, a need for more educated officials emerged in order to deal with the complexities of administering late medieval Castilian cities. Thus, the knight class, from whose ranks elected officials had customarily been drawn, was excluded from office-holding because of their supposed lack of legal education (“The Jewish Expulsion of 1480-92” 41).
the War of Succession, 1475 to 1479, between Fernando and Isabel and Isabel’s niece Doña Juana.

The first years of the reign of Isabel and Fernando were full of uncertainty and turbulence. Castile had succumbed to a civil war between Isabel and her supporters and Alfonso V of Portugal, who was claiming the throne for Juana, Enrique IV’s daughter. During the war, Isabel and Fernando forged an alliance with the Castilian urban oligarchies. The support of the Santa Hermandad (a central organized military force that emanated from local municipalities in Castile), and mustering of urban militias proved to be advantageous for the new rulers in defeating Alfonso V’s supporters (Halizcer, “The Jewish Expulsions of 1480-92” 37).

Nonetheless, in return for this significant support, urban oligarchies longed to consolidate their power in the cities, while eliminating any rival power. Among the elements that they perceived as inhibiting their control of the towns and cities were the presence of Jews, since they were free from municipal control, and also the rapid ascent of an influential bourgeois class of *conversos*. In this manner, the rise of anti-Jewish and anti-*converso* violence threatened the monarchy’s fragile stability, since the violence was disrupting and dividing the towns that the monarchy depended on for their financial and military support (Halizcer, “The Jewish Expulsions of 1480-92” 42).

One of the measures taken by Isabel and Fernando in order to appease the tensions was to initiate a series of reforms for the monarchy and general government of the kingdom, and the Church. The reforms aimed to unify both institutions by making the Church an important agent that would reflect and promote the new monarchy’s policies. The first visit of the Monarchs to Seville in 1477 to 1478 was a pivotal time for the new rulers: Isabel and Fernando’s son and

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88 The monarchy also relied heavily on municipal support for the War of Granada (1481-1492), from funds to infantry and cavalry.
future heir to the throne, Juan, was born in June of 1478, the Congregation of the Clergy of Seville took place in the months of July and August of the same year, a failed Portuguese invasion took place in July, and Sixtus IV awarded the bull *Exigit sicerae devotionis* in November, which granted the Monarchs’ jurisdiction over future establishment of the Spanish Inquisition (Iannuzzi 339).

The Congregation of the Clergy of Seville aimed to foment a renovation of the Church that would expand to the socio-religious domain by begetting a new conception of what it entailed to be a faithful Christian, which became indispensable to the new monarchs for the creation of docile subjects. Therefore, the Congregation looked to unify the kingdoms of the Peninsula under one common Hispanic identity, which would in turn help with the process of legitimization and stabilization of Isabel and Fernando’s fragile reign (Iannuzzi 158-9). One of the first measures decreed was to place the appointments of prelates and dignitaries under royal jurisdiction. Thus, the Monarchs would only nominate those prelates that would fully support their new policies.  

Two important figures, Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, Archbishop of Seville and supreme counselor of the Monarchs, and Hernando de Talavera, stand out for their work during the congregation, and their crucial role in implementing the new Church’s reforms. While the Congregation of the Clergy of Seville propelled the first official measures for the Church’s reformations, the assembly of the Courts of Toledo in 1480 generated the legislation and bureaucracy apparatus necessary for the new emerging Spanish state.

89 By having the power to appoint those clerics who would occupy the higher ranks of the Church, Isabel and Fernando would institute a Church that would help to secure their monarchy by deposing their rivals from important Church positions, such as Alonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo. Although Carrillo was an advisor of Isabel and Fernando before they came into power, frictions began between Carrillo and the new monarchs and Pedro González de Mendoza during the War of Succession. Alonso Carrillo joined the camp of the King of Portugal and Juana. Nonetheless, at the end of the war, Carrillo did accept and submit to the new Monarchs’ royal policies.
During this sojourn in Seville, news of an alarming presence of Judaizing groups in the city reached the Monarchs. The pressing matter received the full attention of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza. In order to combat and eradicate the Judaizing practices of the newly converted Jews, Mendoza launched a laborious missionary campaign. He mandated the creation of a compilation of articles enumerating the principal precepts, beliefs and duties that every Christian should follow. These compilations were ordered to be promulgated in the churches of the diocese. Additionally, a selected group of friars and clerics was appointed by the archbishop to preach and indoctrinate Seville’s Jewish converts. At the head of the preaching and the catechism labors were Pedro de Solís, Archbishop of Cadiz, and Friar Hernando de Talavera. Both clerics oversaw the indoctrination campaigns of the converso population in Seville, in which a special emphasis was put on supplanting old and lingering Jewish practices, averting those coincidences that conversos may find between Mosaic law and Christian doctrines, and persuading and educating conversos through sermons and catechism on true Christian beliefs.

Friar Hernando de Talavera’s important collaboration in the Congregation of the Clergy of Seville and also in the indoctrinating campaigns of New Christians in Seville, demonstrates the friar’s key role within the complex political and religious landscape of the Peninsula of the period. In fact, few figures stand out in late medieval and early modern Iberian history as much as Talavera for his pivotal role in the socio-religious context of the last thirty years of the fifteenth century and at the dawn of the sixteenth century. However, little is known of Talavera’s origins; critics have speculated that he came from an humble background, and could have been the bastard son of don Garci Álvarez de Toledo, III lord of Oropesa, and an unknown Jewish convert (Marquéz Villanueva lvii, Iannuzzi 71-2). Even though we are unaware of his family
name, what is clear is that he was somehow related to Friar Alonso de Oropesa, a prominent 

*converso* and head of the Hieronymite Order during the reign of Enrique IV.

Talavera did his formal studies in Theology at the University of Salamanca, and also 
taught Moral Philosophy at a young age at the university.  

At the age of thirty, he abandoned his 
academic career, and joined the Hieronymite Order. The Order, which was founded in Tuscany 
and reached the Peninsula in the second half of the fourteenth century, was one that had a special 
following of Jewish converts. 

Talavera’s academic background and reputation as a good orator 
and preacher made him excel as a friar. Four years after his entering the order, he was ordained 
prior of the monastery of Nuestra Señora del Prado in Valladolid. While at the monastery, he was 
troduced to Isabel and Fernando, and became the Queen’s confessor and advisor. Talavera was 
later appointed Bishop of Ávila (1485-92), and after the fall of Granada, the last Muslim 
kingdom of the Peninsula, he was designated first Archbishop of Granada. As an archbishop, 
Talavera faced the difficult challenge of indoctrinating and acculturating the Muslim population 
of Granada, which we will see later in this chapter.

Hernando de Talavera composed his *Católica impugnación* in response to an infamous 

*libellum* that circulated from 1478 to 1480 in Seville just after the indoctrinating campaigns for 
the newly converted. Even though Solís and Talavera’s indoctrinating campaign must have had 
some sort of favorable impact on the *converso* population of Seville, as the *libellum* 
demonstrates, it also provoked the outrage and resistance from certain sectors of the population.

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90 Both Marquéz Villanueva and Iannuzzi comment on Talavera’s financial struggles during his years at Salamanca. Although Fernándo II Álvarez de Toledo, heir of Garci Álvarez de Toledo and III lord of Oropesa, did partially 
finance Talavera’s studies, he mostly scraped by during his years as a student by performing several functions as a 
copyist, translator and a tutor, among others. For a detailed description of Talavera’s academic background and his 
influences at the University of Salamanca, see Iannuzzi’s chapter on “La formación del estudiante” in *El Poder de la 
Palabra en el Siglo XV*.

91 Iannuzzi describes how the heterogeneous nature of the Hieronymite Order, a mix of Christian beliefs stemming 
from the popular religious movements, such as the beguines, which emphasized the importance of an interiorize 
spirituality and the message of the Gospels, incited the participation of *conversos* in the order (133-4).
The anonymous *libellum*, written allegedly by a *cristiano viejo*, questions and attacks the validity of various Christian doctrines, denounces some Catholic customs as being connected to paganism and idolatry, proposes a religion based on the syncretism of Christian and Jewish beliefs, advocates in favor of Jewish converts as being better than those Christians that are descendants of gentile converts, among other arguments. Therefore, the circulation of the *libellum* was viewed as an affront of the Judaizer sectors to the indoctrinating campaigns in Seville, and as alarming threat to the Church and the monarchy.

While not much is known of the *libellum*, since no extant copies exist to date, we do get a general idea of the text from what Talavera recounts and argues in *Católica impugnación*. According to Talavera, the notorious *libellum*, “un libelo herético, maldito y descomulgado,” reached the hands of Queen Isabel, who then personally delivered a copy to Talavera at the monastery of the Prado in 1481 (12).92 Talavera then undertook the task of refuting the statements made by the anonymous author, “el malvado hereje” and “nuevo ebonita”93 as he calls him, in a traditional scholastic manner. He enumerates the arguments presented by the author in order to clarify and confute them. As Talavera states in his prologue, even though heresies should not be named, especially ones that are so poorly founded, they should be acknowledged in order to demonstrate their falsity:

[…] y aún porque las herejías, ni deben ser oídas, más de cuanto es menester para que sean impugnadas y destruidas, pero no se deja de poner porque contenga sentencias muy

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92 In his study of *Católica impugnación*, Francisco Marquéz Villanueva mentions how the Queen visited the monastery of the Prado, which at the time was under the direction of Talavera, during her sojourn in Valladolid the first months of 1481 (lxxiv).

93 Talavera begins his prologue by recounting how since early Christianity various heresies have existed, such as Chirintians, Nazarens, and the Ebionites. According to the friar, the Ebionites were part of the Pharasees heresy, which practiced circumcision, and follow Mosaic Law together with the message of Gospels. Talavera cites Isidore of Seville definition of Ebionites as “quiere decir pobres de seso o de entendimiento” (13). Thus, the friar resorts to name the anonymous author of the *libellum* as new Ebionite, among other defamatory names in which he addresses the anonymous author.
In this manner, the friar approaches in his text those arguments that he found most troubling regarding the denunciations made against Christian doctrines in the *libellum*, but, moreover, he elucidates those aspects that could contribute to confuse and mislead further the newly converted.

_Católica impugnación_ echoes, in a way, sentiments present in _Alborayque_; both texts address the presence of Judaizers in the South of the Peninsula, those “muy pobre por cierto seso… que se deben o pueden guadar algunas ceremonias de la ley mosaica con el santo Evangelio” (14). Nonetheless, while _Alborayque_ denounces Jewish converts’ fusion of religious practices as an exteriorization of _conversos_’ composite nature and genealogical difference, from the beginning of _Católica impugnación_, in the letter to the Queen and King, Talavera underscores how Judaizing practices are in fact a religious problem concerning heresy. Moreover, he argues that the matter is one that should solely be addressed and remedied by the Church, first through education and rectification of errors, and, as a last resort, through the ecclesiastic tribunals:

Porque las herejías no solamente han de ser extirpadas, confundidas y corregidas por castigos y azotes, mas, según la doctrina de los santos apóstoles, por católicas y teologales razones. Por lo cual, la inquisición de este crimen detestable y mayor de todos los crímenes, fue reservada a la jurisdicción eclesiástica, prohibida y vedada a la segregar […] (11)
While the main purpose of *Católica impugnación* is to refute the heretical beliefs and assumptions made by its anonymous author, Talavera also undertakes at times the difficult endeavor of addressing some undeniable truths concerning the reprehensible behavior of certain sectors of the Church, and also expresses his own views on the pressing matter of the newly established Inquisition. In several passages of the text Talavera makes subtle remarks on his views of the Inquisition. For him, heresy was a delicate issue that should preside exclusively under ecclesiastic jurisdiction. Talavera does recognize that there are certain extreme cases of heresy that are beyond amendment, and should suffer the punishment dictated by the ecclesiastic inquisition, which could ultimately lead the heretic to be burned at the stake. Moreover, he stresses the importance of rectifying errors through persuasion, indoctrination and benevolence. According to the friar, to amend ignorance through fear and coercion not only does not endure, but it also resembles old Jewish laws and customs.

Through Talavera’s arguments in the text, we get the impression that the anonymous author of the *libellum* was trying to advocate in favor of Jewish converts that practiced syncretism, a fusion of Christianity and Judaism. According to the anonymous author, *conversos* should be regarded in a higher esteem than those converts that descend from a gentile

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94 In the first chapter, Talavera gives several examples of ecclesiastic apostates, such as Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and the friars of Durango. The heresy of Durango sprang from a sector of Franciscan friars under the guidance of Alonso de Mella in the 1440’s. The group followed a religiosity similar to the *fraticelli* movement, and had a following of the lower classes. They established their community in Durango (Vizcaya). The group was persecuted by the Inquisition in the 1460’s, and Mella had to escape to Granada.

95 An example of this is the remark that Talavera makes in chapter twelve. While the discussion in the chapter revolves around the ways in which Christ innovated the Old Law, the passage on the fifth item can also be interpreted as a way of alluding to and criticizing forced conversions: “…por esta razón parece que los mandamientos que tenía el pueblo judío, ni debían, ni podían ser perpetuos como son y deben y pueden ser los mandamientos del santo Evangelio, porque lo que se hace por miedo y por fuerza más que voluntad, no puede mucho durar, como dura y es perpetuo lo que se hace por amor y por caridad…” (48) In this manner, Talavera implies that to force a person to convert does not follow the true message of the Gospels, and it actually resembles more the Mosaic Law.

96 For a discussion on different sectors or groups practicing religious heterodoxy in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, see Stephania Pastore’s *Una herejía española: Conversos, alumbrados e Inquisición*.
background, since they already follow the Old Law, which is the foundation of New Testament. He also decries those points of contention between Christian and Jewish customs, such as dietary customs, the celebration of the Sabbath versus Sunday as the day of religious worship, the commemoration of saints, the adoration of icons or images, and the practice of Christian burials inside of the Church and its premises. For the anonymous author, these Christian religious practices were rooted in paganism, and they were a form of idolatry. Furthermore, he exalts Jewish converts as being more intelligent than Christians, since Jews distinguished themselves for being learned people.

In the first part of the text, Talavera follows common arguments present in anti-Jewish Christian polemics: the nullification of the Mosaic Law with the establishment of the Evangelic Law, the passing from laws written in stones to a law imprinted in the heart of every Christian, the shift from an antiquated and imperfect state to an improved and perfect state. Still, throughout the text, Talavera stresses consistently the true message of benevolence of the Gospels, which promulgates how with the sacrament of baptism all Christians become alike in the eyes of God. In a way, Talavera inserts himself in a tradition of *converso* apologists, and his text follows analogous ideas to the ones present in the works of Juan de Torquemada and Alonso de Oropesa. However, Talavera’s text differs somewhat from the works of Torquemada and Oropesa; not only is *Católica impugnación* written in castellano instead of Latin, but there is also a sense of urgency in extricating true Jewish converts from the shadow of Judaizing groups after the first inquisitorial actions taken by the Holy Office in Seville in 1480. One of the first

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97 Juan de Torquemada and Alonso de Oropesa were distinguished *converso* counselors to Castilian kings. The Dominican Cardinal Torquemada’s *Tratado contra los madianitas et ismaelitas* was composed at the request of Juan II of Castile in order to address conciliatory problems between *cristianos viejos* and *conversos* after the revolt of Toledo in 1449. The cardinal also wrote two papal bulls for Nicholas V regarding the revolt: *Humani generis inimicus* and *Si ad reprimendas pervesorum audacias*. On the other hand, the Hieronymite Alonso de Oropesa composed *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* in defense of Jewish converts between the years of 1450-65.
points that Talavera makes in the texts is to reprimand the anonymous author’s imposture as a *cristiano viejo*. As the friar asserts, the author could not possibly be an Old Christian nor a New Christian, but a malicious and obstinate Jew generating discord between Christians: “escismático y sembrador de discordias, haces división y apartamiento entre los cristianos nuevos y viejos, entre convertidos del judaísmo y convertidos de la gentilidad” (163). Regardless of the anonymous author’s religious background, since it is uncertain to Talavera himself, what is evident in the text is that the friar singles out this person as one that does not belong to the Christian flock.

In the text Talavera refers to the anonymous author by a series of derogative appellatives that were typically employed in polemical texts against Jews, as we have seen in *Fortalitium fidei* and *Alborayque*, like: *malvado hereje, maldito, desafortunado, ciego, traidor, súbdito del diablo, loco, necio*, etc. Yet the friar only recurs to the use of animal images as a way of exposing the anonymous author’s lack of good judgment and loss of humanity: “Pues tú, mochuelo y aún menos que morciélago, lechuza y buhó, y aunque fuese águila caudal, ¿cómo te atreves así poner tus ojos ciegos, turbados o lagañosos en ruedas de tanta dignidad, resplandor y claridad…? ¡O loco!” (27). Moreover, Talavera decries how the anonymous author, regardless of his background, is in essence a heretic. If he were in fact a *converso*, he is incurring a bigger sin than if he were a Jew or Muslim, because he is breaking the covenant made to the Catholic Church and Christ. However, if he were a Jew or Muslim, then he is also betraying his

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98 In medieval bestiaries, both the owl and the bat are birds associated with the night and lack of sight. The bat often symbolized demonic presence. On the other hand, the hawk emblematized acute sight, since they live on identifying and capturing their prey. Even though the eagle was usually depicted as the embodiment of loyalty, they were also portrayed as evil raptors of Christian’s souls (*spiriti maligni raptore animarum*). Therefore, Talavera makes use of these animals to illustrate the heretic’s lack of sight and truth (*Bestiario medievale*).

99 Talavera vituperates the author in various passages, such as this one where he describes the author as a crippled and/or hunchbacked deprived of his senses: “Este hereje es muy engañado, como hombre ciego, anda titubeando y palpando en el medio día… y embriagado y no de vino, mas de mucha necedad y malicia, anda haciendo la zancadilla de manera que ni él sabe, ni se puede bien comprender si va atrás o si va adelante, como paralítico o contraecho meguado de todo buen seso” (54).
religion by mixing Christian and Jewish or Muslim beliefs. Therefore, in this manner the author’s heresy and apostasy places him in an inferior position than that of a true Jew or Muslim, since they have always been in a state of ignorance and damnation, while the convert, who was once enlightened with the message of the Gospels, has lost his faith and rightful place in God’s Creation.

However, the core argument of *Católica impugnación* revolves around the importance of acknowledging and validating true converts’ rightful place in the Catholic Church and in society, eradicating any differentiation between the Christians’ backgrounds. Regardless of the person’s origins, whether they were in the past gentiles, Jews or Muslims, New or Old Christians, as the message of the Gospels promulgates, all Christians are equal in the eyes of Christ and the Church through the sacrament of baptism. Talavera does address the prejudice and invectives against *conversos*, and emphasizes how these are both an offense in the eyes of God and also a violation of the civil laws:

[…]

In the passage, Talavera underlines once again his objection to forced baptism. The friar continues his discussion by describing how there are among *conversos* and *cristianos viejos* good

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100 As Talavera asserts: “No pena al judío o al moro porque guarda la ley mosaic o la secta mahomética, porque nació en aquello y nunca fue de nuestro Señor alumbrado, mediante su santa fe católica; y, como dice Aristóteles, no es de denostar el que nació ciego, mas el que nació con vista y por su culpa la perdió. Y el judío, ni el moro, no prometió
and bad Christians. He also notes that most infractions perpetrated by Christians, especially those committed by new converts, spring out of ignorance and can be amended through indoctrination and patience.

Talavera makes use of the common Christian topos of friars and clerics as healers of the soul: “… ligeramente se puede cobrar la caridad y el bien obrar, como, estando sano el cimiento, se puede de ligero reparar el edificio destruido, y estando sano el corazón, aún puede haber salud en todo el cuerpo; mas si el cimiento es destruido o el corazón llagado, no hay remedio ninguno de edificar de nuevo” (123). In this manner, error can be mended or healed if true intentions are not ill, and the person has in essence a good heart. Furthermore, Talavera indicates that to be a true Christian is not to mistreat and discriminate against Jewish converts and their descendants, since to do so go against the essence of the message of love and benevolence predicated in the Gospels. He also cleverly insinuates that to segregate and to signal out converso in the Church parallels the manner in which Judaism treats converts: “Y por eso, aquella o igualaba a los convertidos de la gentilidad con los judío, antes los tenía y trataba como huéspedes y advenedizos. Mas la santa ley evangélica todos iguala sin ninguna diferencia…” (36).

Most of Talavera’s arguments in the text revolve around explaining and underscoring the differences between Jewish and Christian customs: the discussions of why Christians may eat all types of meat, the importance of images as a way of edifying the faithful, and the importance for Christian burials to take place in the Church or the Church’s cemetery, among others. In the

\[\text{lo contrario de aquello que guarda; y porque sería traerlos a la santa fe por fuerza, lo cual no se debe hacer en ninguna manera especialmente en los adultos…} \] (112).

101 In Las imágenes de la discordia, Felipe Pereda explains that one aspect of the indoctrinating campaign in Seville was the distribution of sacred images among Jewish converts. According to the testimonies cited by Pereda, every converso household had to have these images to further their Christian education. These images had to be located also in plain sight of passing neighbors, since it became a sign of being a good Christian. The distribution of images for Jewish converts’ households became a contingency point among some conversos, as Judaism forbids this practice. Nonetheless, a lack of the exposition of the sacred images could create the suspicion that the convert was a Judaizer.
discussion of Christian burials, transpires an intriguing geography and spatial division of the inhabitants of Seville according to their social status and background.

We can infer by Talavera’s discussion from chapters fifty-nine to chapter sixty-two that the anonymous author of the *libellum* was questioning the validity of Christian burials within the cities’ walls. Moreover, we gather that in certain cities or towns of the Peninsula *conversos* had a special designated place for their burials in the outskirts of the city or town walls, like the “corrales de San Bernardo y de San Agustín” outside of Seville (143). However, what is not clear in the discussion is if the Church and/or city officials or the *conversos* themselves were the ones who chose these burial sites located beyond the walls of the city. As the friar explains, in Seville certain illustrious *converso* families did have their burials in their private chapels of the churches, in the same manner as other important families of *cristianos viejos*. Nevertheless, the majority of *conversos* were buried in the *corrales*. These burials in the *corrales* became a subject of controversy among the Christian community: “muchos cristianos viejos tenían sospecha y aún creían que los tales cristianos nuevos se enterraban en los tales corrales y cimenterios fuera de la ciudas, etc., por se conformar con la ceremonia y manera del pueblo judiego…” (143). The commotion over the burial sites provoked the suspicion of certain sectors of the Church to the point of accusing the *conversos* buried in these *corrales* of heresy.

The discussion of *conversos’* burial sites illustrates the spatial division of the city according to the inhabitants’ background. While *Coplas del perro de Alba* and *Alborayque* depict an imaginary mapping where both *conversos* and Jews are placed at the edges of the towns or the Iberian Peninsula, *Católica impugnación* reveals real life boundaries in Iberian towns and cities according to religious background. The text explains how most New Christians’ burials did not occur in designated Christian sacred sites, inside of the Church or on the Church’s cemetery, in
the South of the Peninsula. Regardless of how these new burial locations came to exist, if it was originated by new Jewish converts or Old Christians, what it demonstrates is that the massive amount of conversion that took place in the Peninsula, probably starting in 1391 and throughout the fifteenth century, changed the spatial division of certain towns and cities.

In the chapters, Talavera highlights the importance of Christian burials to take place in Christian cemeteries, because the sites are designed to protect the deceased’s body against evil, and safeguard its passing to the afterlife. Moreover, Talavera depicts Iberian towns’ or cities’ geography according to Christian cosmography. Since the souls of Jews, Muslims, pagans, and the unfaithful are doomed to the depths of hell, they should be buried at the limits of the city or town’s walls. For their religion and their status as unfaithful, they should be buried in the hills as it was commonly done with animals: “que sean enterrados en los campos, como astros o como perros, o como otros cualesquier animales muertos, de cuyo cuerpos no tenemos ningún cuidado, porque sus almas fenecen para siempre juntamente con los cuerpos” (147). Therefore, all of those who are not Christian will not be graced with the intervention of divine Providence; their carcass is reduced to nothing after their death, like that of animals.

In this manner, Talavera overturns the anonymous author’s questioning of Christian burials as a practice rooted in paganism by illustrating the reasoning behind Christian cosmology. The idea behind Talavera’s argument is that the bodies of those who have lost their humanity and whose souls are condemned should be placed in the outskirts of the city, in the same way that their souls have been expelled from God’s kingdom. Talavera describes how he admonished the burial of Jewish converts in the corrales during his sojourn in Seville; that they had to cease, and that to continue the use of the corrales was to perpetuate division or difference between cristianos nuevos and cristianos viejos. Regardless of the anonymous author’s
impertinent insistence that all Jewish converts are Judaizers in essence, Talavera stresses that there are many good and faithful New Christians, especially in certain parts of Castile:

Mas llama su parte a todos los nuevamente convertidos del linaje de los judíos, habla muy maliciosamente y miente muy falsamente, ca todos los buenos y discretos de ellos que, por la bondad de nuestro Señor son muchos, especialmente acá en estas partes de Castilla, no hacen tal diferencia, ni se apartan en sus enterramientos de la manera común, que en ello tienen los cristianos más viejos. (162)

The remark of the “conversos buenos” residing in Castile is one that echoes a similar statement in Alborayque. While the intention of punctuating the presence of good Jewish converts residing in Castile in Alborayque is a bit ambiguous, it is clear that in Católica impugnación Talavera was trying at all costs to hinder the expansion of the Inquisition to other parts of the realm, or, at least, to divert the focus of the Inquisition.

Talavera as well as other important personalities of the period, such as royal chronicler Fernando del Pulgar, correlated the presence of the Judaizer groups in Seville and the circulation of the libellum to the establishment of the Holy Office. Therefore, Católica impugnación can be perceived as Talavera’s attempt to reconcile both cristianos nuevos and viejos under one nation, the Christian nation, in the Iberian Peninsula. As he explains, in the same manner that in early Christianity there were three groups of people that worshiped different gods, yet they were harmonized under one law, the inhabitants of the Peninsula would be unified under the doctrines of the Gospels and one God: “Todo lo que es fuera de esto, no es ley sino secta y errada opinion;

102 In Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel, Fernando del Pulgar relates the ongoing presence of Judaizing groups in Seville after the indoctrinating campaigns of 1478 with the Monarchs’ decision of instituting the Inquisition: “Los quales aunque negaban y encubrían su yerro, pero secretamente tornaban á recaer en él, blasfemando el nombre é doctrina de nuestro señor é redemptor Jesu Christo. El Rey y la Reyna, considerando la mala é perversa calidad de aquel error, é queriéndolo con gran studio é diligencia remediar, embiaronlo á notificar al Sumo Pontifice, el qual dió su bula, por la qual mandó, que oviese Inquisidores en todos los reynos é señorío del Rey é de la Reyna…” (137).
y todos los que la figuren consiguen de ellos condenación. Y a esta una santa ley evangélica y un verdadero corral trae nuestro Señor Jesucristo y ayunta de cada día los que tiene predestinados, para que sean salvos, judíos, moros y paganos…” (173). Hence, through the message of the Gospels, patience, repentance and benevolence, the newly Catholic Monarchs kingdom could reconcile the three religions.

At the end of the text, Talavera exhorts the anonymous author of the *libellum* to repent, because even the worst heretics can find forgiveness through true contrition and with God’s infinite wisdom and love. However, Talavera’s message could not persuade the Monarchs’ intention of expanding throughout Castile a state run Inquisition nor mitigate the strong opinions of those factions, such as the campaigns promulgated by the Franciscan Order and, especially, the Dominican Order, which fully supported the Inquisition. There is not much information on how *Católica impugnación* circulated in the period. We know that the text was printed six years after its composition in Salamanca (1487), and that on 1556, was included in the inquisitor Valdés’ index of censored books. The text remained mostly forgotten until mid-twentieth century.103 Nevertheless, Talavera’s views and doctrines, as the ones seen in *Católica impugnación*, were putted to the test in the friar’s most important and challenging work as first Archbishop of Granada, with the indoctrination, conversion and governance of the Jewish and Muslim population in Granada after 1492.

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103 *Católica impugnación* was included in all posterior Spanish and Portuguese indexes of the books prohibited. Marquéz Villanueva explains that the first recorded mentioning of *Católica impugnación* to survive is the one present in Valdés’ index. In the seventeenth century, bibliographer Nicholás Antonio alludes to the texts in his *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*. Talavera’s work remained forgotten until mid-twentieth century, when philologist Eugenio Asencio discusses the text, a 1487 printed edition of *Católica impugnación* found in the Vallicellana Library in Rome, in his *El erasmismos y las corrientes españolas afines* (*Estudio preliminar*, footnote 2, lv). Nonetheless, it was not until 1961 with Marqués Villanueva’s erudite study of *Católica impugnación* that the text finally re-surfaces from its oblivion.
The events that transpired in the Iberian Peninsula after the composition of *Católica* impugnación increasingly segregated its inhabitants according to genealogical differences. With the establishment of the Holy Office, the *converso* population came under immense scrutiny and persecution. The Inquisition’s arbitrary coercive apparatus, the fact that it welcomed anonymous denunciations, refused to disclose witnesses, and incurred in the practice of forced confessions, among other procedures, made it almost impossible for the accused to prove his innocence. In addition, the Inquisition’s punishment system, which included total confiscation of the accused and his family’s property, incarceration, the exclusion from public office and even a death at the stake, menaced *converso* economic and political influence.

After the 1449 rebellion in Toledo and the subsequent riots against *conversos* in the 1460’s and 1470’s, a new shift between Jewish and *conversos* relations transpired in the Peninsula. The *converso* elite, under the threat of losing their positions as Jewish converts, began to see the Jews as an obstacle and menace to their existence in the Peninsula. As Haliczer indicates: “While initial reaction among *converso* intellectuals focused on the heretical, illegal, and irrational nature of Old Christians’ discrimination against converts, a later generation began to see the Jews as the real source of the problem” (“The Expulsion of the Jews as Social Process” 241). Tensions between certain New Christians groups and Jews rapidly escalated after the establishment of the Inquisition. Haliczer explains how New Christians were placed in an uncomfortable and difficult dilemma: “Maintaining religious and cultural links with Judaism was now extremely dangerous, and the continued existence of an organized Jewish community protected by the Crown would gravely hinder their chances of assimilation” (“The Expulsion of the Jews as Social Process” 245). As a result, *conversos* in many cities and towns in the Iberian
Peninsula began to segregate themselves from any association with the Jews, and, at times, expressed open hostility towards them.

During this period and before the actual Edict of Expulsion of the Jews was decreed on March 31, 1492, there was a gradual process of expulsion of Jewish communities from different towns in the Peninsula. An example of this occurred in the town of Valmaseda, near Bilbao, in early 1486, where the Jews from Valmaseda were exiled from the town under the pressures of the local confraternities to a town nearby. Although in 1488 the Royal Council tried to force the town to re-admit the Jews, it failed in its attempt due to the town citizens’ animosity. As the Council states in an official letter to the authorities of Vizcaya, the citizens of Valmaseda had expelled the Jews “on their own authority and without permission,” and the Jews feared returning to the town due to the bodily harm that they suffered during their expulsion (Haliczer, “The Expulsion of the Jews as Social Process” 247). At the same time, many cities and towns in the Spanish kingdoms, especially on those where there was a strong converso presence, Jews had been forced to sell their homes, businesses and land. In the end, the tensions between the different groups culminated with the proclamation of the Decree of Expulsions of Jews from the Spanish kingdoms in March of 1492.

_De Granada, muy desgranada y muy tomada por nada: Processes of indoctrination, acculturation and incorporation in Granada after 1492_

While the Monarchs worked to centralize the Church and the Inquisition under their jurisdiction and the direct supervision of their chosen prelates, and dealt with the Jewish, Judaizing groups and converso problem, they also had their sight on completing the “reconquest” of the territories that were still under Nasrid rule in Granada. For this, the Monarchs asked the Pope to grant them a crusade bull in order to declare war against the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.
In 1479, Pope Sixtus IV granted the Monarchs the first crusade bull, but it was not until three years later that the Monarchs and the Pope agreed to join forces in their offense against Muslim infidels. The Holy See would charge against the Ottoman Empire, and the Monarchs would attack the last Muslim bastion in the Peninsula. In order to finance the crusades, the Pope assigned a tithe for the churches of the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Sicily that was to be distributed between the Monarch’s and the Pope’s endeavors (Iannuzzi 380). After some tensions and negotiations over the money collected from the tithes, since the money collected never left Spain, Pope Innocence VIII renounced the Holy See’s part of the funds and granted them in order to finish the Monarchs war against the Muslim kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula.

The advancements of the crusade comprise a period that began in 1484 and ultimately culminated on January 2, 1492. During this period, the crusade also became a laboratory in which the Monarchs experimented with the assimilation and integration of the newly conquered territories. As Galán Sachéz mentions: “el espacio que media entre 1485 y 1492 fue un laboratorio permanente para una compleja definición de lo que los Reyes Católicos entenderían como ‘mudejares’ en Granada” (cited in Iannuzzi 390). On November 1491, after the defeat of the Nasrid Kingdom, took place the convention of the Capitulaciones between the Catholic Monarchs and King Boabdil on the new status of the Muslim inhabitants of Granada under the rule of the Crown of Castile. The Capitulaciones, in theory, granted the Muslim population, including those who had been Christian converts, the freedom to practice their religion, culture

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104 Isabella Iannuzzi comments how the collection of the tithe for the crusade became a polemical matter between the new Pope, Innocence VIII, and the Monarchs, for the fund collected never left Spain. The Monarchs resorted to campaign and negotiate with Rome in order to justify the importance of keeping the funds for their holy war: “Se puso en marcha un largo despliegue mediático para convencer a la Curia romana de la bondad de la reconquista, de la ‘santa’ y mesiánica misión cristianizadora llevada a cabo por los Reyes Católicos, dentro y fuera de España” (382). On 1485, the Pope opted to renounce the funds, and grant them for the Monarchs’ war.
and customs, yet Muslims subjects would be under Castilian rule and taxation. Thus, for the most part, Granada, from 1492 to 1500, was largely a mudejar territory.\textsuperscript{105}

As critics have already pointed out, there was a change in governing and religious institutions, and significant migrations of Christians and conversos to Granada, among others transformations after January 2, 1492. Nevertheless, Granada’s socio-religious landscape for the most part remained a Muslim territory in the last decade of the fifteenth century, and to some extent until the end of the Alpujarras’ War in 1570.\textsuperscript{106} One of the figures that stands out once more in this historical context is Friar Hernando de Talevera, who played a pivotal role in the newly conquered Granada as its first Archbishop and royal commissary. Talavera had been one of the appointed royal commissaries designated to oversee the newly conquered territories during the Monarchs’ crusade against the Kingdom of Granada. Therefore, when the kingdom was finally conquered, he continued his role as royal commissary, while holding the position of Archbishop of Granada. In this manner, during the first years of assimilation and incorporation of Granada to the Kingdom of Castile, Talavera performed functions both in the religious and the

\textsuperscript{105} The term mudejar covers different aspects of Muslim-Christian exchange, since it is applied to communities, legal status, art, architecture, and literature. In its strictest sense, it is a term used to designate those Muslims that were living under Christian dominium, yet their community enjoyed religious, legal, and cultural autonomy as long as they remained loyal to the monarch. Niremberg explains that the classification of mudejar was simply a jurisdictional matter: “Mudejars were Muslims de pacis that is, Muslims who had agreed, or more usually whose ancestors had agreed, to be at peace with Christians and subject to them” (“Muslims in Christian Iberia” 61). In exchange for their labor, mostly farming, and their taxes mudejars received: property rights, free practice of their religion, their right to rule themselves according to Muslim law, among others. For a more detailed study of mudejar see L.P. Harvey’s Islamic Spain. For an example of the study of mudejar in literature, see Luce López-Baralt’s “Hacia una lectura ‘mudejar’ de makbara” (Huellas del islam en la literatura española (181-209).

\textsuperscript{106} Both David Coleman’s Creating Christian Granada and A. Katie Harris’ From Muslim to Christian Granada have made insightful observations on Granada’s transformation from a Muslim to Christian territory and society. Coleman defines Granada from 1492 until 1570 as a frontier community, since Granada remained a political and military frontier between Christian Spanish Spain and the Islamic world both inside and outside of the Peninsula. For the critic, Granada also resembled a frontier society with its fluidity, migration and dynamic processes that took place in the territory during this period in comparison with other areas and cities in the north of Castile. On the other hand, A. Katie Harris describes the transformation and creation of the Granadino identity from 1492 onward as a fusion of local, regional and national elements: “Complication of the picture of relations among national, regional, and local identities fits perhaps better with a case such as that of Spain, where a ‘composite’ monarchy—a hybrid of ‘localism and centralization; representation and autocracy; traditional aristocracy and modern state-builders; order and improvisation’—accommodated and encourages loyalty to multiple communities, local, regional, and national” (xviii).
political domain in conjunction with Íñigo Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Tendilla, who oversaw military and civil affairs as the alcaide (“governor”) and captain-general of Granada.

The previous experience that Talavera had in matters regarding the conversion of Jews in Castile became crucial when facing his new challenge of indoctrinating and acculturating the Muslim population of Granada. As Iannuzzi notes, Talavera’s former exposure in Seville in dealing with the *converso* community and the Judaizing groups, provided him the necessary training in his new endeavor:

Si ya su estancia catequética en un territorio tan variado como el “cripto-judío” de Sevilla le había hecho percibir las problemáticas de la asimilación, su experiencia abulense, sin duda alguna, le permitió desarrollar una importante sensibilidad hacia las características del mundo musulmán. Esto no significa atribuir a Talavera una actitud tolerante, concepto demasiado moderno y totalmente desconocido en aquella época, pero si permite calificar a este fraile jerónimo como un preparado y perspicaz negociador y asimilador de los componentes de diversidad presentes en el ámbito granadino. (390)

Both Talavera and the Marqués de Tendilla centered their efforts on establishing a good rapport with Muslim leaders and *alfaquíes* during the years that followed the conquest of Granada, while dealing with the complex process of the incorporation of the newly conquered territory with a lack of effective administrative and financial support from the Crown.

Talavera’s work in Granada was multifaceted: he acted in diplomatic negotiations, as he helped in the transition into the exile of the Nasrid royal family; he also was the one in charged of overseeing the passage of Muslims that left Granada in the years after its conquest; he was in charge of the Christian conversion of the Granadino population, among other responsibilities.

On the part of Talavera’s evangelical mission in Granada, the Archbishop continued the same
approach as the one employed previously with the Jewish population, the conversion of Muslims through persuasion and indoctrination. In order to carry out an effective conversion of the Muslim population, Talavera stressed the importance of having a clergy that knew Arabic, and embarked on the commission of manuals that would teach Arabic to the missionary clergy. For this, he entrusted to his fellow Hieronymite brother, Pedró de Alcalá, the composition of *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga*, and Alcalá subsequently composed *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*. Talavera also incorporated Muslim cultural elements in his masses and religious festivities, in order to attract the Muslim Granadino population to the Church.

Nevertheless, while Talavera and the Marqués de Tendilla managed to navigate peacefully the religious and local administration of Granada those first years, in 1498 the Crown’s new taxations and shift in administrative policies, the establishment of the Inquisition in 1499, in conjunction with the arrival in Granada of Francisco Jímenez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, tensions erupted between local and religious officials and the Granadino population. One of the new changes introduced in Granada was the division of the city in two zones: one for Christians, at the heart of the city, and one for Muslims, the Albacín, in the city’s hills. However, as L.P. Harvey indicates, Granada was not only divided spatially, it was also compartmentalized in many ways:

> On March 22, 1498, the church promulgated regulations (backed up by the ecclesiastical penalty of excommunication) preventing Christian from renting accommodation to Muslims for such ceremonies as weddings, barring the consumption of meat sold by *halāl* butchers, the use of Moorish bath-houses, and the employment by Christian women of Moorish midwives if Christian practitioners were available. (*Islamic Spain* 329)
On the other hand, the Crown had grown somewhat impatient with the slow process of conversions under Talavera, and decided to send Cisneros to Granada. The establishment of the Inquisition in Granada in 1499 generated personal, ecclesiastical and governmental tensions between the Talavera and the inquisitor Diego Rodríguez Lucero. Thus, the Monarchs decided to send Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros to oversee the process of conversion as *inquisidor especial* to Granada.

To say that Talavera and Cisneros differed in their beliefs and conception on how to convert the Muslim community would be an understatement. Talavera’s approach to conversion through a gradual process of persuasion, indoctrination and incorporation of Muslim cultural elements in the masses collided with Cisnero’s hastened and coercive approach. Cisnero followed a Franciscan and more outwardly militant method, and his staff and he at times resorted to physical confrontation in order to carry out their conversion campaigns. Talavera’s frustration may be heard in one of his letters to the Monarchs: “Acá, los que me havían de ayudar estorban, no con mala intención sino porque les parece que aciertan. A vuestras Altezas primero, y después a ellos y a mí alumbre nuestro señor” (cited in Pastore, “Presentación” xxxix). It is not clear what prompted this change in the Monarchs’ politics just six years after the *Capitulaciones*. Some critics and historians, such as L.P. Harvey, have conjectured that the decree of conversion or expulsion of the Jewish and Muslim population of the neighboring Portugal in 1497 influenced the Catholic Monarchs’ shift in politics.107

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107 Harvey discusses in a section of *Muslim Spain* how the negotiations of the royal marriage between Manuel of Portugal and Isabel, the daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, prompted the decision on the part of the Crown of Portugal to decree that Jews and Muslims in Portugal needed to convert or go into exile. The Jews opted to leave by boat, which generated a great chaos in the ports of Lisbon since there was not enough time nor boats to mobilize all of those Jews that wanted to leave Portugal. On the other hand, the Muslim population decided to leave by land, and ironically migrated to the Spanish kingdoms. For more information, see Chapter 1: “The Beginnings of Crypto-Islam in the Iberian Peninsula.”
The first open conflict between Cisneros and Talavera, which also provoked the animosity of the Muslim Granadino community, was the issue of the elches or Christian converts to Islam. While the Capitulaciones did protect the rights of the Christian converts to Islam, Cisnero decided that they must be forcibly persuaded to convert back to Christianity. Thus, the Archbishop of Toledo ordered that the elches should be brought before him, and he tried to convince them to return to the Christian faith. However, those that did not convert back to Christianity were incarcerated until they changed their minds. Cisnero’s actions were soon followed by the outcry of the Muslim community and uproar in Albacín. The revolt was finally appeased with Talavera’s and the Marqués de Tendilla’s influential intervention and negotiation.

Even though the Monarchs were not pleased with Cisneros’ actions and consequences, Cisneros’ views were the ones that would prevail in Granada during the first half of the sixteenth century. In January 1500, the Muslims of the Alpujarras, the mountainous region outside of the city of Granada, decided to take up arms after getting news of the disturbance in Albacín. The conflict between the local and Crown authorities and the Muslims lasted from 1500 to 1501. However, the revolt sealed the fate of the Islamic religion and legacy of the Granadino community. The Crown ordered that the Muslims of Granada ought to convert or go into exile. Other similar decrees circulating in the Crown of Castile did not come into effect until 1502. In this manner, after 1502, the Kingdom of Castile had officially, in theory, banned the practice of Islam and the local administration and religious authorities faced the task of indoctrinating and acculturating the new Muslim converts, i.e. the moriscos.

By the dawn of the sixteenth century, the Marqués de Tendilla’s and Talavera’s policies of conciliation were obliterated in favor of new coercive policies. At the same time, not even a respected and influential man like Friar Hernando de Talavera was able to escape unharmed from
the vertiginous and shifting changes in the policies of the Monarchs’ national hegemonic project in the period. After the Queen’s death in 1504, tensions emerged between Talavera, King Fernando, and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros over conflicting ideas regarding matters of conversion, and the process of incorporation of the Muslim population to the Monarchy’s centralizing national project. In the end, Talavera fell under the scrutiny and incessant attacks of his enemies, who went as far as to accuse him of heresy to the Holy Office. Talavera’s inquisitorial case was overseen in the Vatican, where Pope Julius II finally dismissed the accusations against him and his relatives in May of 1507. However, it is not clear if Talavera got the news of the dismissal of the inquisitorial charges, since he died of a sudden infirmity that same month. Nevertheless, as we will see in the next discussion, while at the dawn of the sixteenth century the kingdom of Castile had managed to ban the practice of Islam and had converted the kingdom’s Muslims, the Muslims of the Kingdom of Aragon enjoyed the mudejar status until 1520’s.

_Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s Antialcorano: the indoctrination of the moriscos of the Kingdom of Aragón_

We have seen in the first part of the chapter Hernando Talavera’s defense of _conversos_ and how he advocated for their rightful place and inclusion in the Christian faith and in the Iberian Peninsula, followed by the continuation of his work in Granada with the indoctrination and acculturation of the Muslim community. While at the beginning of the sixteenth century the conversion and acculturation of the Muslim community in Granada and Castile became a matter of the upmost importance, in the neighboring Kingdom of Aragon, Muslims, for the most part, still enjoyed the freedom of practicing their faith and of living under the jurisdiction of the _mudejares_.

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As L.P. Harvey explains in *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, at the beginning of the century Valencia had the largest Arabic-speaking group remaining in the whole Peninsula (80). The preservation of written and oral Arabic at this time was related to the proximity of the North African coast to Valencia, which fostered the contact between Valencian Muslims and the Islamic world. In comparison to the changes in policies and conversions occurring in the neighboring Castile with the Muslim population, King Fernando’s prolongation of the *mudejar* status in Aragon had to do with a series of factors:

To have sought to vary the status of Aragon’s Muslims circa 1500 would almost certainly have meant to stir up a hornets’ nest of local patriotisms, not just within the Muslim communities but far beyond them. Even Philip II, who had a much tighter grip on centralized power, almost failed much later in the century to overcome Aragonese pride. Ferdinand, anxious at the opening of the new century to maintain the overall momentum of conquest and to take the war into Muslim territory in North Africa as soon as possible, was prudent leaving the Muslims of his home kingdoms alone. For the time being.

(Harvey 83)

One of the factors that contributed to the presence of *mudejares* at the beginning of the sixteenth century was the Crown of Aragon’s own political ambitions in the Mediterranean, which in the 1500s entailed a good diplomatic rapport with the Mamluk Sultanate. In addition, since the Middle Ages the Aragonese land economy was one based on the rent and cultivation of Muslim laborers. Therefore, to forcibly convert the Muslim population of Aragon would have rocked the

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108 Harvey mentions that Fernando’s emissaries to the diplomatic negotiations in Cairo, in order to reach a compromise regarding the treatment of the Coptic community, stressed to the Mamluk authorities how well Muslims subjects were treated in Aragon. While the diplomatic negotiation was successful, the emissaries expressed to Fernando on their return to the Peninsula that the Mamluk were outraged by the way the Castilian Crown had not kept the stipulations made with the Nasrid King Boabdil, and they were inflamed by the atrocities that the Muslim community was suffering under the Castilian authorities (84-6).
very social, political and economic foundations of the kingdom, as it did in the years that followed the death of King Fernando (Harvey 85-6).

In 1519, when King Carlos I added under his dominium his imperial inheritance, one of the challenges that the young monarch encountered was the vast diversity of his territories and subjects. The King faced the difficulty of furnishing a cohesive empire, and he chose Christianity as its unifying element as he proclaimed himself the protector of the Christian world in the West. At a time when the Reformation had yet to reach a point of no return, Carlos I looked for a way of finalizing the hegemonic Christian project that Isabel and Fernando had started by converting to Christianity those places where the practice of Islam was still legal in the Spanish kingdoms. However, in the case of Valencia, the Revolt of the Germanias (the Revolts of the Agermans) accelerated the whole process of conversion of the Muslim population.

Tensions between Christian and Muslim communities in the urban centers of Valencia had increased gradually during the fifteenth century, ending at times in violent attacks of the morerías or Muslim quarters, as was the case in 1455. In 1521, resentment on the part of the agermanados, mostly poor artisans working in the urban centers, erupted with the assault on the Muslim communities and the destruction of mudéjares. Christian artisans’ animosity towards Muslim artisans was in part due in that they perceived them both as competition and a threat to their guilds: “La revuelta agermanada, que plasma, entre otras cosas, la reacción de los empobrecidos artesanos valencianos por causas de factores externos al gremio (como el capital mercantil), pudo también reflejar la rivalidad que enfrentaba a los artesanos cristianos con sus competidores ‘extra-gremiales’ mudéjares” (Pardo Molero 243). The Valencian nobility and the viceroy of Valencia, on behalf of the Crown, faced the rebels with the armed men at their disposal, which often included the Muslims that worked their lands.
As the mob of *agermanados* moved from one town to another, they proceeded to attack the *morerías*, implemented forced baptisms, and, at times, massacred the Muslim communities. The reasoning behind the forced conversions was the belief that through baptism the *agermanados* were going to eliminate the Muslim economic and political threat by turning them into Christians. The conversions executed by the mob were frenzied, disordered and improvised: “Christening might be affected on the occasion by aspersion from a bucket filled from an irrigation ditch, although in other cases priests were found to carry out the baptism…” (*Muslims in Spain* 93). However, as the *agermanados* had been defeated in the North, most of the forced baptisms took place in the South.

Once order was re-established in 1522, the impending question that remained was the validity of the forced conversions, since most of the Muslims returned to practice their religion. A Junta, an assembly of theologians and jurists, was held in Madrid in 1525 to debate the validity of the baptisms. It is not surprising that the Junta decreed in favor of their validity on the grounds that the Muslims had “chosen” to convert for they had been given the option to either be baptized or face their death. The coercion and violence of the baptisms were predicated on what the Junta considered a “condicional y no absoluta” coercion (Pardo Molero 244). The Junta’s decision became a pivotal step in the process of conversion of the Muslim population of the Crown of Aragon.

A commission of inquisitorial commissioners was created in order to oversee the Muslim communities that had been baptized, which included friar Antonio de Guevara, friar Juan de Salamanca, Luis de la Puerta y Barcelona’s inquisitor, Juan Sunyer. On May 14th of 1525, Seo de Valencia, Bishop of Guadix, announced to his congregation that the new converts that had returned to their Muslim faith had thirty days to return to the Christian faith. After this period,
the Muslim converts would be considered apostates, and would be dispossessed of their goods and condemned to death (Pérez Fuster 20).

To some extent, Carlos I faced a similar scenario as the one seen in the previous century with the conversion of the alhamas, and also the one that occurred in 1500 to 1502 in Granada after the first rebellion of the Alpujarras. The Muslims that had been converted had to return to Christianity, and an exhortation was made to those Muslims practicing Islam to convert. As it was to be expected, there was discontent and resistance from both the Muslim communities and the nobility of Aragon. The nobility of Aragon’s livelihood depended for the most part on Muslims’ rents and labors of their lands. Therefore, with the campaigns of conversion, the nobility worried that they could lose the income from the Muslims’ rents, which was more substantial than the ones that they would get from Christians. In addition, they feared that there could be a mass exile of Muslims from Aragon with the conversion campaigns. Another aspect that the nobility worried about was the effect that the presence of the Inquisition would generate throughout the kingdom (Pardo Molero 246).

A series of proclamations was issued in the months of October and November exhorting the mudejares to convert. Nonetheless, each proclamation introduced different measures that aimed to pressure Muslims to convert, measures that had been previously used in the Middle Ages against Jews and Muslims, such as: the prohibition to leave their households, a ban on selling their properties, the prohibition of any type of manifestation, and the mandatory use of a distinctive marker in their clothes, among others. While in 1518, at the time of his accession, Carlos I had pledged not to force his Muslim subjects to convert, the Germanías’ Revolts opened the path to move forward with the conversion of the Muslims of Aragon. In November of 1525, Pope Clement VII issued the bull Idcirco nostris, which exempted King Carlos I from the
constitutional oath to preserve the *mudejares* (Pardo Molero 244). Once the King received the bull, he sent it to the Inquisitor General, and later the secular authorities in Valencia were informed that the Inquisition had the jurisdiction to overlook the *moriscos’* cases (Harvey 94).

On the 25th of November of 1525, the King’s decision was announced that every Muslim in the Crown of Aragon must convert or they could choose to go into exile by January 26th. Nonetheless, the conditions of going into exile were complex and almost an unrealistic alternative. Instead of allowing Muslims to embark from the Aragonese coasts, those who wished to leave the Peninsula had to make the long and costly journey from Aragon to La Coruña in order to embark. Few Muslims could afford such a long and costly journey, especially if we consider that they were not allowed to sell their property. Some negotiations were attempted between Muslim leaders, members of the elite families of Valencia, and the King, yet very few concessions were made. While the negotiations were taking place, the evangelical expeditions set their sight on the North of Valencia, the region that had in fact defeated the *agermanados* and where the forced conversions of the Muslim communities had not taken place. However, once again, northern Muslims did not give in and rebelled against the royal decrees with the support of the skeptic nobility of the region, such as don Alonso de Aragón, Duke of Seroge.109

The rebellion of the Muslims broke out in Benaguasil, where Muslims from Paterna, Vilamarxant, Benisanó and Bétera joined them (Pardo Molero 249). As the Muslim elite was to a certain degree content with the negotiations taking place with the Crown and the Inquisition, with the exception of some influential families like the Bernabé, the rebels for the most part were

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109 Pardo Molero describes how Don Alonso de Aragón detained two friars who were on their way to preach to the Muslims of Esliđa. The duke himself encouraged his Muslim vassals to rebel against the king’s measures. Critics have stipulated the reasons why Alonso de Aragón went against the royal decrees, yet most of them believe that the duke was just looking after his interests of keeping the Muslims as his vassals.
from the lower classes. Benaguasil was defeated by the Valencian militia, and the rebels fled to Sierra de Espadán (Castellón). The conflict in Sierra de Espadán lasted from March to September of 1526. In theory the Crown could have suppressed the revolt in a more effective and prompt manner, yet several factors contributed to prolonging the conflict the lack of financial and military support from the Crown’s side, the lack of military leadership in order to guide the Crown’s men, and the difficult mountainous ground of the Sierra.\footnote{The main difficulty that the Crown encountered in the conflict was a lack of financial resources to pay for the conflict’s expenses and the recruitment of men. Throughout the conflict, the Aragonese aristocracy representing the Crown asked the king for financial support. Most of the money came from private creditors and some institutions. On the other hand, the Crown had to resort to hire German military professionals to help in the last part of the conflict (Pardo Molero 252-59).} Although the Crown’s side did advance through a series of attacks, the conflict was put to an end on September of 1526, with the Crown’s recruitment of foreign financial and military support. According to Harvey, the last battle, which resulted on the bloodshed of 5,000 Muslims, was due to the intervention of the tenacious German militia (100-01).

In this manner, by the mid-1520’s all of the newly converted Muslims, the \textit{moriscos}, were regarded in theory, in the eyes of the Crown and the Church, as Christians. Nevertheless, as Harvey indicates, this did not mean that there were uniform policies regarding the \textit{moriscos} throughout the Peninsula, for they varied according to each Christian ruler (102). However, in the case of Aragon, the Church began the long and arduous process of indoctrinating the newly converted, which had been induced to the Christian faith through different mediums of coercion, either by the forced conversions of the \textit{agermanados} or by the Crown’s decree.

One of the works created for the indoctrination of the newly converted Muslim population is Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s collection of sermons titled \textit{Antialcorano}. As the author explains in the text’s prologue, the \textit{Antialcorano} looked to indoctrinate the \textit{morisco} community by demonstrating the differences between Christianity and Islam, and emphasizing
the inferiority and fallacy of the morisco’s old religion and insisting that Muhammad was an insidious and false prophet. While most of the arguments presented in the sermons against Islam were traditionally seen in Christian-Muslim polemics, I will analyze the presence of animal and bestial imagery that Pérez de Chinchón uses in order to depict both the Christian and the Muslim communities, and what type of symbolic boundaries he draws between one community and the other. Furthermore, I will examine Pérez de Chinchón notions of linaje. If Talavera conceived the sacrament of baptism as a medium through which all men and women, regardless of their ethnic background, became part of the Christian community, Pérez de Chinchón’s perspective of the Christian linaje oscillates between blood and religious discourses.

Little is known of the origins and life of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón. It is believed that he was born in the last quarter of the fifteenth century in the town of Chinchón in Castile. Similarly to Hernando de Talavera, Pérez de Chinchón was a converso, and his grandfather was accused of heresy. It also unknown how or why he came to Gandía in Valencia. In what critics do concur is that he was a priest and the cantor of the collegiate church of Gandía. Therefore, he must have had some formation in ecclesiastical music. Pérez de Chinchón also did perform some works for the Duke of Gandía, Juan de Borja, and was under the Duke’s protection. While hardly anything is known of the priest after 1536, critics have speculated that he died circa 1556. If most of the details of Pérez de Chinchón’s life remain to date obscure, what is undisputed are his contributions as a humanist and the fact that he is regarded as one of the most prolific translators of Erasmus of Rotterdam’s work in Spain, and also of the works of Valencian humanist Juan Luis Vives.111

111 For Pérez de Chinchón’s work as a translator of Erasmus and Vives, see Bataillon’s Erasme et l’Espagne, Gil Fernández’s Formas y tendencias del humanismo valenciano quinientista, and Parellada’s “Una traducción inédita de Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón: El tratado llamado socorro de pobres de Juan Luis Vives.”
Pérez de Chinchón’s productivity as a translator and author encompasses a period of eight years, from 1528 to 1536, when he published at a frenzied pace about ten texts. However, after this period, there is a strange cessation on the publication of the humanist’s work. In 1528, was published the cleric’s first book *Meditaciones de San Bernardo*, which comprises various texts, including his translation to Spanish of Erasmus’ *Precatio Dominica, Corona de nuestra señora*, and his translation of *Tratado de la vida espiritual* by S. Vicente Ferrer. In the following years, he also published several other translations of Erasmus, Sanchés de Arévalo and Vives, including: *Silenos de Alcibiades* (a translation of the *Enchiridion*) (1529), Erasmus’ *La Lengua* (1531), Sanchés de Arévalo’s *Espejo de la vida humana* (1534), and Erasmus’ *Apercibimiento de la muerte*, also known by the title *Preparación y aparejo para bien morir* (1535), and Vives’ *Tratado llamado Socorro de los Pobres*, among others.112

In addition to these texts, Pérez Chinchón composed two works on the topic of conversion: *Antialcorano* (1532) and *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos* (1535). While there is not much evidence of the priest’s direct involvement or work with the newly converted Muslims, both works are a testament of his active evangelical work with the morisco population. We could speculate that Pérez de Chinchón was either in Gandía during the Revolt of the Germanías or came to Gandía right after the revolt. Gandía was one of the towns where the rebels had defeated the viceroy’s army, and where the rebels had sacked the Muslims quarters. Therefore, while the *Antialcorano* is composed for the

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112 In 1536, Pérez de Chinchón published his translation to Spanish of Galeazzo Flavio Capella’s *Historia de las cosas que han pasado en Italia*. The humanist dedicated his translation to prince Felipe. The text exalted King Carlos I’s military success in Italy. Several critics have noted that the text’s topic seems a bit out of place with Chinchón’s other works, since it is a history instead of a religious or humanist text. This has generated different speculations of why the author chose to translate this particular text. Both D. S. Severin and S. García Martínez believe that Pérez de Chinchón’s decision to publish his translation of the text was his attempt to gain the king’s favor at a time when the persecution of Erasmian thinkers had increased in the Peninsula (“Estudio preliminary,” Pérez Fuster 17).
indoctrination of all the newly converted Muslims in Valencia, it addresses the particular case of *moriscos* of Gandía, who were forced to convert during the revolt, went back to their religion after the revolt, and had been forced by the Junta’s decree to convert to Christianity, but had been poorly indoctrinated.

The lack of progress in the evangelization of the *moriscos* was due to many factors, including a natural inclination for *moriscos* to continue engaging in the practice of Islam and also the inadequacy on the part of the Church and Crown to carry out the implementation of the Christian faith to the new converts. As Pérez Fuster indicates: “Poco o nada se había hecho para implantar rectorías en las tierras de moriscos, pues a los problemas burocráticos que tal implantación suponía, habría que añadir los costes económicos de tal medida y la escasa o nula predisposición de los señores para contribuir” (22). In addition, few men of the clergy were up and/or wanted to undertake the challenging task of indoctrinating the *moriscos*, and they were for the most part satisfied with having them attend Mass.

It is in the middle of this complex context that Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón composed his *Antialcorano* in 1528. In May of the same year, Carlos I and General Inquisitor Alonso Manrique visited Valencia. Pérez de Chinchón went to Valencia to meet with Alonso Manrique and his council, and showed them his *Antialcorano*, a collection of twenty-six sermons that he wanted to be distributed throughout Valencia. The text was approved for publication by the General Inquisitor and his Council, but it was not published until 1532 under the title *Libro llamado Anti-alcorano: que quiere dezir contra el alcoran de mahoma, repartido en xxvi sermones. Compuesto por el R. maestro Bernardo Perez de Chinchon, canonigo de Gandia. Obra muy util y provechosa para instruccion de los nuevamente convertidos, y para consolacion*
In this chapter, I use the early printed text of *Antialcorano* published in 1532 in Valencia by printer Juan Jofre, a text currently held at Biblioteca Nacional Española.

*Antialcorano* is dedicated to don Guillén Desprat, Inquisitor of Valencia, the prologue is addressed to the ecclesiastical community in Valencia, Aragón and Granada overseeing the indoctrination of new Muslim converts. In the prologue, Pérez de Chinchón’s tone in his message to the ecclesiastical community is a mix of exhortation and reprimand. In the first part of the prologue, the author evokes the images of the Church’s mystical body, and the ecclesiastics’ place in this body as the ones chosen to guide the souls or ships of the Christian community:

> Y nosotros señores a quien la boca de dios llama gente sancta, linage escogido, real sacerdocio, sirvamos de lo que somos: que es de ser pilotos, y guías desta armada spiritual. acordaos de lo que el nombre de cada uno nos obliga: pues epíscopo quiere dezir atalayador: canónigo regular: rector regidor: vicario como veedor: cura como el que tiene cuidado: para que cada uno de nosotros sea atalaya, regla, vista, cuidado, para guiar, regir, ver, procurar estas naos que están a nuestro cargo que son las ánimas de los fieles christianos metidas en frágiles barcos de los cuerpos […] (folios r. iv-v. v)

Hence, those clerics that become distracted and idle in their responsibility are neglecting their mission and work, “porque como no creo yo que ninguno de vosotros querría que le quitassen la renta para darla a otro, assí vuestro trabajo no le echeys a otro”\(^\text{113}\) (folio v. v). To neglect their holy mission is to invite the devil to take hold of Christians’ souls.

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\(^\text{113}\) In another passage of the prologue Pérez de Chinchón makes another allusion to the clerics’ rents or salaries. Nevertheless, it seems that in both cases the author is making a critique of those clerics in charge of the evangelization of the *moriscos* and of their parishes. Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent note that while these rents were meager, most of the clerics signed up or accepted the position in order to get the rent: “Pero una cosa era instalar párrocos en los lugares y otra conseguir de ellos una labor eficaz. La calidad del clero adscrito a los pueblos moriscos fue, por regla general, lamentable. Los candidatos a las parroquias fueron en múltiples ocasiones
Further along in the prologue, Pérez de Chinchón mentions that the present problem with the morisco communities and their progress in becoming more acquainted with the Christian faith has been a lack of catechism efforts on the part of the Church. The author criticizes the fact how attendance to Mass had become the only exposure and requirement that the new converts needed to fulfill in the Church without any formal indoctrination on the principles of Christianity, “y empegarlos a christianear por la missa es como empegar la casa por el tejado para que sin fundamento nunca se haga” (folio v. vi). For the cleric, it is of the utmost importance to educate the moriscos through persuasion, exhortation and preaching: “y aun éstas con mucha maña: para ganarles poco a poco la boca como a pollos: y mostrándoles los males y mentiras de su ley, enamorarlos a la nuestra: primero con las obras y luego con las palabras” (folio v. vi). The image used by Pérez de Chinchón in this passage portraying moriscos as chickens, whose mouths should be filled little by little with the words of God, illustrates two main aspects that will prevail throughout the text: first, the recurring zoomorphic images employed in order to depict moriscos, Muslims and anything related with Islam, and, secondly, as we will discuss, the author’s personification of Islam as a carnal and sinful religion versus Christianity as a spiritual religion.

Pérez de Chinchón continues describing in the prologue the methodology that he used in his sermons; he goes from the general to the particular in order to prove the falsity and error present in the Koran and in Muhammad’s teachings. He mentions his sources, previous “reprovaciones que ay del alcoran,” other sermons, and also the Koran and Sunnah.¹¹⁴ The

¹¹⁴Matín García was the royal preacher of the Catholic Monarchs and one of the confessors of Queen Isabel. He studied the Bible in Hebrew, the Talmud, and he also learned Arabic. The preacher’s first sermons were delivered in “autos de fe.” In 1492, he was appointed general inquisitor of Zaragoza and Tarazona, and in 1510, he became the general inquisitor of the kingdom of Aragon. Since he knew Arabic, in 1500, Martin García left for Granada on a
The author indicates that he consulted experts in the topic, such as the alcadi of Gandía and Magay, Moscayre, and the alfauquí of Zumilla, in order to expose his text as a reliable and learned source in the matter. The author also addresses a printing problem with his manuscript. The words or passages written in Arabic were not included in the printed version, since it was too difficult to print them. Therefore, those passages were left blank in order to be written down manually. Nevertheless, the Arabic text was never inserted in the printed edition.

After the “Preface to the Reader” and before the first sermon, the reader encounters an image of two men, who could be the alcaldí and the alfauquí, and a friar, presumably representing Pérez de Chinchón, preaching from a pulpit (image below). The two Muslim figures possess some of the traditional characteristic used in the Middle Ages and early Modern period to depict Muslims. Saracens and/or Muslims were often depicted as dark-skinned, wearing headgears, such as hats, turbans or torils, with their weaponry, long robes, beards, and their physical deformities (Strickland 173-89). In this image, while the Muslims’ features are not deformed, they are darker-skinned than the friar’s and bearded. They are also wearing long robes and headgears, a hat and a toril.

mission commanded by the Catholic Monarchs to help with the indoctrination of the Muslim population. In order to accomplish his task, Martín García ordered Juan de Andrés to translate the Koran and six books of the Sunnah into Aragonese. There are one hundred and fifty-five sermons composed by Martín García that still exist, thirty-five are devoted to the indoctrination of Muslims (Ana Echevarría 67-8).

The alfauquí of Zumilla appears in Pérez de Chinchón’s Diálogos Christianos as the character of José Arávigo, the interlocutor of the author in the dialogue.
The twenty-six sermons are divided in the following structure: the first seven sermons serve as a type of introduction or revisions of spiritual and natural principles and laws according to Christianity; sermons eight, ninth, tenth and eleventh expose and refute the main principles of Islam; sermons twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth compare and contrast Christian and Islamic beliefs while demonstrating the superiority of the Christian faith; sermons sixteenth and seventeenth denounce Muhammad as a false and insidious Prophet; sermons eighteenth and nineteenth discuss the dogma of the divine Trinity; sermons twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-second refute Muhammad’s teachings lies and heresies, focusing on Muhammad’s conception of Christ as a man and not God’s son and an attack on polygamy; sermon twenty-third goes over the superiority of Christianity over Islam; sermon twenty-fourth exposes Christianity as a peaceful and spiritual religion versus the war-hungry religion of Islam; sermon twenty-fifth is dedicated to the importance of the Virgin Mary; and in sermon twenty-sixth, the last sermon, serves as an exhortation of the new converted Muslims to recognize that as Christians, they now belong to a better community and religion.

The tone of the sermons is direct, paternalistic, and a mix of confrontation and conciliation with the topics that Pérez de Chinchón exposes and discusses with his morisco
audience. During the Middle Ages and early Modern period, preachers tended to use some set patterns or structures that helped them to compose their sermons. As Ana Echevarría discusses, some of these were: “the distinctio, the list of different senses of Scriptural terms; compilations of exempla, fables or examples to explain the doctrinal theory in an easier way; and concordances of the Bibles, for finding a number of Scriptural passages in which a given subject or word occurs” (65). Pérez de Chinchón mostly cites passages of the Bible and the Scriptures in order to compare and demonstrate how deceptive and distorted are the Koran and the Islamic teachings. However, he also makes use in his sermons vocabulary of everyday life by making reference to farm work, livestock, agriculture, carpentry, and medicine, among others.

Furthermore, the collection of sermons presents to its audience a whole rhetoric of bestiality and animality. In every sermon, the word “bestia” appears several times to denounce all that is founded in lies and error. Pérez de Chincón use of the word “bestia” echoed Agustin and Maximus of Turin sentiments of those groups that did not accept and follow Christian doctrines, such as pagans, Jews, Muslims, and heretics. As we saw in the previous chapters, the portrayal of Jews, Muslims and pagans, among other groups, as monsters and/or beasts was frequently found in polemic literature. Sentiments and representations of these groups were similar; they were all perceived as a threat to the Christian community, “the spread of old doctrines which attacked Christian faith without using divine nor human reason, thus creating real monsters” (Alain de Lille, cited in Echevarría 92-3). Therefore, every man or woman that refused to acknowledge and follow the true message of God, i.e. the Christian faith, resided outside of the limits of humanity.

116 In the first sermon of the Antialcorano, Pérez de Chinchón echoes a similar sentiment of a lack of reasoning of those who attack or fail to recognize the true faith: “Dios nos dio entendimiento y razón y nos hizo hombres y no bestias, para que sepamos seguir el bien y huyr el mal. Y el hombre que en esta vida no busca el verdadero bien y el camino por donde le hallara, semejante a las bestias que no nacieron sino para comer y morir” (First sermon).
In order to criticize and reprehend those who are beasts and live in error, the author first describes the Christian community by resorting to the use of the image of the Christian kingdom. Pérez de Chinchón emphasizes in his text the importance of all of the members of a kingdom, both in heaven as on earth, must subscribe to the only one true law in order for the kingdom to live in peace and harmony: “Desta manera en un reyno y en cada lugar puesto que aya diversos estados, conviene que todos esten debaxo de una ley y de un rey, y si esto no es el tal reyno o lugar se destruye porque donde ay division, por fuerça ha de haver discordia. Do ay discordia unos matan a otros, y assi matandose unos a otros no puede durar el tal reyno” (Third sermon).

The author also utilizes the image of the Good Shepherd as an example and his mission, as well as that of all clerics who were in charge of indoctrinating the new Muslim converts:

[…] y como yo viess la falta que desto havía, o porque el interesse de l as rentas es poco, o porque no ay quien lo haga: aunque ay quien se coma el patrimonio de Jesu christo: mirando que es grande el provecho que una ánima se salve: pues por una oveja dexó el buen pastor las noventa y nueve: y la fue a buscar y hallándola la tomó en sus hombros, y la truxo a su rebaño: quise con este talentillo que dios me dio exercitarme en esta empresa. (Pro.)

As already discussed in the introduction of the chapter, the image of the Good Shepherd (John 10:16) was one frequently used in the Christian imaginary in order to describe a unified Christian community. However, in early modernity the same image began to have ethno-religious connotations, since the image of the Shepherd and his flock of sheep was frequently invoked when referring to a unified Christian-Spanish nation.

Furthermore, in the tenth sermon, Pérez de Chinchón employs zootechnical vocabulary pertaining to sheep herding in the Peninsula when he uses the word *almagre* or marking of the
flock to refer to the circumcision of the Jews with Abraham. According to the author, the *almagre* or circumcision of the Jews was a way of differentiating gentiles from God’s chosen people: “Y assi como el que tiene mucho ganado señala sus ovejas con una *almagra* para conocerlas entre otras, y como tu si tienes un esclavo le señala con un hierro en la frente para que sea conocido, assi dios señalo su pueblo, para que fuesse conocido entre los gentiles” (Tenth sermon). Yet, the passage is a bit paradoxical, since circumcision is compared here to a mark that is used to mark a flock of sheep, and also to mark slaves. While Pons Fuster interprets the mentioning of slavery in the passage as a mere allusion of the author to a practice that was part of the socio-political landscape of Valencia in the period, it seems to me that the reference has a more negative marker of those religions that still practice circumcision; something that the author will develop further in his next sermon.

In the tenth sermon, Pérez de Chinchón exposes the typical conceptions present in Christian texts of why and how the practice of circumcision came to be: Adam’s sin and expulsion from Eden, how circumcision replaces the practice of animal sacrifices as a way of redeeming mankind from Adam’s transgression, how circumcision became a Jewish practice with Abraham, and how Muslims circumcise because they consider themselves descendants of Ishmael. Nevertheless, the author’s comparison of circumcision as a form of *almagre*, also points to the new connotation that the word *almagre* had from the fifteenth century onward as a way of referring to Jews and Muslims.

117 Even in Pérez de Chinchón’s explanation of why God mandated the practice of the circumcision, he resorts to an animal imagery: “Porque dios quiso que aquella señal y dolor fuesse medicina para el peccado que todos heredavan… Item para que fuesen mas castos y mas apartados dela carne, acordándose que dios los havia castigado como a *cavillos* en aquella parte conque mas podian peccar en los vicios carnales. Y assi Abraham vista la voluntad de Dios y la medicina que le dava se circucido…” (Tenth sermon). Thus, even though the explanation illustrates a shift and reconciliation between man and God, the author still resorts to the simile of the horse as a way of signaling to the beastly nature intrinsic to man and to woman’s sins and transgressions against God.
As previously mentioned in the second chapter, the term *almagre* began to be employed in order to represent the sartorial distinctions that both Jews and Muslims were mandated to wear in the Iberian Peninsula. Nonetheless, the word *almagre* also became a negative ethnic marker, since it was utilized to describe those who were not “autochthonous” to the Spanish kingdoms, i.e. Jews and Muslims. As the author argues in the eleventh sermon, those groups that still practiced circumcision after the coming of Christ lived in error, because the sacrament of baptism had abolished the practice of circumcision. Therefore, for Pérez de Chinchón, circumcision had become a marker of those who lived outside of the true law and faith:

“Demanera que la circumcifion que primero era feñal de fe de los judios, agora es feñal que los que la tienen no tienen fe. Porque tanto vale dezir este hombre efta circumcidadado, como dezir este hombre no tiene ni cree ni el evangelio de Jefu Chrifto, porque si le creyera no se circumcidaria como judio, sino baptizase como christiano” (Eleventh sermon). Moreover, the author considers preposterous the fact that Muslims practice circumcision. According to him, if both the Koran and Sunnah praise Jesus and the Gospels, and Muslims do not get along with Jews (“quereys mal a los judios”), then why would Muslims continue perpetuating an old Jewish custom instead of embracing the sacrament of baptism.

Most of the sermons in the *Antialcorano* follow the traditional arguments against Islam present in medieval and early modern Christian-Muslim polemics and sermon campaigns, which usually focused of three oppositions: Christ versus Muhammad, Bible versus Koran, Sunnah and other doctrines, and Christians versus Muslims. The sermons also follow the typical denominations employed to depict Islam as a heresy, a sect, a false religion, a superstition, an error, an invention of the devil, i.e. Muhammad, a deadly poison, an iniquitous and beastly law, a sacrilege, a fraud, among others appellatives. In addition, the text also makes use of a catalogue
of stereotyped images and adjectives in order to portray Muhammad as an arch-heretic. Some of these were Muhammad as an idolater, a false prophet, devious man, the devil, “bestia,” and “malo, engañador y gran pecador” (Fourteenth sermon). Islam and Muhammad were also described as aggressive and belligerent, and the sect spread throughout Arabia, Jerusalem, North Africa, Spain and the South of France through force and arms: “por armas se extendio y propago la mala y perversa ley entre las gentes ydolatras y bestiales” (Sixteenth sermon).118

Throughout the twenty-six sermons Pérez de Chinchón discusses different aspects of the Islamic religion, religious imaginary and customs for the purpose of illustrating how false, erroneous and beastly is Islam. When exposing Muhammad revelations as lies, the author comments on the figure of al-Buraq. For Pérez de Chinchón the whole narration of Isra and Mij’raj or “Night Journey” and of the beast of Alborach is not only false and ridiculous, since why would God send to Muhammad such an abominable creature instead of a horse. Moreover, the author’s discussion echoes the passage of the Alborayque:

Dime aca moro, en que parte del mundo has visto tu cavallo ni mulo ni asno con alas. Y si dizes que aquel no era cavallo ni asno ni mulo, dime de donde vino. Si dizes que de alguna parte del mundo, nunca tal animal han escripto quantos autores han tratado dela naturaleza de los animales. Y sime dizes que dios le hizo entonces para que mahoma cavalgasse en el, dime no pudiera dios mas facilemnte llevar a mahoma a Hierusalem de un cavallo. (Sixteenth sermon)

In this manner, the author emulates the same notion argued in the Alborayque of how the al-Buraq is not an animal present in any text or part of the Christian cosmography.

118 Even though the portrayal of Islam as a belligerent religion was a customary topos in Christian-Muslim polemics and sermons, the argument still must have seemed a bit hypocritical in his sermons if we consider that most of his morisco audience had been forced to convert during the argemanados’ revolt.
On the other hand, the notion of the paradise in the Islamic religious imaginary, or as the author refers to it “el parayso de bestias,” is debated in several sermons. For the author, the appalling idea of a sensuous and carnal Paradise, with the promises of drinks, food and virgins, is loathsome compared with the Christian notion of Paradise. Nonetheless, the comparison between the Muslim degraded vision of Paradise, where only carnal appetites are fulfilled, and the spiritual and contemplative Christian paradise, where spiritual fulfillment is the ultimate reward after leaving behind all earthly and carnal matters, demonstrate another aspect of the Islam as a debased and beastly religion.

Furthermore, Pérez de Chinchón goes so far as to criticize Muslims’ dietary restrictions and even the fasting done during the Muslim religious festivities. Dietary restrictions, such as the prohibition of alcohol and pork, and the type of meat that they can eat, are regarded as customs that are Judaizing and contra natura. The author underlines that there are no dietary restriction in Christianity as long as everything is consumed in moderation. The restrictions or special treatment in the meats consumed is to incorporate Jewish practices in their religion, “tornar a judayçar, e ir contra razon natural que natura todo lo crio para el hombre” (Twelfth sermon). In a similar manner, the prohibition of the consumption of alcohol is perceived as going against nature, since according to humans humors, women are the one that are more affected with wine than men.\footnote{In “La conflictiva construcción de la masculinidad subalterna del morisco en el Antialcorano de Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón,” Mar Martínez-Góngora analyzes Pérez de Chinchón’s portrayal of Muslims as effeminate subjects in the Antialcorano, which includes the discussion of the Muslim’s dietary customs.}

Pérez de Chinchón postulates that festivities that require the fasting of Muslims interferes not only with the Muslims’ normal days activities, but, more so, with their work chores. He gives the example of Ramadan:
Ay dos males que el día es largo y el calor muy rezio, y entonces no ha de comer el moro en todo el día… en el qual tiempo he visto yo muchos tan desmayados y cansados. Que no podran trabajar ni aun quasi bivir, y assi por la mayor parte en aquel tiempo se estan echados y recostados lo mas del dia como bestias ala sombra […] (Twelfth sermon)

For him, fasting during the festivity alters the normal way of life: during the day the Muslims can’t work because of their fasting, and remain awake at night because they are eating and fornicating.

Nevertheless, if there is throughout the whole collection of sermons a rhetoric of bestiality and animality as a way of depicting the precepts of Islam and teachings of Muhammad, and some passages of the Koran and Sunnahs, there is also a rhetoric of persuasion by appealing to the moriscos reasoning, by discussing the “Christian” values present in the Koran, and presenting Christianity as the only and true law and faith of every human being. Pérez de Chinchón also underlines in several passages the Pauline precepts that conversion must be done through the ear, i.e. persuasion, and indoctrination, and not through force: “la fe no entra por fuerça, ni quiere el coraçon desdeñoso, sino desseoso de ella” (Fifth sermon).

Furthermore, more interesting and importantly, that the author presents the notion of moriscos as part of the origins of the Spanish nation. In the nineteenth sermon, Pérez de Chinchón argues that there are three main reasons why moriscos and Christians are in fact brothers: first, as human beings, they all should love each other; secondly, both Christians and moriscos were born in the same land; and thirdly, they all share a same lineage. Pérez de Chinchón resorts to invoke the history of the Muslim invasion during the kingdom of King Rodrigo in order to illustrate his argument:
… si bien mirasses del linaje de donde venis todos soys medio christianos, porque cuando se perdió España en el tiempo del rey don Rodrigo, pasaron infinitos moros de África en España, y clara cosa es que no trayan consigo tantas mugeres que pudiesen poblar el reyno todo como lo poblaron, sino que tomaron mugeres christianas, y por fueça o por grado las tornaron moras y se casaron con ellas, y de aquel linaje venís vosotros. Por esta causa los africanos y los turcos no los tienen a vosotros por verdaderos moros. Ante bien dizen que soys medio christianos, y por esto me parece ami que todos somos quasi unos. (Nineteenth sermon)

Thus, for the author, the *moriscos* are in fact already half-Christians, since their predecessors at one point or another were in fact Christians.

Nonetheless, what remains puzzling and confusing in the passage is what Pérez de Chinchón refers to as “linaje.” Does *linaje* relate to a religious community or race? Are all of the *moriscos* in Spain half-Christians because of the intermixing of the Christian and Muslim lineages? In a later passage, the author further describes *moriscos* as almost Christians or quasi-Christians, because they have not been indoctrinated, and have not fully integrated to the Christian Church. In this manner, Pérez de Chinchón depicts *moriscos* as some sort of hybrids, residing in an in-between space of not being any longer Muslims, in the strictest way, but not yet fully belonging to the Christian community.

This sentiment and view of *moriscos* is the one that will prevail throughout the sixteenth century: neither Turks nor fully Spaniards. It is most probable that Pérez de Chinchón could definitely relate to this perception, being a *converso* himself with family members that had been persecuted by the Inquisition. Nevertheless, the fact that he resorts to the story of the Arab invasion during the kingdom of the last Visigothic king, don Rodrigo, is extremely interesting.
At a time when the whole Spanish national hegemonic project was being constructed, and would continue under Carlos I and his heirs, with the idea of an uninterrupted bloodline from King Rodrigo, the last Goth, to the Monarchs, Pérez de Chinchón is already presenting in his text an alternative idea that includes both Visigoth-Christians and Arab-Muslims as merging from the beginnings of the Spanish nation. As we will examine in the next chapter, other writers, especially moriscos like Miguel de Luna, will employ this idea in order to shatter the Neo-Gothic myth and advocate for the inclusion of moriscos in the national project.

However, it is not known how the *Antialcorano* circulated in Aragon, and, moreover, there is notable silence on Pérez de Chinchón’s part after 1536. After publishing more than ten texts in a period of eight years, there is an inexplicable cessation in the publication of the author’s work. Some critics have speculated that one explanation for this sudden change could be attributed to the new censorship of Erasmian scholars in the Iberian Peninsula. However, *Antialcorano* was censored in 1559, when it entered inquisitor Fernando de Valdés’ index of texts prohibited in the Peninsula.

As we have seen in the chapter, both texts, *Católica impugnación* and *Antialcorano*, respond to problems and challenges of the indoctrination of the newly converted Jews and Muslims, and try vehemently to advocate for a conversion made through persuasion and education in Christian doctrine rather than by force and coercion. Similarly, both *converso* authors resort in their texts to the use of the animal imagery in order to establish boundaries between heresy and true conversion and Christian precepts. Nevertheless, while for Talavera all Christians were the same through the sacrament of baptism, in Pérez de Chinchón’s case it is not clear what the author conceived as a requisite to belong to the *linaje cristiano*, if was a matter of race or faith. However, this lack of differentiation or in-betweeness may evidence how by the
beginning of sixteenth century what was perceived as *linaje* was indeed a fusion of religion and race. We have to remember that there is a forty-year gap between the composition of *Católica impugnación* and *Antialcorano*.

Furthermore, the lack of circulation of *Católica impugnación* and *Antialcorano* illustrates how Talavera’s and Pérez de Chinchón’s voices and those who truly believed in the process of indoctrination and acculturation of the Jewish and Muslim communities in the Peninsula were eventually silenced. The Crown’s and Church’s perception of the minority communities residing in the Peninsula as foreign subjects to their national and imperial hegemonic project, incremented coercive campaigns of conversion, censorship, segregation, and, eventually ended with the exclusion of these communities. Both *Católica impugnación* and *Antialcorano* were censored in 1556 and 1559, when they entered inquisitor Fernando de Valdés’ index of texts prohibited in the Peninsula.

Finally, as we discussed, by the 1520’s Carlos I did achieve, in theory, religious homogenization in Spain with the abolishment of the *mudejar* status in Aragon, and the decree of conversion of all the Muslim population of the kingdom. However, as we will discuss in the following chapter, this “homogenization” was not enough for Carlos I’s heirs in their national and imperial endeavors. Therefore, in the end, the Muslim Yuce Banegas’ words became more than prophetic: “Si el rey de la Conquista no guarda fidelidad, ¿qué aguardaremos de sus suzesores?” (cited in Harvey, *Islamic Spain* 339).
Chapter 4: “Omnis narrator, sive per epistolam, sive ore tenus, sive motibus, historicus est”:
Re-circulating, Inventing and “Translating” Spanish History in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

[...] no teníamos en España tal noticia de nuestras cosas antiguas que sin vergüenza pudiésemos mostrárla delante todos los estrangeros que muchas veces nos dan en el rostro con que nunca hemos sido los españoles para hacer una historia de nuestras cosas, ni dar buena relación a nuestras antigüedades por donde la nuestra y las otras naciones supiesen con certidumbre, y las celebrasen como ellas merecen.
(Ambrosio de Morales Corónica general de España, II Prólogo iii)

[...] y en todos quattro libros van tocadas muchos y diversas materias, e historias verdaderas y fábulosas, de mas de la principal: lo cual parece que excede los términos historicos, y a lo que esta obligado quien en este genero escrive; y esto ha sido por dar mas gusto a los lectores, con la variedad de cosas tan diferentes como en ellos se vera [...] (Julián del Castillo Historia de los reyes godos, Al lector iii)

At the end of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries, late medieval and early modern Iberian writers, clerics, and translators, among others, embarked in the quest of creating and imagining the origins of the Spanish nation. Historical romances, chronicles and a variety of different kinds of “histories” were produced at the end of the fourteenth century and during the fifteenth century in order to furnish an official Spanish history, one cemented in the belief of Spain’s Gothic and early Christian origins for reasons that ranged from putative rights to the Castilian throne to social mobility. These histories served to define what was conceived as autochthonous to the Iberian Peninsula and what was perceived as foreign, which excluded the Jews and Muslims as well as their descendants, from the nation’s hegemonic national project. Throughout the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, at a time when Spain had established itself as a global empire, new revisions and re-elaboration of these proto-national histories flourished through a series of pseudo-histories and pseudo-chronicles, pseudo-translations, re-circulation of previous texts, and
the discovery of new “artifacts” that elucidated better those aspects or gaps left in the previous histories in order to conform to the new necessities of the Crown, Church and national identity.

The presence of these pseudo-histories produced by official and ecclesiastic writers or translators of the period, in a way, shook Spanish historiography from its early beginnings up to the twentieth century. Echoes of how unsettling were these pseudo-histories to modern historians may be heard in the words of Spanish philologist and historian Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo:

Triste fama, aunque algo merecida, hemos logrado siempre los españoles de falsificadores en historias. Y aunque sea verdad que no nació en España, sino en Italia, el Fray Anio de Viterbo, autor de los fragmentos apócrifos de Manethón y Beroso, y que críticos como Vives y Juan de Vergara fueron los primeros en llamarse a engaño… a la cabeza de todos, Román de la Higuera y Lupián Zapata, con los forjados Cronicones… infestaron de malezas el campo de nuestra historia, llenando de mejor voluntad del mundo y la más ancha conciencia, todos los vacíos, dotando a todas nuestras ciudades de larga procesión de héroes y santos, confundiendo y trastocando de tal manera las especies, que aún hoy, después de abatido el monstruo de la fábula… aún dura el contagio en historias locales. (*Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* 287-88)

Menéndez Pelayo’s lament of Spain’s infamous reputation for its false histories and forgeries, raises the question of what were the “gaps,” as the historian indicates, that these false or pseudo-histories were trying to fill.

The following chapter will provide an overview of how the sixteenth century, especially the second half of the sixteenth century, became a fertile terrain for Spanish historians and chroniclers to compose their works, at a time when Spanish historiography and the figure of the historian was shifting from medieval conventions to early modern approaches to history based on
veracity of the events and evidence. In addition, I will study the complex socio-political context in the second half of the sixteenth century with an emphasis on the problematic and turbulent context of Granada, in order to explain the *raison d’être* of some of these re-visions and re-circulation of texts, such as a new version of *Alborayque* and *Perro de Alva*, and the emergence of some pseudo-histories or pseudo-translations, such as Miguel de Luna’s *Verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo*.

Moreover, I will look into how the new version of the *Alborayque* re-frames the text in a completely different historical context, the Trastamara reign, and the way a late sixteenth century version of *Perro de Alva*, *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva*, re-locates the Jewish and *converso* problem into an ethnic amalgam, in which Jews, *conversos* and *moriscos* are all participating in the *pleito* against the *perro de Alva*. While the sixteenth century version of *Alborayque* and *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva* are re-circulation and modification of their late-fifteenth century original versions, in the case of *Verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo*, we encounter an intricate process of historical invention introduced through the optic of a pseudo-translation of a historical text.

In addition, I will examine Miguel de Luna’s *Verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo*, and how the *morisco* translator manipulated the fissures present in the Spanish historiography of the period, as well as the conventions of translation, in order to insert his contribution to the country’s national historiography with his “translation” of a long lost Arabic manuscript. I will also analyze the role that translation plays in *Verdadera historia*, or in this case, pseudo-translation, and how it becomes a vehicle through which Luna, as a *morisco*, could present a counter-history of the proto-national legend of King Rodrigo. Furthermore, I will argue that Miguel de Luna’s position as an official translator to the Crown allowed him to play upon the
conventions of translation in order to present an alternative history of the imagined glorious origin of the Spanish nation, one which exalted the pivotal and positive role that Arabs played in the foundation of Spain, at a moment when the prospects of the morisco population were bleak in the Peninsula and talks of their possible expulsion were already taking place.

_Resurrecting, re-inventing and translating the past in the Renaissance_

During the Renaissance, humanist authors, poets, artists and historians, among others, embarked in search of the glorious classical antiquity, one that profoundly contrasted to the recent “dark ages” of the Middle Ages. Early modern scholars eagerly resurrected, imitated and revived classical models, making Antiquity both foreign and serviceable for their own purposes (Lowenthal 154). Historian and geographer David Lowenthal explains that humanists conceived the arduous and intricate retrieval and revival of the past as proof of their own ingeniousness (160). At the same time, the rescue and transmission of ancient texts became the ultimate road to invention. As Lowenthal indicates:

Retrieving antiquity took on necromantic overtones of rebirth, resuscitation, reincarnation, even resurrection. Petrarch called lost and fragmented literary remains ‘ruins’… Recovering ancient texts deployed explicitly archeological terms. Just as antiquaries pieced together long-vanished imperial Rome from surviving vestiges of temples and statuary, scholars who collated remnants of classical authors ‘unearthed fragments’. (160)

In a manner similar to early modern writers and artists, historians not only looked for ways of emulating classical models of historiography, but, moreover, they searched and exhumed the “true” origins of their nations, which often dated back to Antiquity and Biblical times.
While Italian chronicles and historians were the forerunners in this quest, France and England soon followed, and Spain eventually joined them in the pursuit of the ancient past. Nevertheless, as I have mentioned before, the case of Spain was more complex than other continental nations, since Spanish scholars went to great lengths in order to vault over the eight centuries of Islamic presence in the Peninsula. Early modern Spanish scholars’ main intent was to demonstrate an uninterrupted continuum between a Biblical, Roman and Visigothic past and the Trastámara and Habsburgs dynasties. Furthermore, those “obscure” years of Islamic rule in the Peninsula “provided a particular fruitful territory for historical inventions, at least from the perspective of Christians, both new and old” during the sixteenth century (Olds 14).

While medieval historiography was characterized for its composite nature, where the lines between fact and fiction were often blurred, there was a shift in Spanish historiography in the sixteenth century.120 During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, various authors began discussing and debating the credibility of historical sources in chronicles, histories and historical romances, among other genres.121 However, Anthony Grafton explains that the sixteenth century became a rich period for the composition of histories, but, moreover, the second half of the century became a fertile territory for the production of full-scale treatises on history (23).

Humanists in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who were for the most part rhetoricians, emulated Greek and Roman rhetoricians and historians, and wove older chronicles

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120 Some of these histories and chronicles are: Lucas de Túy’s *Corónica de España* (c. 1238), Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’s *De rebus Hispaniae* (first half of the thirteenth century), Pero López de Ayala (1332-1402) and his *Historia de los reyes de Castilla*, Pedro de Corral’s *Crónica sarracina* (c. 1430), and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (1404-1470) and his *Historia Hispánica*, among others.

121 Comments on the different kinds of histories according to their sources and finality may be seen still at the beginning of the sixteenth century. An example of this discussion can be seen in Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo’s version of *Amadís de Gaula*. In his prologue to the text, the author provides three categories of history: the first, *historia de afición* or those histories in which men wished to commemorate and embellish real life events; the second, *historias verdaderas* or *convenible crédito*, those histories that are grounded on real facts and events; the third, *historias fingidas*, are those stories that are not based on true events, such as the *Amadís de Gaula* (Fogelquist 16-7).
with contemporary political events in order to comment or criticize their political context (Grafton 21). Most of their comments on history were on style, for example notions on *imitatio* and how to fully understand the language and context of the Classical author, and on their contribution.  

Nevertheless, in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, scholars centered their efforts on standardizing their inquiry and presentation of the past: “By 1560, both in Italy and the north, a new *ars historica* had taken shape—an art cast as a guide not to writing, but to reading history, and one that offered an Ariadne thread through the frightening, demon-haunted labyrinths of historical writing, ancient and modern, trustworthy and falsified, that every learned man must explore” (Grafton 26).

In addition, early modern historians not only needed to offer an appealing political and moral education, but also they needed to master a whole range of disciplines in order to present the past: “the study of coinage, or numismatics, had taken its place alongside epigraphy, legal history, and textual criticism as one of the essential tools of the humanist enterprise of reconstructing ancient culture” (van Liere 244). Moreover, early modern historians aimed to cast events according to true-value and exemplarity, while also responding to the needs of the nation and empire (Binotti 8, Grieve 164). For this, historians included in their histories “reliable sources” and proofs of the events narrated with testimonies, ocular witnesses, documents (official documentation, letters, etc.), and artifacts. From the 1540’s onward, there was an increase in the production of histories and chronicles in the Peninsula.  

Historians and chroniclers, such as official chronicler to the Crown Ambrosio de Morales, included the use of a

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122 For a thorough study on fourteenth century humanists and history see Nancy S. Struver’s *The Language of History in the Renaissance.*

123 Bernabé Pons comments in “Miguel de Luna, pasado de Granada, presente morisco,” on the proliferation of the composition and publication of historical texts in the first half of the sixteenth century. This phenomenon coincided with the publication and circulation of texts that had not been published before. For example, Sancho de Nebrija published texts from authors like Ximénez de Rada, Nebrija and Alonso de Cartagena, and dedicated the texts to the future King Felipe II (57).
variety of objects and documents (jewels, inscriptions, coins and relics), in conjunction with medieval historical accounts, as a way of confirming and proving the veracity of theirs accounts, while establishing their persona as a reliable authority. As Binotti illustrates: “The key was to highlight the cultural and patrimonial value of each datum and artifact used to underpin the historical veracity of the narrative” (9).

Nonetheless, this proliferation of histories and chronicles went hand in hand with the creation of forgeries and pseudo-histories. As we already heard in the words of Menéndez Pelayo, one historian and master forger that stands out at the end of the fifteenth century is the Italian friar Giovanni Nanni, also known as Annius da Viterbo. The Dominican friar claimed to have received a recently discovered manuscript that a fellow friar had found in the “East.” The friar’s work was an impressive combination of biblical and classical narratives attributed to eleven separate “authors.” In the texts, Viterbo endowed several European dynasties, including the Trastamara’s, of possessing a grand ancient past 124 (Binotti 8, Olds 11). In Spain, the end of the sixteenth century became a fruitful terrain for writers to compose pseudo-chronicles and pseudo-histories; among the texts that emerged during the period were: the parchment of the Tower of Turpin (1588), Miguel de Luna’s Verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo (1592), Jerónimo Román de la Higuera’s falsos cronicones (1594), Lead Books of Sacromonte (1595), and Ginés Pérez de Hita’s first part of his Guerras Civiles de Granada (Civil Wars of Granada), entitled Historia de los bandos de los Zegries y Abencerrajes (1595). In order to understand what propelled the production of these forgeries or pseudo-texts, we must take a look of the complex and tumultuous socio-political context in Spain.

124 Viterbo’s work under the Castilian ambassador at the papal court fostered him to dedicate a section of his work to the Trastámara Castilian dynasty, and conferred Castile with a glorious imagined past. As Olds comments: “The inventive Dominican also endowed Spain with cultural primacy over the ancients according to his Berosus, not only had Spain enjoyed a rich body of literature eight centuries before the Greeks, but its monarchy had predated that of Troy by an astounding six hundred years” (11).
The Alpujarras’ War and its aftermaths

The socio-political context of Spain in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is filled with dichotomies, colonial expansion to the New World, strife and turmoil outside of the Peninsula, apocalyptic scenarios, prophecies, bankruptcy and revolts from different ethnic and economic groups, including the *moriscos* (Grieve 109). Growing tensions between the *morisco* community and Spanish officials erupted on Christmas of 1568, after new official stipulations prohibited various *morisco* customs, such as censorship of the use of Arabic, the wearing of Moorish attire, the prohibition of the use of Arab names, and the ban on Moorish baths, among others (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 211). The new censorship measures came amidst complaints from religious and official authorities in Granada, including Granada’s archbishop Pedro Guerrero, who expressed his frustration over the limited progress in the indoctrination and acculturation of the *morisco* population in Granada in a synod held in 1567.

While similar threats of censorship and banns had been made in the past, *morisco* leaders and representatives had been able to purchase some respite from the Church and the Inquisition with the payment of special financial contributions to the Crown (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 206). In a way, *moriscos’* representatives had been able to carry out this arrangement with the authorities with such regularity that it had been taken for granted (Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 206). Notwithstanding, on January 1st of 1567, the newly appointed head of the Audiencia of Granada, Pedro de Deza, announced that he would set about enforcing the junta’s new measures of censorship in the *morisco* community. Various representatives of the *morisco* community, including Francisco Núñez-Muley, tried to influence the Audiencia’s decision, just as it had done
in the past, to no avail. The implementation of the new prohibition would go into effect by January 1st of 1568. With the impending prohibitions, the city of Granada became enwrapped in rumors and panic. As L.P. Harvey comments: “Prophetic texts (jófores) full of obscure predictions circulated. There appear to have taken place secret assemblies at which the Moriscos debated the option before them, and reached the decision to resist” (Muslims in Spain 214).

The conflict lasted from 1568 to 1570 in the mountainous region known as the Alpujarras, just as it had previously transpired in 1500, resulting in fatal casualties in both camps, and with the eventual deportation of the morisco-granadino population in small groups throughout Castile. The purpose of the deportation was to scatter the morisco population in order to control them and to facilitate the process of assimilation. Suspicion against moriscos heightened at the time, since many believed that they were collaborating with Berber corsairs, who plagued the coastal areas, and, moreover, they worried that they might be in league with Spain’s main rival in the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire (Harris 22). At this time, policy makers and religious authorities began to debate the fate of the morisco population. Among the options was the proposal for the expulsion of the moriscos from the Peninsula.

125 Francisco Núñez Muley was a member of the old Muslim aristocracy that had decided to collaborate with the new Catholic rulers with the fall of Granada, yet they had also served as representatives of the Muslim and morisco population for political and religious matters. Núñez Muley had witnessed the transformation of the Granadino landscape from the early establishment of the Christian regime. He was even a pageboy in the house of Archbishop Hernando de Talavera. Núñez Muley’s efforts to persuade Pedro de Deza were documented in his memorial. The earliest version of the Memorial is preserved in Luis de Mármol Carvajal’s Historia del rebellion y castigo de los moriscos del Reino de Granada. In the Memorial, Núñez Muley gave an overview of Muslim-Christian relations in Granada from its very beginnings, with the Capitulation made in 1492 between the Catholic Monarchs and King Muley Boabdii, to the present day. As Núñez Muley argued, the new banns were not only violating the Capitulations, moreover, they attempted to eradicate the historical memory of the morisco community, which also entailed suppressing Spain’s own history and glory.

126 A. Katie Harris mentions that among the measures debated at the time in order to isolate and neutralize the morisco threat was the creation of ghettos in order to seclude them from the general population in cities and towns. Other critics argued for more extreme measures, such as galley service for all morisco men between the ages of eighteen and forty, castration or expulsion from the Spanish realms (35-6).
The following texts include both revisions and re-circulation of texts previously seen in the second chapter, *Tratado del Alborayque* and *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva*, and the pseudo-translation and/or counter-history of the story of the king Don Rodrigo, *Verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo*. To an extent, these texts are products of the social-political landscape of Spain either the decade before or after the Alpujarras’ War, since they either expressed sentiments of intolerance that had been transposed from one minority group, Jews and *conversos*, to another, *moriscos*, or purposely attempted to illustrate how Muslims played an important part in the foundation of the Spanish nation.

**Re-framing the Alborayque:**

Among the eleven extant surviving versions of the *Alborayque*, five of these are sixteenth century printed and manuscript versions. The sixteenth century versions of the *Alborayque* follow the same structure as the fifteenth century one. Nevertheless, there is one version, a mid-
sixteenth century printed version, entitled *Tratado del Alborayque* (image above) that possesses a completely different introduction from the other *Alborayque*. This printed version is in a sixteenth century manuscript held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, *Tratados varios* (MSS/17567),\(^{127}\) which contains various works, including: Ambrosio de Morales’ *La vida de la Condesa Matilda de Canossa y sus grandes hazañas, conque amparó siempre y defendió la Sede Apostólica y los Sumos Pontífices de su tiempo*, Soneto al túmulo del Rey Phelipe 2do que hizo la ciudad de Sevilla (probably an unregistered version of Miguel de Cervantes’ sonnet), and el Bachiller Fernando de Castro’s *Virtudes de mujeres*.

*Tratado del Alborayque* exhibits a historical frame in which the events narrated in the previous versions have been displaced by a century. As I discussed in the second chapter, the *Alborayque* begins by contextualizing the *converso* problem as one arising from a specific location and period, “En la villa del Erena, en la provincia de León,” which is in Estremadura, and the events narrated allude to the 1391 mass conversions and riots that took place throughout the Iberian Peninsula: “agora ha setenta años y más, y de la guerra que entonces se fizo en toda España por muerte de espada” (67). Nonetheless, in the sixteenth century *Tratado del Alborayque*, the reader discovers that the work has been inserted in a completely different context. The anonymous revisionist of the text presents a historical re-writing of the past, and locates the *converso* problem as one arising from historical events that took place during the reign of Enrique IV and the reign of Fernando and Isabel.

The first modification that the reader encounters in the text is the omission of any allusion to the town of Erena: “Comieça el tratado que se dize el Alborayque, el qual trata de las

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\(^{127}\) The manuscript that contains *Tratado del Alborayque* (MS Tratado varios 17567), is dated as a sixteenth century manuscript. However, the manuscript has other works from 1588. I have also opted to situate this version of *Alborayque* in the second half of the sixteenth century, since the text makes a historical reference and alludes that this revision was made seventy years after the Decree of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1492.
condiciones y malas propiedades que tienen los conversos judayzantes” (fol.4r). In the following paragraph, the revisionist introduces the new historical context of the text: “E tiempo del rey don Enrique iii deste nombre fijo del rey Juan el segundo y hermano de la reyna doña Ysabel que aya santa gloria uvo una destrucción y muerte en toda España en las aljamas de los judíos y en los que quedaron bivos muchos se convirtieron y fueron baptizados mas por fuerça o miedo que por grado” (fol.4r). Thus, the text depicts the turbulent years of the reign of Enrique IV as the years in which the mass conversions and destruction of the alhamas occurred. As I have mentioned before, the last years of the reign of Juan II, as well as the reign of Enrique IV, were decades full of social and political unrest in Castile. Tensions and conflicts between different political factions often erupted in violence toward different ethnic and social groups, frequently making Jews and conversos the main target of the violence. However, the political and social turmoil of these decades were not the ones that the fifteenth century Alborayque was referring to as the period of mass conversion and destruction of the alhamas, since the events concern the 1391 riots.

Moreover, in the next sentences, the revisionist presents the emergence of the alboraycos as a product of the proclamation of the Edict of the Expulsion of the Jews in Castile:

Assí mismo reyando el catholico rey don Fernando V deste nombre y la reyna doña Ysabel su muger que ayan santa gloria, fueron echados los judíos de Castilla. De los quales muchos se convirtieron y fueron baptizados y quedaron en Castilla. Los que con buena y recta intención se convirtieron… empero los que se convirtieron mas por temor y por no perder las haziendas y ser mal tratadas sus personas. Que con intención de creer y guardar la fe Christiana, estos son y fueron perversos judayzantes enemigos de la fe de
Christo y de los buenos Christianos como por sus obras parece. Destos tales neophitos o conversos judayzantes es el presente tratado (fol. 4r).

In this manner, the *alboraycos* is no longer an appellative given in Erena to those Judaizing Christians who were forced to convert in 1391, but the name has been re-located as an appellative given to the Judaizing Christians in Castile that converted out of self-interest with the proclamation of the Edict of Expulsion of the Jews in 1492.

The rest of the introduction is similar to the earlier versions with the exception of some re-wording or paraphrasing, such as the explanation between *Anus* or forced convert and *Mefumad* or a convert that converted voluntarily, and the origin of the figure of the Alborayque. However, there is an interesting passage in the introduction where the revisionist makes a point of clarifying the term *conversos*. He underlines the fact that the term *converso* does not equates to being Jewish: “y por este vocablo conversos no se entiendan todos aquellos que descienden de la generación de los judíos, a los cuales el vulgo impropiamente llama conversos. Mas se entiendense solamente los judíos que se convirtieron Christianos” (fol. 4r-fol. 5v). This discernment is not present in the earlier versions, where the difference between Jews and *conversos* is mostly blurred.

The main corpus of the text, which enumerates each attribute of the Alborayque in order to illustrate the vile nature of the *conversos* followed by the *maldades que dizen los judíos conversos*, remains in essence the same with the exception of some paraphrasing, and the evolution and/or changes between fifteenth and sixteenth century Spanish. In addition, the revisionist modified the time references in the text to a sixteenth century context. For example, in the ninth attribute of the *alboraycos*, a peacock at the end of its tail, describes how the *alboraycos* love to parade like peacocks in the town squares to be admired. Earlier versions state
the following: “puesto en la plaça para ser mirados como el pavón desque veen el vil linaje de donde vienen-maldito, despreciado de Dios e de christianos e moros.” The passage in the *Tratado del Alborayque* is modified as follows: “… vienen maldito, despreciado de Dios y christianos y moros y turcos y de todas las naciones del mundo” (fol. 9v). Therefore, earlier versions adhere to three religions and/or ethnicities, Christians, Jews and Muslims, while this later version includes Turks and all the other nations. The dates present in the text regarding the presence of Jews or their heresy in the world have been changed also from “mil quatrocientos” to “mil quinientos.” Hence, the revisionist stresses once more that he is narrating from his historical present, the sixteenth century, events that occurred at the end of the fifteenth century.

Some of the questions that arise from the historical revision made in this sixteenth version of the *Alborayque* are: what is the purpose of re-framing the events alluded to in earlier versions to a century later? Why would the revisionist re-locate the emergence of *alboraycos* as a problem pertaining to the Trastámara reign and, especially, to the Jewish expulsion in 1492? How is this relevant to the historical context of the second half of the sixteenth century? It is important to remember that the sixteenth century, especially from 1540 onward, was an effervescent period for the composition of Spanish histories. Most writers and historians aimed to produce works that would reflect and function within the grand narrative of the history of Spain, which included responding to the necessities of the Spanish national and imperial projects. Therefore, the revisionist’s decision to re-frame the *Alborayque* may serve several purposes. By re-locating the destruction of the *alhamas* and the mass baptism campaigns from the end of fourteenth century to the reign of Enrique IV, followed by the Catholic Monarchs’ decree of expulsion, the revisionist bridges a hundred years gap. In addition, the passage commends the decision made by the Catholic Monarchs of exiling the Jews.
On the other hand, the revisionist presents the problem of Judaizing Christians in the Peninsula as a product of the Edict of Expulsion, and, in a way, he points to the fact that the presence of false converts was still a prevalent problem in sixteenth century Spain. Moreover, the topic of false Jewish converts must have resonated with the ongoing struggles of the Habsburg monarchs, and heirs of the Catholics Monarchs, in their efforts to indoctrinate and acculturate the morisco population. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that this particular historical re-framing of the Alborayque is present only in one other version of the text, a seventeenth century manuscript version held at the Biblioteca de la Real Academia Española. Later nineteenth century versions of the Alborayque followed the earlier fifteenth century text. This, in a way, supports my hypothesis that this particular historical revision was only pertinent and/or spoke to a late sixteenth-and seventeenth-centuries audience, since the later revisionist opted to transmit the original version.

*The return of the Perro de Alva in El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva:*
During the last decades of the sixteenth century, a new printed version of the popular *perro de Alva* circulated in the Iberian Peninsula, entitled *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva*. Even though this version of the text is attributed to Juan de Trasmiera, the same author who composed the version of *Coplas del perro de Alba* analyzed in the second chapter, it is most unlikely that Trasmiera modified his version of the anti-Jewish and anti-converso *coplas* to profess anti-*morisco* sentiments. Little is known of poet and translator Juan de Trasmiera or Juan Agüero de Trasmiera. He was probably born in the second half of the fifteenth century in Cantabria. Trasmiera resided in Salamanca, sojourned in Rome, and left for the Caribbean in 1512 in the service of Bishop Francisco García Padilla.\(^{128}\) The poet wrote most of his works in Salamanca, such as *Palmerías de Oliva* (1511), *Tratado de la conquista de las islas de Persia y Arabia* (1512), and *Coplas del perro de Alba* (c. 1512), among others. As some critics have speculated, all of the known works of Trasmiera were written before his departure to Santo Domingo in 1512, and they were published in Salamanca by 1514 (Fernández Chaves and Pérez García 312-13). Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the author had little to do with the 1578 version of the poem of the *moriscos* and the *perro de Alva*.

There is very little information on the *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva*.\(^{129}\) From the inscription that appears in the first *pliego*, we gather that the text was printed in Barcelona in Pedro Malo’s printing house in 1578. While the text is currently held at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, it seems that this version belonged in the past to the Duke of

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\(^{128}\) In his travel to Rome, Juan de Trasmiera composed several works, including *Triunfo Raimundino*, in which he wrote and praised the noble families of Salamanca. In addition, Trasmiera translated from Italian to Castilian *Probadas flores Romanas* (Valencia, 1510), and also translated some verses from Latin that were included in *El libro famoso y muy esforçado cavallero Palmerín de Oliva* (Salamanca, 1511) (Fernández Chaves and Pérez García 312).

\(^{129}\) The little information that I have found on the text is in Joseph E. Gillet’s postscript annotations published in 1928, after his publication “*Coplas Del Perro de Alba*” in 1926. On the other hand, Adrienne L. Martin, Manuel Fernández Chaves and Rafael Pérez García have briefly alluded to the text in their works.
T'Serclaes’ private library. The text is composed of two pliegos, and under the title we encounter an image with three figures: on the left, a figure that has the inscription of “El Rabi” or rabbi; in the middle, a figure that at first instance looks like a king, which represents a *morisco*; and on the right, the figure of a dog that represents the *perro de Alva*.

The original source of the image and/or the name of the artist that designed it are unknown. Upon close inspection, it becomes evident that the depictions of the rabbi and the *morisco* have no resemblance to the actual attire that rabbis and/or Jews and *moriscos* used at the time. Moreover, the portrayal of these characters does not illustrate the customary pictorial representations of Jews and Muslims during the Middle Ages and early modern period. In previous chapters, I have discussed some of the physical attributes and costumes that were generally employed in order to represent Jews and Muslims in illustrations and architecture, such as the Jewish hat, crooked noses and the presence of coins for Jews, and turbans or *tortil*, dark skin color, long robes, spears and swords, and/or curved scimitar for Muslims. Both ethnic groups were often depicted in art as wearing some sort of headgear, bearded and with prevalent or distorted physical attributes. Nevertheless, the meager attributes that the Jewish and Muslim figures exhibit in this image of *Pleito de los moriscos* that may resemble, to a certain degree, some customary depictions of both ethnic groups, is the fact that they are both wearing headgear and that “*morisco*” figure is holding a sword.

On the other hand, the depiction of *perro de Alva* is different than the one seen in the woodcut of *Coplas del perro de Alva*. The dog is also represented as black and holding an aggressive stance, as if he were ready to attack the *morisco*. Nonetheless, the canine’s attributes have been distorted to the point that the dog resembles more a diabolic agent than a Christian

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130 Joseph E. Gillet mentions in his commentaries and annotations of the text in his 1928 article that he examined the text in the private library of the Duke of T'Serclaes.
figure. In this manner, from the first encounter that the reader has with the text, i.e. with the image, a series of questions arise. Why is there a rabbi in *El pleito contra de los moriscos*? At a time when there were no synagogues or *alhamas* left in Spain, why does the Jewish element still persist? Moreover, what is the correlation between Jewish and *morisco* elements in the *coplas*, and the context in which both versions circulated in the Peninsula?

As the reader looks briefly through the text, it becomes evident that the stylistic contributions of these *coplas* are even less impressive than the original *Coplas del perro de Alva*. Whoever modified the version of the original poem did not take any great measures to change the story or adapt it to a new context. At times, he just replaced indifferently Jews for *moriscos*, and he simply did not bother to change the names of the Jewish characters or the presence of a synagogue. Hence, the text presents a story of a *pleito* presented in the town of Alba de Tormes by a coalition of ethnic minorities, Jews, *conversos* and *moriscos*, against the famous *perro de Alva*.

The account narrated in *El pleito de los moriscos* is the same one as the one of *Coplas del perro de Alva*. The inscription of the *morisco* element resides at the beginning of the text, when the *moriscos* go to present their complaint to the town’s mayor, and at the last section of the text, with the announcement of the dog’s death penalty and the events that followed: the *moriscos’* massacre, their decision to leave the town and their return with the news of the death of the dog. However, the main corpus of the text revolves around the same Jewish and *converso* characters seen in *Coplas*, including the physician, the Rabbi and the rest. As seen in texts discussed in previous chapters, such as *Alborayque*, in this version of the *perro de Alva* there is a slippage between the Jewish elements and the *morisco* and/or Muslim elements. Through a mix of ridicule and criticism, both versions of the poem illustrate to audiences how both ethnic groups,
Jews and _moriscos_, were perceived as outsiders to what was considered inherently Castilian and Christian. However, in this version of the poem, the Jewish elements have been literally transposed to _moriscos_. Thus, all ethnic difference between Jews and _moriscos_ are effaced: _alhamas_ become _moreras_ and Jews become _moriscos_.

One noticeable aspect of the text is that the difference between Muslims and _moriscos_ is omitted in the text; _moriscos_ equates to being Muslims. I examined in _Coplas del perro de Alva_ how the poem blurs the boundaries between Jews and _conversos_, since the text stresses that both groups came from the same _linaje_. Nevertheless, the poem does make a point of naming the groups, Jews and _conversos_. In _El pleito de los moriscos_, such classification is mostly nonexistent. There is only one passage where the word _moro_ appears, just after the _moriscos_ have exiled themselves from the town: “El perro despues eftava/ en la villa mui potente/ para sienpre residente/ en quanto natura dava/ a los christianos amava/ como persona discreta/ a los moros si veya/ ropa y carne las comia/ todo por su via recta. Si algun morisco topava/ con capa de algun chirstiano/ tocava la con su mano/ la qual luego besava/ y al morisco arastrava [...] (2 r). Therefore, since _moriscos_ and _moros_ or Muslims possess the same _linaje_, the dog can discern and signal them as inherently different from the town’s Christians.

On the other hand, regarding the matter of what to make of the Jewish and _converso_ presence in a poem against _moriscos_ when Jews had already been exiled from the Spanish realms for more than eighty years, a couple of conclusions come to my mind. The first is that the person who modified the original version of the poem did in fact a mediocre job in his process of altering the text in order to circulate anti- _morisco_ sentiments. The second option is that the revisionist of the text directly or indirectly wanted to project or echo the same ridicule and prejudiced sentiments onto a new socio-political context regarding the _morisco_ problem after the
Alpujarras’ War. It is not by chance that this version of the poem of *perro de Alva* was printed and circulated at a time when the majority of the *morisco* population in Granada had been dispersed throughout Castile. Therefore, in the same manner that the poem at the end of the fifteenth century transmitted to its audience anti-Jewish and anti-converso sentiments and presented a case for the expulsion of the Jews, *El pleito de los morisco* conveyed a similar sentiment against *moriscos* when the debates over how to integrate *morisco* to the Castilian communities was a heated topic. Furthermore, it was a period when policy makers and religious authorities also began to debate the fate of the *morisco* population in the Peninsula.

*“Translating” the Origins of the Spanish Nation in Miguel de Luna’s Verdadera historia del Rey don Rodrigo:*

In Ramón Menéndez Pidal’s work on the legend of King Rodrigo, entitled “Rodrigo, the last Visigoth,” the philologist does not present a favorable discussion of Miguel de Luna’s *Verdadera historia del rey don Rodrigo*. The early twentieth-century Spanish historian, and father of Spanish philology, criticizes the fact that Luna departs from the traditional story of the legend of King Rodrigo while claiming to present a *true* account of the facts: “Luna no deja en su sitio nada de la antigua leyenda” (xliv). Moreover, he objects to the text by providing a striking description of what he finds so unsettling of a false translation, and of the author/translator/forger: “Todo falsario tiene un poco de perturbado, pero Luna tiene mucho; sus invenciones aturden y marean al lector, como las de un loco, pues desquician y contradicen sin finalidad ni fundamento todo cuanto por tradición estamos habituados a tener por cosas sabidas” (*Floresta de leyendas* xliv). We have to take into consideration Menéndez Pidal’s remarks in relation to the context of his particular historical and philological project. Even though he produced important scholarship contributions in his research on Medieval Spain, his work was
on Christian Spanish proto-national myths, and excluded Jewish and Muslim cultural and political contributions. Nevertheless, it is interesting how almost four centuries after the composition of *Verdadera historia*, the *morisco* Miguel de Luna and his text were still a source of controversy as its context tampered with Spain’s official account of the nation’s origins.

In the short-lived, complex and turbulent history of the Hispano-Arabic society of Granada, few *moriscos* have been the object of countless suspicions and accusations throughout the centuries as the physician and translator to the court, Miguel de Luna. He began his profession as a translator of Arabic texts in Granada, and later he was the official translator of Felipe II and Felipe III. Luna started working as an official translator to the monarchs with the translation of the parchment of the Tower of Turpin. In March of 1588, the discovery of a lead box containing some relics and a parchment was found underneath a Granada minaret. The parchment, written in Arabic and Castilian with some inscriptions in Latin, suggested a probable connection between Muslim and Christian past in the Iberian Peninsula, something that deeply troubled Church and State authorities.

Later, in 1595, Luna collaborated with physician and translator Alonso del Castillo and other *morisco* translators, under the protection of Archbishop Pedro de Castro, as the official translators of the notorious Lead Books of Mount Valparaiso, which later came known as the Lead Books of Sacromonte.\(^{131}\) The Lead Books, composed from nineteen to twenty-two thin lead circular leaves laced together with lead wire and bound within folded lead covers, were discovered in the hillside of the Sacromonte region of Granada. The content of the texts revealed the pivotal role that Granada played in the arrival of Christianity to the Peninsula. The Lead Books seemed to support the medieval legend of St. Cecilio, Granada’s first bishop, and his six

\(^{131}\)It has been debated if Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo were in fact related. While Dario Cabanelas Rodriguez mentions that Castillo was Luna’s father-in-law, Bernabé Pons, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano believe that it is merely a hypothesis.
companions, while cementing the relationship between the saint and the city of Granada (Harris 29). The texts presented a syncretic theology, where both Christian and Muslim doctrines merged. In this manner, the discoveries not only greatly contrasted the grim conditions in which the morisco community was living under at the end of the sixteenth century, but it also validated their Arabic legacy as one that was not foreign and/or as one that disrupted the nation’s illustrious Christian origins.

As several critics have already debated and discussed, it is believed that both Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo were the master forgers behind the creation of the Lead Books of Sacromonte. Luis F. Bernabé Pons mentions that the sensation and success of the forgeries resided mostly on the role that Arabic played in the texts, since only a person that possessed a comprehensive knowledge of Arabic could undertake the task of deciphering and translating the texts. At a time when the instruction of Arabic had already been banned and books written in Arabic were mostly censored and burned, only a selected group of moriscos would be capable of making a rigorous translation from Arabic to Spanish, something that the forgers themselves already anticipated in their endeavor:

Puede comprobarse entonces cómo, aunque no todo, una buena parte del problema de los textos granadinos es un problema de traducción posiblemente ya previsto por los autores de las falsificaciones. Existe en ellas la posibilidad de un grado de adecuación del texto a lo que se quiera obtener de él. Se trata de unas láminas en las que las traducciones juegan un papel tan primordial como el de los propios textos originales, posiblemente como

132 According to the medieval legend, St. Cecilio and his six companions, known as the Seven Apostles of Spain, came to the Iberian Peninsula to continue the evangelization work that St. James had began. The Seven Apostles, Torcuato, Segundo, Indalecio, Eufrasio, Hiscio, Tesifón and Cecilio, were ordained as bishops in Rome by SS. Peter and Paul. The Seven Apostles arrived in the town of Acci (Guadix), and spread their missionary work throughout Andalusia. According to medieval sources, St. Cecilio’s destination was the town of Eliberri, Illiberri or Illiberis, the Roman antecedent of Granada (Harris 29).
In order to avert any suspicion, the translators/forgers fused the Islamic material in the books with Christian sources, and especially relied on their translator persona. Nevertheless, the emergence of the Lead Books ignited both the curiosity and the suspicion of different personalities of the period. Among the skeptics were historian Luis del Mármol Carvajal, Pedro de Valencia and Benito Arias Montano, while among the supporters were Pedro de Castro, a group of morisco intellectuals, and, of course, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, creator of the pseudo-chronicles known as the falsos cronicones.133

It is in the midst of these two monumental discoveries and translations, the parchment of the Tower of Turpin and the Lead Books of Sacromonte, that Miguel de Luna “translated” his Verdadera historia del Rey Don Rodrigo compuesta por el Sabio Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif, which was composed in 1589 and published in 1592 in Granada. A second part was published

133 It is not surprising that Jerónimo Román de la Higuera was a fervent supporter of the Lead Books of Sacromonte, and of Alonso del Castillo’s and Miguel de Luna’s endeavors as translators, if we consider the friar’s own historical and translation agenda in his false chronicles. Román de la Higuera fabricated four texts “composed” by four different authors, Dexter, Marcus Maximus, Luitprand, and Julián Pérez. In the case of Chronicle of Dextro, Román de la Higuera claimed that he was translating a section of Flavio Lucio Dextro’s omnimodus history, which specifically narrated the history of Christianity from the 1st century to the 4th century CE. The Jesuit friar’s explanation of his finding of the long lost manuscript is as marvelous as the chronicle itself. The manuscript was supposedly found at an abbey in Fulda, Germany, where a Jesuit Friar, Torralba, friend of Román de la Higuera, had gotten a copy of the manuscript from one of his disciples, who unfortunately was deceased; this disciple, in turn, had transcribed a copy of the original long lost Gothic manuscript that was in possession of a bourgeois man from Worms.

However, the famous Dextro was an obscure figure in the Iberian history. Little is known of this historian, except for a reference made by none other than Saint Jerome in De viris illustribus, where the Father of the Church mentions an omnimodus history composed by Dextro, the son of Paciano, bishop of Barcelona. Even though Saint Jerome alludes to Dextro’s history, there were no extant copies or any references of his manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages. In a way, Román de la Higuera resurrects this unknown historian in order not only to exhibit the important role that the Iberian Peninsula played in the Church’s history since early Christianity, but more so, to illustrate Toledo, where the Jesuit friar belonged, as the primary Church in Spain. For more information, see José Godoy Alcántara’s erudite study Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones, and more recently, Katrina B. Olds’s Forging the Past.
eight years later. Even though various personalities of the period did question the validity of *Verdadera historia*, the text enjoyed great popularity inside and outside of the Iberian Peninsula. Several reprints of the text were made in various parts of Spain throughout the seventeenth century, including Granada, Madrid, and Valencia, among others. The first partial English translation of the text, entitled *Almansor, the learned and victorious king that conquered Spaine*, was published in 1627 in London. Other full English translations followed in the second half of the seventeenth century. French and Italian translations of the text were also published in the first half of the seventeenth century (Bernabé Pons, “Estudio preliminario” XXXVI-VII).¹³⁴

There is evidence that the text enjoyed a particular popularity among *morisco* communities, and how they spread the word outside of the Peninsula may be seen in a text written by a *morisco* addressed to an Ottoman Sultan in Constantinople in 1612. In the text, the *morisco* requested that the Sultan admit *moriscos* to his army: “Ilustrísimo y excelente señor: Ya le contará á V.A. como habrá 800 años el rey Miramamolin Yacob Almazor Yatifa envió contra España sus capitanes y gente, y la ganó en término de ocho meses, excepto unas montañas agrias adonde se retiraron huidos los cristianos…” (Cabanelas 226-27). In a way, the text became a vehicle through which the *moriscos’* Arab and Muslim background could be redeemed in the eyes of both Spanish-Catholic and Turkish-Muslim audiences in order to advance their causes.

Little is known of the life of Miguel de Luna or how he formally learned Arabic. He was born in Granada between 1540 and 1550. He conducted his studies in medicine at the University of Granada. Even though he translated a medical treatise from Arabic to Spanish on the topic of

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¹³⁴ In his critical study of *Historia Verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo*, Bernabé Pons mentions how the first French translation of the text was published in 1638 under the title *La vie de Iacob Almaçor, roy d’Arabie_Traduire d’Espagnol en François par le sieur* by Vieux-Maisons. This translation was followed by several other French translations made in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1648 appeared the first Italian translation, *Il Regno de Goti nella Spagne Abatutto, e Risorto: overo La Perdite, e Racquisto della Spagna occupata da Mori*. Other Italians translations were made in the second half of the seventeenth century throughout Italy (XXXVI-XXXVII).
gout, it is not certain if he ever practiced medicine. It is believed that he married one of Alonso del Castillo’s daughters. We also know that amidst all sort of suspicion, Luna was granted the noble title of *hijodalgo* in 1610, and later died in 1615.

The little information that we know of how Luna learned Arabic comes from the translator himself. In his prefaces of *Verdadera historia*, Luna mentioned that he began his Arabic formation since childhood, and that he had studied Arabic grammar and language for twenty-seven years. We do know that by the second half of the sixteenth century, Granada and Valencia were the only regions of Spain in which the active use of Arabic still prevailed. At the same time, scientific and medical treatises were the few texts in Arabic that were excluded from censorship.\(^{135}\) Therefore, the presence of the medical texts indicates that there was still a minority of the population that could read Arabic, including *morisco* physicians.

Miguel de Luna’s standing and influence in King Felipe II’s court, and the benefaction of the Archbishop of Seville, Pedro de Castro, provided him with the particular position that allowed him to carry out his creations/translations. As Luna describes in one of the prefaces of *Verdadera historia*, he discovered the long lost manuscript of Abulcaçin Tarif Abentariqu, fully titled, *La Verdadera hystoria del Rey Rodrigo, en la qual se trata la causa principal de la perdida de España y la conquista que della hizo Miramamolin Almançor Rey que fue del Africa, y de las Arabias. Compuesta por el sabio Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, de la nación arabe, y natural de la Arabia Petrea*, in a hidden corner of King Felipe II’s library in El Escorial.\(^{136}\) One of the first questions that arises from Luna’s description of his finding is the

\(^{135}\) Bernabé Pons mentions that the decrees stipulated by Queen Juana in 1511 stipulated that all texts in Arabic were to be destroyed with the exception of philosophical, historical and medicine texts (LXVIII).

\(^{136}\) In the first part of *Guerras Civiles de Granada* (*Civil Wars of Granada*), entitled *Historia de los bandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes*, Pérez de Hita also claimed that his text was a “translation” from the Arabic manuscript of the illustrious historian Aben Hamin. *Historia de los bandos de los Zegríes y Abecerrajes* narrates the history of the
following: why is Luna recurring to the trope of the discovery of the long lost manuscript? Moreover, why would he present the work as his “translation” of a true historical text? To answer these questions, we need to examine first the role that the trope of the “found manuscript” played in Verdadera historia, and its relation with pseudo-translation or fictitious translation in the text, especially by looking into the various types of artifices that Luna employed in order to frame the text as an authentic translation, and to inscribe himself in the text as a reliable translator. While several critics have studied and made important contributions to Luna’s book, including Francisco Márquez Villanueva, James T. Monroe, Luce López Baralt, Elizabeth Drayson, Patricia E. Grieve, Luis F. Bernabé Pons, and, more recently, Sara Gottardi, there has not been a study that takes a closer look at how Luna’s work resorts to the use of trope of the “found manuscript” in order to introduce his pseudo-translation.\(^\text{137}\) In addition, I will analyze the translation devices present in the book in order to render the account as a truthful historical text. I will also discuss how the book deviates from other more popular versions of the story of the King don Rodrigo, while fusing various Arab and Christian traditions of the story in order to invent an alternative history of the Peninsula after the Arab invasion in 711.

As mentioned previously, the sixteenth century became a fertile territory for the findings of ancient long lost texts and artifacts in the Peninsula. While this was a general trend for Renaissance scholars, the trope of the discovery of a long lost manuscript was already a well-known medieval *topos* present in many romances and histories. The description given by

\(^{137}\) Both James T. Monroe and Luce López-Baralt examine *Verdadera historia* from a maurophile tradition perspective, while Francisco Márquez Villanueva looks into the work from a *morisco* problem perspective as well as studying the different authors that influenced Luna’s work. On the other hand, Patricia E. Grieve, Elizabeth Drayson, and Sara Gottardi study from different standpoints Luna’s contributions and re-invention of the legend of the King don Rodrigo. Moreover, Luis F. Bernabé Pons has been the only scholar to date to make a critical edition of *Verdadera historia*. 

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foundation of Granada under Arabic rule, the story of the prestigious dynasty of the Abencerrajes, and their final demise under King Boabdil’s rule.
medieval writers and/or translators of a fortuitous finding of an ancient manuscript in a monastery library, a church archive or mysterious cave was a frequent textual artifice present in medieval romances, histories and chivalry literature. This textual artifice, introduced in the text either for ludic and/or stylistic purposes, was a way in which the “discoverer” of the text could bestow his text with an aura of ancientness, authenticity and prestige. As François Delpech mentions, the crypto-authorial prologues of these texts, in which the author attributes his work to the paternity of another writer, become a textual device in which the author fashions himself as a translator and/or transmitter, the person who excavated or resuscitated the lost text from oblivion (9). Moreover, he also presents himself in the prologue as an authoritative figure, since he is after all the finder and/or recipient of the discovered text, and the person that masters the topic of the text or knows the ancient or exotic language in which the text was originally written (Depelch 9).

In addition, it is in these prologues that the author introduces either a fictive or real intertextuality, which facilitates the manipulation of the reader’s points of reference and expectations. As Depelch illustrates: “Pero entre el engaño puro y la ficción lúdica media todo un espacio de libertad literaria en el que el organizador de la material narrativa-ya se presente como autor o como mero transcriptor-puede aprovechar los desajustes que él mismo utiliza para controlar los enfoques y relativizar los puntos de vista” (9). In the Iberian Peninsula, the trope of the discovered text was frequently seen in chivalresque literature, such as the Amadis de Gaula and Amadis de Grecia, in which the lost manuscript was found through oneiric, fantastic and quasi-mythical elements. Nevertheless, as Depelch explains, the trope in the Peninsula was a combination a various textual traditions: Classical and Christian, and Eastern, Arab and Jewish (Depelch 12).138 Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the motives from these

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138 François Delpech discusses some motives of the “found text” in the Iberian Peninsula that come from the Arab and Jewish cultural and textual traditions. In the case of the Arab tradition, the critic mentions the influence of the
traditions were particularly used and re-activated by *converso* and *morisco* authors and translators in new textual productions where they play upon contemporary conventions of historiography and translation.

On the other hand, within the frame of the “trope of the found” text, a pseudo-translation or fictive translation plays upon the conventions of the discipline of translation and the expectations of the reader. In *Literatura, Historia y Traducción*, Joaquín Rubio Tovar describes how for centuries the relationship between an original text and a translation was clear and remained mostly unchallenged. The notion of an original text was always interrelated with the idea of origin. Therefore, an original text was regarded as a matrix where meaning was created, which preceded any secondary act, such as a translation. Hence, a translation was viewed as a text that always remained in a servile condition to the original, in a perpetual state of submission and dependency on the original text (118-9). Original texts were also perceived as having certain aura, where the meaning and essence of the author’s creation always remained fresh and true.

We just have to remember the passage of the scrutiny of Don Quijote’s library where, on the topic of translation, the priest declares the following: “que le quitó mucho de su natural valor, y lo mismo harán todos aquellos que los libros de verso quisieren volver en otra lengua, que por mucho cuidado que pongan y habilidad que muestren, jamás llegarán al punto que ellos tienen en su primer nacimiento” (Cervantes, *Don Quijote* 1.6).

Rubio Tovar also notes that original texts were viewed as having a timeless quality, while translations were always regarded as being temporal texts. Translations were considered as texts that were marked by time and relevancy, since they could always be replaced by another

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Talismanic tradition in various legends and literature in the Middle Ages and early Modernity in the Peninsula, in which an amulet or text containing symbols or mysterious characters must be hidden in a closed receptacle or in a secluded cave (15). On the other hand, the Jewish motives were inspired in the Jewish Cabala tradition, in which the discovery of the hidden knowledge comes to the discoverer and transmitter through prophecies and dreams that revealed the whereabouts of the secret text (19).
translation (118-9). As Rubio Trovar explains: “Los originales siempre están lozanos, no envejecen, viven en una especie de mágico tiempo literario que los mantiene incorruptos, como los personajes litararios con quien conversa don Quijote en la Cueva de Montesinos. La traducción, en cambio refleja las huellas del tiempo y siempre es imperfecta” (118). Thus, a translation was mainly seen as a mediator between the language and culture in which a text was originally conceived and its audience, and the new language and audience in which the translated version of the original text was going to be introduced.

The binary relationship between the original text’s primacy, and the translation’s reliance on the original for its own existence, continued mostly undisputed until the twentieth century. During the twentieth century, several critics began to question the authority of an original text over the translation. In “The Task of the Translator,” Walter Benjamin discusses how all languages are fragments of an original “pure language” that remained latent in live languages. With the act of translating from one language to another, the latent third “pure language” is revealed (225). In the same manner that scattered pieces of an amphora are identified as fragments belonging to the same amphora, the original text and the translation are fragments of a greater language, a pure language. For Benjamin, the translation is superior to the original, since it remits to a primary common language that existed before the Tower of Babel (261-2).

Deconstructionists in the 1980’s, such a Paul de Mann and Jacques Derrida, began to question the absolute primacy of an original text and its author over a translation and a translator. They also regarded a translation as the “after-life” or “reincarnation” of the original text. In “Des tours de Babel,” Derrida shatters any hierarchies between a so-called original text and the translation’s reliance on the original, since the original text is never in essence a true origin. For Derrida, the original text always remits to other texts. Contrary to Benjamin’s belief in the
reconciliation of languages with in the act of translating, Derrida argues that after the Babelic confusion and the dispersions of the languages, the languages became irreconcilable. For Derrida, a translation transforms a text. Rather than effacing the differences between the language of the original text and the one of the translation, the translation assumes the unbreachable multiplicity of the languages. Since words do not possess exact signifiers, signifiers always remit to another (174). Hence, there cannot ever be a unique translation. Moreover, a translation always creates a different text from the original. In this process, the old conception of regarding the primacy of the original text over the translation is not only voided, but also inverted. The translated text is an “original,” while the original text becomes a supplement of the translation (182-3).

On the other hand, in recent decades, the topic of pseudo-translation has become a subject of interest in the disciplines of Translation Studies as well as World Literature. Various scholars have studied the topic of forged or fictive translations under different denominations: “translations without an original” (Emily Apter), “pseudotranslation” (Gideon Toury), “fictitious translations” (Susan Bassnett), and more recently, “original translation” (Brigitte Rath). In its most traditional sense, pseudo-translations are “texts which have been presented as translations with no corresponding source texts in other languages ever having existed” (Toury 40). However, Rath argues that the act of writing a text as if it were a translation creates a specific kind of fiction, where there is an overlapping between “the act of authorship with an invented author, and the original text with an invented original in a different language, aimed at a different audience” (State of the Discipline Report ACLA). Rath conceives of a pseudo-translation as a mode of reading in which the reader oscillates between conceiving the text as an original, and seeing the text as a translation that refers to an imagined original. This imagined original
materializes in the pseudo-translation as a work that was produced in another language and culture, and was intended for a different audience.

In a way, pseudo-translations also manipulate the literary and textual production’s conventions of the culture from which it originates. As Toury explains, translational norms tend to be more admissible than literary or historical conventions:

If, in such cases, translational norms differ from the norms of original literary writing in the target culture, and if the difference is in the direction of greater tolerance for deviations from sanctioned models, as is often the case, then translational norms can also be adopted, at least in part, for the composition of the original texts, which are introduced into the system in the guise of genuine translations and, as a result, have a lower resistance threshold to pass. (Bassnet 28)

In the case of *Verdadera historia*, by introducing his historical account through the scope of a translation, Luna bypassed the censorship guidelines of the Inquisition. Thus, he created a gap through which he could introduce a plausible history of the events that preceded the Arab invasion of the Peninsula and those events that occurred in the century after the invasion from an Arab’s point of view, i.e. a morisco’s perspective.

In *Verdadera historia*, Luna made use of several textual artifacts not only to explain why the translated book was a “true history,” but also to develop his persona as a translator. One of the literary devices used in the text was a series of prefaces that served as a way of framing his project as a translator of a historical manuscript. Each preface was addressed to a particular audience, and the prefaces themselves, between the ones presenting the message of the “translator” and the ones written by the historians, had multiple authorships. Therefore, each preface introduced the reader to a gradual process in which the content and the importance of the
history was stated, and also to the role of the translator as a transmitter and/or interpreter of the Arabic manuscript.

Before reading Luna’s first preface, the reader comes across the inquisitors’ forewords authorizing the translator’s work as a Christian text. As the inquisitor Doctor F. Vicente Gómez indicates: “… no he hallado en el cosa que se oponga en nuestra Fe, ni contradiga a la buena costumbre, antes me parece que ha de ser provechoso, haziendo memoria de los graves pecados, por los quales los Christianos antigos fueron castigados de Dios tan gravemente” (4). In this manner, the text was able to circumvent the Inquisition’s scrutiny, while duping the two inquisitors that appear in the text’s forewords. Moreover, the book was introduced as a moralizing story, since it edified the Christian audience of those sins committed in the past in the Peninsula and how God punished the sinners.139

In his preface to King Felipe II, Luna recounts to the King how, through hard work, dedication and practice, he immersed himself in the “sweet and delectable” study of letters, especially, the study of Arabic:

Bastante tiene hecha cumplida desmostracion la experiencia, que continuo exercicio del hombre, las ciencias reciben perfeccion y aumento: y el que las sigue, ornato de grandes virtudes, levantandole el entendimiento à contemplar altas, y divinas contemplaciones, y finalmente adquiere con ellas modo para vivir en este miserable estado, para no ser anegado en el pielago de la ciega, y monstrusa ignorancia. Con este designio (catolica

139 In the seventh reprint of the book in Madrid in 1653, the inquisitor, Doctor Juan de Grijota, frames the historical account under another optic: “No hallo en el cosa contra el bien y causa publica, antes si muchas que podrás ser utiles, y gustosas à todos de importancia, y advertencia saber algunas virtudes Morales destos Moros, y en particular las que se describen en la vida, progressos, y constunbres del Miramamolin…” (2). The inquisitor also comments on Luna’s style and role as a translator: “Su estilo es propio de la Obra, el lenguage puro, y en que se reconoce la Christiana piedad, y sinceridad con que se procedió por el Traductor en la version” (2). For the inquisitor, the text satisfies the curiosity of those readers who wished to know some customs and deeds of the Moors. We have to remember that this reprint was published almost forty years after the moriscos’ expulsion from Spain. It is also interesting that all of the commotion and growing suspicion of Luna’s work as a translator after his death did not impact the book’s popularity and reprints.
With his arduous efforts and studies of Arabic, the translator claimed that he was able to bring to life the book: “saque à luz, y resucitè esta presente Historia, tan deseada de nuestros Españoles.”

He then described the content of the history, the encounter of Don Rodrigo with Tarif Abenzier, Captain of King Almançor, and other memorable events.

Nevertheless, he portrayed the importance of the history in a curious light. Luna explained that the purpose of the text was to remember and to illustrate the courage of the Spaniards, especially the bravery of don Pelayo, and how he became conqueror and restorer of Spain under Arab dominium, and direct heir of the Gothic Kings. This version of the story of King Rodrigo was the popular version of the account circulating at the time in different histories, chronicles and ballads. However, in a very subtle manner, he anticipated that the author of the book introduced a different version of the history not found in known historical accounts, “de todo lo qual carecen las nuesftras (historias) hafta oy.” At the end of the preface, Luna presented the book as a gift for the King, while safeguarding the text and himself under the protection and authority of the King, “debaxo de fu proteccion, y amparo,” from any critics or detractors.

In the preface to “Proemio al Christiano Lector,” Miguel de Luna explained more themes of the historical text, and his role as a translator. The author/translator began his preface by making reference to the figure of Saint Jerome, and his translation of the Bible. The fact that Luna alludes in his preface to the figure of the saint is not surprising since Jerome’s comments on translation present in his several prologues, comments and epistles, and especially, his *Ad Pammachium. De optimo genere interpretandi*, had become, and still remain, a pivotal source on the topic of translation. In his letter, Jerome comments on two manners in which a translator may
carry out his work: the first is the *fidus interpres*, who makes a literal translation of the text, and the second is the *orator*, who does transmit the general sense of the text. The saint favors the latter technique, since “non verbo de verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu” (Rubio Trovar 541).

During the Middles Ages and early Modernity, Saint Jerome became a staple authority in the prologues and comments of translators. By mentioning the figure of Jerome, Luna is not only inserting himself in the long and well established Western tradition of translators, but, more so, he is relying on the figure of a Church Father in order to ward off any shadow of Islamic and/or *morisco* propaganda from his “translation” and from his own person. Luna could have very well alluded to one of the Arabic or Andalusi masters of translation, such as Averroes, but that would have probably been unwise given how syncretistic was the material present in the corpus of the text. Therefore, Luna resorts to setting his story within a Christian and Spanish frame, and what better authority to rest his work on than a Church Father and creator of the *Vulgata*.

In “Proemio al Christiano Lector,” Luna compared his work to Saint Jerome’s. Just as the Father of the Church undertook the difficult task of translating from Hebrew and Greek to Latin, he faced a similar challenge in translating *Verdadera historia* from Arabic to Spanish. However, he stressed the fact that even though he had dedicated twenty-seven years of his life to the study of Arabic, he would have never dared to carry out such a translation, since “pareciendome que el traducir una lengua como esta en nuestra lengua Castellana era muy dificultoso, por ser entre si tan repugnante.” According to the translator, it was only under the insistence of certain curious

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140 We have to remember that around the same time of the publication of *Verdadera historia*, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera in his false chronicle of *Flavio Marco Dextro* mentions Saint Jerome and his *De viri illustribus* as an authority in order to resurrect Dextro’s long lost history.
distinguished men, “deseosos de saber una verdad tan sepultada en esta lengua,” that he agreed to make his translation.

It is interesting how throughout this preface Luna established a distance between the subject of the history, and his morisco background. He never once alluded to the fact that he was a morisco, and he reiterated in several passages that the book was catered to a Christian audience. Luna also underscored the fact that he was translating from Arabic to “nuestra lengua Castellana” an account missing or unknown in “nuestras historias.” In addition, Luna introduced in this preface the persona of the fictive “author” of the history to the reader. The “author” of the book was an exemplary historian. Not only was he a serious (“grave”) and prominent historian, but he was also an ocular witness to almost all of the events narrated in the text. Luna reiterated throughout the preface the authenticity of the account and of the author by referring multiple times to the history as “verdad” and “verdadera.” Even though the events came from an Arab source, the translator claimed that the author was impartial to both sides, Spanish and Arab alike. He just described the events as they occurred.

In the preface, we also see how Luna fashioned his role as an interpreter by explaining his methodology. For this, he commented on different translation techniques, the literal translation, or the one that provides the general sense of the text. However, he elaborated on a third one as the one needed when translating a language like Arabic: “… y esta dificultad procede, en que si lengua que traduce no es igual en la pronunciacion, y fuerça de vocablos, propiedades, y dialecticos à la lengua, en la qual haza la verfion, en lugar de traducer verdad, dirà mil disparates.” This idea echoed Saint Jerome’s comment in Chronicle of Eusebius on making a literal translation from Latin to Greek, and how ridiculous the outcome would be. 141

141 The Jerome’s passage in Chronicle of Eusebius states the following: “Si hay alguien a quien le parece que la gracia de la lengua no se altera con la traducción, ponga palabra por palabra en latín a Homero, diré algo más,
The translator proceeded to describe how the difficult task of the book was not only overcoming the linguistic challenges of a translation from Arabic to Spanish, but also, the task entailed knowing the historical context and the author in order to adapt and approximate the Islamic content to the Christian audience. Additionally, he compared the work of a good translator to the one of a good physician, that he must know well the rules of his métier, as well as simple or complex ways in which to come up with remedies of what the author names, an appropriate image if we consider that he was also a physician.

The translator continued to explain his methodology, commenting that at times he translated the word literally from Arabic to Spanish, and, at other times, he interpreted the general sense of the idea that the author was presenting in the text since there was no correspondence between both languages. He justified his use of marginalia for those words or ideas that were hard to transmit or interpret its meaning to the reader, and also to demonstrate his competence as a good translator for those who could read Arabic: “para que los lectores que supieren esta lengua, puedan ver, y gozar si están bien traducidos y declarados, ó no.” The fact that Luna repeatedly returned to the use of marginalia was not an unusual practice, nor for a translator to justify or excuse himself for making his comments or interpretations due to a difficulty in the process of translation. As Rubio Tovar states, every translator begins his work by justifying the raison d’être of his translation, and also excusing the errors, a language that may sound strange or funny given the nature or archaic use of the original language, and the importance of his comments or glosses.

Nevertheless, what is noteworthy in Luna’s work is how he played with the conventions of the discipline of translation with his prefaces and marginalia in order to assert the authenticity
of his fictitious or imagined original, and the temporalities of both works: the historical book and the translation. It is important to consider how the act of writing and the act of translating entails a certain distancing in space and time. Emilio Lledó describes the temporality of a text, “la supuesta inmovilidad de esa semántica sólo se reanima en el tiempo de cada interprete” (Rubio Tovar 109). Hence, the activity of translation as an interpretation and expression of another text entails the activation of the older text. In this process, the translator establishes a dialogue with the author of the original text, which unavoidably leads to a comparison and contrast between languages, space, cultural mores, and readership, among others. Thus, the original text is modified, expanded or reduced, censored, commented and glossed in each translation.

In addition, a translated text possesses a series of temporalities. First, there is the time in which the text was composed in the past, a second temporality is introduced with the translation in the translator’s present, and other temporalities remain latent in both texts for the possibility of future translations. Thus, the relationship of a text and its translation is diachronic. Rubio Tovar describes a translation as an experience where different temporalities dialogue, cross and accumulate in the text (114). Of course, Luna cleverly played with the intrinsic temporalities present in any given translation, and artfully confused and duped the reader by introducing in his text a whole array of artifices pointing to various temporalities and sources.

As mentioned before, the notes in the margins became a textual device in which Luna could demonstrate his knowledge of the Arabic language, and the Islamic culture that was present in the texts. Moreover, Luna justified their presence as a way of bridging the gaps between Arab and Christian temporalities, the Hijra and the Christian era. He even described to the reader the different conceptions of time in each culture: “los Arabes cuentan su Hixera, que es cuando tuvo principio su secta, la qual concuerda el annos de noventa y uno della, que fue
where the Author began this reading, with the year of the Birth of N. Señor de setecientos y doce.” He also emphasized that he undertook the difficult task of inserting in the margins the equivalencies of all the dates, as well as the changes and/or modifications from the names of old locations to the present one.

However, if the traditional purpose of marginalia in a text is to create a dialogue between the author of the text and the translator, or between the translator and its audience, in the morisco’s case it became a constant display and reminder to the reader of his role and craftsmanship as a translator. Furthermore, the recurrent presence of the explanation of the dates in the margins also served as a way of reinforcing the two temporalities in the text. It was a way of reminding the reader that there was an eight centuries distance between the events narrated in the book and the translation at the end of the sixteenth century.

In the third preface of the text, the preface written by the “author” Abentarique, the author announced that his book narrated the authentic accounts, “fin genero de invencion pueda contar con verdad clara” (2). After the customary captatio benevolentiae, Abentarique justified his reason for writing the history by declaring that he witnessed most of the events present in the book, the wars in Spain, Africa and the Arab Kingdom. In addition to his own testimony, the historian emphasized that his history contained multiple sources that supported the validity of the book, such as collected letters, official military orders, and oral accounts of reliable witnesses of those few places and events that he had not witnessed. The author’s preface ended with the proclamation of his work as a truthful account, and an example to be followed by other “historians”:

[…] mas consuelome que no ay nadie que sea tan jufto, que si mira las suyas primero que juzgare las misas, no alabe muy de versa mi trabajo, y entenderà, que si los historiadores
que escriven libros, se hallaren presentes à practicar de las cosas que escriven, como yo deste particular, carecerian sus obras de muchas cosas inciertas, y sus trabajos, con mucha mas razon serian mas loados, y bien recibidos en las Republicas: y como de todo lo que escriviò ay de presente muchos hombres vivos que se hallaron presentes, à los quales hago testigos de las verdades que digo […] (3)

Therefore, Luna not only solidifies the fictitious figure of his author as a trustworthy witness, but, more so, ironically he went so far as to make a criticism of those historians that compose less reliable accounts by writing fictionalized accounts of historical events. The use of irony in Luna’s prologue of Abentarique illustrates the self-reflective nature that is intrinsic to the composition of pseudo-translations and pseudo-histories. As Anthony Grafton has indicated, in the case of some Early Modern histories, writing about historical criticism and techniques of forgery developed in tandem: “In order to create a convincing fake, after all, an author needed to be aware of what his contemporaries considered not a fake” (Olds 16).

In this manner, the translator beget a whole elaborated apparatus surrounding the text, with its multiple prefaces, sources, documents, in order to provide a façade of an accurate translation of a truthful account of the historical events. Turning to the trope of the long lost manuscript and the work of a translation or, in this case, a pseudo-translation, Luna was able to manipulate the fissures of the literary and historical conventions of the period in order to introduce a counter-historical account of the legend of King Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king of the Iberian Peninsula before the Arab invasion in 711. Why did Luna resort to such lengthy measures in order to safeguard his book as a “verdadera historia” at a time when early modern historiography, for the most part, still had some remnants of fiction? Why did the translator/author choose to rewrite the story of Don Rodrigo from all the other Iberian popular
legends? Furthermore, what was the importance of the legend of Don Rodrigo in the Spanish cultural imaginary of the time? In order to answer these questions we must first take a look at the role of Neo-Gothic myth in relation to nation-building during the Middle Ages and, especially, after the second half of the fifteenth century.

Neo-Gothicism alleged an uninterrupted blood continuity from the Visigothic kings (western Goths), who ruled the peninsula from the fifth century until the 711 Arab invasion, through the Trastamara sovereigns who claimed the Castilian throne in 1369. As Barbara F. Weissberger illustrates:

From those worthy ancestors the royal dynasty founded by the illegitimate Enrique II were believed to have inherited Gothic-and masculine characteristics of virility, sobriety, and vigor, the very traits required to complete the sacred mission of the Iberian kingdoms: the recuperation of territorial and moral integrity of ancient Romano-Gothic Hispania through the expulsion of the Muslim conquerors. (96)

The neo-Gothic myth began to take shape in the first half of the thirteenth century in various chronicles, such as Lucas de Túy’s Chronicon Mundi and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’s De rebus Hispaniae (also known as Historia Gothica). Nevertheless, it was not until the fifteenth century, during the reign of Juan II of Castile, that the myth reemerges in the works of Alonso de Cartagena’s Anacephaleosis, Pedro de Corral’s Crónica sarracina and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo’s Historia Hispánica. While the neo-Gothic myth aimed to advance different political agendas in the period, its main intent was to legitimize the Castilian monarchy’s preeminence in the Peninsula as one whose origins could be traced back not only to the Visigothic monarchy, but
further back to the monster Gerion, King of Hesperia, and Hercules, the alleged first ruler of the Peninsula.  

After the turbulent years of the reign of Enrique IV, followed by the war of succession that erupted after Enrique’s death between his daughter, Juana’s supporters and Isabel’s sympathizers, Neo-Gothicism arose in full vigor with new messianic tone. The neo-Gothic myth played a pivotal role in the Catholic Monarchs’ creation of the national hegemonic project, for Isabel was depicted as the rightful heir of the Visigothic kings, and the Catholic Monarchs were portrayed as the restorers of the neo-Gothic body politic of Hispania (Weissberger 98). As I discussed in previous chapters, the restoration of the Iberian Peninsula took place through the control, exclusion, and, ultimately, purge of those groups that did not share that neo-Gothic and Christian ancestry. Neo-Gothicism’s role in the legitimization of the Spanish hegemonic project reverberated all through the sixteenth century in the expansionist and imperial projects of Carlos I, Felipe II and Felipe III. At the heart of the neo-Gothic myth lay the legend of Don Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king.

Not much information is known of the historical figure of King Rodrigo and of the Visigothic kingdom at the dawn of the eighth-century. Even though the lines between facts and fiction were blurred in the historical accounts of the Middle Ages, most of the informed sources mention that there was a dynastic dispute over Witiza’s, Rodrigo’s predecessor, claim to the throne and other contenders. At the death of Witiza, the Visigothic kingdom was divided in two parts: Rodrigo reigned in the south of the kingdom, while Agila ruled in the north. At the time of the Arab invasion, Rodrigo was supposedly in Toledo, the seat of the Visigothic kingdom.

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142 Barbara Weissberger describes how in an international scale, Neo-Gothicism played an essential role in the Castilians’ legitimation of their expansionist agenda against the English. In the Council of Basel (1434-5), Alonso de Cartagena on behalf of Juan II, used Neo-Gothicism as a way justifying the Castilian expansion to the Canary Islands and Northern Africa. Since he claimed that the territories were part of the Visigothic province of Tingitania (97).
Accounts on the presumed events that led to the invasion and what transpired during and after the attack circulated during the Middle Ages and early Modernity through different cultural media: ballads, chronicles, Arabic and Iberian histories and romances, among others.

The first surviving accounts to narrate the story of King Rodrigo and the 711 fall of Spain are two Christian and two Arabic chronicles. In *The Eve of Spain*, Patricia E. Grieve discusses the variations and contributions of the account on the fall of Spain found in four of the chronicles. The earliest source is the anonymous *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, which is believed to have been composed in Toledo by a Mozarab clergyman. As Grieve indicates, the anonymous author promoted what it is better known as the Decadence Tradition: “The chronicler carefully avoids any language that casts the invasion as a holy war. The way he tells it, God witnessed his people’s iniquity and punished them. Any plunderer could have succeeded because it was God’s will” (45). In addition to Rodrigo’s decadent kingdom, the anonymous author portrayed the Muslim invasion and conquest in the Peninsula as one cemented on brutality and blood, since the Muslim leader Muza decapitated the Visigothic nobility, but also butchered youth and infants with a sword (Grieve 39).

The next two sources, an Arab and a Christian chronicle, circulated in the mid- and late ninth century. In *The History of the Conquest of Egypt*, the Arab historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam narrated in the mid-ninth century the 711 events from the Muslim perspective. The chronicle presented the Arab invasion in a providential manner, since Allah had willed an Islamic victory over Christianity. The history also introduces two elements to the story that will be developed in later accounts as the cause for the invasion and conquest of the Peninsula: Rodrigo’s transgression of the Toledan edifice, which contained inside the prophecy of the Arab victory, and Rodrigo’s affair with Julian’s daughter (Grieve 40).
In late ninth century, another Christian chronicle, *Crónica de Alfonso III*, recounted the fall of Spain following the Decadence Tradition, but with a variation to the earlier Christian history. According to this source, the moral decadence that pervaded the Visigothic kingdom was a result of Rodrigo’s predecessor, King Witiza’s iniquity and lasciviousness. Witiza’s depravities included his numerous concubines and wives, and also the fact that he encouraged the clergy to incur in similar practices (Grieve 41). The chronicle does not allude to Julian’s daughter, nor blames Rodrigo for not being able to repair a weakened kingdom. However, the source invents the figure of Pelayo and the Battle of Covadonga. According to the history, in a cave dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the region of Asturias, a brave and defiant Pelayo, the sword-bearer of kings Witiza and Rodrigo, accompanied by a small group of Christians, defeated thousands of Muslim men with the divine intervention of the Virgin Mary. In this manner, the text presents Pelayo’s victory as one that sets the path for the restoration of the kingdom that had been lost to the Arab invasion (Grieve 42).

Another Arabic writer, Ahmad al-Razi, is believed to have contributed to the legend of the dishonor of Julian’s daughter. Ahmad al-Rasi, or Rasis the Moor as he is referred to in Christian writings, was the most celebrated historian of Al-Andalus (c.950-970). Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries’ Christian chroniclers attributed Rasis the Moor’s work as their source for the elaboration of the episode of Julian’s daughter seduction and the name of the House of Hercules to the locked edifice (Grieve 44). As Grieve notes, medieval chroniclers reference’s to Rasis the Moor’s work was problematic, as all of his manuscripts were lost. The account of the story of the fall attributed to him comes from references to his work in later Arab histories (Grieve 44). Nevertheless, during the thirteenth century, allusions and translations of Rasis the Moor’s work began to appear in Iberian chronicles and histories.
In the first half of the fifteenth century, two major texts reworked the story of Don Rodrigo, Pedro de Corral’s *Crónica sarracina* (c. 1430), and the anonymous *Refundición toledana de la Crónica de 1344* (c. 1440). Critics believe that even though both works circulated around the same time, it is possible that *Refundición toledana*, a revision of a 1344 Toledan chronicle, may have preceded Corral’s text (Grieve 80, Drayson 32). *Crónica sarracina*, which was described by Ramón Menéndez Pidal as Spain’s first historical novel, contains a mix of motifs and structures, from historiography and chivalresque literature to hagiography (Drayson 36). The text enjoyed great popularity in the fifteenth century among elite readers. Its first printed edition was published in 1499, and later printed editions circulated throughout the sixteenth century.

*Crónica sarracina* narrates the story of the reign of King Rodrigo in conjunction with two other male characters, Count Don Julian and the Archbishop Oppas. Grieve describes how the chronicle narrates the story of the friendship between the three most powerful men in the Visigothic kingdom at the dawn of the eighth century. As Grieve illustrates: “Individually, they held the keys to the three institutions of the land: the government, the military, and the nascent Christian Church. Together, their imperial dreams for Spain and the growth of Christianity seemed not an impossible quest, but achievable” (21). King Rodrigo was portrayed in the account as a noble and worthy sovereign. Nevertheless, the king commits two transgressions that will ultimately cause the fall of the Visigothic kingdom.

The first transgression was a combination of the king’s hubris and greed. According to the story, there was an enchanted castle in Toledo known as the House of Hercules. After the reign of Hercules, every Visigothic king, twenty-four in total, had added an iron lock to the gates of the castle. Against the counsel of his advisors, Rodrigo broke into the castle looking for
treasures. He discovered an ark containing a parchment with the representation of long bearded men wearing turbans and a prophecy inscribed in the parchment. The prophecy stated that whoever infiltrated the castle would lose his kingdom to the people that were sketched in the parchment. Shaken by the prophetic message, Rodrigo forbade his men to talk about the incident.

The second transgression committed by the king was lust. The chronicle narrated how Count Julian, governor of the Visigothic territories in North Africa, sent his daughter to the king’s court to be educated, as was the custom at the time. Nevertheless, the young maiden caught the king’s attention in the palace’s gardens. The lavish garden was the place where Queen Egilona, a Muslim convert to Christianity, and her maidens would retreat. Even though the story depicted La Cava as cortés, bondadosa and mesurada, her physical beauty attracts the gaze of the king, who first falls for her when he spies on her playing with the other maidens in the garden. Rodrigo’s infatuation with the maiden grew until he could not retrain his lust any longer. He summoned the maiden to his private rooms, and raped her. After her rape, feeling despair and shame, La Cava wrote a letter to her father disclosing her dishonor.

This affront to his honor provoked Count Julian’s implacable rage, and triggered his betrayal of Rodrigo. He conspired with the Berber ruler Tarik and his military leader Muza, who longed to expand their dominium to the Iberian Peninsula. Between July 19 and 23 of the year 711, the Berber army with approximately twelve thousand men invaded the south of the Peninsula. Upon hearing the news of the invasion, Rodrigo moved his army to the south of the Peninsula. On the banks of the Guadalete River, a bloody battle took place between Arabs and Visigoths that resulted in the slaughter of the Visigothic army and the defeat of King Rodrigo. The unguarded city of Toledo was conquered by the invaders with the help of the city’s Jews. According to the story, the Jews resented their status under Visigothic rule, and betrayed the
Goths by opening the gates of the city in order to let the Arab army in. Hence, the proud Visigothic and Christian reign in the Peninsula was subjugated to the Arab-Muslim dominium.

However, a small group of Visigoths sought shelter in the Cantabrian Mountains of Asturias, in the north of the Peninsula. This group, in conjunction with the nobleman Pelayo, who could have been a relative to Rodrigo or somehow heir to the Visigothic throne, decided to fight back between the years of 718 and 722. A change in events occurred with the battle of Covadonga in which Pelayo and his men, with the help of the intervention of God and the Virgin Mary, defeated the Arabs against all odds. As a result, a new frontier was delineated; Muslims were never able to go beyond this point.

On the other hand, while previous versions of the story end with the battle scene, and did not explain what ever happened to King Rodrigo, this chronicle provided an account of the king’s whereabouts after the battle. At the end of Crónica sarracina, the author narrated how Rodrigo survived the battle on the Guadalete River, and escaped to Viseu, Portugal. Rodrigo lived in exile in Viseu where he carried out the penance for his transgressions until his death. The passage depicting the king’s repentance included motifs commonly found in saints’ and martyrs’ stories. First, Rodrigo repented in prayers, and was tempted by the devil with a series of visions. Then, he was locked in a cave with a two-headed snake in order to carry out his penance. The gruesome passage described how the snake first devoured Rodrigo’s private parts, and later his heart. Thus, in the end, the chronicle offers the portrayal of a King Rodrigo that was transformed from sinner to a repentant sinner.143

143 Elizabeth Drayson provides a detailed analysis of King Rodrigo’s penitence. She describes how Rodrigo in his prayers was tormented by visions in which the devil tempted him under three different disguises: a perfidious hermit that lures him with envy and gluttony, the figure of Count Julian offering his kingdom once more, and a lascivious Cava enticing him to bed. For the analysis of Rodrigo’s penance in the cave with the two-headed snake, see Drayson’s section of her book “Penance or Pornography? The Exile of King Roderick in Pedro Corral’s Crónica sarracina.” (35-45)
While *Crónica sarracina* remained popular throughout the sixteenth century, other writers re-worked the story of King Rodrigo and the fall of Spain throughout the sixteenth century. One of them was historian and chronicler to the court of Felipe II, Ambrosio de Morales in his *Crónica general de España*. In his version of the story, Morales relied on the Decadence Tradition and Corral’s historical romance, and also what he believed to be Rasis the Moor’s source. Moreover, Morales developed the figure of Pelayo as Rodrigo’s cousin. The importance of this development was that he was able to establish a directed link between pre and post-Arab conquest. Hence, he was able to claim that the Visigothic lineage had been indeed uninterrupted from the last Visigothic royal line to the present in Spain (Grieve 104).

In *Verdadera historia*, Miguel de Luna fused various traditions of the story of the fall of Spain, while he invented new ones for different purposes. At the beginning of the history, the reader first encounters Spain’s glorified legendary last Visigothic monarch depicted in less than a favorable light. From the first paragraph of the book, Luna played with the reader’s anticipations of the story and the descriptions of an idealized Visigothic Spain, and of King Rodrigo. Earlier popular romances, chronicles and ballads illustrated a Visigothic Spain as an idyllic locus, an earthly paradise, which was lost with the Muslim invasion. The ballad tradition also portrayed Rodrigo as a tragic hero who succumbed to his sins, and then lost his kingdom. Luna began the book by making a similar description of Spain and Rodrigo, yet he immediately introduced a twist in the story:

> En el año de la hixera de noventa y uno, reynava en España un Rey de profession Christiano, llamado por nombre Don Rodrigo, Godo de nacion, natural de la Scita, el qual tenía en aquel tiempo todo su Reyno en paz, tranquilidad, y sossiego, sin guerras, ni discordias, como nuestro Rey, y señor Miramamolin Abigualit Jacobo Almaçor estuvo en
su tiempo. Y como la ociosidad acarrea vicios, y grandes daños, este desdichado Rey (que assi se puede llamar) dió en exercitar malos exercicios, y como tenia el reynado en confiança, y governacion por un sobrino suyo, llamado Sancho… tenia mucha pena, y deseava heredar la sucesion para tener el Cetro Real en propiedad […] (3-4)

In this manner, Luna established two elements of his story from its beginning. First, he drew a comparison between Rodrigo and Miramamolin Almaçor to later stress the contrast between both monarchs. Secondly, the reader encounters a flawed and ignoble King Rodrigo, a tyrant that wanted to kill his own nephew, his brother’s son and heir to the throne once he came of age, in order to secure his position on the throne.

Far from other accounts in which King Rodrigo was depicted as a good monarch, but whose two transgressions resulted in his downfall and the destruction of the Visigothic kingdom, Luna resorts to depict the Peninsula according to the Decadence Tradition present in the early Christian chronicles, where Rodrigo was an inherently vicious, cruel and lascivious monarch. As the author narrates, once Rodrigo safeguarded his reign at the death of his nephew, the Peninsula was governed by chaos. Not only did Rodrigo order that all of the old supporters of his nephew be assassinated, but also his irrepresible lust did not spare any women, married or maiden, of any rank. The king’s concupiscence also contaminated all spheres of the realm, since he made permissible to clerics and monks the practice of multiple marriages and concubinage (292). The king lacked the qualities of being a good monarch, and his chaotic kingdom was a reflection of his own depravities. As the narrator noted, this augurs his downfall, and also the destruction of the whole kingdom:

[…] de cuyca causa no se administrava justicia en sus Reynos, como era razon, y como los Reyes, y Principes son espejos de sus Republicas, de donde los populares toman dechado
de vivir con rectitude, verguenza, y crianza, quando sus mayors son virtuosos, y de buena vida, y costumbres; y por el contrario si son malos, y visiosos. Del mal exemplo de vida, y costumbres de este Rey, nacieron tantos vicios, maldades, y traciones entre sus subditos, que no se tratava verdad, ni podia vivir, sino con grande trabajo: y assi no me maravillo del castigo, y plaga que Dios embió sobre ellos. (14)

However, the passage echoed notions of sovereignty present in the sixteenth century’s *mirror of princes* (*specula principum*) books, which provided principles and counsels to monarch and nobles on the good governance of their kingdoms or republics. During the sixteenth century, humanists continued the long tradition of composing *mirror of princes*. Some of the most prominent were Machiavelli’s *The Prince* (dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici), Erasmus’ *Principis Christiani Institutio*, and Antonio de Guevara’s *Relox de principes* (dedicated to Carlos I of Spain). In the passage, the narrator underlined the fact that Rodrigo was not a good ruler, and, therefore, his kingdom was a reflection of his failings.

In *Verdadera historia*, King Rodrigo committed the same two transgressions present in the early Arab chronicles, which will foretell the fall of the Visigothic kingdom with the Arab invasion: the rape of Julian’s daughter and his trespass to the enchanted castle. Luna introduced some modifications in the story between Rodrigo and Julian’s daughter. First, the young maiden who was known in other versions as Cava, was given a new name in the story, Florinda, which is the name that other authors will employ in later versions of the story (Grieve 166-67). Secondly, as the author had already established in describing the king’s lascivious nature, Rodrigo’s rape of the maiden was not a product of a moment of unrestrained passion, but, more so, it was another display of his lasciviousness. As the narrator mentioned, even though Rodrigo was already married, he persisted in his old ways: “El Rey Don Rodrigo (aunque casado) no del todo tenia
olvidados los vicios, que solian usar, siendo soltero y como tenia en su Palacio una dama muy hermosa, à la qual llamavan por nombre de Florinda… no dexava de requebrarla à menudo” (16).

In a similar manner as in Crónica sarracina, Florinda revealed her misfortune to her father through a letter. Nevertheless, Luna introduced in the story a symbolic broken emerald that Florinda sent to her father, Count Julian, in the letter: “que teniendo yo essta sortija, que va dentro de esta carta, con esta engastada esmeralda, sobre una mesa suelta, y descuydada (joya de mi, y de los mios tan estimada, como es razon) cayó sobre ella el estoque Real, y desgraciadamente la hizo dos pedaços, partiendo por medio la verde piedra, sin ser yo parte de remedialla” (17). Thus, the broken emerald represented the lost of her maidenhood at the hands of the king. As in other versions of the account in ballads and chronicles, Julian received the letter, and sought revenge by plotting to invade the Peninsula with the Berbers of North Africa.

A central aspect of the narrative in Verdadera historia was the use of letters. The use of letters was certainly a common resource featured in vernacular historiography in early Modernity. Nevertheless, Patricia Grieve explains that the inclusion of letters in sixteenth century continental histories became a narrative device designed to support the truth-value of the historical text (270). The letters would also demonstrate the historians’ capacity as researchers, since they supposedly navigated the labyrinths of obscured libraries and searched remote corners of monasteries in order to find authentic documents. In addition, letters were also a common technique employed in medieval Arabic historiography as a way of carrying forward the narrative of the text (North 80). In Verdadera historia, the letters functioned in a similar manner, yet they also became another device used to assert the figure of the “original” author, Abentarique, and also of Luna’s role as a translator. The historian Abentarique mentioned in his
prologue that he personally collected the letters, since, for the most part, he was present in the events narrated in his book. The letters also became a display of the work of various translators and temporalities in the text, since some letters were translations of translations.

From the first letter of the text, the letter written by Queen Anagilda, the mother of Prince Sancho, to King Rodrigo, the readers encountered Luna’s clarification on how the letter was a translation of a translation. In a marginal note of the folio, Luna explained that the original letter was written in Spanish by the queen, Abentarique then translated the letter in his text to Arabic, and Luna later translated the letter back to Spanish: “Esta carta fue traducida por Abentarique, de lèngua Castellana en Arabiga, y aora se bolviò à traducer de Arabigo en romace, y fue hallada en la Camara del Rey Don Rodrigo, en la Ciudad de Cordova” (8). Therefore, the morisco translator encompassed in his text different authorships and historical temporalities as well as a history that was rooted in multiple translations and interpretations in order to render the text as an authentic historical document.\footnote{A recurring annotation that the author did in the text was to underline the linguistic difference during the encounters between Arabs and Spanish, especially at the beginning of the book. The author makes a point of explaining how the communication took place in the book, either the person knew the language of the other or there was a form of translation or interpretation involved.}

As in previous accounts of Rodrigo, the king carried out his second transgression when he broke into the enchanted Tower of Toledo. With the imminent threat of the Muslim invasion, Rodrigo decided to enter into the tower hoping to find some hidden treasure that would help him finance the war. Against the warning written at the gates of the tower foretelling that the king who entered would discover goods and woes, Rodrigo and his men broke the locks placed by previous kings at the gates and entered the tower.\footnote{In Luna’s version of the enchanted Tower, the text never establishes a clear connection between the tower and the figure of Hercules as seen in earlier versions of the story. Nevertheless, the text alludes to this ancient past by indicating that the message found at the gates was written in Greek.} Amidst the horrific visions that the men encountered when they first accessed the edifice, Rodrigo and his men came across a bronze
statue that began to bang the floor with its fist. The statue’s blows generated a racket that echoed throughout the cave scaring and confusing the men. When the statue concluded its banging, the men found written in the walls the following prediction: “…à la mano izquierda de la estatua, en el lienzo de la pared, hallaron escritas letras, que dezian: Rey desdichado, por tu mal has aquí entrado. Buelto à la mano derecha, hallaron otras letras, que dezian: Por estrañas naciones serás desposseído, y tus gentes malamente castigados. En las espaldas de la estatua estavan escritas otras letras, que dezian: A Arabes invoco” (24). While in past versions of the story the prophecy appeared in a parchment portraying figures of men wearing turbans, which foretold the Muslim invasion, in Verdadera historia the prophetic message is more explicit. The prophecy augured the loss of the kingdom to foreign nations, not just men, and it clearly stated which nation, the Arab. In this manner, the message in the text followed early modern conception of nation formation, and it alluded to the on-going rivalry between Spain and various neighboring nations. All throughout the sixteenth century, Spain had been in a constant battle with France, Portugal, England and the Ottoman Empire.

Prophecy was a recurrent element in medieval and early modern chronicles and histories, and as we have discussed previously, it was an element present in older accounts of the story of king Rodrigo and the fall of Spain. Nevertheless, in Verdadera historia prophecy played a substantial role in forecasting the fall of the Visigothic kingdom to Arab rule in a providential manner, as it was seen in the earliest extant Arab chronicle to recount the fall of 711. At the same time, the text introduced some contemporary prophecies circulating at the time. Besides the prophecy of the edifice of Toledo, there are other episodes in which some sort of prophetic elements are present. One of these is related to captain Tarif Abeziet. During the first invasion of Miramamonin’s army at the head of captain Tarif, the general encounters a maiden that tells him
that when she was a child her father presaged the conquest of Spain by the Moors. The conquest would be accomplished by the great and brave deeds of a captain, which would possess some distinctive physical traits, such as a mole in his back and one hand bigger than the other. The prophecy was confirmed when Tarif discovers these physical traits in his own body.

Another prediction appeared in the texts with the prognostication of a comet (I, chap. XXVII). After the battle between King Agiugualit against his brother, Abrahem, a comet appeared in the sky auguring the disasters that were to befall King Agiugualit’s kingdom. The kingdom was left in ruins by the earthquakes, tide waves, storms, famine, and plagues that struck it. A modern reader might question what was the importance of the passage and the astrological prediction, apart from presenting how King Agiugualit faced the challenge and got the aid of his mayors. For this, we have to look into which prophecies were circulating at the end of the sixteenth century in Spain.

Grieve explains that while Luna borrowed the prophecy from one of his main sources, Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakem’s chronicle, the prophecy played a different role in his book (170). In Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakem’s chronicle the prophecy vaticinated the Muslim victory in 711. Nonetheless, Grieve argues that the passage resonated more with a twelfth century apocalyptic prophecy that had reemerged in Florence in 1480, and had circulated in Europe in various formulations. Historian Moses Gaster studied the original twelfth century letter, known as the “Letter of Toledo,” and its reformulations (Grieve 170). While in the original version, the document

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146 A recurrent motif in medieval folk tales, romances and chivalry novels was the use of physical attributes and signs as a way of identifying the hero or heroine of the story. For a detailed analysis of the Tarif’s prophecy, see Patricia Grieve’s “Miguel de Luna and Spain’s Prophetic History” in The Eve of Spain (168-70).

147 Another passage that augurs the defeat of the Visigothic army happens when Rodrigo and his men are preparing for battle. The king’s Second Lieutenant Ramiro, who was holding the Royal flag, suddenly dies (chap. IX). The gruesome details of the lieutenant’s death, shook the army just before heading into battle: “después de haber subido en su caballo, cayó muerto en el suelo de muerte supita, y al caer se quebró la asta del estandarte, y se hizo dos pedazos, de lo cual se entristecieron todos los suyos, y tuvieron aquel caso por prodigio, y mal aguero para aquel hecho que llevaban entre manos” (40).
predicted the catastrophic events that would occur in 1186, the Florentine version foretold how Christianity would be subjugated to Islam. Spain would experience it more than other parts of the Christian world. After a series of astrological signs, Muslims would join Christians, and a new and powerful Roman emperor would emerge again (Grieve 170).

The passage in *Verdadera historia* also alluded to the events and texts circulating in Spain at the time. As we have to recall, by the end of the sixteenth century, the atmosphere in Spain was one of crisis and prophecies announcing impending doom. The real threat that the Ottoman Empire posed in conjunction with the prophecies that augured the fusion of the Muslim and Christian worlds, such as the ones found in the Lead Books of Sacromonte and the *Gospel of Barnabas*, fostered an environment where predictions were not perceived as mere speculations, but as vaticinations of an impending future.  

Apart from the strong prophetic element in *Verdadera historia* in comparison to other versions of the story, there is no redemption of the figure of King Rodrigo. During the battle between Rodrigo and his army against Captain Tarif Abenzier and his men, Rodrigo ran away from the battle, exchanged clothes with a shepherd, and went into exile. These acts illustrated Rodrigo as a coward who disrobed himself from his responsibilities as a monarch when facing the imminent destruction of his kingdom. Therefore, Luna’s Rodrigo never truly lamented the

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148 Even after the Edicts of the Moriscos’ Expulsion (1609-1614), the notion of a possible syncretism between the Christian and Muslim worlds continued to circulate in Spain. Bernabé Pons comments on Alfonso de Luna’s testimony, possibly Miguel de Luna’s son, given in 1619 to an Inquisitorial tribunal that was prosecuting an already deceased Miguel de Luna for promoting heresy. During his testimony, Alonso de Luna indicated that he had received from God a revelation, which predicted the final conversion and the central role that Arabic would play in the conversion (xxxii). According to Alonso de Luna, God disclosed to him that he would play an important role in the conversion, since “en los libros del sancto desta ciudad estaba escripta toda la verdad catholica y evangelica y avia un libro illegible el cual hasta ahora no se habia podido leer ni entender y le tenia Dios guardado a el para que lo leyera e interpretese” (Bernard Vincent 143). The testimony illustrates not only how the foretelling of the fusion of the Muslim and Christian worlds persisted during the seventeenth century, but also how moriscos, such as Alonso de Luna, continued to try to re-vindicate their legacy after the Moriscos’ Expulsion by alluding to the Granadino texts.
loss of his kingdom, nor did he ever repent for his sins. Thus, there was no redemption for King Rodrigo in the text.

Rodrigo’s spinelessness was contrasted in the book with the characters of Captain Tarif Abenzier, Viceroy Muça el Zanhani, and, especially, King Abilgualit Miramamolin Jacobo Almaçor, King of the Arabias. From the first passage that mentioned the names of these characters, when Rodrigo sent Count Julian to an embassy in North Africa in an attempt to persuade the Arabs to help him capture his nephew Sancho and his mother Anagilda, the author described how respectful and loyal were Miramamolin’s subordinates to their king. When Count Julian approached Muça with Rodrigo’s request, he did not decide on the matter without King Miramamolin’s approval. On the other hand, King Miramamolin refused to participate in Rodrigo’s conspiracy. Hence, the passage established the dissimilarities between Rodrigo’s tyranny, and Miramamolin’s sense of justice.

While the first part of Verdadera historia described King Miramamolin Jacob Almaçor as an honorable, wise, and worthy sovereign, the second part of the book presented to the reader a book narrating the laudable life of the king. The story of the life of King Jacob Almaçor came from a different author than Abentarique, the Alcayde Ali Abenzufian. Therefore, the reader encountered another of Luna’s textual devices, since we have in the second part of Verdadera historia a meta-history; a historical book, the life of King Jacob Almaçor written by Ali Abenzufian, within the macro historical text, the history “composed” by Abentarique. According to a letter found at the beginning of the Ali’s text, King Abencirix requested the historian to compose the life of his great-grandfather, King Jacob Almaçor, since his story would be an example to be followed by other monarchs:
con la qual presevava à sus subditos, y extirpava à sus enemigos y la justicia, en la qual conservava sus Estados, y la temperancia q’ usava en todos sus actos, y obras, de quien todo el mundo está admirado, y los libros llenos de sus dichos, y sentencias en todas las ciencias, y notables hechos en armas, y grandes virtudes, y buenas costumbres, de las quales todos los Principes del mundo pueden tomar exemplo, y dechado, para regir, y governar sus Republicas, y vivir con quietud.” (234)

In this manner, in the second part of his book, Luna further developed the figure of the exemplary king as the utmost opposite of the figure of King Rodrigo.

The text of Ali Abenzufian is in fact a pseudo-mirror of princes. The king was described since childhood as the archetype of a prince. He was portrayed as someone who excelled in all of the arts and sciences, composed several texts on different subjects, including an *Espejo de principes*, commented Aristotle’s texts, and learned several languages. Jacob Almaçor’s knowledge on war and governance was unparalleled; even his father recognized that his son surpassed him in virtues, and Almaçor’s son was never able to fulfill his father’s shoes. In a way, Luna modeled the figure of Jacob Almaçor on the life of King Carlos I of Spain. There were several parallels between the lives of both monarchs. For example, as Carlos I had done, Jacob Almaçor also left the throne at his old age to his son, and retired in a secluded convent in the mountains.

However, Luna’s exemplary monarch even surpassed the figure of Carlos I. The king had different notions of a person’s worth not based on blood, but on the person’s intentions and

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149 Márquez Villanueva states that Luna’s model for his mirror of princes, the life of Jacob Almaçor, is Antonio de Guevara’s *Relox de principes*. While it is undeniable that one of the sources for the story of the life of Jacob Almaçor is Guevara, other critics have also argued that Luna may have used Arabic sources for the story. For François Delpech, certain aspects of the story are similar to passages from Himyarī’s *Rawd al-Mi’tūr*. Bernarbé Pons does not discard that Luna might have been inspired also by an Andalusi tradition similar to the mirror of prince, since both Castillo and Luna had access to Andalusi manuscript held at the Library of El Escorial (“Estudio preliminar” lxv-vii).
deeds: “No tenia atencion à sangre, ni menos à altos linajes, porque si era hombre particular de mediana, y tenia valor para regir, y governar, le dava el mejor lugar, y cargo de sus consejos” (251). Hence, a person’s recognition and advancement in his position were solely based on merit and not blood, something that greatly contrasted with the socio-political reality in Spain during the sixteenth century. At this time in Spain, social and political advancement was based on the person’s blood or ethnicity, since according to the statutes of the limpieza de sangre the higher positions in the Church, government and court were only reserved to cristianos viejos. Thus, Luna criticized how unfair and absurd were the statues of blood, while proposing a different scenario that would benefit the morisco community.

On the other hand, Tarif and Muça were depicted in the book as exemplary soldiers and leaders. Not only did they excel in battle, but their great success also lay in their capacity to negotiate ethically with the vanquished Christians throughout the Iberian Peninsula. In a way, Luna participates in the portrayal of the noble Moor found in the maurophile literature of the period. Some of the deeds that stood out in the text were Tarif’s treatment of the Visigothic army once vanquished, the decrees that were established once Spanish towns were conquered, and his unquestionable loyalty and respect for his superiors and king. After the battles between Tarif’s and Rodrigo’s armies, Tarif ordered his men to bury both Muslims and Christians out of respect and in order to prevent any outbreak with the corruption of the bodies. He instructed his army to respect the population of the newly conquered towns and cities. On the other hand, while he was offering a ransom to anyone, Christian or Muslim, that would bring Rodrigo to him, dead or alive, he was also looking after the safety of Queen Zahra, Rodrigo’s wife. During the conquest of the Peninsula by Muça, Tarif and their men, the author mentioned in several

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150 Some of the well known texts written in the sixteenth century that followed the maurophile tradition are the anonymous El Abencerraje, composed probably a decade before the Alpujarras’ War, and Ginés Pérez de Hita’s Historia de los bandos de los Zegries y Abencerrajes, published at the end of the sixteenth century.
passages the treatment that the conquered received from the Arab army as one fair, and most importantly, the covenants made were always honored. In a way, this message alluded to those covenants and capitulations made between Christians and Muslim communities that were not always honored by Christian monarchs.

In *Verdadera historia*, Christian Spain under Arab rule resembled the *mudejares*, locations destined for the Muslim communities in the town and villages of the Peninsula under Christian rule. However, the cohabitation between the communities in the text was more equitable than the treatment that the Muslim received under the Christian monarchs. As the author described in one of the negotiations between Tarif and the bishop of the Alpujarras’ region:

*hizo con él resolutamente concierto, que los Christianos avian de quedar en aquella tierra con sus haziendas, sin que de los suyos fuesen agraviados, y que tan solamente le pagarian lor tributos, y pechos que solian pagar à los Reyes Christianos, y no otros algunos; y si algunos dellos no quisiessen vivir en el a, que libremente pudiessen vendersus haziendas, y salir a tierra de Christianos, à la parte, y lugar donde quisiessen."

(54)

The passage made an allusion to *Capitulaciones de Granada* decreed in 1492 between the Catholic Monarchs and King Boabdil. However, the reference also conveyed a criticism since those stipulations began to be breached by the Catholic Monarchs by 1499, and continued to be disregarded by their successors throughout the sixteenth century.

Another important aspect that Luna presented in his history was the role of religion and conversion in the Peninsula after the Arab invasion. Contrary to the fate that the Muslim community in Granada had to endure after the Catholic Monarchs’ conquest, all the inhabitants
of the Peninsula enjoyed freedom of religion. The problem of conversion was not portrayed in
the text as coercive and violent, but more as a voluntary and natural process of assimilation and
acculturation. The author mentioned how the first conversions took place out of real necessity,
since there was a shortage of women available to marry the Arab inhabitants. Thus, an
announcement was made exhorting the voluntary decision of any Christian that wished to
convert to Islam:

mandaron pregonar en toda España, que todas la mugeres Christianas de sus naturales
moradores, y otra cualquier nacion, que quisiessen tornar á su ley, y casarse con los
Moros conquistadores, pudiesse gozar de las mismas preminencias que ellos gozavan, y
los mismos varones, ofreciendoles otras libertades, y repartimiento de tierras. Con este
nuevo vando, unos por miedo, y otros por codicia, se tornaron Moros infinito numero de
Christianos en my breve espacio de tiempo, y se casaron las mugeres con los
conquistadores.” (71)\(^{151}\)

The ironic element was introduced later in the passage, since the first to convert for political
expediency were none other than Spain’s archbishops and also old loyal advisors of King
Rodrigo, including Archbishop Oppas and ex-general of the Visigothic army.

Moreover, as José Godoy Alcántara accurately asserted in his insightful study of
Verdadera historia, the passage shattered the whole notion of limpieza de sangre, and the
category of Old Christians. Under the Arab dominion, the successful growth of the population
and the development of Muslim Spain was one rooted in the practice of mixed marriages, inter-
religiousness, and migration of Muslims and Jews from North Africa. Therefore, the whole idea

\(^{151}\) The passage echoes one of the sermons of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s Antialcorano. As I discussed in the
third chapter, Pérez de Chinchón alludes to the natural process of assimilation and acculturation between Muslims
and Christian after the Berber invasion in 711 in order to illustrate how moriscos were already, in fact, half-
Christians before their baptism.
of an uninterrupted and untainted bloodline dating from Visigothic kingdoms to sixteenth century Spain, which the whole neo-Gothic myth rested on, was nullified and exposed as just an idealistic, but unrealistic fantasy. As Godoy Alcántara indicates, with Luna’s depiction of Muslim Spain, no Spaniard could claim to have pure Visigothic blood.

Furthermore, in the inter-marriages between Arab and Visigoth monarchies, Luna presented to the reader an alternative scenario of succession, one that would include the Muslim side. The first inter-marriage that the reader encountered was the marriage of Rodrigo with an Arab princess named Zahra. The Muslim princess was the sole heir of an Arab kingdom in East Africa. One day, the princess’ ship went astray and landed in Spain. After being converted to Christianity, the princess married King Rodrigo. Thus, Rodrigo’s kingdom, the “last Visigothic” kingdom, was one rooted on hybridity, both Visigothic and Arab blood. This pattern was repeated in the story with Zahra’s second marriage. After Rodrigo’s death, Zahra married the Infante Mahomento Gilhair, son of the King of Tunisia, under the condition that he convert to Christianity. Even though the queen was Moorish and a Muslim convert, she was devoted to her faith. Therefore, the passage presented to the reader the idea that true conversion was possible.

At a time when *moriscos*, just as *conversos* in the past, were under constant suspicion and the watchful eye of the Inquisition of being false converts and performing Muslim customs in private, Luna included in his book examples of true Muslim conversions to Christianity. This, of course, contrasted with the Archbishops’ previous rapid and expedient conversion to Islam.

A third inter-marriage appeared in the story between nobles from both worlds. In *Verdadera historia*, Luna changes Egilona, Rodrigo’s wife in earlier chronicles, to the daughter of King Rodrigo and Queen Zahra. The story narrated that Rodrigo left his daughter under the care of one of his humble servants. Egilona was raised in a humble household, among the family
of her father’s servant. However, her identity was revealed to General Mahometo Abdelasis, who fell in love with the princess. As in the previous marriage, Egilona refused to leave her faith. Hence, an inter-religious marriage took place, in which each monarch, the Christian queen and the Muslim king, kept and respected the other’s religion. In this manner, Luna presented a different marriage scenario based not on conversion of one of the parties, but on religious tolerance and a possible pluralistic society.

Nonetheless, in the story, both marriages, Zahra’s and Mahomento Gilhair’s and Egilona’s and Mahometo Abdelasis’, ended tragically. External agents and factors, such as an angered and dishonored father, as it was the case of Mahomento Gilhair, or religious intolerance and political enemies, as it was the case Mahometo Abdalazis, truncated loving inter-religious marriages. The success of both marriages could have forged a new multi-religious and hybrid dynasty in Spain. In the story, Egilona was pregnant, but lost the baby when she witnessed her husband’s gruesome death. However, Luna exposed a dumbfounding and alternative scenario to the traditional account. If Rodrigo were to have a daughter, not only would she have been the rightful heir to the throne, instead of Pelayo, and the Spanish Monarchy not only would have been one based on hybridity, an Arab/Visigothic princess, but also *moriscos* could lay claim to the Spanish throne through the marriage of one of their own, the Muslim prince Abdelasis, to the Visigothic princess (Grieve 174).

Earlier and contemporary historians and chroniclers had creatively looked for ways of justifying the alleged uninterrupted blood continuation from Visigothic monarchs to the Trastamara dynasty. One of the recurring obstacles that the writers faced was if Rodrigo was given the title of “last king of the Goth” and had no offspring, then how could there be a claim of such a thing as a continuous bloodline. While some writers focused on trying to clarify and
interpret Rodrigo’s title as the “last Visigoth,” others undertook the task of construing the affinity between Rodrigo and his “successor,” Pelayo. Therefore, Luna’s inserting in the account a direct heir to King Rodrigo, would bypass Pelayo’s significance in the Visigothic dynasty.

To Menéndez Pidal and other critics’ detriment, Luna’s story of King Rodrigo was the version of the account that influenced later renditions of the story, both inside and outside of Spain. Moreover, Luna’s history exposed the pivotal role that Berbers played in the foundation of the Spanish nation at a moment when the morisco-granadino community had already been exiled and scattered throughout various regions of Castile, and their expulsion was eminent. In this manner, between original and translation, between prefaces, text and margins, Luna’s pseudo-translation creates a space that presents the “true history of Spain” as one hybrid and inclusive of all its cultures. Therefore, Luna’s Verdadera historia looked for a way to create an antidote that could ameliorate the crisis that the morisco population was experiencing by presenting a history more idyllic and plausible than the one circulating in the histories and chronicles of the period.

As has been discussed in this chapter, in the second half of the sixteenth century, these three texts re-wrote, modified and invented Spanish history at a time when Spanish historiography flourished with the creation of histories, chronicles, historical romances and archeological findings illustrating the glorious Christians origins of the Peninsula. Both Tratado del Alborayque and El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva, transpose a previous Jewish and converso problem onto another ethnic group, the moriscos. The new version of the Alborayque re-locates the issue over Judaizing Christians in the Iberian Peninsula to a more recent past with the Edict of the Expulsions of the Jews. In this manner, the text points to an
ongoing problem of false converts in the Catholic nation, while, at the same time, alludes to the
difficult process of acculturation and indoctrination of the morisco community.

Furthermore, *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva* and Miguel de Luna’s *Verdadera historia* are products of the havoc and aftermath of the Alpujarras’ War. In *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva*, we have seen how the text ridicules and transmits anti-morisco sentiments by re-locating past anti-Jewish sentiments to another ethnic group perceived
as an outsider, while confusing and conflating all of the ethnicities in the Peninsula perceived as
non-autochthonous, such as Jews, conversos, Muslims and moriscos.

In addition, while early modern scholars centered their endeavors on finding, resurrecting, re-imagining, and forging the past and legacy in order to create or invent their nation’s origins, Miguel de Luna composed his pseudo-translation, where he invented an alternative version of the official story and foundational myth of King Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king in the Peninsula. The translator and master forger resorted to the use of the well-known trope of the discovery of the long lost manuscript in order to introduce his pseudo-translation, where he played upon late sixteenth century conventions of history and translation by manipulating the fissures of both disciplines in order to create a “true” or plausible account of the story of King Rodrigo and the arrival of the Berbers to the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, in this manner, the three texts are symptomatic of a nation and empire in the midst of a crisis. While the new version of *Alborayque* and *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva* aimed to underline and ridicule socio-political tensions, *Verdadera historia* looked for a way to create an antidote that could ameliorate the crisis.
Conclusion

Nine years after the publication of the second part of Miguel de Luna’s *Verdadera historia*, the first decree of the expulsion of the *moriscos* was signed in August 4, 1609 and was proclaimed in September 22, 1609 in Valencia. The process of the relocation and expulsion of the *moriscos* was a gradual process that happened throughout the sixteenth century, and culminated with the several decrees of expulsions that took place from 1609 until 1614. This dissertation concludes with the end of a hundred and fifty years of processes of identification, location, incorporation and ultimate exclusion of the different ethnic populations, Jews, *conversos*, Muslims and *moriscos*. This dissertation has provided a comprehensive study of the various debates over the conception and perception of the different ethnic populations present in the texts and images of this study that begins and ends with two pivotal socio-historical moments, from the years after the revolt in Toledo in the mid-fifteenth century and the publication of the *Sentencia-Estatuto* to the turbulent years after the Alpujarras’ War with the dispersion of the *morisco-granadino* community and the years that preceded the official expulsion of the *moriscos*.

Through the category of hybridity, this study has provided an analysis of the images, present in the texts and illustrations, used in order to depict each ethnic group, and how the hybrids in the texts propose either the inclusion or the exclusion of these groups. In addition, this project has aimed to examine the different spaces, either marginal and liminal or inclusive to the Spanish-Christian domain, created in the texts and in the socio-political landscape in the Iberian Peninsula of the period. At the same time, the texts and images themselves theorize on where to locate and identify the different ethnic groups, which at times were based in real locations and
boundaries drawn between the ethnic communities and Christians, and, at other times, the texts present a mere desideratum that circulated in religious and cultural imaginaries.

As I have proven in this study, the creation of these spaces came from different circles, from religious and political domains, popular culture, and influential personalities in the courts of the different monarchs that vary from one period to another. Moreover, these spaces begin to emerge and be formulated at the eve of the creation of the Castilian-Aragonese hegemonic national project, and their posterior re-formulations during Spain’s imperial endeavors. In addition, the study has demonstrated that the perception of the ethnic groups, from religious difference to racial or genealogical difference, was a whole spectrum of terminology that circulated in order to address these groups, such as genus, linaje in its various connotations, secta, and the beginning of the use of the term raça.

In the first and second chapters, which examined the years after the publication of the Sentencia-Estatuto to the years that preceded the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, showed how from diatribes, poetry and legends to propagandistic pamphlets, the texts exhibited the conception of Jews and conversos as having a distinct linaje or blood different from Christian linaje. This notion of linaje is present in the texts analyzed: Fortalitium fidei’s conception of Jews and conversos sharing the same genus that cannot be obliterated with baptism; the perro de Alba, who senses what was not evident to human sight, the racial difference of Jews and conversos from that of Christians; and the Alborayque’s denouncing, through the treatise’s image and textual references the composite nature of conversos, as not Muslim, Jewish, nor Christian. Moreover, the texts and images also situate Jews and conversos at the limits or outskirts of towns, the Iberian Peninsula or Christian world.
In the third chapter, I studied the complex and turbulent last three decades of the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century, a period that comprehends the first years after the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition to the end of the *mudejar* status in the Iberian Peninsula. I proved in this chapter how in the religious texts of Hernando de Talavera’s *Católica impugnación* and Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s *Antialcorano*, the texts illustrate the limits between Christianity and Judaism or Islam with animal and beastly imagery present in medieval polemical texts. However, I argued that both texts firmly believed in the inclusion of Jewish and Muslim converts to the Christian flock through the sacrament of baptism and indoctrination. Talavera considered that true Jewish converts are part of the Christian flock or *linaje*, but while Pérez de Chinchón believes in the same precept, it is not clear what he means by the word *linaje*. Is *linaje* referring to religion, blood or both?

The analysis of the fourth chapter demonstrated the re-circulation, modifications and invention of the late-sixteenth-century *Alborayque*, *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva* and Miguel de Luna’s *Verdadera historia del Rey don Rodrigo* as product of the complex and turbulent context in the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the sixteenth century. In this version of *Alborayque* and *El pleito de los moriscos con el perro de Alva*, a previous late-fifteenth-century Jewish and *converso* problem is transposed to another historical period and ethnicity, the *moriscos*. In this dissertation I discussed how several authors made use of the legend of don Rodrigo in order to advocate for the exclusion of Jews, or the inclusion of *moriscos*. However, in Miguel de Luna’s *Verdadera historia*, I argued how the *morisco* translator resorts to creating a pseudo-translation as a way of introducing a *morisco* counter-history to Spain’s foundational myth of King Rodrigo, a history that would exalt the Arab legacy
of the Peninsula. Hence, Luna’s pseudo-translation creates a space that presents the “true history of Spain” as one that is hybrid and inclusive of all its cultures.

This project thus has shed light on the various ways that the different ethnic groups, Jews, conversos, Muslims, moriscos, were portrayed and the justifications for the description of these groups as hybrids and liminal entities residing in the Iberian Peninsula in a series of textual and image traditions, which heretofore had not been put into dialogue. The interdisciplinary lens employed in this project can contribute to academic discussions and debates, not only on Spanish literature and cultural studies, but also across disciplines, Religious Studies, History, Race and Ethnic Studies, and Translation Studies.
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Appendix: Images from chapter two

(Figure 1)
(Figure 2)
(Figure 5)