Anti-Judaism

THE WESTERN TRADITION

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For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry,
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son,
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farm:
England, bound in with the triumphant sea
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds:
That England, that was wont to conquer others,
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.

For T. S. Eliot, these words were a paean to patriotism. For us they are something else: a powerfully Judaizing political critique. John's "prophecy" hurtles from demi-paradise, through stubborn Jewry, to a servile land bound in with parchment bonds.[53] Conquered by inkblots on paper, Shakespeare's Englishmen have become slaves to letter, shameful Jews. But the prophet does not stop here. Enter King Richard II, and John speaks, like Ambrose a millennium before but pregnant with different meaning, a certain kind of truth to majesty:

Why, cousin, wert thou regent of the world,
It were a shame to let this land by lease;
But for thy world enjoying but this land,
Is it not more than shame to shame it so?
Landlord of England art thou now, not king:
Thy state of law is bondslave to the law; And thou—

A lesser dramatist might have furnished the speech with a blunt conclusion: "art from a sovereign turned to tyrant Jew." Shakespeare leaves us hanging. But he has more to say on the subject, and so will we, in chapter 8.

Chapter 6

THE EXTINCTION OF SPAIN'S JEWS AND THE BIRTH OF ITS INQUISITION

The Christian who is neighbor with a Jew will never be a good Christian.

—Saint Vincent Ferrer, ca. 1400

No one quite knows when Europe ceased being medieval, but everyone is sure that it did. In late-fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy, we are taught in school, "humanist" scholars began to develop new practices of reading and writing oriented toward the recuperation of the wisdom of Greek and Latin antiquity. In the sixteenth century, the application of their methods to the textual foundations of Catholicism by Protestant theologians like Martin Luther and John Calvin challenged the monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church. That challenge began the debates about God's governance of the world that we call the "Reformation" and the "Counter-Reformation," debates whose

sharper edge was felt in the "wars of religion" that consumed Europe for the next two centuries. Simultaneously, the rise of a new empire in the east (the Ottomans), the conquest of a new world in the west (Atlantic Africa and the Americas), and the development of new attitudes toward trade within the reaches of this vast compass all contributed to the creation of novel economic, commercial, and hence political orders for which we have no single name ("capitalism," for example, being too large, and "mercantilism" too small).

All of these transformations and many more we subsume under the term *Renaissance*. This term, which few historians today would use without some sense of irony, implies the rebirth of classical civilization out of the ashes of the Middle Ages. This is not the place to argue about the accuracy of the claim. It is true, as medievalists often complain, that the Renaissance inherited from the Middle Ages a great deal of both what it claimed to have discovered and what it claimed to have left behind. But from the point of view of our project, the period from 1400 to 1600 in European history was significantly different from what came before. It was in its Renaissance that western Europe achieved what the Middle Ages had at most dreamed of: a world free of Jews. It is in the same period that this dream of freedom turned into a nightmare, and Christian Europe awoke haunted by the conviction that it was becoming Jewish. The seeming contradiction within this coincidence is striking and worth investigating. Why is it that the fear of Judaizing reached a new peak in western Europe at precisely the moment when Jews had virtually disappeared from it? We will ask this question over and over again in the chapters that follow, on Luther's Reformation and Shakespeare's stage. But there is no more dramatic place to start than with the revolution that, in the previous chapter, we saw taking place in the medieval lands we nowadays call Spain.[1]

"So That No Jew Remain in the World Henceforth"

No one, in the days before Holy Week of 1391, would have thought of the Iberian Peninsula as a land without Jews. Heirs to centuries of Islamic

rule, the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon (not to mention Navarre and Portugal) housed much larger populations of non-Christians than any other region in western Europe. Even the most optimistic members of the small band that set out on the fifteenth of March to attack the Jewish quarter of Seville cannot have expected to change that, or been too surprised when their attempt was frustrated by the royal officials who customarily guarded the Jews at this volatile time of year, when ritualized attacks on Jewish neighborhoods were common (see previous chapter).[2] Nevertheless the preaching of Archdeacon Ferrant Martínez urged persistence, and on June 6 they tried again. This time the Jewish quarter was overrun, and many of its inhabitants killed or forcibly converted. Quick as rumor, the violence spread: by the end of August it had reached more than seventy other towns and cities of the peninsula.

One survivor, Reuven, son of Rabbi Nissim of Gerona, described the events of that summer in words he penned in the margins of his father's Torah scroll, which he rescued from the wreckage:

> *Wail, holy and glorious Torah, and put on black raiment, for the expounders of your lucid words perished in the flames. For three months the conflagration spread through the holy congregations of the exile of Israel in Sepharad. The fate [of Sodom and Gomorrah] overtook the holy communities of Castile, Toledo, Seville, Mallorca, Cordoba, Valencia, Barcelona, Tàrrega, and Girona, and sixty neighboring cities and villages. . . . The sword, slaughter, destruction, forced conversions, captivity, and spoliation were the order of the day. Many were sold as slaves to the Ishmaelites [Muslims];* 140,000 *were unable to resist those who so barbarously forced them and gave themselves up to impurity [i.e., converted].*

Reuven's figure for converts is staggering, amounting to nearly half of the entire Jewish population we might reasonably estimate at this time for the Crowns of Castile and Aragon combined. Like him, other contemporary observers stressed the high number of converts and the disappearance of Jews from many towns and cities. The prominent Jewish

courtier Hasdai Crescas wrote that no Jews remained in the Kingdom of Valencia except in the town of Murviedro. Describing the large Jewish population of Gerona, the royal chancery simply stated that the majority converted while others were put to the sword. The nobleman and chronicler Pedro López de Ayala used very similar words to describe the fate of Seville's community.[3]

Neither Reuven, nor Hasdai, nor any other contemporary gives estimates for the number of slain. Seldom do we find documents describing the massacres themselves, and even then the information is often incidental. We know how officials in Barcelona dealt with the dead only because years later the new owner of a house in the former Jewish quarter asked for permission to remove the many corpses filling the neighborhood water well.[4] Not until centuries after the events did Hebrew chroniclers begin assigning numbers to the fallen (in the case of Joseph Ha-Cohen, 150,000). Modern historians, always suspicious of premodern statistics, are right to point out that these numbers of killed and converted are implausible, and to replace them with more modest but equally conjectural estimates. However much we might reduce their toll, we should not doubt that these killings and conversions not only meant to transform the religious demography of the Iberian Peninsula, but actually succeeded.[5]

There is plenty of evidence that many of the actors in 1391 were pursuing a vision of a Christian society freed from its Jews: the cries of "let the Jews convert or die" with which the mobs assaulted Jewish quarters, and the prolonged sieges (sometimes months long) of fortifications in which Jews had successfully found refuge suggest that the passion of the attackers was oriented by visions of a world rid of Jews. Moreover, in the weeks following the massacres the municipal leaders of cities like Valencia and Barcelona undertook ongoing campaigns of conversion and expulsion. In Barcelona, for example, the governing council decreed shortly after the riots that any Christians who were hiding or sheltering Jewish survivors had to surrender them. As the council decreed a few days later, these survivors were to be housed with clerics so that they might better be instructed in the Catholic faith. Any surviving Jew who refused to convert after instruction was to be expelled from the city. In other words, whatever their causes (which were undoubtedly many and varied) the massacres and mass conversions of 1391 expressed the view of both citizens and civic leaders that separation from Judaism, and even its elimination, were structurally necessary for the improvement of the Christian community.[6]

These efforts at perfection did not end with that year. In the years immediately following 1391 the king pursued a policy of resettling Jews in cities from which they had disappeared. The governments of these cities just as actively pursued a policy of resistance to any restoration of Jewish settlement and utilized a variety of financial inducements, as well as arguments ranging from theology to public safety, to obtain from their rulers the perpetual ban on Jewish residence within their limits. Valencia, for example, received a privilege from King Martin in 1397. Barcelona struggled longer to achieve its goal. Martin granted the city a ban on Jews in 1401, but limited its duration to eight years. That year the outgoing city councilors reminded their successors to maintain pressure to make the ban permanent, since Jewish presence leads to scandal and riot, but it was not until 1430 or so that the city obtained the permanent privilege of keeping all Jews from settling within its jurisdiction.[7]

Preachers, too, moved to extend the implications of this apocalyptic moment. Shortly after the riots, Antoni Rieri of Lerida was accused, among other things, of preaching that the prophesied time had arrived "in which all Jews must die, so that no Jew remain in the world henceforth." Antoni was charged with heresy, but his eschatology was unexceptionable. Apocalyptic readings of the epistle to the Romans had long suggested that at the end of time a righteous remnant of the Jews would convert to Christianity. The remainder would be killed while fighting as soldiers for the Antichrist. Antoni's error consisted only in believing that the first half of this prophecy had been fulfilled by the events of 1391. But some of his coreligionists continued to organize attacks on the Jews of Lerida as late as 1400: "It has reached our ears," writes the king, "that some sons of iniquity, desiring the destruction of the Jewish quarter of that city, which we have newly made and commanded to

be established, have several times attempted, so it is said, the aforesaid destruction." Perhaps Antoni's "heretical" views were widely shared?[8]

Without multiplying examples: the massacres and mass conversions of 1391 raised in the Iberian Christian imagination, perhaps for the first time since the Visigoths in the seventh century, the possibility of a world without Jews. With many of the largest cities of Castile, Catalonia, Valencia, and Mallorca now free, that world seemed on the cusp of becoming reality. These were exhilarating times for a Christian society trained to hear the hoof beats of apocalypse in the retreating footsteps of the Jews. But they were also highly unsettling to a society used to thinking about Christianity in terms of its difference from Judaism. How would Christianity define itself if the living exemplars of that difference vanished?[9]

The Vanishing Difference between Christian and Jew

One symptom of the anxiety provoked by this question is the letter that King Joan I of Aragon wrote to the officials of his most important cities in 1393. He informed them that it had become impossible for "natural Christians"—that is, not the converts—to tell who was a convert to Christianity and who was still a Jew. To help reestablish the difference, converts were henceforth forbidden to live, dine, or "have conversation with" Jews. The Jews were to be made to wear more conspicuous badges and Jewish hats, so "that they appear to be Jews." Failure to make the difference clearer would put the most basic boundaries of Christianity at risk. The letter concluded with worry about one of the most important of these boundaries: "[W]e order and desire that if any of these said Jews are found with a Christian woman in a suspicious place, in order to have carnal copulation with her, let them both be burned without mercy."[10]

In other words, as soon as the Jews began to disappear, contemporaries began to worry that it was becoming impossible to separate them from Christians. To cope with these worries King Joan advocated a strategy that we today would call segregation: mark the remaining

Jews more visibly and increase the social distance between them and the Christians. Perhaps because this strategy was not applied very systematically, it seems to have provided some twenty years of stability, without major outbreaks of Christian concern about the identifiability of either Jews or converts. That stability ended in 1411, when Saint Vincent Ferrer, a man widely considered the holiest of his age, pushed the logic of segregation to its limits.

Saint Vincent's worries were expressed in familiar terms. He believed that "[T]he Christian who is neighbor with a Jew will never be a good Christian," and he was convinced that the two religious groups had become too neighborly. According to him, Jews (and Muslims) were living among Christians, dressing like Christians, adopting Christian names, so that "by their appearance they are taken and reputed by many to be Christians." He even preached that as a result of this confusion, "many Christian men believe their wife's children to be their own, when they are actually by Muslim and Jewish [fathers]."[11]

Saint Vincent, like King Joan, sought to reinstate the necessary distance between Christian and Jew, but he had an additional goal as well: eliminating the Jewish antithesis to Christianity altogether. He did not advocate the killing of the Jews, as the "heretic" Antoni had done. Rather, from 1411 to 1416, the saint mounted a messianic program to achieve either their conversion or their complete isolation. On the one hand, he preached the prohibition of any intercourse across religious boundaries:

> *Jews and Muslims should be separate, not among Christians. Do not tolerate infidel doctors, do not buy victuals from them, let them be walled up and enclosed, for we have no greater enemies. Christian women may not be their wet nurses, nor should [you] eat with them. If they send you bread, throw it to the dogs. . . . for Holy Scripture says of these sins: "Do you not know that a little leaven corrupts the entire dough?" (1 Cor. 5)*[12]

To implement that separation from the Jews (Muslims were sometimes included in the rhetoric of the sermons and edicts, but almost never in

their implementation) Vincent encouraged and coordinated the efforts of the pope, the kings of Castile and of Aragon, and innumerable local officials in one of the most thorough attempts at segregation before the modern era. Jews were to be moved to totally separate neighborhoods. Even commercial contact between Jew and Christian was severely restricted since the ideal was to prohibit all exchange. In some towns Christians refused to sell Jews food. Entire communities found themselves evicted, "with boys and girls dying from exposure to the cold and the snow." Writing some years after these events, one Jewish chronicler called them "the greatest persecution that had ever occurred."[13]

Simultaneous with this segregation, Vincent and his patrons mounted a massive program of evangelization. Rabbis from all the communities of the Crown of Aragon were summoned before the pope and his cardinals in the city of Tortosa, where they were required to remain for a lengthy disputation, the largest ever staged in the Middle Ages, intended to convince them once and for all of the falsity of their faith. Their communities were meanwhile compelled to attend sermons aimed at their conversions. We know from the rich archives of the Crown of Aragon that in those lands, at least, the king made extraordinary efforts to pressure the members of leading Jewish families to convert, efforts that ranged from promises of monetary reward to the imprisonment of recalcitrant relatives. The fully intended consequence of all these segregatory and evangelizing efforts was the mass conversion of tens of thousands of Jews to Christianity. As in 1391, entire populations converted in many towns, some of which (like Alcañiz) promptly obtained from the king perpetual bans on Jewish residence in order to make permanent their spiritual gains.[14]

Given the Christian triumph at the disputation of Tortosa, the increasingly effective segregation of the Jews, and the streams of neophytes in angelic garb emerging from baptismal fonts, contemporaries may be forgiven for thinking once again that they were witnessing the end of a living Jewish presence within the Christian community. But Saint Vincent's project was abandoned before it was completed. King Ferran I, Vincent's patron in Catalonia-Aragon, died in 1416. Castile

and Aragon withdrew their obedience from his papal sponsor, Benedict XIII, who was deposed and declared "anti-pope" by the Council of Constance in 1417. The Jews remained, albeit much diminished, in the peninsula, and Vincent left to die out of favor in Brittany.

Saint Vincent's actions, combined with those of the earlier rioters, reduced the population of Jews living in the lands we now call Spain to a fraction (somewhere between one-fourth and one-half) of what they had been before 1391. But in many ways his activities heightened the anxieties of neighborliness that had motivated them in the first place. As in 1391, the appearance of tens of thousands of new converts seemed suddenly to diminish the distance between Christian and Jew, not increase it. On the one hand, the converts enjoyed all the privileges of a Christian. As the convert Francesch de San Jordi (known as Astruch Rimoch before his conversion) put it a bit hyperbolically in a letter to the unconverted Jew Shaltiel Bonafos,

> *Those who have emerged from the waters of baptism, from the fountains of salvation, are firmly established upon golden pedestals. They are all personages. In their courts and in their palaces there are ivories and monkeys and peacocks and dwarves; they divested themselves of their soiled attire . . . and donned the garments of salvation.*[15]

Of course we know that the vast majority of those who converted remained poor, without peacock or dwarf, but even the lowliest convert could now perform his Christianity by throwing rocks at Jews during Holy Week, having sex with Christian women, or working in a trade forbidden to Jews, and we know that many of them did.

Yet at the same time that converts enjoyed the privileges of the Christians, many remained close to their former coreligionists. They were, in fact, often "neighbors," since converts in many cities continued to occupy, as they had before their conversion, houses in or near the Jewish quarter. In the immediate aftermath of the 1391 riots in Mallorca, city officials asked converts whether they wished to remain in their old homes or move out into traditionally Christian neighborhoods. Most

preferred to stay put, although the city soon received a letter from the king insisting that any proximity or "conversation" between converts and Jews "could not be without great peril." Even in Barcelona, where very few Jews remained unconverted in 1391, municipal officials worried about establishing sufficient distance and ordered converts to brick up any windows or doors that opened onto the houses of Jews.[16]

Proximities of residence were not the only ones to endure. Family ties, too, extended over the previously un-spanned abyss of kinship between religious communities. Perhaps the most unusual of these ties was that of marriage. During the 1391 massacres in Girona, a husband who had just converted sent messengers to the tower where his Jewish wife was still being besieged by the mob, asking her to return to him under the condition that she not interfere with his observing the Christian faith. She refused. Conversely, when Samuel Baruch's wife Aldonça converted to Christianity in 1391, her father, also a convert, publicly presented his son-in-law with two possibilities: convert to Christianity and continue the marriage, or remain a Jew but still keep her as his wife without prejudicing her Christian faith.[17] These ad hoc arrangements became formal choices during the second wave of conversions, when in 1415 Pope Benedict ruled that mixed couples could continue living together for a year from the date of conversion, so that the Christian spouse might convince the unconverted partner. But in 1417 the city of Gerona complained that within its jurisdiction, at least, the period of grace was being exceeded, and asked that "the Jewish wives of the new Christians be separated from their husbands, since they don't want to be converted and have had a long time for deliberation." The city also insisted that the new Christians should be forced to baptize any minor children in their power who remained Jews.[18]

Such "mixed marriages" were temporary and probably rare, but as the city of Gerona's complaint suggests, the problem of mixed families extended far beyond spouses. In 1393 King Juan had expressed shocked surprise that many converts in the Kingdom of Valencia "have in their homes and habitations wives, children, nephews, cousins, brothers, parents and others who are still Jews, and even infants, that

is, children under seven years of age." It was this last group that particularly offended the king, who decreed that the children be baptized or removed from the Christian homes. A little later, he also decreed that converted children should be taken from the homes of their Jewish parents.[19]

In these cases the king tried to weaken family ties across confessional boundaries. Often, however, royal action reinforced them. Before 1391, for example, kings insisted that converts could not inherit from Jews. This baptismal disinheritance was meant primarily to protect the king's claims over the property of his Jews, but it also had the effect of severing many legal connections between converts and their Jewish relatives. After the mass conversions, on the other hand, kings forcefully maintained the rights of converts to inherit from Jewish kin, making the separation much less radical. Conversely, they also recognized the ongoing claims of Jewish kin on their converted brethren. Sometimes these claims could even be religious, as when King Joan compelled the new Christian Manuel Salvador (formerly the Jew Mahir Suxen) to perform the Jewish *halitza* ceremony for his widowed sister-in-law Haluha, who was unconverted and wished to marry again. Much more often they were financial. The debts, taxes, and business affairs of Jews and converts remained entangled for a generation after 1391, and those entanglements were re-created for yet another generation by the mass conversions of 1411–1416.[20]

The point, in short, is that the flood of baptism that swept over Spain in the decades around 1400 filled much of the available space between Judaism and Christianity with converts. The retreat of those apocalyptic waters uncovered a much-altered social and religious landscape. Saint Vincent's own efforts had themselves been inspired by the first wave of these alterations and the disorientations they produced. But insofar as his great victories ushered a new mass of converts into the no-man's land between Judaism and Christianity, they only increased the anxieties that they were meant to contain. In the sense that neither hyper-segregating the Jews nor converting them had solved the problem of proximity, Vincent's messianic mission was a failure. After that failure,

the post-conversion generations took a very different tack. Instead of attempting yet again to contain the danger of Judaism among the Jews, they put that danger to work among themselves, threatening each other, both old Christian and new, with the fear of becoming "Jew."[21]

"Many Frequently Judaize"

Since the relapse of converts to their former religion was punishable as a crime, new Christians were obviously vulnerable to charges of Judaizing. Toward the end of the fifteenth century this vulnerability would find a famous institutional home in the Spanish Inquisition. The situation at the century's beginning, however, was very different. With tens of thousands of uninstructed converts stumbling toward Christian worship, there must have been opportunity for a litany of accusations about their Jewish errors and habits. In 1400, for example, King Martin complained that converts "frequently judaize" by celebrating Jewish holidays, and called on inquisitors to help him in "extirpating these errors." Accusations of wrongdoing were useful weapons in the countless conflicts of daily life, and we know that people often reached for them. But what is most striking about these concerns is how rarely they were voiced officially, and how moderately they were acted on. In the case of convert Judaizing, the chorus remained largely silent for some fifty years.[22]

Before the middle of the fifteenth century, the voices we hear invoking convert Jewishness are scattered, improvisational, and of little resonance. The 1407 trial of Peter Ganyiver, a tailor from Lerida, provides a good example. In November of that year he was summoned, bearing lance, sword, and shield, to serve in the local militia. Before his conversion from Judaism, Peter would not have been called to militia service. Once a Christian he was entitled, indeed obligated, to the honor, but his Jewish past marched with him. After his unit had left its bivouac in the village of Miralcamp, rumor began to spread that he had broken into the village church, smashed the chest containing the Eucharistic wafers, ripped down the crucifix, and thrown it in a bonfire.

We know from the transcript of the trial, held at Lerida after the

militia's return, that Peter's accusers drew on negative feelings about converts as a class. "Oh, these converts do so much harm," the rumor's chief monger is reported to have said. We suspect as well that they were motivated by more personal vendettas, since Peter's family had persistent enemies. (His sister Franchesca had been acquitted of poisoning charges exactly a year before.) But the weapons available to those enemies, the tools with which they could exploit Peter's "Jewishness" and put it to work, were not yet standardized. Hence they pursued Peter, not with charges of Judaizing, but with denunciations of host desecration and blasphemy drawn (like the charge of poisoning against his sister) from old stock long deployed against the Jews. Peter's accusers were inventive, but unsuccessful. The native of Miralcamp that they had named as eyewitness to the desecration denied any knowledge of the affair, and Peter was acquitted.[23]

The half century after 1391 was marked by this type of creativity, as contemporaries experienced the frictions caused by the new proximity of Jewishness and Christianity, and experimented with ways of harnessing the energies those frictions released. Some of these experiments took aim at converts like Peter or their descendants. Others threatened "old Christians," "natural Christians," with new force. This should not be surprising: in the tradition of Saint Paul, Judaizing had always been a Christian vice, not a Jewish one. It had also always been understood as a linguistic error, a basic miscomprehension of how words work to relate humans to each other, their God, and their world. We should therefore expect the Judaizing experiments of Spain's fifteenth century to address the most basic questions about language and communication in Christian communities.

Putting Judaizing to Work: Poets "Stuffed Full of Jewish Sperm"

Not everyone is equally interested in thinking about how language works. Poets are among those with the most obvious stake, and their Judaizing experiments were among the most precocious. (In chapter 8

we will turn to the similar experiments of a later, and English, poet.) A precious example is the first known "critical anthology" of Castilian poetry, the songbook, or *Cancionero*, compiled by Juan Alfonso de Baena. The anthology contains some six hundred poems composed in the courts of four Castilian kings, ranging from shortly before 1391 to shortly after 1430, when Baena presented the work to King Juan II. The anthology is critical in the sense that each poem is preceded by a short editorial introduction noting merits and demerits, and the whole is prefaced with a meditation on the function of poetry and the nature of the poet's art.[24]

The *Cancionero*'s poets, nearly all Christian, are constantly defaming one another, and the accusation of Jewishness is prominent among the charges they hurl. They accuse each other of Jewish ancestry, of having too small a foreskin or too big a nose, of heterosexual and homosexual intercourse with Jews. Indeed the collection includes many poems that insult the editor himself. Some poets refer to his "bath in the water of holy baptism," or to his sexual encounters with Jews, both male and female (the Mariscal Íñigo de Astuñiga, for example, claims that the editor is stuffed full of Jewish sperm). Poems impugn his birthplace of Baena as a land where "much good eggplant" is grown, mock him for having "eyes of eggplant," and even threaten to put him to flight with a "barrage of eggplants."[25]

Each of these defamations deserves a history of its own. The attention to eggplant, for example, derives from the popular association of this vegetable with Muslims (who introduced it into Spain) and Jews (who were reputed to be especially fond of it). Some seventeenth-century satirical texts suggest that individuals convicted of heresy or witchcraft by the Inquisition might be pelted with eggplant as they did their public penance. Sancho Panza, on the other hand, changes the last name of the Muslim Cidi Hamete Benegali to Berengena, "Eggplant," because "the Moors," so he says, "are very fond of aubergine." But none of these defamations was tied strictly to a "real" religion or a lineage. On the contrary, their "Islamizing," "Sodomizing," or "Judaizing" charge could be widely deployed. The royal chronicler Alonso de Palencia, for example, tells of a dispute between Burgos and Toledo in 1480, over which city should have the right to call itself "first city" of Spain. The procurators for Burgos won the field, in part by calling the citizens of Toledo "Berenjeneros" (eggplant eaters)—a successful strategy that gained its power, not from the religion of its targets, but from the power of the insult to summon specters of Judaism.[26]

And yet, historians and critics have often deduced from such accusations that if a poet is attacked as Judaizing, he must be a *converso*. And if the attacker himself betrays knowledge of Judaism (for example, by drawing on Hebrew vocabulary, such as *meshumad* for apostate) then he too may be presumed to have a Jewish past. The result of such logic is the conviction that, as one critic put it already in 1871, the *Cancionero* is full of "half-converted Jews." Yet in many cases where we have been able to find further, nonpoetic evidence about the poets of this *Cancionero*, they turn out not to be descended from Jews at all. How then can we make sense of the fact that in poetry they are so often insulted as converts?[27]

Like so much "Judaism" in this book, the Judaism of our Christian poets has much to do with the history of Christian thought. In this particular case, their insults are part of a strategic deployment of Judaism developed to defend Christian poetry from its critics. Following Plato, theologians from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas had attacked poetry as the use of language that came closest to reproducing through imitation the materiality of nature (mimesis). Poetry was, according to these theologians, the genre most tightly bound to literalism and to flesh, the most dangerously seductive. Poetic fictions, as Saint Thomas Aquinas put it, contain no divine truth. They "have no purpose except to signify; and such signification does not go beyond the literal sense." Saints issued similar warnings in the Spain of Juan Alfonso de Baena and his colleagues: both Vincent Ferrer and Alonso de Cartagena (the convert from Judaism who was bishop of Burgos) preached about the dangers of poetry.[28]

Of course poetic fictions also had their defenders of the day, most famously Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Like these Italian notables,

Baena and his colleagues were seeking to justify and enlarge the place of poetry within Christianity. They did so through a theory of "poetic grace" much like that of Dante, a theory that is articulated in Baena's prologue to the *Cancionero* as well as in its poetry. Two lines of Latin verse scrawled at the top of the first manuscript folio capture the general theme: "To each one grace is given / according to Saint Paul" (a paraphrase of Eph. 4:7). The proper use of poetic language was, our poets claimed, the product of divine grace and inspiration, and through this inspiration the lay poet, if he was a *good* poet, gained access to spiritual truth.[29]

In this debate over the status of poetry, the negative foil of "Judaism" was deployed by all sides. It could, for example, buttress claims that the "infused grace of God" offered poetry access to divine truths that escaped the sophisticated training of the theologian. The poet Ferrán Manuel de Lando tried this approach when he reminded Friar Lope del Monte that "God chose to reveal his secrets / to simple folk, humble, heavy, and rude, / while he left the learned nude, and hid from them his glory, / as Our Savior makes clear / in the subtle texts of His Gospel story." These verses contain an implicit accusation of "Judaism," insofar as they align the theologian with the seemingly learned but actually blind Pharisees in the gospels. Friar Lope's position in this debate, on the other hand, reiterates the traditional condemnation of poetry as "literal fictions" without hints of the divine. The poet, he says, belongs with those who have "never achieved knowledge of divine deeds: . . . the gentile, the Jew, and the tax collector." In his final riposte, Friar Lope turns Lando's implicit "pharisaization" of theologians (that is, his accusation that those who seem clothed in learning are in reality naked and blind) on its head. "God makes bears with furry skins, and makes the ignorant wise. / But few are the wise and truly learned, who have hairy chests and thighs." Whatever the limits to our knowledge in this world, Lope implies, one thing is clear: in theological matters his rival Lando, a mere lay poet, ranks with Jews and beasts.[30]

Perhaps the most important help that Judaism gave these poets, however, was in the development of their own practice of poetic criticism: that is, in deciding who really was a *good* poet and therefore not a "Jewish" one. Then, as now, poets liked to complain that bad poetry was often mistaken for good, and good poetry maligned as bad. In his own version of this plaint, Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino, the most influential of the *Cancionero* poets, characterized what he called "meter scribblers" ("metrificadores") as tax collectors ("arrendadores"), and mockingly described the king rewarding them with "robes with badges" ("ropas con señales") like those the Jews wear. But of course Villasandino, Baena, and their colleagues were not willing to surrender poetry to these false "Jewish" poets. Instead they developed a critical framework within which to distinguish between good poems and bad.[31]

That framework is articulated in the prologue to Baena's *Cancionero*, which can fairly be called the earliest surviving poetic manifesto in the Castilian language. I already mentioned the first prerequisite for good verse articulated in that prologue: Paul's "infused grace of God." There were a number of others: 2) knowledge of rules of meter and form, 3) subtle inventiveness, 4) exquisite discretion and judgment, 5) broad reading, 6) knowledge of all languages, 7) familiarity with court life, 8) nobility and courtesy, and 9) always seeming to be a good lover, loving whom one should, as one should, where one should. The degree to which poets possessed these qualities could be diagnosed directly from their poetry. Insofar as Baena's colleagues understood the poet's state of grace as legible in the poetry itself, the poem became a literary marker of its author's place (at the moment of composition) on the continuum between letter and spirit, with the bad poet, the mis-user of language, understood as (among other things) a graceless "Jew."

Baena presents the pages of his *Cancionero* as the lists in which the mettle of each poet and each poem are put to the test of this complex standard. The martial metaphor is especially appropriate, because although the poems reach us preserved on paper, the poetic honor of Baena's authors was gained in competitive performance before a live audience. Baena himself put this wittily in his poetic challenge to the poet Ferrán Manuel de Lando: "Ferrand Manuel, for the public display / of your marvelous skill / in this great court of the King of Castile /

Someone must give you a sting." It is out of provocation, according to Baena, that good poetry is born. But the substance of the provocation itself should not be taken to heart: "Ferrand Manuel, since to each / is given [poetic] grace doubled or simple, / don't let your face turn yellow / because my tongue splashes or stains you." Insult is only a picador's prod, meant to stimulate the revelation of a poet's virtues. Its "truth claims" are not to be taken seriously but are merely a stimulus to poetry. Hence, Baena tells Ferrán Manuel in another poem, he is sending him "a dozen mule turds" in verse.[32]

The competition between the editor Baena and the most famous poet in his anthology, Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino, is a good example of this type of poetic jousting. Baena begins by challenging this "rotten old man, whose ribs are made of phlegm" to a contest of poetry. Villasandino responds in kind:

> *Sir, this vile ass with a branded face*
> *Twisted and stuffed with wine and garlic*
> *I consider on account of his foolish frenzy*
> *And crazed works a fine troubadour. This swells the head*
> *of the dirty Jew-pig,*

and he presumes to pick a fight with his betters. Whoever heeds the words of this grackle

> *Must himself be blacker than a sea-faring crow.*
> *He who is unworthy and incapable*
> *Of this knowledge and art that we pursue,*
> *His arguments are not worth a straw*
> *Nor a lousy cucumber, not even a gherkin.*

Baena is a "suzio cohino," a dirty Jew pig (the word plays with the proximity in Castilian between Cohen and *cochino*), with the voice of a cormorant, not a poet. He knows nothing of "this science [of poetry]," and his words are worthless.[33]

Cohino here is redolent with implications of poetic Pharisaism and pretense, but it is no more genealogical than any of the other assertions made in the course of this contest. Baena will respond by calling Villasandino (among other things) "swine sputum," a drunk, an apostate gambler; Villasandino by calling Baena a bastard and a pig (*tuerto chazino, gruniente cochino*). These claims drew their meaning and usefulness, not from the biography of their target, but from the rules of the poetic contest in which they were deployed, in which provocation stimulated poetry, and that poetry revealed the respective states of poetic grace of the competing poets.

For our poets, poetic incompetence, ignorance, rudeness, sexual deviance, animality, and especially Judaism are all ways of representing the lack in their rivals of any one of their multiple prerequisites for poetry. They are the negative poles of poetic virtues: divine grace, good meter and form, learning, courtesy, love, and so on. Poems often combined several of these idioms of virtue and vice. Baena and Villasandino's exchange, for example, focused on animality as well as Judaism. The Franciscan monk and theologian Diego de Valencia drew on a different combination in a glorious effort accusing the poet Juan de Espanha of being a Jew with no testicles. Although written in Spanish, the poem's rhyme scheme was made up of words borrowed from Hebrew: a brilliant etymological barb aimed at the "Jewishness" of its target.[34]

Those critics who have argued from the poem's Hebrew vocabulary that Friar Diego must have been a convert have missed the point. In these poems the discourse of Judaism, like that of sexuality or animality, was part of the language of literary criticism, not of biography. It was a key metaphor, a governing insult that carried with it a host of implications about its target's poetic skills, but it was entirely separable from the genealogy and religious orthodoxy of its object. It was even possible for a real Jew to possess the qualities of a poet, as when the same Friar Diego praised the Jew Symuel Dios-Auda for his charity, his courtesy, and his nobility ("fydalguia"): "For your word never changes or wavers / . . . / these are the markers of a noble man / to say things and do them without any doubt."[35]

Some poets of the *Cancionero* were converts, or descended from

converts. But even in these cases, "Jewishness" in poetry was not the same as "Jewishness" in life. The poets of the generation following the mass conversions did not hurl accusations of Judaism in order to uncover each other's Jewish lineage or religious deviance. They were exploring and expanding the place of poetry in Christian society. Like their more famous colleagues of the early Italian "Renaissance," they were championing poetry against a well-established tradition that devalued it as literal, mimetic, and dangerously misleading. The difference is that, much more explicitly than the Italians, they relied on the charge of Judaism to do so.

As we saw in earlier chapters, the potential to evaluate language in terms of Judaism had existed since early Christianity. But the existence of a potential within a complex system of thought does not necessarily mean its actualization. "Judaism" had played a relatively insignificant role for previous generations of poets. Earlier Castilian poets, for example, did sometimes invoke "Jewish" literalism as a negative foil. But they did so from a privileged distance, confident in the ability of Christian practice to avoid the danger.[36] Baena's friends, on the other hand, worked in a very different world, one in which that privileged distance had been dramatically reduced. Within this sociologically transformed world they discovered the poetic potential of "Judaizing" and exploited it for a new kind of work, delighting in the leap from the potential "Jewishness" of their rivals' language, to the potential "Jewishness" of their bodies, and back again.

To shift the metaphor slightly: the mass conversions produced in Spain a heightened sense of just how slippery the slope was between Christianity and Judaism. Saint Vincent and his many supporters had reacted to this vertigo by attempting to eliminate the danger, working for the conversion or complete isolation of all Jews. Baena's poets, on the other hand, put the vertigo to work, exploiting the danger in the thrill ride of a poetics that threatened every Christian poet with "Jewishness." The approach was dangerous inasmuch as it made everyone vulnerable to "Judaism," but the risk was fleeting, lasting only to the end of the poem.

The obvious concern of our poets with language, and their unwillingness to tie the implications of that language too tightly to each other's life and lineage, makes them a particularly attractive example of the creativity unleashed by the mass conversions. Though their Judaizing art drew its power from the presence of tens of thousands of converts in Christian society, it was not aimed specifically at those converts and did not seek to make them over into Jews, real or imagined. But poets were not the only creative people at work with Judaism in the courts and corridors of fifteenth-century Spain. While Baena was collating his verses, prominent factions in both Castile and Aragon began adopting charges of Judaism as weapons in their increasingly high-pitched struggle for political power.

Putting Judaizing to Work: Politicians of the Synagogue

In 1434, according to one chronicler, King Juan II of Castile suppressed a plot to rob and murder the "new" Christians of Seville. In Aragon the tactics were less violent and the evidence for them more abundant, but the picture is the same. In 1433 Queen Mary decreed on behalf of the converts of Barcelona that no legal distinction should be made between "natural" Christians on the one hand and neophytes and their descendants on the other. The following year King Alfonso had to bar efforts in Calatayud to impose disabilities on neophytes; in 1436, the councilors of Barcelona moved to bar converts and those whose parents were not both "Christians by nature" from holding the office of notary; in 1437 the town council of Lerida attempted to strip of their office and license all commercial brokers who could not demonstrate at least four generations of "natural Christian" lineage.[37]

These attempts to keep converts and their descendants from positions of power were resisted not only by kings but also by the highest ranks of the church. In 1434 the prelates of Catholic Europe gathered at the Council of Basel reiterated that the regeneration of the spirit through baptism was more powerful than lineage or flesh, and should therefore bring with it all the privileges of Christianity:

> *Since [the converts] became by the grace of baptism fellow citizens of the saints and members of the house of God, and since regeneration of the spirit is much more important than birth in the flesh . . . they enjoy the privileges, liberties, and immunities of those cities and towns where they were regenerated through sacred baptism to the same extent as the natives and other Christians do.*

Again in 1437, responding to an appeal from the converts of Catalonia and Valencia, Pope Eugene IV condemned those "sons of iniquity, . . . Christians only in name," who suggested that recent converts be barred from public office and who "refuse to enter into matrimony with them." But the contrary argument, that descendants of converts remained in some essential way Jewish and should therefore not enjoy all the privileges of Christians, was a powerful one. That power became brutally clear in 1449, when the "old" Christian citizens of Toledo rose up in rebellion against the government of King Juan II of Castile and his chief minister, Álvaro de Luna.[38]

In the previous chapter we touched on the role of Judaism in the political theology of these rebels—"Judaism," that is, as a form of interpretation, an attitude toward word and world. We saw how the bachelor Marcos aimed that charge of "Judaism" not only at converts from Judaism and their descendants, but also at the entire Christian political hierarchy of his age, including even the pope. This usage was similar to that of the poets in that it treated Judaism as a quality that threatened any and every Christian, and "Judaizing" as a critical language that could be applied to any sovereign, regardless of confessed faith. And it was the result of a very similar process, in which an ancient discourse of "Judaizing" gained new meaning and new power from the new sociological context in which it was deployed: a context in which confidence in the obviousness of the differences between Christian and Jew had been eroded by mass conversion.

But in addressing and exploiting this crisis of confidence, the rebels also made a very different argument, one we would today call genealogical, or even racial. (The Spanish word *raza*, from whence our English *race*, was in fact first widely deployed in these mid-fifteenth-century arguments.) According to them, Jewish hatred of Christianity and of Christians ran indelibly in the veins of those Christians descended from converts. Through their actions it was Judaizing government and destroying the kingdom. To counter that danger, the rebels besieged "new" Christian neighborhoods in Toledo and later in Ciudad Real, and killed dozens of their inhabitants. On June 5, 1449, the rebel government of Toledo also issued a "Sentencia-Estatuto," a statute that is sometimes called the earliest act of racist legislation in Europe. The statute decreed that descendants of converts be barred from holding office or exercising power over Christians, so that Christian society could be freed from Jewish tyranny and corruption.[39]

Unlike the creativity of the poets, that of the politicians promised to contain by force of lineage the threat of Judaism among the descendants of Jews. This promise proved false from its first utterance. Partly this was a result of the fact that over the generations the genealogies themselves had become hard to distinguish. The royal official Fernán Díaz described the problem with all the exaggeration appropriate to polemic in a memorandum he wrote against the rebels' purity of blood statutes: scarcely a noble family could be found without a convert somewhere in its tree. If Jewishness were linked to blood, he warned, the aristocracy of Spain would be destroyed.[40] The politicians' experiments did in fact fail to contain Judaism (though in the end it was not primarily the aristocracy that was affected). The causes of that failure were many, but perhaps the most fundamental was that in order to produce enough power to be politically useful, the threat of "Jewish" lineage needed to be mixed with the much more volatile and generalizable dangers of "Jewish" language that had so interested the poets and theologians. The result of this mixture was an explosion of Judaism.

Putting Judaizing to Work: The Spanish Inquisition

In their inquiry into how modernity could produce mass murder, two German-Jewish philosophers we will meet in the epilogue, Horkheimer

and Adorno, proposed a metaphor for how accusations of Judaism work: "[To] call someone a Jew amounts to an instigation to work him over until he resembles the image."[41] In Spain, at least, the extent of this "working over" had been tightly circumscribed before the mid-fifteenth century. Theologians and poets might call each other "Jews," but the label was not meant to extend much beyond a specific interpretation or practice of reading. These limits collapsed under the tactics advocated by the rebels of Toledo, and in the context of a society in which mass conversion and widespread intermarriage had blurred many of the differences, including those of lineage, between gentile and Jew. Accusations of Judaism now became instigations to prove through genealogy and interrogation that their objects really were Jews in flesh and faith.

Let's take a quick look at how this process could remodel yet another sphere of culture: that of image-making itself. We have come to think of religious images—paintings and statues of Jesus or of the saints—as absolutely central to Catholic devotion. But in fact there has been criticism of the use of material representations in spiritual devotion throughout the history of Christianity. Thinkers as diverse and as foundational as Saint Paul, Saint Jerome, and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (to mention only a few of the canonized) had criticized the use of images, and associated it with "Judaism," as a form of misplaced attention on the material rather than the spiritual, on outer appearance rather than inner truth. This critique became more muted after the twelfth century, and by the later Middle Ages religious art was ubiquitous, and largely uncontroversial, in churches. It seems not, however, to have been widespread in private households before the mid-fifteenth century, at least not in Iberia.

It was in the middle of that century that an anonymous pamphlet condemning the use of images in devotion began to circulate in Seville. The author apparently urged his fellow Christians not to contaminate themselves with idols—that is, not to pray to images—nor to fall into homosexual fornication. There was nothing necessarily "Jewish" about

such a critique: in fact the author based himself on venerable Christian precedent (such as chapter 1 of Saint Paul's epistle to the Romans, with its linkage between idol worship and sodomy). But in his response to the pamphlet, Queen Isabel's confessor Hernando de Talavera tied such criticism of Christian art to the "new" Christians, and condemned it as "Judaism." In 1478 Talavera, together with Seville's archbishop, Pedro González de Mendoza, went so far as to issue an edict without analogue in medieval or modern Europe, requiring *all* Christians to keep images at home:

> *And because it is reasonable that the houses of faithful Christians should [honor] the memory of the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of his blessed Mother, we desire and declare that every Christian should have at home the painted image of the cross where Christ was sacrificed and some painted images of the Virgin and other saints that would provoke the inhabitants, arousing them to devotion.*

Shortly thereafter we begin to find descendants of converts brought before the tribunal of the Inquisition, either because, like the accusation against Donosa Ruiz in 1484, they "never had nor has at home an oratory of the Virgin Mary or Jesus Christ or of the saints, such as Christians usually have to pray in front of"; or because they misused the paintings they had, turning their backs to them, or even whipping or torturing them.[42]

Here we see how art, impressed into the service of differentiating Christianity from "Judaism," transformed what it meant to be a "good" Christian and in the process uncovered new "Jews." But now art too had to be patrolled and protected against infiltration. In 1480, Seville's city council approved ordinances regulating the production, style, and content of religious paintings, instituting a system of licenses for painters, and even appointing "painting inspectors" (*veedores*). Yet no amount of inspection could protect art from the "Judaism" it generated from its own entrails. A long history of thought (both Platonic and Christian)

about the dangers of art's appeal to the senses had made "Judaism" a powerful language for criticizing the materiality and illusionism of art. The "Judaism of Christian Art" is a subject for a different book. Suffice it to say here that, over time, some of the most distinctive styles of religious art that Spain produced to defend itself from Judaism would themselves be condemned as "Jewish," their extreme emphasis on the suffering flesh of Jesus likened by pope and papal Inquisition alike with the Sadducees' rejection of the Resurrection.[43]

Painting, poetry, politics: these were just a few of the registers of Spanish culture transformed by the vast new power that critical discourse of Judaizing acquired with the disappearance of the Jews. Over time Spain developed institutions to manage the vast new power of this critical discourse of Judaism. The Inquisition was one custodian of that power, which it channeled toward the extirpation of any remnants of Judaism in Castile and Aragon. Modern historians are largely convinced that the inquisitors succeeded in this task. By 1500 they had helped to expel all unconverted Jews from Spain, and convicted nearly all of the converts and their descendants that they seriously suspected of harboring Judaism in their hearts. These turned out to be an astonishingly small percentage of converts: less than 10 percent. Apparently the Inquisition, at least, considered the vast majority of converts to be Christians of sound faith. Spain had been rid of Judaism. But none of these successes insulated Spanish Christians from the charge of Jewishness. On the contrary, they only heightened the "Jewishness" of Spain.

This "Jewishness" was in part produced by the inquisitorial methodologies themselves. Ever on the lookout for Judaizers, the inquisitors encouraged denunciation of "Jewish" practices. They filled catalogues with the resulting accusations, accusations such as (and I pluck this short list from just a few Inquisition trials) wearing clean clothes or refusing to buy an apple on a Saturday (the Jewish Sabbath); nodding one's head during prayer; eschewing religious images; or studying the Old and New Testaments in Hebrew and Greek. As we have already

seen, there was nothing exclusively, or even obviously, "Jewish" about many of these practices. Saint Jerome, for example, had famously studied Hebrew in the early days of the church. Now, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the new humanist movements were increasingly directing attention toward philology and ancient languages as tools with which to better interpret the Bible. How was the Inquisition to decide whether an interest in Hebrew was evidence of Judaism, or of a desire to study the Bible with the cutting-edge techniques of Europe's intellectual elite? Similarly, the refusal to buy an apple on a Saturday might be produced by clandestine observance of the Jewish Sabbath. But it might also simply reflect a lack of appetite.

Confronted with such questions, the inquisitors turned to genealogy. Nearly every trial transcript begins with a search for Jews or converts in the ancestry of the accused. If there were Jews in the genealogy, then there was likely Judaism in the practice, and if not, then perhaps not. The method produced a flood of practices newly considered Judaizing, from head nodding to Hebrew study. And it also produced a vast hoard of "family trees," stored in the archives of the Inquisition, detailing the bloodlines through which such practices might be transmitted.

One might think that by tying "Jewish" practices to "Jewish" bloodlines, the inquisitors were limiting the dangers of Judaism, much as the rebels of Toledo had promised in 1449. Instead the risks widened, and this for a number of reasons. To begin with, once a practice was associated with Judaizing, anyone who practiced it, even an "old" Christian, became vulnerable to accusation and stigma. No one was entirely above suspicion. After all, it did not take much Jewish blood to convey a predilection for these practices. A distant and forgotten ancestor would suffice, or perhaps just a wet nurse descended from converts, since breast milk was derived from blood according to the doctors of the day.

By the mid-sixteenth century, all candidates to positions of power in government, church, guild, military, aristocracy, university, the colonies, and so on, had to prove that their families were not infected by Juda-

ism. Spain's archives overflow with these apotropaic "proofs of purity of blood." But these proofs, too, were quite plastic. There were plenty of people willing and able to manufacture genealogies, whether to obtain proofs of purity where there was none, or conversely, to extort money from honorable candidates. The Inquisition itself often complained of gangs of *linajudos*, "ingenius genealogists" with access to the archives who kept an eye out for people who had to prove their purity in order to blackmail them, threatening to forge proofs of taint wherever necessary.[44] Such prophylactic genealogies had become necessary in a land where Christians had lost any immunity to Judaism, but they were also ineffective. It may be an exaggeration, but not an enormous one, to say that there is no leading sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Spanish writer or politician who entirely avoided being accused or accusing another of genealogical or cultural "Jewishness."

The "Most Catholic" monarchy of Spain had succeeded in converting and expelling all its Jews. But the result was the thorough "Judaization" of Spain. Foreigners tended to put the point most bluntly. "Spain is not pleasing," wrote Europe's leading intellectual, Desiderius Erasmus in 1517, because it is full of Jews. Such opinion became definition in *A Worlde of Wordes*, the Italian-English dictionary that John Florio published in 1598, which advised its readers that the word *Marrano* (a word for pig with which "old" Christian Spaniards insulted converts from Judaism) meant "a Jew, an infidel, a renegado, a nickname for a Spaniard." Among the French, Spain's greatest competitor in the late sixteenth-century contest for European hegemony, the Jewishness of their rival was axiomatic enough to appear as graffiti: "Pereat Societas Judaica, cum gente Ibera," Pierre de L'Estoile reported seeing on the walls of Paris in 1590: "May the Jewish Society perish, along with the people of Spain." As far as her enemies were concerned, Spain's unprecedented evangelical success had created a "Jewish" empire threatening the world with its tyranny.[45]

But let us conclude with a more discerning voice, one that came from within Spain itself. Writing in 1533, Rodrigo Manrique, himself the son of an inquisitor general, seems to have understood that the logic

his father (and so many others) had championed, rather than freeing Spain from Judaism, had instead convicted vast areas of its thought and culture as Jewish. As he put it in a letter to his exiled friend, the humanist Luis Vives, in 1533, Spain has become "a land of envy, pride, and . . . barbarism. For now it is clear that no one can possess a smattering of letters without being suspect of heresy, error, and Judaism."[46]

rum pragensi." On these, see Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 135–140; and Barbara Newman, "The Passion of the Jews of Prague: The Pogrom of 1389 and the Lessons of a Medieval Parody," *Church History* 81 (2012).

39 Joseph Naudet and Pierre Claude François Daunou, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1840), 20:34. The text dates to ca. 1276–1282, i.e., at much the same time that the story of Alfonso VIII entered circulation.

40 Rigord presents Philip as an ideal Christian monarch for expelling the Jews against the wishes of the bishops and the aristocracy. See *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. Henri-François Delaborde, 2 vols. (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1882–1885), 1:27–31. For the poem about Charles VIII as a second Vespasian, see Wright, *Vengeance of Our Lord*, 126.

41 Jordan, "Jews, Regalian Rights, and the Constitution," 13. This strategy of "compensation" was remarkably enduring. The Spanish expulsion of the Moriscos (Muslims converted to Christianity) in 1609, e.g., was proclaimed in the same year as the Spanish defeat in the Low Countries: a "victory" of Spanish Catholic arms meant to distract from their bitter defeat.

42 Jordan, *French Monarchy and the Jews*, 31.

43 Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France*, 186. See also David Abulafia, "Monarchies and Minorities in the Christian Western Mediterranean around 1300: Lucera and Its Analogues," in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds., *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 234–263.

44 Stacey, "Parliamentary Negotiation and the Expulsion," 77.

45 Clement IV to King James, December 31, 1266, in Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, *Documentos de Clemente IV (1265–1268) referentes a España* (León: Universidad de León 1996), no. 114, 224–227.

46 Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 183–189.

47 The correspondence is transcribed in Joaquim Miret y Sans, "El proces de les hosties contra.ls jueus d'Osca en 1377," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 4 (1911–1912), 59–80.

48 See, e.g., the Cortes of Burgos of 1367, in *Córtes*, 2:150–151; and Julio Valdeón Baruque, *Los Conflictos sociales en el reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1975), 132.

49 Recall that King Philip Augustus expelled the Jews from the French royal domain (i.e., from the fiefs he governed directly) in 1181–1182. His example was followed by a number of minor French lords in the 1190s and by more major ones in the thirteenth century: of Brittany in 1240, of Gascony in 1287–1288; of Anjou and Maine in 1289, of Niort in 1291, of Nevers in 1294. The king of England expelled the Jews from his realms in 1290; the kings of France, from theirs again in 1306 and 1322.

50 For the estimate of expulsions, see Phillip N. Bebb, "Jewish Policy in Sixteenth Century Nürnberg," *Occasional Papers of the American Society for Reformation Research* 1 (1977), 125–136, here 132–133. On the temporary privileges, Friedrich Battenberg, "Zur Rechtsstellung der Juden am Mittelrhein in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 6 (1979), 129–183. See also František Graus, "Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt," in Alfred Ebenbauer and Klaus Zatloukel, eds., *Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt* (Vienna: Bohlan, 1991), 53–65.

51 Text in E. Benito Ruano, "El Memorial del bachiller Marcos García de Mora contra los conversos," *Sefarad* 17 (1957), 314–351, here 320–321. The representation of the synagogue as a "congregation of beasts" has a venerable tradition. Both Bede (in the eighth century) and Amalric of Metz (in the ninth) punned on the Latin "congregation" (a compound of the prefix *con* and the noun *grex*, meaning herd or flock) to describe the synagogue as a gathering of "sheep and inanimate objects." Both are cited in Kenneth Stow, *Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 6.

52 E.g., *Politics* 1279b. According to Aristotle, the natural life of subsistence we share with animals, but the human has a higher goal: "born with regard to life, but existing essentially with regard to the good life." *Politics* 1252b, 30. Cf. 1278b, 23–31; 1252a, 26–35. Citations from Aristotle are to *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), citing, as is traditional, by the Bekker numbers. The influence of Aristotle's thought was expanding greatly in Spain, as in other parts of late medieval Europe. See, e.g., A. R. D. Pagden, "The Diffusion of Aristotle's Moral Philosophy in Spain, ca. 1400-ca.1600," *Traditio* 31 (1975), 287–313; and Christoph Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen Politica im späten Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: B. R. Grüner and J. Benjamins, 1992).

53 These lines have also been interpreted as an economic critique, an interpretation that is related to, though different from, the one proposed here. See Gabriel Egan, *Shakespeare and Marx* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 36–38. See also J. H. Hexter, "Property, Monopoly, and Shakespeare's *Richard II*," in Perez Zagorin, ed., *Culture and Politics from Puritanism to the Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 1–24; Dennis R. Klinck, "Shakespeare's Richard II as Landlord and Tenant," *College Literature*, 25 (1998), 21–34; and William O. Scott, "'Like to a Tenement': Landholding, Leasing, and Inheritance in *Richard II*," in Constance Jordan and Karen Cunningham, eds., *The Law in Shakespeare* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 58–72.

CHAPTER 6: THE EXTINCTION OF SPAIN'S JEWS AND THE BIRTH OF ITS INQUISITION

1 I do not mean to invoke through my metaphors the Freudian notion of the return of the repressed (on the relationship of Freud's notion to explanations of anti-Semitism, see chap. 1, n. 34). My metaphorical "dream" and "nightmare" were, for that matter, literal to some contemporaries like Ralph Josselin, whose diary for January 4, 1655, records a dream in which Oliver Cromwell's Secretary

of State "turned Jew." See *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616–1683*, ed. Alain Macfarlane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 337.

2 In 1391 Easter fell on March 26.

3 Words from Reuven are translated in Abraham Hershman, *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and His Times* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1943), 194–196, emended here as per Jaume Riera in "Els avalots del 1391 a Girona," in *Jornades d'història dels jueus a Catalunya* (Gerona: Ajuntament de Girona, 1990), 156. Crescas's "Letter to the community of Avignon" is included in Shelomo Ibn Verga's much later *Das Buch Schevet Jehuda*, ed. M. Wiener (Hannover: H. Lafaire, 1924), 128. On the death toll in Gerona, see Riera, "Els avalots del 1391," 135. For Castile, see Lopez de Ayala, *Crónica de Enrique III de Castilla*, ed. Cayetano Rosell, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 68 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1877), 167, 177. Ayala lists as destroyed the Castilian aljamas of Seville, Córdona, Burgos, Toledo, Logroño, "y otras muchas," and in Aragon those of Barcelona, Valencia, Lérida, "y otras muchas." Those that escaped, he adds, "quedaron muy pobres."

4 See Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Chancery [henceforth ACA:C] 2042:23 v–24v (October 8, 1394), "in quo puteo quamplurima corpora judeorum tempore excidii seu destruccionis dicti calli etiam de mandato, ordinacionem seu licencia baiuli seu aliorum officialium Barchinone, ut dicitur tunch proiecta et modo etiam sepulta et subterrata existunt."

5 Some historians doubt this, explaining the 1391 attacks not in terms of Christian views of Judaism, but in terms of a contingent factor such as grain prices, the minority of the Castilian king, or (in the Crown of Aragon) the presence of foreigners inciting violence. See, e.g., Ph. Wolff, "The 1391 Pogrom in Spain: Social Crisis or Not?" *Past and Present* 50 (1971), 4–18; and A. Mackay, "Popular Movements and Pogroms in Fifteenth-Century Castile," *Past and Present* 55 (1972), 33–67.

6 See Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona [henceforth AHCB], Consell de Cent, Llibre del Consell, 19-A, n. 25, fols. 37r, 47r., August 23, August 27.

7 Valencia's 1397 ban: ACA:C 2209:149r–150r (February 22), with copy in ACA:C 2303:74v–75v. For royal attempts to resettle Jews in Barcelona, ACA:C 1882:188 v–189r, ACA:C 1884:132v–133r, ACA:C 2039:170 v–171r, and ACA:C 1910:12 r. For resistance by the city, AHCB, Consell de Cent, Llibre del Consell, 19-A, n. 25, fol. 93r. Ban of 1401: ACA:C 2196:102v–103v (May 18). Successors: AHCB, Consellers, Testaments de Consellers, XVII–2 (1399–1428), fol. 8v (1401). Cf. AHCB, Consellers, Testaments de Consellers, XVII–3 (1430–1448), fol. 9v (1431), shortly after the ban was made permanent.

8 Jaume De Puig i Oliver, "La *Incantatio studii ilerdensis* de Nicolau Eimeric, O.P.," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 15 (1996), 7–108, here 47. Antoni was accused of this and other heretical opinions ca. 1393. "It has reached" is from ACA:C 2232:95v–96r (October 25, 1400).

9 See Robert E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), esp. chap. 7.

10 For references to and analysis of these sources, see David Nirenberg, "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain," *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), 1080–1081.

11 References can be found in ibid., 1081–1084, 1090.

12 Vincent Ferrer, *Sermons*, ed. Gret Schib et al., 5 vols. (Barcelona: Barcino, 1971–1985), 3:13–14. On Vincent's messianic inspiration, see José Guadalajara Medina, *Las profecías del anticristo en la edad media* (Madrid: Gredos, 1996), 232–247.

13 Hebrew accounts of the misery in Solomon Alami, *Igeret Musar*, ed. Adolph Jellinek (Vienna, 1872), 10b; and Abraham Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasim ha-Shalem*, ed. Tsevi Filipowski (Edinburgh: Hevrat Mehorere Yeshenim, 1857), 225b, "the greatest persecution." Further references in Nirenberg, "Conversion," 1084–1085.

14 Alcañiz's privilege in ACA:C 2394:022 r–v (February 9, 1415). The bibliography on Tortosa is vast, but see most recently Jeremy Cohen, "Tortosa in Retrospect: The Disputation as Reported in Solomon ibn Verga's Shevet Yehudah [Hebrew]," *Zion* 76 (2011), 417–452; and Frank Talmage, "Trauma at Tortosa: The Testimony of Abraham Rimoch," *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985), 379–415.

15 Quoted in Eleazar Gutwirth, "Habitat and Ideology: The Organization of Private Space in Late Medieval *Juderías*," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1994), 205–234, here 208.

16 On the choice given converts in Mallorca, see the sources in Nirenberg, "Spanish 'Judaism' and 'Christianity' in an Age of Mass Conversion," in J. Cohen and M. Rosman, eds., *Rethinking European Jewish History* (Littman: Oxford, 2009), 158. For Barcelona, AHCB, Consell de Cent, Llibre del Consell, 19-A, n. 25, fol. 37 (August 27, 1391).

17 L. Batlle y Prats, "Un episodio de la persecucion judía de 1391," in *Per a una història de la Girona jueva* (1948; Girona: Ajuntament de Girona, 1988), 2:614–617. G. Secall i Güell, *La comunitat hebrea de Santa Coloma de Queralt* (Tarragona: Excma. Diputació Provincial de Tarragona, 1986), 118–119.

18 On the year's grace, see ACA:C 2374:77r–v (February 5, 1415). Gerona's complaint: ACA:C cr. Alfonso IV, box 4, no. 511 (May 12, 1417).

19 ACA:C 1950:107r (and cf: 1950:113r) (July 30, 1393). Conversely, see ACA:C 1862:71v–72r (October 10, 1394).

20 For extensive documentation on ceremonial and fiscal entanglements see Nirenberg, "Une société," 764–766 [see chap. 5, n. 25]. On Jewish relations with converted kin, see also Mark Meyerson's study of the community of Murviedro in the Kingdom of Valencia: *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 184–224.

21 Though here I address only Christian (both "old" and "new") versions of this question, it was also of vital interest to Jews. For my understanding of Jewish responses, see "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present* 174 (2002), 3–41.

22 For the sources (including "quamplurimum frequentius judaytzant") on these concerns, and on royal inquiries into them, see Nirenberg, "Une société," 771.

23 Arxiu Municipal de Lleida [henceforth AML], Llibres de Crims, no. 803, ff.

115v–122r (November 17, 1407). For Franchesca's poisoning trial, see AML, Llibres de Crims, no. 802, fol. 69v–72r (Nov. 13, 1406). There were plenty of accusations of Judaizing made in conflictual situations. Bernat March of Barcelona, e.g., who was accused of unspecified crimes before the criminal justice, feared foul play in his trial because he had earlier denounced various converts for continuing to carry out Jewish ceremonies. See ACA:C 2360:96r (October 14, 1412).

24 All references are from Brian Dutton and Joaquín González Cuenca, eds., *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (Madrid: Visor Libros, 1993) [henceforth *Cancionero*]. Poems from cancioneros other than that of Baena will be cited from Brian Dutton's *El Cancionero del Siglo XV, c. 1360–1520*, 7 vols. (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1990–1991). What follows in the text is a much-compressed summary of arguments found in my "Figures of Thought and Figures of Flesh: 'Jews' and 'Judaism' in Late Medieval Spanish Poetry and Politics," *Speculum* 81 (2006), 398–426, to which readers can refer for more sources and bibliography.

25 The eggplant quotes are from poems by Diego de Estuniga (no. 424) and Juan García (no. 384). See also no. 418. The reference to *adefyna* is by Juan de Guzmán (no. 404), the baptismal allusion by Ferrand Manuel (no. 370). For allusions to Juan Alfonso de Baena's sexual encounters with Jewesses, see among others the same poem by Juan Garçia. For the Mariscal's insult, see no. 418. It is entirely on the evidence of these poems that Baena's status as *converso* rests.

26 On these associations of eggplant in Spain, see Juan Gil, "Berenjeneros: The Aubergine Eaters," in Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. 1: *Departures and Change* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 121–142.

27 Examples of this underlying logic are legion: see the bibliography cited in Nirenberg, "Figures of Thought." Quote "half-converted Jews" is from Théodore de Puymaigre, *La cour littéraire de don Juan II, roi de Castille* (Paris: A. Franck, 1873), 131.

28 Suspicion of poetry has deep roots in Christian aesthetics. For the case of Augustine, see *De Civitate Dei* 11.18; *De Doctrina Christiana* 2.6 (7, 8) and 4.11 (26). For Thomas Aquinas's claim, see his *Quodlibetal Questions* 7.6.16. Elsewhere Thomas concedes that neither sacred scripture nor liturgical ritual can do without such "sensible figures." See *Summa Theologica* 1.1. 9, 1.2.101. For the theme in Spain, see the work of Karl Kohut, esp. "Der Beitrag der Theologie zum Literaturbegriff in der Zeit Juans II von Kastilien: Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456) und Alonso de Madrigal, genannt el Tostado (1400?–1455)," *Romanische Forschungen* 89 (1977), 183–226; and *Las teorías literarias en España y Portugal durante los siglos XV y XVI* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973). On Saint Vincent Ferrer's opposition to the allegorization of poetry, see Pedro Catedra, "La predicación castellana de San Vicente Ferrer," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 39 (1983–1984), 235–309, esp. 278.

29 See the classic work of Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: A Francke, 1948), "Poesie und Theologie," 221–234; as well as the more modern bibliography cited in my "Figures of Thought." On the *Cancionero* de Baena in this context, see Karl Kohut, "La teoría de la poesia cortesana en el Prologo de Juan Alfonso de Baena," *Actas del coloquio hispano-aleman Ramón Menendez Pidal* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982), 120–137, here 131, n. 27. On the theme of *gracia* in the *Cancionero*, see Julian Weiss, *Poet's Art: Literary Theory in Castile, c. 1400–60* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 25–40.

30 Ferran's opening gambit is in no. 272, 472–474, lines 21–32. The allusion is to Matt. 11:25. Lope's response is no. 273, 473–474. Ferran counters in no. 274. Friar Lope attacks Villasandino on similar grounds in no. 117. That poem ends with a curse on those "hypocrites" who sow discord, and ends with the exhortation that princes "abhor Jews" and "honor good men" (lines 89–96). Though here I am only concerned with "Judaization" in debates about the relative value of secular poetry and theology, it is worth noting that accusations of Judaism were also made in contests where both sides claimed theological authority. In a debate (nos. 323–328) between Franciscans and Dominicans over the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, e.g., Fray Lope accuses Diego Martínez de Medina of reading like a Jew (no. 324, line 137: "La palavra mal entendida / mata e non da consuelo," a paraphrase of 2 Cor. 3:6), calls him a hypocritical Pharisee (lines 209–211), and suggests that he should join the people of Moses and the relatives of Cohen (no. 326, lines 61–63).

31 No. 96, 122–123, lines 28–45. See also no. 255, 453–455.

32 No. 359, 639, lines 1–4, 9–12. Baena says this explicitly in the challenge he issued to Villasandino and Lando in 1423 (no. 357, lines 28–30). The competitive exchange between Baena and Lando continues with Lando to Baena, no. 360, 639–640. Quote with "mule turds" is from Baena to Lando, no. 363, 641–642, lines 9–12. On the "truth claims" of insult, see Jean-Claude Milner, *De la syntaxe à l'interprétation: Quantités, insultes, exclamations* (Paris: Seuil, 1978), 174–223.

33 No. 365, 642–643.

34 *Cancionero*, no. 501, 343. For another example of a poem that combines the charge of Judaizing with that of being a bad lover, see no. 140, Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino against Alfonso Ferrández Semuel. To this charge, Alfonso Álvarez adds that his target is an apostate Jew with a big nose. On the place of love in the production of poetry and nobility in Castile during this period, see Julian Weiss, "Alvaro de Luna, Juan de Mena and the Power of Courtly Love," *Modern Language Notes* 106 (1991), 241–256.

35 Those critics: For examples, see Nirenberg, "Figures of Thought." Diego's poem about Symuel is in *Cancionero*, no. 511, 355–356. Of course the possibility of an ironic allusion to Jewish "literal" understanding should not be dismissed here. Cf., however, the Marqués de Santillana's comment on the writings of Rabbi Shem Tov de Carrion ("Being born in a vile nest / does not make the hawk worth less / nor are good examples diminished / because uttered by a Jew") in

his "Proemio," in *Obras Completas*, ed. Angel Gómez Moreno and Maximilian P. A. M. Kerkhof (Barcelona: Planeta, 1988), 451.

36 By way of contrast, note the distance claimed in the first line of Juan Ruiz's *Libro de Buen Amor*, written before the mass conversions.

37 For references, see Nirenberg, "Une société," 784.

38 References, together with a discussion of the events of 1434 and 1437, in Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities," 23–25. The Council of Basel added an exhortation to converts that they marry "old" Christians. An extended narrative description and much of the bibliography on the Toledan revolt can conveniently be found in Benzion Netanyahu's *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995).

39 The relevant texts are edited in Eloy Benito Ruano, "El Memorial" [see chap. 5, n. 51] and in his "La Sentencia-Estatuto de Pero Sarmiento contra los conversos toledanos," *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 6 (1957), 277–306. On the use of the word *raza* by contemporary participants in these debates, and on the question of whether these statutes can be understood as racial, see David Nirenberg, "Was There Race before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain," in Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, eds., *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 232–264.

40 For the relator's text, see Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium unitatis christianae*, ed. Manuel Alonso (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Hebraicos, 1943), app. 2, 343–356, here 351–355. Note that though the relator condemns the anti-converso aspects of this genealogical approach, he nevertheless utilizes genealogical arguments as well, referring constantly to the converts as of the lineage of Christ. This seemingly contradictory strategy is common in pro-converso texts.

41 Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cummings (1944; London: Blackwell Verso, 1972), 186.

42 Hernando de Talavera, *Católica Impugnación,* ed. F. Márquez and F. Martín Hernández (Barcelona: Juan Floris, 1961), 186, cited and translated in Felipe Pereda, "Through a Glass Darkly: Paths to Salvation in Spanish Painting," *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 264, 284. The charge against Donosa: "Nunca tuvo ni tiene ni costumbró tener en su casa oratorio de la Virgen María ni de Jhu. Xristo, ni de sus santos, segunt que xristianos costumbran tener e delant de los quales fazen oración." See B. Llorca, "La Inquisición española y los conversos judíos y marranos," *Sefarad* 8 (1942), 357–389.

43 The 1480 civic ordinances on painting are published in "Petición presentada en el Cabildo de Sevilla, el 18 de Septiembre de 1480" (*Actas Capitulares del Arch. Municipal de Sevilla*, 45–47), in J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Ensayo de un diccionario de artífices que florecen en Sevilla durante el siglo XIII al XVIII,* 3 vols. (Sevilla, 1899). On this episode see Pereda, "Through a Glass Darkly," 263–290.

44 The example of breast milk is drawn from Juan de Pineda, *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura Cristiana*, ed. Juan Meseguer Fernández (Madrid: BAE, 1963), vol. 3, 103b (Dialogue 15, sect. 21). This and other cases are discussed in Julio Caro Baroja, *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa. Religión, sociedad y character en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Akal, 1978), 489–498. On *linajudos* in Seville, see Ruth Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville: Greed and Prejudice in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Spain* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000); and in Granada, see Enrique Soria Mesa, "Los Linajudos. Honor y conflict social en la Granada del siglo de oro," in Julían J. Lozano Navarro and Juan Luis Castellano, eds., *Violencia y conflictividad en el universo barroco* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2010), 401–427. *Linajudo* more commonly means more or less the opposite of its use in these documents: someone of exceptionally pure lineage.

45 For Erasmus, see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), 1:90; 2:74–75; Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–1958), 3:6, 52. (Germany and Italy also had too many Jews for Erasmus's taste, and England too many riots.) On the development of the word *Marrano*, see esp. Arturo Farinelli, *Marrano (Storia di un vituperio)* (Geneva: L. S. Olschki, 1925), 53, 56, 66–67. The definition is from John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (London, 1598; Hildesheim, NY: Georg Olms, 1972), 216. Farinelli also reports an amusing French dictionary of 1680 that defined *Marrane* as "an insult we apply to Spaniards, which means a Muslim." The Parisian graffiti is reported in G. Brunet et al., eds., *Jornal de Henri IV. Mémoires journaux de Pierre de l'Estoile* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1881), 5:39, 49, under August 1 and August 17, 1590. Further examples in J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 236–240; and Caro Baroja, *Las formas complejas*, 499–500. In the second half of the seventeenth century, *Portuguese* would similarly become a synonym for Jew throughout western Europe.

46 H. de Vocht, "Rodrigo Manrique's Letter to Vives," in *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Louvain: Librairie universitaire, Ch. Uystpruyst, 1934), 427–458, here 435. See also E. González González, "Vives, un humanista judeoconverso en el exilio de Flandes," in L. Dequeker and W. Verbeke, eds., *The Expulsion of the Jews and Their Emigration to the Southern Low Countries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 35–81, here 77.

CHAPTER 7: REFORMATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

1 All references from Luther's works are to the Weimar Edition [WA], *Dr. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesammtausgabe*, 121 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883–2009). Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Latin and the German are my own.

Insofar as secular and sacred were thoroughly interpenetrated in the existing political order, a call for spiritual freedom, even (or especially) one that argued for separation of the two spheres, could not be stripped of political implications. "I declare" is from *A Prelude on the Babylonian captivity of the Church*, which Luther published in Latin in 1520 (though German translations quickly followed). I cite from A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin*