

## Spanish Marranism Re-examined\*

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### 9. THE LOST *PROCESO* OF ELVIRA DEL CAMPO <sup>157</sup>

My next long excursus concerns the second *proceso* of Elvira del Campo, which is thought lost. The introductory denunciations in the *proceso* of her sister Inés del Campo (ADC leg. 320, no. 4620) include a sizeable extract (23 ff., in part a summary), which I paraphrase here. This, her second *proceso*, culminating in her execution on 16 August 1592, must have been voluminous, for the extract lists nine sessions in 1591, dated June 7, June 21, July 4, July 5, August 22, October 3, October 30, December 4, December 11. Three of these were conducted by the Cuenca Inquisitors Francisco de Arganda and Francisco Velarde de la Concha; six by Arganda alone. Sessions 3-5, based on the Prosecutor's Bill of Accusation, not reproduced verbatim, number at least 14 counts (chapters), only eight of which (4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14) are present in the extract. Three of these (11, 12, 14) are but

\* The first part of this study appeared in *Sef* 67:1 (2007), pp. 111-154. The statement made there on p. 125: "For almost half a century the Cuenca tribunal lay dormant, at least in respect to Judaizers," should be qualified to read "at least in respect to Judaizers in Quintanar de la Orden." Out of 846 Cuenca inquisitorial trial records 1530-1556, 452 are on the count of "Judaism," 1557-1588, out of 2186, 27; 1570-1588, out of 1238, there are no longer any. None of those tried for "Judaism" 1530-1570 hail from Quintanar de la Orden. Moreover, the French word *maranisme* (*sic*), in the sense of crypto-Judaism, appears in a note by Jacob Le Duchat (1658-1735) to *François Rabelais, Oeuvres* (Paris? 1732<sup>2</sup>), 3, 224 (*cf.* J. J. SCALIGER, *Scaligerana*, Coloniae Agrippinae [Rouen] 1667, 224-225). The French word was rendered 'Maranism' in English and explained as 'Judaism' in J. Ozell's translation of Le Duchat's note. See *The Works of Francis Rabelais, M. D.* (London 1737), 3, 232. I am grateful to Jacob B. Salomon and Michael Terry for this information. On p. 118, line 23, for "1510" read 1516; n. 23, for "no. 866," read no. 868. Add to the references cited in note 27: S. CIRAC ESTOPAÑÁN, "Proceso y Genealogía de los Familiares de Fray Luis de León," *Revista "Cuenca"* 1 (1972); 2 (1973) and *id.*, "Procesos de varios familiares de Fray Luis de León," *ibid.* 3 (1974) [together 32 unnumbered pages]. AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 209, n. 19.

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<sup>157</sup> My *in extenso* transcription is appended to the last installment of this study.

brief paraphrases. Sessions 6-8 stem from the Prosecutor's List of (unnamed and undated) Witnesses' Denunciations. The denunciators total 14. Each denunciation contains numbered subdivisions (chapters). However, the only ones described in the extract are the third, fifth, ninth of the first witness; the third, fourth and seventh of the fourth witness; the fourth, fifth and eleventh of the fourteenth witness. The eight session, of December 4, 1591, presents an addendum to the denunciation (dated November 1591) of a not previously mentioned tenth witness.

### 9.1. *Initial confession*

At the first session, Elvira, widow of Alonso de Moya, states that she is 65 and illiterate. She surmises she was arrested for Mosaic practices, such as those for which the Moras were sentenced, which she then specifies: sabbath observance; ritual slaughter; observance of Mosaic feasts. These are the feasts of September; of unleavened bread; of the lamb (at Lent) and she has heard of a third. She feels little inclination for these practices and does not have them at heart.

When released from the Toledo Inquisition (1568), she was determined not to relapse. Her husband abandoned her and forbade her children<sup>158</sup> to visit her. She went to live with her siblings Rodrigo and Inés. She denounces them for the above practices, which they initially tried to hide from her and they later reproach her for not carrying them out. Only after 8 or 10 years (1576-1578) – because they were upset with her and she didn't have anywhere else to go – does she consent to participate in the Law of Moses with them, even though it didn't come from the heart. So, for the last 8-10 years, she has been keeping the sabbath, avoiding pork and observing the feasts of unleavened bread and of the lamb, even though they never baked unleavened bread in her siblings' house. In September she, Rodrigo and Inés fasted the Great Fast of 10 days, from September 1-10. They didn't fast all ten days, just one or another, as best they could. The last of the ten was called the Great and Good Day. Four or five days later fell the feast. In the course of the year they fasted a couple of days, around Lent, from sunrise to sunset. They swept and tidied the house on Friday afternoons and lit lamps, which didn't burn longer than on other nights. They began sabbath observance at Friday sundown, sometimes later.

<sup>158</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 278, lists María and Catalina de Moya, apparently Elvira's daughters, born respectively in 1564 and 1565, reconciled at a Toledo *Auto de Fe* of June 9, 1591. Extracts from their non-extant Toledo *procesos* may be found in ADC leg. 321, no. 4626 (Catalina Navarra). RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 115, lists only a Diego and a Juan, born to Elvira del Campo and Alonso de Moya in 1556 and 1563, respectively. His unmentioned source is Elvira's first trial (AHN Inq., leg. 138, no. 7).

Upon her brother Alonso del Campo's arrest in July 1590, she and her sister moved into Alonso's house, where his wife Isabel Romero continued to live. After 2 months, she fell ill with fever. When from her bed she heard Alonso's children Jerónimo, Alonso and Pedro, her sister Inés and the maid Ana de Mora (Juan de Mora's illegitimate daughter) setting the table for the meal and discussing the details, she understood they were preparing for the September fast.

### 9.2. *Chapter 4 of the Accusation*

Together with her relatives she reverted to sabbath observance beginning at sundown on Friday, putting on clean, festive clothing, tidying the house on Friday afternoon, lighting candles with clean wicks and a special oil to burn all night. She had complained about someone who was extinguishing them that he was not allowing her to serve God.

REPLY: True, about 10 years after her reconciliation at Toledo she kept some sabbaths with siblings Rodrigo and Inés and did some little things with them upon occasion. Yes, they started the sabbath Friday at sundown; yes, occasionally they swept and tidied the house of a Friday afternoon. Yes, Inés del Campo sometimes cleaned and readied the lamp on Friday afternoon but didn't let it burn longer that night than others. The person who put out the lamp on Fridays and other nights while she and Inés were supping, did so in order to harm them. If the Inquisitors knew all the things Pedro did and said during the month and a half to two months that she and Inés were in Alonso's house after Rodrigo del Campo's arrest, they wouldn't believe anything he said.

### 9.3. *Chapter 6 of the accusation*

Observed three feasts of the Jews: one in Holy Week called of the Lamb, presumably sacrificing the lamb and eating unleavened bread; in May the Booths; another on the 15th of September, refraining from work 7 or 8 days, wearing better clothing. With much caution and secrecy they would give [these feasts] for relatives who kept the Law and be invited by them for these feasts.<sup>159</sup>

REPLY: Inés and Rodrigo kept the feast of the Lamb in Holy Week while she lived with them and she would sometimes join them after the onset of her own Judaizing.

<sup>159</sup> Here *pascua*, which means both 'feast' and 'festival,' is apparently considered a kind of party, which is thrown and to which one is invited. This rather suggests that these women understood feasting to be the essence of these "Mosaic holy days" and thus displaying yet again a lack of familiarity with Jewish tradition.

As to the Lamb and the unleavened bread they never did it, although she heard from older members of the family that it was to be eaten the 7 or 8 days of the Lamb festival. She heard from her Aunt Juana de Mora, wife of Juan López de Armenia and other oldsters that there are 3 feasts, one of them called Booths, which falls she doesn't know when. They did celebrate the September feast. On these feasts that last 7 or 8 days they would try to eat better but didn't change clothing. They would lay on these feasts with the children of her uncles Diego and Francisco de Mora.

#### 9.4. Chapter 7 of the accusation

Observed and celebrated and saw others observe the New Moons, just like the sabbaths and festivals. She inquired frequently of others when the festivals and New Moons fall.

REPLY: She did sometimes ask Rodrigo del Campo when the Mosaic festivals and the New Moons fell and she did observe the New Moons. So did Inés and Rodrigo. She did not take precautions when asking. She asked about the New Moons because she had glands, which waxed with the moon.<sup>160</sup>

INTERROGATION: What moved her to ask Rodrigo when the Mosaic festivals fell?

REPLY: She had to know the precise time because certain chores had to be done before the entry of the festival because afterwards Rodrigo and Inés would not let her do them.

#### 9.5. Chapter 9 of the accusation

She fasted and taught persons close to her and many others to fast the Great Fast of the Jews ten days in September. There was no eating or drinking until the star appeared, from the first of the Moon exclusively, skipping the sabbaths. In the course of the year, there would be many double and triple fasts, such as the fast of Esther for three continuous days. Mondays and Thursdays were "powerful days" for fasting. On those fasts they would not eat meat unless it was ritually slaughtered. She would ask a certain person to join in the fast, praying many Jewish prayers on those days, washing hands before prayer and before meals.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>160</sup> The accusation and its justification are an almost verbatim echo of Elvira's first trial. See AHN Inq., leg. 138, no. 7: *Cada mes enviaba a cierta persona a saber cuando entraba luna nueva [...] lo había hecho por ciertas secas que tenía.*

<sup>161</sup> From Elvira's testimony it would seem that "fasting" implied abstaining from specific foods or taking frugal meals. "Judaic" fast days, then, were placed on the same footing as Roman Catholic Friday fasts.

REPLY: She did fast the September fast to comply with Rodrigo and Inés. Sometimes she fasted the Monday Thursday fasts. She taught no one to do so. She and Inés sometimes carried out the double fasts, not eating from day-break to sunset, eating only what they had.<sup>162</sup> She and her sister and the others recited Jewish prayers, such as “In my distress I called out;” “My powerful Lord;” “Let us lift our eyes to the Lord.”<sup>163</sup> She recited them in their entirety. She still recites them along with the Credo, Our Father, Salve, Ave Maria and the Commandments.

INTERROGATION: Did other persons recite them with her on fast days?

REPLY: She, Rodrigo and Inés recited them on fast and other days and the latter also washed their hands before prayer and eating, as she did.

INTERROGATION: Are these prayers and handwashings before prayers and meals Mosaic?

REPLY: She thinks they are common to all people, Christians and Jews, although, in fact, these customs are Mosaic, yet she does not recall that she observed them for that reason. She thinks Rodrigo and Inés did observe them because of their Mosaic nature, whereas she did so unthinkingly and unfeelingly.

INTERROGATION: Why do they observe the Fast of Esther and whom does she know who observed it?

REPLY: She does not know why and she is aware Inés observed it but is not aware that Rodrigo did.

#### 9.6. Chapter 10 of the Accusation

She does not eat bacon, milt, black pudding, *trefe* meat<sup>164</sup> or meat from animals that died a natural death, nor strangled fowl, nor cheese on the day she ate meat, nor meat for 9 consecutive days after a member of the household dies.<sup>165</sup> If the deceased were from outside the household, yet a relative or friend, she would abstain from meat on the day of the funeral.

<sup>162</sup> See previous note.

<sup>163</sup> These “Jewish prayers” are apparently all psalms.

<sup>164</sup> On Spanish *trefe*, see RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 150 and AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 249.

<sup>165</sup> This accusation stems from Francisco de Mora’s trial. It will be noted that Elvira does not confess to it. Abstention from meat for 9 days as an observance of mourning appears neither in the Edicts of Faith nor in any code of Jewish law. See below note 280.

REPLY: She does not eat bacon, milt and black pudding. Neither she nor her siblings eat *trefe* meat or meat from animals that died a natural death. After her reconciliation, she went along with her siblings on that score. She ate beheaded and choked poultry, paying no heed to method of slaughtering. She has no recollection concerning the rest.

9.7. *Chapter 11 of the Accusation (not supplied, but briefly paraphrased)*

She ate meat ritually slaughtered, cleansed it of sinews (porged) and removed the *landrecilla* (sciatic nerve) from the leg of the *trefes*.<sup>166</sup>

REPLY: She knows that Mosaic Law prohibits fowl that did not have its throat cut, but was not aware of a precept that prohibits women from doing the slaughtering and did not take account of this.<sup>167</sup> Before she was reconciled she would porge [*purgaba*], rinse the blood, remove the fat [*desebaba*] from meat, and take out the *landrecilla* from the legs of the *trefes*, but since she is with her siblings, she does not do it. Her sister Inés does not allow her access to the cooking pot.

9.8. *Chapter 12 of the Accusation (not supplied, but briefly paraphrased)*

People would gather for discussions of Bible passages in her house. A certain relative would read these to them.

REPLY: Some of her relatives in Quintanar came to her and her siblings' house to visit, but not for that purpose. She did not see Rodrigo read or comment on anything to anyone. She knows he has a book, which she understands to be the Bible, out of which he sometimes read to himself. He made no comment nor did he read aloud, although she asked him to.

<sup>166</sup> The idea that animals unfit for consumption (*trefes*) are the ones from which the *landrecilla* is removed demonstrates the absurdity of the denunciation and the reply it prompted. On the *landrecilla* and *trefes*, see below # 13.2.

<sup>167</sup> Lope de la Vega, son of Elvira de Mora, asseverates the existence of such a precept, no doubt culled from a book. See R. LEVINE-MELAMMED, "The Judaizers of Alcazar at the End of the Sixteenth Century 'Corks Floating on Water'," *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (New York 1999) (hereafter: LEVINE-MELAMMED, *Heretics or Daughters*), 154-165; 235-241: 156, 239, from AHN Inq., leg. 187, no. 8 (Francisco de la Vega I), f. 21r-v. The Babylonian Talmud (*Hullin* 2a) specifically authorizes ritual slaughter by women. Cf. however the 12th-13th c. *Tosafot*, *ad. loc.*, which calls such a prohibition an aberrant tradition not recorded in the Talmud.

9.9. *Chapter 14 of the Accusation (not supplied but briefly paraphrased)*

She hid the fact that she received some money.

REPLY: Rodrigo gave her and Inés many gold coins, she does not know how many, some single some doublets, in order to buy food, bed linen and clothes. She spent it all except for what she had on her upon her arrest. She said other things, which were not denunciations of Inés [so not recorded!].

9.10. *Third chapter of first witness*<sup>168</sup>

A certain person, close to Elvira, taught another person that Judaizers might fast anytime except on the sabbath, and that the most religiously suitable days for fasting during the week were Monday and Thursday. This other person observed fasts, some of 2 or 3 days duration. The latter are called *doble* and *tres-doble*, and one should not drink on them.

REPLY: She does not know who this person may be. She remarked on Inés' fasting a couple of times two days straight from sunrise to sunset, when the stars come out, since 1574 or 1573. The double one she fasted rarely, namely the last days of the fast of September, the times when she did fast them.

9.11. *Fifth chapter of first witness*

The ten-day fast in September starts from the first of the moon, which was a holiday on which one abstained from work. The nine next ones were fasts except the sabbath, which was in the count. Three prayers a day preceded by hand washing, etc.

REPLY: Rodrigo, Inés, Alonso, Ana de Mora from 1574 or 1573 kept the first day of the moon of September and the 10 day fast, etc. She did some of it to comply with siblings. All these are Mosaic ceremonies.

9.12. *Ninth chapter of first witness*

A close relative of hers had read and commented on Mosaic things from a Latin book she believes to be the Bible, in his own house and in another relative's house.

<sup>168</sup> The "first witness" is obviously Francisco de Mora Molina and what is being presented as his denunciations of Elvira del Campo are simply extracts from his second *proceso*.

REPLY: Rodrigo read to himself and to Alonso out of a Bible, mornings and at other times. She doesn't know what he explained and is not aware of Rodrigo having read it to anyone else. He read it in his own house and also sometimes read other books.

#### *9.13. Third chapter of fourth witness*

A close acquaintance of Elvira had a Bible; in Elvira's house elderly relatives gathered to hear Mosaic topics read, translated and expounded upon.

REPLY: Rodrigo read the Bible to Alonso and the latter's son Diego. She does not know what was read or whether it was commented upon.

#### *9.14. Fourth chapter of fourth witness*

When someone died in Elvira's and her relatives' houses the residents did not eat meat for 9 days and those outside the house for one day.

REPLY: Doesn't know of this, at least not in her own house, but she heard of the one day abstention.

INTERROGATION: From whom did she hear this?

REPLY: From older folks and that it is a Mosaic precept.

#### *9.15. Seventh chapter of fourth witness*

Upon the arrest of Elvira's close relatives in July 1590, they [Elvira and Inés] moved to another house. People had seen them for two months and some days fasting from sunrise to sunset except on sabbath and New Moon. The observer is sure that since they arrested Diego de Mora's children in 1588, Elvira, Inés and their relatives fasted. Certain persons warned them against fasting but they did so anyhow. The observer heard someone comment that Elvira and Inés had claimed they were arrested for having cursed a certain person who did not let them fast.

REPLY: At the end of July when they arrested Rodrigo, she and Inés moved to Alonso's house where they stayed with Isabel Romero. Since she was in good health, she fasted a couple of successive days to comply with Inés and Isabel. When she and Isabel were not well, they stopped. Inés fasted a small number of days, she doesn't know how many they or she fasted.



9.16. *Fourth chapter of fourteenth witness*

Elvira and siblings sometimes didn't work, ate better on and dressed up for sabbaths and festivals,

REPLY: She and siblings sometimes did not work, ate better and dressed up on festivals and sabbaths.

The same goes for all relatives.

9.17. *Fifth chapter of fourteenth witness*

Since 1571 Elvira and other closely connected persons left the Friday night candles burning until they went out by themselves in honor of the sabbath. Also swept and tidied the house on Friday afternoons

REPLY: Inés in honor of the sabbath swept and tidied the house on Friday afternoons and sometimes left the lamp on until it went out by itself. She (Elvira) helped along as with other household chores, well aware that this was Mosaic. Inés did it for the Law and she to comply.

9.18. *Tenth chapter of fourteenth witness*

Elvira and Inés salted the meat when they soaked it to rinse it of its blood and to purge it: Mosaic ceremonies like the rest.

REPLY: Her sister prepared the food in the pot and purged [*purgaba*] and removed the blood [*desangraba*] from the meat by rinsing it with salt and water.<sup>169</sup>

9.19. *Eleventh Chapter of fourteenth witness*

Since 1571, Elvira and Inés would sometimes ask other kindred for the date of the festivals and the New Moon, which they celebrated.

REPLY: She and Inés would ask Rodrigo when the Moons and festivals fell and he told them. This she had done since 1571 until last year, in order to comply.

<sup>169</sup> Elvira and/or the denunciator apparently think(s) of purging as a synonym of soaking and salting. If this is so, they obviously never witnessed purging.

9.20. *Tenth witness adds to deposition of November 1*

In 1578 or 1579, when a certain person – daughter of Elvira’s close relative – was seriously ill, Elvira, Inés and another relative went to her house. Elvira, in the sick person’s room, asked someone to bestir herself so the sick person would not die in that room. If she did, one would have to wash all the bed linen and everything draped as well as other persons in that room. So that person got up and together with Elvira took the patient to another room. Elvira thereupon threw away all the water from the pots and took them out of the room, leaving only one with water and linen towels. Another connected person helped Elvira pour out the water. All those present agreed to this procedure.

REPLY: Her niece (daughter of Alonso del Campo) was very sick. Her name might be Isabel. They called her to Alonso’s house and the little girl died that night. She recalls nothing of what is contained in the denunciation. Now she recalls that Inés was with the dead Isabelica; she cannot remember if Rodrigo was there; at first blush: no.

Thus, as we saw above in connection with Hernando de Mora’s condemnation, accusations did not derive from facts verified by a confrontation of depositions. The number of accusations did not correspond to facts, but to the number of denunciators. This characteristic feature of inquisitorial justice could raise a mountain of charges out of a molehill of testimony. One single «fact», if recounted by discrete witnesses alluding to different circumstances could multiply like a fragment of glass in a kaleidoscope. The Inquisitors did not always keep to the unwritten rule that the denunciations must be literally reproduced and when they made an exception it would always be to the detriment of the defendant, whence the subdivided depositions. The Inquisitors orchestrated accusations and indictments to elicit more confessions. The slight modifications introduced by Elvira in her confessions and replies represent a pathetic stratagem to avoid her ineluctable execution: if not as a *negativa*, then as a relapsed heretic.

10. EXECUTION OF FRANCISCO DE MORA MOLINA AND ELVIRA DEL CAMPO;  
SUBSEQUENT PERSECUTION OF FRANCISCO DE MORA MOLINA’S SON DIEGO

After the *Auto de Fe* of August 12, 1590 the Cuenca inquisitorial prison completely replenished its stock of Moras. At the *Auto* of August 16, 1592 they accounted for 32 of a total of 34 victims. Thirty were reconciled, two executed: Francisco de Mora Molina (aged 37-41) and Elvira del Campo (aged 66), whom

Francisco vainly tried to save. In addition, 9 deceased members of the family were executed in effigy (including Hernando de Mora, 1492-1577 and Francisco's father Diego de Mora), and two were reconciled in effigy (Juana and Ana de Mora, both having expired in prison – the former an octogenarian – in May 1592). Of those reconciled, 7 were, in addition to the regular penances, sentenced to the galleys for terms ranging from 3 to 8 years.<sup>170</sup> Having denounced more than 50 relatives to the Inquisitors' delight and confessed with seeming gusto an entire "Marrano religion," Francisco de Mora Molina was rewarded with the fate that the Inquisitors had in store for him from the start. The pretext, of course, was Judaizing and encouraging to Judaize in prison, denounced by cell-mates, his second cousins Juan del Campo II and Alonso del Campo the Younger and his first cousin Juan López de Armenia the Younger.<sup>171</sup> When apprised of this by one of them, he asked for a hearing at which he confessed prison fasts and more prison fasts. This, however, sealed his fate as a "relapsed heretic" and "justified" his execution. As a last ploy, Francisco asked for one more hearing. He explained that he had Judaized in his cell out of despair at not having been reconciled with his relatives on August 9, 1590, in which case he would have been once again a wholehearted Christian. Instead (he said), they returned him to prison where he was now going into his fifth year and made him share his cell with companions who forced him to Judaize. All wasted words for, as we have seen, the Inquisitors had already sealed his fate at the Cuenca *Auto de Fe* of August 12, 1590. He perished in Cuenca at the *Auto* of August 16, 1592.<sup>172</sup>

One of the 30 reconciled penitents at this *Auto* was Francisco de Mora Molina's wife Leonor Enríquez, condemned to confiscation of goods and chattels, the wearing of the sanbenito, six years of forced residence. Then, around 1594, she remarried, aged 30, her husband's cousin and erstwhile cellmate and denouncer: Juan López de Armenia the Younger (aged c. 25). During this period she was joined by her two sons, Diego and Antonio, whose names she changed from Mora Enríquez to Enríquez Villanueva, *i.e.*, her own and her husband's mother's name, to avoid the all

<sup>170</sup> This punishment was usually meted out to those who confessed and denounced very late in their trial or who revoked and re-ratified earlier denunciations. AMIEL ("Marranisme" I, 227) points out the consanguinity of the penanced at this *Auto de Fe*: 11 siblings and nephews of Elvira de Mora; 9 children of Juan de Mora II; 4 children and one grandchild of Lope de Mora I.

<sup>171</sup> The system of placing prisoners in cells with peep-holes for watching "Judaic acts" (such as fasting and washing hands) by inquisitorial observers, characteristic of the Portuguese Inquisition, was apparently not applied in Spain.

<sup>172</sup> See CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 34-37. Cordente claims that Francisco de Mora Molina "suffered a barbarous fate, similar to that of his uncle Francisco de Mora the Elder and his cousin Beatriz de Mora, at the hands of the fanatic mob." If he means that he was bludgeoned by the mob instead of executed, he provides no documentary evidence.

too recent inquisitorial onus. Diego was apprenticed to a weaver and in 1596, aged 15 married an Old Christian, Isabel Gómez.<sup>173</sup>

On June 19, 1594, at an *Auto de Fe* in Toledo, a 17-year old Mora family member, María de Villanueva, who had voluntarily come forward and confessed, was reconciled and penanced. Her mother and three other relatives (including two brothers: Alonso and Juan de la Vega) were executed in effigy.<sup>174</sup> At a Cuenca *Auto de Fe* on December 13, 1598, seven Moras were executed in effigy, 6 deceased and one fugitive.<sup>175</sup> The next *Auto de Fe* to target Moras was the Toledo *Auto* of March 5, 1600. There Francisca de Mora, 42, wife of Hernando de Sauca, was reconciled a second time and Beatriz Gómez de Bedoya (deceased widow of Juan de Mora Carrillo) executed in effigy for the second time.<sup>176</sup> Francisca had already been reconciled at the Cuenca *Auto* of August 12, 1590. In October 1590 (no doubt in the hope of expediting her release from penitential prison) she denounced two first cousins. In October 1597 she was denounced for relapsing and re-imprisoned at Cuenca, sent to the Toledo *Auto* for sentencing and sent back to Cuenca for a 4-year term of *sanbenito* and forced residence.<sup>177</sup>

In 1600 the widow of Francisco de Mora Molina, Leonor Enríquez, was released from the penitential prison of Cuenca. She together with her second son Antonio moved to Seville, where she had a well off uncle.<sup>178</sup> Meanwhile, 375 miles away, in Cuenca, also around 1600, a son, Antonio Enríquez Gómez, was born to Diego and his wife Isabel Gómez. This grandson of Leonor was to acquire fame in adulthood as a novelist, playwright and bitter enemy of the Inquisition.<sup>179</sup>

In 1613 Antonio Enríquez Villanueva went to visit his brother Diego and family in Cuenca. He ordered some fine clothes from a local tailor. The word spread

<sup>173</sup> CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 11, 38. The opposition to his marriage, on this account, of his father's cousin Alonso de Mora, of which Diego speaks in his later inquisitorial trial (1622), is no doubt fictitious, as will be shown further on.

<sup>174</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 227. Of the five *procesos* only Alonso de la Vega's (AHN Inq., leg. 187, no. 7) is extant. See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 279; PARELLO, "Los Mora," 417.

<sup>175</sup> AMIEL ("Marranisme" I, 228, 276-278) cites the 7 names and *procesos*.

<sup>176</sup> See ADC leg. 330, no. 4721 (posthumous). Cf. AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 228, 276, RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 106, 444, n. 5 to 106.

<sup>177</sup> See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 228, RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 111. Révah and Amiel cite ADC leg. 314, no. 4555 as containing both her *procesos*. I ascertained in November 2003 that the second one had disappeared. The archivist, don Marcelino Angulo retrieved it in my presence in May 2006, and gave it the new classmark ADC leg. 331, no. 4734b. I shall discuss the details and implications of her second Cuenca trial further on.

<sup>178</sup> CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 11. We are not told what became of her second husband, Juan López de Armenia.

<sup>179</sup> He was apparently taken from Cuenca to Seville at the age of 5. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 227-232.

that both grandsons of the executed Francisco de Mora Molina were in town and dressed to kill. On May 24 of that year jealous workers in the tailor shop, “to alleviate their conscience,” denounced Diego and Antonio to the Inquisition for indulging in luxury goods prohibited by statute to the offspring of those condemned by the Inquisition.<sup>180</sup> In 1614 or 1615, their mother died at Seville.<sup>181</sup> In 1618 Diego’s son Antonio Enríquez Gómez, who often traveled on business with his father between Cuenca and Seville, married Isabel Basurto, an Old Christian. The couple was to have three children: Diego Enríquez Basurto, Leonor and Catalina.

Diego Enríquez Villanueva and his wife moved from Cuenca to Madrid in December 1621, but continued visiting Cuenca on business (he had gone from linen weaving into wholesale wool). On July 3, 1622 he was denounced to the Cuenca Inquisition on the charge of having “mosaically” slaughtered a sheep through the back of the neck (between the horns) 10, 16 or 17 years earlier, whereupon he was said to have fainted. Each of six denouncers told the story differently; some said they had heard it from the grapevine, others said they had actually witnessed it. Still others claimed to have purchased the animal and were going to share it with him. Diego had performed the slaughter at their request, though they were surprised at the method.<sup>182</sup> Some opined he fainted because they caught him red-handed in a Mosaic act, performed at the behest of New Christians; others ventured that the fainting might have been due to the excessive blood spurting out of the animal in its protracted death throes. For good measure, one of the “witnesses” added that Diego’s Old Christian wife was grieved because her husband would try and teach her “prayers” at night.<sup>183</sup> The Cuenca Inquisitors immediately put out a warrant for Diego’s arrest in Madrid, had him hauled back to Cuenca and incarcerated on July 8, 1622.

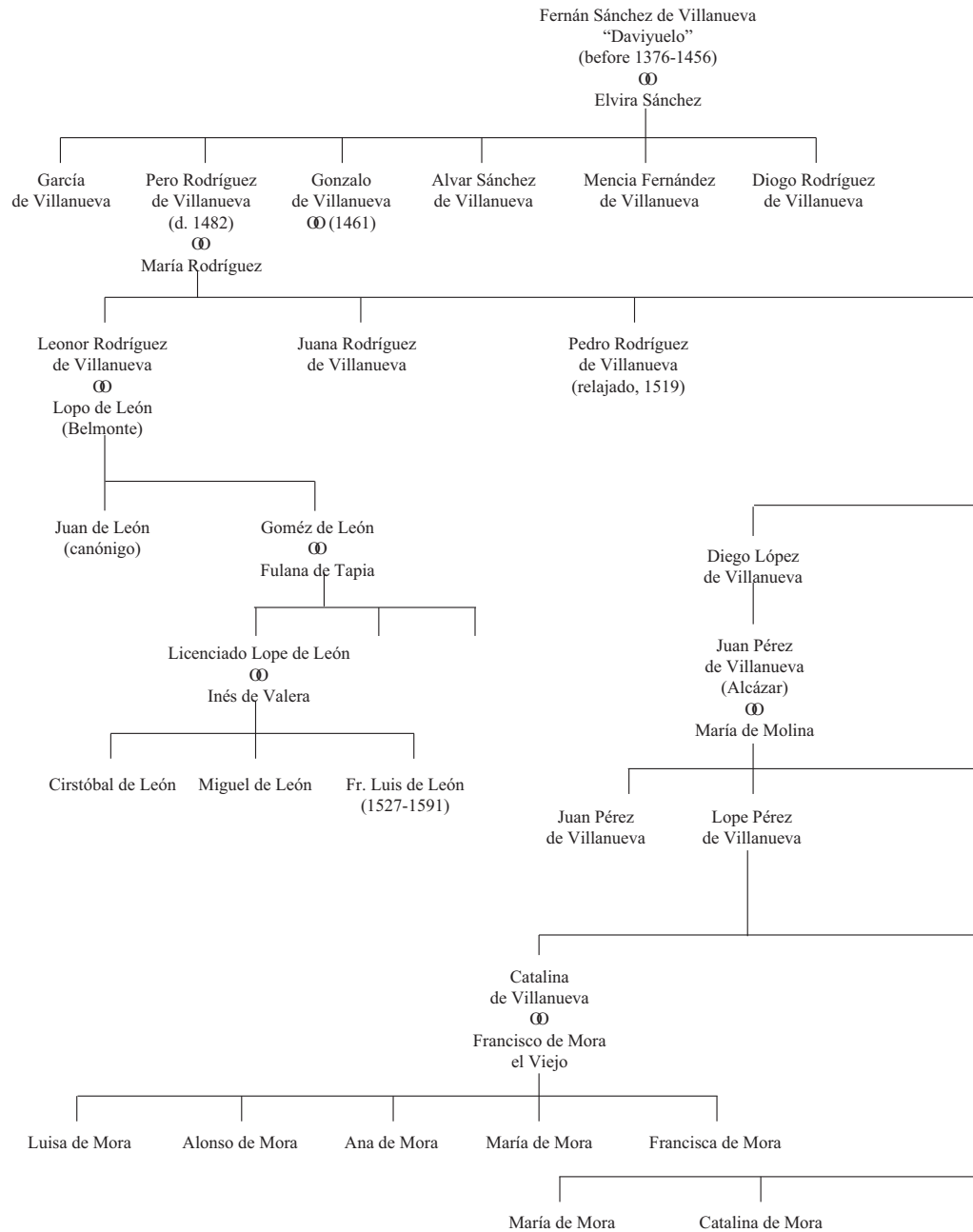
<sup>180</sup> Cordente Martínez transcribes the incomplete *proceso in extenso* (ADC leg. *Proceso Fiscal, Inhábiles*, *ibid.* 45-50). We are left in the dark as to the upshot: Imprisonment? Fines? Suspended sentence? Curiously, at one point in the proceedings Diego is described as “Portuguese” (*ibid.* 47).

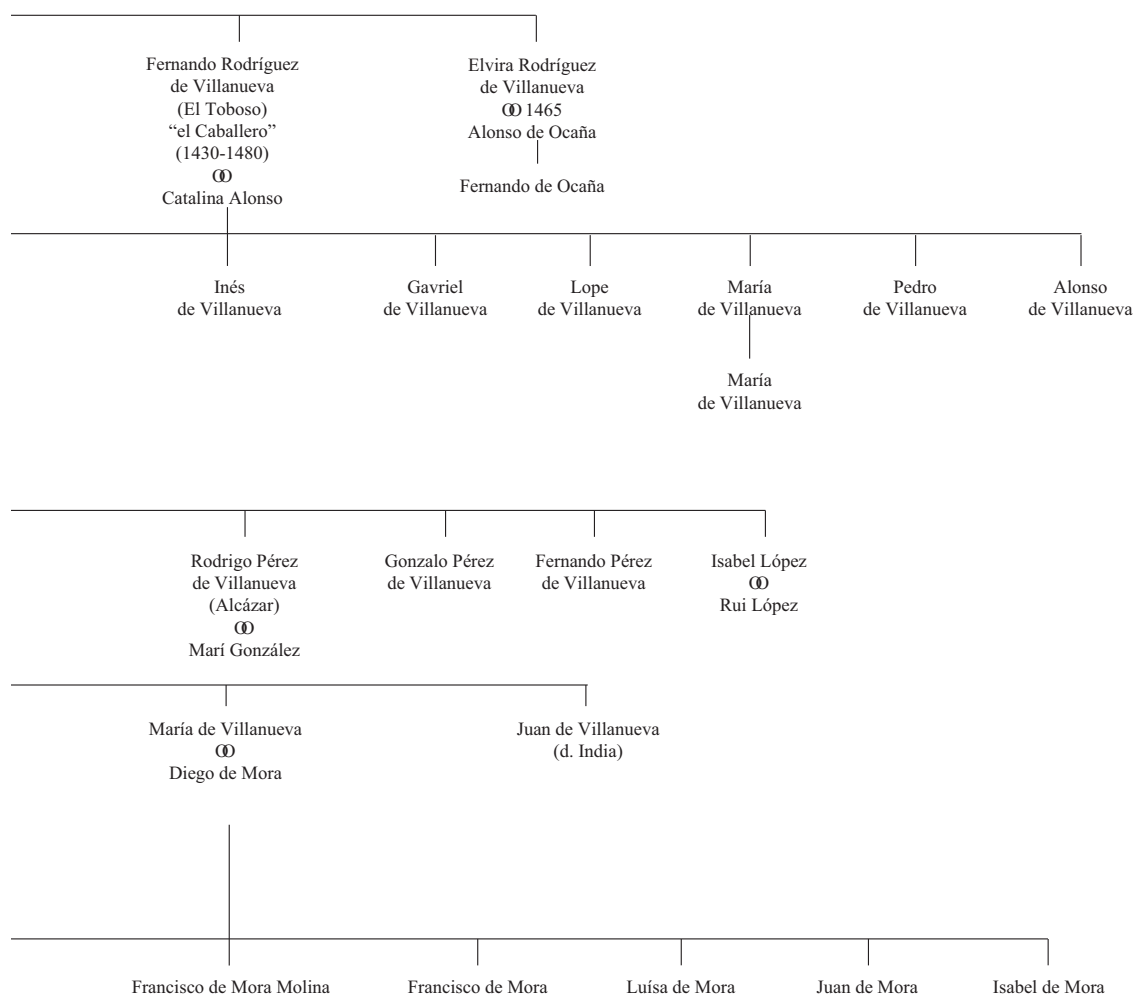
<sup>181</sup> CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 61.

<sup>182</sup> The first denouncer explained that animals were normally slaughtered by a cut across the throat and that he had often seen Diego slaughter by that method. Never before had he seen an animal slaughtered through the neck. Paradoxically and unbeknown to the Inquisitors and the “witnesses” the “normal” cut across the throat is also precisely the “Mosaic” method. According to rabbinic interpretation of Dt 12, 21 (you shall slaughter as I command you) animals for consumption must be killed in the swiftest and most painless way by cutting horizontally across the throat, severing the windpipe, esophagus, jugular veins and carotid arteries. The bizarre method purportedly employed by Diego is diametrically opposed to Jewish law and would of course render an animal so killed unfit for consumption by Jews. The fifth and sixth denouncers explained that Diego had volunteered to slaughter the animal for his two friends and himself after they could find no one else to do so (*no teniendo quien lo matase*). See CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 12, 52, 54 and 55.

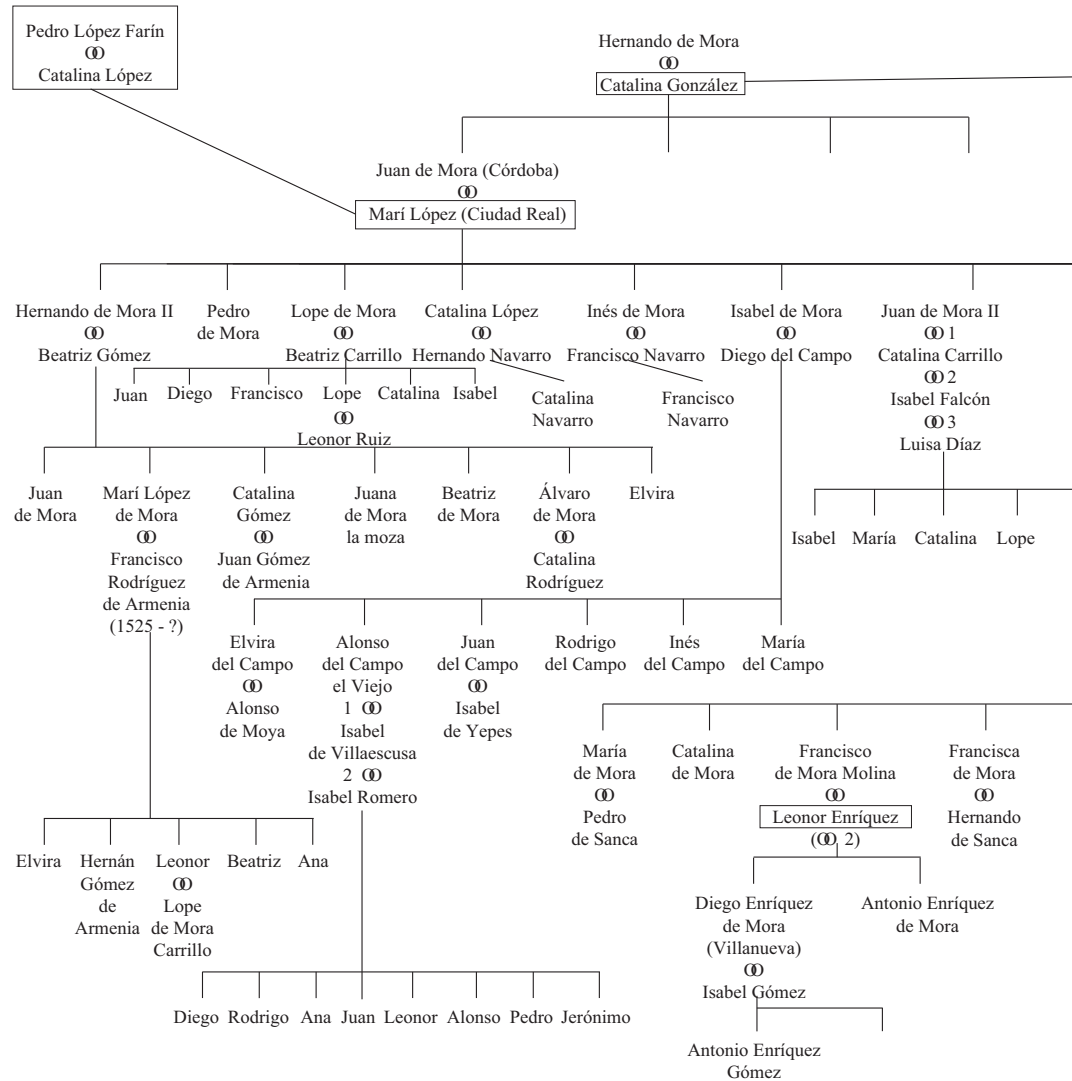
<sup>183</sup> CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 12, 55.

## I. The Villanuevas of Quintanar

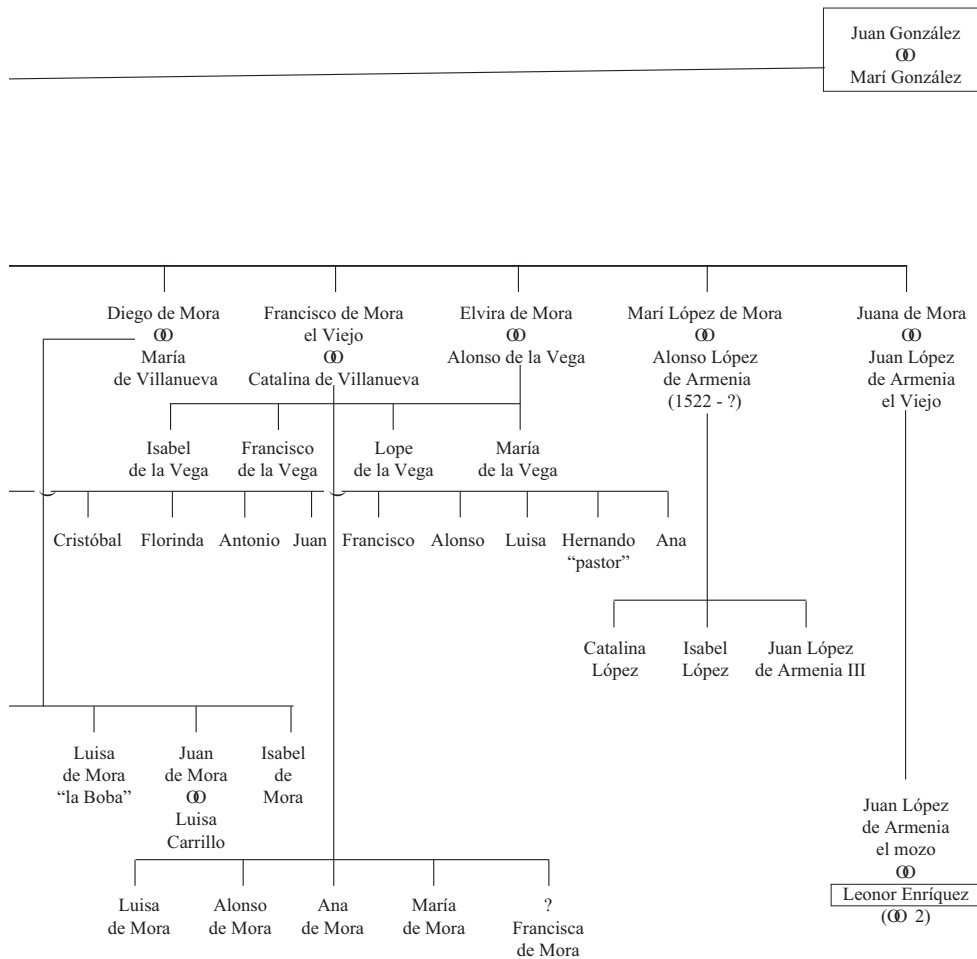




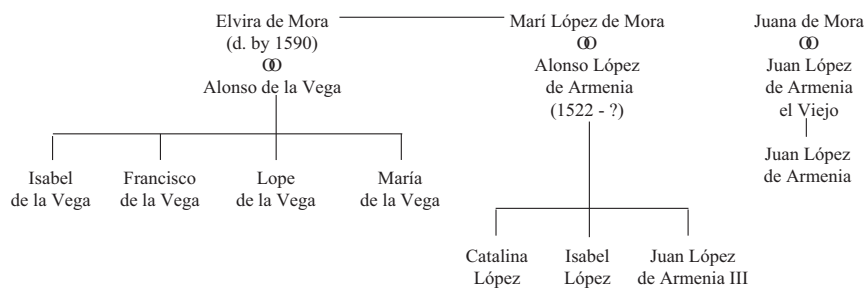
## II. The Moras of Quintanar and Alcázar







### III. The Moras of Alcázar



## 11. DIEGO'S TRIAL AND SUBSEQUENT EMIGRATION

Even the Cuenca Inquisitors must have felt that the grounds for a full-fledged Judaizing trial were meager, so that after Diego's incarceration three denouncers were produced with an additional accusation. They had shared some 20 months earlier a dish of game with Diego. Instead of larding his partridge, he had sprinkled it with olive oil, an "infallible" indication of Judaizing. The *proceso* now meanders its bureaucratic course towards execution or reconciliation, producing 72 folios dated July 1622-August 1623. Diego, to emerge alive, confessed that he had "judaically" slaughtered a sheep 16 years earlier in a certain street of Cuenca for heretical motives. He further confessed to having repeated the act 2 or 3 times and to have failed to denounce a certain reconciled uncle (his father's first cousin, now a resident of Toledo) and his wife who had taught him this Mosaic ritual. He further confessed to having succored Melchor Fernández, Portuguese husband of his first cousin María de Villanueva, by giving him 1500 reals worth of merchandise after his reconciliation. He denounced his brother Antonio, his Portuguese sister-in-law Leonor Núñez and her brother Francisco Rodríguez. In addition to the Judaic slaughter, he admitted having eaten bacon on Catholic days of abstinence.<sup>184</sup> For all these Judaic offenses against the Holy Church of Rome, Jesus the Son of God and His glorious Mother ever Virgin he begged mercy and forgiveness. He steadfastly refused to recognize the Judaic nature of the partridge's olive oil seasoning, claiming it was a regional recipe picked up in Andalucía and devoid of heretical overtones. On 10 December 1623 he was sentenced at an *Auto particular* in Cuenca's Church of St. Peter to confiscation of goods and chattels, wearing of the sanbenito and forced residence in the penitential prison for one year. The Inquisitors, meanwhile, put out warrants for the arrest of all those denounced by Diego.<sup>185</sup>

Released in December 1624, his wife having died, Diego Enríquez de Villanueva left Spain for France and took up his abode first in Bordeaux, where he remarried, c. 1627 in Nantes. His second wife, Cecilia da Fonseca, had been a member of the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam. The couple had three children, two of whom reached adulthood: Miguel Enríquez and Esteban Enríquez.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>184</sup> For a similar confession in the annals of the Portuguese Inquisition (1591), see H. P. SALOMON, "Os primeiros portugueses de Amesterdão," *Caminiana* 5, 8 (1983), 31-104: 49-51.

<sup>185</sup> CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 50-84 integrally published Diego's extraordinary *proceso* (ADC leg. 409, no. 5750). In parts it almost reads like a parody, were it not that death and torture lurk around every corner (see especially the exchange reported in *Origen y genealogía*, 13 and 76).

<sup>186</sup> See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 186-187; 458-459.

The dramatist Antonio Enríquez Gomez (Diego Enríquez de Villanueva's son by his first wife), continued living in Madrid where he frequented the house of a wealthy young Franco-Portuguese literator-merchant, Bartolomé Febos. The latter was arrested by the Inquisition in 1634, accused of Judaizing and of being in correspondence with the Portuguese community of Rouen, France. Antonio was on a list Febos gave the Inquisitors of friends who would testify on his behalf. Summoned to take the stand his testimony was hardly favorable to Febos.<sup>187</sup> Yet Antonio decided the better part of valor was to remove to France, where he first joined his father in Nantes, then his father's brother – Antonio Enríquez de Villanueva – in Bordeaux.

## 12. MARRANISM

How many of the "Judaic acts" for which the Moras were denounced, arrested and condemned coincide with the lists contained in the Edicts of Faith? These Edicts were solemnly read annually on a Lenten Sunday in a designated church of every Spanish city and town, in the obligatory presence of all inhabitants 12 and over.<sup>188</sup> The Edicts fulfilled a double pedagogic function. From the Inquisitors' point of view they taught potential delators the "crimes" of which to accuse their neighbors, *i.e.*, they educated the general population to recognize Judaizers from among the New Christians. From the New Christians' point of view they taught the potential victims what they needed to confess to get out alive. The Inquisitors were aware of a third potential, namely to apprise judaically inclined New Christians of Jewish rites and ceremonies of which, without the Edicts of Faith, they would have been ignorant. Since we fathom so little of the inner workings of the inquisitorial mind, it is difficult to establish with certainty whether the Inquisitors were truly averse to such a side effect. Howbeit the Spanish Edicts of Faith were a manual of Judaic and pseudo-Judaic rites and customs.

The only surviving copy (defective in places) of the earliest Edict in Spanish is dated Las Palmas, Grand Canary Island, May 29, 1524. I am assuming that

<sup>187</sup> See J. CARO BAROJA, *La sociedad criptojudía en la corte de Felipe IV* (Madrid 1963), 119; ID, "El proceso de Bartolomé Febos o Febo," in *Homenaje a don Ramón Carande* (Madrid 1963), vol. 2, pp. 59-92: 78.

<sup>188</sup> It was read in addition on inquisitorial visitations of districts and at every *Auto*. The earliest surviving edict presently known is in Catalan, dated Valencia, 1512. See H. P. SALOMON, "The «Monitorio do Inquisidor Geral» of 1536. Background and Sources of Some «Judaic» Customs Listed Therein," *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* 17 (1982), 41-72 (hereafter: SALOMON, "Monitorio"); C. AMIEL, "Crypto-Judaïsme et Inquisition, La matière juive dans les édits de la foi des Inquisitions ibériques," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 120, 2 (1993), 145-168.

it remained standard until a new version was proclaimed in 1604. In any case no intermediate version is available to me. I quote in Lucien Wolf's English translation the one-sentence recital of Jewish (or pseudo-Jewish) ceremonies and customs from the 1524 Edict:

Keeping ... days of the sabbaths ... putting on clean and festive clothes, clean and washed shirts and head gears, arranging and cleaning their houses on Friday afternoons, and in the evening of Fridays lighting new candles with new tapers and torches earlier than on other evenings ... of the week; cooking on the said Fridays such food as is required for the Saturdays and on the latter eating the food thus cooked on Fridays as is the manner of the Jews; keeping the Jewish fasts, not touching food the whole day until night-fall and especially the fast of Queen Esther and the chief fast they call the quippur and other Jewish fasts laid down by their law and keeping other fasts of the week especially Mondays and Thursdays kept by them as devotional fasts; eating on such fast days such meats and other viands as are customary with the Jews; and on the said fast days asking pardon one of the other in the Jewish manner, the younger ones of their elders, the latter placing their hands on the heads of the former but without putting on them the sign of the cross; the women bathing themselves the day before the said fast, which bath is called *la tibia*; keeping the feasts and festivals of the Jews, in particular the feast of unleavened bread, which falls in Holy Week, upon which festival they eat unleavened bread, beginning their meal with lettuce and celery; and keeping the feast of Tabernacles which falls in the month of September; saying Jewish prayers, especially the prayer beginning: *sema yisrael Adonai* and another prayer for the washing of hands and the prayer to be said standing and other Jewish prayers, reciting these with face turned to the wall, raising and lowering the head and working the body as the Jews do; cutting their nails and keeping, burning or burying parings; cleansing or causing meat to be cleansed, cutting away from it all fat or grease and cutting away the nerve or sinew from the leg; cutting the throats of fowl as is the manner of the Jews, reciting certain words during the process and passing the knife across the nail; and killing oxen in the same manner as the Jews do, covering the blood with cinders or earth; and giving the Jewish blessing before eating, called *baraha*; reciting certain words over the cup or glass of wine, after which each person sips a little after the custom of the Jews; not eating pork, hare, rabbit, strangled birds, conger-eel, cuttlefish, nor eels or other scale-less fish, as laid down in the Jewish law; and upon the death of parents and other persons, eating on the floor or on very low tables such things as boiled eggs, olives and other viands, as do the Jews; and standing behind the door which they call *cohuerzo* as they do, pouring water from jars and pitchers while someone is dying, believing that the soul of such a person will come and bathe in this

water; and who when kneading bread – which the Jews call *la hala* – will throw particles of dough into the fire; making *hadas* for the children born to them, on the seventh day; not baptizing them and when they have been baptized scraping off the chrism put on them in the sacrament of baptism; and performing many other rites and ceremonies of the said Law of the Jews; blaspheming against God Our Lord and against the articles of His Holy Catholic Faith; and against the purity and virginity of Our Lady the Virgin Mary, and against other saints ...<sup>189</sup>

Amiel considers any “Judaic ceremony” confessed to by the Moras of Quintanar and Alcázar (he hardly deals with the latter, although the *procesos* are as interrelated as the family branches) a reflection of reality, part of their Marrano religion, transmitted to them by their Jewish ancestors of yore. He especially entertains ceremonies not listed in presently accessible Edicts of Faith and memorized Jewish prayers, which are known only from their transcription in the inquisitorial *procesos* here under consideration. From these, he reconstructs, as it were, their “marranism.” He never considers the possibility that they may be further figments intended to satisfy the Inquisitors’ insistence that the defendants – if they were to save their skin – elaborate extensively and specifically on their Judaizing, beyond the Judaic acts of which they were accused and those contained in the Edicts of Faith. Many defendants believed if they confessed to Judaizing practices over and above what they were accused of, that they stood a better chance of coming out alive. As it happened, in the episode under consideration, the most prolix defendant was executed.

### 13. THE CEREMONIES

#### 13.1. *Washing the hands*

Amiel’s case for a Judaic heresy transmitted from a remote Jewish past rests primarily upon the second trial of Francisco de Mora Molina (1591). It will be recalled that during his first trial, despite excruciating torture, he remained a *diminuto* and that at the *Auto de Fe* of August 12, 1590, when he was about to be executed, Chief Inquisitor Arganda devised a plan whereby this “eccentric” was remanded to his cell for a new trial. Now the inquisitors dangled before him the illusory hope of life, in order to coax out of him copi-

<sup>189</sup> See *Jews in the Canary Islands*. Being a Calendar of Jewish Cases Extracted from the records of the Canariote Inquisition in the Collection of the Marquess of Bute. Translated from the Spanish and Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Lucien WOLF (London 1926), 26-28. A legible photograph of the original document is included in SALOMON, “Monitorio.”

ous denunciations and confessions. The second *proceso* allows us to see the condemned man, far from writhing and blubbering, authoritatively and calmly expounding to the Inquisitor the Moras' "Judaic" life-style "from the cradle to the grave."<sup>190</sup>

Amiel considers the hand-washing ritual its foremost element. From the 36 inquisitorial *procesos* he identified of Mora family members who appeared before the Cuenca tribunal, Amiel selected for a photographic reproduction the page in Francisco de Mora Molina's second *proceso* that contains his explanation to Inquisitor Arganda of "Judaic" washing of hands. In addition to providing the page as an illustration, Amiel quotes the passage in the original Spanish and in French translation (this and all my subsequent English translations of accessible Spanish documents are from the original):

Asked to say and declare how often and when those who live and profess the Law of Moses wash their hands in order to keep and observe it, he said: 'Yes, I shall say it, Sir, and very willingly'. And he said that [they do so] for praying and when they attend to their natural needs of passing water and relieving themselves and when they enter the privy and when they enter a place where there is a corpse. And that when his father came home from church he would wash his hands, because he said that there were corpses where he had been. And that among all his relatives it was a well-known ceremony to wash their hands when coming from church, for that reason; even though he himself never washed them with regard to that. Further, when no water is available, they wash with a bunch of grapes, or with juice from unripe grapes, or with soil, rubbing their hands with it, or with a citron or an orange. And he also understands that they can wash [their hands] with wine or vinegar when no water is available...<sup>191</sup>

Amiel cites from Francisco's second *proceso* four references to Judaic hand ablutions continued by him in prison, providing for two of them the original Spanish and a French translation and for the third and fourth a paraphrase.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>190</sup> Expression credited by Amiel to Arnold van Gennep (1873-1957). See, however, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*: "Between the cradle and the grave" (John Dyer, 1700?-1756); "from the cradle to the grave" (George Crabbe, 1754-1832); "from the cradle to the grave" (Percy Bysshe Shelley, 1792-1822).

<sup>191</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 243-247. The page reproduced is f. [130] of ADC leg. 328, no. 4704.

<sup>192</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 245. The citations are from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [70, 106, 109 and 127].

### 13.2. Dietary Customs

Among the denunciations collected by the Cuenca tribunal against Diego de Mora, María de Villanueva and their seven children in 1579, three originated in hearsay from one Juan Sánchez de la Serna (by then deceased), who had lived in Diego's house around 1575-1576. He had purportedly said that in Diego de Mora's house there were no images of saints or crucifixes (except for a wooden cross at the door). He said further that the family never purchased meat at the local butcher's but slaughtered its own cattle and poultry "facing the rising sun and observing the sun before cutting the throat."<sup>193</sup> Finally, he declared that at a certain dinner party, when apprised of the presence of pork in the stew, the family refused to eat, left in a huff and that Diego's eldest son Francisco de Mora Molina who had swallowed a small piece "vomited his inwards."<sup>194</sup>

Amiel does not question the reliability of these specific charges, which appear at the beginning of every *proceso* of the Moras sentenced at the *Auto de Fe* of August 12, 1590.<sup>195</sup> Amiel opines at the outset of his 5½-page section on the Moras' "dietary purity":

We are first of all amazed to discover (nearly one hundred years after the suppression of the Jewish religion in Spain) that the Marranos of Quintanar were still practicing ritual slaughter. When tongues loosened at the time of the denunciations, which preceded the great roundup, it was indeed said that it had been noticed that they would never purchase meat at the butcher's. True some of them possessed cattle. The reason invoked by the accused at an early stage was that in order to save money they slaughtered their own cattle which they would then divide up among direct and collateral relatives.<sup>196</sup>

However, during his second trial Francisco de Mora Molina recounts a chance meeting between himself and the "Familiar" of the Inquisition Damián Gallardo, which took place at the local Quintanar butcher shop. Why would Francisco have gone to the butcher if not to purchase meat? Amiel, who cites the *proceso* to this effect, does not note the contradiction.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>193</sup> One Juan García Calvo makes an identical denunciation. See ADC leg. 277, no. 3830 (Catalina de Mora).

<sup>194</sup> See CORDENTE MARTÍNEZ, *Origen y genealogía*, 29-30 (paraphrase). This and other parts of the denunciation are cited *ipsis verbis* by AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 251-252, n. 106-107.

<sup>195</sup> See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 229.

<sup>196</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 247.

<sup>197</sup> See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 233, citing ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [77-78]. However, a number of defendants assert that they alternated ritual slaughter with the purchase of meat from the local

By amalgamating the hearsay denunciation of the deceased Juan Sánchez de la Serna with an actual confession (the required two independent testimonies), the Inquisitors “proved” the ongoing practice of Jewish ritual slaughter to their own (and Amiel’s) satisfaction.

It will be recalled that Francisco’s six siblings had been incarcerated on April 25, 1588 and that by May 27, 1588 when Francisco joined them in prison, they had already confessed “nearly all they were accused of.”<sup>198</sup> On August 29, 1589 his brother Juan states:

Este confesante ha muerto una dozena de reses, cortándoles el gaxnate y la cabeza toda [...] atravesándoles su cuchillo hasta cortarles el gaxnate, y asimismo degollaba éste las aves de la misma manera que las reses [...]. Lo que toca a la sangre del degüello de las aves [...] se echaba en el suelo y se perdía y la cubrían con tierra, y que de las reses hacían morcillas y las vendían y las daban a los criados o peones.<sup>199</sup>

Amiel paraphrases Juan’s unabridged declaration as follows:

The animal had to face the east.<sup>200</sup> Then, with a knife, they proceeded to slaughter it, without beheading it, in other words without cutting its throat and detaching the head.<sup>201</sup> [...] The slaughter was accompanied by a blessing: ‘*Bendito sea Aquel que te crió para la muerte y para el mantenimiento de la gente*’, which moreover did not correspond to the traditional formulation.<sup>202</sup> They let

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butcher, e.g., Juan López de Armenia the Elder (ADC leg. 283, no. 3946, August 20, 1590, after describing his ritual slaughter, adds: *Ordinariamente y lo más veces trazía carne de la carnicería*.

<sup>198</sup> AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 216 reminds us that the Moras before their arrest had been apprised of the denunciations by the denunciators themselves, in order to know what to confess and get out alive.

<sup>199</sup> See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 149 for the French translation from ADC leg. 318, no. 4587. The pre-publication printout of RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain* (hereafter: P.P.P.) 1, 75 provides the original Spanish. The covering of the blood with earth is listed in the 1524 Spanish Edict of Faith cited above and in the 1536 Portuguese Edict, though the distinction between fowl and other animals is not mentioned in them. See SALOMON, “Monitorio.”

<sup>200</sup> *Cara al sol saliente*: ritual slaughter of an animal for consumption is unrelated to direction but the head of an animal offered for sacrifice in the Temple is turned west, while the priest stands east, his face turned west. See the Mishnaic description of the sacrificial cult (*Yoma* 3, 8). The confusion will undoubtedly derive from one of the erudite Spanish treatises consulted by the Moras at Quintanar.

<sup>201</sup> *Que degollaran la res atravesado el cuchillo dejando la nuca a la parte de la cabeza y poniendo la rez cara al sol saliente, diciendo [...]*. I am not sure that Amiel’s translation is correct. This one-line confession, identically worded, is found in a number of Quintanar *procesos*.

<sup>202</sup> Révah suspects Diego de Mora of having invented it. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 149.



the blood pour out on the ground, discarded, to the great astonishment of the Old Christians; sometimes they saved it to make blackpudding, which they sold or kept, for servants and daylaborers. Poultry was slaughtered the same way, but in that case they immediately covered the blood with earth [...]<sup>203</sup>

Both Révah and Amiel overlooked, however, Juan's earlier confession of January 23, 1589, during which he recorded the same blessing and described further details of the slaughtering:

Y les cortaba la cabeza y la sacaba afuera. Y lo hacían por que no acertaren a venir alguno de sus cuñados, Pedro y Hernando de Sauca<sup>204</sup>, o otra persona alguna que lo pudiesen entender. Y les echaba sal en las degolladuras después de muertas y no antes y que las palabras 'Bendito sea el que te dio para la muerte y para mantimiento de la gente' no las decían sus hermanos, sino este confesante, y no todas veces [...].<sup>205</sup>

The blessing in the form "Blessed is He who created you for death and for human sustenance" recited by Juan is included in his father Diego de Mora's posthumous death sentence, identical with those of his uncle Juan and his aunt Inés.<sup>206</sup>

From the initial denunciations common to all the *procesos* of Mora defendants sentenced on August 12, 1590 Amiel selects the "cutting away of the sciatic nerve or sinew from the leg" of animals destined for consumption. This was a stereotypical Judaic act well known from the Edicts of Faith. It was also an item of the interrogation *in genere* to which all New Christian prisoners of the Iberian Inquisitions were submitted at the outset of their trial. The *in genere* listed Judaic practices of which they were automatically suspected, in the same category as changing one's shirt on Saturdays, lighting fresh wicks on Friday nights and allowing them to burn out by themselves, etc. These practices then made their way into the confessions of thousands of bankers, lawyers and mer-

<sup>203</sup> See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 248, based on ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, *proceso* of Juan de Mora, session of August 29, 1589. Amiel provides only the blessing itself in the original Spanish.

<sup>204</sup> The reference is to the Old Christian husbands of María and Francisca de Mora.

<sup>205</sup> See ADC leg. 315, no. 4562, f. [27].

<sup>206</sup> See the original Spanish with a few omissions in RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 507-508. Amiel quotes it twice in Spanish (with a slight variant: *Bendito sea* and just *Bendito*), first from Juan de Mora's *proceso*, then from the extracts of Juan's *proceso* in Francisco de Mora Molina's. See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 248; AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 569. He sees a resemblance with the Talmudic adage "Human fate is death; the beast's fate is the slaughterhouse" (BT, *Beraḳot* 17a).

chants. Amiel alleges verisimilitude in the original detail that the slimy substance was said to have been fed to the cats.

Turning back to the second *proceso* of Francisco de Mora Molina, Révah (followed by Amiel) notes his definition of the word *trefe* to describe an animal unfit for consumption “according to the Law of Moses” because “the upper parts of its lungs adhere to the ribs.”<sup>207</sup> Révah points out that the word *trefe* is perfect Castilian and that it denotes weakness and lung disease in humans. Still, Amiel considers its use by Francisco de Mora Molina to be true to one of the Talmud’s definitions of the Hebrew term *terefa*.<sup>208</sup>

Further on, in his second trial Francisco de Mora Molina states (in the past tense) that “it was a precept of the Law of Moses not to eat stillborn animals or newborn animals that had died before suckling or cheese made with animal rather than vegetable rennet.”<sup>209</sup> Amiel does not ask whether Francisco (who, as we shall see, was well read) might not be speaking from theoretical knowledge of Jewish precepts rather than describing personal or family practice. The same question might be asked concerning Francisco’s observation in his second *proceso* to the effect that “washing [soaking?] meat from one day to the next is a ceremony of the Law of Moses.”<sup>210</sup> Yet, we might well ask, why should Francisco collect and confess esoteric Jewish rites and precepts, which neither he, nor anyone else in his milieu, actually performed?

The purported revulsion felt by the Moras when served pork and lard is derived by Amiel from the denunciation made by Francisco Sánchez, for 9 years (1573-1582) shepherd of Diego de Mora’s livestock, and from the hearsay denunciations attributed to the deceased Juan Sánchez de la Serna.<sup>211</sup> Surprisingly,

<sup>207</sup> See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [67v]: *no comía carne trefe y llamava ser ‘carne trefe’ cuando la res tenía pegados los livianos a las costillas por la parte de arriba*. Contrary to Révah’s erroneous transcription, Francisco’s testimony does not alternate ‘trefe’ (Spanish) and ‘trefa’ (Hebrew), but has *trefe* both times. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 150 and the original Spanish in P.P.P. 1, 75. Cf. AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 249.

<sup>208</sup> Amiel cites the authoritative Jewish compendium *Šulḥan Aruk*, *Yoreh De’ah* 19, 4-10.

<sup>209</sup> AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 250, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [149v] (original Spanish provided.: hereafter: o.S.p.). The prohibition of cheese made with animal rennet (*queso con coajo*) is also mentioned by Diego del Campo (ADC leg. 324, no. 4653).

<sup>210</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 251, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [75]. Amiel combines this observation with one deriving from de la Serna’s hearsay denunciations of 1575-1576, that the Moras “drained their meat until it had lost all its color,” “confirmed” by a two-word quotation from the posthumous sentence of Francisco’s father Diego de Mora. Amiel further claims (but does not provide a documentary source) that the Moras besides washing and soaking also salted their meat and poultry and rejected the spleen as well as all fat and suet.

<sup>211</sup> AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 251-252.

Amiel adduces no confessions by the Moras themselves in support of these somewhat discredited denunciations.

Waiting after a meat meal before eating dairy products is yet another Mora “Marrano practice” described by two confessant-informants: the “erudite” Francisco de Mora Molina and his equally “erudite” cousin, Rodrigo del Campo.<sup>212</sup> Juan del Campo II who shared Francisco’s cell for two years stated that Francisco reprehended him for eating meat and dairy on the same day.<sup>213</sup> Isabel de Mora Carrillo declared that Rodrigo del Campo had told her that meat and dairy could be consumed simultaneously but that one should merely refrain from eating a kid cooked in its mother’s milk.<sup>214</sup>

### 13.3. *Conjugal purity*

Francisco de Mora Molina tells the Inquisitors in his second *proceso* that when his father, Diego de Mora, was on his deathbed he called him in and enjoined him to abstain from marital relations during his wife’s periods. Not to abstain, his father said, was a mortal sin in respect of the blood. Francisco informed his wife who subsequently would let him know although he often took no account of it.<sup>215</sup>

Israel S. Révah wonders why Diego de Mora should have waited so long to teach his son the lesson. He suggests that “this proves that [the practice] came to his knowledge only very belatedly.”<sup>216</sup> Révah here introduces a novel concept,

<sup>212</sup> RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 148-149 (P.P.P. 1, 74 has the original Spanish: *El día que comían carne no comían queso ni leche, que era prohibido en la ley de Moisés*); AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 252, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [81] (original Spanish not provided). Cf. ADC leg. 321, no. 4627 (Rodrigo del Campo), f. 91r: *E que había oído decir que en una comida juntamente no se había de comer carne de res y cosas de leche [...] que había leído en la Biblia que no se había de cozer al cordero en la leche de su madre*.

<sup>213</sup> See also ADC leg. 329, no. 4703b, Francisco de Mora Carrillo (posthumous), preliminary denunciation extracted from Juan del Campo’s *proceso*: [...] *que no se puede comer queso habiéndose comido carne aquel día, por estar proibido por la Ley de Moysén el día que se comía carne no se podía comer cosa de leche*. Here, he attributes his knowledge of the precept to the teaching of his father.

<sup>214</sup> See ADC leg. 325, no. 4663 (Juan del Campo: October 4, 1590) and ADC leg. 327, no. 4689 (Isabel de Mora Carrillo: April 20, 1592).

<sup>215</sup> AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 253, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [49] (original Spanish not provided).

<sup>216</sup> “[...] C’est la preuve qu’elle n’était parvenue que très tardivement à sa connaissance.” See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 169.

namely two “marranisms”: a “traditional” and a more recently acquired sort. I shall return to this seminal distinction anon. On the part of a believer in two centuries of inherited “crypto-Judaism” practiced by certain Spanish Catholic families – 1391-1588 and from 1485 under the very eyes of the Inquisition – we seem to have here a dramatic concession indeed! However, as we shall see further on (15.10), according to Francisco his marriage to Leonor Enríquez was against his father’s will. Only on his deathbed had his father acquiesced to it. Thus it stands to reason that he would only then have taught his son the precept concerning ritual purity. In fact, the quiddity of Diego de Mora’s Jewish knowledge can not be concluded from this episode, nor does it imply a duality of marranism. Révah’s stricture against his own theory is – in this case at least – invalid.<sup>217</sup>

Francisco further declares that his wife washed “Judaically” after her periods<sup>218</sup> and that after the birth of a boy there were to be no marital relations for 40 days and after the birth of a girl for 80. Thereafter she had to wash before their resumption.<sup>219</sup> Amiel found in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* that this (non-scriptural: cf. Lv 12, 2-5) custom of abstaining for respectively 40 and

<sup>217</sup> I owe this refutation of Révah’s self-defeating argument to a personal communication from Dr. Carsten Wilke.

<sup>218</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, *loc. cit.* Amiel cites from the *proceso* of Francisco’s wife Leonor Enríquez the sentence collectively pronounced against her and two other Mora women “for having bathed and washed their whole body for the Great Fast of the Ten Days and after divers intimate necessities.” Another reference to the rite of total ablution is the denunciation of the domestic servant Juan de Buenaventura, when he reports that Francisco’s five sisters “Judaically” plunged into the tub after menstruation. See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 231, 255 (o.s.p. in n. 115). The youngest, Isabel, confesses: *Que se lavaban las piernas después de haberles pasado su regla* (ADC leg. 317, no. 4585, July 8, 1589). Their cousin Isabel de Mora Carrillo confesses: *Cuando la dejaba su regla se lavaba* (after menstruation she would wash) (ADC leg. 327, no. 4689, April 20, 1592). See also AHN Inq., leg. 138, no. 8, 10r, deposition of Isabel de la Vega, daughter of Elvira de Mora. Torquemada’s list of 31 heretical Judaic practices to be denounced (Valladolid, 1484) has as no. 27: “If they know of any woman who when she has her period made *tibula* (*sic*, for ‘tebilah’) before her husband approached her.” See SALOMON, “Monitorio,” 63. On April 1, 1493, Doña Catalina, 82-year old widow of Gonzalo García, a butcher in Molina, was executed at a Sigüenza *Auto*, *inter alia* for having “made *tivila* with warm water” on the eve of her wedding c. 60 years earlier. Her attorney suggests she had been converted as an infant at the time of Vincent Ferrer’s anti-Jewish campaign (c. 1412). He argues that her prenuptial tebilah was not Jewishly motivated *porque antiguamente, y aun hoy en algunas partes se usaban mucho los baños e acostumbaban los cristianos bañarse en ciertos tempos; y como aquel tiempo que ella se casó estuviere costumbre que se bañaba al tiempo de casamiento, así se bañó ella*. See AHN Inq., leg. 1930, no. 23. The 1524 Spanish Edict of Faith, as I have shown above, mentions *tibila* (*sic*) only for women bathing before the Day of Atonement. It is of course not impossible that later Edicts contain a reference to women who observe tebilah after their period.

<sup>219</sup> AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 253, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [67v] (original Spanish not provided).

80 days after the birth of a boy or a girl is mentioned in Talmudic literature and by Maimonides, who considered it heretical, smacking of Karaism.<sup>220</sup>

#### 13.4. *Sabbath*

Keeping the sabbath is of course a Judaic action *par excellence* in the Iberian inquisitorial world. The Edict of Faith spelled it all out for the denunciator to denounce and the confessant to confess:

[Keeping or having kept] the days of the sabbaths by putting on clean and festive clothes, clean and washed shirts and head gear; arranging and cleaning their houses on Friday afternoons; and on the eve of Fridays lighting new candles with new tapers and torches earlier than on other evenings of the week [...]; cooking on the said Fridays such food as is required for the Saturdays and on the latter eating the food thus cooked on Fridays ...<sup>221</sup>

Keeping the days of the sabbath in the Judaic way and form involves not doing anything or working on them at all; dressing up and adorning themselves with festive dresses, clothes and jewelry; getting themselves ready and cleaning up on Fridays in front of their houses; cooking on the said Fridays for the sabbath; lighting on the afternoon of the said Fridays clean candlesticks with new tapers earlier than on other days, leaving them lit all night until they go out by themselves...<sup>222</sup>

Francisco de Mora Molina, in his second *proceso*, adds the detail that his wife, Leonor Enríquez, would leave a sabbath candle burning in their bedroom.<sup>223</sup> Amiel claims, without furnishing documentation, that normative Judaism recognizes only a bedroom candle as the true sabbath one.<sup>224</sup>

<sup>220</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 253-254. Amiel suggests that despite Maimonides this stringency may have survived and been normative among the Jews in parts of Spain.

<sup>221</sup> I quote in translation from the Spanish Edict of 1524. See SALOMON, "Monitorio."

<sup>222</sup> See SALOMON, "Monitorio," fig. 5. Although I quote here in translation from the Portuguese *Monitório* of 1536 it should not be assumed that additions to the Spanish Edict of 1524 are original Portuguese touches. They may well derive from no longer extant later Spanish Edicts. See SALOMON, "Monitorio," 60, "Supplemental Note."

<sup>223</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 255, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [47 rº, vº].

<sup>224</sup> In fact the room where one eats is the preferred location. Moreover, invalidating Amiel's assertion, no lighting is permitted in the bedroom during cohabitation, which Talmudic Judaism prescribes for the sabbath night. Amiel does not comment on the discrepancy with normative post-Talmudic Judaism's prescription of two sabbath candles.

The expression *quebrantar la fiesta de él* (to break its [i.e. the sabbath's] feast), occurring in Diego de Mora's (Francisco's father's) posthumous sentence to execution, Amiel considers "an evident transposition of the Hebrew expression *lehalel ha-šabbat* (to profane the sabbath)." <sup>225</sup> Such a transposition, however, is far from obvious. The 1547 Constantinople Pentateuch <sup>226</sup> translates the Hebrew verb throughout by *esbilar* (metathesis of *\*esviltar?*), Ferrara 1553 <sup>227</sup> by *abiltar* (= *aviltar*) and the version revised by Casiodoro de Reina (1569) has *profanar*. <sup>228</sup> Curiously, Alba <sup>229</sup> has a rubric summarizing Ezequiel's censuring *el quebrantar las fiestas* (the breaking of the feasts [sabbaths?]) and uses forms of *quebrantar mis sabados* (once in combination with *vituperar*) for the six occurrences of "breaking My sabbaths" (Ez 20: 13, 16, 21, 24; 22: 8; 23, 38). English, of course, has "to break [= transgress] the sabbath." Is this also a Hebraism? And is Portuguese *quebrantar os dias santos* (to transgress the holy days), as used by Friar António Brandão in his *Monarchia Lusitana* (Lisbon, 1632, 3, 69.2), to count as a Hebraism too? <sup>230</sup>

Francisco's declaration that the hearth fire was allowed to burn itself out on Friday nights in order to emphasize their festive nature <sup>231</sup> does not seem – *pace* Amiel – necessarily related to an atavistic taboo. Since Amiel believes

<sup>225</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 256, from ADC leg. 319, no. 4607, f. [123v]. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 507-508 for most of the sentence in the original Spanish.

<sup>226</sup> *Ladino Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1547)*, M. LAZAR, ed. (Culver City, Ca 1988); revised edition in *The Ladino Scriptures: Constantinople-Salonica [1540-1572]*, M. LAZAR and F. J. PUEYO MENA, eds. (Lancaster, Ca 2000), vol. 1, 4-563.

<sup>227</sup> *The Ladino Bible of Ferrara [1553]*, M. LAZAR and R. DILLIGAN, eds. (Culver City, Ca 1992) (hereafter: Ferrara 1553).

<sup>228</sup> *Escorial Bible I.j.4*, vol. I: *The Pentateuch*, O. H. HAUPTMANN, ed. (Philadelphia 1953); *Escorial Bible I. j. 4.*, vol. II, O. H. HAUPTMANN and M. G. LITTLEFIELD, eds. (Madison, Wi 1987) (hereafter: E4) renders *šabbetotay ḥillelu* (Ez 20: 13, 16, 24) *mis sabados desconcertaron*.

<sup>229</sup> *Biblia (Antiguo Testamento), traducida del Hebreo al Castellano por Rabí Mose Arragel, de Guadalfajara (1422-1433?), y publicada por el Duque de Berwick y de Alba*. Transcription by A. PAZ Y MELIA and J. PAZ, with an Introduction by the former ([Madrid] 1920-1922) (hereafter: Alba).

<sup>230</sup> Cited by António de MORAES SILVA, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa* (Lisboa 1891<sup>8</sup>), s.v. *quebrantar* and explained 'não os guardar' (not to keep them); cf. Domingos de AZEVEDO, *Grande Dicionário Português / Francês* (Lisboa 1978<sup>5</sup>), s.v. *quebrantar*, translated (fig.) 'rompre, violer, enfreindre'; *Grande Dicionário Francês / Português* (Lisboa 1978<sup>5</sup>), s.v. *enfreindre*, translated 'infringir, quebrantar, transgredir, violar'; and *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid 1726), s.v. *quebrantar*: 'violiar o profanar algun sagrado [...]. Lat. violare, transgredi.'

<sup>231</sup> *Ansí se había de hacer por más fiesta y porque se gastase la leña por solenidad de la fiesta* (thus one was supposed to do in order to increase the festivity and to solemnize the feast by using up the wood). See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 256.

Francisco “confessions” implicitly, why not accept the latter’s explanation at face value?

Francisco de Mora Molina’s second *proceso*, after 11 months of proximity with his three relatives who shared his cell, contains 15 denunciations by them ultimately leading to his death sentence. From a bill of indictment dated July 5, 1591, Amiel selects as of particular “marranic” significance the following: on a certain Saturday one of them threw a stone from the dying embers of the hearth into the urinal.<sup>232</sup> Francisco reprimanded him for violating the sabbath. Confronted with this accusation, on the following August 28 Francisco explains to the Inquisitors that at home in Quintanar allowing liquid to spill on fire or ashes was called “doing the wash” and considered sinful on Saturdays. (Amiel connects this taboo with the Jewish prohibition of extinguishing fire on the sabbath as well as with Passover purification of utensils.) While Francisco claims this to be family knowledge, shared with his parents and siblings, it is apparently absent, like so much of Quintanar and Alcázar Judaizing, from their and all the other Mora *procesos* studied by Amiel.<sup>233</sup> Significantly, it is again Francisco, the “scholar,” who comes up with these exotic scraps.

### 13.5. *New Moon*

Francisco de Mora Molina confesses his family’s celebration of the first day of every lunar month by dressing in clean clothes, perfumed with rosemary.<sup>234</sup> Although the Bible equates the New Moon with the festivals (Nm 10, 10), rabbinic Judaism does not. *Roš Ḥodeš* leaves but the faintest mark on the modern Jewish conscience at a certain remove from the synagogue. Amiel opines that the Moras had forgotten in the course of time the sporadic two-day New Moon celebrations prescribed by rabbinic Judaism. Révah contrasts the survival in Quintanar and Alcázar of one-day New Moon celebrations with their omission from the 1536 Portuguese Edict of Faith and from the 1000 or so Portuguese inquisitorial trial-records he studied. He supposes them “to have been rapidly forgotten in Portuguese marranism.”<sup>235</sup> It is also absent from the 1524 Spanish Edict

<sup>232</sup> One wonders what the stone was doing in the hearth.

<sup>233</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 256-257, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [91v, 97r-v] (o.s.p. in n. 118, 120).

<sup>234</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 258, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [165v] (original Spanish not provided). Amiel does not refer to the ancient Jewish custom – obviously unknown to Francisco de Mora Molina as well – for women to abstain from handwork on *Roš Ḥodeš*.

<sup>235</sup> See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 144.



of Faith. Levine Melammed, who studied two 16th-century Toledo *procesos* of the Alcázar New Christians at the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* in Madrid, comments on a 1590 reference to the New Moon celebration, attributed to Diego de Mora's sister Elvira de Mora, who died before 1573:

*Roš Ḥodeš* is rarely mentioned in earlier trials and the observance seems to have re-emerged during this later period.<sup>236</sup>

Elvira del Campo, as we have seen above, declared in her 1567 trial that she would inquire as to when the New Moon fell. Moreover, in her 1591 trial, she specifies that she would ask her brother Rodrigo for the date of Festivals and the New Moon and, in reply to interrogation, that "she kept and saw (*sic*) others keep the New Moon." Yet, except in Francisco de Mora Molina's second trial and those derived from or related to his denunciations, they are but rarely mentioned in the Cuenca Mora trials.<sup>237</sup>

Would the New Moon celebration qualify for Révah's category of "revivalist marranism"? If indeed it was commemorated in Quintanar, it could hardly qualify as a reminiscence of a Jewish past. It has all the trappings of a new discovery, gleaned from a book. Indeed, the 80-year old Juana de Mora, after the murder of her brother Francisco at the *Auto* of August 12, 1590 sole survivor of the 12 children of Juan de Mora and Mari López, interrogated on September 18, 1590, declared:

Es verdad que de 5 o 6 años a esta parte que esta confesante y Juan López de Armenia su marido guardaban los primeros días de la luna, porque antes no lo habían sabido y que los hacía por guarda de la ley de Moisés.

Questioned as to:

<sup>236</sup> LEVINE-MELAMMED, "Judaizers," 275. See also EAD., *Heretics or Daughters*, 153. Here the celebration is attributed to Diego de Mora.

<sup>237</sup> Isabel de Mora Carrillo, on the other hand, claimed that Juan López de Armenia the Elder informed her and her siblings of the dates of the Feast of Esther, the festivals and the New Moons. See ADC leg. 327, no. 4689 (April 20, 1592). Whereas I have not been able to cross-reference this attribution in the latter's *proceso* itself (ADC leg. 283, no. 3946), a reference to it may be found in the copious extracts from his wife's *proceso*, included as part of the denunciations introducing his own: Juana de Mora, interrogated on December 12, 1591 as to whether *ciertas personas iban a preguntar las personas del Quintanar [...] cuándo se habían de guardar las lunas y pascuas y fiesta de la Reina Esther y que él lo decía*, replied: *que no se acuerda por cierto quién eran estas personas que a mi marido le preguntaban cuando eran el primero día de la luna y las pascuas [...] y que él lo decía; y que estas le preguntaban y no sabía que otra persona se lo preguntase*. See also ADC leg. 327, no. 4691 (Leonor Enríquez, excerpted in ADC leg. 328, no. 4703: Juan de Mora *el albañir*): *acudían a preguntarlo y saberlo [las fechas de las pascuas y las lunas] de Juan López de Armenia el viejo y de la dicha Juana de Mora, su mujer y de cualesquiera de ellos y que ellos decían cuando estaban a tantas lunas las pascuas y las fiestas de la Reina Esther [...]*



¿De quien ha sabido que se habían de guardar los primeros días de la luna?

She replied that:

Lo habían hallado escrito en un libro, no sabe quien ni en [que] libro más de que así le dijeron.

Asked:

¿Que otras personas han guardado los dichos días primeros de la luna?

She replied:

Algunos de los suyos, sus sobrinos los habrán guardado, no sabe quien porque esta confesante no lo ha visto.<sup>238</sup>

It is worth noting that Juan López de Armenia and his wife mention their access to such sources of Old Testament knowledge as Juan de Dueñas' *Espejo de Consolación* and to Hierónimo de Lemos' *La Torre de David*.<sup>239</sup>

### 13.6. Festivals

The 1524 Spanish Edict of Faith, which we saw above, describes:

[...] The feasts and festivals of the Jews, in particular the feast of unleavened bread, which falls in Holy Week, upon which festival they eat unleavened bread, beginning their meal with lettuce and celery, and keeping the feast of Tabernacles which falls in the month of September [...]

Francisco de Mora Molina confesses his family's observance of three festivals (*pascuas*). The first is "that which they called of the Lamb (*la que llamaban del Cordero*), around Holy Week, to thank God for having freed the children of Israel from the power of Pharaoh and Egyptian captivity [...]. The second is Tabernacles (*Cabañuelas*) around May, to render thanks to God for having led His people for 40 years through the desert without their clothes wearing out, providing them with manna, which had the taste of anything they fancied [...]. The third is the September festival, of 7 or 8 days' duration, starting on the 15th or 16th day of the Moon [...] to thank God for having permitted the reaping of

<sup>238</sup> See ADC leg. 283, no. 3946, extracts from the *proceso* of Juana de Mora introducing the *proceso* of her husband Juan López de Armenia.

<sup>239</sup> On these two works, see AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 524-534.

the fruits of the earth.”<sup>240</sup> The celebration of all three consisted of putting on finery, eating well and refraining from work.

On the eve of the Lamb feast, so Francisco confesses to the Inquisitors, “in his father’s house, all would eat standing<sup>241</sup> roast eggs, roast fish, everything roast, and unleavened bread although regular bread would also be put on the table to dissimulate in case anyone dropped in. They baked the unleavened bread with the doors closed.<sup>242</sup> The mysterious reason for roasting everything, said Francisco, “he did not know but the older folk would, nor did he know why they had to stand.”<sup>243</sup>

Let us take a critical look at these words. To paraphrase the Portuguese historian António J. Saraiva, the only thing they prove is that a defendant, fighting a loosing battle for his life, uttered them. We have here an authentic document, but not necessarily a veracious one.<sup>244</sup> How odd that a c. 37-year old “informant on crypto-Judaic practices” should never have inquired, year after year, of his unidentified “elders” why all the food had to be roasted and why they had to eat it standing! On the other hand, these words combine with Francisco’s characteristic officiousness. For instance, as we have seen above, “asked to say and declare how often and when those who live and profess the Law of Moses wash their hands in order to keep and observe it,” he replied: ‘Yes, I shall say it, Sir, and very willingly.’”<sup>245</sup> Francisco presents us here and elsewhere with an artful mixture of pseudo-Judaic omniscience and pseudo-artless ignorance. I assume that his ploy

<sup>240</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 258-259, from ADC leg. 319, no. 4607 [Diego de Mora], f. [123v]; ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [156v, 39, 30] (o.S.p. in n. 123). It should be noted that any Judaizing on the part of Diego de Mora (Francisco’s father), recorded in his sentence, was post-humously attributed to him by other family members.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. Ex 12, 11. While not actually specifying standing, the verse suggests it. However, Judaism did not adopt this first Passover scenario in its subsequent annual celebration, which specifically prescribes sitting comfortably (leaning on a couch) during the entire Passover meal. Cf. AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 260.

<sup>242</sup> Francisco’s mother María de Villanueva, while confessing the family’s observance of Passover, states that it never included the slaughter of a lamb or the eating of unleavened bread (*pero eso de matar cordero y de comer pan cenceño nunca se hizo*) (ADC leg. 319, no. 4606: November 4, 1590).

<sup>243</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 259-260, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [81v-82r] (o.S.p. in n. 124). Post-Temple Judaism prohibits the consumption of a whole roasted lamb on Passover eve, and *Tur* discourages the consumption of (unspecified) roasted food on that occasion (*Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, 476).

<sup>244</sup> See A. J. SARAIVA, *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos* (Lisboa 1985), 13.

<sup>245</sup> *Sí diré, Señor, de muy buena gana*. I have found the expression used by Ana del Campo, daughter of Alonso del Campo the Elder. See ADC leg. 323, no. 4645: *Dijo que ella dirá la verdad de muy buena gana* (she says she will say the truth very willingly).

was inspired by his desire to anticipate any and all possible and imaginable declarations of his family members, thereby saving his life, yet at the same time avoid severe punishment as an heresiarch. Their training, of course, had conditioned the Inquisitors to fall for the tall story of the yearly Passover ceremony and the even taller story of two centuries' worth of "crypto-Judaism."

While jubilantly saluting the Moras' "marranic" Feast of the Lamb as the continuation (*mutatis mutandis*) of "The Jewish Passover, *Pesah*" and reveling in its antiquity, Amiel also concedes some doubt as to the genuineness of Francisco's ignorance (I supply emphasis):

Our man did not understand – *or pretended not to understand* – that the Mora family *had been playing for centuries* the mimodrama of the Exodus from Egypt [...] <sup>246</sup>

Israel S. Révah, on the other hand, decided – based on his archival research – to classify the Mora feasts as "revivalist marranism" (I again supply emphasis):

Our Marranos had also preserved (or, rather, found back) the three ancient pilgrimage festivals of Judaism. <sup>247</sup>

Indeed, María de Mora, Francisco's older (?) sister, <sup>248</sup> married to the Old Christian Pedro de Sauca, confessed to the Inquisitors on May 5, 1589:

Two years before her father Diego de Mora died [the family] began to observe the said festivals. The occasion was that her father had read about them in a book, entitled, she thinks, *Las edades del mundo* ["The Ages of the World"], belonging to one Orejón, who lives in Miguel Esteban. Thus, for about two years during her father's lifetime they kept them entirely. Since then she kept them, but carrying out some chores which couldn't be avoided, such as doing the wash, cooking and other things [...] <sup>249</sup>

<sup>246</sup> "Marranisme" I, 260. Amiel's doubt apparently does not extend to the genuineness of Francisco's ignorance as to the why and wherefore of roasting all the food. Nor did it occur to Amiel to wonder why Francisco presents no script whatsoever for the family's purported yearly pantomime.

<sup>247</sup> RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 144.

<sup>248</sup> See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 110, 146. María's date of birth according to Amiel's list (AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 278) is 1554; c. 1545 according to RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 110, 146. I surmise 1554 to be a misprint for 1545. She and her cousin Luisa were reconciled at the auto of August 8, 1590 (ADC leg. 313, no. 4549) and kept in the "perpetual prison" of Cuenca for ten full years; another María de Mora (Carrillo), born in 1560 (ADC leg. 322, no. 4631) was reconciled at the auto of August 16, 1592. PARELLO ("Los Mora," 416) apparently confused the two.

<sup>249</sup> RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 169 (partial French translation). Dr. Wilke kindly provided me with a more complete quotation in the original Spanish, from ADC leg. 313, no. 4549 [f. 200].

Francisco's cousin Juana de Mora *la moza* (the younger), born in 1538, daughter of his Uncle Hernando de Mora II (d. 1579), made the following declaration to the Inquisitors on July 19, 1590 (emphasis supplied):

Haberá veinte y dos [años] que Hernando de Mora su padre desta confesante enseñó a esta que no comiese tocino, aunque – ¡por Dios! que lo ha comido muchas y muchas veces; y también que guardase los sábados con gran secreto, sin dar a entender a nadie que los guardaba y que algunos guardaba esta confesante y que otros no, por que no la entendiesen. Y que le enseñó las pascuas, dijo que le habían enseñado a guardar tres pascuas de la Lei de Moisés: una por la semana santa que cree que la llamaban del cordero; y otra por Maio, no sabe como se llamaba, y cree que se guardaba una semana antes de la pascua del Espíritu Santo; y otra por el mes de setiembre. Y que le enseñó también unas palabras que dicen “canto grado, mi socorro y mi vandeo.” *Y que las dichas pascuas su padre desta confitente no las sabía, que un tío suyo que se llamaba Diego de Mora se las enseñó en presencia desta confitente y que las mismas cosas enseñó el dicho Hernando de Mora su padre a su hermana desta confitente, que se llamaba Beatriz de Mora. Y las enseñaba juntas del dicho tiempo que tiene dicho a esta parte, hasta que murió, que puede haber once años. Y que las enseñaba a esta confesante y a la dicha Beatriz de Mora el dicho su padre con mucho recato, unas veces en la sala de su casa y otras veces en la cocina, sin que se hallase nadie presente más que estos: su padre desta confesante y esta y la dicha Beatriz de Mora, su hermana.*<sup>250</sup>

If María and Juana are to be believed,<sup>251</sup> these facets of Mora “marranism” do not go back to 1391 but to the close of Diego's life. Diego de Mora was born c. 1516 and died “before 1588.”<sup>252</sup> But can his death be dated more precisely?

His daughter Francisca de Mora, born c. 1558, confesses on May 9, 1589 that her father, “who died eight years ago,” taught her “core” Judaic prayers (of which she merely recalls a few scraps). Therefore, if Francisca was being accurate, he died in 1581.<sup>253</sup> Moreover:

<sup>250</sup> See ADC leg. 314, no. 4554. It is worth noting that according to her testimony family abstention from pork and sabbath observance only began c. 1568 (when she was 30!), following the sanctions on the count of infringement of disqualification.

<sup>251</sup> Sometime in July 1590 María de Mora was made to share Juana's cell.

<sup>252</sup> RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 103, 443. The earliest and only 16th-century baptism register extant in Quintanar covers 1520-1534 and the earliest extant burial register begins in the 17th-century.

<sup>253</sup> This approximate year may be corroborated by the following considerations: Leonor Enríquez (born c. 1564) married his son Francisco de Mora Molina shortly before her father-in-law's death. Her first child was born c. 1582 and her second c. 1583. Thus her marriage probably

Dijo que dos años antes que Diego de Mora muriese, le enseñó a esta confesante las dichas oraciones y que habrá ocho años que murió. Luego dijo que dos años antes que muriese le enseñó las cosas que confesadas tiene de la ley de Moisés y que las oraciones que en esta audiencia y en otras tiene confesado se las enseñó Diego de Mora su padre un año antes que muriese, estando enfermo en la cama. Se las enseñó a María, Catalina, Luisa, Isabel, sus hermanas, que entiende que las saben tres palabras, mas o menos. Y que sabe claramente que las saben. Y que no se acuerda formalmente que se las oyó decir, porque el rezar se hace secreto. Dijo que no sabe que las enseñase a otra persona alguna de su casa ni de fuera de ella y que no sabe que las enseñase a, ni que las sepan Francisco de Mora, ni Juan de Mora, sus hermanos, porque el Francisco de Mora era casado y Juan de Mora andaba siempre en comisiones cuando su padre enseñó a este confesante las dichas oraciones y que no sabe de otra persona alguna. Que si lo supiera, lo dijera por descargar enteramente su consciencia.<sup>254</sup>

His daughter Luisa, born c. 1566, similarly confesses ten days later, on May 19, 1589, that her father “who died eight years ago,” taught her “core” Judaic prayers, of which she also only recalls a few scraps:

Que se las enseñó a esta y a las sus hermanas cundo estaba en la cama [...] que habrá 9 años y que sería un año antes que muriese y habrá 8 que murió. Y que antes que muriese las rezó. Luego dijo que pusiesen que las habría rezado algunas veces, aún que ella no se acordaba y que no las habría rezado. Preguntada si las oraciones se las enseñó a esta y a las sus hermanas por de la Ley de Moysés, dijo que sí, que por de la Ley de Moysés se las enseñó [...] como lo demás que ha confesado. Y que no se las ha visto rezar a las sus hermanas.<sup>255</sup>

Now, if Diego de Mora died in 1581 and instituted his family’s celebration of the Biblical festivals in 1579 after reading a book that contained a description of them, we still face two unsolved problems. What is the identity of the book that had informed him of the festivals and what is the source (no doubt also a

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took place c. 1581. The shepherd Francisco Sánchez declared that he worked for Diego de Mora 1573-1582 (see above). I owe this note to Dr. Carsten Wilke.

<sup>254</sup> See ADC leg. 314, no. 4555.

<sup>255</sup> See ADC leg. 316, no. 4572. Luisa would have been c. 15 when her father died. Her youngest sister Isabel (ADC leg. 317, no. 4585), born in 1568, similarly declared on July 8, 1589 that she had learnt the Judaic prayers and practices eight years earlier. She maintained this under severe torture (12 turns on the rack).

book) of his knowledge of traditional Sephardic prayers? Let us first attempt to answer the first question.

Révah supposed the book that contained the Jewish festivals to be a poem entitled *Las edades del mundo* by Pablo de Santa María, written 1416-1418: revised with prose glosses c. 1460.<sup>256</sup> This identification is impossible, because 1) the poem was first printed in 1844 and 2) neither the poem itself nor the glosses mention Jewish festivals.<sup>257</sup>

Carsten Wilke proposed “The Ages of the World” to be Alonso de Villegas’ *Flos Sanctorum, segunda parte* [...] *Tratase de las seys edades del mundo* [...], first published in 1583.<sup>258</sup>

Obviously Diego de Mora could not have been inspired in 1580 by reading a book that first appeared in 1583. On the other hand Part One appeared in 1578, three years before his death. It does not seem to defy the imagination that Francisca confused the first and second parts, associating “Ages of the World” occurring in the subtitle of the Second Part with the first, which had similar contents.<sup>259</sup> I say “similar contents,” because in comparing Villegas’ *Flos Sanctorum nuevo* (1588 reprint of Part One) with his *Flos Sanctorum Segunda Parte* (1586 reprint of the Part Two) I found the parallels to be quite striking – down to such esoteric details as the manna:

<sup>256</sup> See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 170.

<sup>257</sup> See J. SCONZA, *History and Literature in Fifteenth-century Spain: An Edition and Study of Pablo de Santa María’s Siete Edades del Mundo* (Madison, WI 1991); J. C. CONDE, “*Las siete edades del mundo*” de Pablo de Santa María. Estudio y edición crítica (Madrid 1995) (on microfiches).

<sup>258</sup> See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 455. Villegas’ dates are 1534-1615. The complete title runs: *Flos Sanctorum, segunda parte. Y historia general, donde se escribe la vida de la virgen Sacratissima Madre de Dios y las de los Santos antiguos que fueron antes de la venida de nuestro Salvador al mundo* [...] *Tratase de las seys edades del mundo y en ellos los hechos mas dignos de memoria*. Wilke mistakenly states a censored Toledo 1588 edition to be the oldest extant one. The *princeps* is dated Toledo, Blas de Robles, 1583 (no copy presently known but it is mentioned in the *Privilegio* of subsequent ones). See A. PALAU Y DULCET, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, vol. 27 (Barcelona 1976), 255. The second edition (Toledo, Iuan Rodríguez, 1584) [California State Library, Sutro] states on its last page that Villegas finished writing it in 1583. I have consulted this and its reprint of 1586, Toledo, Iuan Rodríguez [Firestone Library of Princeton University, last pages missing]. Palau does not list either one.

<sup>259</sup> Villegas finished writing the first part [not designated as such], entitled *Flos Sanctorum Nuevo y Historia General de la vida y hechos de Iesu Christo* [...], on January 6, 1577 and it came off the press at Toledo on May 13, 1578. See PALAU Y DULCET, *Manual del librero*, 253-254. I have consulted the Madrid 1588 and the Toledo 1591 editions at Madrid’s Biblioteca Nacional.



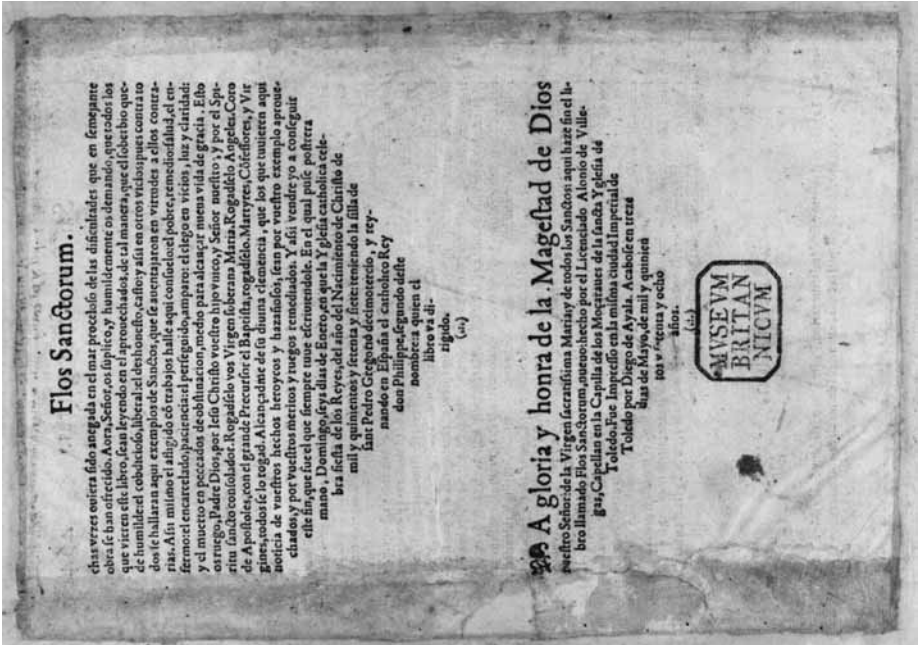


Fig. 2. Last page and colophon of Alonso de Villegas, Flos Sanctorum, First part, Toledo 1578 (Courtesy British Library)

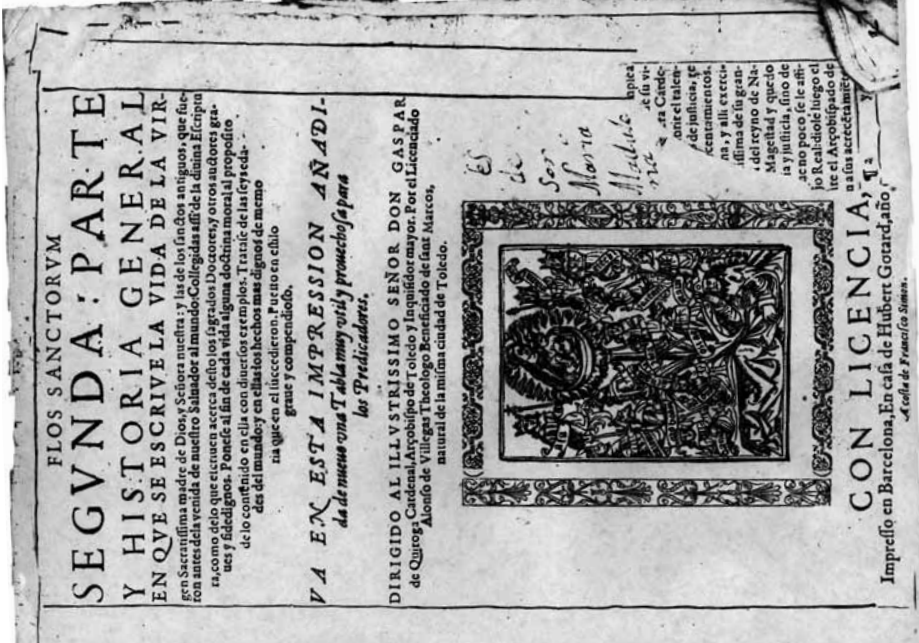


Fig. 3. Title page of Alonso de Villegas, Flos Sanctorum, Second part, Barcelona 1587 (Courtesy University of Pennsylvania)

Otra maravilla y obra famosa de Dios fue sustentar en el desierto a los Hebreos con el maná por espacio de quarenta años [...] y su sabor fue en dos maneras, uno natural y otro sobrenatural, que era de todo lo que apetecía el que comía del (Sapientia 16: ‘que el manna sabía a lo que quería que supiese el que le recibía’).<sup>260</sup>

Sabía también, según dice el Libro de la Sabiduría (Sapientia 16) a todo aquello que era el gusto de quien lo comía.<sup>261</sup>

The singular name Feast of the Lamb also occurs in both volumes, whereas the standard name in the Edicts of Faith is “Feast of the Unleavened Bread” (*cf.* scriptural *Ḥag ha-maṣot*, or *Ḥag maṣot*). In fact, the *Flos Sanctorum* (first part) may be the first book to use the word “lamb” in the feast’s designation:

[...] las Pascuas, que eran tres, que así lo mandaba Dios en el Deuteronomio: una en el mes de Marzo que era el primero del año acerca de los Hebreos, y era esta la Pascua del Cordero y la principal de todas: y fue instituída en memoria de haberlos Dios sacado de Egipto y librado del poder de Faraón. Celebraban la segunda Pascua cinquenta días passados después de la primera y llamábanla Fiesta de Pentecostés [...] porque Pentecostés significa número de cinquenta. Esta Pascua fue instituída por el beneficio que hizo Dios al pueblo dándoles Ley en el desierto por mano de Moisés. Celebraban la tercera Pascua por el mes de Setiembre que era a su cuenta el sétimo mes y llamábanla Fiesta de Tabernáculos o Chozas; y fue instituída en memoria de que los había Dios conservado en el desierto por espacio de quarenta años en tabernáculos o chozas, andando peregrinando por diversas partes [...].<sup>262</sup>

Mandó Josías que se celebrase la Pascua del Cordero con todas las ceremonias que la Ley mandara, y fue la más solemne fiesta de aquel nombre que se celebró entre los judíos.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>260</sup> See *Flossanctorum* [etc.] (Madrid 1588), 63v.

<sup>261</sup> See *Flos Sanctorum, Segunda Parte* (Toledo 1586), 195v. *Cf.* AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 261, where he – though unaware of the transmission by way of Villegas – provides the precise source of “manna satisfying the taste anyone craved” in the Apocrypha (Wisdom of Solomon 16, 20-21), as well as interesting parallels with the Talmud and the Eucharist liturgy.

<sup>262</sup> See *Flossanctorum* [etc.] (Madrid 1588), 57v; *cf.* 247v: *Una de las ceremonias principales que tenía la Ley vieja era la Pascua del Cordero que se celebraba al lleno de la luna de Marzo [...]*.

<sup>263</sup> See *Flos Sanctorum, Segunda parte* (Toledo 1586), 312r. *Cf.* 2 Kings 23, 21-22. The Royal Spanish Academy’s *Diccionario de la lengua española* (Madrid 1970) lists *cordero pascual* (paschal lamb).



The *Flos Sanctorum segunda parte* reports the Israelites' 40 years in the desert without their clothes wearing out:

En todos los quarenta años que estuvieron los Hebreos en el desierto dize la Escripura que no se les rompió el vestido ni el calzado.<sup>264</sup>

The confusion of Tabernacles with Pentecost is evidently Francisco's<sup>265</sup>, as well as the reference to roasted victuals eaten standing on Passover night. Do they derive, as Amiel would have it, from a "confusion produced during the passage from Judaism to marranism"? If nothing else, the manna-to-taste must surely (Occam's razor) have come to Francisco out of *Flos Sanctorum* rather than be a "perfectly transmitted Jewish tradition deriving from the Talmud."<sup>266</sup>

If the Moras' inaugural celebration of the Feast of the Lamb indeed took place in 1579, Francisco de Mora Molina would then have been *c.* 26. He is (perhaps) putting one over on the Inquisitors and on Charles Amiel when he lets them infer by omission that the Feast of the Lamb is an old Mora tradition (emphasis supplied):

What the mysterious reason for eating everything roasted, he does not know *but the older folk would*, nor does he know why they had to stand [...]

I add "(perhaps)" because the Cuenca Inquisitors come across too cynical to be so gullible and it seems almost incredible that Amiel heard the cautioning voices neither of María de Mora, of Juana de Mora, of Francisca de Mora nor Israel Révah's.

### 13.7. Fast Days

Let us remind ourselves of the pertinent passage in the 1524 Edict of Faith:

[...] Those who keep the Jewish fasts and do not touch food the whole day until nightfall, specifically the fast of Queen Esther and the chief fast [*ayu-*

<sup>264</sup> See *Flos Sanctorum, Segunda Parte* (Toledo 1586), 195v. I dare say this is also in the first part though I have not yet been able to locate it there. Cf. Dt 8, 4, noted by Amiel.

<sup>265</sup> Cf. ADC leg. 283, no. 3946, Juan López de Armenia the Elder, January 30, 1591: *La segunda pascua entra a 50 días después de la susodicha y se llama de Pentecostés*. Note the almost identical wording in the *Flos Sanctorum*.

<sup>266</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 260-261. It bears recalling that Pentecost, the New Year, anukah, Purim (except for the preceding Fast of Esther) are absent from the 1524 Spanish Edict of Faith and probably from its later emulants.

*no mayor*] they call the quippur and sundry Jewish fasts laid down by their law and observe other fasts of the week, especially Mondays and Thursdays which they keep as devotional fasts, who eat [at the close of] these fast days such meats and other viands as are customary among the Jews; and on the said fast days ask pardon one of the other in the Jewish manner [...]

Francisco de Mora Molina, asked to identify the fast days, replied:

[...] Any day they felt like it they could fast but not on the sabbath and the more devotional fasts are Mondays and Thursdays, so he was taught by his father Diego de Mora, who would fast on some days not eating food the whole day until nightfall. And at other times his father would fast two and three days, which fast they would call double and threefold <sup>267</sup> [...]. They were not to drink on those fast days after having slept, for upon going to bed they could well have a drink but after having slept, they were not allowed to. [...]

Asked what other fast days there are in the Law of Moses and when they fall. He replied that around September there is a ten-day fast starting with the first of the Moon, on which one abstains from work and then the next ten days. Then he said that one fasts the nine following days, except for the Saturday in between, but that the first day of the Moon is also counted as a fast day. On those days they fast in the way he described, neither eating nor drinking the whole day until nightfall, reciting the said prayers thrice, preceded each time by the washing of the hands. He does not know the name of this fast; all he knows is that it is the usual one kept by those who observe the Law of Moses, something like the Lent of the Christians [...]. He does not know for what reason the said fast is kept. Furthermore, those ten days put behind one, there is a five-day interval, hard upon which comes the September feast. <sup>268</sup>

Throughout his second “trial” Francisco almost surreally seems to assume the role of an authority on comparative religion. To be sure he “denounces” specific practices taught him by his father but the latter’s “teaching” leans towards the theoretical rather than the practical. The Inquisitors’ questions do not elicit the defendant’s sorrowful tale of deviance and regret, which, according to standard inquisitorial practice, could lead to reconciliation. Something odd is going on here

<sup>267</sup> *Ayuno doble y tresdoble*; this curious expression is contained in Elvira del Campo’s second *proceso*, June 17, 1591, preceding the *proceso* of Inés del Campo, ADC leg. 320, no. 4620, ff. 50v-61v (reproduced here as an appendix); also Rodrigo del Campo, October 12, 1591, ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. 167v; Francisco de Mora Carrillo (posthumous), March 13, 1592, ADC, leg. 329, no. 4703b, f. 62: *ayunos dobles y redobles*.

<sup>268</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 262-264, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [37v-39r] (o.S.p.).

– distinct from your standard inquisitorial procedure. One wonders whether it is related to Inquisitor Arganda's determination at the Cuenca *Auto* of August 12, 1590, to temporarily spare "this eccentric's life and squeeze him for information." Amiel faults Francisco's failure to name the tenth day of the unidentified 10-day fast. According to the inquisitorial sentence (in the third person plural) common to the *procesos* of his father and his siblings Juan and Inés (emphasis supplied):

Before the said September festival, beginning on the first day of its Moon they fasted the Greatest Fast of ten days, not eating or drinking on any of them from the rising to the setting of the sun end *keeping the last of them as a feast which they called Good and Chief Day*.<sup>269</sup>

An inquisitorial sentence, concocted by the Inquisitors, does not allow us to hear the voice of the defendant. This precise designation, albeit in reversed order (*día mayor y bueno*), I have found only in the interrogation of Elvira del Campo. A popular name for the Day of Atonement such as the Edict of Faith's *ayuno mayor* (chief fast) or, even better, the just quoted *día mayor y bueno* (chief and good day), had Francisco picked it up, might reflect current family practice rather than literary erudition. Better still, the Hebrew designation *quipur*, so common in 16th-century Portuguese *procesos*.<sup>270</sup> How it would have served Amiel's thesis! But Francisco has let Amiel down.

The Inquisitor seized upon the "double and triple fasts" to cynically explain (in a letter to the *Suprema* in Madrid, dated June 10, 1592) why Francisco's aunt Juana de Mora, c. 80<sup>271</sup> and his spinster cousin Ana de Mora died in their cells on May 8 and May 30, respectively:

<sup>269</sup> AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 264-265, from ADC leg. 319, no. 4607 (o.S.p.). Amiel, citing only the posthumous sentence of Diego de Mora, points out that "numerous testimonies" identify this solemnity as well as "various testimonies" a 3-day fast of Esther. See the extract (in Appendix) from Elvira del Campo's second *proceso*, July 5, 1591; also Rodrigo del Campo, ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, October 12, 1591, f. 167v. During his first session with the Inquisitor (f. 91r), Rodrigo states that *por el mes de febrero guardaba las fiestas de la Reyna Ester*. There seems to be no other reference to such "festivities" (or "feasts") in any of the Mora *procesos*. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 147 (French translation), 507-508 (Spanish original).

<sup>270</sup> See E. CUNHA DE AZEVEDO MEA, *Sentenças da Inquisição de Coimbra em metropolitanos de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1567-1582)* [= *Cartório Dominicano Português. Século XVI*, 17] (Porto 1982), 101, 102, 121, 147, *passim*.

<sup>271</sup> Amiel provides her birth date as 1519 ("Marranisme" I, 276, no doubt a misprint for 1510) but correctly calls her an octogenarian, *ibid*, 226. On August 19, 1590 she stated her age as *cerca* 80. See ADC leg. 283, no. 3946.

[...] Some [of the Mora prisoners] are in very poor health, due to those long fasts of theirs, of one, two and three days; two women died because of the great weakness caused by them [...] <sup>272</sup>

### 13.8. *Three-day Fasts or Feasts of Esther?*

Amiel claims that “various testimonies” mention observance of the scriptural 3-day fast of Esther (Est 4, 16) but he only cites to that effect the posthumous collective sentence of Diego, Juan and Inés de Mora. <sup>273</sup> Significantly, Francisco de Mora Molina apparently forgot to mention it in his compendium of Quintanar Judaism. The Inquisitors asked Elvira del Campo about a 3-day fast of Esther and why it was observed, and Elvira cautiously professed her ignorance as to its nature and stated that she was aware of her sister Inés observing it but *not* her brother Rodrigo. The Inquisitors were of course intent on ensnaring her into “falsely denying an observance” for which they suggested she had been denounced (the inquisitorial labyrinth). <sup>274</sup> Rodrigo del Campo, however, in the course of his first session with the Inquisitor, states that *por el mes de febrero guardaba las fiestas de la Reyna Ester*. <sup>275</sup> Similarly, Isabel de Mora Carrillo declares she kept three-day festivities of Queen Esther:

por el respecto que el capítulo dice de haber alcanzado del rei Asuero el perdón de los hijos de Israel. <sup>276</sup>

The collective sentence of Juan, Alonso and Pedro del Campo states that Juan (or all three?) kept three days of festivities for Queen Esther:

por haber librado a los hijos de Israel de la muerte y alcanzado del Rey Asuero que no muriesen. <sup>277</sup>

<sup>272</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 226 (French paraphrase) and RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 452 (to 146), original Spanish from ADC leg. 2546, no. 20. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 104.

<sup>273</sup> See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 265. For Diego’s, Juan’s and Inés’ posthumous sentence see RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 147 (French translation), 507-508 (Spanish original).

<sup>274</sup> See the extract from her second *proceso* reproduced above in English and as an appendix in the original Spanish: July 5, 1591.

<sup>275</sup> See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, October 12, 1591, f. 167v. Cf. f. 91r.

<sup>276</sup> See ADC leg. 327, no. 4689, April 20, 1592.

<sup>277</sup> See ADC leg. 325, no. 4663, 1591.

Their sister Ana del Campo:

[...] se ha acordado que por fiesta de la Reyna Ester esta confesante y todos los que tiene dicho de su casa guardaban 3 días de fiesta por haber alcanzado de Rey Asuero perdón para los hijos de Israel y que no se acordaba por que tiempo se guardaban los d. días.<sup>278</sup>

I was intrigued by the word “pardon” (*perdón*). In Esther the king cannot revoke his decree of extermination and, instead, allows the Jews to defend themselves and take revenge on their enemies. In the first chapter of Villegas’ retelling of the story, however, I find:

[...] pues Esther Reyna alcanzó perdón para el pueblo Hebreo [...] [el Rey] perdonó a todo el pueblo hebreo.

and in his second chapter:

[...] y pedirle que perdonase a su pueblo [...] que habiendo de entrar a pedir perdón al rey por su pueblo [...] y que perdonase a su pueblo [...] Como Cristo nos alcanzó perdón de nuestros pecados, Esther Reyna alcanzó perdón para el pueblo de Israel.<sup>279</sup>

The absence of Esther commemoration from Francisco de Mora’s repertory; the uncertainty as to its nature, its date and whether it is celebrated by fasting or by feasting; the references to a “chapter” as its source and to the king’s “pardon;” all these point to knowledge recently acquired in Quintanar from Villegas’ work rather than from an inherited tradition or actual celebration.

### 13.9. Mourning

The 1524 Spanish Edict of Faith says that New Christians who Judaize:

[...] Upon the death of parents and other persons eat on the floor or on very low tables such things as boiled eggs, olives and other viands, as do the Jews. And they stand behind the door which they call *cohuerdo* as they do, pour water from jars and pitchers while someone is dying, believing that the soul of such a person will come and bathe in this water [...]

<sup>278</sup> See ADC leg. 323, no. 4645, 1589.

<sup>279</sup> See A. de VILLEGAS, *Flos Sanctorum, Segunda Parte* (Barcelona 1587), 290-294 (copy in the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

Francisco de Mora Molina confesses that (I supply emphasis):

[...] In the house of Diego de Mora, his father, he saw that when someone died, for a period of nine days they would not eat meat in the house, but rather fish and eggs and other things.<sup>280</sup> In the house of relatives, on the day of a relative's death they would not eat meat. If they were good relatives they wouldn't eat it for all the nine days, and that is how Diego de Mora and María de Villanueva, his parents, his siblings Juan de Mora, María, Catalina, Francisca, Isabel and Luisa de Mora and he himself did it in their own house. He understands that likewise was the practice in the house of all his relatives although he never witnessed anything of theirs [...]. When his father's time came [...] they removed all the things and belongings which were in his room, because it is a ceremony of the Law that they be taken out, because they say that if the person dies with the things in the room they become contaminated, and only the bed remains.<sup>281</sup> So they swept and hosed the room and put water in a pitcher in the room and hung some towels along the wall. This is done in connection with what they say that there is an angel who comes there to the deceased, *although he doesn't know the mysterious reason behind it* [...]. When his father died, his aunt Juana de Mora and the late Inés de Mora, wife of Francisco Navarro<sup>282</sup> washed him in the presence of his sisters, all of them praying and weeping round about. *He doesn't know what prayers they were reciting*, only that he is certain they were prayers of the Law of Moses [...]. Whereas he did not actually see his father being washed [...] he indeed heard that they had washed him and that the parts of the

<sup>280</sup> This is evidently the source of the denunciation in the second *proceso* against Elvira del Campo. See above. As Amiel points out, there is no Jewish precept forbidding meat and wine during the prescribed seven days of mourning following the death of a close relative but merely between death and burial. Amiel sees a possible parallel with the "traditional abstention from meat during the first nine days of the month of Ab." However, this "tradition" was not dominant among Spanish Jews, who mostly only abstained from meat and wine during the week in which the 9th of Ab falls. See J. CARO, *Orah Hayyim*, 551, 9.

<sup>281</sup> The ultimate source here (missed by Révah and Amiel) is obviously Nm 19, 14 (I quote the Authorized Version): "This is the Law, when a man dieth in a tent: all that come into the tent and all that is in the tent shall be unclean seven days." However, ritual defilement and corpse-impurity, though scriptural, lost their validity in Judaism after the destruction of the Temple (see MAIMONIDES, *Yad, Tumeat Oklin* 16, 8-9). Amiel ("Marranisme" I, 271) misleads by stating that "the removal of objects surrounding the dying is traditional" and suggesting that it is perennially part of "the Jewish mentality to consider that death sullies human beings and objects surrounding them." Similarly erroneous RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 151: "[...] in Jewish belief contact with the dead 'sullies' the living."

<sup>282</sup> Both are his aunts, sisters of his father. As we have just seen, Juana died in her cell on May 8, 1592. She was "reconciled in effigy" at the Cuenca *Auto* of August 16, 1592 where Francisco de Mora Molina perished. Inés was executed in effigy at the same *Auto*. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 103 and ADC leg. 324, no. 4651.

body that they washed were those where crosses had been put with the oil for the extreme-unction, because he heard that this was the procedure [...]. *He doesn't know how they shrouded him nor what they put in the shroud*, except that he knows for certain that he was shrouded like the *Cristianos Viejos*, because women shrouders from the town of Quintanar came to shroud him [...]. *For what was one to do, it being of such public knowledge?*<sup>283</sup>

We note once again Francisco's tactic of combining the most curious and recondite details of Judaic practice with professions of ignorance as to their *raison d'être*.

Francisco adds that his father would wash his body upon returning from funerals (which presumably took place in church), explaining that his prayers would not otherwise be effective.<sup>284</sup> Francisco's later statement, cited above, mentions his father's (and other relatives') custom to wash hands upon returning from church because of the corpses buried in the crypt, "even though he himself never washed them on that score."

Isabel de Mora Carrillo confesses on April 20, 1592:

[...] cuando moría algún difunto en casa desta confesante como fueron su padre, madre y hermanos, esta confesante ponía en el aposento un jarro de agua con unas toallas porque decían y se lo dijo a esta confesante Catalina Gómez, hija de Hernando de Mora, vecina de Alcázar, que el ángel venía a lavarse las manos y ha derramado el agua de todos los cántaros de casa cuando algun difunto moría [...].<sup>285</sup>

<sup>283</sup> See AMIEL, "Marranisme I," 269-270, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [86-87] (o.S.p.); RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 151 (French translation of small excerpt).

<sup>284</sup> So apparently after a funeral service in church he sluiced his entire body but after a Sunday mass hands only. See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 271, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [87] (original Spanish not provided). Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 151-152. Cf. Nm 19, 13: "Whosoever toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself, defieth the tabernacle of the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from Israel: because the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him. He shall be unclean; his uncleanness is yet upon him." As pointed out above, corpse-impurity is not part of post-Temple Judaism. The late medieval custom of washing the hands after a funeral (unknown to the Talmud, cited as optional by the early 14th-century *Tur* [*Yoreh De'ah* 376], codified in 1565 by J. Caro [*Yoreh De'ah* 376, 4]) is unrelated to ritual defilement. The *Kol Bo* (early 14th century), cited by Caro in his commentary on the *Tur*, recommends accompanying the washing by reciting: "Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it" (Dt 21,7), thereby suggesting it is a symbolic demonstration of innocence (cf. Mt 27, 24-25). See *Book of Prayer: According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. Edited and Translated by D. DE SOLA POOL (New York 1977), 464.

<sup>285</sup> See ADC leg. 327, no. 4689, April 20, 1592.

The bizarre pleonasm *moría un difunto* (a deceased person died) goes back to Torquemada's *Instrucciones* of 1484. It is repeated in the earliest presently known Edict of Faith, printed in Catalan in March 1512:

[...] si saben quant algun es mort que posen alli hon mori lo defunct una escudella e un ences e unes toualles [...]

The "Jewish custom of pouring out the water when someone dies" appears in a Toledo *proceso* of 1486 and, for the first time, in an Edict of Faith in the 1524 one quoted above. The only Edict of Faith known to me to mention an angel in connection with the water pouring is the Portuguese one of November 18, 1536, which explains that the Destroying Angel would wash his sword in the water.<sup>286</sup>

I surmise that between 1524 and 1591 there appeared a now no longer extant Spanish Edict of Faith combining jar, towels and angel and that from it derives Isabel's description of water pouring in connection with the angel's visit (unknown to her encyclopedic cousin Francisco).

Contrary to Amiel's undocumented claim, it is my impression that the pseudo-Judaic death cult as confessed by Francisco de Mora Molina and Isabel de Mora Carrillo is described (with variant details) only by them among the "hundred voices" of Quintanar and Alcázar.<sup>287</sup>

[Continuará]

<sup>286</sup> See SALOMON, "Monitorio," 49-56.

<sup>287</sup> Amiel sets out his section on "death rites" (p. 269) by claiming that "the testimonies concerning them are particularly numerous," but cites only "our privileged informant, Francisco de Mora Molina." Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 151: "It is F. de M. M. who furnishes the most information on funeral practices [...]." The Toledo *proceso* of Catalina Gómez is missing.



ADDENDUM *Sef* 67 (2007), 367-414.

p. 367, first introductory note, lines 6-16: The French word *marranisme* appears in a work by Guy COQUILLE (1523-1603), *Dialogue sur les causes des misères de la France*, vol. 2, p. 259, 1666 edition of his *Oeuvres posthumes, excellents et curieux* (first edition, Paris 1650): “Nous ne devons pas croire que les Espagnols soient meilleurs chrétiens ou meilleurs catholiques que nous ; le marranisme, qui participe de la loi de Mahomet et de celle des juifs, est plus fréquent en Espagne que l’hérésie en France.”