

Spanish Marranism Re-examined*

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Previous studies have dealt with the intensive inquisitorial persecution in 1588-1600 of a native Castilian Judaizing nucleus located in the towns of Quintanar de la Orden and Alcázar de San Juan (under the jurisdictions of the Cuenca and Toledo courts). Because of date, location, numbers and autochthonous ethnicity of its victims, the episode constitutes somewhat of an anomaly in the annals of Castilian inquisitorial courts. Based on a study of the trial records, I. S. Révah and C. Amiel have concluded that these prove the reality of crypto-Judaism in both places and that therefore the religious quiddity of an inquisitorial document is a reliable historical source. Here, I submit the Marranism of late 16th century Quintanar and Alcázar, as presented by these authors, to a close reading. I have taken a fresh look at all 64 surviving trial records pertaining to this episode and arrived at conclusions far more shaded than those of my predecessors.

KEYWORDS: Inquisition; Judaizers; Quintanar de la Orden; Marranism.

EL CRIPTOJUDAÍSMO CASTELLANO REEXAMINADO.— Los estudios de I. S. Révah y C. Amiel han tratado la intensa persecución inquisitorial entre 1588 y 1600 de un núcleo judaizante constituido por una familia castellana autóctona asentada en Quintanar de la Orden y Alcázar de San Juan (bajo la jurisdicción de los tribunales de Cuenca y Toledo). Debido a la fecha y al número de víctimas, el episodio constituye una anomalía en los anales de los tribunales inquisitoriales de Castilla. Basándose en el análisis de los procesos, ambos historiadores han concluido la realidad de un criptojudasmo en ambas localidades y que, por lo tanto, la esencia religiosa de un documento inquisitorial es una fuente histórica fidedigna. En mi estudio someto el «criptojudasmo» de Quintanar y Alcázar de fines del siglo XVI —tal como lo presentan dichos autores— a una evaluación crítica. La relectura de todas los 64 procesos que conciernen a este episodio me han permitido llegar a conclusiones mucho más matizadas que las de mis predecesores.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Inquisición; judaizantes; Quintanar de la Orden; criptojudasmo.

* Continuación de *Sef* 67 (2007), 111-154 y 367-414.

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13.10. Nails and Hair

The 1524 Edict of Faith specifies that Judaizing New Christians “[...] cut their nails and keep, burn or bury the parings,” but it omits hair. Francisco de Mora Molina declares that his parents cut their nails on Friday evening:

[...] And threw them into the fire; the hair which was cut they would sometimes throw into the fire and at other times put into the interstices of the lime-mortar wall in the courtyard. ²⁸⁸

It will be recalled that c. 54 denunciations of Mora family members 1579-1588 led up to the first mass arrest in 1588: six of the seven children of Diego de Mora and their first cousin Luisa. These initial denunciations, by 48 non-family members, introduce each of their seven *procesos*. Incidentally, these records were stored as a bundle of minutiae, apart from *procesos*, in the Cuenca diocesan archives, where Amiel consulted them (ADC, leg. 748B, 99). ²⁸⁹ Earlier in his study Amiel dismissed most of them as “inconsistent and the work of mere rumor mongers.” Now, to pad Francisco’s meager description of the “nail-and-hair heresy” Amiel retrieves from the bundle two undated denunciations by the barber brothers Francisco and Pedro Juárez (not previously mentioned). Francisco Juárez recounts his visits to the house of Francisco de Mora the Elder to cut his and his son Alonso’s hair, when:

[...] Catalina de Villanueva [the Elder’s wife] [...] once picked up Francisco de Mora’s hair [...] she went into the kitchen with it and [...] straight away it smelt of charring, so he deduced that she had thrown the hair into the fire and he [Francisco Juárez] said: ‘God help me, what a stench!’

Pedro Juárez recounts his visit to the house of Hernando de Sauca, the Old Christian husband of Francisco de Mora Molina’s sister Francisca de Mora:

[...] When he went to give Hernando de Sauca a haircut and shave for his trip to Madrid, his wife Francisca de Mora started to pick up the hairs that were on the ground and on the gown, and Hernando de Sauca said to her: ‘What are you doing that for? Get out of here!’, so she dropped the hair out of her hands and went away [...]. ²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 152 (French translation; original Spanish in P.P.P. 1,78) from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [83]. Cf. AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 273 (French paraphrase).

²⁸⁹ AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 229.

²⁹⁰ See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 273, from ADC leg. 748B, no. 99, ff. [1v^o, 8](o.S.p.).

Amiel missed two references to the Judaic hair heresy. The first is in the *proceso* of Catalina de Villanueva, who confessed on May 10, 1589:

Dijo que es verdad que se cogían con la mano, rebolviéndolos, pero se podían coger todos, que también con la escoba se cogía. Y que estos los cogían porque quando resucitase Dios a los muertos, cada uno habrá de dar cuenta de sus cabellos y de sus pelos de su barba y de sus manos y ojos, y los habían de buscar donde estuviesen. Y que este era precepto de Dios guardar todas estas cosas que le había dado de Su mano al hombre para que le diese cuenta dellos.²⁹¹

The second is in the *proceso* of Francisco de Mora Molina's sister María de Mora, the wife of Hernando de Sauca's brother Pedro de Sauca. She declared that her father had taught her "hairs must be picked up and kept because on the Day of Judgment the dead will return to look for them."²⁹²

13.11. *Blessing of the Children*

The 1524 Edict of Faith says that Judaizing New Christians on certain fast days:

[...] Ask 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 [...].

Francisco de Mora Molina tells the Inquisitors that his father, Diego de Mora:

[...] at the time of his marriage, was upset because it was against his will. To cover up his feelings, [on his deathbed] he gave him his pardon and his blessing, putting his hand over his head. He does not remember the words he said nor does he know what they were [...]. He is not aware that this manner of blessing is of the Law of Moses [...]. He well remembers that Mari Juárez, his [Old Christian] mother-in-law, gave her blessing to all her children who were there including himself, making on each one the sign of the cross without saying anything, because she had lost the power of speech [...].²⁹³

²⁹¹ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705, f. 174v.

²⁹² See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 152 (French translation) presumably from ADC leg. 313, no. 4549. P.P.P. 1, 78 has part of the quotation in the original Spanish.

²⁹³ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 274-275, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [49r^o-v^o] (o.S.p.). On Mari Juárez see above.

This denunciation is transformed as follows by the Inquisitors to become part of Diego de Mora's sentence to execution in effigy: on his deathbed, he had blest his children "in the manner and according to the rite of the Jews."²⁹⁴

13.12. *Sweeping the Wrong Way and Not Sweeping*

Amiel returns to the bundle of the c. 54 initial denunciations by 48 non-family members to retrieve a pseudo-Judaic heresy attributed to the Moras, but not confessed to by any of them. "When they swept they would start at the door."²⁹⁵ So declared Juan de Buenaventura, who spent two years as a domestic servant of Diego de Mora and four in the household of his daughter María, married to the Old Christian Pedro de Sauca.²⁹⁶ Another denunciation, previously discounted, is now considered "significant."

[...] Speaking with Hernando de Sauca two years ago, [Hernando de Lara] told him he had heard that [Sauca] wanted to get married to Francisca de Mora. [Sauca] replied how could anyone think he would marry her seeing he knew all about her 'for I swear to God that they are as Jewish as any Jews in the world, because they carry out Jewish ceremonies, not eating bacon and sweeping towards the doorpost'.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 508 (original Spanish). Amiel ("Marranisme" I, 274) interprets Francisco de Mora Molina's testimony to mean that between his engagement and his marriage his father had forgiven him and gave him his blessing "without which he had been told he couldn't get married." (The last words between quotation marks, attributed by Amiel in his French paraphrase on p. 274 to Francisco de Mora Molina, are not found in the corresponding citation in the original Spanish from Francisco's *proceso* on p. 275.)

²⁹⁵ AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 280, from ADC leg. 748B, no. 99, f. [20vº] (o.S.p.).

²⁹⁶ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 231; however on p. 280 Amiel makes out that Juan "lived for over 6 years in María de Mora's house." See above a similar denunciation by Juan de Lara, concerning the same household. Juan de Lara (not mentioned by Amiel) and Juan de Buenaventura are one and the same person. See ADC leg. 316, no. 4572 (Luisa de Mora): *Juan de Bonaventura que por otro nombre se llama Juan de Lara*. A marginal note in the *tachas* of Francisco de Mora the Elder's *proceso* (ADC leg. 748b, no. 100, f. 219), identifies Juan de Lara as the son of receiver Diego López de Lara and an associate of Francisco's son Alonso.

²⁹⁷ AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, *ibid*, from doc. cit., f. [10] (o.S.p.). Amiel (noting that the accuser "got it wrong") cites Moses Hagiz (1671-1750) in his booklet *Mishnat hakhamim* (Wandsbeck 1733), 53r to the effect that "sweeping from the outside in" is an ancient Spanish Jewish custom, relating to respect for the mezuzah. While Hagiz and 20th-century scholars associate the accusation with the Portuguese Inquisition exclusively, we now see that it was current in Spain. This may be the earliest such allegation so far recorded.

Catalina de Villanueva is the only defendant to confess the following heretical custom:

Y que cuando alguna persona de su casa se había partido della, para ir camino, se habían puesto y estado en la puerta, mirando la tal persona hasta que se desaparecía; y no se había barrido ni limpiado la casa hasta que se entendía que había llegado al lugar donde iba.²⁹⁸

14. TRANSMISSION

Questioned as to how long he has known the things of the Law of Moses, [Francisco de Mora Molina] replied from the time he was 14 or 15 and he was taught them by Diego de Mora, his father. He has continued doing them until now, the time of his arrest [...]. He has been doing them for approximately 20 years, being now approximately 35 years old [...] The time his father taught him [the prayers] lasted many days; from when he started to teach him them [...] until he knew them, about a year more or less [...].²⁹⁹

P[reguntado] de donde son tomadas las d[ichas] oraciones. D[ijo] que no lo sabe, que el d. Diego de Mora, su padre deste, que se las enseñó y que no sabe este c[onfesante] de donde las tomó el d. su padre, más de que le oyó decir que Mari López su madre y abuela deste c., reconciliada que fue por este santo oficio se les había enseñado.³⁰⁰

P. que personas sabe que han rezado las d. oraciones. D. que este c. las ha rezado hasta que fue preso por este santo oficio, desde que las supo, que sería este c. de diez y ocho e veinte años poco más o menos, y que no sabe que personas las sepan, que entiende que el d. Diego de Mora su padre las enseñaría al d. Juan de Mora y a las d. sus 5 hermanas.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705, f. 174.

²⁹⁹ AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 268; AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 490, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [29vº, 30vº, 86], o.S.p. This is Francisco de Mora Molina's second *proceso*, beginning after the *Auto* of August 12, 1590, when he was remanded to prison, ending with his execution on August 16, 1592. Amiel does not precisely date his excerpts from this *proceso*.

³⁰⁰ It will be recalled that the sanbenito worn by Mari López at the *Auto* of 1516 hung in the church of Quintanar. She would thus be a likely candidate, in the eyes of the Inquisitors, for the role of fomentor of the family's Judaic heresy.

³⁰¹ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [132v&r] (not cited by Révah & Wilke or Amiel).

If Francisco were born at Quintanar c. 1553,³⁰² it would place his “initiation” c. 1567-1568, some 22-23 years before his confession. If he were born in 1555-1557, it would place his initiation in 1569-1571, some 20-22 years before his confession. In the third citation he dates his first recitation of the prayer to when he was around 18 or 20, which could be anywhere from 1571 to 1577, some 13-19 years before his confession. Yet on January 21, 1589 his brother Juan, 8 or 9 years his junior, peremptorily declared to the Inquisitors that he learnt “the *sema*”³⁰³ from his father in 1579 and that his family had been observing the festivals “for the last ten years.”³⁰⁴ This corresponds to the affirmations of his sisters María, Francisca, Luisa and Isabel, who associate their observance with their father’s last illness and death. What accounts for the discrepancies, aside from the doubt concerning Francisco’s year of birth?

One answer might be that Diego de Mora did not teach his children collectively but as Francisco de Mora Molina asserts:

[...] separately, with prudence.³⁰⁵ The things he taught him were told him in an upstairs room, behind lock and key. Afterwards he and his siblings communicated with each other about some of the things [...] When his father taught him the prayers from the Law of Moses which he confessed, they were alone in the upstairs room as he said, without anyone being present. For the purpose of teaching him and praying –it all took place together– his father put some white towels on his right shoulder which reached in front and in the back to his waist. These towels would always be in the upstairs room with water to wash one’s hands for prayer. When he finished teaching him these prayers and praying with him the times that he went up to the room to teach him, he would tell him to go down, because he wanted

³⁰² His father gave Francisco’s age as 14 in 1565, which implies 1551 as the year of his birth. We see that he himself estimated his age as 35 in 1590-92, which implies 1555-57 as the year of his birth. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 446.

³⁰³ “Hear Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is one” (Dt 6,4), etc. constitute the core of Jewish prayer.

³⁰⁴ See ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, *proceso* of Juan de Mora, f. 25: *Es verdad, Señor, que yo sé esa oración que se dice el sema y que la sabe desde el año de 79 e se la enseñó Diego de Mora, su padre* [...]; f. 27: *Y que había diez años poco más o menos tiempo que este confesante ha visto guardar a los susodichos las dichas pascuas y no sabe de otra persona que las haga guardadas* [...]

³⁰⁵ Diego de Mora’s posthumous *proceso* (ADC leg. 319, no. 4607: March 26, 1590 f. [60]) contains a deposition by his widow, María de Villanueva (Francisco de Mora Molina’s mother) to the effect that her husband did not teach his children collectively, but successively, each according to his age (*conforme a su edad*). I have not located this citation in her *proceso*, where it is no doubt to be found.

to pray alone by himself, because he didn't get anything out of what they had prayed together while teaching him. Asked to explain the mysterious towels his father put on in order to teach him to pray and why he put them on the right rather than on the left shoulder [...]. He said that [...] he did not know their mysterious purpose nor why this was done, except that his father said it was good and had to be done this way [...].³⁰⁶

Yet this passage of time between one and another sibling's initiation and the doubt concerning the year of Francisco's birth do not explain the blatant contradiction in Francisco's testimony between "14 or 15" and "18 or 20" as his age at the time of his own initiation. To do so, I think we must return to Révah's hypothesis of two types of "marranism," one hereditary and the other learnt, with this proviso: the 1579 one differs qualitatively (in the case of the scholarly Francisco de Mora Molina and Rodrigo del Campo, at least) from anything before. But it is only the 1579 manifestation that is blatantly Jewish. The c. 1569-72 one is phantom.

So far we have seen that a complete "crypto-Judaic" cult, or "marranism," as supposedly practiced in Quintanar by some 60 members of the Mora clan is known to us from only a few *procesos*. By far the principal source is the second of Francisco de Mora Molina. The denunciations contained in the posthumous sentence of his father Diego de Mora also derive –directly or indirectly– from Francisco de Mora Molina. One is almost tempted to apply the Roman adage: *testis unus, testis nullus*. But before a sceptic dismisses the Cuenca tribunal's entire Quintanar "marranism" for an inquisitorial fabrication, he must overcome three hurdles. The first is the simultaneous existence of a parallel pocket of "Mora marranism" in Alcázar de Consuegra and neighboring Argamasilla de Alba, belonging to the adjoining inquisitorial district of Toledo. The second and most formidable is the "revelation" of a Marrano liturgy, recorded in the *procesos* of various defendants from both places. The third is Rodrigo del Campo's claim, made in the course of his interrogation in 1590, that "the *sema*" was recited to him by his sister Inés del Campo "more than 30 years ago" (so in or before 1560: he was then 15 or younger). He asserted that some of its words, or similar ones, he read in the Bible,³⁰⁷ he doesn't remember in what part; that he had written this and other prayers down in "a small white booklet" he had recently lost. Later on in life he

³⁰⁶ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 267-268, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [85vº-86], o.S.p. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 152 has a shorter excerpt in French translation. The original Spanish in P.P.P. 1, 79 has the variant reading "*le ponía*" instead of "*se ponía*," suggesting his father placed the towel on Francisco's shoulder, but the context belies this interpretation.

³⁰⁷ Rodrigo was apparently the only inhabitant of Quintanar to own a Bible.

had lived in Alcázar for two or three years in the house of his aunt Elvira de Mora, who finished teaching it to him.³⁰⁸ How reliable is Rodrigo's testimony? We shall return to this question of the reliability of inquisitorial testimony relating to religious matters and in particular the reliability of Rodrigo's testimony (on which so much depends) at the end of this study.

15. THE ALCÁZAR REPRESSION

Let us first take another look at the Alcázar repression. It will be recalled that (I re-quote an earlier paragraph):

[...] The maneuver of voluntarily presenting themselves in order to avoid arrest, which had been considered and rejected in Quintanar, was tried by the Moras of Alcázar a week after the Cuenca *Auto* of August 12, 1590. On August 21, 1590, Juan del Campo I of Argamasilla de Alba betook himself to the Toledo tribunal and confessed to having observed the Law of Moses for some twenty years, up to his marriage with a pious Christian in 1580 or 1581. (Juan del Campo I, c. 50 in 1590 was a brother of Elvira del Campo, whom we have previously met in respect to her encounter with the Toledo Inquisition in 1569 and the Cuenca tribunal in 1591. We know she will be executed as a relapsed heretic at Cuenca in 1592.) He denounced 35 relatives of Alcázar and Argamasilla. On August 22, 1590, 11 members of the López de Armenia family went through the same procedure. Incarceration followed for all. In prison they produced further denunciations, leading to 13 more arrests and proceedings against two deceased persons.

What precisely was being voluntarily confessed and denounced? As I have mentioned, Amiel lists the seven extant *procesos* of Mora family members sentenced at the Toledo *Auto* of June 9, 1591 but analyses only Juan del Campo I's.³⁰⁹ Levine-

³⁰⁸ See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, 160r: *No sabe de donde es tomada, que algunas palabras de ella, o semejantes, las ha leído en la Biblia, no se acuerda en que parte, y que esta oración y otras que no se acuerda cuales son se las recitó Inés del Campo su hermana, haría más de 30 años. Que las escribió en un librito blanco y de allí deprendió algo de ellas, y de a pocos días se lo perdió y nunca lo pudo hallar. E que después fué a la villa de Alcácer donde estuvo dos o tres años y parte dello vivió en casa de Elvira de Mora, mujer de Alonso de la Vega, su tía, hermana de su madre, la qual acabó de enseñar(le) la dicha oración y otras [...].* On Elvira de Mora's reputation as a well-informed disseminator of Judaic practices, see LEVINE-MELAMMED, "Judaizers and Prayer," 274-275.

³⁰⁹ AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 221-222, from AHN Inq. leg. 138, no. 8. While Révah mentions some of them, his notes on these trials are apparently lost. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 119, 448, n. 1 to 119. The seven extant trials are AHN Inq. leg. 181, no. 14 (Elvira Ruiz); leg. 181, no. 15 (Francisco Ruiz de Armenia); leg. 187, no. 7 (Alonso de la Vega, *difunto*); leg. 187, no. 8 (Francisco de la Vega I);

Melammed analysed but two: those of Francisco de la Vega and Juan del Campo I.³¹⁰ However, these two contain introductory excerpts (denunciations and confessions) from the records of nine other simultaneous trials ending in reconciliation on June 9, 1591.³¹¹ The Spanish historian Julio Caro Baroja, whose work on Spanish New Christians preceded that of Révah, studied five of these *procesos* and expatiates at some length on Juan López de Armenia II's and Juan del Campo I's.³¹²

Caro Baroja tells us that on August 30, 1590, the merchant Juan López de Armenia, 27 (born, according to Révah, at Socuéllamos c. 1563, a son of Mari López de Mora and Alonso López de Armenia, resident of Alcázar³¹³):

[...] Presented himself voluntarily before the Inquisitors to ask pardon for his sins and to declare them. He was simultaneously denouncing his sisters Catalina and Isabel López. His New Christian family had not practiced Judaism. Some 13 years earlier [c. 1577] an uncle of his, [Diego de Mora] from Quintanar, had paid them a visit and catechized them. From then on they tried in the house to live by the Law of the Jews, keeping the sabbath, the first days of the moon, not eating bacon, keeping the three yearly festivals and performing frequent purifications and washings. They would also observe the rites of rinsing the meat of the blood, removing the sinew from the thigh and lighting candles on Fridays. Four years before making his declaration they began to fall away from the Mosaic Law until two and a half years later they gave it up altogether.³¹⁴

leg. 188, no. 1 (Francisco de la Vega II), nicknamed Veguilla; leg. 138, no. 8 (Juan del Campo I); leg. 162, no. 12 (Juan López de Armenia II). The forms "de la Vega" and "de Vega" alternate.

³¹⁰ AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8 and AHN Inq. leg. 138, no. 8. See LEVINE-MELAMMED, *Heretics or Daughters*, 150-165, 236-241. Of a total of 24 *procesos* belonging to Mora family members sentenced at the Toledo *Auto* of June 9, 1591, Révah knew of, and presumably studied, four of the seven extant in Madrid's AHN. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 135, supplemented however by 447, n. 4 to 112, based on Gómez del Campillo's catalogue.

³¹¹ Three of these are among those listed by Amiel without a shelf mark (presumably lost), three with a shelf mark. Amiel does not list two. It is hard to tell whether the María de la Vega who was executed is the same as María, daughter of Diego de la Vega and Leonor Gómez (LEVINE-MELAMMED, *Heretics or Daughters*, 189) or María de la Vega, daughter of Alonso de la Vega and Elvira de Mora. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 112.

³¹² See his *Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea* (Madrid 1962), vol. I, 450-452.

³¹³ RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 113. Cf. LEVINE-MELAMMED, *Heretics or Daughters*, 152-154.

³¹⁴ From AHN Inq. leg. 162, no. 12. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 447 (n. 1 to 113); PARELLO, "Los Mora," 436; MELAMMED, *Heretics or Daughters*, 153. In this *proceso* Révah found

But by August 30, 14 of his arrested Quintanar relatives had already denounced him, so that his limited voluntary confession was probably considered insufficient.³¹⁵ Two days later he was incarcerated. In the course of his trial he denounced over 17 relatives. He was reconciled, together with his sisters, at the Toledo auto of June 9, 1591. During both his voluntary appearance and trial he recited prayer fragments which he claimed to have learnt from his uncle. He also admitted to owning a book of Psalms in Spanish; to having upon occasion acted as slaughterer and that he went by the nickname of *herejín* ('little heretic'). He declared that the man who knew most about the Old Law in Alcázar was Rodrigo del Campo, *gramático* ('the Grammarian').³¹⁶ (Let us remember that Rodrigo del Campo was a brother of Elvira del Campo –there were six siblings including Juan del Campo previously mentioned. I shall presently return to both Juan and Rodrigo.)

In Juan López de Armenia's confession at Toledo in 1590 we recognize the familiar outline of Quintanar "marranism" as detailed by Francisco de Mora Molina at Cuenca in 1591 and attributed to his father's (Diego de Mora's) teaching. Now we hear from Juan López de Armenia that this "marranism" was brought to Alcázar as a novelty by the same Diego de Mora c. 1577. Indeed, some of the authentic core of Sephardic prayers in the *procesos* of Mora family members arrested in Quintanar are to be found in at least one of the *procesos* of those arrested in Alcázar and surrounding villages by the inquisitorial tribunal of Toledo.³¹⁷

Juan López de Armenia quoting his uncle Diego de Mora to the effect that "he [Diego de Mora] and his father [Juan de Mora] acted and had acted in this way" (folio reference lost). Révah points out, however, that Diego's father Juan de Mora never had an encounter with the Inquisition. Witnesses describe him in a number of *procesos* as hostile to Judaic practices. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 119, 168.

³¹⁵ In Spanish inquisitorial practice incarceration and participation in an *Auto de Fe* could sometimes be avoided by making a voluntary appearance and confession. Voluntary confessants were termed *espontaneados*.

³¹⁶ See CARO BAROJA, *Los judíos en la España moderna*, vol. 1, 450. S. de COVARRUBIAS, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, ed. M. de RÍQUER (Barcelona 1943 [1611]), 654, defines *gramático* to mean 'teacher of grammar' but also 'student of grammar' (note by Caro Baroja). At the outset of his trial Rodrigo del Campo states his age (45) and that "he was a student, began to study grammar" (*fue estudiante, comenzó a estudiar gramática*). See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. 91r.

³¹⁷ Among fragments that were "confessed," recorded in their *procesos* and partly shared are centos originating in Spanish Psalters. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, P.P.P. "La liturgie crypto-juive de Quintanar de la Orden au XVI^e siècle," (page numbering of the print-out:) 38-39. See also the "prayer upon arising," *ibid.* 29-31. Cf. AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 561-562, 565-566.

Back to Juan del Campo I: on August 21, 1590, he voluntarily confessed to have sporadically abstained from pork since age 20 (c. 1560). In 1580 or 1581, when he married Isabel, a most pious Old Christian Catholic, 20 years his junior, he abandoned his Judaizing, which he described as “20 years of living like a cork on the water.”³¹⁸ Then he goes on to say he had picked up additional practices from his uncle, Diego de Mora, when in Diego’s house in Quintanar, *habrá los dichos treinta años* (probably also 30 years ago). These included “keeping the sabbath, the Feast of the Lamb, Tabernacles which he believes falls in September, and the other one whose name he could not recall, it being so long since Diego told him and also a good while since he dropped them.”³¹⁹ His wife’s denunciation is one of 17 in Juan’s *proceso*. She describes his washing hands before prayers and meals; reading from a Spanish book of Psalms (which she destroyed at his request upon his departure for Toledo); covering his eyes and sometimes his face during prayer; slaughtering poultry in a peculiar way; rinsing meat of blood. Evidently, he was still “floating” even after his marriage. By May 20, 1590 he had denounced 35 relatives as “Judaizers.” They included those of Alcázar as well as those of Quintanar: his siblings Alonso del Campo, Rodrigo del Campo (also denounced, as we have seen, by Juan López de Armenia) and Elvira del Campo, Francisco de Mora and his children and the children of Diego de Mora. Francisco de Mora Molina had almost simultaneously denounced these in Cuenca. Juan shows awareness of their having been incarcerated there.³²⁰

Core prayers are to be found in the introductory denunciation by Lope de Vega (son of Elvira de Mora) in the *proceso* of Francisco de Vega (AHN. Inq. leg. 187, n° 8, 10 september 1590).

³¹⁸ “[...] *en todo lo cual [...] anduvo como corcho sobre el agua,*” quoted from AHN Inq. leg. 138, no. 8 by AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 222. This description of the Marrano life style so struck R. Levine-Melammed that she entitled her chapter “The Judaizers of Alcázar at the End [*sic*] of the Sixteenth Century, ‘Corks Floating on Water’” (*Heretics*, 150-165). Her explanation of the simile is unconvincing.

³¹⁹ See AHN Inq. leg. 138, no. 8, ff. 28-29: *Dijo que Diego de Mora, tío de este testigo, que fue de El Quintanar, difunto, habrá los dichos treinta años que dijo a éste, estando los dos a solas en su casa del dicho Diego de Mora en la dicha villa de El Quintanar, que guardase la Ley de Moisés y el sábado y algunas Pascuas de ella como la de las Cabañuelas, que le parece que cae por setiembre, que como ha tanto que pasó cuando el dicho Diego de Mora se lo dijo y también haber tantos años que lo deja de hacer, no se acuerda ya bien [...] más de que le dijo que eran dos o tres, que eran de las Cabañuelas y del cordero y no se acuerda del nombre de la otra de presente.*

³²⁰ LEVINE-MELAMMED, *Heretics or Daughters*, numbers but does not provide the names of those denounced by the defendants of the two trials analyzed by her. She seems unaware of Juan del Campo I’s siblings in Quintanar. CARO BAROJA (*Los judíos en la España Moderna*, vol. 1, 450-452) specifies that residents of Quintanar were among the 17 relatives denounced by Juan

Let us examine the chronology: Diego de Mora of Quintanar (born c. 1516; died c. 1581), two years before his death (according to his daughter María de Mora), “discovered” in a recent book the three yearly biblical pilgrimage festivals and instituted them in his home. In that case his nephew Juan López de Armenia is off by a mere two years or so when he claims that in c. 1577 Diego taught them to some relatives in Alcázar. On the other hand, Juan del Campo’s dating his initiation in Diego’s house back to 1560 is at odds with that chronology. It seems to me that the weight of evidence inclines to c. 1579, not c. 1560.

16. THE BIBLE IN QUINTANAR

Amidst the hapless throng of defendants, Rodrigo del Campo and Francisco de Mora Molina stand out. The Jewish quiddity of their *procesos* in contrast with those of the rank and file of suspects is so blatant that it affects the whole question of “inherited marranism.” Amiel and, to a lesser extent Révah, availed themselves of these two mens’ erudition for their marranic thesis, as if to say: “The Inquisition had it right!” The response has to be: “Yes, from 1579 on there is evidence in two *procesos* of real familiarity with things Jewish. But the uniqueness of these two suggests they were an anomaly, most likely schooled by books, not by orally transmitted ancestral traditions.”

Rodrigo del Campo was born in Quintanar c. 1545,³²¹ identified in his Cuenca *proceso* as an *escribano* (= ‘bailiff’: Révah; = ‘clerk of the court’: Amiel), sometime *estudiante de gramática* (‘student or teacher of grammar’), reconciled at the Cuenca *Auto* of August 16, 1592, and sentenced to eight years as a galley slave. Of seven stints in the galleys meted out at this particular *auto*, his was the longest.³²²

López de Armenia but does not provide geographical location for the “more than 30” persons denounced by Juan del Campo I.

³²¹ Arrested July 26, 1590, at the first session of his trial (ADC leg. 321, no. 4627) he declares himself a bachelor, aged 45.

³²² The others were Lope de Mora (5 years), Diego del Campo, Alonso Martínez de Mora, Antonio Martínez de Mora, Francisco Martínez de Mora and Francisco Navarro, each 3 years. See AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 226-227, 276-279. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 445 (n. 5 to 108 and n. 2 to 109: only Rodrigo del Campo’s and Lope de Mora’s galley sentence specified). Neither Amiel nor Révah attempts an explanation. Lope, Alonso, Antonio and Francisco Martínez de Mora were the sons of Diego de Mora’s brother Juan II. Alonso Martínez de Mora, age 25 when sentenced, died in the galley (see ADC leg. 329, no. 4706). It is unlikely that anyone survived the galleys.

He read his Bible in Latin ³²³ and was the most educated and bookish member of this rural community. ³²⁴ The illiterate shepherd Hernando de Mora (the twelfth of the thirteen children –by two wives and a concubine– of Diego’s brother Juan II) in his 1591 *proceso*, alludes to a clandestine Bible study session led by Rodrigo del Campo in his brother Alonso’s house. Rodrigo would translate passages from the Latin Bible into Spanish for a select audience of seven or eight attentive older persons, with special emphasis “on the precepts of the Law of Moses.” ³²⁵ People would get together to study popular biblically oriented works of Catholic piety at less exclusive gatherings, led by Rodrigo and others. A number of Mora defendants refer to these in the records. ³²⁶

In the course of Rodrigo del Campo’s own trial, on October 5, 1590, he was confronted with his Latin Bible, confiscated by the Inquisitors: a literal translation “from the Hebrew Truth” printed at Lyons by Guillaume Boullé, 1542. A number of other defendants, including Francisco de Mora Molina, had recognized and identified it as Rodrigo’s. The Inquisitor showed Rodrigo the 1583 Spanish *Index* of prohibited books, which listed it and forced him to admit that he had neglected to check the *Index*. Nor had he submitted his other books for verification by the Inquisition, as required by the Edicts of Faith publicly proclaimed since 1583. Rodrigo replied that he was well aware that the 1583 *Index* also forbade the possession of all books of hours in Spanish as well as any and all Spanish translations of the Gospels, the Epistles and NT anthologies and that,

³²³ When asked whether he knew Latin, he replied that [...] *que como ha sido aficionado a leer en le Biblia y ha leído muchas veces en ella, todavía entiende algo y que es aficionado a leer en latín*. See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. 134v.

³²⁴ See “Marranisme” II, 511-512, for Amiel’s assessment and comparative analysis of the community’s literacy, based on the standard preliminary interrogations and later confessions in 32 Mora *procesos*.

³²⁵ AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 517. The shepherd (b. 1541) describes the sessions as having taken place some 35 years earlier (Rodrigo would then have been aged 11!). However, a description by Rodrigo’s nephew Diego del Campo *el mozo* (b. 1574) of a similar session taking place in the winter of 1589, renders the shepherd’s dating unlikely. See ADC leg. 325, no. 4654, testimony of August 21, 1591. Perhaps “35” is a misreading. See also AHN Inq. leg. 188, no. 1, *proceso* of Francisco de Vega, alias Veguilla, January 8, 1591. He recalls a visit to his mother’s house in Alcázar by Rodrigo del Campo, *en la cámara a la lumbre* (‘in the parlour by the lamp’), hearing him reading from the Bible to his mother and other persons, translating into *Romance* a passage about leaving the vineyard gleanings for the poor (cf. Lv 19, 9-10; 23, 22). This supposedly took place 26 years earlier. He would then have been 9 and Rodrigo, 20.

³²⁶ AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 518-534. These enlightening pages contain Amiel’s attempted identification, succinct analyses of, and exhaustive bibliographical information on, all except one (as it turns out, the most seminal) of the works mentioned by title or alluded to by approximate title in the *procesos* studied. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 169-174.

for this very reason, he had brought his parish priest his Latin books of hours for verification.³²⁷

The prosecutor accused Rodrigo of reading aloud to people “The Mirror of Consolation for Sad People in Which is Shown by Very Clear Examples from Sacred Scripture that the Woes of this Life are Better than Its Weal” by the Franciscan Friar Juan de Dueñas. This was one of the most popular 16th century Spanish works of family piety, made up of Biblical –mostly OT– stories of woe and weal with their moral lesson duly drawn. Rodrigo recalled his uncle Diego conducting “a hundred thousand” such readings, for family members and whoever cared to join. This bestseller in five, ultimately six volumes of c. 3.500 pages, went through at least 40 editions, 1540-91.³²⁸ The alphabetical *Index rerum* alone filled 226 pages with over 400 entries. During the same October 5, 1590 trial session, Rodrigo del Campo admitted having penned –in order to facilitate its consultation– a 33-folio concordance bound in parchment with metal clasps. Each of the concordance’s initialed pages listed the most remarkable episodes of a Biblical book (G = Genesis; E = Exodus; L = Leviticus, etc.), followed by one of the digits 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 referring to the volume of “The Mirror” containing it.³²⁹

Amiel found no less than 17 mentions of “The Mirror” in the Mora *procesos* and calls it an “Encyclopedia of Judaism.”³³⁰ To justify this designation (with its inquisitorial implication that any OT material is Judaic and *ipso facto* heretical), he quotes the confession of Luisa de Mora Carrillo, a resident of Huete, who recounts that:

[...] On the occasion of a visit to Quintanar, at the house of her aunt, Isabel de Mora, she read in ‘The Mirror of Consolation’ [...]. Her aunt had said to

³²⁷ AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 518-521. Here Amiel usefully reminds us that the Spanish inquisitorial *Index* of 1551 prohibited the possession of the Bible or any part of it in any language except the (Latin) Vulgate. The *Index* of 1554 prohibited 58 editions of the Vulgate. The *Index* of 1559 prohibited specific Latin editions and Spanish translations of the Psalter and separate Spanish translations of any part of the NT including 33 editions corresponding to 23 titles of Books of Hours.

³²⁸ AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 524-531. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 171-172.

³²⁹ AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 529-530.

³³⁰ AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 524. The work “in all its parts” was placed on the Portuguese *Index* of 1564 but, surprisingly, on the Spanish *Index* only in 1632 and regularly thereafter (*op. cit.*, 531). There must have been, however, a tacit prohibition to reprint it after 1591. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 171-172. There are references to the work, as a New Christian source of OT knowledge, in the annals of the Portuguese and the Mexican Inquisitions. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 172; AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 531.

her: 'I have a book for you here that you won't have heard about over there. I want you to read in it and see how those ancient OT holy prophets lived'; this in order to attract her more to, and make her love the Law of Moses [...].³³¹

Amiel ignores another implication of his term "Encyclopedia of Judaism," namely that the Mora clan got its Judaism from literary sources rather than oral transmission.

The only other Scripturally inspired work to crop up repeatedly in the Mora confessions is "The Tower of David" (*La Torre de David*: 5 editions 1567-1584; Italian translation: 1579, 1597) by the Jeronymite F. Jerónimo de Lemos, mentioned by three defendants. Its seven allegorical dialogues between ecclesiastics and laymen also contain mainly OT material, duly repertoried.³³²

Curiously absent from the confessions, however, is Alonso de Villegas' *Flos Sanctorum* (First Part, 8 editions 1578-94; Second Part, 8 editions 1583-94), except for two references: an allusive one by María de Mora to a phrase in the title of its Second Part (*las Seis Edades del Mundo*) and an explicit one by Luisa de Mora Carrillo:

Que ha leído en el Flos Sanctorum y en Fray Luis de Granada y en las horas de Nuestra Señora y en un devoción [...].³³³

And yet it is a principal source of Quintanar's Jewish revival.

17. MARRANO LITURGY

Francisco de Mora Molina and his siblings claimed to have been taught prayers by their father. Their father, in turn, supposedly learned them from *his* mother, Francisco's grandmother, Mari López, born c. 1480, who was reconciled by the Cuenca Inquisition in 1517.³³⁴ She was, as we may recall, the daughter of Pedro López Farín and Catalina López, executed in effigy; their mortal remains

³³¹ AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 530, from ADC leg. 331, no. 4734 (Luisa de Mora Carrillo) (o.S.p.). Révah (*op. cit.*, 173), overlooking the first part of the quotation, did not realize that Luisa de Mora Carrillo's aunt was referring to "The Mirror."

³³² RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 173-174; AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 531-534.

³³³ See ADC leg. 331, no. 4734, July 20, 1592. She goes on to mention *La Torre de David*, *San Benito y sus Monjes*, *Espejo de Consolación* ("como vivían aquellas santos profetas antiguos del Testamento Viejo"). She had an unidentified book in hand when she was arrested.

³³⁴ AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 267, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [132v^o-133] (original Spanish not provided).

exhumed and burnt, at Toledo in 1485. So in 1485 she was a homeless, impoverished orphan of about five. It is hard to imagine who taught Jewish prayers to Mari López. Both Révah and Amiel posit for this liturgy an authentic New Christian Judaizing tradition, whose roots antecede by many years the expulsion of the Jews. To shore up this theory, Carsten Wilke suggests that a crypto-Jewish family may have adopted Mari López, or even a Jewish family, who left her behind in 1492, leaving a 12-year-old homeless once again.³³⁵ We may wonder, though, since she confessed her “Judaizing” in 1516, why she should not have mentioned Jewish prayers taught her by her adopted family. Révah countered this objection by suggesting that her confession was false, intended to “cover up” her true initiators into the Judaic heresy.³³⁶

I was struck throughout my study of the “Quintanar liturgy” by the paucity of its reciters among the supposed 100 voices (*cent voix*) of Quintanar and Alcázar, represented by c. 42 complete *procesos*. There are 20 pieces in Révah & Wilke’s comparative anthology “La liturgie crypto-juive de Quintanar de la Orden au XVI^e siècle.” There are c. 21 pieces –not all overlap Révah’s– in Amiel’s conflation “Les Prières.” In Révah & Wilke’s compilation, Francisco de Mora Molina alone accounts for 20 “prayers.” His brother Juan accounts for 16; his sister María (the wife of an Old Christian) for 5; his sister Luisa for 4; his sister Isabel for 3; his cousin Juana de Mora for 2; his cousin Rodrigo del Campo for 6. Many of these are versions of the same texts with small variants. I have found a number of the same liturgical pieces, but with interesting variants, confessed by Catalina de Villanueva on February 23, 1589. While she later implicates her husband, Francisco de Mora the Elder, *en passant*, she does not specify him as her initiator into this liturgy. The reader will recall that he denied all (?) accusations of Judaizing and that he was bludgeoned by the mob when already tied to the stake at the Cuenca *Auto* of August 12, 1590.³³⁷ Cousin Rodrigo del Campo attributes his expanded versions of some of the prayers to the teaching of his sister Inés del Campo and to his aunt, Diego

³³⁵ Personal communication of February, 2006.

³³⁶ RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 121.

³³⁷ See above. Révah did not transcribe the liturgical pieces contained in Catalina de Villanueva’s confession of February 23, 1589, nor did he include them as part of his study of “Marrano liturgy,” nor does he even refer to them in his description of Catalina’s *proceso*. Amiel listed the shelf mark of her *proceso* (ADC leg. 328, no. 4705), but nowhere referred to its contents. He merely consulted her confession among the preliminary denunciations in her husband’s *proceso* (ADC leg. 711, no. 753). Amiel’s consultation of this *proceso* must have occurred late in the preparation of his study, for he does not present any of the liturgical pieces *in extenso*. He only refers to them in the footnotes of his conflations.

de Mora's sister Elvira del Campo in Alcázar; none to his mother, Isabel de Mora. He and his brother Alonso del Campo are the only ones to mention writing them down as an aid to memory.

The Jewish prayers include memorized passages of the core daily and sabbath liturgy, in competent though not servile translation. No Marrano, simplifying the ritual in his defective memory, could have preserved this particular sequence and the precision, correctness, original wording of liturgical phrases, for in order to do so he would have needed a good grounding in Hebrew and a Jewish education. On the other hand, the student of these records may often find her/himself wondering: 'surely, if a selection had to be made, those *conversos* wishing to preserve Judaism would have passed down such fundamental and constantly repeated daily Jewish devotions as the Qaddish as well as some elements from the rest of the liturgical year, such as the New Year, the Day of Atonement.'³³⁸ If, deploring their apostasy, they had wanted to transmit a secret prayer to their Catholic progeny, one would have expected it to be the tailor made *Kal Nidre* of the Eve of Atonement. The reciters of the Quintanar prayers have not retained any of the medieval Hispano-Hebrew hymns (*Pizmonim*), which are –especially those of the High Holy Days–, the quintessence of authentic Sephardic liturgy.³³⁹ Nor, remarkably, considering the Moras' purported observance of the Passover eve ritual *en famille*, is there any vestige of the Haggadah, recited in Spanish from separately printed booklets by families in the former Ottoman Empire and in Morocco.³⁴⁰ In fact, the authentically Jewish component of the Quintanar liturgy is (with two or three exceptions) restricted to a few core items of the daily and sabbath prayers.

'Within these memorized core prayers (the student will continue wonder-

³³⁸ The lines beginning *Esperaré en el Señor* from the New Year or Day of Atonement service, I will show, crept in accidentally.

³³⁹ It is precisely these (and one in particular), that have come up for rhymed Spanish adaptations (printed both in Hebrew and Latin characters) in some communities of the former Ottoman Empire. See H. P. SALOMON, "The 'Last Trial' in Hispanic Liturgy," *Anuario di Studi Ebraici* 2, 1-2 (1969), 51-78; and cf. with E. ROMERO, *Sef* 31 (1971), 190-194.

³⁴⁰ We shall see that Francisco de Mora Molina's "If you knew" was unrelated to the Haggadah. However, we find a rhyming ditty: *de cautivos (cautiverio) a soltura/de hambre a hartura/de pesar a placer/(de oscuridad a claridad)/ [...]que (tanto) habemos menester* in the recitation of Francisco de Mora Molina (ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. 34), Rodrigo del Campo (ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. 160) and Lope de Vega (AHN leg. 187, no. 8), which recall, as Amiel notes, the doxology at the close of the Haggadah: "from bondage to freedom [...], from sorrow to joy, from mourning to a feast, from darkness to a great light."

ing) why this liturgical passage and not that one?' But if, on the other hand, the selection was determined, not by ancestors of yore, reared in the Jewish faith, but instead by the vagaries of inquisitorial persecution, a chance encounter with a written text will have been the determining factor in the choice of memorized texts.

In my close reading of the prayers, which now follows, I shall attempt to account in each case for the combination they evince of faithfulness to the original Hebrew and fortuitousness of selection by a theory somewhat less romantic than Révah and Amiel's belief in two centuries of transmitted "marranism."

I shall argue for the Jewish prayers' direct adoption from a written text, which had suddenly become available, in the form of a late 15th century manuscript (or fragments of a manuscript) Spanish translation of the daily and sabbath Sephardic liturgy. This core was augmented by a number of pieces from other sources or even of the reciters' own invention. It defies reason to assume oral transmission spanning the centuries of such a grab bag of haphazardly selected yet highly literary fragments. As to the Jewish prayers, I shall show in each case that they represent a translation technique different from the pious literalism of the Ferrara³⁴¹ and Venice prayer books³⁴², although not of course totally unrelated to these publications.³⁴³ Furthermore I shall show that the translator was highly competent in Hebrew and Spanish, in some instances more so than the translators of the Ferrara and Venice prayer books. By an exhaustive analysis of the vocabulary, compared with that of all available medieval and 16th century Spanish Bible translations, I shall attempt to illustrate the originality of the

³⁴¹ *Libro de Oracyones de todo el año traduzido del Hebrayco de verbo a verbo de antiguos exemplares: por quanto los ympressos fasta aqui estan errados: con muchas cosas acrescentadas de nueuo segun por la siguiente tabla se muestra* [Ferrara], 5312 De la Criacion a 14 de Siuan, in *Libro de Oracyones Ferrara Ladino Siddur* (1552) (M. LAZAR and R. DILLIGAN, eds.) (Lancaster, Ca 1995).

³⁴² *Ordenança de las oraciones del Cedur del mes ebraico y vulgar español – seder ha-tefillot mi-siddur ha-ḥodesh be- 'ibri u-be-la 'az sefardi* (Venice 1552).

³⁴³ I shall also have recourse to the incomplete manuscript weekday and Sabbath morning service in a Portuguese adaptation from the Spanish which I hypothetically date Venice or Ferrara 1542-1550. Its present location is the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana of the University of Amsterdam (Ms. Cassuto). See H. P. SALOMON, "The 'Last Trial' in Portuguese," *Studi sull'ebraismo italiano* (Rome 1974), 159-184; ID., "A Shield of Selomo in Portuguese and Spanish," in *Philologica Hispaniensia in Honorem Manuel Alvar* (Madrid 1986), vol. 3, 501-516.

Jewish liturgy contained in the late 15th century manuscript which hypothetically surfaced at Quintanar c. 1583. After completing my survey of the Jewish core prayers I shall proceed to explore and situate the prayers not directly derived from the Sephardic prayer book.

18. JEWISH AND “JEWISH” PRAYERS ³⁴⁴

18.1. *The Sema* ³⁴⁵

Early on in his second trial Francisco recited to the Inquisitors his telescoped version of Dt 6,4-9; 11,13-21; Nm 15,37-41. These, together with the intercalated “Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and aye” (cf. Ps 72,19) constitute the core of Jewish prayer known by its first word as “the *sema*.”

Let us first turn to the 1524 Spanish Edict of Faith, proclaiming heretics those who:

[...] Say Jewish prayers, especially the prayer beginning *sema ysrael 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 [...].

then to the second *proceso* of Francisco de Mora Molina:

[...] He and his father would face the east, feet together, sometimes standing, at other times on their knees and they would not take steps backwards or forwards [...]. When one says the *sema* one covers one's eyes while reciting all the following words: *sema ysrael Adonai marru cer quevo maduço laolan defe*. ³⁴⁶ In the prayer *Salmo cantos* one covers one's eyes with the hand in

³⁴⁴ I present the prayers “confessed” by Francisco de Mora Molina in the order of their appearance in his second *proceso*.

³⁴⁵ In this section, I have separated the transliterated words in conformity with the Hebrew they attempt to reproduce. It is, after all, impossible to determine to what extent the inquisitorial scribes are responsible for the garbling of what they heard the defendants recite in Hebrew. In any case, whether or not the defendants would have done any better, with one exception, word division or amalgamation is the scribes' doing and *ipso facto* of no interest to scholarship. The exception is Juan de Mora's autograph version. Where the scribe's transcript properly separates the Hebrew words, I so indicate.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Ferrara 1552, 21r: *La Semah: semah ysrael A[donai] Elohenu A[donai] ehad baruch sem kebod malchutho leholam vahed*. The implications of the fact that the Hebrew of these and

the same way, beginning this prayer only with these two words *Salmo canto* and, as he said before one does not take steps backwards or forwards during the time that these prayers are being said. At the close of those he mentioned – not any others – one takes three times three steps backwards and forwards, placing each foot half as far as the other, as in a jig [...] During the *Sema* prayer, when he and his father recited it they put their feet together. Their body and head would be inclined during the whole prayer. Other prayers didn't have a fixed ceremonial except putting one's feet together and facing east in front of a window without a grating or a cross [...].³⁴⁷

and finally to the trial of Juan de Mora:

Dice: es verdad, Señor, que yo sé esa oración que se dice el sema y que lo sabe desde el año de 79 e se la enseñó Diego de Mora su padre y que la misma oración saben Francisco de Mora, María de Mora. Y que todos y cada uno dellos saben la d[icha] oración del sema y se la ha oído y visto decir y que a todos la enseñó el d. Diego de Mora, su padre [...].³⁴⁸

As we can see from the Edict of Faith and what follows, the Spanish Inquisition also considered *sema ysrael Adonai* to constitute the Jewish (and *ipso facto* heretical) “prayer” *par excellence*. Probably unbeknown to the Inquisitors, Jesus proclaims Dt 6,4-5 “the first commandment:”

[...] ‘Which commandment is first of all?’ Jesus answered: ‘The first is, “Hear O Israel the Lord our God the Lord is One. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, with all thy mind and with all thy strength” [...]’ The second is this: ‘Love thy neighbor as thyself.’ There is no other commandment greater than these.³⁴⁹

In any case, Inquisitor Dr. Francisco de Arganda in 1592, after hearing Leonor Ruiz recite *Sema Israel Adonai enloeno Adonai ga. Maro sem qvo malhuço leolam pae*, exclaims: *¿Que quieren decir aquellas palabras extraordinarias de la oración del sema?*³⁵⁰

other phrases appears transliterated in the Ferrara prayer book of 1552 will be thoroughly addressed further on.

³⁴⁷ See AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 490-491, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [86r^o-v^o] (o.S.p.).

³⁴⁸ See ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, *proceso* of Juan de Mora, f. 176v; cf. ADC leg. 315, no. 4562 (first *proceso* of Francisco de Mora Molina), f. [25], preliminary denunciation by Juan de Mora, dated May 4, 1588, copied from his *proceso*. Not cited by Révah or Amiel.

³⁴⁹ Mk 12,28-32; cf. Mt 22,36-38. Amiel, apparently unaware of Jesus' pronouncement in Mark, cites Luke's indirect attribution (10, 25-38), mistaking the verse number 25 for the chapter number. See AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 546.

³⁵⁰ See ADC leg. 551, no. 6918, September 1, 1590. Leonor replied that her grandfather,

References to and transcriptions of just Dt 6,4 and the ensuing intercalation –in Hebrew, Catalan and Castilian– but without more, are found in the denunciations and confessions of the Spanish Inquisition from its very inception.³⁵¹ From the surviving Mora *procesos*, Révah selected seven containing fragments (in two cases only scraps) of “the *sema*” in its entirety. In one case (María de Mora) the version recited by the defendant and the version in her sentence are distinct (the latter conflated with a sibling’s *proceso*), making for a total of eight versions in seven *procesos*. My own perusal revealed fragments in the *procesos* of Catalina and Francisca de Mora (Francisco de Mora Molina’s sisters), Catalina de Villanueva (Francisco de Mora the Elder’s wife), María de Villanueva (Catalina’s sister and Francisco de Mora Molina’s mother), Lope de Mora “the Orphan” (Juan de Mora II’s son), Leonor Ruiz (Mari López de Mora’s daughter) and her husband Lope de Mora Carrillo (Lope de Mora’s son), María de Mora Carrillo (Juan de Mora II’s daughter). I noted its nominal and cursory presence in a few more, closely related to these fifteen; its total absence from about ten, selected at random. This by itself, considering its central and fundamentally important place in Jewish and presumably Marrano liturgy, is surprising. Though it smacks of an *argumentum e silentio*, may one venture the hypothesis that –except perhaps for *sema ysrael Adonai* and the first Spanish words of Dt. 5– it was unknown to most of the Moras victimized by the inquisitorial repression?³⁵²

As stated above, Révah repertoried eight versions of “the *sema*.” They are by Francisco de Mora Molina, his siblings Juan (1589), María (two versions), Luisa and Isabel (1588), his cousins Rodrigo del Campo (son of his late aunt, Isabel de Mora)

Hernando de Mora, had told her that *Adonai* means God and that she didn’t know the meaning of the other words.

³⁵¹ See J. RIERA I SANS, “Oracions en català dels conversos jueus. Notes bibliogràfiques i textos,” *Anuario de Filología* 1 (1975), 345-367: *Ojes, Israel, Adonai nostre Déu* (Valencia 1481); *Oies Ysrael, Adonai nostro Déu. Adonai hu* (Valencia 1491); *Samma Israel Adonai Elohenu Adonai hahat. Baro sem quevot malfotot leolam vahet, Adonai* (Valencia 1492); *Hoies Israel lo Senyor Déu nostre és un tot sol. Beneyt es lo nom de la sua glória ara e per tostemps. Amén. Amarás lo Senyor Déu nostre de tot ton cor, de tota ta ànima, de tota ta pensa [...]. Samay sarael Adonai alaeno Adonai asat [...] sem cabotum machotum e olam vaet* (Valencia 1520). It should be noted that the only Catalan word for God is *Déu*, without distinction between Christians and Jews.

³⁵² Despite Diego de Mora’s reported missionary activity, an almost complete version of “the *Sema*” (beyond the initial words *Sema Ysrael Adonai* is found only in the introductory denunciation by Lope de Vega (son of Elvira de Mora) in AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8, Francisco de la Vega I).

(1591) and Juana (daughter of his late uncle, Hernando de Mora) (1588). Révah chose not to include Francisco de Mora Molina's sisters Francisca and Catalina and no doubt overlooked Francisco de Mora the Elder's wife Catalina de Villanueva (all 1589). Even among these ten defendants –who presumably recited it for years during their private devotions³⁵³– only Francisco de Mora Molina, his sister Catalina, his aunt Catalina de Villanueva and first cousin Rodrigo del Campo come up with fairly fleshed out and quite coherent –albeit telescoped– versions. Yet the less extensive versions of other defendants are, not where they overlap, independent of the lengthier ones and, where independent, complement them.³⁵⁴

Juan de Mora (Francisco de Mora Molina's brother) uniquely introduces his version of “the *sema*” by:

Alabado seas Tú Señor que nos escogiste más que a otra gente con amorío de Tu santísimo nombre.³⁵⁵

This blessing is obviously an extract from and conflation of the traditional text preceding the *sema*, which in the Ferrara prayer book runs:

[...] y en nos escogiste más que en todo pueblo [...] y allegástenos nuestro rey para tu nombre el grande con amor [...] y para amar a Tu nombre. Bendicho Tú Adonai el escogién en su pueblo Israel con amor.³⁵⁶

The interesting variant is *amorío* where the Ferrara prayer book has *amor*. The synonym *amorío* in a non-sexual sense, first attested in a 13th century work, apparently went out of use before 1600.³⁵⁷ We have here a first indication that

³⁵³ Except for Francisco's pedagogical visits to the upstairs room with his father we are not aware of any family prayer sessions. In fact Francisco's brother Juan and his sister Francisca specifically state that there were none.

³⁵⁴ Opp. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 161 and the note on p. 455, which is a *non sequitur*.

³⁵⁵ See ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, May 4, 1588, copied as a denunciation in *proceso* of his brother Francisco de Mora Molina, ADC leg. 315, no. 4562, f. [27]).

³⁵⁶ Ferrara 1552, 21r

³⁵⁷ The *Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española* (Madrid 1986) has no example later than 1501. I do not believe it ever occurs in the Ferrara prayer book and in the Ferrara Bible, but see it in *Escorial Bible I.ii.19* (M G. LITTLEFIELD, ed.) (Madison, WI 1992) [hereafter: E19] (Hebrew based, directed to Jews): 2Sm 13,15, for *ahabah* in a sexual sense, where the Ferrara prayer book has *amor*. It is also found there in *Biblia Ladinada Escorial E.j.3* (M. LAZAR, ed.) (Madison, WI 1995) [hereafter: E3]. It occurs twice in the surviving Genizah fragment from a manuscript Spanish translation of Sephardic prayers –hypothetically dated late 15th century– published by F. FITA, “Fragmentos de un ritual hispano-hebreo del siglo xv,” *BRAH* 36 (1900), 85-89: 85, 86. The fragment is of the *musaf* ‘*amidah* of *Rosh hodesh*. In both cases, the Ferrara prayer book provides *amor*. It also occurs in Ms.

the Quintanar “*sema*” was lifted from a Spanish prayer book, which was not the Ferrara prayer book of 1552. None of the versions has Dt 6,4 in Spanish.

Two *procesos* provide a text reproducing the entire Hebrew verse:

sema ysrael adonai enloeno adonai ga (Leonor Ruiz, wife of Lope de Mora Carrillo).³⁵⁸

sema ysrael adonai eloenu adonai ga (Lope de Mora Carrillo, *el de la Redecilla* or *el casado*).³⁵⁹

sema ysrael loen adonai aste (Catalina de Villanueva).³⁶⁰

Five (Francisco de Mora Molina and his two sisters Luisa and Isabel, María de Mora Carrillo, Lopo de Mora the Orphan) provide the first three words in Hebrew (*sema ysrael Adonai*), as in the Edict of Faith³⁶¹; two (Francisco’s siblings Juan and Maria) give the first two words only (*sema ysrael*).

The intercalation that follows (Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom

2015 of the University of Salamanca, hypothetically dated 1440-50, *Suma de casos de consciencia*, ed. and publ. by M. LAZAR under the title *Sefer Tesubah* (Culver City, Ca. 1993), 77: *todo amorio que es acogado [...] el amorio que es decolgado* (‘any love which is dependent on a consideration [...] love which is free from ulterior interest’), translating *Sayings of the Fathers* 5, 19.

³⁵⁸ See ADC leg. 551, no. 6918, March 3, 1592. The words are correctly spaced in the transcription. The defendant first claims illiteracy and not to have books but goes on to declare her possession of *Espejo de Consolación* (which she brought from her father’s house in Alcázar to Quintanar) and some books of Hours, which she bought in a bazar (*sic*).

³⁵⁹ Among the introductory denunciations in ADC leg. 551, no. 6918 (Leonor Ruiz), ADC leg. 331, no. 4733 (Juan de Mora Carrillo, posthumous) and ADC leg. 329, no. 4703b (Francisco de Mora Carrillo, posthumous), respectively wife, father and brother of Lope de Mora Carrillo, are extracts from the latter’s no longer extant *proceso*. *Redecilla*: ‘hair net’. Cf. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 106.

³⁶⁰ I have copied this and the rest of Catalina’s “liturgical deposition” *in extenso* from her own *proceso*: ADC leg. 328, no. 4705. Cf. Leonor Enríquez (ADC leg. 327, no. 4691, September 15, 1590): *Sema Ysrael enloyado na gesta manos en quevoz*. No doubt *enloyado* represents *elo-henu*. Cf. Alonso del Campo (*proceso* lost but extracts in the posthumous one of his first wife, Isabel de Villaescusa ADC leg. 330, no. 4722): *Sema ysrael Adonai noe, noeno*. Here we also recognize *elohenu*.

³⁶¹ Amiel (“Marranisme” II, 494-495) proposes a far-fetched explanation of this abbreviation. He posits a desire on the part of [some of?] the earliest Marranos to avoid the trinitarian resonance of “Hear Israel the Lord our God the Lord One” by relegating the suppressed words to “mental amplification.” A Church Father, whom I have so far been unable to identify, proclaimed this verse significant of the Trinity. See MAIMONIDES, *Treatise on Resurrection* (New York 1982), 21-22.

for ever and aye ³⁶²) appears only in garbled Hebrew transcribed in Latin letters. ³⁶³ Seven defendants recite all six words of the Hebrew text; two defendants, four words; one defendant, three words ³⁶⁴:

Maru sen qvo maduço leolam pae (Leonor Ruiz). ³⁶⁵

Maru sen qvo maruço laalam bel (Lope de Mora Carrillo, *el de la Redecilla* or *el casado*).

Maru cer quevo maduço laolan defe (Francisco de Mora Molina). ³⁶⁶

Maru (s)en quevoz maduzor laolom pare (Catalina de Villanueva). ³⁶⁷

Maro (s)en quevoz maduor tan pare (Isabel de Mora).

Mandu cen quevoz madusor laolan pael (Alonso del Campo). ³⁶⁸

Mazu cen quevo maduço laolan pare (Lope de Mora “the Orphan”, Juan de Mora II’s son). ³⁶⁹

³⁶² *Kebod* may have been pronounced *kevod* and *malhuto*, *malhuço* in (parts of?) medieval Spain.

³⁶³ In my reproduction of the inquisitorial scribe’s often incorrectly spaced transcriptions I have separated the garbled words in conformity with the Hebrew they attempt to reproduce.

³⁶⁴ I have added the versions of Francisca de Mora and Leonor Enríquez from their respective *procesos* (ADC leg. 314, no. 4555 and leg. 327, no. 4691) and Lope de Vega’s from the *proceso* of Francisco de Vega (AHN, leg. 187, n° 8).

³⁶⁵ The words are correctly spaced in the transcription.

³⁶⁶ *Preguntado que quieren decir aquellas palabras contenidas en el principio desta oración donde dice maru cer quevo maduço. Dijo que no sabe que quieren decir las dichas palabras. Ni sabe de que lengua son, más de que las deprendió este confesante como se las enseñó el dicho Diego de Mora su padre e que si de alguna lengua son, que serán de la lengua ebreá, aunque este no las entiende.* See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [32v].

³⁶⁷ Curiously, Catalina de Villanueva first recites for the Inquisitor her Hebrew text, “her hand put on her eyes”: *Sema Israel loen adonai aste mar sen quevoz maduzor laolam pare*. Then she makes the following aside for the Inquisitor’s benefit: *Y dijo son nombres del Señor, bendito sea El*. Then, after reciting *Amarás Adonai tu Dios con todo tu corazón, con toda tu ánima, con toda tu hacienda* she makes another aside: *Señor, sacadme de la sima, sacadme del infierno*. See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705.

³⁶⁸ ADC leg. 330, no. 4722, Isabel de Villescusa, preliminary denunciations.

³⁶⁹ ADC leg. 322, no. 4635. Aged 52 in 1592, Lope ultimately confessed “ritual” slaughter and three Judaic prayers taught him c. 1562. His sentence to three years in the galleys was lengthened to five (plus a hundred lashes); three members of the *Consejo* voted for execution. He

Maro (s)en qevo mazigo (Francisca de Mora).

Madugo laulan pare (Lope de Vega).

Maro (s)en queboz (Juan de Mora, Francisco de Mora Molina's brother).

Does its garbled nature necessarily indicate that we are dealing with an orally transmitted formula "from way back" (1391?), which degenerated in the course of time? Before considering this question, let us formulate another, to which we have already replied "no" above. Do the *sema* and other fragments in the *procesos* of Francisco de Mora Molina, his siblings, aunt and cousin relate to Ms. Cassuto, Venice and Ferrara prayer books and Ferrara Bible?³⁷⁰ Could the Quintanar texts derive from these printed versions by way of contacts between Spanish New Christians and the Sephardi communities of Italy? Alternatively, do they differ to such an extent that an independent translation from Hebrew is a conjectural possibility? As far as the Quintanar *sema* fragments are concerned we may confidently dismiss the Ferrara Bible as a possible source. This presents Dt 6,4 only in Spanish (*Oye Ysrael Adonai nuestro Dio Adonai uno*) and of course does not have the intercalation "Blessed be the Name of His glorious kingdom for ever and aye." For similar reasons we can eliminate the bilingual Venice prayer book which gives both Dt 6,4 and the intercalation (*Bendito nombre de onra de Su reino para siempre jamas*) in Spanish and in Hebrew without transliteration. Moreover, the Venice prayer book does not contain the Grace after Meals, part of the Quintanar liturgy. Now Ms. Cassuto has Dt 6,4 followed by the intercalation in transliterated Hebrew: *semah .j. .a. eloheno .a. ehad // baruh sem quebod malhuço leolam vaet* and the Ferrara prayer book has *Semah ysrael Adonai Elohenu Adonai ehad: baruch sem kebod malchutho leholam vahed*. Yet, after comparing the Spanish of the *sema* and other fragments of the traditional Sephardic liturgy confessed by some of the Mora defendants with that of the Ferrara prayer book, both my predecessors have correctly concluded that they are independent of one another.

Let us assume, for argument's sake, that the Ferrara prayer book, or fragments copied out from it, or a manuscript version with the correctly transliterated Hebrew phrases, had been available to Diego de Mora and (some of?) his siblings. Let us further hypothesize that they taught them to their children, grandchildren and other relatives, i.e., made their pupils learn them by rote, only as early as, say in 1579 (assuming that Diego died in 1581). It would be quite natural for Diego's relatives

purportedly "continued and reiterated" Judaism in his cell.

³⁷⁰ See H. P. SALOMON, "Was There a Traditional Spanish Translation of Sephardi Prayers Before 1552?," *The American Sephardi* 6 (1973), 78-97.

Fig. 4. Page of Autograph Transcription of Prayers by Juan de Mora (Courtesy Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca).

(who obviously had no Hebrew) to retain them imperfectly and, a decade or so later, to reproduce them imperfectly for the inquisitor. How to explain, on the other hand, the uniform substitution of M for B as the initial letter of *baruh*, the transformation of the first two syllables of *malhuço* into *madu*, common to all but three reciters?³⁷¹ Are these errors indicative of faulty oral transmission? Perhaps so, but one could also posit the intervention of intermediate copyists unfamiliar with Hebrew (except for the words *sema ysrael Adonai* known from the Edicts of Faith), who then diffused erroneous readings. It seems likely, though, in view of the relative correctness of Leonor Ruiz's version that the greater corruption of the others is not due to erosion but rather to the incompetence of inquisitorial scribes.

Now let us examine the ensuing Spanish text. To some extent, it also has become garbled, less so, of course, than the transliterated Hebrew, because Spanish is the reciters' native tongue. Are we asked to believe that this evolution is also due to oral transmittal from generation to generation? And, if so, how far back can it be traced?

Looking at the eight Quintanar *sema* texts provided by Révah & Wilke in parallel columns, alongside the Ferrara prayer book.³⁷² I note that Rodrigo del Campo's, at times less complete than Francisco's, at times fills in the latter's blanks. To a lesser degree, this is also the case with Aunt Catalina's, María de Mora Carrillo's, Leonor Ruiz' and other versions not recorded by Révah & Wilke or Amiel. Rodrigo, as we have seen above, had recent access to a written compendium.

Let us consider a conflation of the first part (Dt 6,4-9):

Amarás Adonai tu Dios con todo tu corazón y con toda tu ánima y con toda tu hacienda. Tomarás estas palabras que te mando el día de hoy sobre tu corazón, vezándolas a tus hijos, por departir en ellas en tu palacio y en tu casa y en tu morada, cuando fueres por camino, cuando te echares, cuando te levantes. Apretarlas has por señal sobre tus manos, serán por divisa delante de tus ojos. Escribírlas as sobre los umbrales de tus puertas.

The interpretation 'possessions' for Hebrew *meod* ('might') is a Jewish feature³⁷³ but *hacienda* is unusual. *Hacienda* is found in all versions but one.³⁷⁴ All

³⁷¹ I am assuming that the Moras' manuscript source had *malhuço* as does Ms. Cassuto. The transliteration of *dagesh-less tav* as "ç" is common in manuscripts of Spanish provenance.

³⁷² "La liturgia crypto-juive," 1-10. There are two versions, with variants, in the *proceso* of Francisco's sister María: one in her confession and one in her sentence.

³⁷³ See Mishnah, *Berakhot* 9,5.

³⁷⁴ The unique (but correct) variant *voluntad* ('will') is found in ADC leg. 322, no. 4635

the mid-16th century printed translations provide *aver* (*haber*), a synonym of *hacienda*.³⁷⁵ Equally surprising is *departir* ('to converse'), where all Hebrew based Spanish Bibles and prayer books known to me translate the Hebrew verb DBR by forms of the more common synonym *fablar* or *hablar*.³⁷⁶

Most surprising of all is *en tu palacio* in the sense of 'in thy sitting-room' or 'drawing-room,'³⁷⁷ translating the Hebrew gerundive *be-shibtekha* ('when thou sittest') as if it were a noun introduced by a preposition of place.³⁷⁸ While *palacio* does occur in published Spanish Bibles and prayer books as the equivalent of Hebrew *debir* ('inner shrine'), not one – to the best of my knowledge – has it at Dt 6,7.

We move on to a conflation of the second part (Dt 11,13-21):

Serán si lo oyéredes los mandamientos que yo encomendo a vosotros el día de hoy para amar al Señor vuestro Dios y para servirlo con todos vuestros corazones y con todas vuestras ánimas. Dará lluvia en vuestras terras en

(Lope de Mora the Orphan). Lope de Vega (AHN, leg. 187 n° 8) *con toda tu hacienda y con todas estas fuerças*.

³⁷⁵ Alba, however, has *poderío* –which could mean either 'power' or 'possessions;' the 15th century E3 and *Escorial Bible I.I.7* (M. G. LITTLEFIELD, ed.) (Madison, WI 1996) [thereafter: E7] (Hebrew based, directed to Christians) have *poder* ('power'); the 15th century E19 has *aver*.

³⁷⁶ *Departir* occurs in ADC leg. 322, no. 4635 (Lope de Mora the Orphan); ADC leg. 321, no. 4627 (Rodrigo del Campo); ADC leg. 330, no. 4722 (Alonso del Campo in Isabel de Villescusa). This part of Dt 6,7 is missing from the other versions. The word, still current, is attested from the 12th century onwards. See J. COROMINAS and J. A. PASCUAL, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico* (Madrid 1980), s.v. *parte*.

³⁷⁷ See RAE's *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (Madrid 1970): *sala principal en una casa particular* ('main room in a private house'). The Academy limits this meaning to "the ancient kingdom of Toledo and Andalucía." Cf. COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, s.v.: *cuarto de una casa* ('room in a house'); *habitación de la planta baja* ('room on the lower floor'); *sala de reunión* ('meeting room'). Corominas provides 14th-17th century examples and indicates these meanings as still locally current. Cf. many examples in BEINART, *Records of the Trials*, 1: 21, 54, 55, 56, 203, 324, 360, 469; 2: 67, 213, 343, 552-3, 569; and 3: 31, 32, 33, 34, 44, 46, 47 (palauelo), 73, 100, 103. Hernando de Mora "Pastor" in his 1591 *proceso*, describing a clandestine Bible study session led by Rodrigo del Campo, situates it in *el palacio de las casas de Alonso del Campo* ('in the drawing-room of Alonso del Campo's houses'). See ADC leg. 330, no. 4707 (June 23, 1591). Similarly, Alonso del Campo *el mozo* situates these sessions in *el palacio grande de la dicha casa*. See ADC leg. 325, no. 4654 (August 21, 1591). See ADC leg. 324, 4647 (Isabel de Mora, *la Ciega*), September 17, 1590. "Asked where her father taught her [the prayers], she replied *en su casa, en un palacio de ella, estando solos, sin que persona ninguna oviese*" ('in their house, in one of its rooms, alone by themselves, out of earshot').

³⁷⁸ "La liturgie crypto-juive," 4, the versions of María de Mora and Rodrigo del Campo to which I add the version of Lope de Mora the Orphan (Juan de Mora II's son) (ADC leg. 322, no. 4635).

sus tiempos, tempranas y serenas ³⁷⁹ y cogeréis vuestros ciberas y vuestros mostos y vuestros aceites. Dará yerba en vuestros campos para vuestras bestias, para vuestros ganados; comeredes y hartávosedes y seredes hartos. Guárdaos no se trastornen vuestros corazones y vuestras voluntades a servir dioses ajenos, ni os humilledes a ellos. Airarse a la saña del Señor contra vosotros y estreñirse an ³⁸⁰ (restreñirá ³⁸¹) los cielos y no será lluvia en la tierra no dará su fruto y perdérosedes ayna sobre la tierra buena [...] Porque se acrecienten tus días y los días de tus hijos sobre la tierra que juró el Señor de darla a sus antecesores tanto cuanto los días de los cielos tuvieren sobre la tierra.

The most interesting equivalent is *estreñir* ('to shut up') for the Hebrew 'SR ('to be shut up'; 'to hold back'). Alba, E19, CP 1547, Ferrara and Venice prayer books, Ferrara Bible opt for the second meaning, using *detener*, both here and in the similar 1K8, 35. E8 ³⁸² has *cerrar* ('to close') and E7 *vedar* ('to obstruct') but E7 presents *estreñir* in 1K8, 35.

On to the conflation of the third section of the *sema* (Nm 15,37-41):

(Después de esas palabras dichas) habló Dios a Moisés y dijo: Habla a los hijos de Ysrael y diles que hagan para si cici sobre las alas de sus ropas por sus generaciones y pondrán (pongan) las alas sobre el cici hilo de cárdeno. Será a vosotros por cici y verlosedes y membrárvos eis de hacer todos los mandamientos. No os sigades en pos de vuestros corazones, en pos de vuestros ojos, por los cuales vosotros enmaleceredes en pos dellos. Haced los mandamientos que yo mandé a vosotros, por los cuales vosotros seredes santificados a vuestro Dios. Yo soy vuestro Dios (y vuestro criador) que saqué a vosotros de tierra de Egipto para ser a vosotros por Señor, porque yo soy vuestro Dios.

Jewish features of the Quintanar recitation include the untranslated Hebrew word *cici* (*ceci*, *cid*, *cici*, *cezies*) (fringe), which Ms. Cassuto transliterates *cecid* and the Ferrara prayer book *zizith*. Because Hebrew *kanaf* signifies both 'wing' and 'border' the Quintanar version, just as the Ferrara prayer book, mistrans-

³⁷⁹ María de Mora, Juana de Mora, Luisa de Mora. See "La liturgie crypto-juive," 5. Cf. *seruendas* in E19; *tardías* in Alba, E4, E7, CP 1547, Venice and Ferrara prayer books; *sorôdias* (= *serôdias*) in Ms. Cassuto. This Portuguese word is related to *serondas* or *seruendas* (= *tardías*). Of the latter, *serenas* is an obvious corruption. See COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, s.v. *serondo*.

³⁸⁰ ADC leg. 313, no. 4549 (María de Mora).

³⁸¹ ADC leg. 322, no. 4631 (María de Mora [Carrillo]).

³⁸² *Biblia Romanceada I.I.8* (M. G. LITTLEFIELD, ed.) (Madison, WI 1983) (hereafter: E8).

lates *kanfe* ('borders') by *alas* ('wings').³⁸³

The untranslated Hebrew word and the Hebraism *alas* aroused inquisitorial curiosity in the versions confessed by Juan de Mora (January 21-23, 1589):

Preguntado qué quiere decir aquella palabra cid contenida en la dicha oración del sema, que es la primera. Dice que le parece que el cid quiere decir defensa, aunque nunca le dijeron a este confesante lo que quiere decir lo que se contenía en esta oración. Ni lo preguntó a su padre que se lo enseñó.³⁸⁴

and by Rodrigo del Campo (October 7, 1591):

Preguntado sobre lo que quiere decir 'cici sobre las alas de sus ropas'. Dice en verdad no lo sabe. Otras palabras dificultosas tiene esta oración en el principio [...] aun que se las enseñaron, por ser dificultosas y no entenderlas, las ha dejado y las ha olvidado y las dejó casi luego.³⁸⁵

and by Francisco de Mora Molina (indeterminate date in 1591):

Questioned as to the meaning of those words in the prayer which say: 'Speak to the children of Israel and see that they make *ceci* and put the *alas* on the *ceci* a thread of purple (*e pondrán las alas en el ceci hilo de cárdeno*)³⁸⁶ it shall be to you a *ceci*' and as to its [that prayer's] language. He replied that he is saying what he said to the preceding question and that he knows no more than [that is] how he was taught.³⁸⁷

While the substitution of a euphemism for the brutal ZNH ('to go whoring after') is traditional in Spanish Jewish Bible translations of Nm 15,39, the choice of *enmalecer* is apparently an original Quintanar touch.³⁸⁸

³⁸³ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 495-496. In the Ferrara Bible the indiscriminate use of *ala* in the sense of both wing and border obtains in all Pentateuch occurrences of *kanaf*, but not thereafter. Alba, curiously, renders the word *sisit* by *alas* and *kanfot* ('borders') by *rincones* ('corners'): "*que fagan alas sobre los quatro [sic] rincones de sus paños [...]*."

³⁸⁴ See ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, Juan de Mora, May 19, 1588; copied as a denunciation in *proceso* of his brother Francisco de Mora Molina, ADC leg. 315, no. 4562, f. [27].

³⁸⁵ See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, Rodrigo del Campo, f. [161r].

³⁸⁶ Obviously, a corruption of *pondrán en el ceci de las alas hilo de cárdeno*.

³⁸⁷ AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 495. This author provides the original Spanish in n. 15, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704. For "the previous question" and Francisco's previous reply in the original Spanish, see below.

³⁸⁸ Cf. Alba: *yeredes*; E7: *atorcedes*; E19: *erraredes*; E8: *no pequen*; CP 1547, Venice prayer book: *escarrantes*; Ferrara prayer book, Ferrara Bible: *errantes*. All these are euphemisms.

18.2. *Bendito nuestro Dios* ³⁸⁹

The opening words: *[O] bendito nuestro Dios* here mark the transition from the *sema* to the final blessing preceding the ‘*amidah*. The Ferrara prayer book of 1552 has no transition at all; modern prayer books have three other words: *Adonai Elohekhem emet*. *Bendito nuestro Dios* are a Spanish translation of *barukh Elohenu*, which also occur in the liturgical acrostic *en Kelohenu* (‘None is like our God’). All except Francisco de Mora Molina follow up the opening words by the Spanish for *barukh Adonenu* (‘Blessed be our Lord’), as in the Hebrew liturgical poem. We find *O bendito (vos) nuestro Señor* and, surprisingly, *o bendito nueso Señor* (Juan de Mora, autograph). The archaic forms *nueso* and *vueso* of the first person plural and second person possessive pronoun do not occur in the Ferrara prayer book of 1552. ³⁹⁰ However, they still alternate with *nuestro* and *vuestro* in common parlance throughout the 16th and into the 17th century. ³⁹¹ Whereas in writing Juan de Mora provided *O bendito nu[eso] Dios*, in the course of his recitation he said *O bendito nuestro Dio*. ³⁹² This might point to the presence in his source translation (or, as Révah and Amiel would no doubt assert, in his inherited tradition) of the Jewish Spanish “singular” *Dio* (God) instead of the supposedly Christian “plural” *Dios*. ³⁹³ Further on in the

³⁸⁹ “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 10-15, reproduces *in extenso* in parallel columns Francisco de Mora Molina’s recited version; an oral and an autograph version from Juan de Mora’s *proceso*, the opening words only from Luisa de Mora’s and an autograph version from Rodrigo del Campo’s. AMIEL (“Marranisme” II, 548-552) reproduces only Francisco de Mora Molina’s text, providing between brackets some variants from Catalina de Villanueva’s.

³⁹⁰ See further on in Juan de Mora’s written version the archaic first and second person plural possessive pronouns *nueso* and *vuesos*. Here the recited version also has *nueso* but *vuestros* instead of *vuesos*. See “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 14.

³⁹¹ See Francisco de Mora Molina’s letters to Inquisitor Arganda: e.g., “*vuesa señoría*.” *Vuesa señoría* (*vueseñoría*), *vuesa merced* (*vuesarced*), *vuesa eminencia*, etc. remain common.

³⁹² Not, *pace* Révah, *O bendicho nuestro Dio*: cf. Ferrara prayer book of 1552, 47r: *bendicho nuestro Dio*. According to Révah’s transcription from the *proceso*, Juan used the older participle *bendicho* instead of the more modern *bendito* here as well as in his blessing for the slaughtering of animals. See “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 10, 33. I have ascertained that in all cases of Juan’s *proceso* where Révah reads *bendicho* the correct reading is *bendito*.

³⁹³ The earliest presently known document attesting to the common use of *Dio* or *el Dio* among Spanish Jews is the last will and testament of don Juda (Alba de Tormes, 1410), published by R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, *Revue Hispanique* 1 (1894), 197-199. Not a single medieval Spanish Bible produced by Jews 1200-1492, among the eight so far published, has *Dio* or *el Dio* instead of *Dios*. All of them are in Latin characters, directed to a Christian, mixed or Jewish audience. I am referring to E3, E4, E7, E19; MRAH (*Biblia Romanceada*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia Ms. 87, 15th Century, M. LAZAR, F. J. PUEYO MENA & A. ENRIQUE ARIAS, eds., Madison, WI 1994);

same “prayer” we are given the beginning of the ‘*amidah* (Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, God of our fathers) by two confessants in three slightly variant versions. They are *Bendito vos, Señor, Dios de mis parientes* [...] (Francisco de Mora Molina); *Bendito el Dios de mis padre[s]* [...] (Juan de Mora autograph); *Bendito el Dio de mis padres* [...] (Juan de Mora, recited).³⁹⁴ Comparing this last version with that of the Ferrara prayer book of 1552: *Bendicho tu A[donai] N[uestro] D[io] y Dio de nuestros padres*, we see that Juan de Mora’s source provides the common Jewish Spanish form *el Dio* which occurs *passim* in the Ferrara prayer book. To the best of our knowledge, neither *Dio* nor *el Dio* occurs again in the Quintanar liturgy.

Hard upon the *sema* follow –in the Hebrew text– 16 encomia of the Law,

‘emet, viyašib, venaḵon, veqayam, viyashar, vene’eman, ve’ahub, veḥabib,
veneḥmad, vena’im, venora’, ve’adir, umtuqan, umqubal, vetob, viyafe,

that the Venice prayer book of 1552 renders with masculine adjectives, apparently modifying the preceding *Dios* (God):³⁹⁵

Verdad y cierto y compuesto y firme y derecho y fiel y amado y querido
y cobdiciado y suave y temido y fuerte y aceitado y recibido y bueno y
hermoso,

whereas the Ferrara prayer book of 1552 uses feminine adjectives, modifying *la cosa esta* (*ha-dabar ha-ze*):

Verdad y cierta y compuesta y firme y derecha y fiel y amiga y querida y
cobdiciada y hermosa y temerosa y fuerte y aderesçada y recibida y buena
y hermosa.

BNM MS 10288 (*Biblia Romanceada*, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid Ms. 10288, F. J. PUEYO MENA, ed., Madison, WI 1996); Alba. *Dio* and *el Dio* alternate with *Dios* in the Spanish “Who would know” ditty recorded in the death-sentence of Tolosana Monçonis (Valencia 1512). See RIERA I SANS, “Oraçions en català dels conversos,” 351-352. It is only beginning in 1547 that *Dio* and *el Dio* completely evince *Dios* in Jewish scriptural and liturgical texts in Spanish. However, *Dio* occurs in the mid-15th century Castilian translation of the *Kuzari* (BNM, Ms. 17812), ed. M. LAZAR (Culver City, Ca 1990). It alternates with *Dios* in the mid-15th century *Sefer Tesubah*, ed. M. LAZAR (Culver City, Ca 1993) and appears in the late 15th century prayer book fragments published by Fita. M. MORREALE, “Libros de oración y traducciones bíblicas de los judíos españoles,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 29 (1962), 239-250.

³⁹⁴ Its repetition in the final summary (sentence) tends to confirm that we are not dealing with a scribal error.

³⁹⁵ This is also the case in Ms. Cassuto and *Siddur tefillot. A Woman’s Ladino Prayer Book*, ed. M. LAZAR (Culver City, Ca 1995), 38.

We see that the Ferrara prayer book translates both *na'im* and *yafeh* by *fermosa*, so the translator was able to give but 15 Spanish equivalents for the 16 Hebrew words.³⁹⁶ In all the Quintanar versions the adjectives are masculine. Catalina de Mora actually comes up with sixteen:

Verdadero, fiel, amado, puro, esmerado, abastado, acodiciado, amigable, residente, tremedible,³⁹⁷ gracioso, firme, derecho, cumplido, recibido,³⁹⁸ puro, de todas misericordias.

Francisco de Mora Molina has twelve:

Verdadero, fiel, amado, abastado, codiciado, residente, amigable, firme, gracioso, derecho, cumplido, esmerado.

As does Catalina de Villanueva, with one variant:

Verdadero, fiel, amado, puro, esmerado, abastado, acodiciado, gracioso, firme, derecho, cumplido, recibido.

Rodrigo del Campo, ten:

Verdadero, fiel, amado, amigable, gracioso, cumplido, firme, derecho, esmerado, santo.

Leonor Ruiz, seven plus a repetition:

Verdadero, fiel, amado, puro, esmerado, gracioso, recibido, esmerado.

Luisa de Mora (sister of Francisco de Mora Molina), six:

Verdadero, fiel, amado, esmerado, puro, de todas misericordias.

Juan de Mora, five:

Verdadero, fiel, amado, puro, de todas bondades.

Now, of Catalina's, Francisco's and Catalina's adjectives, one is peculiar to Jewish Spanish sources: *abastado* ('self-sufficient'), used throughout CP 1547, the Ferrara prayer book and the Ferrara Bible to translate the divine name *Shaddai* deriving, according to Maimonides, from *se-dai*: "He who is sufficient [unto Himself]."³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Ms. Cassuto has *doce* and Venice 1552 *suave* for *na'im*. Only the latter has the full total of 16 Spanish equivalents.

³⁹⁷ I do not find this form (= *tremebundo*?) indexed in any dictionary available to me. Lope de Vega has *temedible* in his list of eleven: *verdadero, fiel, amado, esmerado, abastado, acodiciado, temedible, gracioso, derecho, cumplido, recibido*.

³⁹⁸ This is Ferrara's prayer book translation of QBL.

³⁹⁹ See MAIMONIDES, *Guide* I, 65. See also Nahmanides on Gn 17, quoting Rashi and Maimonides, but adopting an alternate etymology: *shoded* ('victor') found in the commentary of

Shaddai does not occur in the Hebrew liturgical list of 16 encomia (which refer to the Law and not to the Divinity). Whoever was responsible for adding *abastado*—which can only translate *Shaddai*—assumed (as we have seen) that the encomia refer to the Divinity. He was no doubt trying to attain an equivalent number of Spanish synonyms (by no means an easy task; as we have seen even the Ferrara prayer book of 1552 did not make it). All seven recitations begin *verdadero, fiel, amado*; they are obviously from one and the same source, which did not observe the traditional order. Rather than a corruption due to faulty memorized transmission, it may well be a conscious or unconscious preference on the part of the original translator or copyist for *emet ve-emunah*, the sole adjectives following the *sema* in the evening service, which the Venice prayer book translates by *Verdad y fieldad* (cf. Ferrara's prayer book: *Verdad y verdad [sic]*).⁴⁰⁰ Only four of the Spanish equivalents (*firme, fiel, codiciado, recibido*) coincide with those of Venice or Ferrara prayer books, and the first one has been competently “normalized” from a substantive with adjectival value (*verdad*) into an adjective (*verdadero*).

Indeed, the “prayer” jumps from the morning to the evening service:⁴⁰¹

Esmera (a) aquestas (estas) palabras sobre nos (por)que vos sois (que tu eres) Adonai nuestro Dios, (y) nosotros somos (de) Yisrael vuestro (tu) pueblo.⁴⁰² El (tu eres el Señor) que nos redime(s) de mano de (los reyes y de mano de) nuestros (los) (es)forzadores, el que puso nuestras ánimas en la vida, el que nos libró de Faraón con señales y con pruebas; firió con su

Abraham ibn Ezra. We find *saddai* translated *abastado* as early as the 13th century (*La Fazienda de Ultra Mar*) and in E3, E7; E19 has *abondador*; Alba has either *abondoso*, “explained” between parentheses as *poderoso* (‘powerful’) or *todo poderoso* (‘almighty’). Curiously, *abondoso* appears in the second *proceso* of Elvira del Campo (session of July 5, 1591, included in the *proceso* of Inés del Campo, ADC leg. 320, no. 4620). See also ADC leg. 329, no. 4703b, f. 62. In an accusation, Monday and Thursday are referred to as “*días abondosos*” and thus suitable for fasting. Cf. M. ALVAR, *El Ladino, Judeo-español calco* (Madrid 2000), 127, 221-222. Fr. Luis de León translates the first of 31 occurrences of *Shaddai* in Job 5,17 (‘abastado’). In his commentary, he explains the word “*porque tiene en sí todo el bastecimiento del bien*.” See *Obras Completas Castellanas de Fray Luis de León* (Madrid 1957), 107, 119. A comparison of Job 5,17 in the Ferrara Bible (*He, bienaventurado varon que lo reprehende el Dio, y castiguerio del abastado no aborrezcas*) and his own version (*Ea, bienaventurado varón que lo reprehendió Dios, y castiguerio del abastado no aborrezcas*) shows that he obviously “borrowed” from the Ferrara Bible. (A thorough study of the Ferrara Bible’s influence on Fr. Luis de León’s translations of Job and Song of Songs “from the original Hebrew” is a desideratum.)

⁴⁰⁰ I owe this astute suggestion to a personal communication from C. Wilke.

⁴⁰¹ I conflate Francisco de Mora Molina’s and Rodrigo del Campo’s versions as found in “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 11 with those of Catalina de Villanueva and Catalina de Mora. Juan de Mora has only the initial five words followed by *Adonai*.

⁴⁰² Juan de Mora: *¿no es Ysrael vuestro pueblo?*

saña (a todos los primericios de Egipto), sacó a su pueblo de Ysrael a soltura de la partición de la Mar Bermeja. Allí vieron sus hijos sus barraganías, sus grandezas, todos a una boca dijeron.

Francisco de Mora's version, by way of haplography, skips a line. He goes from what "all said together," namely Ex 15,11 ("Who is like Thee, Lord, among the mighty, who is like Thee majestic in holiness"), to what "all praised and proclaimed together," namely Ex 15,18 ("The Lord shall reign for ever and ever"). This verse he confuses with Ps 93,1-3 from "Psalm Song for the Sabbath Day" ("The Lord reigns, he is clothed in majesty [...]"), (see below, 18.6) into which he moves, literally reproducing the wording he presents there.

From here a passage including a verse of the *Barukh Adonai* prayer, which also precedes the evening '*amidah*:

La gracia del Señor decienda sobre mí, sobre aquellos que dicen tres veces en el día: Bendito sea el Señor de día, bendito sea el Señor de noche, el Señor sea en mi echada, el Señor sea en mi leuantada.⁴⁰³

brings him to the '*amidah*. Juan de Mora has the variant:

Sea sobre mi, sobre aquellos que dicen tres veces en el día cados adonai.⁴⁰⁴

Catalina de Villanueva presents the following transition to the '*amidah*:

Allí vieron sus hijos sus barraganías. Adonai enreinó, Adonai enreinará.⁴⁰⁵ Con nos Adonai de Sabaod el que avodo las tres verías santas olas mismas loando que biendo los abastamientos del rei establead solo a su cavo a su morada.

The seemingly incoherent:

Con nos Adonai de Sabaod el que avodo,

⁴⁰³ Cf. the Ferrara prayer book, 61v-62r: *Bendicho A. en día; bendicho A. en noche; bendicho A. en nuestro echar; bendicho A. en nuestro levantar*. For the original Hebrew see *Sefer tefilat ha-ḥodesh ke-minhag qahal qadosh sefardim* (Leghorn 1928), 200-201. Amiel, for some reason, reckons these verses an improvisation of Francisco (see his "Marranisme" II, 549-550). However, Lope de Vega's version is almost identical.

⁴⁰⁴ Rodrigo del Campo's version does not include the Hebrew word *cados*. However, after finishing his recitation, he tells the Inquisitor "*que aora se acuerda que en esta oración había unas palabras que decían cados*" and that the word occurred twice more. See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. 161r. The expression *cados adonai* surfaces in the *proceso* of Francisco de la Vega II, alias Veguilla (AHN Inq. leg. 188, no. 1).

⁴⁰⁵ This is part of an expanded version of Ex 15,18, found *inter alia* in the prayer *yiru 'enenu* preceding the evening '*amidah* (see Ferrara 1552, 61 [i.e. 62] r-v: *A. rey, A. enrreyno, A. enrreynara*). On the form *enrreynar* instead of *reinar*, see below.

may reproduce part of *kados, kados, kados, A[donai] Seuaoth melo col haarez keudo* ('Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory,' [Is 6,3]), which precedes the *Shema*⁴⁰⁶. The Ferrara prayer book of 1552 (24r) has it in this transliterated Hebrew form only.⁴⁰⁷ The equally incoherent *tres verias santas* may be a corruption of *aterceantes*⁴⁰⁸, which we find both in the Venice and Ferrara prayer books of 1552 as the translation of *ha-meshalešim* ('who triple') in the *Qedushah* itself.⁴⁰⁹

Juan de Mora's *cados adonai* could be a reminiscence of the same verse. Francisco's recitation glides into the '*amidah* (I introduce the variants of Juan de Mora and Rodrigo del Campo and emphasize the Judaic archaisms it has in common with mid-16th century printed Jewish Spanish liturgy and Bible translations):

Señor, abri mi boca, para que *denuncie* tu loor. Bendito vos, Señor, Dios de mis parientes (el Dios [*Dio*] de mis padres), Dios de Abraham, Dios de Ysac, Dios de Jacob, el alto y poderoso [...]. Manpáranos⁴¹⁰ (Manpáranos) (Ampáranos), Señor, manparança⁴¹¹ de Abraham. Que tu eres *barragán* por sienpre, haces

⁴⁰⁶ The first half of the verse, including the Hebrew word for "hosts" (*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus dei sabaoth*) is also part of the Catholic mass (cf. Apocalypse 4,8).

⁴⁰⁷ The verse (invariably in transliterated Hebrew) is part of the *Qedushah* (Ferrara 1552, 24r, 53r, 85v). On p. 85v the last word is transcribed *kebodo*.

⁴⁰⁸ Compare *atercear* with modern Spanish *terciar*.

⁴⁰⁹ The *Qedushah*'s introduction to Is. 63 speaks of a "tripled *Qedushah* addressed to Thee by the holy Seraphim." The words *tres verias santas olas* occur as *tres perias santas olas* in Rodrigo del Campo's recitation. In reply to the Inquisitor's query, Rodrigo professes ignorance as to their meaning. Both Juan de Mora and Rodrigo del Campo profess ignorance as to the meaning of *cados*.

⁴¹⁰ *Amparo* and *amparar* alternate with *escudo* and *escudar* as the Ferrara 1552 and Ferrara 1553 equivalents of the Hebrew *magen* ('shield') and *ganen* ('to shield,' 'to protect'). CP 1547 and Venice 1552 prefer *mamparo* (*manparo*) and *mamparar* (*manparar*). Yet Jerónimo de Vargas and Duarte Pinel (editors of the Ferrara Bible) use *mamparar* in their dedication to the Duke of Ferrara. CP 1547 presents *manpar* [*sic*] in Gn 15,1 where Ferrara Bible has *amparo*. Both have *escudo* for *magen* in Dt 33,29. In E19 *manpara* translates *magen* in 2 Sam 22,3 and 31; *manparare* renders *ganoti* in 2 K 20,6. E3 has *manpares*, *manpraste*, *manpara*, *passim*. For *magen* Alba uses *defendedor* (Gn 15,1), *gualardon* (Dt 33,29), *escudo* (2 S 22,31), etc., never (as far as I can tell) *amparo* or any other form of this word. Ferrara Bible has *manparaste* in Job 1,10 translating a form of the verb *šokh* ('to fence'). CP 1547 translates *va-yisgor* ('he shut in') in Gn 7,16 *manparó* (all other occurrences: *cerró*) and Ferrara Bible, *cerró*.

⁴¹¹ *Manparança* translates all occurrences of *masakh* (covering) in CP 1547 and Ferrara Bible; E7 has *anparança* for *masakh* in Nm 3,25. E4 translates Hebrew *ma'on* ('refuge') in Ps 90,1: *anparança*. *Anparança de nuestra salvación* –translating *magen yis'enu* (shield of our salvation)– occurs in the 15th century *musaf Rosh ḥodesh* fragment published by Fita ("Fragmentos," 86).

descender la lluvia a (sobre) la tierra (para gobernar a todos los vivos) y nontifiques [= tonificas] los muertos con *piudades* muchas y grandes.

Ferrara 1552:

Adonai mis labios abrias y mi boca *denunciara* tu loor. Bendicho tu Adonai Nuestro Dio y Dio de nuestros padres, Dio de Abraham, Dio de Yshac y Dio de Yahacob, el Dio el grande, el *barragan* y el temeroso [...] rey ayudan y salvan y amparan [...] amparo de Abraham. Tu *barragan* para siempre [...] fazien descender la lluvia, governan vivos con merced, abiviguan muertos con *piudades* muchas [...].

Where Ferrara 1552 continues:

[...] Sustentan caydos y *melezinan* enfermos y soltan presos, y afirman su verdad a durmientes en el poluo. Quien como tu Señor de *barraganias*.

Francisco de Mora Molina recites:

[...] Que sostenéis a los caídos, medecináis los enfermos, soltáis los presos, firme sois en vuestra verdad [a] los que hacen el polvo de la tierra a vos Señor de las barraganías [...].

Rodrigo del Campo recites:

[...] Sostienes los decaídos, sueltas a los presos, medicinas a los enfermos. Cuan firme eres, Señor, que en la tu verdad atonontificas [= atonificas] los que haces del polvo de la tierra, Señor de las *barraganías* [...].⁴¹²

Juan de Mora:

[...] Y sueltas los presos, sostienes los decaídos, *melecinas* los enfermos [...].

I accept Amiel's suggestion that *los que hacen el polvo de la tierra* ('those who make the dust of the earth') is a corruption of *los que yacen en el polvo de la tierra* ('those who lie in the dust of the earth').⁴¹³ However, I would not attribute the confusion between *hazen el polvo* (Francisco), *haces del polvo*

⁴¹² "La liturgie crypto-juive," 13. The rubric on p. 12 mistakenly claims that Rodrigo's version is an autograph.

⁴¹³ AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 550. Amiel takes no notice of Rodrigo del Campo's "*los que haces del poluo de la tierra*."

(Rodrigo) and *yacen en el polvo* to faulty “marranic” transmission. I would submit that the faulty transmission is from the reciter to the fairly ignorant inquisitorial scribe who is, in my opinion, responsible for many errors of transcription of the (to him) unfamiliar words. Ferrara 1552’s “sleepers in the dust” (*durmientes en el polvo*) reproduces the Hebrew *lisene-* ‘*afar* more literally than *yacen en el polvo*. We may conclude that Francisco de Mora Molina’s and Rodrigo del Campo’s expressions derive from the same Spanish version, similar to, independent of and less servile in respect to the Hebrew than Ferrara 1552. It is impossible to precisely determine which of the following variants found in their *procesos* are attributable to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the scribes and which to the reciters’ faulty memorization of an imperfectly understood written text.

Rodrigo’s *nontifiques* and *atonontificas* are presumably (scribal?) corruptions of *tonificas los muertos* (‘Thou revivest the dead’) and *firme en la tu verdad atonificas* (‘for firm in Thy truth Thou revivest’), rendering literally the Hebrew *meḥaye* (‘who quickens’) and interpretatively *meqayem emunato* (‘who keeps faith with’). Rodrigo is the only liturgy reciter to use this word, which nonplussed the Inquisitor:

Preguntado lo que quieren dezir las palabras ‘nontifiques los muertos’, dize que no sabe lo que quieren dezir y que podía ser que se hayan corrompido yendo de unos en otros.⁴¹⁴

“Going from some to others” does not necessarily refer to *oral* transmission. Rodrigo repeatedly refers to a small booklet written by him, since lost. His elder brother, Juan del Campo owned a book from which he copied out unspecified prayers for his kinsmen and friends. This book he had brought with him from Quintanar to Alcázar.⁴¹⁵

Atonificar (or *tonificar*), to the best of my knowledge, never occurs in Ferrara 1552, which translates *meḥaye* by *abiuiquan* and, as we have seen, *meqayem emunato* by *afirman su verdad* without more (as does Francisco’s version: *firme sois en vuestra verdad* without more). Is it a 15th century archaism?⁴¹⁶ If so, this

⁴¹⁴ See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. [161r].

⁴¹⁵ See LEVINE-MELAMMED, “Judaizers and Prayer,” 276, 278; EAD., *Heretics or Daughters*, 160. She points out that the appearance of this book marks a new development: the mention of specific prayers in the confessions.

⁴¹⁶ *Tonificar*—defined *reanimar* or *reinvigorar*—appears in post-1800 dictionaries, but not in *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid 1726). I know of no example of its use other than the one at hand.

may explain the Inquisitor's (if not Rodrigo's) unfamiliarity with it. In any case, it fits the meaning of *meḥaye* like a glove.

However, farther along in the Quintanar *'amidah* of Francisco de Mora Molina, Juan de Mora and Rodrigo del Campo, there are several vestiges of archaic Spanish words also typical of the medieval manuscript translations and the published mid-16th century Jewish Spanish translations. Let us look at these:

Where Ferrara 1552 continues:

[...] Quien se asemeja a ti, rey matan y *abiviguan* y fazien *hermollecer* saluacion [...].

Francisco de Mora Molina and Rodrigo del Campo recite:

Quien hay que semeje a ti, Rey matador, *averiguador* (verdadero), hacedor de salvación.

We have here *averiguador*, a traditional deformation of *abediguador*, which is in turn a variant of *abiviguador* ('who gives life'), all words typical of Jewish translations.⁴¹⁷ Francisco continues:

El que ha de nacer con guisa de tu salvación, ayna le hagas nacer con tu salvación,

and Rodrigo has:

El que ha de nacer con guisa de vuestra salvación, ayna le hagais nacer [...].⁴¹⁸

We have here the ancient word *ayna* ('soon'), typical of 15th and 16th century Jewish texts. It was unknown to the Inquisitor, who questioned Rodrigo del Campo as to its meaning.⁴¹⁹ Though not used by Ferrara 1552 in the passage just cited, it occurs in a similar vein further on in Ferrara 1552's *'amidah*.

⁴¹⁷ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 496-497. Cf. *abeuigua sus muertos* in the mid-15th century Spanish translation of the *Kuzari*, ed. LAZAR, 137; CP 1547: *aḥaye* ('I make alive': Dt 32,39) translated *abedigo*; *ḥayatom* ('their livestock': Nm 35,3) translated *su abediguamiento*. The *Seder nasim es Sidur de mujeres en ladino para todo el año* (Women's prayer book in Ladino for the whole Year, in Hebrew characters) [Salonica; mid-16th century?] (hereafter: *Sidur de mujeres*), translates *meḥaye metim* ('who revives the dead') by *abediguan* (אבדיגואן) *muertos*. I have consulted a microfilm of this prayer book kindly sent me by the JNUL. See I. S. RÉVAH, *Annuaire EPHE IV. 1963-1964*, 195; also ALVAR, *El ladino, judeo-español calco*, 126, 198.

⁴¹⁸ Not included in "La liturgie crypto-juive."

⁴¹⁹ Rodrigo "explains" the phrase by substituting *presto* for *ayna*. See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. [161r]: "*Preguntado lo que quiere decir 'Él que ha de nacer con guisa de vuestra salvación ayna le hagas nacer'*; *dijo que quiere decir 'él que ha de nacer para salvación que Dios le haga nacer presto'*."

Juan de Mora recites:

El que ha de nacer con guisa de tu salvación, que en tu salvación denunciemos todo el día [...].⁴²⁰

The phrase: *que en tu salvación denunciemos todo el día*, corresponds to the Hebrew: *kilishu'atekha qivinu kol-hayom*.⁴²¹ Here now follows the rest of the Quintanar *'amidah* as recited by Rodrigo del Campo, where I emphasize close correspondence to the Hebrew text of, e.g., *Temunot* 1519⁴²²'s *'amidah*: the prayer blessing the years; the prayer "We acknowledge Thee"; the prayer "Establish peace" and the semi-final closing verse (Psalm 19,14):

Que haces con nosotros tus bienes en tarde, en mañana, en siesta. De loar no se acaban tus mercedes que de siempre son, él que ha de nacer con guisa de vuestra salvación ayna leagas nacer. Con plegaria perpetua sea nuestro fin, bien y vida, franqueza, hartura, paz como los años buenos. Párvete [?] santo Adonai enviador de buenos años y envíanos buenos años para tu santo servicio. Confiamos en ti, Señor, y recontaremos tu loor. Bendícenos Señor a todos en uno con luz de tu presencia.⁴²³ A nos distes Ley, vida, amor, justedad, piedad. Vieron tus ojos para bendecir a tu pueblo multiplicación de fuerza y de paz, amen con amen. Sean mentados⁴²⁴ los dichos de mi boca y la fabla de mi corazón ante ti Adonai mi Dios.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁰ "La liturgie crypto-juive," 13.

⁴²¹ Cf. Ferrara 1552: "*que a tu saluacion esperamos todo el dia*." Cf. Rodrigo's version: *que la salvación de vuestra grandeza ominamos todo el día*. See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, *loc. cit.*: "Questioned as to the meaning of *ominamos*, Rodrigo dijo que no lo sabe más que de esa misma manera le parece que se le enseñaron." *Ominar* ('to prognosticate') is found in the 1737 *Diccionario de Autoridades* and the 1970 ed. of the RAE's *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*. Cf. Lope de Vega: *omiliemos*.

⁴²² *Temunot teḥinot tefillot Sefarad* (Venice 1519) (hereafter: *Temunot* 1519) (unique copy in the library of the University of Leiden).

⁴²³ This line occurs in the "Establish peace" prayer and not, as Amiel would have it, in the prayer blessing the years.

⁴²⁴ The psalmist's verse (Ps 19, 15) is more literally rendered "*Sean voluntados los dichos de mi boca y la fabla de mi corazón ante ti, Adonai, mi criador y mi redemidor*" by Francisco de Mora Molina. Questioned as to the meaning of *mentados*, Rodrigo replied "*no sabe cierto*." One is surprised that Rodrigo, like Amiel, apparently fails to recognize the scriptural source of this liturgical verse. "*Mentados sean*" is found in the prayer confession of Apolonia de Barrionuevo, preceding the posthumous trial of Isabel de Villaescusa, Rodrigo's sister-in-law (ADC leg. 330, no. 4722). Apolonia is identified as the wife of Francisco Navarro (son of Inés de Mora) (opp. RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 107). Lope de Vega also has *mentados*.

⁴²⁵ See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627. Amiel ("Marranisme" II, 550-551) incompletely compares

Juan de Mora renders *muntificación de fuerza* and Rodrigo del Campo *multiplicación de fuerza* the expression *multiplicación de fuerza* ('multiplication of force' = massive power = Heb. *Be-rob* 'oz) (cf. Ferrara 1552: *muchedumbre de fortaleza*). The mispronunciation –perhaps analogous to the common 16th century (and later) nasalization of *mucho* (*muncho*, Ferrara 1552)– may be illustrative of the Quintanar translation's lexical distinctiveness.⁴²⁶

Juan de Mora goes on to recite in Spanish translation the following, gleaned from two short centos of Talmudic sayings following the '*amidah* of the Additional Service for sabbath morning⁴²⁷:

Discípulos de los sabidores [Ferrara 1552: dicipulos sabios].

Habló Salomón con sabiduría [Ferrara 1552: dixo Selomoh con su sabiduria].

Dice 'más vale la buena fama que el buen olio' [Ferrara 1552: mejor nombradía más que olio bueno].

Apártete de aquesto mundo con buena nombradía [Ferrara 1552: y apartosse con fama buena del mundo].

Y sépate que la dádiva del galardón que dán a los justos es para (la) gloria del otro mundo [Ferrara 1552: y sabe dádiva de su precio de justos aparejado para venir].⁴²⁸

Verás hijos de tus hijos y paz sobre Israel [Ferrara 1552: y vee hijos de tus hijos paz sobre Ysrael].⁴²⁹

this paragraph of Rodrigo's version to Francisco de Mora Molina's. It is absent from "La liturgie crypto-juive," 14.

⁴²⁶ See "La liturgie crypto-juive," 14 and AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 551, n. 60. I note *montiplicats* in the Catalan version of the *Shema* confessed by Rafael Baró in 1520. See RIERA I SANS, "Oracions en català dels conversos," 355. Cf. Lope de Vega: *milidación, endicación*.

⁴²⁷ All except the last line are from the cento recited at all morning services.

⁴²⁸ Ferrara 1552 (1r, 86r) *aparejado para venir* ('ready to come') literally translates the Talmudic expression *le-'atid labo* but so does Ferrara 1552's *aplazado para venir* ('postponed to come') (156v). The Quintanar version agrees with Maimonides' interpretation. See Maimonides on "Sayings of the Fathers," 2, 20.

⁴²⁹ ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, January 23, 1589; the autograph version lacks the first lines. Juan's autograph version ends: *Paz Señor sobre mí, sobre todo mi linaje. Salud y paz, melecina buena sea para que Te sirva y Te alabe. Amen.*

18.3. *Somos obligados* ('alenu)

"The prayer 'We are obliged' –Francisco de Mora Molina informs the Inquisitors–, "is said immediately after the *sema* prayer and every time they say the *sema*, it is said with it."⁴³⁰

Amiel tells us that "After the *sema*, *Somos obligados* is the Marranos' most cited prayer."⁴³¹ While often referred to by its two opening words, it appears in nearly complete form in five depositions. They are those of Francisco de Mora Molina, of his cousins Rodrigo and Alonso del Campo and of his siblings Juan (once again in two forms, recited and autograph, with small variants) and Catalina. His aunt, Catalina de Villanueva and his sister María present an incomplete form, his sisters Luisa, Isabel and Francisca de Mora just the opening lines.⁴³² It is partly a faithful translation of the closing Hebrew prayer beginning with the word '*alenu* ('Upon us') and partly a cento from the liturgy following it.

The first Hebrew words of the '*alenu* prayer are '*alenu le-shabeakh la-adon ha-kol* ('It is upon us to praise the Lord of all'), rendered in Ferrara 1552: *Sobre nos para loar al Señor de todo*. The Quintanar Spanish version, however, begins:

Somos obligados (a) (de) alabar al Señor en todo y por todo.

A conflation of the Quintanar text runs as follows:

Somos obligados a alabar al Señor en todo y por todo, para dar grandía al Señor que crió el comienzo.⁴³³ Porque no nos hizo como a los gentíos (gentiles) de la tierra, ni puso nuestra parte como la de ellos.⁴³⁴ Porque

⁴³⁰ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 497-498, original Spanish of this remark (from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [35]) provided in n. 19.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.* It is referred to only by title (the opening words) "*Obligados somos*" along with "*El Sema*" and "*Canto grados*" in a number of closely related *procesos*. These three constitute the core of "Marrano liturgy" for most confessants.

⁴³² See "La liturgie crypto-juive," 15-18 (which does not include Catalina's, María's and Francisca's versions) and AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 552-554. Alonso del Campo's version is in the extracts from his *proceso* introducing, the posthumous one of Isabel de Villaescusa (ADC leg. 330, no. 4722, f. 20v), Alonso del Campo's first wife. On October 12, 1591 Rodrigo del Campo, in reply to the Inquisitors' question, declared he had learned *Somos obligados* from his sister Inés del Campo and from his maternal aunt Elvira de Mora. See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627.

⁴³³ Leonor Enríquez, Francisco de Mora Molina's wife, first cites the opening words *Somos obligados alabar al Señor* but goes on to recite *Somos obligados a dar grandía al Señor en todo y por todo que crió el comienzo y al fin*, this being all she could recall. See ADC leg. 327, no. 4691 (September 15, 1590).

⁴³⁴ Catalina de Mora, Rodrigo del Campo and Alonso del Campo add *segun sus suertes y*

ellos se humillan a vano y a vacío, hacen oración a dios que no [los] salva. Nosotros nos humillamos ante el rey de los reyes, el Señor de los señores, el santo y [el] bendito, que estendió los cielos y encimentó la tierra, morada y fortaleza. “Sabrás y tornarás a ⁴³⁵ (pensarás en ⁴³⁶) tu corazón que Adonai es el Señor, en los cielos de arriba y en la tierra de abajo no hay otro sino él,” ⁴³⁷ como está escrito en su (tu) ⁴³⁸ santa Ley.

and of the lines that follow (Francisco de Mora Molina, Catalina de Mora, Juan de Mora, Rodrigo del Campo, Alonso del Campo):

Esperaré en el Señor, demandalle he merced y gracia de lengua con ayuntamiento de gentes. Hablaré con cantar al varón que es la limpieza de mi corazón (amén, amén). Con la fraguación de la casa santa. amén. En nuestros días, amén. En nuestras noches, amén. En nuestra vida sea fraguada la ciudad de Sión, sea tu sacrificio en Jerusalén. Amén con amén. Con licencia de los presentes. Plega a tí, Señor, de engrandecer la Ley y de honralla. Por amor de los ataliantes de la tierra, administrame, Señor, en tus santas carreras.

There can be no doubt that “We are obliged” (seven reciters) derives directly from a single version of the Hebrew, not borrowed from Ferrara 1552. ⁴³⁹ It is also apparent that all the reciters are to the best of their ability quoting this text, competently translated or sensibly telescoped –with some omissions and accretions–

(sus) comunidades. Francisco keeps only the word *comunidades* of this spurious accretion that he may have consciously attempted to eliminate for what it is.

⁴³⁵ Francisco de Mora Molina (*tornarás en tu corazón*) and Catalina de Mora (*tornarás a tu corazón*).

⁴³⁶ Juan de Mora; Alonso and Rodrigo del Campo (*pensarás en tu corazón*).

⁴³⁷ Dt 4,39. Cf. E19 (15th century): *E sabras oy & tornarás a tu corazón que Dios es el Señor de los cielos de suso & sobre la tierra de yuso & non ay mas*; E7 (15th century): *Conosceras oy & farás tornar tu corazón que Adonay el es Señor en los cielos de suso & sobre la tierra de yuso & non ay mas*; CP 1547 and Ferrara 1552: *tornarás a tu corazón*; Ferrara 1553: *farás tornar a tu corazón*. Cf. the Vulgate based E8 (13th century): *Pues sepas oy & piensas en tu corazón que ell es Dios & Seynmor en el cielo de suso & en la tierra de yuso & non ha otro*. All Quintanar reciters except Rodrigo del Campo add the gloss (with slight variants) *todos los otros son desechados afuera de él*.

⁴³⁸ Where modern prayer books read *ka-katub ba-torah* (‘as is written in the Law’), all pre-17th century Sephardic prayer books I have consulted read *ka-katub be-toratekha* (‘as is written in Thy Law’).

⁴³⁹ Ferrara 1552 has, on p. 49v, *para dar grandeza a forman bereshit* and, on 291v, *para dar grandeza a crian bereshit*, leaving the transliterated Hebrew word untranslated. On *grandía* vs. *grandeza*, see below.

from Hebrew. How are we to account for all six reciters' rendering *le-shabeakh la-adon ha-kol* ('to praise the Lord of all') "to praise the Lord in all and for all?" Is this a corruption due to faulty oral transmission or a conscious improvement? ⁴⁴⁰ *Somos obligados* ('We are enjoined') is in any case a splendid, albeit interpretative rendering of the first word, '*alenu*, whereas the Hebraism *sobre nos* ('upon us') makes little or no sense to a person unacquainted with Hebrew.

The first two lines of the accretion:

"I shall hope in the Lord, I shall entreat Him for mercy and grace of tongue with gathering of people. I shall speak with singing to the man who is the cleansing of my heart".

come from the *Oḥilah la-El* prayer, which Ferrara 1552 renders:

Esperaré al Dio rogare sus piadades (fazes), demandaré dél respuesta de lengua que en congregación de pueblo cantaré su fortaleza, fablaré cantares (cánticos) por sus obras 'a (el) hombre ordenamientos (ordenanças) de coraçón, y de Adonai respuesta de lengua' [Pr 16,1]. ⁴⁴¹

The Quintanar version's *merced* correctly renders the difficult *panav*; *gracia de lengua* correctly renders *ma'aneh-lashon* and *ayuntamiento de gentes* renders *qahal-'am*. These renderings seem superior to Ferrara 1552's literal *fazes* (and even to its interpretative *piadades*); *respuesta de lengua* and *congregacion de pueblo*. Quintanar's *limpieza de corazón* for *ma'arkhe-leb* is an attempt at a "free" translation of a well-nigh incomprehensible scriptural expression.

⁴⁴⁰ As we shall see in the Grace (19.7) another occurrence of *ha-kol* is also so rendered. A *converso* on trial in Valencia in 1491 confesses to reciting in Catalan the *sema*, Psalm 91 and *Sobre nós pera loar al Senyor de tot pera donar grandea al creant principat*. A 15th century Catalan interlinear translation has *Sobre nós per loar al Senyor al tot, per donar grandea al criant lo principi*. See RIERA I SANS, "Oracions en català dels conversos," 349. A fragment of a Spanish prayer book translation in Latin characters from the Cairo Genizah hypothetically dated "second third of the 16th century," has a rubric referring to the recital of *Sobre nos para alabar* at the close of the service. See E. GUTWIRTH, "Fragmentos de siddurim españoles en la Guenizá," *Sef* 40 (1980), 389-400: 395. The *Sidur de mujeres* has: *Sobre nos para alabar a el Señor de lo todo por dar grandea a criador bereshit*.

⁴⁴¹ See Ferrara 1552, 292r and 349r. I have put the latter's variants between parentheses. While correctly identifying *oḥilah la-El*, Amiel ("Marranisme" II, 553) states that the words *Esperaré en el Señor* are the first of the '*al-ken negave lekha* prayer and that –"unless I am mistaken (*sauf erreur*)"– Ferrara 1552 does not contain that prayer. It is, however, found there on p. 292r-v (*Tephila de Roshasanah*) and begins: *Por tanto esperamos a ti*.

Alabado al señor de los cielos alabado en las alturas alaba-
 do todos sus ángeles alabado todas sus virtudes alabado los cielos
 de los cielos y las aguas que son sobre los cielos alaben el nombre del
 señor por que él dixo y todo fue fho mando y todo fue caído
 en tallo todas las cosas para siempre y por siempre para mandam
 y cumplir sea alabado al señor de la tierra las arbores
 y todos los arbores fuego y canido miue yelo y viento de la
 y enpestades hacen el mandam y el señor los montes y
 todos los collados azules y nevados y todos los cedros las
 bestias y todos los gallados las ser pientes y las aves que
 vuelan los rios de la tierra todos los pueblos los principes
 y los jueces de la tierra los magos y las virgenes los viejos con
 los muchachos en la don el nombre del señor por que solo su nombre es
 en el mundo la Confesion de su alabanza es sobre el cielo y la
 tierra y en el agua el peccado de su pueblo loz a todos sus san-
 tos alios hijos de ysaac el profeta que sellara el cantto al
 cantar nuevo su alabanza en la congregacion de los santos
 alegres de ysaac en aquel que el fizo y las hijas de sion se
 gozaron con su rey en su nombre en alto en su nombre
 p saltemus te canten por que el se alegra en su pueblo y en
 su sae para alios humilados se salud alegrar sean los santos
 en la gloria gozar sean y sus moradas las alegras de dios
 son en las torres y gargantas de ellos y terminan ellos en
 sus mannos cuchillos de dos filos para hacer vengam-
 za en las naciones para reprehender a los pueblos
 para poner a los fijos y prisioneros para apasionar a
 los sus nobles con es para de huerzo para q' hagan en
 ellos el juicio y instituido esto es gloria a todos sus santos
 lo ad alio en sus santos lo ad lo en la firmeza de su
 virtud lo ad lo en sus virtudes lo ad lo segundo la
 multitud de su grandeza lo ad lo en sen o
 de la gloria lo ad lo en praterio y en la lo ad lo en par-
 deo y en oro alabado en instrumentos de cuerda y
 y en organos alabado lo en can pomas de grande
 alegría todos se alab al señor

Fig. 5. Page of Autograph Transcription of Prayers by Rodrigo del Campo (Courtesy Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca).

This brief prayer follows the ‘*alenu* without transition in its two occurrences in the liturgical year, to wit in the middle of the *musaf* of the New Year and of the Day of Atonement. This is its location in Ferrara 1552 (292r, 349r), *Temunot* 1519 and, needless to say, in earlier manuscripts from Spain and Portugal.⁴⁴² It is not difficult to imagine that the Quintanar translator attached *oḥilah* to ‘*alenu* in the mistaken belief that these two prayers are inseparable. Ferrara 1552 instructs its users in a rubric that *oḥilah* is recited solely by the *ḥazan* (precentor) and not by individuals.⁴⁴³ Since it was recited exclusively by the *ḥazan*, *oḥilah* is certainly not a prayer that the average Jewish worshipper would memorize, let alone orally transmit down the ages – in Spanish translation, to boot!

Significantly, aside from *oḥilah*, there is no vestige of the New Year and Day of Atonement liturgy throughout the length and breadth of the Quintanar material. Of all the rich and melodious orisons and hymns of the High Holy Days, is it feasible that just this formula limited to the *ḥazan* should have stuck? Or is it more likely that our Quintanar denizens became acquainted with *oḥilah* thanks to a book that had mistakenly dragged it into its daily and sabbath orbit? Thus my hypothesis is bolstered that a written compendium –not an oral tradition– is the ultimate source of Francisco de Mora Molina, Juan de Mora and Rodrigo del Campo’s liturgical repertory.

The next addition, according to Francisco de Mora Molina:

Con la fraguación de la Casa Santa, amén. En nuestros días, amén. En nuestras noches, amén. En nuestra vida sea fraguada la ciudad de Sión, sea hecho tu sacrificio en Jerusalem, amén con amén,

and according to Juan de Mora (variant in oral and written versions between parentheses):

Amén, en nuestros (nuevos) días, amén. En nuestra (nueva) vida sea hecho sacrificio en Jerusalén,

⁴⁴² It goes back to Maimonides (*Sefer Ahabah*), see for instance Paris BN, Ms. Hébr. 591 (Spain, end of 13th century), 261r and 304r. In present-day Sephardic prayer books it immediately precedes the precentor’s repetition of the *musaf* of the New Year and of the Day of Atonement and of the ‘*amidah* of the closing service.

⁴⁴³ See Ferrara 1552, 292r: *Esto solo dize el hazan* (This is said only by the *ḥazan*). Cf. the rubric in 15th century manuscript prayer book from Spain (BL, Or. 5866, cat. no. 693 [289r]): “It is not for an individual to say *oḥilah*. Thus ruled R. J. A. [Rabbi Jacob son of Asher; cf. *Tur*, *Oḥ* 591] [...] An individual who wants to say it shall be stopped.”

and according to Rodrigo del Campo:

Amén, amén. En nuestros días, amén, amén. En nuestra vida sea fecha la fraguación de la Casa Sancta, sea fraguada la ciudad de Sión y fecho sacrificio en Jerhusalem, amén con amén.

corresponds to a part of the Sephardic Grace After Meals, which Ferrara 1552 renders:

Y fraguarás casa del santuario en nuestros días. Bendicho tu A., edifican por sus pidades Yerusalaim, amen. Ayna en nuestros días amén; en nuestras vidas (nuestros días) sea fraguada ciudad de Zion y sea compuesto el servicio en Yerusalaim. ⁴⁴⁴

The Hebrew word *'abodah* neutrally and literally rendered 'service' in Ferrara 1552, is expertly taken to mean 'sacrificial cult' by the translator of the Quintanar liturgy. The "amen" preceding "in our days" in all three versions is perhaps a left over from the blessing which was (accidentally?) omitted when this prayer was lifted out of the book containing it. ⁴⁴⁵ We have here yet another indication of the closeness of the Quintanar liturgy to a written source and the improbability of its oral transmission over the centuries.

The verb *fraguar* and its derivative *fraguación* deserve special attention. In modern Spanish dictionaries the verb has all senses of English 'to forge' or French 'forger.' In the sense of 'to build,' *fraguar* is characteristic of 16th century Jewish texts e.g., CP 1547; Ferrara 1552 and its derivatives. In Ferrara 1552 and Ferrara 1553, it alternates with *edificar*, but *fraguar* predominates and, in CP 1547 and the Pentateuch of Ferrara 1553, is used exclusively. ⁴⁴⁶ There are no known examples of its use in this sense in post-

⁴⁴⁴ See Ferrara 1552, 461r and 481r. I have included the variant between parentheses. This part of the Sephardic Grace has been subject to editing, suppressions and accretions and was, in due course, excised from the Amsterdam editions and its derivatives. It survives, however, in 20th century Leghorn editions and their derivatives. See H. GUEDALIA, "The Restoration of the Temple Service: A Sephardic Approach," *The American Sephardi* 5 (1971), 84-90: 87.

⁴⁴⁵ This is one of the rare cases in Jewish liturgy where the recited "amen" is actually written out (or printed) to indicate that, exceptionally, one pronounces it on one's own blessing.

⁴⁴⁶ In later editions of Ferrara 1552 many instances of *edificar* are replaced by *fraguar*, e.g. the above-cited blessing, in *Orden de Bendiciones* (Amsterdam 1687), 117, reads: *B. tu A. fraguan con sus pidades Jerusalaim, Amen.*

medieval non-Jewish texts and Casiodoro de la Reina's Protestant revision of Ferrara 1553 (Basel, 1569) replaces it throughout by *edificar*. It has survived into the 20th century with this meaning in the Sephardic communities of the former Ottoman Empire and Morocco.⁴⁴⁷

As to when it acquired its Jewish flavor has so far not been investigated. The oldest attested use of *fraguar* (metathetically *fraugar*) in the sense of 'to build' is a 13th century paraphrase of Biblical history, entitled *Cronicón Villarense*:

En esta catibdad estidieron los fillos d'Israel 7 annos, entro que aspiro Deus nuestro Señor a Cirus, el rei de Persia, e los soltó que fuesen fraugar el templo de Iherusalem, qui era destruito.⁴⁴⁸

It occurs again in 14th century Hebrew-based Escorial texts 3, 4, 7 and 19, the work of Jews, possibly directed to a Christian or a mixed Jewish-Christian audience.⁴⁴⁹ Alba, when it presents Spanish words characteristic of Jews, adds their "Christian" equivalents between parentheses. Thus we find in its rendering of Gn 22,9 and 33,17 *fraguó* (*edefico*) although in all twelve other Genesis instances it adopts *edificar* and further on it fluctuates between *edificar*, *fraguar* (not followed by parentheses) and *fazer*.⁴⁵⁰

Curiously, even Proverbs 14,1 current among Jews of the former Ottoman Empire in the following Spanish version: *La mujer sabia fragua la casa y la loca con su mano la derroca*,⁴⁵¹ reads as follows in the literal "transwordation" of the Ferrara Bible: *Sabias mugeres edificó su casa, y loca con sus manos la derrueca*. And similarly, though less slavishly, in Alba: *Las prudentísimas*

⁴⁴⁷ See ALVAR, *El ladino, judeo-español calco*, 149.

⁴⁴⁸ Cit. COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, s.v. *fragua*.

⁴⁴⁹ E3 presents forms of *fraguar* in 9 out of 14 occurrences of BNH in Gn; none in the 5 occurrences in Exodus; the alternate translations are mostly *fazer* and *labrar*. E7 presents forms of *fraguar* in Gn 2,22 (the first appearance of BNH in Scripture), Dt 8,12; 25,9; 27,5-6. Other occurrences of BNH in E7's Pentateuch (36 in all) are rendered mostly by forms of *edificar* (also of *componer*, *fazer*). E4 has a form of *fraguar* only in Gn 2, 22 and renders all other Pentateuch occurrences by forms of *edificar*. E19 has forms of *fraguar* for Pentateuch occurrences of BNH only in Gn 2,22; 35,7; Ex 17,15; Nm 13,22; 21,27; 23,14; 25,9.

⁴⁵⁰ In his Pentateuch translation, for the Hebrew root BNH, I count 19 forms of *edificar*, 13 of *fraguar*, 6 of *fazer*.

⁴⁵¹ See Max GRÜNBAUM, *Jüdisch-Spanische Chrestomathie* (Frankfurt a.M. 1896), 106, cited by ALVAR, *El ladino, judeo-español calco*, without indicating its scriptural source.

mugeres edefican las sus casas e las locas con las sus manos las deruecan. ⁴⁵² I find in Salamanca Ms. 2015 (hypothetically dated 1440-50): *La Casa Santa que sea fraguada ayna en nuestros días*, and *el que fragua cualquier fraguança.* ⁴⁵³

It would therefore seem that the use of *fraguar* in the Quintanar liturgy points to a translator familiar with Jewish usage. ⁴⁵⁴ As to Quintanar's derivative noun *fraguación*, as the equivalent of Hebrew *binyan*, there is no example known to me aside from the passage at hand. ⁴⁵⁵ (Nor, for that matter, have I seen another example of *fraguança*.) Similarly, Ferrara 1552 renders *y fragua a ella fraguamiento* (and build for her a building) the Hebrew phrase *ubne otah binyan* in the 'amidah. ⁴⁵⁶ These substantives are apparently a "super-Jewish" touch. Alba and Ferrara 1553 translate *binyan edificio* (Alba: *edeficio* and twice *edeficacion*) in its six scriptural occurrences (all in Ez).

Looking now at the last lines following the 'alenu:

Con licencia de los presentes. Plega a ti, Señor, de engrandecer la Ley y de honralla. ⁴⁵⁷ Por amor de los atalantes de la tierra, administrame, Señor, en tus santas carreras.

we note that *con licencia de los presentes* is not, as Amiel would have it, "a non-liturgical sort of padding used by story-tellers." It renders Aramaic *sabre maranan*, introducing the blessing over wine in the *kiddush* (sanctification of wine e.g. at the end of the sabbath morning service). ⁴⁵⁸ The expression "*de en-*

⁴⁵² Cf. E4: *La sabia de las mugeres hedifico su casa & la loca con sus manos la derrueca*; E3: *Las sabidoras [...] labran [...]*; Madrid BN, Ms. 10288: *La sabia [...] edifico [...]*.

⁴⁵³ See ed. LAZAR, *Sefer Tesubah*, 45 and 119. The last one is part of a Spanish adaptation of *Tur*, OH.

⁴⁵⁴ One could argue that *fraguar* was originally the invariable "Jewish" equivalent, as demonstrated by its uniform use in CP 1547 and dominance in Ferrara 1553 and that the Ferrara editors interspersed *edificar* in order to make (like their medieval predecessors) their translations more palatable to a general readership. See H. P. SALOMON, review of H. V. SÉPHIHA, *Le Ladino*, *Studia Rosenthaliana* 10 (1976), 241-245.

⁴⁵⁵ E7 uniquely renders *Elohe masekhah* (Ex 34,17: 'gods of cast metal') *Dios de fraguación*, but the same words in Lv 19, 4: *dios de fundición*. cf. id., Ex 32,4 and 8: 'egel masekhah' ('molten calf'): *bezerro fraguado*.

⁴⁵⁶ See p. 26r. on pp. 141r and 466v, however, in the additional service for the festivals and in the fourth wedding blessing, it renders *binyan edificio*.

⁴⁵⁷ These lines are also found in ADC leg. 322, no. 4631, María de Mora (Carrillo), attributed to her father, Juan de Mora II.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Ferrara 1552, 68v: *Con licencia de los señores*.

grandescer la Ley y de honralla” approximates Is 42,21, quoted in the Mishnaic passage recited near the close of the sabbath morning *musaf*.⁴⁵⁹ The expression “*por amor de los atalayantes [= ataliantes] de la tierra*” is an admirable rendering of *lema’an sorera’i* in the second half of Psalm 5,9, here preceding the first half, the verse that worshippers say upon leaving the synagogue.⁴⁶⁰ Thus, *pace* Amiel, it is unrelated to the specific case of Marranos.⁴⁶¹

18.4. “If You Knew and Understood What is One”⁴⁶²

“If you knew” is not part of Sephardic liturgy. Only two defendants profess to its knowledge, in divergent forms. It is readily recognized as the ditty *Eḥad mi yode’a* (Who knows one?) found as an appendix to the Ashkenazic *Haggada*, though from the mid-19th century on some Sephardim have adopted it.⁴⁶³ Its Quintanar reciters do not associate it with Passover or the *Haggada*. With the opening words of “the *sema*” in its Spanish (or Spanish-Hebrew hybrid) form it circulated throughout Spain from one inquisitorial tribunal to another under the name “the Ten Commandments” and can be found in a number of Spanish *procesos*.⁴⁶⁴ The oldest inquisitorial version known to me is in the trial of María Díaz (Ciudad Real, 1483-1484, executed in effigy):

Si supieeses o entendieeses quales son los tres libros de la Ley Sacra,
Rebeca la chirimia, *barach Adonay barach*.⁴⁶⁵

Then there is the one recited by the Monçonis sisters, Tolosana, Violant and Leonor, all three executed (Valencia, 1512):

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Ferrara 1552, 86r.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. the banal: *por mis enemigos* in Ferrara 1552, 50r.

⁴⁶¹ Moreover, *pace* Amiel, this verse does not “mark the close of the three daily services.” See AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 553-554.

⁴⁶² See AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 506-508, 575-577; RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 163-167; “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 23-24, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [130v-132], October 25, 1591 and ADC leg. 325, no. 4663, f. [74v-76r]. February 20, 1592 and Sentence.

⁴⁶³ Coincidentally, the ditty first appeared in print in the Prague *Haggada* of 1590, just a year before Francisco’s recitation, but it is obviously quite ancient. Cf. S. SHARVIT, “The Oriental Version of *Ehad Mi Yode’a*,” *Tarbiz* 41 (1972), 424-429 (Hebrew) and English summary, III-IV.

⁴⁶⁴ Nothing indicates any relation with Passover. Nor is there any relation with Passover in the versions studied by SHARVIT, “The Oriental Version,” but rather with the Sabbath.

⁴⁶⁵ See BEINART, *Records of the Trials* 1: 55.

Quien supiesse y entendiesse qual era el uno,
uno Dio en el cielo, *barahu barahu simo*.⁴⁶⁶

In this version, two are Moses and Aaron;⁴⁶⁷ three (*mis parientes*) are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; four (*madres de Israel*) are Sara, Rica, Lia and Raquel; five are the books of the Law; six the weekdays; seven the weekdays plus the sabbath (*con el sabbat*); eight the days of the circumcision; nine the months of pregnancy (*de la preñada*); ten the Commandments; eleven Joseph's brothers; twelve the tribes of Israel.

Then we have the confession of Rafael Baró (Valencia 1520, executed 1521), where it begins:

Si supieses y entendieses qual era lo uno
uno es Dios en el cielo, *baraco* ['blessed He'] *baraco* son nom [*sic*].⁴⁶⁸

In this version, eleven are the stars. The celebrated mock trials of Majorca (1675-1694) marked the fiercest (and only) collective persecution of Spanish Christians on the count of "Judaism" after the Quintanar affair (both called "complicity" in inquisitorial lingo). In its course the Majorca tribunal tried and sentenced hundreds and executed at least 34, including four burnt alive. Baruch Braunstein reproduces a "Who Knows One" in an appendix to his *The Chuetas of Majorca* (New York 1936, 199)⁴⁶⁹ and re-

⁴⁶⁶ "Blessed He and blessed His name." See RIERA I SANS, "Oracions en català dels conversos," 350-352, published *in extenso* from AHN Inq. Valencia, leg. 5422, no. 20. AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 508 provides this reference.

⁴⁶⁷ In the Ashkenazic versions and an Oriental one from Cochín studied by Sharvit, two are the Tables of the Law, but in Révah's modern Salonica version, two are Moses and Aaron, as here. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 165-166. Cf. an originally German Christian version, wherein two are the tablets of Moses; three the Patriarchs; four the Evangelists; five the wounds of Christ; six the jugs of wine at Cana; seven the sacraments; eight the beatitudes; nine the choruses of angels; ten the Commandments; eleven the eleven thousand virgins; twelve the Apostles. See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Ehad Mi Yodea*.

⁴⁶⁸ Hebrew *šemo* (His name) probably sounded like Catalan *son nom* ("His name"!) to the scribe. See RIERA I SANS, "Oracions en català dels conversos," 356-359, published *in extenso* from AHN Inq. Valencia, leg. 535, no. 5. See AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 508. I have checked both inquisitorial sources in Madrid's AHN.

⁴⁶⁹ Braunstein indicates neither date, identity of reciter nor source. The variants are four husbands of Israel, thirteen words which God spake to Moses. This and the next note are indebted to AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 508.

fers to another. Angela Selke reproduced a third in an appendix to her *Los Chuetas y la Inquisición* (Madrid 1972, 284-285).⁴⁷⁰

Francisco de Mora Molina confesses remembering this “prayer,” one of three to be recited at least thrice on the sabbath after washing one’s hands. However, while he was able to recite it perfectly to himself, when attempting to recite it to the Inquisitors on October 21, 1591 (afternoon session), he becomes confused. The Inquisitor had the scribe make a rough draft and then a clean copy.⁴⁷¹ Francisco indicates its place in the “Quintanar liturgy,” along with two other prayers,⁴⁷² as follows:

Dijo que las d. tres oraciones fablan con el sábado y se han de rezar en él tres veces al día y más si quieren. Pero que lo ordinario es rezarlas las d. tres veces, a la mañana, a medio día y a la tarde, lavándose cada vez las manos como d. tiene, con agua si la hay, sino con algunas de las cosas que tiene d. en la audiencia precedente. Que si hubiese agua y alguno lavarse con las cosas que d. tiene, no cumpliría con la ceremonia de la ley de Moisés en lo que toca a lavarse, porque las d. cosas han de servir para ello en defecto de no haber agua.”⁴⁷³

A slightly variant version, apparently in the form of a song, emerges on February 19, 1592 in the trial of Juan del Campo II, 20 year-old son of Alonso del Campo, purportedly taught to him by his father.⁴⁷⁴ However, it is not one of the five prayers Alonso recites and confesses teaching his children.⁴⁷⁵ Nor is it among the prayers known to Juan’s siblings Diego, Ana, Alonso II and

⁴⁷⁰ From the posthumous trial of Raphael Diego Forteza, AHN Inq. Valencia, leg. 1709, no. 1, 8r: testimony of his widow, 1678. This is the only version I have seen in Catalan and starts with the same verbs “know” and “understand”: *Qui sebes y entengues qui es lo un*. The variants are “thirteen words of truth, fourteen articles of faith.”

⁴⁷¹ *Porque en la prosecución de la d. oración el d. Francisco de Mora Molina se erraba muchas vezes, el d. Señor Inquisidor mandó se escribiese primero en un borrador y después se pasase en limpio, como se ha hecho [...] la qual d. oración recitándola de por si el d. Francisco de Mora la decía bien y escribiéndose como dicho es la erraba* (ADC leg. 315, no. 4562, f. [131v-132r]).

⁴⁷² They are: *En seis días hizo el Señor los cielos y la tierra* (“La liturgie crypto-juive,” 24); and: *Blancas y descansadas estén aquellas almas* (“La liturgie crypto-juive,” 25).

⁴⁷³ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [132r].

⁴⁷⁴ See ADC leg. 325, no. 4663. Cf. “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 23-24. Juan shared Francisco de Mora Molina’s cell for two years.

⁴⁷⁵ While Alonso’s *proceso* is missing, I have located sizeable portions of it among the denunciations in the *proceso* of Isabel de Villallescusa. See below.

Pedro.⁴⁷⁶ The inquisitorial scribe took it down on four pages with all its repetitions to comprise nine stanzas of respectively 3 (1,2,1), 6 (1,2,3,3,2,1, etc.), 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 and 10 verses, for a total of 97. It was reproduced once again *in extenso* in the final sentence collectively applied to Juan, Alonso II and Pedro del Campo.

Is it not astonishing that an orally transmitted text, so widespread in Spanish inquisitorial *procesos*, should be heard from only two of the voices of Quintanar?

As in the 1512 Valencia version Francisco's and Juan's two are Moses and Aaron; three are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; four are Sarah, Rebecca, Leah and Rachel; five are the books of the Law; six the weekdays; seven the sabbath⁴⁷⁷; eight the days of the circumcision; nine the months of pregnancy; ten the Commandments.

Francisco de Mora Molina's version, which like Juan del Campo II's, stops after the Ten Commandments, begins each stanza with the traditional two imperfect subjunctives:

Si supiésedes y entendiésedes cual es el uno,

and continues (Francisco de Mora Molina):

Uno, Dios del Cielo, bendito sea Él y Su santísimo nombre.

Juan del Campo II's version begins⁴⁷⁸:

Uno solo es el Criador del cielo y de la tierra.

Curiously, Juan's mention of "earth" corresponds to the Hebrew as it has come down to us in the Ashkenazi *Haggada*: "One our God who lives in heaven and earth."⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ See ADC leg. 324, no. 4653 (Diego del Campo); ADC leg. 323, no. 4645 (Ana del Campo); ADC leg. 325, no. 4654 (Alonso del Campo); ADC leg. 330, no. 4719 (Pedro del Campo).

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. *siete días del santísimo sabaot* (Francisco de Mora Molina); *siete días con el sábado* (Juan del Campo II). *Sabaot* is obviously the Hebrew Sabbath, confused with the Hebrew *Šebaot* (hosts), commonly used in Catholic liturgy.

⁴⁷⁸ The verse *Si supiésedes y entendiésedes cual es el uno* does not appear in Juan's recitation within the *proceso*, but does appear as the incipit of the otherwise identical version reproduced in the sentence.

⁴⁷⁹ See E. D. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Pessach-Haggada* (Berlin 1937), 105-107; *Prayers for the Festivals*, Ed. and Translated by D. DE SOLA POOL (New York 1947), 108-111. SHARVIT, "The Oriental Version," IV notes that the Cochin ms. version he studied does not contain the addition "and on earth."

Francisco's recitations and redaction of the ditty generated an extraordinary dialogue between him and Inquisitor Francisco de Arganda, which somehow escaped the attention of both Révah and Amiel:

Preguntado si este confesante está circuncidado y sabe que lo estén algunas personas porque según la oración primera que tiene referida en esta audiencia parece aprobar la circuncisión en cuanto dice:

[Si supiésedes y entendiésedes cuales son los ocho]

Ocho días de la circuncisión.

El Señor nos la deje honrrar y guardar.

Dice que cuando iba repitiendo y recitando la dicha oración, cuando llegó a las d. palabras, este c. dijo que no sabía lo que era circuncisión ni que quería decir la d. palabra. Y así es verdad que lo dijo sin preguntárselo de su propio motu e que no se entiende que lo esté, ni otra persona alguna sabe que lo esté.

Fuэле dicho que si este confesante no sabe lo que es estar circuncidado, que cómo responde que no lo está..

D. 'Válgame Dios, digo lo que tengo dicho, que no sé lo que es y pongo la mano en la cruz de la Mesa.'

Y d. que juraba para aquella que no sabía lo que era, y que si dijo aquella palabra, fue por entender que el d. Señor Inquisidor le preguntaba si éste confesante estaba retajado. Y que así responde que no lo está y que esotro no lo entiende.

P. si es ceremonia de la Lei de Moisés retajarse.

D. Señor, yo no lo sé ni he oído decir que ninguno de mis parientes esté retajado, que moriscos oído he decir que hay algunos retajados.

Fuele d. que si éste c. no sabe ni ha oído decir que retajarse sea ceremonia de la Lei de Moisés, que como ha dicho que si le preguntaba el d. Señor Inquisidor que si estaba retajado, que no lo estaba.

D. que no sabe que responder a eso.

P. qué fiesta celebra la santa madre iglesia el primer día del año, ocho días después de la natividad de Jesu Cristo nuestro Señor.

D. que año nuevo es la fiesta que se celebra, que es la octava de nacimiento.

P. qué se hacía en la Lei de Moisés en el día octavo del nacimiento de los varones.

D. que no lo sabe.

Y contanto por ser tarde, dada la hora, cesó la audiencia, habiéndose de primero oído lo que ha declarado [...].

D. que no tiene más que decir de lo que tiene dicho.

P. si sabe que Jesus Cristo nuestro Señor al octavo día de su nacimiento fue circuncidado conforme a la Lei de Moisés.

D. que no lo sabe ni lo ha oído decir y que si lo supiera también lo dijera como las d. otras cosas.

Fuele d. que el Fiscal deste Santo Oficio quería pedir nueva publicación.

D. que no se acuerda otra cosa. ⁴⁸⁰

Once again, we find Francisco de Mora Molina playing with the Inquisitors his game of pseudo-Judaic omniscience mixed with pseudo-artless ignorance. Whatever the score, Francisco must lose.

18.5. Alabado sea aquel que taja y afirma (*'Praised be He who decrees and fulfils'*)

Hard upon the preceding dialogue and the new publication of charges Francisco de Mora Molina comes up with the centio thus designated. Only two *procesos* mention it. ⁴⁸¹ It begins, in Francisco's version, with this phrase, followed by "Amen." It corresponds to the third in the *baruk še-amar: baruk gozer umqayem* ('Blessed be He who decrees and fulfils'). In his brother Juan's written version appear the words: *Alabado sea el Señor que dijo y hizo, amén* ('Praised be the Lord who said and did, amen,' corresponding to the second phrase of *baruk še-amar: baruk omer ve-'ose* ('Blessed is He who says and does'). ⁴⁸²

⁴⁸⁰ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704 ff. [133r-137v]. *Circuncisión* and *circuncidar* occur countless times in Juan de DUEÑAS, *Espejo de Consolación*, from which Diego de Mora regularly read to his family, e.g., *Segunda parte* (Medina del Campo 1546), 174r, on Moses' failure to circumcize his son (eight occurrences and a graphic description just on that one page).

⁴⁸¹ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [138r & v]; ADC leg. 318, no. 4587.

⁴⁸² See AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 499, 554-555; "La liturgie crypto-juive," 31-32 from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, ff. [100v, 138v]; ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, Sentence. In addition, I have com-

Ferrara 1552 translates these two phrases:

Bendicho dizien y fazien,
bendicho sentencian y afirman.

Let us leave aside for a moment the use of “praised” for “blessed” and of the relative clause where Venice 1552, Ferrara 1552 and Ferrara 1553 typically uses the so-called “apocopated” present participle (which never appears in the Quintanar liturgy). I note that Venice 1552 and Ferrara 1552 render the Hebrew verb GZR by *sentenciar*, while Francisco’s and Juan’s source text has *tajar*, which in Spanish normally means ‘to cut.’ In the Hebrew Scriptures the verb GZR occurs twelve times, signifying five times “to cut,” five times “to be cut off” once “to decree” and once “to be decreed.” Ferrara 1553 distinguishes between them, using *tajar* for the two former and *sentenciar* for the two latter meanings, except – for some reason – in the case of 2 Chronicles 26, 21 where expecting *tajar* we find *sentenciar*.⁴⁸³ To the best of my knowledge, *tajar* in the meaning of ‘to decree’ is a Hebraism original to this Quintanar “prayer,” not found in any published Spanish texts, Jewish or otherwise.⁴⁸⁴ The verb *retajar*, however, was – as we have just seen – a common Spanish synonym for *circuncidar*. Thus, when the Inquisitor (or scribe) scribbled in the margin of the word’s appearance in Francisco de Mora Molina’s *proceso* “*parece aprobar el retajar*,” he is of course mistaken, but his error is hardly an “aberration” (Wilke). Nor is his misinterpretation “resplendent” (Amiel),⁴⁸⁵ since the phrase seemed to be part of the ditty.

[On October 29 Francisco’s *proceso* has the entry:

Nace sospecha y se presume que también se circuncidarían e retajarían según el precepto de la dicha Lei. Sean vistos y mirados por personas peritas, y siendo verdad que lo están [...].

pared Juan’s written version. Francisco de Mora Molina himself seems to have forgotten his recitation of this text f. [100v], because on f. [138v] he declares “that he [now?] recalls a prayer which says: *alabado sea aquel que taja y afirma, amen*.”

⁴⁸³ On the other hand, in the case of the Hebrew verb KRT, which means both ‘to cut’ (or ‘to cut off’) and, in combination with *berit* (covenant), ‘to make,’ Ferrara 1553 does not distinguish and translates all occurrences of KRT by *tajar*, e.g. *tajar firmamiento* (‘to make a covenant’).

⁴⁸⁴ Amiel interestingly points out that the French verb *trancher* (with no Hebraism implied) means both ‘to cut’ and ‘to decide’ (AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 554). Cf. CAMÕES, *Lustadas*, 7, 65, 3: *Daria a seu despacho um justo talho*.

⁴⁸⁵ See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 453, n. 1 to 154; AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 499, “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 31 from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [138v^o]). As pointed out above, both Révah and Amiel ignored the preceding dialogue, which provides the context for the observation in the margin.

Francisco and other defendants were to be examined for circumcision by experts and, if found so, charged with this additional heretical practice.⁴⁸⁶]

The translator's choice of *tajar* rather than *sentenciar* demonstrates once again that it was not the Ferrara 1552 that inspired him. He worked directly from Hebrew – and in this case even more mechanically – than Ferrara 1552. True, he confused the words for 'praised' and 'blessed.' These often appear together, however, and interchangeably in the Quintanar liturgy. His syntax does not have CP 1547's, Ferrara 1552's, Venice 1552's and Ferrara 1553's "apocopated" present participle, but that usage will have been unknown to him.⁴⁸⁷

The cento continues, in both Francisco's and Juan's versions.

Y nos apartó de los errados y nos dio su ley, ley bendita, palabra firme con verdad aforada y no revocada. No se quiten tus [estas] santas palabras de linaje de mi linaje [*Juan*: en mi linaje].

This corresponds to: *ve-hibdilanu min ha-to'im venatan lanu Torat emet* ('and he separated us from the erring and gave us the Law of truth' ⁴⁸⁸), with an adaptation of Psalm 148, 6: *hoq natan ve-lo ya'abor* ('He gave a code and it will not pass').⁴⁸⁹ Thereupon follows the adaptation of a few scriptural verses found close by in the *keduša desidra*.⁴⁹⁰ Three pseudo-scriptural verses follow, e.g., *el Señor es uno, ojo de todo el mundo* ('the Lord is one, the eye of the whole world').

[*Continuará*]

⁴⁸⁶ However, a surgeon was not available, so Dr. Panilla, a regular physician, examined Francisco with negative result (*que se ha mirado y no está tajado*). See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [143r]. Note the use of both synonyms for emphasis.

⁴⁸⁷ MORREALE ("Libros de Oración," 249) surmises that it was a mid-16th century innovation.

⁴⁸⁸ Part of the *keduša desidra*, beginning *U-ba le-Šiyyon*, which comes after the 'Amida in the daily morning service.

⁴⁸⁹ *Revocar* ('revoke') translating *ya'abor*, where Ferrara 1552 has *pasar* ('pass'), may have an anti-Christian overtone.

⁴⁹⁰ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [138r, 138v]. Cf. Is. 59, 21: "And My words which I have put in thy mouth shall not depart out of thy mouth nor out of the mouth of thy offspring nor out of the mouth of thy offspring's offspring." Francisco's *linaje de mi linaje* ('my offspring's offspring') is less literal than Ferrara 1552: *semen de tu semen* ('sperm of your sperm'), Ferrara 1553 and E3: *simiente de tu simiente* ('seed of your seed'); Venice 1552: *semen de tu simiente* ('sperm of your seed') and corresponds to the translation in BNM MS 10288.

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Note 169: Spanish *purgar*, when used in conjunction with meat (*purgar la carne*: lit. “to purge meat”) is the exact equivalent of English “porge”: “to ceremoniously clean meat by removal of forbidden fat, veins and sinews according to Jewish ritual; derives from Spanish *purgar* via Judeo-Spanish *porgar*” (Webster). See *Libro llamado en lason hakodes sulhan hapanim y en ladino Mesa de el Alma* (Salonica 1568), 72v-73r. (In the Venice 1715 repr., *porgar* alternates with *purgar*). Cf. J. NEHAMA, *Dictionnaire du Judéo-Espagnol* (Madrid 1977), s.v. *purgar*, *pulgar*, *pulgador*. In Elvira del Campo’s first *proceso* (AHN Inq. leg. 138, no. 7) one accusation runs *que purgaba la carne, que le quitaba la gordura y la echaba en el fuego por guarda y ceremonia de la Ley de los judíos* (August 11, 1567). The Jewish procedure—inquisitorially transmitted but never satisfactorily explained—is found as no. 6 in the list of 31 standard accusations (*Ynterrogatorio*) appended to Torquemada’s *Instrucciones*, dated Seville, November 29, 1484, preserved in a manuscript Portuguese translation of the early 16th century: *se purgauam a carne que comesem, tirandolhe o seuo (ou fendendo as pernas das reses por tirarlhe hua landoa que esta dentro), e a lauassem com agua e sal antes que a lansassem em a panella*. See SALOMON, “Monitorio,” 61-63. Cf. BEINART, *Records of the Trials* 1 (1483-1485): 94; 300; 341; 360; 478; 516; 517; 562; 597; and 2 (1494-1512): 12, 19; 38; 164; 288; 324; 473; 543.

Note 230: *Quebrantar as festas da igreja* is no. 17 in Torquemada’s 1484 *Ynterrogatorio*. Cf. *quebranté algunas fiestas mandadas por la santa madre iglesia* (ADC leg. 74, no. 1086); *he quebrantado e mandado quebrantar a mis moços domingos e fiestas* (AHN, Inq. leg. 1930, n° 7). Cf. BEINART, *Records of the Trials* 1: 461, 478, 485; and 2: 70.

Note 263: See no. 8 in Torquemada’s list: [...] *as pascoas dos Judeos [...] asy como a do pão cenzenho*”. *Pascua del Cordero* occurs, however, in BEINART, *Records of the Trials* 1: 10 (*que llaman ellos del Cordero*), 268, 295, 326, 360, 548, as well as *Pascua del pan cenceño*: *ibid.*: 58, 165, 213, 339, 341, 483.

Note 260: Abstention from meat (*comendo [...] viandas amargosas e pescado e não carne*) during seven days of mourning is no. 18 in Torquemada’s 1484 *Ynterrogatorio*. A Spanish Edict (1524-1525?) has *pescado y aceitunas y no carne*, not specifying the number of days. See SALOMON, “Monitorio,” 56, 62. However, a 9-day meatless mourning period is mentioned (*que non comieron carne los nueve días*) in a 1484 *proceso* transcribed by BEINART, *Records of the Trials* 1: 292.

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

p. 372, note 166, line 2: demonstrate; p. 379, note 182, line 7: carotid; p. 396, line 5: obvious; p. 403, 1st line, second quote: cuando; p. 403, note 255: youngest.

ADDENDA *Sef* 68 (2008), 105-162.

pp. 143-144: *él que ha de nacer* = *şemaḥ*. Cf. E4, E7, E19 Gn 19,25: *las cosas que nascían*; E8, Zech 3,8: *nascimento*, 6,12: *nascimento*; Madrid BN Ms. 10288, Jr 33,15: *nascimento* (Alba, Jr 23, 5; 33, 15: *hermollo*).

p. 144, l. 19: supply Rodrigo el Campo's 'Amidah's closing line: *Paz en mi derecha, paz en mi izquierda, paz en la mi cabeza y sobre todas mis cosas salud y paz y buena hartura*. Cf. Francisco de Mora Molina: *Paz sea en mi derecha, paz sea en mi izquierda, paz en mi cabeza, paz delante de mí, paz sea sobre mí, sobre mi mujer y sobre mis hijos*. Cf. Juan de Mora: *Paz en mi izquierda, paz en mi derecha, paz sobre mí y sobre todo mi linaje*. Cf. Apolonia de Barrionuevo: *Paz sea en la mi derecha y en la mi izquierda y delante de mí y sobre todas mis cosas*. Its inspiration (*pace* AMIEL, "Marranisme," II, 551-552) is a variant text of the last line of the 'Amidah'. Cf. Ferrara 1552: *Fazien paz en sus cielos el por sus piedades faga paz sobre nos y sobre todo Ysrael amen*. According to *Ṭur (Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, 123) "some [basing themselves on bYoma, 53] have the custom to say the words 'Peace to my left; Peace to my right'." Cf. S. BAER, 'Abodat Israel, 105: "Some MSS read at the close of the 'Amidah 'Peace on my left, peace on my right and put peace on all Israel.' (In the Romaniote version the right precedes the left. See BL Harl. 5583.) This anomalous 'Amidah closing will have been adopted in the Spanish Quintanar source Ms. Its literary rather than oral transmittal seems self-evident.

CORRIGENDA *Sef* 68 (2008), 105-162,

p. 113, note 310, line 2: 27 *procesos*.

p. 113, note 311: The María de la Vega executed at the Toledo *Auto de Fe* of June 9, 1591 was the daughter of Alonso de la Vega and Elvira de Mora. See SIERRA, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, 402.

p. 129, line 2: *Maducir*

p. 143, lines 22-23: *ayna* (soon) is used by Ferrara 1552 in the passage just cited and regularly to translate *mehera*.