Jewish History (2010) 24: 155–168
DOI: 10.1007/s10835-010-9106-y

Judeo-conversas and Moriscas in sixteenth-century Spain: a study of parallels

RENÉE LEVINE MELAMMED
The Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, Israel
E-mail: rlm@schechter.ac.il

Abstract Though interesting research has been done on Jewish women conversas in Spain, as well as on Morisco women converts, no comparison of the activities of the two groups has been made. This paper comes to fill this lacuna, examining their commitment to Judaism and Islam and ritual practices, especially as reflected in Inquisitional records. Despite basic differences, a surprising number of parallels appear in the behavior of both groups, suggesting the importance of women in preserving ties to the past and maintaining the converso mentality.

As the result of scholarly interest in Inquisitional documents and in the activities and fate of women, serious advances have occurred in studies concerning the clandestine lives of *conversas* in Iberia, women of both Jewish and Muslim origin. Scholars have remarked that there are most likely parallels between the worlds of these two, but the line between crypto-Judaism and crypto-Islam has yet to be crossed. This paper is a first attempt to compare and contrast these two groups by using some of the source material that Perry and others have made available.[1] Needless to say, the experiences of the two groups differed considerably. The majority of the Jews in Spain were economically positioned in the middle class and resided in urban areas. They engaged in a wide variety of professions ranging from artisans, shopkeepers, and owners of vineyards to merchants, physicians, and wealthier tax farmers. The century of conversions of Jews to Catholicism, which began in 1391, did not result in drastic social and economic changes. Nonetheless, new options were offered to the conversos, which, previously, had been closed to them as Jews, a situation that displeased many Old Christians and resulted in statutes of limitations, beginning in 1449. The discriminatory Purity of Blood Statutes enacted in Toledo in that year were eventually applied throughout Iberia.

The Muslims of Aragon and the south were essential to agricultural production, where they held semi-servile positions akin to those of peasants. They also engaged in the silk industry, craftsmanship, medicine, and trade. In the eastern areas, they were sorely oppressed and exploited, yet they remained in Aragonese villages where their contribution to agriculture was essential. In Castile, a larger number of Christians engaged in agriculture; thus Moriscos began to move to the cities, where they often survived by growing

produce in private gardens. It seems that the itinerant peddlers among them roaming from community to community with their produce were responsible for fostering contacts between the dislocated groups.[2]

Socially, even prior to the conversions, the Jews were better integrated into Hispanic society than the Muslims; linguistically, the Jews were fluent in Spanish, whereas the majority of the Muslims continued to speak Arabic. In dress as well, the Jew was nowhere as easy to distinguish from the Christian as was the Muslim, marked by his or her traditional garb. In addition, the level of contact between Jews and Christians differed considerably from that of the Jew and Muslim, which also provided for a less problematic assimilation.[3] With the conversions of the Jews remaining in the Peninsula in 1492, contact between Old Christians and New Christians increased on some levels, although former Jews were still labeled distinctively, in a concerted effort to keep them at a distance, as New Christians. With the eventual conversions of the Muslims, contact between Old Christians and Moriscos who had little knowledge of the basics of Christianity, tended to deteriorate, especially in the sixteenth century.[4]

For example, King Philip II sought to coerce the Moriscos of Castile to assimilate; in 1567, he banned the use of Arabic and the wearing of Muslim clothing, in particular the distinctive headgear.[5] But the Moriscos, who generally had large families, resisted assimilation and ignored attempts to force them to abandon their language, religion and garb. Because of their affiliation with Islam, they were also assumed to be aligned with the Ottomans, who presented a serious threat to Spain in the western Mediterranean. Even after the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, the Moriscos were suspect of functioning as a potential fifth column. While the Jews in Seville and Cordoba were relocated in 1483 in order to prevent cooperation with the Muslim enemy and to neutralize their influence,[6] the possibility of a Muslim alliance with co-religionists seemed to be a far greater threat to the Crown. In Valencia, in 1582, royal decrees forbade Moriscos from approaching the sea.[7] Thus the basis of the relationship between the two former rivals of the Crusader period and the Christians and the Jews in Iberia were far from identical.

Research on the lives of conversas who maintained ties to Judaism is fairly well known, beginning with the general statements about the centrality of the role of women in crypto-Judaism made by the first cadre of Jewish historians who encountered the documentation of their experiences[8] and continuing to the more detailed research published by the generation that followed. With respect to Moriscos, Bernard Vincent discusses the centrality of women in crypto-Islam both in the imagination of the Old Christians, as well as in reality,[9] and surmises that "the women were, above all, the conservers of the ancient practices and customs, starting with the Arabic language, which the Granadan and Valencian Moriscos maintained against wind and tide during

the majority of the sixteenth century."[10] These illiterate women purportedly had minimal to no contact with Christians and, as a result, were far less assimilated than their male counterparts,[11] enabling them, as Vincent puts it, to remain fiercely loyal to their religion.[12] As was being said of their conversa counterparts, "the Morisca women played a fundamental role in the survival of Islam in Spain."[13]

Following the conquest of Granada in 1492, the Muslims, technically Mudejars or Muslims under Christian authority, faced numerous restrictions (despite promises of religious toleration), which created a great deal of tension and then rebellions between 1499 and 1501. Infuriated, the Crown forced the conversion of Muslims in Granada and the south and, by 1502, of those in Castile as well.[14] In addition, less than twenty years after the conversions, tensions developed in Aragon, mainly because members of the Germanía artisan brotherhood resented the protection its members believed Mudejars were receiving from the nobility. Their discontent led to attacks on the Moriscos, which, in the end, produced another 15,000 forced conversions.[15] Ultimately, in 1522, Carlos V sealed the fate of the rest of the community when he decreed that all remaining Aragonese Moslems must convert;[16] demographically, the Moriscos had originally comprised about fifteen percent of the population of sixteenth century Aragon, but their presence in Castile was much smaller, only about one-half percent.

To prevent reversion to Islam, a wide range of prohibitions regarding previous laws and customs was decreed. Women, with their distinctive rites, sometimes superstitions, and dress, a white mantle that reached down to her feet and that covered half of her face, were viewed as the more serious obstacles to assimilation.[17] Eventually the Inquisition tried nearly 10,000 of these Moriscos between 1540 and 1614. Moreover, in 1568, Granadan Moriscos from the Alpujarras, who numbered between 50,000 and 80,000, rebelled, to which Philip II responded by forced dispersion throughout Castile. In 1610, the Moriscos were expelled en bloc. No similar action occurred with Judeo-conversos, who also never organized to rebel.

Once the Inquisition began to function, the home, once a secure haven for conversos, could no longer fulfill that function, especially because of the presence of servants, who were potential informants. Nonetheless, the women's domain became central to the continuation of any crypto-religion in Spain.[18] As Perry explains, the home became the site of resistance especially for Moriscos, where Arabic could be taught along with prayers, the instruction often provided by women.[19] For the Moriscas, the resistance was heightened, because their normal language, Arabic, had been outlawed. For both Jewish and Muslim conversas, as García-Arenal has emphasized, the private domain became the center for transmitting knowledge; no other schools were allowed.[20] The contention is that the women replaced the men

by offering their children an entrée to their faith from their home.[21] Since public observance and displays of faith were forbidden and would incriminate the observer as a heretic, the private domain became the only option for ritual, which also strengthened the influence of Moriscas and conversas in their environment, enhancing traditional women's roles.[22] Some Moriscas were also well equipped to teach prayers, as well as spoken Arabic. Granadan immigrants, who arrived in communities like Cuenca after the Alpujarran rebellion and exile, also brought knowledge of Islam that was disappearing. By contrast, Judeo-conversas were not knowledgeable linguistically, rarely having mastered the Hebrew language, which was quickly disappearing in the post-Expulsion crypto-Jewish world.

The similarities between the two worlds of crypto-observance are striking, most notably, in the matters of bathing, fasting, *rites de passage,* especially birth and midwifery, as well as death, the central role of women as teachers in their respective communities, disagreements within families, the appearance of visionaries, and acts of defiance toward the Catholic world. The first, bathing customs, common to both communities, were particularly noticeable in a world where a bath was by no means an everyday occurrence and where the use of water from sources outside the home could not be easily concealed. In Judeo-converso homes, the servants were expected to draw the water from wells and to prepare baths for members of the household. These baths usually were scheduled on Friday in order properly to welcome the Sabbath. Notions of cleanliness and the means of bathing in Judaism and especially in Islam were in direct conflict with those of sixteenth century Catholic Spain. The act of bathing nude was viewed as shocking, especially when dealing with women; one report makes this very clear. In 1572, a maidservant explained how she saw her mistress, María de Mendoça of Purchena take a pitcher of water to a remote portion of her home near the chimney. María was "stark naked, as when her mother gave birth to her, barefoot without shoes… and in a squatting position and washing her hair."[23] Apparently, the Moriscos assumed that every act of washing was a ritual act; washing was never carried out for the sake of cleanliness itself.[24] In addition, Hasenfeld points out that dry baths were the practice for upper class Christians; the belief was that the use of so much water might indicate unorthodox proclivities.[25]

For crypto-Jewish women, the absence of the ritual bath or *mikveh* left bathing as the acceptable substitute. Isabel del Campo told the tribunal that her mother taught her to bathe before the Yom Kippur fast and after menstruation and to wash her hands after completing bodily functions.[26] A conversa from Herrera confessed that when her menstrual cycle came, she had to wash and bathe her entire body as required by Jewish law.[27] Mayor González also of Herrera, bathed after menstruating as well as after childbirth.[28] The Morisca engaged in minor ritual ablutions or *guadoc,*[29] as well as major purifications, or *tahor,* in order to enable her to observe the Islamic obligations.

Menstruation, childbirth, and intercourse were major impurities that required a full bath, whereas minor ablution only entailed washing the extremities. In the trial records of Moriscas, the distinction between these two categories became somewhat blurred; *guadoc* became the common term used for all ablutions before prayer, including those practiced each morning of the month of Ramadan.[30]

In the crypto-Jewish as well as crypto-Muslim world, the obligation to fast left a lasting impression on the faithful. In many trials, observance of Ramadan or Yom Kippur might be all that remained of the ties to the ancestral religion. Observance of Yom Kippur was probably the most common Judaizing act; Mencía Rodríguez of Cadahalso was observing and honoring this day by fasting.[31] Elvira López was taught to fast by her mother when she was twelve years old and continued to fast together with her husband.[32] Most crypto-Muslims did not fast the entire month, but many fasted for about two weeks.[33]

Birth rituals were quite common in both communities, as crypto-Jewish and Muslim women were celebrating *fadas* or *hadas* after the birth of their children, whether male or female. Hasenfeld claims that this custom is "prescribed by Sunni law" and includes bathing the infant on the eighth day when the baby would be dressed festively, decorated with henna; at this time a profession of faith was whispered into his or her ear.[34] García-Arenal describes it more as a naming ceremony that became a way to nullify the baptism. The child would be washed in order to remove the baptismal oils and rub off the chrism. He or she would be adorned, often with beads and then given a Moslem name along with recitations in Arabic. A celebratory feast followed; even the poor arranged a modest gathering where sweets and fruit were served.[35] In the Spanish Jewish community, both before and after the Expulsion, as well as among the conversos, *hadas* were celebrated on the eighth day after the child's birth. As described in various trials, relatives and friends would congregate and dress the infant in white, a collation including fruit would be served, and the participants often sang to the accompaniment of tambourines.[36]

At the same time, another rite related to birth appears in trial records, for both groups of conversas were performing a particularly subversive act which the Inquisition viewed as heretical, namely, the rite of "debaptizing." Returning home after their infants experienced the rite of baptism, crypto-Jews would symbolically wash off the baptismal oils, thus hoping to cancel this act's affects and thus to reclaim their progeny. The Moriscas also debaptized infants, but chose to link this rite to the *hadas*, at which time they rinsed off the holy oil with warm water, sometimes rubbing the baby's head with bread crumbs or with blood from a chicken.[37] Baptism itself might be performed by midwives, if the child's life was considered in danger. This

was, canonically, a last resort, and it was disturbing to clergy when performed by conversas or Moriscas, whose motives and religious orthodoxy were suspect—even though this did not blemish the baptism itself—not to mention the additional suspicion attached to fears about the magic and other healing rituals midwives were thought to know and perform regardless of their general illiteracy.[38] In addition, in 1554, a synod decreed that only Old Christian midwives could deliver newborn babies, which was in the hope that this would prevent celebration of *fadas* and other birth rituals, as well as circumcisions.[39] Yet, as Perry points out, these ceremonies were eventually relegated to the women as they became more private.[40]

Traditionally, women served as keeners and accumulated a repertoire of dirges to be chanted at funerals; despite their conversion to Christianity, these ritual experts did not neglect duties like washing the dead and sewing shrouds. The Moriscas would perform a ritual ablution before touching a corpse and often, despite Islamic objection, adorn the body of a deceased woman in order to glorify her beauty to enhance her chances to fare well in heaven.[41] In one trial, that of María de Montemayor, the description is uncanny. She is said to have shrouded her relative in the way that the New Christian women do, although it is not clear whether the New Christians meant here were originally Jewish or Muslim. Twice, María engaged in preparing the dead by shrouding them in linens, a new blouse, and headpiece with jewels and rings, yet provided no cross to bear.[42] While the Judeoconversas did not have the custom of burying their dead laden with jewels, the rest of the description could easily apply to them, for these women were likewise concerned with preparing the shrouds, as well the bodies of their deceased.[43] Some Judaizing women confessed to bathing the deceased, as did María González of Herrera[44] and Beatriz González of Toledo,[45] whereas María González of Casarrubios del Monte specifically alluded to preparing a shroud.[46]

The Inquisition was well aware of the activities of these women and did not refrain from arresting and condemning *conversas* of Jewish or Muslim heritage as heretics.[47] Hasenfeld found examples of *dogmatizadoras* or women instructors of religion; some were members of a particular family or community while others were peddlers, migrant workers, or visitors from other towns.[48] Evidence of active women teachers, some of whom were remunerated by receiving food or lodging, can be found in various locales including Cuenca, Seville, and Saragossa. One woman, Ana de Liñan of Deza, the wife of a muleteer, was accused in 1570 of wanting to transmit Islam to others, serving as a *dogmatizadora* and teacher of the "sect of Mohammed."[49] An Aragonese Morisca might even be referred to as an *alfaqui*, a religious leader literate in Arabic and the Koran. Fournel-Guérin refers to the trial of a fifty-year old teacher of women from Saragossa[50] and to a proselytizing woman who even converted a Christian neighbor to Islam.[51]

Vincent points to two widows who were highly regarded teachers in their community, one of whom had her "hand was kissed with great respect."[52] He remarks that one could continue with similar examples *ad infinitum*! No doubt a factor in this development was that many of the male leaders had been quashed by the Inquisition.[53] Perry discovered that when asked to identify the source of their knowledge of Islam, most accused Moriscos replied that they learned from their mothers, grandmothers, or mothers-in law.[54] Inquisitional files show that men, as well as women, were taught by women, usually family members.[55] Vincent discovered women who prepared Moriscas to arrange proper Muslim weddings. He points to confessions extracted by the Inquisition, such as that of the twenty-nine year old Gracía Bermejo, who explained that her grandmother was her source of knowledge, or that of forty year old Leonor Abenamir, who confessed that she had taught her own daughter.[56]

The data from research on crypto-Judaism leads to nearly identical conclusions. The teachers were mainly female relatives, mothers and grandmothers, but with a small percentage of female influence from outside the family.[57] Beatriz Alonso of Ciudad Real confessed that she had taught her four daughters to Judaize and observe the "Law of Moses and that she had taught them since they were young girls who could comprehend; and when they were maidens and married women, they did the things that this confessant did."[58] In a family of Judaizers in sixteenth century Alcázar in La Mancha, the sons and daughters of the López family singled out their mother Elvira as indoctrinating them without the knowledge of their father.[59] With regard to its initiation, Hasenfeld ascertained that the age for leading the child into the world of Islamic rituals corresponded with puberty[60] whereas Judeo-conversas usually exposed their daughters to Judaism at the age of twelve.[61] Maintaining secrecy would be too difficult, as well as dangerous, at a younger age, but if the parent or teacher were to wait until the child was too mature, Catholic beliefs may have already become too deeply seated to root out. Erring in either direction might prove fatal should the child reveal information that reached Inquisitional ears. Hence, mothers relied on their intuition, usually starting indoctrination when their children reached puberty.

The majority of the families observed as a unit, although this was not always the case. There are records of couples or family members who were not of the same mind. Some Judeo-conversas married Old Christians and ceased observing, fearing their spouse might inform on them.[62] After being widowed, followed by remarriage to a converso, they resumed observance. María González, the wife of Pedro de Villarreal, hid her Sabbath observance from members of her household. A witness explained that she would engage in some minor activities on the Sabbath, "laying hold of cloths and other items which entailed very little work, and if it were not in order *not* to be perceived by her said husband and by the other persons in her house, she

would have entirely observed the said Sabbaths."[63] But once again, there was no fixed pattern. Some wives disagreed openly with their husbands, as in the case of Marina González, where a witness stated that "if they ate bacon, she would not eat it at the table… and if her husband ate bacon, she did not want to drink from the cup from which her husband drank."[64] This witness, a neighbor, also mentions partaking meals of pork, drowned partridges, and wild boar with the husband, whereas Marina, despite being invited to join them, refused to participate. He was present when her husband rebuked her for abstaining: "I swear to God, woman: you are looking for trouble." Marina replied that he should leave it alone; "grief will come by itself."[65] A third example reveals a family tiff when the brother-in-law of Leonor Alvarez saw her kashering meat before cooking and said: "What is that sister? That is heresy." And she replied: "Of that which you do not have to eat, leave it to cook by itself."[66]

Hasenfeld found similar cases, such as those of the sisters Beatriz and María del Sastre, in Arcos in the Diocese of Cuenca, who were extremely active crypto-Muslims in the wealthier stratum of Morisco society. When Beatriz's daughter María passed away around 1578, eleven or more women attended to the washing and shrouding of the deceased, whose husband and father were not present.[67] María fasted during Ramadan by herself. Both sisters continued to observe Islamic traditions after being reconciled to the Church and each one's spouse was conspicuously absent from the scene. One servant who had worked for María for three years testified that "the said Maria lived like a Moor because during a certain time of the year she did not see her eat… and she gave her and her husband food."[68] María la Flamenca hid her lifestyle from her husband, because she felt it was risky, since he was involved in politics—a wise decision, for he was appointed as governor in 1581.[69] By contrast, whereas some women hid their activities from their husbands, others apparently intimidated them. Aragonese Inquisitors reported that the women were worse Catholics than the men; the latter refrained from eating pork, drinking wine, and doing other Christian acts because of "fear of their wives."[70]

Another parallel development in the two communities was the appearance of female visionaries whose enthusiastic reports frequently offered hope and salvation to members of the two converso communities. One also sees examples of women with roles in the public domain, asserting power and influencing others. Perry explains that the ecclesiastical authorities became alarmed when they learned about the existence of charismatic women, because they would influence others and spread their ideas and beliefs.[71] As a result, the Inquisition tended to act quickly and decisively whenever such figures appeared. These included, in sixteenth century crypto-Jewish society, Marí Gómez of Chillón, a female prophetess, who was nevertheless outshone

by the charismatic twelve year old Inés de Herrera, about whom much has been written.[72] Inés's visions and reports began in the fall of 1499, spreading beyond her native district of Extremadura and affecting numerous conversos, particularly women and young girls. Similarly, in the 1620s, Beatriz de Robles, a middle aged housewife from Seville, claimed to have direct communication with God. Her style reflects the movement of the *alumbrados* (the illuminated ones) and the female *beatas* of Spain,[73] who were also persecuted by the Inquisition. That Beatriz was a Morisca complicated the situation, for perhaps her ideas reflected the influence of Sufism, or, possibly, she was observing the tradition of *taqiyya* and secretly practicing Islam while appearing to be a faithful Christian.[74] Conversa visionaries were doubly problematic, and effective means to terminate their influence were sought. Because the Morisca de Robles presented her visions as personal experiences, her punishment was relatively light, namely, two years of reclusion. Inés, on the other hand, had amassed numerous followers and encouraged heretical Jewish practices; her trial was speedy and decisive, and in August 1500, she was burned at the stake.

Many references are made, usually toward the end of the list of charges compiled by an Inquisitional prosecutor, concerning a defendant's inappropriate or derogatory attitude toward the Holy Faith. Both Moriscas and Judeo-conversas are accused of being bad Christians, of intentionally eating meat on Fridays and holy days, of displaying disrespect for the crucifix and other symbols of the Church, and of questioning Mary's virginity. Catalina de Zamora went farther and called Mary a young Jewess-whore.[75] Inés Rodríguez was witnessed throwing a cross on the ground and saying that she had bought it as a toy for her children,[76] while María López was caught eating milk, meat and eggs on forbidden days.[77] Others, such as Francisca Alvarez, were accused of not crossing themselves, not making the signs of a true Christian, and not bringing images of saints into their homes.[78] Leonor Gutiérrez apparently had an image of the Virgin in her home, but had the face turned toward the wall.[79] Others were said to mock the Church and its sacraments[80] and still others were discovered spinning or weaving on Sundays and Christian holy days, eating meat during Lent, mocking Catholic prayers or the status of the Holy Trinity.[81] Isabel Ferrero referred to the miracles of the Virgin as legends she did not believe and to the passion of Christ as ridiculous.[82] Beatriz de Padilla was accused of eating meat on Fridays, holy days and on Ash Wednesday.[83] While these charges would never suffice to indict or convict the accused, they would appear at the end of the list and signify a blatant refusal to accept the newly acquired religion. Whether rejecting Catholicism, reporting visions, teaching their co-religionists or simply observing customs and laws, it should be clear that Judeo-conversas and Moriscas had a great deal in common.

***

Hopefully this paper will mark the starting point for additional intensive investigation. Despite the obvious differences in historical experience, in social or economic status, and acceptance by Old Christian society, converted women and their descendants in Iberia were responsible for perpetuating, whether in their homes[84] or through their teachings, their former religion and its practices.[85] Moreover, the lives of the Moriscas, as well as of the judeo-conversas, were not destined to remain static. The edict of expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609 would force these people once again to choose the religious path they would follow. Some actually remained in Spain, but the majority resettled in the Maghreb, where they returned to their ancestral religion. Others settled in western Europe, principally France and Italy, as Catholics. This was akin to the fate of those judeo-conversos and conversas who left Iberia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and who, too, had to decide whether they would remain Catholics or join Jewish or converso communities in the Sephardi diaspora. The special practices observed in Iberia by both groups, too, enjoyed mixed fortunes. The crypto-religious ritual of de-baptizing, for example, would fall by the wayside, but the *hadas* continued to be observed for generations to come. Here, too, therefore, there is serious grist for future research, once again on a comparative note.

Notes

1. On Moriscas see, for example, Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Behind the Veil: Moriscas and the Politics of Resistance and Survival," in *Spanish Women in the Golden Ages: Images and Realities*, eds. Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alain Saint-Saëns (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 37–53; idem, "Contested Identities: The Morisca Visionary, Beatriz de Robles," in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary E. Giles (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 171–188; idem, "Moriscas and the Limits of Assimilation," in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, eds. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame, IND: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 274–289; and idem, *The Handless Maiden* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005). See also Mark Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Princeton, 2005).
2. See Teofilo R. Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400–1600* (Harlow, Eng.: Pearson Ed. Ltd, 2001), 107. Moriscos were protected by noblemen for economic advantage; see p. 178.
3. For analyses of the effects of mass conversion and the levels for assimilation, see, for example, David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present* 174 (February 2002): 3–41 and Yosef Kaplan, "Paths of Acculturation and Assimilation among the Spanish Conversos in the 15th to 17th Centuries [Hebrew]," *Acculturation and Assimilation*, eds. Yosef Kaplan and Menahem Stern (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center, 1989), 157–172.
4. See, for example, the case of Juan de Ribera, who advocated banishing the Moriscos, as presented in Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and*

Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568–1614 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

5. Ruiz, *Spanish Society*, 106.
6. See Haim Beinart, "The Expulsion from Spain: Causes and Results," *Moreshet Sepharad: The Sephardi Legacy*, ed. H. Beinart (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992), 1: 20–21.
7. Ibid., p. 181.
8. See, for example, I.S. Révah, "La religión d'Uriel da Costa, Marrane de Porto," *Revue de l'Historie des Religion*, 161 (1962), 59 where he wrote: "L'histoire des 'Nouveaux-Chrétiens' fourmille d'exemples de traditions marranes perpétuées par les femmes, souvent a l'insu le leurs maris et de leurs fils."
9. He wrote that "en el cuestionamiento de la vida cotidiana de los criptomusulmanes, en los fantasmas de los cristianos viejos, las mujeres moriscas hayan desempañado un papel de enorme importancia." Bernard Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente*, vol. 3 (eds. Arlette Farge y Natalie Zemon Davis), eds. Georges Duby y Michelle Perrot (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1992), 585.
10. "Las mujeres son, por encima de todo, las conservadoras de las prácticas y las costumbres ancestrales, comenzando por la lengua árabe, que los moriscos granadinos y valencianos mantuvieron contra viento y marea a lo largo del siglo XVI." Ibid., 588. According to Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos: Los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: España Editores, S.A., 1978), p. 55, only the Granadans and Aragonese knew some Arabic. The others might know a phrase like "bizmiley", but rarely more than this.
11. See ibid., 593.
12. Ibid., 589 and 593.
13. "Las mujeres moriscas desempeñaron un papel fundamental en la supervivencia del Islam en España." Ibid., 594.
14. On Morisco resistance, see Ruiz, *Spanish Society*, 107, 182, 195.
15. Ibid., 196.
16. The former Muslims or Mudejars of each geographic area, namely, Valencia (with the largest group), the rest of Aragon, and Castile (with the smallest number), subsequently had different experiences, and each group reacted differently to the new reality. See Perry, "Moriscas," 278.
17. See Galia Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity: The Moriscas according to Inquisition Trial Records from Cuenca (1560–1600)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 2002), 33–35.
18. Perry, "Moriscas," 275–276.
19. See Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 65, 67.
20. García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 25: "les estructuras de la vida religiosa se conservaban en la intimidad de los hogares criptomusulmanes, en los cuales la mujer desempeñaba un papel importante como mantenedora de la tradición, costumbres y ritos, y como transmisora de unas enseñanzas."
21. Ibid., 73.
22. Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 226.
23. For the detailed account that appears in Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca (ADC), sección de Inquisición, leg. 252, núm. 3423, see García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 50. The phrase "desnuda en cueros como su madre la pario" appears there.
24. This claim appears in ibid.
25. Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 205, refers to the dry bath as noted in S.F. Matthews-Grieco, "El cuerpo, apariencia y sexualidad," *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente*, op. cit., 3: 68–72; on p. 206, she cites her source for pointing to suspiciousness regarding the use of water for magic as Yvette Cadaillac-Hermosilla, *Le Magie en*

Espagne: Morisques et Vieux Chrétiens aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles (FTERSI: Zaghouan, 1996), 65.

26. See Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel: The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 158 regarding leg. 138, núm. 8 (1590–1594). See also idem, "Noticias Sobre Los Ritos de Los Nacimientos y de la Pureza de las Judeo-Conversas Castellanas del Siglo XVI," *El Olivo*, 13: 29–30 (1989): 235–243.
27. This was Beatriz González, the wife of Fernando González de la Barrera. Her statement appears in leg. 153, núm. 13 (1500–01) in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid (henceforth AHN).
28. See her confession in the AHN, leg. 155, núm. 6 (1500–1501).
29. See Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 196. For information on these two Muslim terms, see F. Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1997), 335b–336a and 566a.
30. Hasenfeld, 279.
31. See leg. 181, núm. 5 (1497) in the AHN.
32. She confessed in 1485 as recorded in her trial, leg. 160, núm. 15 (1510–1511) in the AHN.
33. See García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 46–48. A woman who had worked for María del Sastre noticed her observance and asked to be taught these rites; she was instructed to fast during the month of Ramadan until the stars appeared at night, 43.
34. Ibid., 227, 275.
35. See García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 56–69. A description is included here concerning Luisa de Baptista of Deza, tried in 1571, ADC, leg. 252, núm. 3405: "Luisa de Baptista lavó a su niño con agua caliente al traerle de la iglesia y 'poniendolo muy galano', con cuentas de ámbar y corales al cuello, le puso un nombre de moro usando unas fórmulas en arábigo," 58.
36. Renée Levine, *Women in Spanish Crypto-Judaism, 1478–1520* (Diss., Brandeis University, 1982), 184–185. See leg. 144, núm. 3 (1491–1492); leg. 141, núm. 16 (1518); leg. 139, núm. 10 (1484); and leg. 137, núm. 4 (1484–1485) in the AHN.
37. See Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 227–232 for details of various *fadas* as well as those including debaptisms. See also Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 41, regarding debaptism.
38. See Levine Melammed, *Heretics*, 140–149, regarding the trial of a *conversa* midwife and the attitude of the Church toward them.
39. See Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 233–235. Vincent also refers to the attempt to allow only Old Christian midwives to deliver babies in "Las mujeres moriscas," 592.
40. Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 41.
41. See Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 251–265, especially 265, regarding beautification.
42. García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 62, ADC, leg. 263, núm. 3600 and leg. 341, núm. 4868. In the former, the following wording appears: "María de Montemayor había amortajado a una pariente suya a la manera que amortajan las cristianas nuevas, envuelta 'en lienço nuevo, compuestas y ataviadas con las mejores y mas preciosas joyas que tienen.'"
43. For more details, see Renée Levine Melammed, "Some Death and Mourning Customs of Castilian Conversas," in *Exile and Diaspora*, eds. A. Mirsky, A. Grossman, and Y. Kaplan, 157–167 (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1991).
44. See AHN, leg. 132, núm. 8 (1500–1501).
45. See AHN, leg. 153, núm. 19 (1487–1494).

46. See AHN, leg. 154, núm. 33 (1500).
47. For a table of the activities of the Inquisition of Toledo concerning women between 1491 and 1820, see Jean-Pierre Dedieu, *L'Administration de la Foi: L'Inquisition de Tolède (XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} Siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1989), 256.
48. Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 114–116.
49. See García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 25, where she writes that "numerosas son las mujeres acusadas de 'dogmatizadoras' como Ana de Liñán, en Deza (1570), mujer de un arriero que quiere llevar el Islam a 'otras personas mostrándose dogmatizadora y enseñadora de la secta de Mahoma."'
50. Jacqueline Fournel-Guérin, "La femme morisque en Aragon," *Les Morisques et leur temps*, ed. Louis Cardaillac (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1983), 525.
51. Ibid., p. 528.
52. Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," 593.
53. Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 270.
54. Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 79.
55. See García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 25, who agrees wholeheartedly with this assessment. "Es muy frequente, a través de la lectura de los procesos, que el acusado haya aprendido las prácticas islámicas de un miembro femenino de su familia."
56. See Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," 592–593, for details regarding different locales.
57. See Renée Levine Melammed, "The Ultimate Challenge: Safeguarding the Crypto-Judaic Heritage," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 53 (1986): 91–109.
58. This trial contains incredibly detailed information. See AHN, leg. 167, núm. 4 (1513, 1522).
59. Levine Melammed, *Heretics*, 155–158.
60. Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 238–239.
61. Levine Melammed, "The Ultimate Challenge," 95–96.
62. While there are some cases of intermarriage, most of the judeo-conversos married among themselves.
63. This is legajo 154, núm. 37 (1511–1513); the Spanish appears in Haim Beinart, *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, 2: 250 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1977).
64. See legajo 155, núm. 5 (1494) in ibid., 21–22.
65. See ibid., 21. The husband was Francisco de Toledo and the witness was Pedro de Teva.
66. The witness, María Alfonso, had seen Alfonso Alvarez and his sister-in-law Leonor engaged in a serious disagreement. Her statement appears in legajo 133, núm. 21 (1511–1513) as transcribed in ibid., 343.
67. See Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 109–111, for details concerning these two sisters, and the sources of her data, located in the ADC, leg. 263, núm. 2601.
68. Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity*, 112, n. 150.
69. Ibid., 112, 113, n. 152.
70. See Fournel-Guérin, "La femme morisque," 528.
71. Perry, "Contested Identities," 175.
72. See Haim Beinart, "Inés of Herrera del Duque," in *Women in the Inquisition*, op. cit., 42–52; see also Levine Melammed, *Heretics*, 45–72, and the bibliographic data in both.
73. For information on *beatas*, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Beatas and the Inquisition in Early Modern Seville," in *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Stephen Haliczer (London: Croom-Helm, 1987), 147–167.
74. Perry assumes she was married to an Old Christian which was why she was not expelled, and then points to the fact that she was prosecuted as an *alumbrada* rather than as a Morisca; see "Contested Identities," 180–181. Regarding her sentence, see 186–187.

75. See Beinart, *Records*, 1 regarding leg. 188, núm. 12 (1484). The accusation appears on p. 369; on p. 389 a witness stated that she said "que era Nuestra Señora una puta judihuela."
76. See leg. 178, núm. 13 (1498–1499) regarding this resident of Illescas.
77. Leg. 163, núm. 7 (1512–1522), a lengthy trial of a judaizing conversa from La Membrilla.
78. In the trial of this resident of Puente de Arzobispo, claims were made that Francisca's lifestyle had not changed an iota since her baptism; see leg.133, núm. 13 (1514–1515).
79. Leg. 156, núm. 9 (1538–1539); she was from Hita.
80. See, for example, leg. 155, núm. 2 (1512–1514), the trial of Juana Núñez in Beinart, *Records*, 2: 507 and leg. 162, núm. 3 (1511–1512), the trial of Inés López, in ibid., 2: 78.
81. See Hasenfeld, *Women between Islam and Christianity,* 284 for an example of female relatives from Granada trying to teach another Morisca how to defy the Church.
82. Fournel-Guérin, "La femme morisque," 529. See AHN, Inq. libro 988, f. 411.
83. See García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 43–44, based on ADC, leg. 341, núm. 4860.
84. Perry was the first to promote this agenda. See *Handless Maiden*, 5, and the chapter entitled "Dangerous Domesticity," 65–87; as well as idem, "Behind the Veil," 37–53.
85. Fournel-Guérin, "La femme morisque," 533, also contends that the Moriscas were the guardians of Islamic tradition.