

Spanish Marranism Re-examined*

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18.6. *Psalms 92-93*⁴⁹¹ (*Psalm Song for the Sabbath Day*)

Although the title *salmo canto* is mentioned in a number of Mora family *procesos*, only three (the second of Francisco de Mora Molina, Rodrigo del Campo's and María de Mora [Carrillo]'s⁴⁹²) contain a good part of the "Psalm Song for the Sabbath Day" and the following psalm 93. Sephardic liturgy has these two psalms sung or recited together in two sabbath services. The extracts from the *proceso* of Rodrigo's brother Alonso del Campo *el viejo* include the first eleven verses but indicate that Alonso recited it all.⁴⁹³

The very combination of these two psalms into a single "prayer" points to a derivation, not direct from Scripture, but indirect via a collection of Sephardic prayers.

Here follows a conflation of the four texts:

- 1: Salmo canto del día del sábado.
- 2: Tan bueno es de loar y de cantar de *Adonai* [en] el Su nombre alto.
- 3: Por denunciar de mañana la su misericordia y la su verdad por la noche.
- 4: Sobre arpa, sobre órgano, sobre guitarra, sobre baldeosa.
- 5: *Adonai* que me alegraste con tus obras, con la hechura de tus manos cantaré.

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⁴⁹¹ See "La liturgia crypto-juive," 18-21; also AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 557-560.

⁴⁹² ADC leg. 322, no. 4631.

⁴⁹³ See ADC leg. 330, no. 4722 (Isabel de Villaescusa), introductory extracts from *proceso* of Alonso del Campo. Francisco de la Vega I (son of Elvira de Mora) declaims vv. 2-5 of psalm 92 in his Toledo *proceso* of 1590 and explains that it is recited on Friday night (*la noche bendita del saba*). See AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8. His brother Lope de Vega (introductory denunciation, same *proceso*) declaims vv. 1 (*salmo canto del día bendito entrante del sabat [sic]*), part of 16 of psalm 92 and almost the entire psalm 93.

- 6: Cuán grandes son tus obras, mucho profundos los tus mandamientos.⁴⁹⁴
- 7: El hombre torpe no los sabe, el necio no los entiende.
- 8: Esto es lo que astila a los malos, y los florece como yerba, a todos los que obran en la maldad, para destruirlos para siempre.
- 9: Eres tu Adonai mi Dios y mi Señor [...]
- 10: [...]
- 11: Ensalzarás mi fama como rey, untásteme con olio vicioso.
- 12: Mis ojos no parando mientes a los que me ataleaban, en levantarse contra mi los malos, oye mi oreja.
- 13: El justo (es) como el dáttil, astila como el ales en el Líbano.
- 14: [¿La mochila?⁴⁹⁵] plantada será en las casas de Adonai y en las casas de nuestro Señor [la muchifla?] astilarán ahondurán.
- 15: Que vejez engrosará y endureará, que viciosos serán.
- 16: Por denunciar su verdadera, cá derecha cosa palabra de *Adonai*, mi fortaleza, y no hay tortura en ella.
- 1: Adonai enreinó, en grandía se vistió el Señor, fortaleza se ciñó; también aderezó el mundo que no se acueste ni se deshaga.
- 2: Aderezada es tu silla de antes, y de siempre eres tu.
- 3: Alzaron los ríos sus voces, alzaron los ríos sus apellidos del diluvio de las muchas aguas.
- 4: Fuerte eres, Señor, en las alturas, fuerte eres en las olas de la mar.
- 5: Tus testigos fieles y muchos, tu casa se formoseó con la justedad.

All four versions have *astila*. Rodrigo's contains other words not found in published 16th century Spanish translations of Bible and liturgy: *muchifla*,⁴⁹⁶ *ahondurarán*,⁴⁹⁷ *ataleaban* (which appeared earlier as a substantive: *ataleantes*) and *alés*. Amiel convincingly explains *ataleante* to represent *atalayante* ('he who spies upon; who lies in wait for')⁴⁹⁸ and *ales* to correspond to Ferrara 1552's *alerze* ('cedar').

⁴⁹⁴ This slip for *pensamientos* common to all four reciters, is indicative of a written intermediate source containing the error.

⁴⁹⁵ This is the spelling and place of the word in María de Mora Carrillo's version.

⁴⁹⁶ This is probably (as Amiel surmises) a variant of *muchiguar* ('to increase'), common in 16th-century and earlier Spanish.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. the modern Spanish *ahondar* ('to make profound') and *hondura* ('depth').

⁴⁹⁸ See above. *Atalayante* (corrupted to *ataleante*), then, is the Quintanar translator's consistent rendering of the Hebrew *šur* and *šorer*. The Inquisitors also asked Juan de Mora to elucidate *cados Adonai* and *ataliantes de la tierra*. See ADC leg. 318, no. 4587, May 27, 1589.

On October 12, 1591 the Inquisitor asked Rodrigo del Campo to elucidate the meaning of *astila los malos; que me ataleaban; astila como el ales en el Libano* and *la muchifla astilarán ahondurán* in his rendition of Psalm 92. He asked him also to explain the expression *ataleantes de la tierra* in the *somos obligados* prayer. Rodrigo replied that he did not know the meaning of these words and that they were in the text taught him by Inés del Campo and Elvira de Mora.⁴⁹⁹

The first occurrence of *astilar* is in Psalm 92,8:

bifroaḥ reša'im kemo 'eseb va-yasiṣu kol-po'ale aven le-hišamedam 'ade-'ad.

Francisco de Mora Molina renders this verse (in parentheses the variants in Rodrigo del Campo's and María de Mora Carrillo's more complete version):

Esto es lo que *astila* [a] los malos y los florece como yerba [a todos los que obran⁵⁰⁰ en la maldad] para destruirlos para siempre.

Rodrigo del Campo and María de Mora Carrillo render the first words of verse 13 (*ṣadiq ka-tamar yifraḥ*):

El justo (es) como el dátíl astila.⁵⁰¹

For *yafriḥu* in verse 14 Rodrigo del Campo provides the same Spanish verb: *astilarán*. It is an admirable equivalent of the Hebrew root *FRIḤ* ('to sprout; to burst out'), which all the Spanish versions of the Psalms made by Jews in the 14th through the 16th century less satisfactorily translate by forms of the verb *florece* ('to flourish').

For comparison I offer verse 8 from (1) Alba; (2) Constantinople Psalter;⁵⁰² (3) Ferrara 1552; (4) Venice 1552; (5) Ferrara 1553, emphasizing lack of a precise Spanish equivalent of *bifroaḥ*:

⁴⁹⁹ [...] *Preguntado que quieren decir las palabras del salmo canto, donde dicen 'que astila los malos; que me ataleaban; astila como el ales en el Libano; la muchifla astilarán ahondurán' y la otra palabra de la oración de obligados que dice 'ataleantes de la tierra'. Dijo que no sabe la significación de 'muchifla' [...], que así las deprendió de ellas [...].* See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, ff. 167v-168r.

⁵⁰⁰ Alonso leaves out *a todos los que obran*.

⁵⁰¹ *El justo es como el dátíl astila como el alés en el Libano* ('The righteous is as the date tree breaking out as the cedar in Lebanon'). The translator's lack of an equivalent for *SGH* ('to grow; become strong') makes *astila* function as the equivalent of both verbs in the Hebrew verse.

⁵⁰² A Spanish Psalter in Hebrew letters printed at Constantinople hypothetically dated around the same time as the Constantinople Pentateuch (1547). However, the aberrant *arnacio* for *dor* suggests a later date. The sole extant copy (Library of the JTSA) lacks title and the first nine pages. It was reprinted and transcribed in Latin letters in M. LAZAR (ed.), *The Ladino Scriptures. Constantinople-Salonica (1540-1572)*, vol. II (Lancaster, Ca 2000).

Que *florescen* los malos como yerua e reverdescen quantos obran las iniquidades a fin de los deperder por siempre jamás.

Enflorece malos como yerva y ermollecieron todos obradores de tortura para su seer estroidos hasta siempre.

Enfloresciendo malos como yerua, y hermollecen todos obrantes tortura, para ser destruydos fasta siempre.

Enflorece malos como yerua y ermollecen todos obrantes tortura por ser destruidos fasta siempre.

Enflorescen malos como yerua y hermollecen todos obrantes tortura para ser destruydos para siempre.

Apparently all five had recourse to the Vulgate:

Iustus ut palma florebit.

The same holds true for E3 and Madrid BN Ms. 10288.

Once again we note the Quintanar translator's fine command of Hebrew and knowledge of the recourses of Spanish. Corominas explains that the verb *astillar* signifies *hacerse astillas* ('to become splinters'); by way of metathesis *astillar* turned into *estallar* ('to burst; to break out; cf. Portuguese *estalar*) at the time when *astillar* took on the secondary meaning of 'to explode.' Since Corominas provides no authorities, it is impossible to determine the precise date of this transformation.

Whereas Hebrew *aven* ('iniquity') is rendered *maldad* in 92,8, *tortura* appears as equivalent of '*avlata* ('unrighteousness') in verse 16. The Quintanar translator thus demonstrates greater expertise in Hebrew and Spanish than Ferrara 1553's, who renders both *aven* and '*avlata* by *tortura*.⁵⁰³ One might add greater expertise than that of our 15th century Rabbi Arragel (Alba), who renders both *aven* and '*avlata* by *iniquidad*, no doubt inspired by the Vulgate's:

Et appruerint omnes qui operantur iniquitatem [92,8].

Et non est iniquitas in eo [92,16].

Rodrigo's verse 16:

Por denunciar su verdadería, ca derecha cosa palabra de Adonai mi fortaleza non hay tortura en ella [...].

⁵⁰³ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 559. He does not tell us if *tortura* appears with this meaning in non-Jewish texts. Cf. COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, s.v. torcer.

aside from its intrinsic beauty and literary (not literal) faithfulness to the Hebrew, contains a word apparently unknown to Spanish lexicographers: *verdadería*. To the best of my knowledge, it is not found in any of the published 16th century translations of Bible and liturgy, or in Alba. However, I have located it in the Spanish translation fragment of the *Rosh Hodesh* service, hypothetically dated late 15th century, published by Fidel Fita, where it renders *amiteka* ('Thy truth') in Psalm 115,1:

No a nos, *Adonai*, no a n[os, sino] a tu nombre das honra, por tu misericordia y por tu *verdadería*.⁵⁰⁴

Now let us look at the first half of 92,11:

va-tarem kir'em qarni,

for which we have in all three versions:

Ensalzarás mi fama como Rey.

Ferrara 1552 provides:

Y enalçarse a como unicornio mi cuerno,⁵⁰⁵

and Ferrara 1553:

Y enalteciste como rinoceros mi cuerno.

But Constantinople Psalter leaves the word *re'em* untranslated:⁵⁰⁶

Y enalteciste como *re'em* mi cabeza.

This is also the case with a manuscript Spanish translation (in Hebrew letters) of daily and sabbath prayers for women (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Espagnol 668⁵⁰⁷):

Y enaltecerás como *re'em* mi reino.

⁵⁰⁴ See FITA, "Fragmentos de un ritual hispano-hebreo," 87. Cf. MORREALE, "Libros de Oración," 250. She believes it to be a case of "free word formation."

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Vulgate: *Et exaltabitur sicut unicornis cornu meum.*

⁵⁰⁶ CP 1547 also leaves the Hebrew word untranslated (all three occurrences).

⁵⁰⁷ See *Siddur tefillot. A Woman's Ladino Prayer Book* (ed. LAZAR). The editor claims –without any evidence– the manuscript to be of pre-1492 Spanish vintage. Lazar's publication includes four leaves in facsimile. Unbeknown to Lazar, I. S. Révah (*Annuaire EPHE IV, 1963-1964* [1963], 195) conjectured that the manuscript dates from Salonica, first half of the 17th century.

The Quintanar translator, metaphorically rendering *qeren* by ‘fame’ rather than literally by ‘horn’ betrays greater familiarity with the range of the word’s meanings in the Bible than the Constantinople Psalter’s translator. In a similar vein, the Paris manuscript renders *qeren* ‘kingdom.’ Now, I suspect that the reciters’ source –just like the Paris manuscript– had *re'em* merely in transliteration, but untranslated. Someone must have taken Hebrew *re'em* for Spanish *rey*, which would make contextual sense.⁵⁰⁸

Quite instructive is the formulation of 93,1 (“The Lord reigns, robed with majesty, the Lord is robed and girt with power, yeah the world is set firm that it cannot be moved”) in Francisco’s recitation:

Adonai enreynó, grandía se vistió, el Señor fortaleza se ciñó, también aderezó el mundo que no se acueste ni se deshaga,

and in Rodrigo’s:

Adonai vivo enreynó, en grandía se vistió, vistió el Señor de hermosura y ciñó-se de fortaleza y también aderezó el mundo que no se acueste ni se deshaga,

and in María’s:

Adonai enreinó, de grandía se vistió, vistióse *Adonai*, fortaleza se ciñó; también que aderezó el mundo que no se acueste, ni se deshaga.

As compared with Venice 1552 and Ferrara 1552:

.A. enreinó, loçania vistió, vistió .A. fortaleza ciñó tambien compuso mundo non resfuirá [Venice].

A. enreynó, loçania vistió, vistiósse .A. de fortaleza se ciñió, tambien se comporná mundo no resfuirá [Ferrara].

The form *enreynar* (‘to reign’) occurs consistently in Ferrara 1552 for Hebrew *malak* and infrequently alternates with *reynar* in Ferrara 1553 (I have located it there only in Psalm 146,10).⁵⁰⁹ It is found exclusively in Jewish sources.⁵¹⁰

Révah also furnished no evidence. However, Dr. Benjamin Richler of the National and University Library in Jerusalem stated in a communication to Mr. Michael Terry, Director of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library the writing to be early 18th century. Dr. Carsten Wilke, at my request, kindly examined the watermarks and determined 1542-1600 for the paper’s manufacture. Morphological traits, e.g., *judezmo*, *oge*, *mos*, *delantre*, *arnacio*, would seem to situate the manuscript in the Ottoman Empire around the 17th or 18th century.

⁵⁰⁸ My hypothesis is further confirmed by E4, E7; E19: *rrem* in Nm 23,22 and 24,8 (E3 has *olicornio*; E19 has: *un animal que llaman rreen*); by BNM MS 10288: *la besta rem* in Job 39,9.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 559.

⁵¹⁰ See ALVAR, *El Ladino, Judeo-español calco*, 145. See Alba, Ex 15,18: *Adonai enreynar*-

In the same verse, all reciters render the Hebrew *ge'ut* / *grandía*. There are eight scriptural occurrences, which Ferrara 1553 renders *sobervia* (3 times), *grosura* (once), *grandeza* (once), *alteza* (once), *alzamiento* (once) and in the verse under consideration, *lozania* (also in Alba). MRAH alternates *altura*, *altivedad*, *soberbia*, *magnificencia*, *gloria*. As far as I can tell, *grandía* occurs neither in Ferrara 1552 or Ferrara 1553, nor in published medieval Bibles. The Catalan equivalent *grandeza*, however, is employed to render *gedulah* ('greatness') in two 15th century versions of the first line of the '*alenu*'.⁵¹¹ Corominas tells us that the ancient word *grandía* "tenía sentido moral 'grandeza'" and provides 13th-16th century examples.⁵¹² Once again Quintanar provides an excellent equivalent, absent here and elsewhere from the Judeo-Spanish tradition, as we know it.

Still in the same verse, for the Hebrew *bal-timot* ('does not totter') both reciters provide an apt paraphrase: *que no se acueste ni se deshaga* ('that does not lie down nor disintegrate'). Alba has: *como non se comoviese* (= *conmoviese*) ('so that it cannot be moved'). Constantinople Psalter, Constantinople 1547 and Venice 1552 render the Hebrew root *MWT* (35 occurrences in Scripture) consistently by forms of *resfuir* ('to slide; to slip'); Ferrara 1552 and Ferrara 1553 alternate forms of *resfuir* and of *resvalar* (*resbalar*) (same meaning) in an apparent attempt to systematically eliminate *resfuir*. I have located *resfuir* elsewhere in Alba (Dt 32,35), E19 (2Sm 6,6),⁵¹³ the *Sefer Tesubah*.⁵¹⁴ The word is –as far as I can tell– unique to Jewish sources.⁵¹⁵ Yet our Quintanar liturgy uses neither *resfuir* nor *resvalar*.

18.7. Grace

Francisco de Mora Molina and Rodrigo del Campo are the only Mora family members to provide the Inquisitors with a compendious prayer recited over meals.⁵¹⁶ It consists of 14 or 15 short passages of which the first ten, repro-

ra), but Ps 93,1: *El Señor regno e loçania vistio* and Ps 146,10: *Enregnara el Señor* and Gn 37,8 in E3, E4, E7, E19.

⁵¹¹ As we have seen above, there as well the Quintanar liturgy applies *grandía* to *gedulah*, where Ferrara 1552 *et al.* have *grandeza*.

⁵¹² See COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, s.v. *Grande*. Cf. Antón de Montoro, *sobre el robo de Carmona* (1474): *De más virtud que grandía*.

⁵¹³ E19 is directed to a Jewish audience.

⁵¹⁴ See LAZAR (ed.), *Sefer Tesubah*, 163 (*resfuyeron el cuero*).

⁵¹⁵ COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, cites only *refuir* (*sic*) in 1543. It does not appear in COVARRUBIAS, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*.

⁵¹⁶ Francisco de la Vega I of Alcázar in 1590 has a short version of this: *Bendigamos Adonai nuestro Señor, Él nos da que comamos y se nos da que bebamos, bendito Él y Bendito Su nombre*.

duced below (I put variants between parentheses) obviously originate in the very lengthy Sephardic Grace after Meals:⁵¹⁷

1: Bendigamos al Señor (a *Adonai* nuestro Señor) que de lo suyo (de lo que nos da) comemos, de lo suyo (de lo que nos da) bebemos, de lo suyo (de lo que nos da) nos mantenemos.⁵¹⁸

2: Bendito él, bendito su nombre, bendito su (grande) poderío por siempre jamás.⁵¹⁹ Amén con amén.

3: Nos hereda (Herédanos, Señor) con ley de vida (mantenencia) que heredaste a nuestros padres en la tierra buena.

4: Y (Porque) tú Señor, (solo) mantienes y gobiernas todas las criaturicas (las cosas vivas) en todo y sobre todo.

5: Bendita sola la palabra del Señor (Bendito y alabado).

6: Hartó al ánimo sediente, al ánimo hambriente [Ps 107,9].

7: Lo que comemos sea (comimos) para hartura, (lo que bebimos para medicina), lo que nos sobre sea (lo que sobró) para bendición.

8: El Señor bendiga a nuestra mesa (Bendíganos el Señor la mesa) y los que comieron a ella, y la haga como la mesa de Abraham nuestro padre, comieron y sobróles.

9: Los leones enfamentarán (enhanbrentarán); los que requieren al Señor nunca les menguará todo bien (y hartura) [Ps 34,11]. Requiérenos (Señor) con bien y con honra y con piedad.⁵²⁰

See AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8. Francisco de la Vega II, alias Veguilla, also of Alcázar, in 1590 knows only a short grace: “May it God behove that food and drink improve: Lord give us grace that this take place.” See AHN Inq. leg. 188, no. 1.

⁵¹⁷ AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 571-572; “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 33-34: from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [100 vº-101] and leg. 321, no. 4627 (folio numbers not provided).

⁵¹⁸ Confusion between *bebemos* and *bivimos* (= *vivimos*) inspired the amplification-modification of the traditional text (“of whose bounty we have eaten and through whose great goodness we live”) as far back as 1484 (see BEINART, *Records of the Trials* 1:576 [1483-1485]: *Bendigamos a Dios que de lo Suyo comemos e de lo Suyo bevemos, Bendito sea El y el Su Santo Nombre*). This is the only fragment known to me of Spanish language Grace After Meals liturgy in a pre-expulsion Inquisitorial document.

⁵¹⁹ The phrase “blessed be his memory for ever and aye” occurs elsewhere in the traditional, but not in the Quintanar liturgy (*baruk še-amar*). The substitution of “his (great) power” for “his memory” (*zikro*) strikes me as a translator’s “improvement.”

⁵²⁰ As Amiel points out (“Marranisme” II, 572), the more literal Spanish translation of this verse in Ferrara 1552: *Cadillos [...] se enfambrecieron [...] (481v)* is quite different from the one in Ferrara 1553: *Leoncillos fueron [...] enfambrecidos [...]*. This shows that each of these Ferrara translations represents an individual effort or a stage.

10: (Y) No nos tragáis (traigas) (a mano) (a dádiva (de mano de persona) de carne y (de) sangre, (porque) su dádiva es poca, su zaherio (zahiero) es mucho, salve Tu mano la grande, la llena; no seamos (Señor, avergonzados ni) menospreciados.

The remarkable aspects of these snatches are their seemingly accidental selection and their closeness to the letter and spirit of the original Hebrew. The beginning (1-2) is not part of Grace proper, but rather part of its antiphonic prologue, when three or more have eaten together.⁵²¹ What follows (3-4) is the essence of the second paragraph of the Grace proper, using the same vocabulary. Passage (5) corresponds to “We (thank Thee and) bless Thy name” at the beginning of the third paragraph.⁵²² This is followed (6-7) by an incomplete scriptural (Ps 107,9) and a non-scriptural verse from the characteristic close of the Sephardic Grace.⁵²³ Thereupon follows (8) the guest’s blessing, combined here with part of the verse (2K 4,44) following upon (7) in the Sephardic Grace. Thereupon follows (9) Ps 34,11, introducing the non-scriptural “What we have eaten, etc.” in ancient and present-day editions. After a seemingly improvised verse, “Seek us (O Lord) with good and with honour and with piety,” we meet (10) the charming non-scriptural plea found in the fourth paragraph of the Sephardic Grace after Meals (I present the translation by David de Sola Pool, slightly modified):

[...] may we not be brought to need gifts [...] from the hand of flesh and blood –for their giving is grudging and great the humiliation– but only from Thy hand so generous and liberal [...] Thus we shall not be put to shame [...].⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ The words “Amen and Amen” are from Ps 89,53: “Blessed be the Lord forever, amen and amen.” This verse closes the Grace after Meals in manuscript prayer books written in Spain, end of 13th century (Paris BN Ms. hébreu 591, 131r-v) and in Lisbon, c. 1485 (Bodl. Ms. CAN. OR. 108, 243v).

⁵²² Remarkably, Ferrara 1552 and, seemingly, the Quintanar Grace attach the first words of the third paragraph (Hebrew: *ve-‘al ha-kol*) to the last of the second (Hebrew: *u-mfarnes otanu*). However, the Grace after Meals in *Temunot* 1519, 476r, which principally informs Ferrara 1552, does not have this particular paragraph division nor any other sign of sentence separation between *u-mfarnes otanu* and *ve-‘al ha-kol*. The same holds true for *Temunot tehinot tefillot Sefarad* (Venice 1584) (hereafter: *Temunot* 1584), 158r and for several 15th century manuscript prayer books from Spain and Portugal, which I have consulted.

⁵²³ The close of Ferrara 1552’s Grace, as Amiel points out, does not contain Ps 107,9 (yet another proof of its unrelatedness to the Quintanar liturgy), though its inclusion in prayer books written in Spain, end of 13th century (Paris BN Ms. hébreu 591, 131v) and in Lisbon, c. 1484 (Paris BN Ms. hébreu 592, 322v) shows its ancient vintage. It has carried over into modern times, up to the present.

⁵²⁴ See POOL, *Book of Prayer: According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, 437. The source is Jerusalem Talmud, *jBeraḳot* 7d, a morning prayer attributed to the School of Yanai. The two additional adjectives modifying “Thy hand” *ha-‘aširah ve-ha-petuḥah* (‘bountiful and open’) appear for the first time (as far as I can tell) in *Temunot* 1584.

Let us compare the Quintanar version (10) with Ferrara 1552:

Y no nos fagas aver menester [...] a manos de dádivas de carne y sangre [...] que su dádiva poca y su repudio mucho, salvo a tu mano la llena y la ancha, non nos avergüenzaremos [...] y non nos aregistaremos [...],

and with the *sidur de mujeres*:

Y non nos haga aver menester [...] a manos de dádivas de carne y sangre [...] que su dádiva poca y su repudio mucho, salvo a tu mano la llena y la ancha, no nos arregistaremos [...] y no nos avergo[n]zaremos [...].

I find no antecedents in Ferrara 1552 and Ferrara 1553, or in Alba, or in the medieval Spanish Bible translations directed to a Jewish audience (some of which may antedate Alba), for *ḥerpah* ('humiliation') translated *zaherio*. There are 73 scriptural occurrences of *ḤRP*. Ferrara 1553 unsatisfactorily renders it in its various forms *repudio* (as in this instance also Ferrara 1552 and the *Sidur de mujeres*) or *vituperio*, rarely. Alba offers *vergüenza*, *desonra*, *vituperio*, *blasfemo*, *escarnio*. BRAH alternates *vergüenza* and *vituperio*. E3 and E19 offer exclusively *vituperio*.

Here is how Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, "Chaplain of His Majesty, Schoolmaster and Canon of the Holy Church of Cuenca and Consultant of the Holy Office of the Inquisition,"⁵²⁵ in his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid 1611) defines the verb *zaherir* (*ḥaherir*) corresponding to the noun *zaherio*:

Dar en rostro a alguno con el bien que le hemos hecho [...] Es nombre arábigo, y puede ser de raíz hebrea, del verbo *zahas*, admonere; porque al que zaherimos se suele decir: 'Mira hermano, acordaos que hice esto y esto por vos; no seáis ingrato.' O del nombre *zahir*, modicum, parvum, y de allí *ḥaherir*, que vale tanto como dar en rostro con el pequeño beneficio que se ha hecho.⁵²⁶

The word *zaherio* for *ḥerpah* is a windfall. It is extraordinary to meet in

⁵²⁵ On Covarrubias' rabid anti-Judaism, see D. REYRE, "Les mots et les silences autour de l'Inquisition dans le *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* de Sebastián de Covarrubias et dans son *Suplemento*," in J.-P. SANCHEZ (ed.), *L'Inquisition espagnole et la construction de la monarchie confessionnelle 1478-1561* (Nantes 2002), 273-288. On Covarrubias at work as a *calificador*, voting for torture on October 1, 1604, see M. GHAZALI, "L'Inquisition: un pouvoir au service d'une politique de répression et d'acculturation catholique. L'exemple d'El Toboso, village de La Manche," in SANCHEZ (ed.), *L'Inquisition espagnole et la construction de la monarchie confessionnelle*, 166-216: p. 190.

⁵²⁶ Covarrubias always supplies the Hebrew roots he suggests in Hebrew letters followed by their transliteration and Latin translation. Opp. COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, s.v. *herir*, where he derives *ḥaherir* from Latin *ferire* ('to wound'). He gives examples of *zaherir* in the meaning of 'throwing a favor in someone's face' as far back as Berceo (13th century) and *El Corbacho* (1438).

the Quintanar liturgy's Grace after Meals this perfectly apt Spanish equivalent for *herpah*.

18.8. *The Binding of Isaac* ⁵²⁷

Genesis 22,1-19, known as the '*Aqedah*', has formed part of the Sephardic liturgy since the Middle Ages. Besides Francisco de Mora Molina's, I have found only one other Mora family *proceso* to contain the '*Aqedah*: Cristobal de Mora Molina's ⁵²⁸ and a reference to it in Antonio Martínez de Mora's. ⁵²⁹ Antonio names and situates it in the "Quintanar liturgy:" *la Oración de que el Señor probó a Abraham, una vez en la semana, por solemnidad del Sábado* ('Prayer of the Lord putting Abraham to the proof, once a week, to solemnize the Sabbath'). Francisco provides the same name and, at the end, the rubric: "this prayer is also said on fast days." It is a much-abbreviated paraphrase of the 19 scriptural verses, hardly a translation. I submit that it derives from 16th century Spanish approximations of the Genesis story. Two elements point in that direction:

1: The interjection *Tate* ⁵³⁰

Tate! Abraham, no tiendas la mano al mozo. ⁵³¹

is familiar to connoisseurs of 16th century Spanish balladry, ⁵³² not least from the one that sings of the binding of Isaac.

2: A curious non-scriptural detail, the blindfolding of Isaac:

⁵²⁷ See "La liturgie crypto-juive," 25-27 and AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 573, from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [37].

⁵²⁸ ADC leg. 321, no. 4621, f. 21v. Cristobal, who presented himself voluntarily to the Cuenca tribunal on September 29, 1590, claimed to have learnt it from Francisco de Mora *el viejo*, who had been murdered just before his execution on August 12.

⁵²⁹ ADC leg. 324, no. 4652.

⁵³⁰ It is not in Cristobal de Mora Molina's version.

⁵³¹ See the two ballads on the Binding of Isaac collected in Morocco and published by M. ALVAR, *Poesía tradicional de los judíos españoles* (Mexico 1966), 30-31: *Tate, tate, tú Abraham, no mates a Isaac el horrado*. Cf. the version cited by J. LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS, "Dois romances peninsulares," *RFE* 9 (1922), 395-398: p. 395: *Tate, tate, Abraham, viejo horrado*. Cf. also the 20th century rhymed Portuguese version cited by Amiel from S. SCHWARZ, *Os Cristãos Novos em Portugal no Século XX* (Lisboa 1925), 58: *Tate Abraham, velho horrado*.

⁵³² COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, knows of no earlier documentation.

Pues, padre, atapadme [tápame] los ojos, porque no los alce airados contra vos,⁵³³

unknown to Midrash, is found in Alonso de Villegas' *Flos Sanctorum, Segunda Parte*, one of the various 16th century Catholic homiletic compendia available in Quintanar:⁵³⁴

Y con tener Isaac tal sentimiento, luego aceptó la muerte debiendo de rogar a su padre porque sus miembros no le fuesen rebeldes, viéndola tan de cerca, le atase y porque su corazón no concibiese ira contra él cuando descargase el golpe, le cubriese los ojos [...] La Escritura dice que ligó a Isaac y le puso sobre la leña, también es verosímil que le cubriese los ojos y se los vendase [...].⁵³⁵

18.9. Voluntary Fast: When the Holy Temple was standing

Once again, we have a short prayer well known in Sephardic liturgy⁵³⁶ confessed by the familiar twosome, Francisco de Mora Molina and Rodrigo del Campo as well as by Rodrigo's nephew, Juan del Campo II, who shared Francisco's cell for two years. In addition, I have found it in the Toledo *proceso* of Francisco de la Vega (1590).⁵³⁷

⁵³³ Cf. ALVAR, *Poesía tradicional de los judíos españoles*, 30-31: *Padre, atisme los ojos, no vos vea mal airado* and *Padre, atapime los ojos, no vos mire mal airado*; SCHWARZ, *Os Cristãos Novos em Portugal*, 58: *Não erga os olhos contra o Senhor, nem contra vós, meu pai irado, Tapou os olhos a seu filho* [...]. While these and a few other *romances* on Biblical subjects –along with many on non-Biblical subjects– have been preserved in Sephardic communities of the Diaspora, their peninsular antecedents are essentially non-Jewish. See S. G. ARMISTEAD and J. H. SILVERMAN, “Christian Elements and De-Christianization in the Sephardic *Romancero*,” in *Collected Studies in Honour of Américo Castro's Eightieth Year* (Oxford 1965), 21-38.

⁵³⁴ See Alonso de VILLEGAS, *Flos Sanctorum. Segunda Parte* (Barcelona 1587), 112-117: 112v.

⁵³⁵ See also the lengthy retelling of the Binding of Isaac, replete with rabbinic amplification via Nicholas de Lyra, in Juan de DUEÑAS, *Espejo de Consolación. Segunda parte* (Medina del Campo 1546), ff. 10-12.

⁵³⁶ Amiel cites its source: *bBeraḳot* 17a. See *Book of Prayer According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. Edited and Translated by D. DE SOLA POOL (New York 1941), 412; Ferrara 1552, 484v-485.

⁵³⁷ See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 162-163; “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 28-29; AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 574-575; from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [38] (Francisco de Mora Molina) and leg. 321, no. 4627, f. [166] (Rodrigo del Campo). See ADC leg. 325, no. 4663, November 26, 1591; Juan del Campo (ADC leg. 325, no. 4663); Francisco de la Vega I (AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8, “audiencia de 8 de noviembre de 1590”).

In Rodrigo del Campo's confession:

When the Holy Temple was standing the man who sinned used to fast and bring his blood and his fat before Thy altar and sacrificed it to Thee and Thou, Lord, wouldst receive his sacrifice and fast and pardon his sin. Now, Lord, in this my fast my fat is diminished and my blood lessened as if I had sacrificed it before Thy altar. I supplicate Thee, Lord, to receive it in Thy high heavens as a pardon for my offences and sins.

In Francisco de Mora Molina's confession:

When the Holy Temple was having a feast, whenever he sinned he would fast and bring forth his blood and his fat before Thy veneration and Thou wouldst pardon his sin. Thus, Lord, [in] this, my fast, may my fat be diminished, my blood reduced. Receive it, Lord, before Thy veneration and forgive me my sin.

In Juan del Campo II's confession:

When the Holy Temple was standing, the man who sinned would fast and diminished his fat, reduced his blood. Let my fat be little, my blood be reduced. Receive, o Lord, this my fast as if I sacrificed it before Thee.

Rodrigo's opening words: *Cuando la Casa santa estaba enhiesta* [...] in Francisco's recitation become *Cuando la Casa estaba en fiesta* [...]. Did he really confuse the literary Spanish *enhiesta* ('erect; upright:' excellent translation of Hebrew *qayam*⁵³⁸) with *en fiesta*? This error might be scribal, i.e. due to erroneous phonetic or written transmission or simply due to the inquisitorial scribe's unfamiliarity with the word *enhiesta*.⁵³⁹ Amiel, of course, attributes it to faulty oral transmission.

To account for the contrast between Rodrigo's and Francisco's versions Amiel writes:

The common Mora family version [*sic*] is Francisco's: deficient, even incoherent, it well illustrates both the tenacity of the transmission and the progressive obliteration of the original text. The learned clerk Rodrigo del Campo's [version] is perfectly coherent, but one must consider it an exceptional case. It is probable that the latter, by sheer force of eagerness (but through what mysterious ways?) had reconstituted the text.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁸ Ferrara 1552 merely approximates with the banal *firme* (firm, steady).

⁵³⁹ Cf. *en hiesta* (or is it *en fiesta*?) in Juan del Campo's *proceso* and *en fiesta* in Francisco de la Vega's.

⁵⁴⁰ AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 505.

I do not find in Francisco's, Juan del Campo's or Francisco de la Vega's version either tenacity of transmission or progressive obliteration. It represents, in my view, their approximate memorization of the very same text provided by Rodrigo del Campo. The latter must have had direct or indirect access to a written compendium. While we do see signs of polishing, copy-editing and additions in some of Rodrigo's other versions, this prayer is hardly a "mysterious reconstitution." As to his "sheer force of eagerness," it is undeniable.

18.10. Psalm 121⁵⁴¹

Psalm 121 is entitled *canto grados* (Latin *canticum graduum*, from Hebrew *šir ha-ma'alot*, 'song of steps'). It is found among the confessed prayers of Francisco de Mora Molina, his siblings Juan, María, Luisa, Isabel, his cousins Alonso and Inés del Campo and others. His aunt Catalina de Villanueva presents two versions; his cousin Juana de Mora only the amplification of the first half of verse 2. In Juan's *proceso*, there is a recited version and one written in his own hand. Juan is the only one to alternate *Señor* (Lord) with *Adonai* in one occurrence.⁵⁴² Levine-Melammed studied one of two versions of Psalm 121 found in the Toledo *proceso* of Francisco de la Vega of Alcázar (1590).⁵⁴³ In it she noticed something that escaped Révah and Amiel.⁵⁴⁴ This translation (like the Quintanar ones) maintains the first person throughout, whereas the Hebrew psalm shifts in the third verse from first person to third. To be sure, Levine-Melammed does not hold to Révah and Amiel's "oral transmission" theory. She

⁵⁴¹ See "La liturgie crypto-juive," 36-38; AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 499, 555-556 only from ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [35v] (Francisco de Mora Molina).

⁵⁴² Amiel refers to one of Catalina de Villanueva's two versions, which includes the words *de todo mal* (= *mi-kol ra'*), in addition to Francisco's and Juan's paraphrase *de peligros y (de) contrarios*. *De todo mal* also occurs in the recitation of Inés del Campo (learnt from Inés de Mora) (ADC leg. 320, no. 4620) and in the version confessed by Lope de la Vega of Alcázar (the son of Francisco de Mora Molina's sister Elvira). The latter was published by R. Levine-Melammed from his brother Francisco de la Vega's Toledo *proceso* (AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8 [1590-1591]). See LEVINE-MELAMMED, "Judaizers and Prayer," 281. Amiel refers in passing to still another version of Psalm 121 in ADC leg. 340, no. 4722, the posthumous *proceso* of Isabel de Villaescusa (Alonso del Campo the Elder's first wife), from a denunciation by Apolonia de Barrionuevo. Rodrigo del Campo (ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. [91r]) claims he learnt *canto grados* from his nephew Alonso del Campo the Younger, but does not supply a text. The text provided by Alonso del Campo the Elder (ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. 20r) is in the first person plural.

⁵⁴³ See AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8, f. 14v introductory denunciation by Lope de la Vega; cf. Francisco's incomplete version recited on 17 September, 1590, which has *verná* in v. 1.

⁵⁴⁴ LEVINE-MELAMMED, "Judaizers and Prayer," 281.

believes that the texts learned by heart in Alcázar derive from a compendium owned by Juan del Campo I [Rodrigo's brother] and later destroyed by his wife. Yet, she does point out that in a 1493 *proceso* (Catalina Alfonso of Huete) Psalm 121, 8's possessive pronouns are in the first person.⁵⁴⁵

Amiel noted the word *bandeo* (alternately *vandeo* and *vandea*), among other superfluous adjectives. It is common to seven amplifications of verse two among many others I have seen. The original Hebrew simply has "My help (is) from the Lord" (Ferrara 1552 and Ferrara 1553: *Mi ayuda de con Adonai*). However, the almost literal, seemingly unrelated version provided by María de Mora does not have these adjectives: *mi ayuda sea del Señor* ('my help be from the Lord').

Venga del Señor mi ayuda, mi defensa, mi abrigo, mi *bandeo*, mi consejo [Francisco de Mora Molina].

Venga del Señor mi ayuda, mi *bandeo*, mi consejo, mi favor [María de Mora (Carrillo)].

Del Señor vendrá mi ayuda, mi *bandeo*, mi consejo, mi remedio [Juan de Mora and his cousin Lope].

Del Señor donde venga mi ayuda, mi *bandeo*, mi consejo, mi remedio [Luisa de Mora, Francisco's sister].

Del Señor donde venga nuestra ayuda, nuestro socorro, nuestro *bandeo* [Lope de Mora Carrillo, Francisco's cousin].

Venga de aquel poderoso Adonay (ayuda) nuestra medicina, nuestro *bandeo*, nuestro consejo [Catalina de Villanueva, Francisco's aunt].

Donde me ha de venir el consuelo y el consejo y mi *bandeo*, el remedio me venga del Señor [María de Villanueva, Francisco's mother].

Del Señor venga mi ayuda, mi medicina, mi remedio, mi *bandeo* y mi consejo [Leonor Enríquez, Francisco's wife].⁵⁴⁶

Que el Señor es mi guarda y el Señor es mi *bandeo* [Lope de la Vega].

⁵⁴⁵ Levine-Melammed omits the location: ADC leg. 11, no. 228. Catalina Afonso confesses two "Jewish" prayers. One is a confused improvisation, the second a free adaptation of Psalm 121, ending: *tú guardes mi entrada y mi salida toda ora de noche y de día*. I thank Juan C. Zoffio Llorente for transcribing the entire *proceso* for me.

⁵⁴⁶ See ADC leg. 327, no. 4691, September 15, 1590.

Amiel found in Corominas the archaic verb *bandear* (14th century: ‘to help’) but not the noun derived from it: *bandeo*, a synonym of *ayuda* (‘help’).⁵⁴⁷

The unexplained presence of this word, like that of the other synonyms of *ayuda* not dictated by the demands of literalism, points to someone’s adaptation in (or of) the written source of the Quintanar and Alcázar versions. For what it is worth, *bandeo* is not attested elsewhere. If the uniform amplification was indeed orally transmitted from a distant past, why was it adopted only by some? How to account for distinct wording among siblings?

In verse three:

al-yiten lamot ragleka [...] (‘May He not suffer thy foot to slip’),

we meet once again the Hebrew verb *MWT*, regularly translated in Jewish texts by forms of *resfuir* (*reshuir*) (‘to slide; to slip’) and of its synonym *resvalar* (emphasis supplied)

Non dará en *resfuymiento* el tu pie [Alba].

Non dará a el *reshuimiento* tu pie [...] [Constantinople Psalter].

Non dará a *resfuimiento* tu pie [Venice 1552].

Non de a *resfuimento* tus pies [...] [*Siddur Tefillot*].

No dará a *resvalo* tu pie [...] [Ferrara 1552].

No dexará para *resvalar* tu pie [...] [Ferrara 1553].

But at Quintanar there is neither *resfuir* nor *resvalar*. At least eight reciters provide the synonymous substantive *tropiezo* (*entropiezo*) from the verb *tropiezar* (‘to stumble; to trip; to slip’):

No dará tropiezo el Señor en los mis pies [Francisco de Mora Molina].

No dará el Señor entropiezo (tropiezo) en los mis pies [Juan de Mora, oral and written; his cousin Lope].

No des, Señor, tropiezo en mis pies [Isabel de Mora].

⁵⁴⁷ See AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 555. Cf. COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico*, vol. I, 487. As we have seen above, Juana de Mora adds the synonym *socorro*.

No dará tropiezo en mis pies [Catalina de Villanueva; María de Mora (Carrillo)].

No de el Señor tropiezo en los nuestros pies [Alonso del Campo el viejo].

No de el Señor estropiezo en nuestros pies [Alonso del Campo el mozo].

El Señor no de estropiezo en los mis pies [María de Villanueva].

Non daría tronpiezo en mis pies [Francisco de la Vega],

while María de Mora renders the verse differently albeit correctly:

No permite que mi pie se mude.⁵⁴⁸

I cannot account for the existence of María's variant, deficient but more literal version of the psalm. I do note that –in contrast with the mid-16th century translations– there is no effort on the part of the Quintanar source(s) to provide identical equivalents for all occurrences of the same Hebrew word.⁵⁴⁹

18.11. *When Moses went to fetch the Law*⁵⁵⁰

A “Sabbath prayer” confessed by Juan de Mora, his cousins the siblings Lope de Mora “the Orphan,” María de Mora (Carrillo) and Rodrigo del Campo is illustrative of how the latter “improves” a passage shared by family members.⁵⁵¹

The passage comes from the sabbath morning *‘Amidah*:

[...] When standing before Thee on Mount Sinai; and two tablets of stone he brought down [*horid*] in his hand and written on them the keeping of the sabbath as enjoined in Thy Tora [...].

⁵⁴⁸ There is a resemblance (no doubt coincidental) between Spanish *mude* and Hebrew *mot*.

⁵⁴⁹ See above the Alba and Quintanar renderings of *bal-timot* in Ps 93,2.

⁵⁵⁰ “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 18. Cf. ADC leg. 322, no. 4635 (Lope de Mora, 12 September 1592). Amiel's anthology does not include it.

⁵⁵¹ Leonor Enríquez refers to this “prayer” by its opening words only: *Quando Moisés fue por la Ley*. See ADC leg. 327, no. 4691, September 15, 1590.

Here is the text as recited by Juan de Mora:

When Moses went to fetch the Law for the children of Israel, two tablets of stone he brought down [*descendió*]⁵⁵² in his hand and written on them the keeping of the sabbath [*sabá*]⁵⁵³ [this is all he knows] and by Rodrigo del Campo:

When Moses went to fetch the Law and for the people of Israel, he brought [*trajo*] in his hand two tablets of stone and written on them the commandments of the Lord, written on them the keeping of the holy sabbath. He commanded us to keep it and that we ameliorate it in prayers, in eating (correction: love) and in doing the right things. Give us, o Lord, grace that we may thus do it.⁵⁵⁴

Elsewhere Francisco de Mora Molina uses a variant of this embellishment:

In six days the Lord made the heavens and earth. The seventh day He rested and reposed on what He had done. This most holy day He commanded that we take pleasure in it in eating and in drinking and clothing, in shoeing, in doing the right things, in prayer. Give us grace, o Lord, that we may thus do it.⁵⁵⁵

18.12. *The Blessing on the Washing of Hands*⁵⁵⁶

The traditional Jewish blessing after washing the hands is brief:

Blessed art Thou, Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, who hath sanctified us with Thy commandments and enjoined on us the washing of the hands.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵² This is also the verb used in Ferrara 1552. However, Juan recites *encendió* (he kindled) and so does his cousin María de Mora (Carrillo) (ADC leg. 322, no. 4631). This shared corruption may indicate oral transmission.

⁵⁵³ This popular form (derived from Hebrew?) of the Spanish-Portuguese word *sábad* (but accented on the last syllable) is current in the Portuguese Jewish communities of Amsterdam and Surinam. It is also found in the same text confessed by Lope de Mora, but his sister María recites “sábado.” In addition, I have found it in the Toledo trial of Francisco de la Vega I (*la noche bendita del saba*). See AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8.

⁵⁵⁴ “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 18. Cf. above the “grace after meals” recited by Francisco de la Vega II, alias Veguilla.

⁵⁵⁵ “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 24. Lope de la Vega recites a nearly identical text. See AHN, Inq. leg. 187, no. 8, *audiencia* october 1, 1590.

⁵⁵⁶ See “La liturgie crypto-juive,” 29. Cf. AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 569. For Inés del Campo’s version see ADC leg. 320, no. 4620, February 20, 1591.

⁵⁵⁷ See Mishnah, *Hagigah* 2,5.

Now in the Quintanar liturgy –in distinction to the traditional one– ablution of the hands preceded each prayer session or utterance. All the more reason for something resembling the original blessing to have been preserved had an orally transmitted liturgy originated with Jewish ancestors from “way back.” Instead, we confront a rather illogical reminiscence of Moses drawing from the rock water, which was not destined for ablutions, but for drinking (Ex 17; Nm 20). Révah’s, Amiel’s and my own researches in the Quintanar *procesos* have come up with no fewer than nine texts of this blessing.⁵⁵⁸

Blessed and praised be Thou, Lord, who gavest Aaron’s rod to Holy Moses, ordered the rock to be split so that we be clean of hands, so that we may praise Thee.

That was how Francisco de Mora Molina recited it. His mother, María de Villanueva, recited:

Praised be Thou, Lord, who ordered Moses to split the rock, to draw the clear waters and make us clean of hands.⁵⁵⁹

His sister María de Mora:

Praised be Thou, Lord, who ordered the water to be drawn from the rock so as to make us clean of hands.

Rodrigo del Campo, characteristically more long-winded:

May the angels in heaven and the people on earth give Thee praise, thanks and encomia, Lord, who gave Aaron’s rod to holy Moses, ordered the rock to be split, clear water to be drawn. With it may we be clean of hands so that we may bless and praise Thee. May Thy holy name be blessed and praised everlastingly. Amen.

Isabel Romero:

May Thou be praised, Lord, who hast sanctified us with Thy holy commandments⁵⁶⁰ and didst give the rod to Aaron and Holy Moses, ordered the

⁵⁵⁸ Because of three extra words I could not decipher from my notes, I have not included here the ninth, confessed by Cristóbal de Mora (ADC leg. 321, no. 4621, f. 21v). For a tenth, confessed by Hernando de Mora III of El Toboso (ADC leg. 330, no. 4707), see GHAZALI, “L’Inquisition: un pouvoir au service d’une politique de répression et d’acculturation catholique,” 196-197.

⁵⁵⁹ See ADC leg. 319, no. 4606. This text is not among her (scant) confessions but included in her sentence, which she shares with her daughters María and Catalina.

⁵⁶⁰ Amiel (“Marranisme” II, 569) calls attention to the semi-traditional incipit. It is also found in ADC leg. 328, no. 4705 (Catalina de Villanueva): *Alabado seas Tu Señor que nos santificaste con Tus mandamientos y divina Ley.*

rock to be split and to draw clear water by which we may be clean of hands so that we may praise and laud Thee.

Inés del Campo and Alonso del Campo *el mozo*:

Lord who hast sanctified us with Thy commandments, gave Aaron's rod to Moses, ordered the hard rock to be split and draw clear water so that we may be clean of hands and praise Thee everlastingly. Amen.

Diego del Campo:

Praised be Thou, Lord, who hast sanctified us with Thy holy commandments and gave Aron's rod to Holy Moses, ordered the rock to be split and draw clear waters by which we may be clean of hands so that we may praise Thy grandeurs.

Hernando de Mora *pastor*:

Blessed and praised be Thou, Lord, who gave Aaron's rod to that holy and blessed Moses and ordered the rock to be split and clear water drawn so that we may cleanse ourselves and be clean of hands so that we may bless and praise Thee.

Was this attractive blessing, which cannot in its entirety have come down from a Jewish source, composed or adapted in Quintanar?

18.13: Psalms 148-150; Song of the Three ⁵⁶¹

Rodrigo del Campo's Spanish version of Psalms 148-150 written down by him for the Inquisitor was neither inherited from pre-1391 Jewish forbears, nor from a manuscript anthology of the sabbath morning service. I shall now proceed to demonstrate that he translated it from his own copy of the Latin Bible (to be confiscated by the Inquisitors), the *Biblia sacra [...] ad Hebraicam veritatem* printed at Lyons by Guillaume Boullé in 1542. ⁵⁶² They are the first of "the other prayers [...]" Rodrigo wrote on the quire provided by the Inquisitor. He nowhere lets on his role in their inclusion.

⁵⁶¹ See AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 562-565, from ADC leg. 321, no. 627, f. [164, r and v]. Not included in "La liturgie crypto-juive."

⁵⁶² I herewith thank Mr. Seth Casten, librarian of the Union Theological Seminary of New York City, for having kindly allowed me to consult the fragile copy in its rare book collection. For other volumes available to or in the possession of Rodrigo del Campo, see RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 172-174; AMIEL, "Marranisme" II, 519-534.

In the original Hebrew, Psalm 148,2; 150,1-2 read (translation mine):

Praise Him all His angels, praise Him all His hords [*šeba'av*].

Hallelujah! Praise ye the Lord; praise God in His sanctuary, praise Him in the firmament of His power [*'uzo*].

Praise him in His mighty deeds [*bigburotav*] [...].

Rodrigo del Campo renders:

Alabadlo todos sus ángeles, alabadlo todas sus virtudes.

Loadlo en sus santos, loadlo en la firmeza de su virtud.

Loadlo en sus virtudes [...].

The Boullé Bible's readings are identical to the Vulgate's (emphasis supplied):

Laudate eum omnes angeli eius, laudate eum omnes *virtutes* eius.

Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius; laudate eum in firmamento *virtutis* eius.

Laudate eum in *virtutibus* eius.

I do not know why the Vulgate could do no better than to render *šeba'av* ('His hords'), '*uzo* ('His power') and *geburotav* ('His mighty acts') all by "His virtue(s)," when in Psalm 103,21, for example, it renders *šeba'av* correctly by *exercitus eius* ('His armies'). In any case, we have here proof positive that Rodrigo himself translated this psalm from Latin.

The Boullé Bible's version of Psalm 149, 2 differs from that of the Vulgate. Boullé Bible has:

Laetetur Israhel in factore suo, filiae Sion exultent in rege suo ('Let Israel rejoice in his Maker, the daughters of Zion exult in their king').

The Vulgate follows the Hebrew reading *bene šiyon*, 'the sons (or: children) of Zion': *filiis Israhel*.

Rodrigo del Campo presents the Boullé Bible lection in Spanish:

Alégrese Ysrael en aquel que lo hizo, y las hijas de Sión se gozen con su rey.

It stands to reason that Rodrigo also derived his 16-line extract from “The Song of the Three” (an apocryphal interpolation in the Septuagint’s Daniel between Dn 3,23 and 3,24) from his copy of the Boullé Bible. Exceptionally, the Boullé Bible (which follows the Septuagint via the Vulgate) designates the Three in ap. Dn 3,88 by their Hebrew names. However, Rodrigo’s use of their Babylonian names in his Spanish translation is not surprising, for that is how they appear no less than four times in the same apocryphal addition to the original Aramaic text.⁵⁶³

19. TRANSMISSION OF JUDAIC PRACTICES AND PRAYERS

19.1 *The children of Mari López*

The Inquisitors regularly (though not invariably) ask the accused, *who* had taught them the practices and prayers, but never cross-examine them on the veracity of their replies. Nor do the 20th century historian Israel S. Révah and Charles Amiel. Let us see if there are any substantial grounds for scepticism.

Francisco tells the Inquisitors that his father ascribed his Judaic heritage to *his* mother, Mari López, so we would expect Diego de Mora’s eleven siblings to be privy to it. All but Francisco the Elder, Mari López and Juana were dead at least a decade by the time the Quintanar arrests began in 1588, so we cannot hear their voices. Designated by their children and grandchildren in the *procesos* as transmitters of Judaic practices and prayers are Hernando, Lope, Inés, Isabel, Juan, Diego, Elvira, Mari López, all but Isabel and Mari López sentenced posthumously to execution in effigy.⁵⁶⁴

Let us consider each child of Mari López in turn as a potential or actual transmitter of Jewish practices and, more specifically, Jewish prayers.⁵⁶⁵

19.1.1. *Hernando de Mora II*

Hernando II who died, aged 84, in 1579, was tried posthumously and executed in effigy in 1592; *proceso* extant. He had seven children, for two of whom we

⁵⁶³ See ap. Dn 3: 93, 95, 96 and 97.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. Amiel’s list (“Marranism” I, 277) ; RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 102-104.

⁵⁶⁵ My selection of testimonies does not necessarily correspond to that of the posthumous *procesos*.

have a trial record: Juana *la moza* (the Younger), unmarried and Beatriz, unmarried. I reproduce here a second time (but only in translation) Juana's declaration of July 19, 1590:

Some 22 years ago her father Hernando de Mora taught her not to eat bacon even though, By God! she did eat it many and many a time and to keep the sabbaths very secretly without letting anyone know she was keeping them. Now some she kept and some not, so that it not be revealed. He taught her the festivals, that is to say, he taught her to keep three festivals of the Law of Moses: one around Holy Week, which she thinks they called "of the Lamb;" another around May, which she does not know the name of and she thinks was kept a week before the Feast of the Holy Ghost; another around September. He also taught her some words, which say *Canto grados, mi ayuda y mi socorro y mi vandeo y mi consejo y mi remedio*.⁵⁶⁶ The said festivals were unknown to her father, for an uncle of hers called Diego de Mora taught them to him in her presence. The said Hernando de Mora, her father, taught those same things to her sister, Beatriz de Mora. He taught them between the time she said, and when he died, some eleven years ago. Her father taught them to her and to Beatriz with much precaution, sometimes in the parlor and sometimes in the kitchen of his house, in the presence of no one else but his own, hers and her sister Beatriz's."⁵⁶⁷

Hernando's other child whose *proceso* is extant, Beatriz, was murdered by the mob during her execution on August 12, 1590. She had systematically denied all accusations of Judaizing until she was about to be executed. Let us hear her voice, loud and clear, during the torture session:

No sé cosa chica ni grande porque he venido aquí ¡vive el Señor! Así Dios me salve que yo no sé qué decir. Soy cristiana bautizada e confirmada y que ¡vive el Señor! me lo levantan todo, que me lo levantan como a Santa Susana, que así Dios me salve la ánima y sino que la condene, triste de mí si yo no sé que tengo de decir. Que si los caen verdad, nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Nicolás y Dios padre.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶ Psalm 121. See above.

⁵⁶⁷ See ADC leg. 314, no. 4554. I note once again that according to her testimony family abstention from pork and sabbath observance only began *c.* 1568 (when she was 30!), following the sanctions on the count of infringement of disqualification.

⁵⁶⁸ See ADC leg. 318, no. 4586. Cf. ADC leg. 328, no. 4705 (Catalina de Villanueva), June 20, 1588: *Vuelve Tu Señor por mi como volviste por Santa Susana* ('Defend me, Lord, as Thou didst defend Saint Susana').

Hernando had five grandchildren (four granddaughters and a grandson) by his daughter Mari López de Mora, who died before the persecution began. All four granddaughters had *procesos*, either at Cuenca or Toledo and two have survived, namely of Elvira Ruiz (Alcázar)⁵⁶⁹ and Leonor Ruiz (Quintanar).⁵⁷⁰ Elvira Ruiz credits her mother exclusively with the limited Judaic practices and prayers she confesses. Leonor Ruiz, on the other hand, attributes the Judaic teaching to her maternal grandfather, Hernando de Mora. Asked by the Inquisitor Francisco de Arganda at her initial session on September 3, 1590 if she suspected the cause of her arrest, she declared:

Señor disto no entiendo porque si no es porque siendo doncella vino de la villa de Alcázar a la del Quintanar que sería de 19 años, y estando en casa de Hernando de Mora su abuelo se acertó a lavar las manos con orinas y Hernando de Mora le dijo no lo hiciese porque era porquería, que más valía con agua clara; y que le dijo que porque era morena lo hacía. Y que después en la cocina a la lumbre sola esta y Hernando de Mora le tornó a decir que con agua se había de lavar las manos, que era mejor.⁵⁷¹

From this auspicious starting-point Leonor recounts with gusto her initiation into “Marranism,” attributing it all to her grandfather’s teaching.

19.1.2. Pedro de Mora

Pedro died before 1565 without progeny.

19.1.3. Lope de Mora

Lope died before 1573. Tried posthumously, he was executed in effigy in 1592; his *proceso* is missing. Of his six children, four were tried posthumously and executed in effigy in 1590, 1592 and 1598. Two, Lope de Mora Carrillo *de la Redecilla* (or *el casado*) and Isabel de Mora Carrillo, were put on trial and reconciled in 1592. Extracts from Lope *Redecilla*’s no longer extant *proceso* are contained in that of the above-mentioned Leonor Ruiz, his wife and in the posthumous one of his brother Francisco. Lope credits his father with teaching him a few of the standard prayers and psalms. At her first session on September 13, 1590 Isabel, asked if she suspected the cause of her arrest, comes up with the following:

⁵⁶⁹ AHN Inq. leg. 181, no. 14.

⁵⁷⁰ ADC leg. 551, no. 6918 (listed by Amiel, but not by Révah & Wilke).

⁵⁷¹ See ADC leg. 551, no. 6918, Leonor Ruiz.

Que estando su padre enfermo, vino de la iglesia y Lopo de Mora le preguntó sobre qué había dicho el predicador en el sermón. Y le respondió que había dicho que en el tiempo antiguo se guardaba el sábado y lo mandaba Dios guardar. Y que a uno porque había cogido en el sábado unas serojas lo habían castigado por la Ley. Y que su padre le respondió que era verdad que en el Testamento Antiguo, en la Ley que Dios había dado a Moisés, el sábado se mandaba guardar y era día muy solemne, y que no se comía tocino. No ha guardado sábado ninguno ni dejado de comer tocino. [...] Que holgarse esta confitente de oír decir y leer que el sábado le mandaba Dios guardar en la Ley de Moisés y que era día solemne, que es verdad que se holgaba.

The Inquisitor asked her what impelled her to rejoice.

Preguntada qué le movía a holgarse. Que holgaba porque había oído decir que Dios por Su boca lo había mandado guardar y con Su dedo había escrito que se guardase el sábado.⁵⁷²

The Inquisitor asked her where God had written this with His finger.

Preguntada donde lo escribió Dios con Su dedo. En las Tablas de la Ley que dio a Moisés.⁵⁷³

19.1.4. Juan de Mora II

Juan de Mora II died before 1573, was tried posthumously and executed in effigy in 1592; his *proceso* is extant. He had 13 children by two wives and a mistress. Eleven of them, reconciled in person, testify in their *procesos* to their father's teaching. I here select four:

His eldest daughter Isabel *la ciega* ('the blind one'), aged *c.* 50 at her first session on September 13, 1590 (all these defendants brought in together from Quintanar appeared on the same day), said she was of Jewish stock (*generación de judíos*) and when she was 20.

Su padre le dijo que guardase los sábados y no comiese tocino y que era bueno y santo hacerlo. Y así guardó algunos sábados, aunque otros trabajaba porque tenía necesidad de trabajar para sustentarse.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷² See Dt 9,10.

⁵⁷³ See ADC leg. 327, no. 4689.

⁵⁷⁴ See ADC leg. 324, no. 4647, Isabel de Mora Carrillo.

His unmarried daughter Catalina de Mora (Carrillo), aged c. 36-38, declared she could neither read nor write, had no books and had never seen any in her house. Asked if she suspected the cause of her arrest, she declared:

Siendo pequeña de 16 años oyó un sermón en que se predicó que antiguamente se solían guardar los sábados y no comer tocino. Y se lo refirió a Juan de Mora su padre que le dijo que era verdad que antiguamente se solía hacer lo susodicho cuando Dios era justiciero, que no se la hacía nadie que no se la pagase. Y que después se habrá hecho manso cordero, viniendo al mundo. Y que esto le dijo y se le murió luego su padre. Y que le preguntó si se usaba ahora guardar los sábados y no comer tocino y él le respondió que no. Y que no sabe porque pueda haber sido presa, que los muchachos del Quintanar decían, y en esta ciudad, de que entraron ella y otras muchas personas presas juntas a estas, las llevan porque guardan los sábados y no comen tocino. Y que respondía que mentían, que ella no guardaba sino las fiestas que mandaba Dios y Su madre bendita. Y que tocino lo comía cuando lo tenía y cuando no, le pesaba de no tenerlo.⁵⁷⁵

No misgivings apparently crossed the minds of the Inquisitors or, for that matter, of the historians, concerning the uncanny resemblance between the two tales of fathers, preachers and sermons.

At the session of February 19, 1591 she decided to confess:

Siendo de 20 años su padre Juan de Mora le dijo que era bueno guardar el sábado y que lo guardase y que no comiese tocino y que folgase así mismo una pascua por el mes de Setiembre y que purgase la carne con sal y agua y que no dijo más. Y que se les dijo estando solos en su casa propia sin que nadie estuviese presente. Y que no vio que enseñase las dichas cosas a ninguna persona, aunque entiende que las enseñó a sus hermanas Isabel y María de Mora. Y que ha hecho las dichas cosas hasta 4 o 5 años a esta parte que las ha dejado de hacer.⁵⁷⁶

Nor did the Inquisitors note that her father, alive when she was 20, died when she was 16.

Juan's unmarried daughter María de Mora (Carrillo), aged c. 30, at her first session on the same day as her sister Catalina's (September 13, 1590) similarly declared she could neither read nor write, had no books and that there were none in her father's house. Over a year later, on November 5, 1591, she credited her father with teaching her the fasts of Monday and Thursday, the celebration of the New Moon and three prayers, which I have discussed above. At a session a full year later, on February 27, 1592, she came up with the sabbath prayer and a

⁵⁷⁵ See ADC leg. 326, no. 4682, Catalina de Mora Carrillo.

⁵⁷⁶ See ADC leg. 321, no. 4620b.

lengthy psalm, also taught her by her father but only remembered after two years of incarceration. This time the Inquisitor, who was no doubt preparing the posthumous trial of Juan de Mora II, manifested *pro forma* a measure of incredulity:

Si las ceremonias y cosas de la Ley de Moisés que Juan de Mora enseñó las hizo así mismo, Juan de Mora?

To which she replied “after all of them had been specified for and read to her, according to and in the way that she had stated them in this her trial:”

Dijo (habiéndosele referido todas según y cómo las tenía declaradas por este proceso, y léidoselas) que las d. cosas así mismo y guardaba Juan de Mora su padre juntamente con esta confitente y los sus hermanos y hermanas, viéndose los unos a los otros como las guardaban, hacían y tenían, y tratando entre si todos que las hacían en guarda y observancia de la Ley de Mosén.⁵⁷⁷

Juan’s son Francisco Martínez de Mora, declared at his first session:

Señores, yo he deseado venir a confesarme, y por la gran vergüenza que he tenido de lo que he hecho lo he dejado, más yo diré todo lo que supiera y que es verdad [...] Y que en Jesús Cristo no habían creído su padre, ni sus pasados y que todo era de la Ley de Mosén y que tubo por bueno. Ha holgado algunos sábados, aunque mejor holgaba los domingos y ha dejado de comer tocino aunque cuando se le ofrecía muchas veces lo comía, aunque las veces que lo dejaba de comer era por lo que su hermano [Lope] le había dicho. Ha degollado tres reses cortando la nuca atravesándole el cuchillo. Palabras no decía ningunas ni las sabe. Ha ayunado solo un día y juró de no ayunar otro.⁵⁷⁸

19.1.5. Diego de Mora

Diego de Mora died in 1581, was tried posthumously and executed in effigy in 1592; his *proceso* is extant. Francisco de Mora Molina and his brother Juan de Mora declared to the Inquisitors that their deceased father, Diego de Mora, had taught them all the prayers they recited or transcribed from memory. Many other defendants invoke his influence, “teaching” and even missionary activity.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁷ See ADC leg. 322, no. 4631, María de Mora Carrillo.

⁵⁷⁸ Extract from Francisco’s no longer extant *proceso* contained in his father’s posthumous one (ADC leg. 322, no. 4632).

⁵⁷⁹ “Diego de Mora fut un facteur essentiel dans le maintien et l’enrichissement de cette tradition orale” (‘Diego de Mora was an essential factor in the maintenance and enrichment of this oral tradition’). See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 168.

His widow María de Villanueva recounts her husband's role in similar terms and dates the beginning of her children's Judaizing to 1575, that of Francisco de Mora the Elder's children to 1577 or 1578, that of Hernando de Mora's daughters Juana and Beatriz to 1578 or 1580 or 1584.⁵⁸⁰ A number of Francisco's siblings circumscribe the period of paternal transmission: "two years before Diego de Mora died;" "towards the end of his life;" "as he was approaching death;" "on his deathbed." His daughter Francisca, as we have seen, dates his death in 1581 and provides a particularly graphic description of the prayers he recited on his sickbed, which are different from those which he supposedly inculcated in his children:

Alzaré mis ojos a los montes altos del Señor, donde me ha de venir el ayuda y el remedio y el consuelo del Señor que hizo el cielo y la tierra. Bienaventurados aquellos cuyas maldades son perdonadas y cuyos pecados son encubiertos. Bienaventurado el hombre a quien el Señor no imputare pecado ni se hallase en su espíritu engaño. En la confesión de mis pecados desfalleció en mí la virtud, y aunque voceaba todo el día, no me había [...] ser oído de Dios. Cargaste sobre mí tu mano y tu seno, y así di la vuelta a ti, punzado como con espinas, descubrí a ti mi delito [...] Gloria a Padre, al Hijo y al Espíritu Santo [...] Así como desea el ciervo las fuentes de las aguas, así mi ánima a ti mi Dios. Señor, remedia a me, favoréceme Señor, perdóname.⁵⁸¹

What we know about Diego de Mora does not necessarily point in the direction of "New Christian" patriotism. Diego gave his eldest son the surname Molina in addition to de Mora, presumably in order to show off the Old Christian strain in his ancestry.⁵⁸² His eldest child, María and his third daughter, Francisca married the Old Christian brothers Pedro and Hernando de Sauca, respectively.⁵⁸³ The

⁵⁸⁰ On March 26, 1590 she dates Juana's and Beatriz's Judaizing 10 or 12 years back; on November 4, 1590, 6 years back. (Beatriz perished at the stake on August 12, 1590): *Lo que más hacían era darse las buenas pascuas unos deudos a otros, que entre ellos sabían que vivían en la Ley de Moisés, como los cristianos viejos saben unos de los otros que viven en la Ley de Nuestro Señor Jesús Cristo. ¡Ya ve su señoría: pensábamos que hacíamos cosa buena para salvar nuestras almas!* See her confessions extracted from her trial record in her husband's posthumous one: ADC leg. 319, no. 4607.

⁵⁸¹ See ADC leg. 314, no. 4555.

⁵⁸² Diego's brother Juan will have named his second son Cristóbal de Mora Molina for the same reason.

⁵⁸³ In a communication to me, Dr. Carsten Wilke wonders whether María and Francisca de Mora married the Sauca brothers before or after their father's demise c. 1581. In 1587 Francisca has her first child and María is childless.

bonds between these two Old Christians⁵⁸⁴ and their New Christian wives and in-laws were apparently quite firm, considering the lengths to which they went to free them from the Inquisition and to discredit the denunciations that had led to their arrest. These Old Christian sons-in-law of Diego de Mora who had for many years shared family intimacy were obviously unaware of any Judaizing on the part of their wives, in-laws or father-in-law. That is why their testimony was of no use to the Inquisition. Francisco de Mora Molina continued in the tradition of breaking away from the New Christian stain and marrying his way into Old Christian society. His wife Leonor Enríquez during her trial attempted to establish total Old Christian racial status and even nobility on her mother's side. A paternal uncle was a *familiar* of the Holy Office. Her husband, in his predicament, revealed New Christian "contamination" on her father's side, thus allowing him to denounce her, and the Inquisition to arrest and try her, on the count of "Judaism." It is very difficult for me (though not, of course, for the Inquisitors and the historians) to conceive of Judaizing taking place in such a household.

According to several testimonies cited in the course of this essay, Diego de Mora of Quintanar is supposed to have betaken himself around 1577 to neighbouring Alcázar, to "catechize" his near relatives there residing, in the tenets, ways and liturgy of "Judaism." Indeed, as noted earlier, in the Toledo *procesos* of these Alcazarites we do encounter recitations of the Jewish liturgical material to which Diego's children in Quintanar, their Aunt Catalina de Villanueva and their cousin Rodrigo del Campo own up.

19.1.6. Catalina López de Mora

She was deceased before 1572. She married Hernando Navarro. Neither was tried posthumously. Her only child Catalina Navarra, who died before 1590, was tried posthumously and executed in effigy in 1592. As we have seen earlier, Francisco de Mora Molina's wife Leonor Enríquez designates as her teachers of liturgy her deceased father-in-law Diego de Mora, her husband's deceased Aunt Mari López de Mora and Catalina Navarra (deceased), daughter of Diego's sister Catalina López. She does not mention her husband as her initiator.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁴ This did not apparently extend to other two brothers, Francisco and Jerónimo. The latter was one of the denunciators to the Inquisition. See the *proceso* of Francisco de Mora Molina's cousin Luisa de Mora (ADC leg. 314, no. 4553) and Francisco de Mora Molina's letters, above.

⁵⁸⁵ ADC leg. 327, no. 4691, confession of September 15, 1590.

19.1.7. Isabel de Mora

She was deceased before 1567, as well as her husband, Diego del Campo. Neither suffered a posthumous trial. We have seen that her daughter Elvira del Campo, as a result of her torture in 1568, cursorily stated that her mother had told her not to eat pork and to observe the sabbath. Elvira never mentioned prayers. We have also seen that Rodrigo del Campo never attributed any of his Judaic practices and prayers to his mother. Her son Alonso, however, does so; her son Juan, on the other hand, claims his uncle Diego de Mora as his sole source.

In the course of his trial, on April 30, 1592, Alonso del Campo, 65 had confessed to knowing six “Jewish” prayers. He went on to recite them and to write them down.⁵⁸⁶ They were the *Sema*, *Bienaventurada es la persona*, *Canto grados*, *Salmo cantos*, *Somos obligados* and the pseudo “Psalm of David.” His son Diego had confessed to two of these some 18 months earlier.

Preguntado de quién aprendió las dichas oraciones y a quién las ha enseñado y que personas las saben, dijo que Isabel de Mora su madre se las enseñó excepto el salmo que comienza: ‘Llena con gozo mi boca, etc.’, que lo aprendió en unas horas y que las dichas oraciones y salmos las ha enseñado a Isabel de Villaescusa, su mujer difunta, a Isabel Romera su mujer, a Diego, Rodrigo, Juan, Alonso y Pedro del Campo, sus hijos, a Leonor y Ana del Campo sus hijas. Y las han rezado cada uno desde que se las enseñó. Que el que menos las habrá rezado habrá sido más de dos años y que se las comenzara a enseñar a sus hijos desde que cada uno tuvo edad de doce y trece años y a las sus mujeres dos y tres años después de casado con ellas. Aunque Isabel Romera y Alonso y Pedro del Campo deben de saber poco de las dichas oraciones. Por ceremonia de la dicha Ley de Moisés se lavaban primero las manos y rezaba cada uno lo que sabía de ellas y que tres veces eran las que se habían de rezar las dichas oraciones cada un día excepto la del salmo cantos que era para solo el sábado. Y que algunas veces no las rezaban tres veces sino menos y algunos días no se rezaban. Y que no sabe que personas otras las sepan aún que presume que sus deudos sabían las dichas oraciones. Y que podrá ser que sus hijos o alguno de ellos sépanlas mejor que este confitente las tiene confesadas, porque cuando se las enseñó las sabía mejor.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁶ His transcriptions made on paper furnished him by the Inquisitor are lost along with his *proceso*, of which we only have the extracts contained in the posthumous *proceso* of his first wife Isabel de Villaescusa (ADC leg. 330, no. 4722).

⁵⁸⁷ See ADC leg. 330, no. 4722 (Isabel de Villaescusa, preliminary denunciation extracted from the *proceso* of Alonso del Campo), 20v-21r.

At the *Auto* of August 16, 1592, Alonso del Campo the Elder was sentenced to incarceration and the wearing of the sanbenito “in irremissible perpetuity,” his wife “in perpetuity.” His children were sentenced to incarceration and the wearing of the sanbenito: Ana for three years; Juan for two years; Leonor and Alonso the Younger for one year and Pedro for six months.

19.1.8 *Inés de Mora*

Inés died at an unknown date. Tried posthumously, she was executed in effigy in 1592; her *proceso* is extant. Inés de Mora’s son Francisco Navarro says his mother taught him one or another prayer, and that he is unable to recite “the *sema*.” His sentence to three years in the galleys has the following commentary:

Todas las confesiones que por el discurso de su negocio ha hecho son fingidas, hechas con mucha sagacidad y cautela y tales que por ellas no merece ningun perdón ni misericordia.⁵⁸⁸

I have encountered forms of the word *cautela* (‘deceit’) in two other *procesos*, namely those of Francisco de Mora Molina and of Rodrigo del Campo.

On January 30, 1592, the Inquisitors explain their decision to have Francisco executed at the next *Auto*:

[...] por la poca esperanza que se tiene de la conversión y ser hombre cauteloso [...].⁵⁸⁹

On October 12, 1591 Rodrigo del Campo, asked who had taught him “the prayers and the things of the Law of Moses,” after attributing some of them to his sister Inés del Campo and his aunt Elvira de Mora, declared that:

[...] nunca se trató entre este confesante y las d. Inés del Campo y Elvira de Mora que fuesen de la ley de Moisés; y que no sabía decir cierto si las rezaba por de la ley de Moisen; y que cuando se trataba de las cosas que este confesante tiene confesadas, nunca se decía que fuesen de la ley de Moisés, sino que eran de la Ley de Dios.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸ See ADC leg. 323, no. 4639.

⁵⁸⁹ [...] y que la primera conversión fue simulada y fingida, y si sentencia de relajación se ejecutara muriera judío; por el daño que podría resultar de su comunicación fuese relajado; se hayan benigna y piadosamente con él. See ADC leg. 328, no. 4704, f. [145r].

⁵⁹⁰ See ADC leg. 321, no. 4627, f. [161r].

Cautelosa respuesta ('a deceitful reply'), exclaims the Inquisitor: one of his rare recorded appraisals of testimony.

María de Villanueva (Diego de Mora's widow) at her first session on October 14, 1589, tells the Inquisitor that her husband warned her more than 30 years previously to abstain from pork and to keep the sabbath. In spite of the fear of her husband she would fry and eat good rashers of bacon from time to time.⁵⁹¹ On the other hand she attributed Judaic prayers to the teaching of her sister-in-law Inés:

Las oraciones del *sema*, canto grados y somos obligados como dicho tiene se las enseñó Inés de Mora, su cuñada; y que no hizo caso de ella y que le parecieron disparates; y que aun que ha dicho que rezaba las dichas oraciones a la tarde y a la mañana, no las rezaba sino las que manda la santa madre iglesia.⁵⁹²

19.1.9. *Elvira de Mora*

Born in Quintanar, she lived in Alcázar and died there in 1570. She was tried posthumously and executed in effigy by the Toledo tribunal in 1591.⁵⁹³ Levine-Melammed notes contradictory appraisals of Elvira de Mora's role as a promoter of Judaizing. On the one hand, her daughter Isabel de la Vega asserted "she knew the whole Law of Moses and taught it to her" (*sabía toda la Ley de Moisés y la enseñó a esta*). On the other hand Isabel's cousin María López (wife of Francisco Rodríguez de Armenia) blamed Isabel's mother for discouraging Isabel's observance of "Judaism," particularly the sabbath. Levine-Melammed makes the interesting suggestion that the attribution of Judaic practices to deceased persons was a tactic, since the latter were (except for their mortal remains and reputation) be-

⁵⁹¹ *Dijo que ha sido presa porque Diego de Mora su marido habrá más de 30 años que le empezó que no comiese tocino y que guardase los sábados por temor del d. Señor Diego de Mora, y que otras veces asaba buen torrezno y lo comía.* See ADC leg. 319, no. 4606, 54v. The Inquisitor describes this "confession" as *pertinacia* ('stubborn withholding of truth').

⁵⁹² See ADC leg. 319, no. 4606, 58v, November 7, 1589. She also corrected into "four years ago" her recorded declaration that she had stopped believing in the Law of Moses six months ago. In spite of her revocation and contradictions the Inquisitors voted for her reconciliation in 1590, although according to Révah she was kept in her cell, where she died between 1590 and 1592 (RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 103).

⁵⁹³ Her *proceso* is no longer extant but her husband's posthumous one is (Alonso de la Vega: AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 7). He was executed in effigy at Toledo in 1594. Her four children—Isabel, Lope, Francisco and María de la Vega—were arrested at Alcázar in 1590. Only Francisco's *proceso* survives. It contains extracts of Isabel's, Lope's and María's (ADC leg. 187, no. 89).

yond the reach of the Inquisition.⁵⁹⁴ Her son, Francisco de la Vega of Alcázar, whose Toledo *proceso* is extant, was impelled to “voluntarily confess”⁵⁹⁵ by the recent arrest, imprisonment and execution in Cuenca of his near and dear ones:

Dijo que es verdad que este ha pedido y pide audiencia y la quiere para decir que siempre se ha sido buen cristiano por la misericordia de Dios y que no ha hecho cosa cuyo conocimiento sea de este Santo Tribunal. Y que cómo quemaron en Cuenca por la Inquisición a Francisco de Mora, vecino del Quintanar, hermano de Elvira de Mora madre de este preso, por haber guardado los sábados y no comer tocino,⁵⁹⁶ a este le dio, cuando se lo dijeron, un vuelco el corazón, y dijo entre sí: ‘Va los medir si fue mi madre otra tal como su hermano.’ Y así este recorrió su memoria y se acuerda que había más de veinte y cinco años que, siendo este muchacho, vio como Elvira de Mora su madre guardaba los sábados, etc., etc.⁵⁹⁷

On September 16, 1590 he “confesses” a number of “Judaic” prayers (though not most of the Sephardic core). He claims his mother taught him the three words *Sema Israel Adonai* during his childhood. Moreover:

Su madre enseñó a todos sus hijos a cada uno de por si hasta enseñarlos, y después todos juntos lo hacían en casa.

He further informs the Inquisitor “everyone in Quintanar –which I visited only a few times in my life in order to collect some debts, staying with my aunt Juana de Mora– is in the Law of Moses.”

The Toledo *proceso* of Elvira’s son Lope de la Vega is no longer extant, but it is excerpted at length in his younger brother Francisco de la Vega’s *proceso* and Catalina Navarra’s posthumous *proceso*.⁵⁹⁸ Arrested at Alcázar and incarcerated at

⁵⁹⁴ See LEVINE-MELAMMED, “Judaizers and Prayer,” 274-276; RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 443, n. 5 to 104.

⁵⁹⁵ There is some confusion about the terms “voluntary confession” and “spontaneous self-denunciation” (cf. H. Ch. LEA, *Inquisition of Spain* (New York 1907-1908), vol. 2, 572, cited by AMIEL, “Marranisme” I, 208). Francisco de Mora el Viejo’s execution took place in Cuenca on August 12, 1590; a warrant for Francisco de la Vega’s arrest in Alcázar was issued on August 29; he was arrested on August 31; incarcerated in Toledo on September 4; voluntarily asked for and was granted his first audience to confess on September 13.

⁵⁹⁶ Francisco de la Vega must have known that Francisco de Mora was sentenced for *not* confessing Judaizing.

⁵⁹⁷ See AHN Inq. leg.187, no. 8, First Audience, September 11, 1590.

⁵⁹⁸ AHN, Inq. leg.187, no. 8 and ADC leg. 321, no. 4626. For excerpts of Isabel de la Vega’s no longer extant *proceso* gleaned from the lengthy introductory testimony in her brother Francisco’s and in Juan del Campo’s *procesos*, see LEVINE-MELAMMED, *Heretics or Daughters*, 156-159; EAD., «Judaizers and Prayers», 285-288.

Toledo with his siblings, he supplicated and was granted his first audience in order to confess and ask for mercy on September 7, 1590. At successive sessions (September 10, 12, 16, October 1, 2, February 6, 1591) he declared and ratified that he had learnt Judaic practices and prayers (which he recited) from his mother⁵⁹⁹ and:

Su madre le dijo a solas que los parientes que tenía en el Quintanar hacían la vida de judíos como ella.

Her daughter María de la Vega, who denied all charges of Judaizing and paid for this with her life, named herself defender of her mother's innocence and interests.⁶⁰⁰

19.1.10. Juana de Mora

Of the twelve children of Juan de Mora and Mari López, this is the first of two survivors on our list whose voice we hear. Born at Quintanar c. 1512 (aged c. 80), arrested and brought to Cuenca together with her husband and so many other relatives, she died in her cell on May 8, 1592 and was "reconciled in effigy" at the Cuenca *Auto* of August 16, 1592.⁶⁰¹ She and her husband Juan López de Armenia the Elder (12 years her junior), had one surviving child, Juan López de Armenia the Younger, supposedly born c. 1570.⁶⁰² At her first session on August 19, 1590 (only seven days after her brother Francisco and her niece Beatriz had been murdered at the stake) she identified her mother, reconciled by the Holy Office⁶⁰³ and her paternal grandfather, garroted and burnt at the stake.⁶⁰⁴

⁵⁹⁹ See *infra*, Section 19.2.4.

⁶⁰⁰ See J. SIERRA, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo (1575-1610). Manuscrito de Halle* (Madrid 2005), 402.

⁶⁰¹ As stated earlier, extracts from her no longer extant *proceso* may be found in the one of her husband, Juan López de Armenia the Elder (ADC leg. 283, no. 3946) and in the one of Catalina Navarra (ADC leg. 321, no. 4626), daughter of Catalina López de Mora. Brief extracts are also contained in ADC leg. 320, no. 4618, posthumous *proceso* of Hernando de Mora.

⁶⁰² It seems odd that Juana de Mora should have had a baby at age 60. Reconciled in 1592, Juan López's *proceso* is no longer extant. It was he who married Leonor Enríquez, widow of the executed Francisco Mora Molina. He was reconciled at Cuenca in 1592. See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 113.

⁶⁰³ The summary of her first session with the Inquisitor contained in ADC leg. 283, no. 3946 does not mention Judaic teaching received from her mother. ADC leg. 321, no. 4626 has: *y haberle enseñado su madre*. ADC leg. 320, no. 4618 has: *según que dijo había sido enseñada de su madre*.

⁶⁰⁴ Hernande de Orgaz [*sic*] in ADC leg. 283, no. 3946 but correctly Hernando de Mora in the parallel extracts.

At her second session of September 18, 1590 she stated her willingness to confess “Judaizing” but

[...] que le vayan diciendo lo que hay de pesquisar contra ella para que se vaya acordando, porque si no es unas cosillas, no sabe otra cosa que algunas veces se lavaba las manos y que no entiende que hacía para poderlo decir que a la llana hacía las cosas, que bien podría errar en hartas y no entenderlas.⁶⁰⁵

The next extract from her *proceso* contains the questions and answers following the *Publicación de testigos*. Asked what prayer she recited when washing her hands, she knew none. She mentioned having learned by heart passages from *Espejo de Consolación* and three psalms, the same as those confessed by her husband, that she proceeded to recite, each followed by the doxology “In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.”⁶⁰⁶ Accused of knowing many *oraciones judiegas* (Judaic prayers), such as “the *sema*, the ‘we are obliged’, the ‘song of steps’,” she replied that she had recited the ones she knew and

que los demás no las sabe y que las oraciones que sabe ya las tiene dicho y que las mismas sabe su marido.

Asked whether she recited them as Mosaic, she cautiously replied:

Que sí, por de la Ley de Moisés las rezaba, aun que son oraciones de toda la Ley.

Asked to elucidate, she said that by “of the whole Law” she understood “of the Law of Jesus and of the Law of Moses.”

It is most remarkable that except for her initial, perfunctory reference (perhaps supplied by a scribe) to her mother’s “teaching,” she does not specify what that may have included. Moreover, she does not come up with any of the core Judaic prayers and shows knowledge of only the “psalms” she shares with her husband. And, as I have shown above (14.5), she asseverates having picked up the celebration of the New Moon from a book.

All this, I think, demonstrates that she did not learn Jewish ritual and prayers from her mother and therefore we can dismiss the theory that her mother was the ultimate source of Quintanar Judaizing. If indeed the Inquisitor had any doubt on the matter, he apparently gave Juana the benefit of it and magnanimously did not prescribe torture to refresh the octogenarian’s memory.

⁶⁰⁵ See ADC leg. 321, no. 4626.

⁶⁰⁶ See AMIEL, “Marranisme” II, 565-566, 568 for the texts and their precise sources.

19.1.11 Mari López de Mora

Born c. 1520, resident of Alcázar, she and her husband Alonso López de Armenia were reconciled at the Toledo *Auto* of June 9, 1591. Neither her own nor her husband's *proceso* is extant, but there is an excerpt in Francisco de la Vega's. She confessed and denounced at the Toledo tribunal "aged over 70" on August 27, 1590.⁶⁰⁷ Of her three children, all reconciled at the same *Auto de Fe*, we have brief extracts from the *procesos* of her daughters Catalina and Isabel López⁶⁰⁸ and the full *proceso* only of her son Juan López de Armenia III, merchant of Alcázar, 27, unmarried, who, arrested at Alcázar and brought to Toledo in the wake of the murderous Cuenca *Auto* of August 12, solicited and was granted his first session on August 30, 1590. At successive sessions he confessed a number of practices, including the eating of *roscas de pan cenceño* ('twisted loaves of unleavened bread'!), the celebration of the New Moon. He recited an improvised prayer, which he said was taught him by his Uncle Diego de Mora during a visit to his house in Quintanar. He does not mention his mother as a practising judaizer or initiator into Judaic practices. "Asked whether he knew who was the Rabbi and Doctor of the Law, who taught the others," he replied:

Preguntado si sabe quién fue el rabino y doctor de la Ley que enseñaba a los demás? No más de haber oído decir a muchas personas especialmente su madre por ser natural de Quintanar que Rodrigo del Campo, vecino del Quintanar [...] él que más sabía de la Ley de judíos porque era allí gramático y leído.⁶⁰⁹

His sister Catalina declared on August 25, 1590, that

viniendo Diego de Mora a Alcázar desde el Quintanar donde vivía a enseñar a estas, examinándolas, como no sabían nada, diciéndolas que pues su madre era descuidada él las quería enseñar y así las enseñó y estuvo como dos o tres días entonces en casa de esta [...]

His sister Isabel similarly attributed her knowledge of "Judaism" to her uncle Diego's visit, not to her mother.

⁶⁰⁷ See AHN Inq. leg. 188, no. 8, Francisco de Vega, 4th intr. denunciation. See summary of her *proceso* in SIERRA, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, 396. She ascribes her knowledge of Judaism to a brother (Diego?).

⁶⁰⁸ AHN Inq. leg. 188, no. 8, 5th and 6th intr. denunciations, Aug. 25, 29 of 1590 respectively.

⁶⁰⁹ See AHN Inq. leg. 162, no. 12.

19.1.12. *Francisco de Mora the Elder*

Francisco's and Juana's are the only Quintanar voices we hear of their generation. As we know, the almost-executed Francisco was murdered at the stake on the Plaza Mayor of Cuenca on August 12, 1590. Arrested in June 1588, he denied all charges until the very end.⁶¹⁰

In the course of her imprisonment, from May 1589 until July 1592, his wife Catalina de Villanueva never names her husband or anyone else, for that matter, as her initiator into Jewish prayers.⁶¹¹ On July 8, 1592 she confessed that Francisco had taught her "May Thou be praised, Lord, who has sanctified us with Thy commandments and divine Law" when she was 20.

She found out about pork prohibition from the Book of Maccabees:

Y que aquellos mancebos se dejaron hacer pedazos por aquel malo rey Antioqus, porque no quisieron comer tocino y que a los seis habían ya muertos.⁶¹²

On the other hand, she, her husband, children and relatives observed (although they did not observe well) the Feast of the Lamb and other feasts:

Dijo que todas estas pascuas las han guardado aunque no bien guardadas esta confesante y su marido y hijos y parientes.⁶¹³

As to the Feast of the Lamb,

no sabe si fue por la salida de Egipto o para dar la ley, y que fue por cuando los sacó de Egipto que les mandaba la ley comer el cordero sin mancilla, y

⁶¹⁰ His *proceso*, not available to I. S. Révah, is extant in two parts. The first part, ADC leg. 711, no. 7531, ends on f. 162 with the session of February 23, 1589. ADC leg. 748 B, no. 100 contains the rest (ff. 169-267: ff. 163-168 torn out), beginning with the session of October 17, 1589. The second part includes interesting *tachas* (ff. 195-196), revealing his activity as erstwhile receiver of rents of the Order of Santiago. We learn that he was sentenced to death on May 12, 1590, but spared the torture *in caput alienum* due to his advanced age (70) and many infirmities.

⁶¹¹ This may explain why the Inquisitors did not grant her reconciliation in 1590 and kept her in prison where she died on July 23 or 24, 1592 (ADC leg. 328, no. 4705). Révah erroneously suggests that she remained a *negativa* until July 1592. She made most of her confessions March-May 1589. Her additional confessions of 8 July 1592 were also considered incomplete or phoney, which explains her execution "in effigy" in 1598.

⁶¹² See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705, f. 174v.

⁶¹³ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705, f. 175. This confession of July 6, 1589 immediately made its way as an "additional denunciation" into her husband's *proceso*.

que se entiende ser sin mancilla no ser castrado y que le comían vestidos unas vestiduras blancas, ceñidas las caderas, báculo en la mano.⁶¹⁴

When asked whether she and her family had actually observed the ceremony in this way. Catalina exclaimed:

Así me de Dios el cielo que sí folgábamos la pascua del cordero.

She added:

Esta pascua de Dios fue profeta y patriarca y tráiganme aquí una Biblia que yo mostraré ser verdad.⁶¹⁵

Y preguntada dijo que no sabe si estaban con báculos en las manos y que envió Dios el ángel para que con la sangre del cordero señalar las casas, que se entiende ser sin mancilla no ser castrado y que judío quiere decir hombre justo.⁶¹⁶

Some days later, the Inquisitors learnt that Catalina confided in a cellmate:

Si ahora yo digo esto [a los inquisidores] perdiera la hacienda y la honra, muriera en un tormento. Y no decirlo, yo me doy por tal que es tan grande mi saber que yo venceré a los inquisidores.

Then, turning to another cellmate, she said:

Y si vos lo decís diré que mentís.⁶¹⁷

Francisco the Elder's four children were put on trial; three were reconciled and one executed in effigy.⁶¹⁸ He had allowed his three daughters to remain unmarried in the hope of finding Old Christian husbands:

⁶¹⁴ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705, f. 174v, confession of May 12, 1589. Except for the white robes (which may be a Christian element?) Catalina's description corresponds to the one-time scenario of Ex 12: 5, 11, which was not adopted in Judaism's subsequent annual celebration: "Your lamb shall be without blemish [...] and thus shall you eat it; with your loins girded [...] and your staff in your hand [...]" The expression *sin mancilla* seems to render Vulgate *absque macula* (cf. Alba: *sin macula*; CP 1547 and Ferrara 1553: *sano*). For *ceñidas las carteras*, cf. Vulgate: *renes accingetis*; Alba, CP 1547, Ferrara 1553: *lomos ceñidos*. For *báculo*, cf. Vulgate: *baculos*; Alba: *blagos*; CP 1547: *vara*; Ferrara 1553: *palo*. The equation of the "blemish" with castration is not scriptural.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid. She apparently forgot that at her first audience she claimed she could neither read nor write.

⁶¹⁶ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705, f. 176; May 23, 1589. The equivalence *judío* / *justo* is perhaps a popular etymology.

⁶¹⁷ See ADC leg. 328, no. 4705, May 1589.

⁶¹⁸ See RÉVAH & WILKE, *Un écrivain*, 112. Révah fails to provide the source of his information concerning a daughter Francisca, who is not listed in AMIEL, "Marranisme" I, 279.

Agravó a sus hijas que les había de haber casado muchos años a esta parte y no lo ha hecho por salir de casta y casarlas con cristianos viejos.⁶¹⁹

Only the *proceso* of his daughter Ana de Mora is extant. On June 20, 1592 she confessed that:

Su padre le enseñó el Sema, salmo canto, bienaventurada es la persona, somos obligados y el canto grados; cada vez que hubiese de rezar se lavase las manos; que al principio del sema cuando se nombran los nombres del Señor se pasase la mano sobre los ojos y que al cabo de somos obligados le dijo también se había de dar unos pasos atrás y adelante donde dice “de fuerza y de paz, amen”; y que no sabe el misterio que esto tenga más de que lo ha hecho según y cómo se lo enseñó Francisco de Mora su padre, el cual enseñó[le] las oraciones a solas y aparte como le enseñó las demás cosas y las saben Catalina de Villanueva, su madre, Alonso y Luisa sus hermanos y María de Mora, difunta. Y se los ha visto e oído rezar a todas no enteramente sino algunas palabras de ellas. Y que se lavaban las manos para rezar y rezaban paseándose viéndose los unos a los otros y comunicándose en ello, haciendo las dichas cosas por de la ley de Moisés y en guarda y observancia de ella.⁶²⁰

We should not forget, however, that her father murdered and incinerated on August 12, 1590, was no longer within reach of the Inquisition and she could assume the denunciations of her incarcerated mother and siblings to be reciprocal.

So all we have to go by is the next generation’s often conflicting-contradictory-fabricated testimony. The sole certainty is that Sephardic prayers were recited before the Inquisitors and three reciters made autograph transcriptions of some of them. We have the texts. However, on the part of the purported transmitters from an earlier generation, there is neither corroborative nor contradictory testimony as to source and means of transmittal.

19.2. Reliability, Veracity, Credibility of Sworn Inquisitorial Testimony

19.2.1. The non-existent Pedro de Mora

Diego del Campo, 29 son of Alonso del Campo and nephew of Rodrigo and Elvira del Campo, was arrested in July 1590. On August 27, 1590 (a fortnight after the *Auto* at which Francisco de Mora the Elder and Beatriz de Mora were murdered by the mob) he confessed to knowing three prayers. He went on to recite them. They

⁶¹⁹ See ADC leg. 711, no. 753, February 23, 1589.

⁶²⁰ See ADC leg. 320, no. 4619.

are the one for the washing of the hands, *Bienaventurada es la persona* and the pseudo “Psalm of David,” which he closes with the Latin doxologies:

Gloria patri et filii et spiritu sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in seculis seculorum. Amen.

Preguntado que otras personas saben las dichas oraciones o otras.

Dijo que no lo sabe ni que su padre ni hermanos las sepan, más que un Pedro de Mora hijo bastardo de Diego de Mora que al presente estaba ausente de la villa del Quintanar y no sabe donde ni quien lo pueda saber que se le enseñó la primera y segunda oraciones que empieza la primera “Alabado seas tu Señor” y la segunda “Bienaventurada la persona que, etc.” Que se las enseñó estando solos y que no sabe quien pueda saber que Pedro de Mora sabe las oraciones, y que las aprendió por de la Ley de Moisés. Y así entiende que se las enseñara por de la Ley de Moisés y que no le dijo quien se las había enseñado ni le vio hacer ni sabe que haya hecho otra cosa de la Ley de Moisés; que sus hermanos del dicho Pedro de Mora lo podrían saber.

Preguntado cuantas veces se han de rezar las dichas oraciones y salmo y que se han de hacer para rezarlas por ceremonia de la dicha Ley:

Dijo que las decía una vez cada el día y para rezarlas se lavaba la cara y las manos por ceremonia de la dicha Ley.

Preguntado quien le enseñó que para rezarlas dichas oraciones se había de lavar la cara y las manos: dijo que no lo sabía decir que el de su motivo lo hacía y lo tenía por bueno.

Preguntado que oraciones rezaban Alonso del Campo su padre y Leonor y Ana del Campo sus hermanas por de la Ley de Moisés.

Dijo que no lo sabía decir y que esta es la verdad para el juramento que tiene hecho.”⁶²¹

Diego, his father Alonso del Campo, his stepmother Isabel Romero, his siblings Ana, Juan, Leonor, Alonso and Pedro were all reconciled at the *Auto* of August 16, 1592 where Francisco de Mora Molina was executed. (Juan and Alonso the Younger had been Francisco’s cellmates for two years.) Diego was sentenced to the wearing of the sanbenito and incarceration “in irremissible perpetuity,” the first three years as a galley-slave.

⁶²¹ See ADC leg. 324, no. 4653.

The harshness of the sentence may well be explained by Diego's failure to incriminate his immediate family for "teaching" him the scant prayers he recited. His "teacher," Pedro de Mora, purportedly an illegitimate son of Diego de Mora is evidently a figment of Diego del Campo's imagination. Immediately upon registering his name from Diego's confession, the Inquisition began to search for Diego de Mora's bastard son Pedro in all the Mora *procesos*, and even put out a warrant for his arrest.⁶²² One may surmise that had he existed and been arrested, he would, of course, have confessed and denounced. However, all they could come up with by that name was a brother of Diego de Mora, who had died, childless, before 1565.⁶²³

19.2.2 Leonor Enríquez's Revocation of Confessions

The wife of Francisco de Mora Molina –who unsuccessfully claimed Old Christian status– at her second session with the Inquisitor on September 15, 1590, confessed cutting fat off meat and various prayers, taught her by relatives (not including her husband). She denounced some 30 living and dead accomplices.

On October 9, 1590 she revoked her confessions and denunciations, declaring:

Si confesó haber hecho las cosas que tiene declaradas, fue porque un hombre de esta ciudad o cerca de ella fue a la villa del Quintanar, el cual no conoce ni sabe de donde era, y le dijo que se había hallado en esta ciudad el día que se celebró auto público de la fe próxima pasado. Y que había visto como habían sacado a Francisco Molina su marido a quemar y que en el cadahalso le habían quitado el sanbenito y la carrocha y había confesado. Y había preguntado si era mujer de Francisco de Mora, y le dijo que sí. Y el hombre dijo como por vía de consejo que si a esta la trajesen presa a este santo oficio, que aún que no hubiera hecho lo que pidiesen, lo confesase, porque sino la quemarían.⁶²⁴

⁶²² See ADC leg. 712, no. 785 (Pedro de Mora), aborted 3-page *proceso* of non-existing person.

⁶²³ The Cuenca Inquisitors found two references to the deceased Pedro de Mora: (1) in the excerpted Toledo *proceso* of Alonso López de Armenia, testimony of August 23, 1590-February 6, 1591, among the denunciations of Rodrigo del Campo (ADC leg. 321, no. 4627); (2) in the second *proceso* of Francisco de Mora Molina (October 23, 1590), whose testimony is typically fictitious: *había oído decir a su padre que Pedro de Mora vivía en la Ley de Moisés y que por cierto vivía en ella aunque no le vio hacer ninguna cosa y que no puede decir que personas [lo] sabían, que los que son de mayor edad lo podrían saber* ('he heard his father say that Pedro de Mora lived by the Law of Moses and for sure lived by it although he [Francisco] never saw him doing anything and cannot tell who knew about it; older persons might know').

⁶²⁴ See ADC leg. 327, no. 4691. I am citing the extract included in ADC leg. 321, no. 4626 (Catalina Navarra).

19.2.3. *The Second Trial and reconciliation of Diego de Mora's Daughter Francisca de Mora*

It will be recalled that Francisca de Mora was reconciled at the Cuenca *Auto* of August 12, 1590, the same where Beatriz de Mora and Francisco de Mora the Elder had been murdered by the mob just before execution. On October 20, 1590 Juan del Campo II who was attempting to ingratiate himself with the Inquisitors denounced her. Among other accusations he claimed that Francisca told prisoners that Beatriz had informed her by means of gesticulations from the scaffold that she had "doubled thirty times." Juan del Campo understood this to mean that Beatriz has fasted thirty times in prison, two and three days consecutively. Moreover Juana, María and Francisca de Mora had told him, as they passed on the street in front of the prison that Beatriz had died a martyr's death.

Other denunciations of Francisca subsequent to her reconciliation included locking herself in a room in the house of penitents in order to stand in prayer mosaically, after first washing her hands; abstaining from pork; not eating from bowls which had just contained pork; informing other New Christians of the tenor of her denunciations, so that they could arrange their confessions accordingly; advising those whom she had not denounced to deny all accusations in case of arrest; suggesting ways and means to them of shielding their possessions from confiscation.

Rearrested on October 20, 1590, Francisca was remanded to Toledo and reconciled a second time at the Toledo *Auto* of March 5, 1600, in the presence of king Philip III, queen Margarita, the Duke of Lerma, Francisco de Carvajal of the Council of State, Pedro de Silva, Lieutenant General of Toledo and, last but not least, Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara, Grand Inquisitor.⁶²⁵

I shall now proceed to demonstrate the falsehood of Juan del Campo's denunciation concerning the doomed Beatriz's sign language and its purported interpretation ascribed by him to Francisca de Mora.

Beatriz's *proceso* reads as follows:

En el cadahalso

En la ciudad de Cuenca, a 12 de agosto de 1590. Estando los Inquisidores doctor Francisco de Arganda y el licenciado Francisco Velarde de la Concha en el cadahalso de la Plaza Mayor, haciendo y celebrando auto público de la fe entre las 4 y 5 horas de la tarde, continuando en la lectura de las sentencias fray Roque Martínez de la orden de San Francisco, a quien Beatriz de Mora con insignias de relajada había sido encargada para confesarla,

⁶²⁵ See ADC leg. 331, no. 4734-b, Francisca de Mora, *proceso de relapsía*.

llegó a los dichos señores Inquisidores y les dijo que Beatriz de Mora pedía misericordia y quería confesar sus culpas, porque por lo que tocaba a absolverla sacramentalmente, no lo podía hacer si judicialmente no satisfacía a los delitos de que estaba testificada.

Y por los señores Inquisidores fue mandada parecer Beatriz de Mora y el señor Inquisidor doctor Francisco de Arganda bajó de los estrados al bufete que estaba en lo llano del cadahalso. Y ante mí el infrascrito notario recibió juramento en forma de derecho de Beatriz de Mora so cargo del cual prometió decir verdad de lo que supiese y fuese preguntada.

Dijo que “el negocio de mi hermana y mío todo es uno”. Y que con su hermana trataba y hacía las cosas de la Ley de Moisés que ella hacía. Y que guardaba los sábados y limpiaba la casa y las pascuas del cordero por la Semana Santa y otra de las cabañuelas por la Pascua del espíritu santo y otra por el mes de setiembre. Y guardaba en cada pascua siete días, pensando que hacía alguna cosa buena, y que rezaba en las pascuas las oraciones del canto grados y se lavaba las manos para comer y rezar, por limpieza y por observancia de la Ley de Moisés. Y que con esta hermana que se llama Juana de Mora y con estas primas hacía estas cosas y no sabe otra cosa ninguna. Y las hacía por de la Ley de Moisés y pide perdón y misericordia. Y que si no, si parece a Dios y le obedeciere que le quiten la vida.

Preguntada porque ha confesado esto ahora y no antes, dijo que por temor de la muerte y que ha barrido la casa los viernes en las tardes y encendido los candiles en las noches. Y que no ha tratado estas cosas que con sus primas que han salido en este auto y con su hermana Juan de Mora.

Preguntada con que otras personas ha hecho estas cosas. Dijo que con las que dicho tiene y no sabe de otra ninguna, porque para el juramento que tiene hecho que no ha tratado con otras personas ningunas.

Y visto las confesiones por los señores Inquisidores y consultado y comunicado con el licenciado don Juan de Mendoza, Inquisidor Mayor de Zaragoza y licenciado Pedro de Mendoza, Arcediano de Huete, canónigo de la santa iglesia de Cuenca, ordinario de Sigüenza, etc., dijeron que atento que Beatriz de Mora no satisfacía como debía de si ni de sus cómplices y que por temor de la muerte confesaba, se le leyese su sentencia y se ejecutase lo acordado y votado y que fuere relajada a la justicia y brazo seglar. Cristovan Simon Angel notario.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁶ See ADC leg. 318, no. 4586, Beatriz de Mora.

It is obvious that “thirty double fasts,” had she thought of them, added to Beatriz’s perfunctory last-minute list of Judaic acts might have impressed the Inquisitors and even saved her life. But she lacked Juan del Campo’s imagination or incentive.

19.2.4 The confessions of Lope de la Vega from Alcázar at the Toledo tribunal, September-October 1590

On September 10, 1590 the prisoner Lope de la Vega (c. 41) was brought into the presence of the Inquisitors at his own request (I emphasize the word *verdad* and its translation):

Y así como llegó a la mesa del tribunal se postró en el suelo a la larga e dijo: ‘Señores, misericordia, misericordia’. Los Señores inquisidores le mandaron levantar y de él recibieron juramento [...] y prometió de decir *verdad* así en esta audiencia como en todas las demás que con él se tuvieren hasta la de terminación de su causa [...] fue le dicho que pues ha pedido misericordia e audiencia, que en ella está, que él de su parte haga lo que es obligado, confesando la *verdad* sin encubrir cosa alguna de sí ni de otros ni levantarse a sí ni a nadie falso testimonio, que el santo oficio usará con él de la misericordia que puede.⁶²⁷

The *truth*, the whole *truth*, nothing but the *truth*: Lope declared that when he was 13 or 14 his mother Elvira de Mora taught him “seven or eight” Jewish prayers. A few minutes later he declared that the “eight or nine” prayers were in fact only one, but that one had to repeat it eight or nine times, namely Psalm 121.⁶²⁸

On October 1 Lope asked for and was granted another session with the Inquisitors to explain that while he “truly” (*verdaderamente*) had abandoned the Law of Moses for the last five years, he nevertheless fasted a September fast with his siblings Francisco, Isabel and María which he failed to confess because he only did it to comply with his siblings and not out of conviction. The *truth* is that he had *truly* abandoned Jewish practice for the last five years.

⁶²⁷ See AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8 (proceso of Francisco de la Vega). Lengthy extracts from lost *proceso* of Lope de la Vega. Cf. *ibid.*, *proceso* of Francisco de la Vega, brought in at his own request for his 1st session, September 11, 1590: *Y así como llegó a la mesa del tribunal se hincó de rodillas sin decir cosa. Se estuvo así hasta que los Inquisidores le mandaron levantar y asentar en el banquillo [...]*. We are dealing, of course, with carefully orchestrated scenarios.

⁶²⁸ The introductory words *Canto grados* (‘Song of steps’) transmogrified (by the scribe?) into “Candorados” (AHN Inq. leg. 187, no. 8, Francisco de la Vega, intr. extracts from Lope de Vega’s *proceso*, Sept. 10, 1590). Cf. his brother Francisco’s own *proceso*, “Alcandorados” (*Ibid.* 16 Sept. 1590).

On October 2 Lope asked for and was granted another session with the Inquisitors to declare that:

En todas las audiencias que con él se ha tenido en este santo oficio en lo que dijo y confesó que se había apartado de la Ley de Moysen de cinco o seis años a esta parte y desarraigadamente de tres años a esta parte, que la *verdad* es que dijo y confesó aquello pensando que será mejor camino para su negocio y causa e que él quiere ahora tomar el camino mejor para su ánima, venga lo que viniere a su cuerpo, y decir enteramente la *verdad*, porque bien sabe que si deja algo de decir que peca y está en pecado y que la *verdad* es que ha tenido la intención y creencia y voluntad de ser judío hasta la hora que con él se tubo la primera audiencia y se hincó en ella de rodillas y pidió perdón⁶²⁹ y así le pide de nuevo con misericordia por no haber confesado y dicho la *verdad* como ahora la dice.⁶³⁰ Ítem dijo que algunas cosas se le suelen acordar en su cárcel que después cuando viene a la audiencia se le olvidan y que especialmente Elvira de Mora su madre le enseñó una oración la cual le dijo que era la más importante de la Ley de los judíos para rezarla todas las veces que quisieren, la cual comienza: *Y Israel Adonay done Adonay este maducir laulan pare amar a Adonay tu Dios con todo tu corazón, con toda tu alma, con toda tu hacienda y con todas estas fuerzas [...].*”

We see how the concept of “truth” kaleidoscopically evolves in Lope’s mouth, apparently to the satisfaction of the Inquisitors, and that what was sworn to be true on September 10 is replaced by another “truth” on October 2: the late Elvira de Mora is now revealed to have taught her son many more prayers than just Psalm 121 and indeed one that is the most important Jewish core prayer of all, known by its first word *Shema*⁶, curiously omitted by Lope (or the scribe). We further note that whereas all the *Shema*⁶ versions of the complete Dt 6,5 confessed in the Quintanar *procesos* are worded:

[...] con todo tu corazón y con toda tu ánima y con toda tu hacienda,

corresponding to the tripartite scriptural:

[...] *beḵol lebabeka u-be-ḵol nafšeḵa u-be-ḵol meodeka.*

⁶²⁹ Lope apparently forgot that he stretched out at full length on the floor at his first session. As we shall see, it was his brother Francisco who *se hincó de rodillas*.

⁶³⁰ Cf. his sister Isabel de la Vega’s lost *proceso* (extracts in *proceso* of Juan del Campo, AHN Inq. leg. 138, no. 8, fol. 8v, October 9, 1590): [...] *Y así como Isabel de Vega llegó a la mesa del tribunal sin decir palabra se hincó de rodillas e dijo ‘padre mío de mi alma que en todo cuanto dije este otro día no dije verdad, misericordia por amor de Dios’*. Cited in LEVINE-MELAMMED, “Judaizers and prayer,” 285-288: 285.

Lope's version partly corresponds to (or conflates with) the quadripartite version attributed by Luke to a scribe (10,27):

[...] *ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex omnibus viribus tuis et ex omni mente tua.*

In other words, Lope supplies the Toledo Inquisitors with the Quintanar version of Dt. 6,5, doctored by some "expert" who was dissatisfied with the ultimately Midrashic translation "hacienda" and wanted to include something closer to the literal meaning of Deuteronomy's *meodeka* (which the Vulgate renders *fortitudine tua*). That "expert" could hardly have been Lope's mother Elvira de Mora. Thus, the attribution of Lope's extensive prayer repertory to his mother Elvira de Mora's teaching is yet another lie, going by Lope's favourite word *verdad*. The Inquisitors apparently went along with Lope's evolving sincerity: he was reconciled and minimally sentenced to 3 years of sanbenito and incarceration.⁶³¹

[Finalizará en el próximo fascículo]

⁶³¹ The same sentence awaited his brother Francisco and sister-in-law Ana del Campo at the same Toledo *Auto de Fe* of June 9, 1591 attended by the royal family. See AMIEL, "Marranisme," I, 221-224. His sister María de la Vega, who denied all the charges, was executed at this *Auto*. See SIERRA, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, 402.

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

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

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*.