

Dr. Richard E. Greenleaf

This conference is held in honor of the academic career and accomplishments of Dr. Richard E. Greenleaf

Richard Edward Greenleaf was born in Hot Springs, National Park, Arkansas on May 6, 1930. Educated at the University of New Mexico, he received his Ph.D. in 1957 under the direction the “dean of inquisition scholars” Professor France V. Scholes. Dr. Greenleaf’s doctoral dissertation, “Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition 1536–1543,” served as the basis for his many excellent publications on the history of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Latin America.

From 1955 to 1969, he taught at the University of the Americas, Mexico City, D.F., Mexico, and served as the chairman of the department of history and international relations, dean of the Graduate School, and academic vice president. Greenleaf accepted a position at Tulane University in 1969 and became the director of the Center for Latin American Studies in 1970 and chairman of the department of history in 1978.

Until his retirement in 1998, Dr. Greenleaf served as the France Vinton Scholes Professor of Colonial Latin American History, and as the Director of the Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane University. Through his hard work and fund-raising abilities,



Dr. Richard E. Greenleaf being presented with the the Amercian Academy of Franciscan History’s Serra Award for Research on Colonial Latin American History. From left to right: Dr. & Mrs. Eamon M. Kelly (ex-President of Tulane University), Fray James McMannamon, Dr. Richard E. Greenleaf, Doris Z. Stone.

I N Q U I S I T I O N & E M P I R E

Richard Greenleaf made the Roger Thayer Stone Center of Latin American Studies one of the best-respected programs in Latin American Studies in the nation.

His research interests include the social and intellectual history of colonial Latin America and the Hispanic Southwest. He remains one of the recognized experts on the study of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the New World. Dr. Greenleaf has authored eleven major scholarly books, served as co-author of, or contributor to seventeen others, and published almost four dozen articles in the field of Latin American and New Mexico history. He has been the recipient of many distinguished awards, among them the Silver Medal, the Sahagún Prize (Mexican National History Award), and the Serra Award of the Academy of American Franciscan History for Distinguished Scholarship in Colonial Latin American History (pictured above). This past Fall 2007, Dr. Richard E. Greenleaf was also awarded the "Society for Crypto-Judaic Studies Lifetime Achievement Award" for his lifetime of research, service, and teaching.

In his long and distinguished teaching career in New Mexico, Mexico City and New Orleans, Dr. Richard E. Greenleaf has served as mentor to 34 doctoral students at Tulane, and countless masters and undergraduate students both in the United States and in Mexico.

We dedicate this conference in his honor in gratitude for his many contributions to us as a mentor, a scholar, and a friend.

John F. Chuchiak (M.A. 1994, Ph.D. 2000)

Jorge E. Traslosheros (Ph.D. 1999)

Daniel Castro (Ph.D. 1994)

Linda Curcio-Nagy (Ph.D. 1993)

Stanley M. Hordes (Ph.D. 1980)

Ph.D. Dissertations Directed by Dr. Richard E. Greenleaf at Tulane University

Belanger, Brian C. *Secularization and the Laity in Colonial Mexico: Querétaro, 1598–1821* (1990)

Castro, Daniel, Jr. *Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Restoration of the Indies* (1994)

Chandler, David Lee. *Health and Slavery: A Study of Health Conditions among Negro Slaves in the Viceroyalty of New Granada and its Associated Slave Trade, 1600–1810* (1972)

Chuchiak, John F. *The Indian Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatry: The Process of Punishment in the Provisorato de Indios of the Diocese of Yucatán, 1563–1812* (2000)

Clayton, Lawrence Anthony. *The Guayaquil Shipyards in the Seventeenth Century: History of a Colonial Industry* (1972)

Cummins, Victoria Hennessey. *After the Spiritual Conquest: Patrimonialism and Politics in the Mexican Church, 1573–1586* (1979)

- Curcio, Linda Ann. *Saints, Sovereignty and Spectacle in Colonial Mexico* (1993)
- Dwyer, Daniel Patrick. *Mystics in Mexico: A Study of Alumbrados in Colonial New Spain* (1995)
- Fleming, Martin Van Buren. *Franciscan Millennial Eschatology in Sixteenth Century New Spain: A Flowering of Anti-Scholastic Historiography* (1995)
- Hordes, Stanley Mark. *The Crypto-Jewish Community of New Spain, 1620–1649: A Collective Biography* (1980)
- Lemmon, Alfred Emmette. *The Mexican Jesuit Expulsos of 1767: A Profile of their Writings* (1981)
- Lipsett, Sonya Andrea. *Water and Social Conflict in Colonial Mexico: Puebla 1680–1810* (1988)
- Martin, Cheryl English. *The San Hipólito Hospitals of Colonial Mexico, 1566–1702* (1976)
- Noguez Ramírez, Francisco Javier. *The Apparition and Early Cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Tepeyac, Mexico City: A Study of Native and Spanish Sources Written in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1985)
- Normann, Anne Whited. *Testerian Codices: Hieroglyphic Catechisms for Native Conversion in New Spain* (1985)
- Norris, Jimmy D. *Breakdown of Franciscan Hegemony in the Kingdom of New Mexico, 1692–1752* (1992)
- Polushin, Michael Alexander. *Bureaucratic Conquest, Bureaucratic Culture: Town and Office in Chiapas, 1780–1832* (1999)
- Riley, James Denson. *The Management of the Estates of the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo of Mexico City in the Eighteenth Century* (1972)
- Serna Herrera, Juan Manuel de la. *From Slaves to Citizens: Blacks and Mulattoes in Querétaro at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1999)
- Traslosheros, Jorge Eugenio. *Iglesia, justicia y sociedad en el Arzobispado de México: La Audiencia Eclesiástica, 1550–1630* (1999)

Acknowledgments

Conference Coordinator: **Dr. John F. Chuchiak IV**, Missouri State University

Assistant Coordinators: **Dr. Kimberly Lynn Hossain**, Western Washington University
Dr. David Tavaréz, Vassar College

The conference organizers wish to thank Missouri State University, and especially the Office of the Provost, under the direction of Dr. Belinda McCarthy; the College of Humanities and Public Affairs, under the direction of Dr. Lorene Stone; the Latin American, Caribbean and Hispanic Studies Program under the direction of Dr. John F. Chuchiak; the Department of History, under the direction of Dr. Michael Sheng, and the Department of Religious Studies under the direction of Dr. Jack Llewellyn, for providing both financial and logistical support for the First International Conference of Inquisition Studies.

The organizers also wish to thank the following Missouri State University Graduate Students for their participation and many efforts in aiding in the organization and logistics of this conference:

Annie Adams

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Special thanks are also owed to Robin Gold and Forbes Mill Press for all of their excellent design and production work on the conference program, flyers, and other promotional materials.

Conference Rationale

Since the decade of the 1960s, scholarly attention to studying the Inquisition and its documentation has heightened our awareness of many complex social and cultural issues inherent in the expansion and colonization of the greater Iberian World. With its long institutional reach across the globe, and its standardized methodology and procedures, the institution of the Inquisition and its documentation has opened up a new world of research possibilities. As Brian van Hove earlier stated in 1992, we are living in “the “Golden Age” of Inquisition studies . . . “

Given the widespread geographical and cultural impacts of the Inquisition in the greater Iberian World (with tribunals and commissariats as far away from Iberia as Goa, India, and the Spanish Philippines, not to mention North and South America) the importance of utilizing Inquisition documents to better understand the colonizers and the colonized has increased well beyond what van Hove, or others might have believed more than a decade ago.

Given the complexity of Inquisition studies and the vastness of the nature of the primary sources available to scholars, the conference panels assembled here will attempt to highlight some of the more recent research, methods, and conclusions of current Inquisition Studies as a brief sample of the variety and types of research currently conducted by scholars of the Inquisition.

John F. Chuchiak IV, Ph.D.

Conference Organizer

Associate Professor of Colonial Latin American History

Director, Latin American, Caribbean & Hispanic Studies Program

Department of History, 441 Strong Hall

Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri 65897

(417) 836-5425, (417) 836-5523 (FAX), (417) 773-4276 (CELL)

JohnChuchiak@missouristate.edu

www.missouristate.edu/history/chuchiak/template

Inquisition & Empire Sessions

Friday, February 8, 2008

10:00–5:00 PM

Conference Registration

12:00 PM

Welcome Address

1:00–2:30 PM

Panel Session 1

*The Long Arm of the Holy Office:
The Iberian Inquisition Reaches Out*

2:30–4:00 PM

Panel Session 2

*Jews, Judaizers, and Witchcraft:
The Italian Inquisition and Its Proceedings*

4:00–6:00 PM

Panel Session 3

*The Inquisition in the Colonial Andes:
The Tribunal of Lima and Its Proceedings*

6:00–7:00 PM

Presentation of the book

*Nas malhas finas da Inquisição:
A ação do Tribunal do Santo Ofício em terras brasileiras*
Dr. Bruno Feitler, Universidade de São Paulo

7:30 PM

Group Dinner & Reception

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I N Q U I S I T I O N & E M P I R E

Saturday, February 9, 2008

7:00–8:00 AM

Buffet Breakfast

8:00 AM–12:00 PM

Conference Registration

8:30–10:00 AM

Panel Session 4

Resistance & Revival: The Inquisition and Crypto-Judaism in New Spain

Panel Session 5

Witchcraft and Medicine:

The Inquisition and Colonial Medicinal Practices in New Spain

10:00 AM–12:30 PM

Panel Session 6

*The Inquisition and the Indians: The Holy Office
and the Indigenous Peoples of New Spain*

Panel Session 7

*Prohibited Readings and Resistance: The Inquisition and Censorship
in Early Modern Iberia*

12:30–1:30 PM

Conference Lunch & Presentation

Richard E. Greenleaf—An Inquisition Scholar

1:30–3:30 PM

Session 8

*Piety and Penitence: the Inquisition, Confession, and Devotional Practices in
Early Modern Spain*

— 8 —

I N Q U I S I T I O N & E M P I R E

Session 9

*In the Name of the Holy Office:
Agents and Officers of the Portuguese Inquisition*

3:30–5:30 PM

Panel Session 10

*Accusations and Intrigue:
Inquisition Denunciations and Political Manipulations*

Panel Session 11

*Gender, Witchcraft and Sexual Magic:
The Inquisition and Witchcraft in Spain and the New World*

6:00 PM

Book Presentation

*Agents of Orthodoxy: Honor, Status, and the Inquisition
in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil*
By Dr. James E. Wadsworth

7:30 PM

Group Dinner & Reception

Sunday, February 10, 2008

9:00 AM–11:00 AM

Round Table Panel Discussion

*Teaching the Inquisition: Experiments in Classroom Teaching, Utilizing
Inquisition Sources*

12:00 PM

Closing Remarks

Sessions & Speakers

Friday, February 8, 2008

1:00–2:30 PM

Panel Session 1

The Long Arm of the Holy Office: The Iberian Inquisition Reaches Out

Commentator/Discussant: Dr. Eric Nelson, Missouri State University

Gayle K. Brunelle, California State University–Fullerton

Judaizing Jews in France and the Spanish Inquisition: The Reports of Juan Bautista de Villadiego and Diego de Cisneros on the Portuguese New Christians in France

Juan Bautista Villadiego, a secretary of the Inquisition commissioned to investigate the New Christians of France, and whose salary came in part from a New Christian, Gerónimo de Fonseca, left Madrid in 1632 and crossed the border to southwest France, where even though the Comte de Grammont, Governor of Province, had him briefly arrested, he managed thoroughly to investigate the New Christian communities of Saint-Esprit-les-Bayonne and Saint-Jean-de-Luz before making his way to Rouen, where he arrived January 9, 1633. In Rouen, Villadiego immediately called upon faithful Catholic New Christians to step forward and denounce the crypto-Judaizers in their midst. A leader of the Catholic faction, António da Costa de Paz, obliged and produced a list of denunciations naming the prominent leaders of the “crypto-Jewish” faction of the New Christian community in Rouen. Meanwhile, Fr. Diego de Cisneros, a priest from Léon residing in Rouen who had been making little headway on his own in convincing the Rouennais authorities to act on the Judaizing he claimed was pervasive among the Portuguese, ratified the accuracy of Costa de Paz’s list. Both Cisneros and Villadiego returned to Spain and authored reports to Inquisition on the extent of adherence to Judaism among Portuguese New Christians in France began. This paper will discuss their efforts in France, detailed in their reports, to separate “the wheat from the chaff” among the New Christians, which resulted in the return to Spain of over sixty New Christians who testified before the Inquisition regarding the religious activities of the New Christians who remained in France.

Michael Hale, Ohio State University Department of History

Behold These English Dogs: English Mariners Before the Holy Office in the Atlantic World

Based on an analysis of Spanish Inquisition trial transcripts from 1560 (the time of the trial of the first Englishman) and into the 18th century, it is my assertion that the

Spanish Inquisition treated Englishmen far more severely than any other group of foreigners captured by the Holy Office. Furthermore, this Inquisitorial persecution of Englishmen, especially by the Tribunal in New Spain (Mexico) set off a chain reaction of events that infuriated Queen Elizabeth I of England, exacerbating her conflict with King Philip II of Spain and challenging his “Grand Strategy” for world domination and religious hegemony. Elizabeth’s status as a “heretic” provoked Philip to use the Inquisition’s severity against all Englishmen who served their “heretical” Queen. Her indignation upon being “daily molested” (in her own words) with reports of the harsh treatment of her subjects by the Inquisition on both sides of the Atlantic, eventually culminated in Philip’s sending of the famed Armada in 1588 against England itself.

It is my suggestion that one of the key sparks that ignited the dry tinderbox of tension between England and Spain in the Early Modern period and which proved to be a significant catalyst creating the chain reaction of events embroiling the whole of the Atlantic world in religious struggle had been the 1568 capture and persecution of members of Captain John Hawkins’ fleet apprehended in Mexico. Many of those Englishmen captured at that time were subjected to the harshest of punishments meted out by the Holy Office – including torture upon the rack, floggings, public humiliation in the autos de fe where officials cried out “Behold these English dogs!”, imprisonments, enslavement on Spanish Galleons, and some who met their deaths by being burned at the stake. As this paper will posit, King Philip of Spain wielded the Inquisition as his personal tool of imperial control in his quest for global religious hegemony, and he used it most energetically and vehemently against Englishmen – wherever and whenever they were encountered in the Spanish Atlantic world.

Violet Soen, University of Leuven

A Spanish Inquisition in the Netherlands (1520–1580)?: Four questions Haunting Presentday Historiography on Sixteenth-Century Inquisition in the Low Countries

Foreign scholars find many contradicting statements on the inquisition in the Low Countries, both in sixteenth-century documents as in recent historiography. Historiography so far has not reached a consensus. Jean-Pierre Dedieu stated in 2000 that there was never a Spanish(-like) inquisition in the Low Countries, despite attempts. Yet a 1997 dissertation of Aline Goosens on religious persecution claimed the existence of three inquisitions, i.e. a civil, papal and Episcopal inquisition. Also a 2004 dissertation of Jochen Fühner supported this thesis.

This paper aims at revising terminology and characterisation on religious persecution and its relation to early modern state building. It seeks for answers on four questions haunting contemporary historiography on the inquisition in the Low Countries: How many inquisitions did the Low Countries count? Was there a State Inquisition? Was there a Spanish inquisition or attempts to introduce it? And finally, was the inquisition modern and did it contribute to state formation?

2:30–4:00 PM

Panel Session 2

*Jews, Judaizers, and Witchcraft:
The Italian Inquisition and its Proceedings*

Commentator/Discussant: **Mara Cohen-Ioannides**, Missouri State University

Lucia Finotto, Brandeis University Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies

Attitudes Towards Jews and Crypto-Jews in Medieval Sicily: Ecclesiastical Powers, Secular Rulers and the Inquisitions

The Inquisition which operated in Southern Italy and the main Italian Islands from the fourteenth century onwards, is considered by most historians as a mere derivative of the Royal Spanish Inquisition created by the Catholic Kings and authorized by pope Sixtus IV in 1478. As its Spanish counterpart, it is associated with torture, cruelty and oppression and seen by some scholars as the forerunner of the secret police of modern dictatorships or even of twentieth-century anti-semitic theories, when considering its treatment of Jews and crypto-Jews.

In this paper I analyze the accuracy of this picture and place the southern Italian Inquisition and the Sicilian one, in their correct socio-historical context. To this aim, I shall first describe the conditions of Jewish existence in Sicily from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, and then point out in which context the Spanish Inquisition operated. Secondly, I will examine the impact on Jewish communities and on society in general of the implementation of inquisitorial measures, including the preaching of specially appointed friars. Finally, I will examine the ways in which the Inquisitions of Sicily can be viewed as different from other inquisitorial experiences.

Although the problem of sources had not been solved until relatively recently, with the opening to the public of additional inquisitorial documents, the Sicilian case has not drawn the attention of Inquisition specialists as a subject to be analyzed separately. A few Italian historians have conferred to this specific field of study a definite character of micro-historical research, whose significance does not surpass the Sicilian or the Italian context. This paper tries to open a broader perspective: using original inquisitorial and literary sources it aims at taking into account the larger European and Mediterranean context, without forgetting the unique local peculiarities.

Jonathan Seitz, Drexel University

*Exorcists, Physicians and Wise Women:
Evaluating Expertise in Venetian Witchcraft Trials*

Of the many crimes prosecuted by the early modern Venetian Inquisition, the crime of harmful magic, or *maleficio*, was one of the most difficult to pursue. The supervisory Congregation of the Holy Office, in Rome, specifically urged inquisitors to conduct such trials “with great circumspection and deliberation” as “the root [of the crime] is hidden, and the material uncertain.” Issues of evidence were the major sticking points in *maleficio* trials. For most other crimes, direct evidence of the illicit act

was available, at least in theory. A seller of banned books could be caught through a search of his shop, and even divination and love magic were frequently done in groups and often for hire, meaning such acts had participant witnesses. There was also broad agreement in Venetian society about the illicit nature of divination or love magic ceremonies and so the only evidence needed to prove the crime was a reliable eyewitness to the act. As a result, evidentiary arguments in these cases typically centered around the reliability of witnesses and no special expertise was believed necessary to evaluate the evidence. In contrast, *maleficio* trials almost never featured eyewitnesses to the alleged magical act itself. Instead, the evidence marshaled in *maleficio* denunciations was more indirect: primarily the behavior or physiological condition of the victim, the presence of certain tell-tale objects in the victim's home, and (increasingly) the opinions of medical specialists who could interpret such evidence or provide their own observations and analyses.

Indeed, one of the key changes in *maleficio* cases in late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Venice was a growing reliance on medical practitioners' diagnoses and treatments. Not only did the ordinary Venetians submitting *maleficio* denunciations increasingly cite such practitioners to support their claims, but the Holy Office also called medical specialists to testify with much greater frequency. The Holy Office, relied primarily on physicians, based on a shared conception of the categories of natural and supernatural as well as an institutional suspicion of exorcists. The issue of expertise in *maleficio* trials draws together several disparate historiographical lines. The disagreements over which specialists were most credible reveal some of the cross-cutting outcomes of reform efforts in early modern Catholicism: The ecclesiastical authorities of the Inquisition promoted the authority of lay physicians over clerical exorcists in witchcraft trials, even as the Church was seeking to construct a clerical monopoly over contact with the supernatural. Furthermore, these specific shifts in Inquisition trials are related to broader contemporary trends. As several historians of science and medicine have recently shown, there was a widespread early modern movement towards privileging the knowledge of artisans and other specialists whose claims were rooted in practical knowledge rather than, or in addition to, theoretical knowledge. In Venetian Inquisition trials (contra Silvia de Renzi's findings in Rome and despite the Congregation's explicit advice), the tribunal drew not on a stable of medical experts or on physicians from the famed medical school at Padua but rather on those with first-hand knowledge of the cases at hand. In detecting *maleficio*, it seems, direct experience trumped theoretical sophistication.

Katherine Aron-Beller, George Washington University

The Pingolo: A Jewish Locus for Fantasy—Soliera, Italy 1604

This paper examines in detail a Modenese Inquisitional trial of 1604, in which Jews were accused of creating noisy disturbances during Holy Week in the nearby town of Soliera. Six Jews were charged with disturbing Christian prayer and mocking the Passion from within a *palazzo* located in both sight and earshot of the San Giovanni Battista church. These Jews, sojourning in the home of the seventy year-old banker, David de Norcia who headed the only Jewish family in the town, were celebrating their Passover at the time. The trial of 1604 is a testimony to the Inquisition's

painstaking attempt to bring about the removal of the synagogue from the proximity of the church but it also allows the historian to conduct an exercise in informal “micro history,” an attempt at decoding and analyzing the Jewish disturbance. I will argue that what the Jews did was an expression of the ambiguities of their position as intimate outsiders in an Italian town. The actions they performed, secluded within their *palazzo*, might be understood as defiant, but should, I argue, be interpreted as expressions of their desire for inclusion in the wider Christian society.

4:00–6:00 PM

Panel Session 3

*The Inquisition in the Colonial Andes:
The Tribunal of Lima and Its Proceedings*

Commentator/Discussant: Dr. David Tavaréz, Vassar College

Daniel Castro, Southwestern University

“Alumbradismo” in the Andes: Fray Francisco de la Cruz, the Inquisition of Lima, and the Politics of Ecclesiastical Imperialism

The Dominican Fray Francisco de la Cruz was relaxed to the secular authorities by the tribunal of the Holy Office of the Peruvian Inquisition and burned alive at the stake on Friday April 13, 1578 during the second auto de fe held in the Peruvian capital. Being the only one of sixteen accused penitents executed during the auto, the native of Lópera, Spain, thus became one of the most notorious victims of the Army of God represented by the Peruvian incarnation of the Spanish Inquisition. He had originally come to Peru in 1561 precisely to avoid the wide net cast by the Inquisition in its attempt to dismantle the Spanish *alumbrado* movement. Eleven years later, Fray Francisco unable to avoid the long arm of the institution was arrested, tried, and found guilty of heresy, dogmatizing, advocating the creation of a new religious sect, and more than one hundred other lesser charges.

Francisco de la Cruz was convicted and condemned not so much for “persevering in his pertinacity,” as the Holy Office claimed but because of his *alumbradismo*, as well as an effort to establish the Inquisition as a new and decisive force in the process of ecclesiastical imperialism spreading to the newly colonized territories. His punishment was meant as a warning to those who, infused with a millenarian sense of purpose, advocated the re-creation of a church more attuned to the needs and new religious values emblematic of the new territories. Fray Francisco was made to pay, not so much for his own “sins,” his multiple affirmations challenging the authority of the Pope, priestly celibacy and what some consider “the delirious pronouncements of a unbalanced mind,” but for other people’s “deviations” and “crimes” against the “true faith.” Although these crimes had been committed in another time and another geographical setting they needed to be extirpated and crushed before they took root in the colonies.

By focusing on the case of Fray Francisco de la Cruz, this paper attempts to examine some of the ways in which Lima’s Colonial Inquisition, established in 1570, became the ultimate instrument of religious dominance and control over all of Spain’s

subjects in the newly created colonial society, product of the fusion, and collision of two incommensurable worlds.

Pedro Gubiovich, Universidad Católica de Perú

Decline or Renewal?: The Inquisition of Peru in the Eighteenth Century

This paper examines the impact of the Inquisition's role, particularly with regard to book censorship, in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. A reevaluation of the Inquisition's role in this period is needed given still-prevailing interpretations of the institution in current historiography.

The Spanish Inquisition of the eighteenth century is commonly viewed as an institution in decline. Notable evidence of this situation is the gradual decrease in the number of prosecutions and in the frequency of public autos de fe. Moreover, beginning in the 1710s, members of the new Bourbon administration placed a ban on the "Argos de la Fe." Melchor de Macanaz, who served as general prosecutor of the Crown, proposed transforming the Tribunal into an ecclesiastical court with only spiritual jurisdiction limited to trials of matters of faith and religion. Though Macanaz's proposal failed, reformist attitudes continued in the second half of the century. During the reign of Charles III, an Inquisitor General was dismissed, the Inquisition was ordered to hear Catholic authors before prohibiting their works and not to impede the circulation of the books before their assessment, and it was declared that bigamy was no longer to be sanctioned by the Holy Office, but through royal tribunals. For these reasons, it is said that the power of the Bourbon Inquisition in Spain was less than what it had been under the Hapsburgs. This interpretation has been applied by extension to the colonial Inquisition.

To what extent can these facts be interpreted as evidence of the institution's decline? As Francisco Bethencourt has maintained, the task of reevaluating the image of the Holy Office as an institution in decline is necessary through attention to its role in the preservation of the elites, the reorganization of the state, and the control of dissident ideologies, which was its principal mission.

Rene Millar, Universidad de Chile

TOPIC: TBA

TBA

6:00–7:00 PM

Presentation of the book

Nas malhas finas da Inquisição:

A ação do Tribunal do Santo Ofício em terras brasileiras

Dr. Bruno Feitler, Universidade de São Paulo

7:30 PM

Group Dinner and Reception

Saturday, February 9, 2008

7:00–8:00 AM

Buffet Breakfast

8:30–10:00 AM

Panel Session 4

Resistance and Revival: The Inquisition and Crypto-Judaism in New Spain

Commentator/Discussant: **Dr. Kimberly Lynn Hossain**, Western
Washington University

Silvia Hamui Sutton, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico

*Some Magic Customs Among Crypto-Jewish Women in the Context of New
Spain in the 17th Century*

Spanish crypto-Jews who arrived in New Spain at the beginning of the 16th century brought along some ideological aspects that were reproduced in their new home. Because Christianity had been imposed on them by force they were torn by choices and existential doubts that little by little had eroded their Judaism so that it had become a type of syncretism difficult to define. The goal of this paper is to show that, faced with the censorship of their beliefs and customs, New Spanish Jews tended to interpret their faith in a different way, arriving at a manner that was very distant from rabbinic Judaism by integrating into it some heathen elements into the Holy faith. Witchcraft, forbidden by Mosaic Law, was one way to cure diseases, attract a lover and foresee the future. From testimony obtained in the Archivo General de la Nacion we can observe that some crypto-Jewish women used magic as a way to obtain personal benefits, using official Jewish symbols that offered credibility to their magic rituals. The mixture of Christian concepts that they were forced to assume, their Judaic legacy, performed in secret, their Spanish heritage and the daily customs of existential life created a very confusing ideological structure in which the concepts resultant between the “being” and the “importance of being” remained a risk borderline which implied a rupture of their identity.

Matthew Warshawsky, University of Portland

*Spiritual Sparring: The Last Stands of Two Crypto-Jewish Victims of the
Inquisition in Colonial Mexico*

The most famous individuals burned at the stake for relapse into Judaizing heresy after the autos de fe of 1596 and 1649 in Mexico City were, respectively, Luis de Carvajal and Tomás Treviño de Sobremonde. Both individuals had foresworn their secret-Jewish beliefs at earlier trials and sworn to live as faithful Catholics; both then

resumed forbidden practices as leaders of small groups of other crypto-Jews. Due to their unpardonable recidivism, the Inquisition sentenced Carvajal and Treviño to burn at the stake, and handed them each over to secular authorities for the carrying out of this punishment. The trials of these two men attracted a great deal of attention due to their charismatic personalities and the extent of their commitment to Judaism despite overwhelming pressure to renounce it.

This presentation will examine the last-minute debates that occurred between religious authorities and Carvajal and Treviño as the former tried to convince the latter to repent of their heresy and hence receive the relative mercy of the garrote before their bodies were consigned to the flames. According to some accounts Carvajal apparently did repent at the last minute; Treviño, however, did not, and was subsequently burned alive.

Jeremy Garskof, Missouri State University

Luis de Carvajal and Competing Crypto-Judaisms in New Spain

The Inquisition proceedings against Luis de Carvajal, el mozo, are well known, however, what few scholars have examined in any detail are the actual Jewish concepts and practices reportedly practiced by Carvajal and his family. This paper will offer a new revisionist approach which reveals the existence of a variety of apparently different strains of Judaism being practiced in Colonial New Spain. From traditional Jewish practices revolving around Judaic writings and law practiced from memory and tradition, to hybrid forms of Judaism reconstructed from mainly Christian sources, to the more orthodox usage of Jewish smuggled written texts by recent Portuguese Jewish exiles in New Spain, the trial of Luis de Carvajal reveals that a number of competing forms of Judaism apparently co-existed within the world inhabited by Carvajal and his other “Crypto-Jewish” followers. This paper will deconstruct crypto-Jewish practices in order to describe a typology of several types of “competing Judaism” which existed in colonial New Spain.

8:30–10:00 AM

Panel Session 5

Witchcraft and Medicine:

The Inquisition and Colonial Medicinal Practices in New Spain

Commentator/Discussant: **David Tavaréz**, Vassar College

Brett Blosser, Humboldt State University

“Real de Guadalcazar Is a Mirror”: *Theories of Witchcraft and Methods of Healing in 18th Century New Spain*

This paper examines testimony recorded in parish and Inquisition proceedings in 1769 and 1776 against an African man and an Indian woman, residents of Real de Guadalcazar (a mining district 250 miles north of Mexico City, today in the State of San Luis Potosi) for treatment of patients suffering from witchcraft (*maleficio*). Depositions by two patients, family members, and one healer enable the reconstruc-

tion of methods including massage, sweeping the body, ingestion of psychoactive plants by patients and healers, disease object removal, manipulation of body temperature, and music. The presentation discusses concepts of body, illness, space, and time that seem to have informed these practices.

R. A. Kashanipour, Arizona State University

***Superstitious Doctors and Malevolent Remedies:
Healing Networks in 18th-Century Yucatán***

This paper examines the multi-ethnic networks of healers in eighteenth-century Yucatán. Building on a series of Inquisition cases against European, mulatto and indigenous healers, I argue that the discourse and distribution of unofficial medical practices served to supercede colonial divisions of race and prestige on the peninsula. Although frequently brought before religious officials on *superticioso* and *hechiceria* charges, unofficial healers tied into broad networks that linked rural natives with suburban Afro-Yucatecans, and urban Spaniards. By blending epistemological systems, these networks leveled the social and racial boundaries that, in other areas, served to uphold the colonial institutions of dominance.

Cody Wilson, Missouri State University

***Dark Shamans: Nahua Herbal Specialists Punished
by the Holy Office of the Inquisition***

Much has been written concerning the various cultures and conquests of Colonial New Spain; however, very little investigation has been devoted to the prosecution by Spanish Ecclesiastical Courts of native shaman and herbal curers who used entheogenic magic and medicine. Nearly all native Indigenous shamans and healers across New Spain utilized psychotropic and intoxicating substances in ritual magic and medicine in some form or another, directly contradictory to Catholic theology, which considered the use of such intoxicants and hallucinogens superstitious and heretical, and strictly forbidden. This research presentation will examine a variety of historical and scholarly literature by both native Mesoamericans and Colonial Spaniards, including codices, treatises, documents, letters, as well as various Inquisition documents and primary colonial materials in order to analyze the nature and impact on colonial society of Nahua herbal specialists punished by the Holy Office and the Episcopal Courts of New Spain.

10:00 AM–12:30 PM

Panel Session 6

***The Inquisition and the Indians:
The Holy Office and the Indigenous Peoples of New Spain***

Commentator/Discussant: Ana de Zaballa Baescococha,
Universidad del País Vasco

Patricia Lopes Don, San Jose State University

*Interpreting Indigenous History Through Inquisition Sources:
Mexico, 1536–1540*

This presentation will examine the Inquisition trials against Indigenous peoples in New Spain which occurred during the decade of the 1530s. By examining the complexities of these early inquisitorial proceedings against Indigenous people, this paper will illustrate how scholars can use Inquisition sources in order to better understand and interpret Indigenous history and ritual practices.

David Tavares, Vassar College

*The Extirpation of Indigenous Devotions in Central Mexico:
A Comparative Overview*

This presentation highlights newly available data and a novel interpretation of ecclesiastical and civil projects against local indigenous religious practices in Central Mexico—also known as “the extirpation of idolatries.” Departing from well-known data about extirpation attempts in the early 16th and early 17th centuries, this paper will contrast the sociopolitical dynamics of idolatry eradication projects in the dioceses of Mexico and Oaxaca, and propose a new periodization that divides these efforts into four distinct cycles with transition points in 1571, the 1660s, and the 1730s. In order to explore the magnitude of indigenous responses and showcase the information about local devotions collected through these campaigns, the paper ends with a brief consideration of the most ambitious single eradication project ever undertaken in New Spain: Bishop Maldonado’s attack on Zapotec traditional beliefs in northern Oaxaca in 1704.

John F. Chuchiak, Missouri State University

*The Process of Punishment: Methods and Procedures in the Episcopal Court of
the “Provisorato de Indios de Yucatán,” 1570–1770*

Although compared by many investigators with the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the colonial episcopal courts known as the *Provisorato de Indios* varied greatly in their composition, their procedures, the methods of their investigations, and in their administration of ecclesiastical censures and punishments. This presentation will use the case study of the courts of the *Provisorato de Indios* of the bishopric of Yucatan in order to illustrate one example of regional differences between the processes and punishments executed by the episcopal courts and their officials and the Inquisitorial Tribunals and their local commissaries.

Richard Warner, Wabash College

Historical Memory and the Auto de Fe of 1722 in New Spain

After numerous attempts, Spanish colonial forces finally managed to subdue the Cora people of the Sierra del Nayar in western Mexico, in spring 1722. Their conquest proved uneven, as did the religious conquest to follow, but for the moment Spanish arms controlled the region. Once established in the Cora capital at the

plateau they named La Mesa del Nayar, Spanish military forces were complemented by “soldiers for Christ,” padres from the Order of Jesus, or Jesuits. Among the first discoveries made by the Black Robes was the cave of Tuacamota, located in the hills above La Mesa. There they found four skeletons, seated around a table, which was littered by offerings of cotton, prayer arrows and other icons.

The Jesuits sought quick action against this and other ceremonial sites as they came to their attention. Yet this particular site was deemed more important than the others, since here there rested the remains of the legendary and historical figure Nayarit, who had bravely led resistance to the Spaniards during the sixteenth century. Recognizing this as a “teachable moment,” the Jesuits sought special treatment of these idolatrous skeletons. The remains were transported all the way to Mexico City (some... kilometers), where Inquisitorial forces presided over a magnificent auto da fe. The cremation of these skeletons has since marked itself in the historical memory of the Cora people, probably as much as any single colonial-period event. There are numerous symbolic meanings at play here. Why did Spanish forces travel all the way to the capital to destroy the skeletons? Who are the audiences of the event? How is the story reinvented in Cora historical memory, and to what effect? This paper explores these mysteries, as far as possible given the scanty evidence available.

Owen Jones, University of California–Riverside

***Inquisitorial Proceedings Against Indigenous Guatemalans,
16th–18th Centuries***

This presentation examines the extant documentation on indigenous Guatemalan religious practices that have survived in the Inquisitorial records of the Inquisition commissariat of Guatemala. Although the materials concerning indigenous peoples are quite sparse, there are valuable sources of information extant on priestly abuses denounced by indigenous Guatemalans, and documentation concerning the *Tum Teleche*, which was a traditional dance, connected to the Rabinal Achi, that was banned because of its depiction of human sacrifice.

10:00 AM–12:30 PM

Panel Session 7

***Prohibited Readings and Resistance:
The Inquisition and Censorship in Early Modern Iberia***

Commentator/Discussant: Alexandra Pires, Missouri State University

Benair Alcaraz Fernandes Ribeiro, Universidade de Sao Paulo

Art and Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula

Images are fundamental sources of History. This presentation utilizes an interdisciplinary approach in order to analyze artworks that were persecuted and censored by the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Early Modern Iberia. This paper researches several artists and their works related to the Inquisition. Such works were created in

the Iberian Peninsula, between the last years of the 15th century and the first years of the 19th century. During this long period, the Holy Office used “Art” as an expression of its aims, as it searched for legitimacy and praise in regards to its deeds. It therefore practiced strict control and censorship over the artists and their works. Although under strict control from the Inquisition and compliant with the aesthetic and iconographic canon imposed by the Council of Trent, several artists managed to evade these regulations and were able to conceive, at certain times and under very special conditions, works that expressed their aversion, criticism, and condemnation concerning the Holy Office and its heinous acts. This study specifically analyzes three typologies of images related to legitimacy, praise and aversion as it fundamentally discusses the role of Art and artists in their relationship with the Holy Office in the Modern Age.

Patricia W. Manning, University of Kansas

Licensed to Read: Consuming Banned Books in Early Modern Spain

Although some men of letters, such as the Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana, lamented the chilling effect of the Inquisition’s prosecution of Luis de León on the Spanish intellectual community, other learned individuals appeared less concerned with self-censorship to conform to the Inquisition’s expectations. In heeding Ángel Alcalá’s call to return to the archive to better understand the Indices’ impact on textual matters (838), this paper will present a numerically and ideologically significant subset of book owners who did not meekly accept the Inquisition’s mandates to surrender banned reading materials. While the Inquisition expected those who visited ‘librerías’ to cover both bookshops and private libraries, gaining access to private book collections often proved difficult. In several cases, noble men and women sold the prohibited and unexpurgated works from their private libraries without the requisite permissions from the familiar charged with reviewing their caches of texts.

Although licenses to read banned works were granted so that Catholic intellectuals could develop refutations of Protestant theology, surviving imprints indicate that licensed readers possessed a wide variety of forbidden material. When the Spanish Inquisition began ordering expurgation of works as opposed to their outright prohibition, the idea was to permit the acceptable portions of a work to circulate with greater ease. In reality, however, the system provided immense loopholes. For example, in at least one case, an individual was granted permission to expurgate his own works. Also, several religious orders forcefully protected their collections of prohibited texts against the Inquisition, as evidenced by surviving imprints in the Biblioteca Nacional. The actions of these textual consumers prove that the Inquisition’s censorship practices did not stifle all of Spain’s intellectual elite.

Anjela M. Cannarelli Peck, Hamilton College

The Cave as Prison, Womb and Portal to the Divine: Subverting Christian Inquisitorial Spaces in Early Modern Spanish Muslim Literary Texts

Inquisitorial documents from Early Modern Spain record the accusations, torture and even death sentences of *moriscos* (Iberian Muslim converts) who were suspected of infidelity to the Holy Roman Catholic Church. By the same token, *aljamiado*

texts (written in Spanish and Arabic but transcribed through the Arabic alphabet) bear witness to Spanish Muslims' hostility towards their Christian overlords who, as they explain, forced them to eat pork, convert to Christianity and curse their nabbi, Muhammad. Muslim literary texts of the time period, however, introduce magical and supernatural elements into the typical *aljamiado* religious framework of suffering and oppression. In *El rekontamiento de Tamim Addar* (The Legend of Tamim Addar), for example, angels, genies, devils and antichrists descend upon Muslim bodies individually and communally to imprison them in cave-like spaces. In these dark, enclosed places, believers and non-believers alike are subject to oppression, torture, and even death. Unlike other *aljamiado* texts, however, these stories depict the agents of death, torture and bloodshed not as instruments of a Christian God, but of Allah. These supernatural entities are sent to Muslim communities to purify and spiritually fortify—not destroy—the most pious and devout believers. Although Luce López Baralt, among other Hispanists, has proposed to read these *aljamiado* stories as the dying voices of the last Muslims on the Peninsula, I suggest that on a deeper level, when juxtaposed with inquisitorial documents, The Legend of Tamim Addar's anonymous Muslim author echoes his Christian neighbors' calls to expel the evil other from his midst. That is, he demonstrates that as a Spaniard himself, he saw inquisitorial campaigns working for and not against the individual and collective Muslim soul. Through the cave-like prisons depicted in the legend, Muslims and their societies are transformed into holier, purer and more spiritualized spaces to be in-dwelled by Allah's presence. In this way, *moriscos* subverted the power of the Inquisition. Challenging traditional readings of Muslim Spaniards as largely un-integrated members of Spanish communities, I call for a new understanding of cohabitation among Muslims and Christians on the Peninsula after 1492 amidst the most oppressive regime of Spain's history. I argue that peripheral Muslim groups were closer to the center of an Iberian sense of self than scholars have been willing to admit.

Daniel Wasserman, University of Virginia

The Problem of Heterodox Affinity: The Audi, Filia by John of Avila

In 1531, John of Avila was denounced to the Spanish Inquisition for suspicious doctrine. Because of his Jewish ancestry and his desire to make silent prayer accessible to all Christians, Avila was an easy victim for the Inquisition. He spent one year in the Inquisitorial jails, and in 1559, he found himself in trouble again. The Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés included Avila's Audi, Filia (Listen, O Daughter) on the Index of Prohibited Books. Although Avila had problems with the Inquisition in the sixteenth century, he was eventually canonized by the Catholic Church in 1970. Taking into account the fact that Avila is now a revered figure within the Church, what did he write that the Inquisition's leaders considered so dangerous? This paper is a close reading of the first version of the Audi, Filia within the context of Inquisitorial suspicion surrounding the ideas of key Reformation figures, such as Luther and Erasmus. I will attempt to provide an understanding of the method that Inquisitorial censors employed when reading this book, and by doing so, I hope to

explain how they arrived at the conclusion that this book was a threat to Catholic authority in the sixteenth century.

12:30–1:30 PM

Conference Lunch and Presentation

Richard E. Greenleaf—An Inquisition Scholar

1:30–3:30 PM

Sessions 8

*Piety and Penitence: The Inquisition, Confession,
and Devotional Practices in Early Modern Spain*

Commentator/Discussant: Austra Reinis, Missouri State University

Kimberly Lynn Hossain, Western Washington University

Spanish Inquisitors and an Orthodox Republic of Letters

In 1567, Diego de Simancas (1513-1583), then the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, had just arrived at the papal court in Rome. Simancas had been sent to Rome in his capacity as an inquisitor; he was one of those delegated to pursue the Spanish Inquisition's famous case against Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, the Archbishop of Toledo – accused of promoting Protestant heresies – whose trial the pope had revoked to the Roman court. While in Rome Simancas dabbled in other affairs. He sat on a junta – meeting in the household of the powerful Cardinal Granvelle – with other Spanish clerics, negotiating with the papacy about the censure of a book recently published in the Low Countries. He forged connections with other lettered men in Rome. He was in frequent contact with the Spanish ambassador, and a variety of cardinals and archbishops. He established relationships with other writers and commentators there. As Simancas maintained his episcopal household in Rome, he also supported a circle of clients. He both sought patronage for his own writings and advanced the interests of his clients – from clerics to relatives to artisans.

Although his seventeen-year role in the Carranza trial became the focal point of his career, Simancas was also a bishop, an author of influential inquisitorial manuals, and a political commentator. Thus, Simancas' activities might serve as a useful case study in the possibilities of an early modern inquisitorial career. He identified himself with his inquisitorial office and sought to reform inquisitorial practices. At the same time, Simancas depicted himself as part of a larger learned community. This paper will explore several inquisitors as members of such intellectual networks. It will explore both how they portrayed their membership in lettered communities and how they sought to draw the boundaries of such circles. These activities, I contend, also affected the trial process and the administration of the Spanish Inquisition as a legal institution. In short, this paper will explore the ways in which sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish inquisitors envisioned themselves as part of a larger let-

tered community. Moreover, it will analyze some of the strategies which they employed – from publication to patronage to the seeking of patrons – to fold themselves into the principal intellectual circles of their day.

Ryan Prendergast, Department of Modern Languages and Cultures,
University of Rochester

Picaresque Inquisitions: Confession and Punishment in Early Modern Spain

The Picaresque novel is considered by most scholars to be a genre that originated in Spain. Lazarillo de Tormes and Guzmán de Alfarache are, perhaps, the most famous examples of this pseudo-autobiographical novel that follows the lives of poor but clever rogues who use their wits in an attempt to improve their lot in life. The pícaro is often an itinerant subject and the first person narrator who relates how he changes locations and masters over the course of the novel. What is most striking in both the Lazarillo and the Guzmán is the way in which the retelling of their lives and the punishment of their bodies by figures of authority parallels discursive trends and factual information evidenced by inquisitorial records.

This paper examines the points of contact between specific instances of individuals engaged in the process of recounting their story—either voluntarily or under duress—in the context of an inquisitorial interrogation and the representation of picaresque characters. It demonstrates how Lázaro and Guzmán exhibit strategies that bear an uncanny resemblance to the techniques employed in an attempt to deflect blame and avoid punishment by inquisitors. I show how these pícaros manipulate confessional discourse and leverage their versions of the “truth” to elicit sympathy from those to whom they direct their narrative. At the same time, the pícaro’s body is often the object of significant physical punishment for various transgressive actions; it becomes, in fact, a type of body-text on which the discourses of power and law inscribe themselves. Therefore, I propose to explore the confluence of confession and punishment in the Spanish Picaresque genre and demonstrate the manner in which these texts represent how authors were both affected by—and metaphorically responded to—the inquisitorial environment of early modern Spain.

Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, University of Kentucky

Devotional Practices and Inquisitorial Anxieties in Early Modern Spain

Scholars have long known of the wealth of information included in inquisitorial files, and for years have turned to the records of the Holy Office to learn more about the lives and practices of supposed heretics such as judeoconversos, alumbrados, or Protestants. Scholars have also been long fascinated by what the court records can tell us about other topics, such as political dissent or gender roles. Yet there is still much to be learned about devotional practices among Castilians in the sixteenth century. While a number of important studies exist, particularly about the reception of the Catholic Reformation, (by such authors as William Christian, Sara Nalle, Carlos Eire, Jodi Bilinkoff, and David Coleman) there is still more to learn about local religious practices in early modern Spain. Where inquisitorial records can be most helpful is in helping us trace out the religious practices that existed at the margins of acceptable Catholic practice, those elements of an “unofficial Christianity” that roused the

anxieties of the representatives of “official Christianity” who ran the Holy Office. In examining the “minor heresies” tried by the Holy Office in Toledo, we gain another perspective on devotional practices in sixteenth-century Castile, one admittedly shaped by the fears of the Inquisitors.

One clear point of concern for clergy and laity was the place of the Pope in Catholic theology. Inquisitorial anxiety on this issue was certainly exacerbated by Reformers’ critiques of the papacy, but the concern does not appear merely to have been generated by the inquisitors. Penance and confession emerged as a second matter of concern shared by inquisitors and lay people alike. Occasionally, a distraught layperson might present himself before the Holy Office if dissatisfied by the confession received at home. Others were criticized for confessing incorrectly, or for hearing the confessions of others under false pretenses. Finally, inquisitors were deeply distressed by the laity using religious texts and symbols in unmonitored, and possibly superstitious, prayers for healing. Psalms were a particular favorite, both for recitation and for writing directly on the body. Taken together, these snapshots of religious devotion provided by the Inquisition highlight the serious religious questions of the laity, and their independent and sophisticated answers to those questions. There are problems in using inquisitorial sources for religious history; the records highlight issues of great concern both to the accused and to the inquisitors. By contrast, matters of great interest to the accused, but not considered potentially heretical by the Holy Office, would be overlooked, as, to a lesser extent, would matters of concern primarily to the inquisitors themselves. But despite these caveats, this analysis suggests the utility of using inquisitorial records together with other, more conventional ecclesiastical sources to understand lay religiosity in the early modern period.

Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, University of Nevada, Reno

Language of Desire: Confession and Popular Culture in 16th and 17th-Century Mexico

Much research has studied the didactic, theological and official goals of the sacrament of confession as articulated by the Catholic Church. Scholars have analyzed confessional manuals, sermons, and rationales published, utilized and espoused by ecclesiastical authorities. However, few studies have viewed how average citizens viewed confession and how the concept and the act of confession interacted with larger moral issues, popular piety, and common cultural patterns. This paper seeks to discuss how popular notions regarding confession as a sacrament and as a pervasive religious practice functioned within a society defined by flexible belief system and an extremely heterogeneous population that was central Mexico during the 16th and 17th centuries. Utilizing 200 inquisition documents, especially trials and investigations for solicitation in the confessional, this essay will demonstrate that men and women viewed the confessional and the confession itself in extremely practical terms, linking it with economic activities and social concerns, and the violation of the confessional as a means to express ideas about community standards, gender relations, and doctrine.

1:30-3:30 PM

Session 9

*In the Name of the Holy Office:
Agents and Officers of the Portuguese Inquisition*

Commentator/Discussant: James Wadsworth, Stonehill College

Daniela Buono Calainho, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro

Agentes da Inquisição no Brasil Colonial—Os Familiares

This presentation analyzes the activities of the Portuguese Inquisition in colonial Brazil by examining the officials known as FAMILIARS who operated in the confines of the Holy Office in Brazil. These employees charged with policing and investigation of apparent crimes, served as the investigative branch of the Holy Office both in the Kingdom of Portugal and throughout the Portuguese colonial empire. These officials, called Familiares played a crucial role in enforcing the mechanisms of control of the Inquisition. The simple mention of the Holy Office, the mere mention of their status as Familiares, or the showing of their medallion that distinguished them, even though they may have been counterfeited, already was enough to cause panic in the general population. The activities and actions of the Familiares as prescribed by the dictates of the Holy Office led to the daily dissemination of the terror and the inquisitorial repression characteristic of the Holy Office. Thus, by analyzing those who held the position of Familiares, we can not only glimpse the functioning of the inquisitorial process in Brazil, but we can also assess the degree that its actions could reach the general populace throughout the Iberian world and its colonies. This presentation will attempt to objectively characterize these agents of the Inquisition, their privileges, and the form and place of their important public performance in the operations of the Holy Office in Brazil.

Bruno Feitler, Universidade de São Paulo

Practice and Nobility in the Inquisitors' Career:

The Case of the Tribunal of Lisbon

The inquisitorial tribunal of Lisbon was created by the cardinal-infant Dom Henrique in 1539, three years after the foundation of the Holy Office in Portugal. Other tribunals were created in 1541 and closed seven years later, and a last one, in Goa, was erected in 1560. The number of tribunals was then fixed in four: three in Portugal (Lisbon, Coimbra and Évora) and one in Asia, all of them subordinated to the General Counsel of the Holy Office, presided over by the inquisitor general. Nevertheless, Lisbon's tribunal appears to have been in a higher position when compared to the others. This was true for many reasons, including its position in the inquisitorial cursus honorum. This paper will analyze this centrality of the tribunal of Lisbon primarily through the inquisitorial career and the contemporaneous discussions on the importance of nobility, seniority and experience.

Aldair Carlos Rodrigues, Universidade de São Paulo

Perfil social e formação de rede de familiares do Santo Ofício na capitania de Minas Gerais (Brasil, 1711–1808)

According to Inquisitional regulations, the *Familiars* played an auxiliary role in the activities of the Inquisition, participating chiefly in the seizure of property, summons, and the imprisonments and transportation of defendants. Without giving up their normal trades, they acted as civil functionaries of the Holy Office, and upon request by the Inquisitors – in areas with tribunals – or by the “Commissioners”, they provided them with all the assistance required and obeyed the orders given to them. In order to qualify as a “Familiar” a series of requirements had to be met: to hold assets, “live cleanly”, not to have any ancestors condemned by the Holy Office and, most importantly, “be of pure blood”. As can be seen, the Inquisition did not accept descendants of Jews, Moors or Mulattos as their agents. In this sense, the social distinction conferred by “*familiatura*” was linked to the perpetuation – through the statutes of purity of blood - of the Portuguese social divide which separated on the positive side, those of pure blood (old-Christians) and on the negative side, those of “impure blood” (principally Jewish descendents).

The aim of the current work shall be to discuss the process of forming the network of “*Familiars*” of the Holy Office in Minas Gerais. In addition, we shall consider both the context of the social and economic formation of the Capitancy, along with the broader context of dispatching “*familiaturas*” to areas under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Inquisition, while drawing comparisons between these. Subsequently, we shall analyze the recruitment and sociological profile of the network of “*Familiars*” of the Santo Ofício in the Minas Gerais Capitancy throughout the XVIII century. To this end, we shall perform a prosopographical study of the individuals from those regions that obtained the “*familiatura*” and ascertain at what point in their lives they sought to become agents of the Inquisition, why they did so and what importance the “*familiatura*” had in their lives. In discussing these issues, we shall seek to prove the hypothesis that the title of “Familiar of the Santo Ofício” was used as a strategy of social distinction in the process of upward social mobility.

David Higgs, University of Toronto

An Inquisition Commissioner in Late Eighteenth-century Rio de Janeiro: Felix de Santa Teresa Nascentes

Among the themes in inquisition studies in the Portuguese world which are receiving renewal in the twenty-first century are studies of agents of the Inquisition. These included laymen, i.e. the majority of the familiars, and also ordained priests who served as commissioners (comissários), notaries, and inquisitors. From documentation sent to the imperial capital, Lisbon, and now preserved in the Archives of the Torre de Tombo, it is possible to get some sense of the activities and outlook of the agents of the Inquisition. Clerical auto-biography is virtually unknown in colonial Brazil; to my knowledge there is no Brazilian example of this in the eighteenth century. There are also few “micro-histories” of individual agents of the Inquisition in Brazil.

In this paper I deal with a commissioner who was also a Carmelite friar resident in the convent adjacent from the docks where the correspondence with the viceroy came and went across the Atlantic. Friar Felix Santa Teresa Nascentes was Brazilian born into a family of strong religious and inquisitional traditions. He became commissioner when 47 years of age and then showed himself a diligent agent in following up denunciations which reached him. From these denunciations we get a perception of the type of offences which were most likely to engage the Inquisitional machinery. My evidence comes from the papers of the Lisbon tribunal which had jurisdiction over Brazil.

3:30–5:30 PM

Panel Session 10

Accusations and Intrigue: Inquisition Denunciations and Political Manipulations in the Circum-Caribbean World

Commentator/Discussant: Rick Warner, Wabash College

Argelia Segovia Liga, UNAM/Missouri State University

Accusations and Political Intrigues: Carlos de Luna y Arellano, The Franciscan Order and the Inquisition Commissaries of Yucatán

The governor of the peninsula of Yucatan in the early 17th century, Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano, characterized his period of government by executing a large number of public works for the social benefit of the colony. During his long governorship he built the first fortifications to protect the port of Campeche, as well as constructing the highway and roads that connected many of the smaller Maya towns of the peninsula of Yucatan with the capital in Mérida. Nevertheless, the governor quickly found that the economic funds needed to conduct these public works necessitated the raising of taxes and other duties. In order to collect the revenues necessary, Luna y Arellano increased the duties and taxes paid by wealthy landowners, as well as transforming the politics of the colonial administration which directly affected the local elite, who were the heirs of the first conquerors. In the same way, in order to achieve a greater control over the native population and force their collaboration with the labor necessary for carrying out these projects, the governor narrowed his control over the native communities, cementing them and their native chieftains closer to him through reciprocal exchanges and ritual protocols. This reorientation removed the clergy and local elites direct control over the labor and tributes of the local Maya population.

Tired of requesting the dismissal of the governor of the peninsula by bureaucratic means, the clergy and the local encomenderos turned towards a massive campaign of inquisitorial accusations in order to force the removal of Luna y Arellano as governor. By accusing the governor in mass of practicing witchcraft with various Maya shaman, the clergy and the local elite were able to manipulate the inquisitorial proceedings and procedures in order to cause Luna y Arellano to lose prestige and his control over the province. This presentation will illustrate one of the various examples in which cer-

tain circles of colonial society utilized to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and its jurisdictions and procedures, as a means of attacking the social prestige and credibility of political opponents. By utilizing inquisition accusations as a political weapon, many sectors of colonial society in Yucatan could achieve political objectives that were impossible by any other means. The case of the governor of Yucatan, Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano is an interesting example of the form in which diverse enemies of colonial officials manipulated the Inquisition's procedures against political enemies.

Brendan Fletcher, University of Kansas

***Conflict and Conformity: The Holy Office of the Inquisition
in Colonial Cuba, 1511–1811***

For more than three centuries after the initial occupation of Cuba, the Holy Office of the Inquisition was a constant presence in the colony. During these years, jurisdiction over matters of faith on the island was serially transferred from Episcopal authorities (1513-1570), to formal Inquisitorial authorities in México (1571-1609), and then Cartagena de Indias (1610-1819), and finally, back to autonomous commissariat officials in Cuba. Though some of these entities became more effective than others, the Inquisition was never fully able to achieve its authoritarian potential, primarily because its various officials were constantly involved in disputes with rival authorities on the island. This lack of competent, formal supervision of the religious orthodoxy within Cuban society permitted the colony's gradual economic expansion within an uninhibited international market. The economic recovery and demographic diversification which this indifference fostered, has had far-reaching consequences for Cuba and its status within the Spanish colonial empire.

Mark Dalton, Missouri State University

***Murder, Mayhem and the Loss of Jamaica: The Death of Inquisition Familiar
Don Pedro Caballero and the Fall of Spanish Jamaica***

Early in January, 1650, Don Pedro Caballero, the recently removed governor of Jamaica, was murdered at the hands of the Island's leading ecclesiastical official, the Abbot and the then reigning governor *Jacinto Sedeño Albornoz*. The murder unleashed a wave of accusations and counteraccusations which led to the division of the island into competing political factions that exacerbated an already unstable colonial environment. Although local officials on Jamaica attempted to stifle the succeeding investigation, they did not know that Caballero was covered by the exemptions and privileges of being a Familiar of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of Cartagena de Indias. When Caballero's widow filed a suit against the governor and abbot for their murder of her husband, an Inquisition Official, the Tribunal of Cartagena de Indias assumed jurisdiction over the case. Both the governor and the abbot were quickly arrested and taken to the inquisition's prison in Cartagena, under protests from many of the island's prominent citizens. As the criminal Inquisition trial against the two proceeded, the island's residents became embroiled in heated disputes between pro-Sedeño and Pro-Caballero factions which even divided the island's elites and colonial militias. For more than five years the case proceeded until the island was lost to an

English Invasion in 1655. The preliminary research findings of this paper tend to suggest that the political divisions created by the murder and the subsequent jurisdictional dispute and inquisition case directly led to factional disputes and increased turmoil and instability that caused the colonists and defenders of the island of Jamaica to mount an ineffective defense against the invading English army.

Mark Lentz, Tulane University

Honor Unjustly Stained: Status, Reputation, and Ecclesiastical Power in Yucatán

On 4 May 1795, the bishop of Mérida, Yucatan, visited the Condesa Viuda de Miraflores, Yucatan's highest ranked person of nobility, to censure her for the frequent and allegedly indecent visits from the lieutenant governor. Bishop fray Luis de Piña y Mazo used allegations of indecency against his political rivals to silence his opponents by shaming them. Despite the bishop's power, the widowed countess doña María Antonia del Castillo y Aguirre refused be intimidated, and called upon on her ally, the intendant and governor Arturo O'Neill, a frequent guest at the tertulias she hosted for support in her challenge to episcopal authority. O'Neill ordered the bishop to cease his additional proceedings, and stated that the matter did not fall under the bishop's jurisdiction. Shortly afterward, the bishop died.

This small victory for secular power over ecclesiastical authority falls into a larger trend of Bourbon policy, which supported crown officials and their jurisdictional claims at the expense of the once equal religious hierarchy. The personal and the political mixed in a Yucatecan setting as the reputation of the bishop's nephew as a lothario and the widely known existence of his surgeon's illegitimate children undermined his legitimacy as well. At the same time, the tertulias hosted by the widowed countess served as a social setting where anti-clerical and other progressive ideas were discussed and sometimes put into action. This paper gives one example of a woman who did the unthinkable in the colonial era, challenging church authority and winning.

3:30–5:30 PM

Panel Session 11

*Gender, Witchcraft and Sexual Magic:
The Inquisition and Witchcraft in Spain and the New World*

Commentator/Discussant: **David Tavarez**, Vassar College

Luz Maria Hernandez-Saenz, University of Western Ontario

Challenging Conventions: Tiburcia Reynantes and the Mexican Inquisition, 1783

Among the more than 1,500 volumes of Inquisition records housed in the Mexico City National Archives is the process of Tiburcia Reynantes, an eccentric healer known as Maria la Gachupina. The story of this extraordinary woman attests to the role of the Inquisition as a guardian of social order in late colonial Mexico while chal-

lenging traditional views of race and gender. It also offers a fascinating glimpse of the society in which she lived. Tiburcia's case reflects the merging of cultures, the survival of indigenous traditions and the synthesis of native and Special beliefs. In this world, medicine and magic were closely intertwined with religion, and therapeutical decisions were dictated by pragmatism, contemporary medical beliefs and pre-Hispanic practices. Tiburcia's world was also a world in transition. Traditional social hierarchies and coporate privilege were being eroded by individualism and free market forces, and liberal ideas and a stronger state were rapidly undermining clerical rights and privileges. These colonial realities influenced the role of the Inquisition and shaped the Inquisitor's views as the case of Tiburcia Reynantes, "superstitious curandera," clearly illustrates.

Adriana Rodriguez, Universidad Autónoma de México

Hombres necios que acusáis a la Mujer: Mujeres Ante la Inquisición

This paper will examine the nature and scope of women's testimonies before the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Spain. Concepts of gender and gender relations will be examined as Inquisition accusations both by and against women will be analyzed.

John F. Chuchiak, Missouri State University

By All Arts and Magic: Sorcery and Sexual Magic Investigated by the Commissariat of the Inquisition in Colonial Yucatán, 1575–1790

Witchcraft and sorcery were widespread elements practiced across cultural, ethnic, and class boundaries in New Spain. In the eyes of the Inquisition, the practice of witchcraft and its corruption of the moral and religious climate in the colony were integrally related to the several factors. First of all, what the Church believed was the inherent superstition in the lower classes, long evident in Spain, which was exacerbated by the hybrid nature of an every growing mestizo population in New Spain. Secondly, the dangerously contaminating influence of the indigenous population on that Mestizo society seemed to augment and aid in practice of witchcraft and sorcery. However, the Inquisition was jurisdictionally incapable of rooting out witchcraft in the indigenous population, and the ordinary provincial courts of the Provisorato de Indios were unable to meet the rising challenge. This paper examines the extant cases and trials from the colonial commissariat of the Inquisition in Yucatán concerning the use of magic and witchcraft for the sexual manipulation of Gender and sexuality in the colony. Setting aside jurisdictional conflicts and juridical disputes, this paper will show how the Holy Office and its alliance with the Episcopal courts attempted to deal with the complex issues posed by an increasing number of cases of sexual magic that appeared to involve indigenous Mayas, or indigenous Maya rituals and herbal knowledge.

Diana Rosia, Missouri State University

From the Darkness into the Light: The Spanish Inquisition's Prosecution of Witchcraft and the Role of Women's Testimonies in Early Modern Spain, 1530–1700

Historians have estimated that as many as 50,000 people were sentenced to death for the crime of witchcraft, with a majority of those numbers coming from Germany and France. Spain, however, reported relatively low numbers of witch-burnings despite the fact that the Inquisition was at its peak of power during the European witch-hunts. The Catholic Church, from as early as the fourth century (Canon Episcopi), expressed a level of skepticism whenever it was confronted with accounts of supposed witchcraft. Similarly, the Spanish Inquisition expressed the same level of skepticism by demanding physical proof whenever a charge of witchcraft was brought before its tribunals. Nevertheless, the reality of the situation was that women were more likely to fall victim to an accusation of witchcraft than a man, and this held true in Spain. This thesis argues that just as conceptions of witchcraft were based on an inversion of proper, Christian, and moral ideals, so too were women associated with the negative aspects of human nature. A woman's role in the home and in the community also brought her in constant contact with things that were commonly believed could be bewitched, such as childbirth, food preparations, nursing, and harvesting. However, the Spanish Inquisition, through its stance on accepting women's testimonies and admitting them as credible witnesses, inadvertently provided women with a degree of power and protection that was absent in the legal systems of many other Western European countries. By granting women a moderate level of power and respectability in Spanish law and society, the Inquisition inadvertently empowered women in Spain and made them less likely to resort to witchcraft or accuse someone of witchcraft.

6:00 PM

Book Presentation

*Agents of Orthodoxy: Honor, Status, and the Inquisition
in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil*

By Dr. James E. Wadsworth

7:30 PM

Group Dinner & Reception

Sunday, February 10, 2008

9:00 AM–11:00 AM

Round Table Panel Discussion

*Teaching the Inquisition: Experiments in Classroom Teaching,
Utilizing Inquisition Sources*

12:00 PM

Closing Remarks

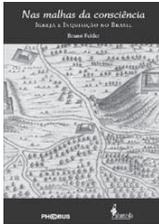
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Livro: Nas malhas da consciência
Autor: Bruno Feitler
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Nas malhas finas da Inquisição

A ação do Tribunal do Santo Ofício em terras brasileiras

Em *Nas malhas da consciência*, o historiador Bruno Feitler, apoiado em extensa pesquisa documental, estuda o funcionamento das estruturas e das representações da Inquisição no Brasil, seus colaboradores e, por que não dizer, sua “propaganda”.

O livro de Feitler focaliza a máquina inquisitorial, priorizando a capitania de Pernambuco como cenário. A obra expõe, com riqueza de detalhes, as formas de atuação do Tribunal do Santo Ofício na capitania entre os séculos XVI e XVIII, permitindo ao leitor acompanhar o crescente adensamento deste sistema de vigilância da consciência dos habitantes do Brasil colonial.

A estrutura montada pelo Tribunal também enfrentava seus problemas internos, como a formação deficiente dos integrantes dos sacerdotes e outros representantes dos estratos inferiores da Inquisição, as disputas de poder entre as ordens religiosas estabelecidas na região, além da resistência da população local em aceitar a ortodoxia católica.

O objetivo de *Nas malhas da consciência* é de esclarecer o caráter disforme e misterioso da Inquisição, ao estudar seus meios de ação e perceber o que o tribunal fez, ou tentou fazer, para chegar à consciência daqueles que estavam sob sua jurisdição. E permite entender como agia o Tribunal do Santo Ofício nas regiões ultramarinas do Império português, como o Brasil.

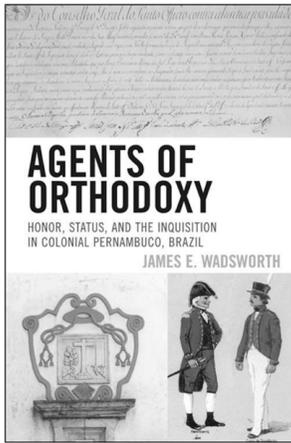
O autor: Bruno Feitler é doutor em História pela *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* (Paris) e especialista em instituições e práticas religiosas do mundo luso-americano. Atualmente, é pesquisador Fapesp junto à Cátedra Jaime Cortesão, FFLCH/USP.

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AGENTS OF ORTHODOXY

Honor, Status, and the Inquisition
In Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil

By James E. Wadsworth

"James E. Wadsworth's Agents of Orthodoxy is an engaging and well-documented book, one that makes a truly important contribution to the history of the Inquisition in Brazil, and more broadly, throughout the entire Iberian world. It also offers new insights into the complex array of social and political factors that contributed to the abolition of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1821. Original in approach and revisionist in its findings, this book is one of the best studies on New World inquisitions currently in print." — Richard L. Kagan, Johns Hopkins University

The Portuguese Inquisition is often portrayed as a tyrannical institution that imposed itself on an unsuspecting and impotent society. The men who ran it are depicted as unprincipled bandits and ruthless spies who gleefully dragged their neighbors away to rot in dark, pestilential prisons. In this new study, based on extensive archival research, James E. Wadsworth challenges these myths by focusing on the lay and clerical officials who staffed the Inquisition in colonial Pernambuco, one of Brazil's oldest, wealthiest, and most populated colonies. He argues that the Inquisition was an integral part of colonial society and that it reflected and reinforced deeply held social and religious values that crossed the Atlantic, recreated themselves in colonial Brazil, and became powerful tools for exclusion and promotion in Brazilian society. The Inquisition successfully appropriated widely held social norms and manipulated social tensions to create and recreate its own power and prestige for almost three hundred years. It finally declined only when its capacity to socially promote its officials diminished in the late eighteenth century. *Agents of Orthodoxy* places the men who ran the Inquisition in historical context and demonstrates that they were often motivated by social aspirations in seeking inquisitional appointments. Beautifully written and extensively researched, this book sheds new light on a long-standing institution and its participants.

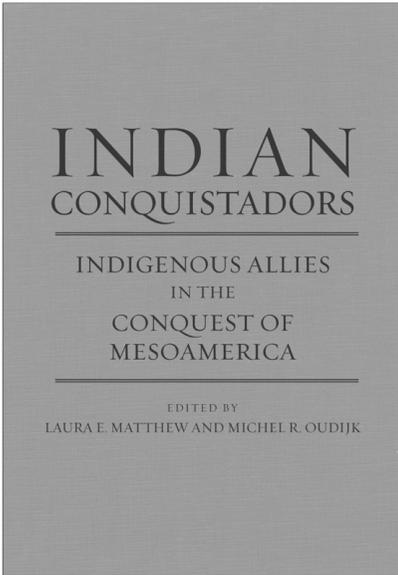
About the Author

James E. Wadsworth is assistant professor in the Department of History at Stonehill College.

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INDIAN CONQUISTADORS INDIGENOUS ALLIES IN THE CONQUEST OF MESOAMERICA

Edited by Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk

Reassesses the first invasion of the New World

The conquest of the New World would hardly have been possible if the invading Spaniards had not allied themselves with the indigenous population. This book takes into account the role of native peoples as active agents in the conquest through a review of new sources and more careful analysis of known but under-studied materials that demonstrate the overwhelming importance of native allies in both conquest and colonial control.

In *Indian Conquistadors*, leading scholars offer the most comprehensive look to date at native participation in the conquest of Mesoamerica. The contributors examine pictorial, archaeological, and documentary evidence spanning three centuries, including little-known eyewitness

accounts from both Spanish and native documents, paintings (lienzos) and maps (mapas) from the colonial period, and a new assessment of imperialism in the region before Spanish arrival.

This new research shows that the Tlaxcalans, the most famous allies of the Spanish, were far from alone. Not only did native lords throughout Mesoamerica supply arms, troops, and tactical guidance, but tens of thousands of warriors—Nahuas, Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Mayas, and others—spread throughout the region to participate with the Spanish in a common cause.

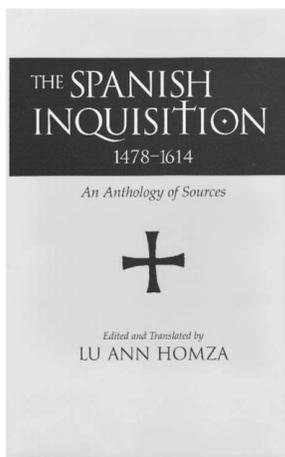
By offering a more balanced account of this dramatic period, this book calls into question traditional narratives that emphasize indigenous peoples' roles as auxiliaries rather than as conquistadors in their own right. Enhanced with twelve maps and more than forty illustrations, *Indian Conquistadors* opens a vital new line of research and challenges our understanding of this important era.

Laura E. Matthew is Assistant Professor of History at Marquette University, Milwaukee. **Michel R. Oudijk** is a researcher at the Institute of Philological Investigations, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, D.F.

Indian Conquistadors is available from online booksellers, in bookstores, and directly from the University of Oklahoma Press: 1-800-627-7377 or www.oupres.com.

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This collection of previously untranslated court documents, testimonials, and letters portrays the Spanish Inquisition in vivid detail, offering fresh perspectives on such topics as the Inquisition's persecution of Jews and Muslims, the role of women in Spanish religious culture, the Inquisition's construction and persecution of witchcraft, daily life inside an Inquisition prison, and the relationship between the Inquisition and the Spanish monarchy. Headnotes introduce the selections, and a general introduction provides historical, political, and legal context. A map and index are included.

"Those of us who teach the history of early modern Spain to undergraduates have long lamented the lack of primary sources in English translation. Lu Ann Homza has gone a long way toward filling that gap with this excellent anthology of sources. Homza provides a judicious selection of documents that chronicle the Spanish Inquisition from its establishment by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1478 to root out crypto-Jews to the expulsion of the Moriscos carried out under Philip III between 1611 and 1614. She recovers many voices from late fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and early seventeenth-century Spain,

of defendants, witnesses, politicians, and the ecclesiastical judges whose zeal for religious orthodoxy and correct legal procedure rendered this one of the most famous, if often misunderstood, judicial institutions in European history.

"Homza begins the volume with a helpful, clearly written introduction that explains the inner workings of the Inquisition and traces its Roman and medieval antecedents. . . . [She] has succeeded in compiling an anthology that is both erudite and accessible, and available at a refreshingly low price. Thus, students as well as teachers and scholars will welcome this significant contribution to the religious and legal history of early modern Spain."

—Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Catholic Historical Review*

"Wonderful selection of all the important types of Inquisitionist records, with excellent short explanations. Homza gives English readers access to extremely important documents that have not been available so far."

—Moshe Sluhovsky, *Department of History, Brown University*

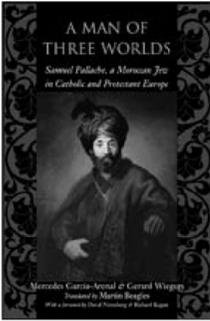
Lu Ann Homza is Associate Professor of History, College of William and Mary.

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A Man of Three Worlds

Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe



Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers
translated by Martin Beagles, with a foreword by David Nirenberg and
Richard L. Kagan

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Description

In the late fifteenth century, many of the Jews expelled from Spain made their way to Morocco and established a dynamic community in Fez. A number of Jewish families became prominent in commerce and public life there. Among the Jews of Fez of Hispanic origin was Samuel Pallache, who served the Moroccan sultan as a commercial and diplomatic agent in Holland until Pallache's death in 1616. Before that, he had tried to return with his family to Spain, and to this end he tried to convert to Catholicism and worked as an informer, intermediary, and spy in Moroccan affairs for the Spanish court. Later he became a privateer against Spanish ships and was tried in London for that reason. His religious identity proved to be as mutable as his political allegiances: when in Amsterdam, he was devoutly Jewish; when in Spain, a loyal *converso* (a baptized Jew). In *A Man of Three Worlds*, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers view Samuel Pallache's world as a microcosm of early modern society, one far more interconnected, cosmopolitan, and fluid than is often portrayed. Pallache's missions and misadventures took him from Islamic Fez and Catholic Spain to Protestant England and Holland. Through these travels, the authors explore the workings of the Moroccan sultanate and the Spanish court, the Jewish communities of Fez and Amsterdam, and details of the Atlantic-Mediterranean trade. At once a sweeping view of two continents, three faiths, and five nation-states and an intimate story of one man's remarkable life, *A Man of Three Worlds* is history at its most compelling.

Author Information

Mercedes García-Arenal is a research professor at the Higher Council of Scientific Research in Madrid. **Gerard Wiegers** is a professor of comparative religion and Islamic studies in the Department of Comparative Religious Studies at the University of Nijmegen. Translator **Martin Beagles** teaches in the Department of Modern Languages at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

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**The Holy Office
of the Inquisition
in *New Spain*
1532–1819**

A Documentary History

Translated & Edited by

John F. Chuchiak IV

Missouri State University



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