

# Blood and Spirit: Paternity, Fraternity and Religious Self-fashioning in Luis de Carvajal's Spiritual Autobiography<sup>1</sup>

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The subterranean networks of New World crypto-Judaism rarely thrived in isolation. Rather, as Jonathan I. Israel, Yosef Kaplan, and others have shown, these secret Jewish communities were connected to a global network of fellow Conversos and openly professing Jews living throughout Europe and the Americas.<sup>2</sup> These disparate groups were connected through a complex web of familial, economic, and cultural ties. Commercial links were solidified through marriage; therefore, business and family were inseparable. Real-world family connections made of “blood and treasure” were intertwined with a longing for family in metaphorical and spiritual terms. Beyond the bonds of flesh and blood, individual crypto-Jews found paternity and brotherhood with like-minded religious searchers for a family of spirit inseparably connected with their family of flesh and blood. This paper explores the dialectical relationship between the socio-economic iteration of family and its more spiritual, metaphorical expression within the context of New World crypto-Judaism.

Scholars such as Renée Levine Melammed locate the center of crypto-Jewish religiosity within the domestic sphere and identify women as the main agents of religious activity and community building.<sup>3</sup> Under the eye of the Inquisitors, conversos wishing to continue their dedication to Judaism had to avoid practicing Jewish rites in public; therefore, the privacy of the home was the preferred space for crypto-Jewish religious activity. From the preparation of food to intimate prayer circles, crypto-Jewish women were central to the underground practice and maintenance of Judaism. In this article I will explore a counterpoint

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to this historiographic tendency. I do not argue against the centrality of family or women's role within crypto-Jewish life; however, my analysis of Luis de Carvajal's autobiography points to a crypto-Judaism that is deeply connected to family but not tied primarily to the domestic sphere nor to the initiative and leadership of women. This is not to say that women are not an important element in Carvajal's spiritual universe – his relationships with his mother, sisters, and other women in colonial Mexico are essential to his narrative of religious self-fashioning.<sup>4</sup> However, Luis' religious development and leadership, as he sketches it out in his autobiography, is deeply connected to his relationships with certain important men who served as guides, partners, and adversaries along his path to enlightenment. For Luis, as we will see, Judaism is a deeply textual matter and thus his religiosity is not dependent on the inner sanctum of the home or the carefully guarded oral traditions of women leaders.<sup>5</sup>

In this article, I focus on the autobiographical writings of Luis de Carvajal, el mozo (the younger).<sup>6</sup> The Carvajal family's trial records have provided scholars with almost unprecedented access to the inner and outer workings of this early modern Converso family. These rich records have been studied by a varied group of historians for over a century. The first comprehensive study of the Carvajal family was *La familia Carvajal* (1944) by the eminent historian of Colonial Mexico, Alfonso Toro. In *La familia Carvajal*, Toro uses the extensive trial records of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) and Luis' own writings, particularly his *Vida* and letters, to reconstruct the events surrounding the Carvajal family's activities in New Spain as well as to contextualize the experience of these Conversos within the wider colonial reality of the late sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Seymour B. Liebman and Martin A. Cohen in the 1960s and '70s engaged the Carvajal family further, looking at the religious dimension of Luis' crypto-Judaism and the way this case sheds light on the wider story of crypto-Jewish activity in the Colonial Americas.<sup>8</sup> In most cases, the *Vida*, along with the Inquisitorial record of the Carvajal family, have been mined in order to reconstruct the historical context of crypto-Judaism in the Americas. Most recently, Miriam Bodian has brought a sharp eye and a nuanced approach to the study of Luis' life and eventual martyrdom in her study *Dying in the Law of Moses*. In addition to critically synthesizing much of the previous scholarship on Carvajal's career, Bodian offers a thought-provoking and sensitive analysis of the intellectual currents running throughout Luis' crypto-Judaism.<sup>9</sup>

Luis Rodríguez de Carvajal was born into a New Christian (recently converted from Judaism) family in 1567 in Benavente, a small Spanish town close to the Portuguese border. According to his own account, he was secretly introduced into his family's crypto-Jewish practice one *Yom Kippur* around his thirteenth birthday (LCM<sup>10</sup> 686). While most of his family practiced some form of Jewish

ritual in secret, they lived outwardly as good Catholics: Luis went to a Jesuit school in Medina del Campo and his brother Gaspar – who appears to have been shielded from any knowledge of the family's Judaizing – entered a Dominican monastery. Luis' uncle, and namesake, Luis de Carvajal, el viejo (the elder) was a decorated conquistador who was rewarded for his services to the Crown with the title of Governor of Nueva León, a large frontier territory in the Northeastern corner of modern day Mexico.<sup>11</sup> He invited his family to join him as part of the core group of colonists in this new territory. With their economic prospects narrowing in Spain, the family accepted the Governor's invitation and followed him to the New World in 1580.

Luis was designated his uncle's heir and worked closely with him upon their arrival in Mexico. Luis was very careful to keep his own crypto-Jewish proclivities secret from his devoutly Catholic uncle. When he was not with his uncle, Luis spent much of his time with his father and his brother, Baltazar, itinerant merchants peddling wares throughout the Mexican countryside.

The Carvajal family's Judaizing eventually came to the attention of the Holy Office. Almost all of the members of the family, including their uncle the governor were arrested, tried, and reconciled to the Church at the *auto-da-fé* of 1590 in Mexico City.<sup>12</sup> The governor died soon after his arrest, before serving his sentence of exile for harboring and abetting heresy. Luis, his mother and sisters, all confessed to their crimes and beseeched the mercy of the Mother Church. For their penance, the Carvajal women were assigned to work in a convent. Luis was first assigned to a hospital but was quickly sent to work at the renowned "Colegio de Indios," at Santiago de Tlaltelolco, where he taught Latin to an elite group of indigenous men and served as the rector's scribe.<sup>13</sup>

After his first arrest and imprisonment, Luis deepened his commitment to Jewish practice. This tenacious drive eventually caught up with him and the Holy Office arrested him a second time in 1595. This time he refused to confess his heresy and rejected the cross. After a year of investigations and countless theological debates with his Inquisitors, Luis de Carvajal, along with his mother and sister, were sentenced to death at the *auto-da-fé* of 1596 in Mexico City.

Most of our knowledge of the Carvajal family comes from the extensive records of their two trials before the Mexican tribunal. In addition to the official transcripts from the court proceedings, we find several texts written by Luis himself. Within the docket of his second trial, we find some texts that were written while he was in prison. These include several letters Luis clandestinely wrote to his sisters close to his final sentencing, offering them hope and courage. These mystically charged texts offer an insight into Luis' psychological and religious state throughout this last trial.<sup>14</sup>

As part of the evidence against Luis there was yet another, more extensive text: a spiritual autobiography, the *Vida*. This small leather-bound book was written with the almost microscopic script that Luis mastered as a scribe. The *Vida* begins with Luis' childhood in Spain, discusses his embrace of Judaism and his exploits throughout Mexico both before and after his first incarceration. Luis began writing his *Vida* around 1592, after his first arrest, and the text ends with events that occurred just a few months before his second arrest.

Luis intended to send the autobiography to his brothers, who had already escaped to the religious freedom of an Italian ghetto; his goal was to declare the glory of God's providence as it was revealed in his life. Luis, using his Jewish name of Joseph Lumbroso, introduces himself as "one of the wanderers and captives of the West Indies:" "de los peregrinos de la occidental India y de los captivos" (LCM 685). He states that he was awakened by the divine spirit to record the acts of providential kindness which graced the "twenty five years of his wanderings:"

Para que sean notorias a todos los que en los santos de los santos creen y esperan sus grandes misericordias que usa con los pecadores.<sup>15</sup>

Luis' *Vida* is unique within the early modern period: it is an autobiographical account written by a practicing crypto-Jew while still living in the Iberian world. While there are a few notable – and fascinating – autobiographies written by former crypto-Jews, they were all penned after the individual crypto-Jew made it to the safety of an open Jewish community.<sup>16</sup> To write down one's Judaizing exploits while still within the grasp of the Inquisitors was an extremely dangerous (and unwise) decision – as made clear by Luis' case. What he saw as a record of his heroic exploits in service of the Divine – *Hashem Tzevaot* – was used as "first-class" evidence against him in his trial as a recalcitrant heretic.

The *Vida* serves as an excellent complement and counter-narrative to the version of the Carvajal family's experience recorded in the copious transcriptions of their two trials before the Holy Office. Its goal is not to ascertain the full extent of the Carvajal family's heresy. Rather, it is a crafted and focused narrative of one individual's search for religious enlightenment and his struggle against the forces of nature and society. The *Vida* allows the reader to see the events of Luis' life as he chose to present them. The text is written in the third person, utilizing the name of Luis' Jewish persona, Joseph Lumbroso. The Luis/Joseph that is crafted within this narrative is heroic, self-sacrificing, crafty and energized by prophetic inspiration.

Carvajal's narrative of personal transformation has generally been approached as a precious documentary resource in the reconstruction of Converso religious mentalities or as a documentary complement to the Inquisitorial trial records of the Carvajal family's prosecution. This reconstructive work is essential and has benefited all subsequent research into the Carvajal family and crypto-Judaism in Mexico. However, the *Vida* has much more to offer the careful reader.

Reading the *Vida* through the lens of family, both as a thematic trope and a socio-historical phenomenon, at once contextualizes the autobiography within its wider Atlantic context and opens up its psychological and religious dynamic. In the present essay I will focus on the constellation of male relationships and their impact on Carvajal's religious persona, as presented in his *Vida*.

### Of Fathers and Uncles

Davidken Studniki-Gizbert investigates the social structures of the Portuguese trading diasporas of the early modern period in his intelligent and well researched *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea*. He points out the centrality of family bonds in the success of the global trading networks at the heart of Converso economic activity. Not only were sons initiated into the family business by their fathers, but there was a widespread practice of nephews spending many years with an uncle in order to learn a different aspect of the family business and to "thicken" the bonds of kinship, trust, and mutual interest within a larger trading network, "Casa Comercial."<sup>17</sup> Studniki-Gizbert points out numerous instances whereby nephews refer to their uncle as their father and vice versa, or cousins refer to each other as brothers. In this sense, the time spent away from one's immediate family helps blur the boundaries and allows for a greater sense of a corporate identity within the family.

Luis and his uncle and namesake seem to follow a similar pattern, with certain important differences. Because the governor did not have any children, he chose the teenage Luis to be his appointed successor. In acknowledgment of this new bond, Luis uses his matronym, Carvajal, instead of his father's surname, Rodríguez. During his first few years in New Spain, Luis works closely with his uncle and is trained in the ways of frontier government: he spends much of his time "pacifying" the nomadic *chichemecos* – attempting to protect the developing silver mines of Taxco; he is being groomed to inherit his uncle's title in line with the special patent the Governor received from the king.<sup>18</sup>

However, because of their religious differences, Luis experiences his time with his uncle as torture. He refers to his uncle as his "tío miserable y ciego" (465). His uncle was apparently a devout Catholic who would never tolerate

Judaizing in his territory, let alone within his family.<sup>19</sup> Luis had to keep his Judaizing a total secret from his religiously “blind” uncle. A dichotomy develops early on between Luis’ inner spiritual life – the world of his autobiographical persona Joseph Lumbroso, which he is able to share with his immediate family and the tight-knit circle of fellow crypto-Jews – and his public identity as the heir to the governor Luis de Carvajal.

In the beginning of his interrogation, Luis is asked if he knows the reason for his arrest:

Dijo: que no lo sabe, aunque presume haber nacido este mal del dicho Gobernador Luis de Carvajal, su tío, que casi es enemigo capital, por controversias que con él han tenido sus padres y hermanos, y por haberles hecho tanto mal como traerlos engañados de España, de cuya causa están pobres y perdidos, o haberle algún enemigo levantado algún testimonio. (16)<sup>20</sup>

Luis points to personal and economic tensions with his uncle as the underlying cause of their enmity. He obviously chooses to hide their deep religious differences. In the *Vida* there is almost no mention of any economic falling out with the governor, outside of the frustration with their less than paradisiacal conditions in Panuco. In his *Vida* the uncle is an enemy because of his religious fanaticism, but before the Inquisitors Luis recasts their problems along ordinary financial squabbles common among family members. His basic defensive strategy is to deny any possible Judaizing elements – he is of Old Christian stock and only evading arrest because he feared that his uncle would invent accusations against him out of spite.

This portrayal is in keeping with the general defensive strategy Luis employs during his first audience: he denies any possible trace of Judaizing; he is of Old Christian stock and the only reason he would be arrested is the vendetta that his uncle has against him over economic issues.

According to Luis’ *Vida*, his induction into his family’s crypto-Judaism is almost coincidental with his uncle’s invitation to join him in New Spain. At the very beginning of his narrative, he tells of his early education in “los rudimentos o principios de la Trinidad,” first with a “pariente” and then later at a school in Medina del Campo, where he continually asked God to grant him “la luz de su conozimiento santo.” Luis reveals himself to be a deeply religious person even when he is firmly within a Catholic context. It is at this point that he discovers his family’s crypto-Jewish secret:

Un día señalado que es el que llamamos de las perdonanças día santo y solemne entre nosotros a diez días de la luna séptima y como la verdad de Dios es tan clara y agradable no fue menester mas que advertirle de ella su madre hermano y hermana mayores y un primo suyo.<sup>21</sup>

This Yom Kippur revelation roughly correlates to his 13<sup>th</sup> year – while it is not clear if the family was aware of the rabbinic notion of Bar Mitzva, a thirteen-year-old in the early modern world would already be assuming the responsibilities of adulthood and thus could be trusted to guard this volatile information. Carvajal is initiated by his family members: his mother, brothers, and sisters. His father, curiously, is not mentioned; in fact he plays a very minor role in the *Vida*: he dies within the first few years in New Spain and his death is merely noted without impacting the narrative flow of Luis' *Vida*; at most, Luis refers to him as “pious” – apparently indicating that he was committed to some form of Judaism, but this was not a major force in his life.<sup>22</sup> In the psychic economy of the narrative, the absence of the father opens up alternative paternal relationships for Joseph. His uncle, however, who would be the most natural fit for a surrogate father, remains outside of Luis' inner-circle (the governor is a sworn enemy of the sacred community dedicated to the “true worship of God”). Luis' fellow crypto-Jews bonded by faith, and often enough by blood.

The first father-figure that Luis mentions is the *licenciado* Dr. Manuel Morales. Morales came over on the same boat with Carvajal's family. Luis describes him as “un medico afamado. Y especialmente en el temor de Dios nuestro señor.” This doctor cures Luis of a terrible illness soon after arriving in Mexico. His physical cures are commonly intertwined with his spiritual gifts. In one instance, Luis and his brother meet an old crippled man in Mexico City – referred to as “un tullido hebreo” (a Jewish cripple) who was treated by Dr. Morales. Seeing that the poor man's body was beyond hope, Morales decided to insure the health of the old man's soul. He left him a manuscript copy of Deuteronomy and other Old Testament texts, translated into “romanze.” Luis refers to this volume as “un libro, o medicinal emplasto para sanidad del anima” (470). Morales left Mexico before Carvajal's first arrest, but his personal example and the various religious texts he distributed had a lasting impact on the crypto-Jewish circles that Luis was a part of.

While he does not mention him in his *Vida*, we know from Inquisitorial sources that Luis' evolving religious sensibilities were nurtured by his connection to Gregorio López, the eclectic, saintly, and iconoclastic hermit. Miriam Bodian deals with this relationship in great detail, showing the clear intellectual affinities between these two new world religious visionaries (57-58). López

does not appear in the *Vida*, nonetheless it is important to note that, here again, Carvajal finds a teacher with whom he can cultivate his spiritual yearnings – a figure that is a clear alternative to the harsh Catholicism of his uncle and the empty psychic space left by the absence of his father.

### **Brotherhood**

Luis tells us of his close relationship with his brother Baltazar, with whom he shares his commitment to crypto-Judaism: they travel the countryside peddling their wares in search of an honorable living for their poor widowed mother; along the way they meet other crypto-Jews, with whom they celebrate holidays, encounter new religious texts, and have opportunities to serve the God of Israel freely. At one point Luis describes their bond as interconnected, and elemental as the sea and land: “Que en el Señor se amaban como el agua y la tierra” (470). The fraternal love is bound up with their spiritual yearnings, their love for each other is “en el Señor.”

Luis has another brother, Gaspar, who was never formally introduced to the family’s secret; instead – as was done in many crypto-Jewish families – he was “given” to the church. He became a Dominican monk and moved to Mexico before his family, and lived in a monastery in Mexico City.<sup>23</sup> Luis is pained by his brother’s spiritual darkness and wants to at least try to “enlighten” him:

Parecioles lastimosa dejar a un hermano mayor suyo ciego y fraile dominico predicador y maestro ya en su orden, y ansi con animo fuerte y amoroso ambos dos hermanos se fueron a verle en su convento que estaba junto a la carcel de la inquisición (LCM 692).<sup>24</sup>

The religious divide between Luis and Baltazar and their devoutly Catholic brother Gaspar does not (at least at first) negate their family bond. It is this fraternal bond that impels Luis to place himself at risk and to help save his brother from spiritual error. Is it an over-reading of Luis’ matter-of-fact account to suggest that the location of his brother’s convent “junto al la carcel de la inquisición” would serve to highlight Luis’ bravery and selflessness? He is willing to enter the lion’s den to save his brother!

Luis initiates a Socratic style theological discussion by beginning with some simple questions about the nature of the Ten Commandments. At least in his own telling, Luis is victorious. However, what is of interest in this exchange (which takes up almost two full pages out of the entire 33-page text) are the ways that Gaspar is included and excluded. Gaspar is referred to as “el fraile



ciego . . .desaventurado, . . . triste” but also as “hermano mayor suyo”. Gaspar’s description of the Law of Moses as something that is “mas que bueno era leerla más no guardarla” is slammed as blasphemy by Luis. Their theological differences are intimate inversions of each other. It is not so much that they believe in radically different religious positions, but that they each have radically different understandings of many of the same religious truths: neither deny the importance of the Bible – they disagree about what the verses mean; neither of the two brothers deny the existence of God or eternal salvation; however, they disagree about whether it is the “Law of Moses” or the “Law of Jesus” that achieves this goal. The distance between them is at once minor and unbridgeable. Their fraternal connection is what draws them together, but it heightens the pain of their theological disagreement.

When Luis invokes the support of Christian proof texts for his position on the eternality of the Law, he refers to “vuestros mismos predicadores” and “vuestro crucificado.” As if to say, “Yours, but not ours!” In Luis’ telling, at the end of the argument, Gaspar is dumbfounded; he is convinced by Luis’ arguments but cannot accept the truth: “dixoles viendose convencido no tratemos mas desto.” No longer able to engage in dialogue, Gaspar shuts down their engagement and concludes by setting himself off from his brothers: “bendito sea Dios que me saco de entre vosotros.” In essence, Gaspar is disavowing his connection to his family, “me saco de entre vosotros”; it is as though God marked him from the womb and saved him from his family and the stain of heresy. He is bound up with the *Sagrada Familia*, part of the eternal drama of the Christian mysteries. Gaspar does not need his brothers of flesh and blood, he has his monastic brothers in Christ. It seems that at this point the sense of dispossession and alienation is mutual. In response to Gaspar’s rejection of their religious ideas, Luis and Baltazar rejoice in their lot:

Ambos hermanos replicaban uno de un lado y otro de otro glorificado sea n[ues]tro. D[ios]. y S[eño]r que no nos dexaste en la ceguera y perdición que a este miserable.<sup>25</sup>

They respond “in stereo” by praising God for their lot and decrying their brother’s sorry state. They praise “Nuestro Dios”; does Gaspar have the same God? These dividing lines are harsh but allow for easy mirroring: both sides call the other blind and “lost,” sitting in darkness.

Luis tries one more time to reach out to his brother. He suggests that they take a few days to study and then meet again. Luis’ bibliocentrism plays a major role in this encounter.<sup>26</sup> The Bible is the common denominator between the two and he proposes that, through reason, they should be able to arrive at the “truth”

together: “el que fuese convenzido por la x[ver]dad<sup>27</sup> quedase en ella.” When they meet again, Gaspar tells his brother that he no longer wants to engage in these discussions: “se disculpo con dezir que las vedaba su ley el inquirirla, ni aumentarla.” Instead of the primacy of the text and the guiding light of human reason, Gaspar holds fast to *autoritas* and the handed down dogmas of his religious order – there is no place for them to meet.

Luis’ bond with Baltazar was informed and strengthened by their shared religious passion and shared experiences in pursuit of the Judaic truth. With Gaspar we can see that the bonds of brotherhood are severed because their theological differences are too deep. Their bonds of fraternal love and obligation are attenuated by this religious difference, and what might be more accurately seen as a discursive chasm. Gaspar’s affiliation with his monastic order, his commitment to his spiritual brothers, prevents him from engaging the very ideas that Luis and Baltazar put forward. Baltazar and Luis come away saddened by their inability to reach their brother; in the zero-sum game of exclusive religious truth, Gaspar’s “blindness” will insure his damnation.

In retelling the story of this exchange, Luis is presenting himself as a dedicated brother as well as a successful “dogmatizer,” to adopt the Inquisition’s term for someone who actively seeks to win people over to heresy.<sup>28</sup> He is able to express and defend the truth of Judaism, reducing a devout monk to silence! Beyond this heroic self-fashioning, Luis’ relationship with his brothers reveals the ways that family ties, especially among Conversos, can bind together individuals with radically different religious orientations. However, those differences can and do come between them. In these tangled relationships, we can appreciate the complexity of blood and faith – of the ways that the practical elements of a family’s activities are impacted. At the same time, the reader is left with an appreciation for the complexity of the bonds of brotherhood and faith.

### **From Stranger to Brother in Faith: Fray Francisco Ruiz de Luna – Renegade Monk, Inquisitorial Spy and Old Christian Judaizing Martyr**

In the prisons of the Inquisition Luis experiences some of his most transformative experiences. As described in his *Vida*, prison is a site of prophetic dreams where Solomon, Jeremiah, and Job reveal divine secrets to him through parables (695-6). Luis is presented as a noble servant of the divine, willing to suffer and sacrifice for his faith in the dark depths of the Inquisition’s secret prisons. It is also a site of friendship and communion of a most surprising sort.<sup>29</sup> The Inquisitors place a monk who was arrested for minor religious infractions into Luis’ cell. The monk, Fray Francisco Ruiz de Luna, was ordered to not reveal his religious

title to Luis in the hope that he would be able to spy on him and provide the Inquisitors with more evidence of his heresy.<sup>30</sup> Early on, however, the wayward monk and the Judaizing heretic discover a unique bond in their shared captivity.

From their earliest moments together, Luis describes an easy and amicable relationship: “despues de los dos presos aberse comunicado un rato y alegrado de la junta y compañía” (694). They are both happy to have social contact, to share a conversation as a respite from the dark loneliness of their imprisonment. But as all things in Luis' *Vida*, the arrival of this monk is no mere coincidence; neither is it really about the poorly executed plans of the Inquisitors, but rather it is all part of a divine plan. Luis prefaces the arrival of Fray Francisco into his cell with a lament over being cut off from his holy books while in prison. He desires above all else to be able to pray and study the Bible. Sure enough, while Luis is denied access to books, this monk requests and promptly receives a breviary with which to pray. To Luis this is a great salvation; now, he is able to access the Psalms included as part of the Catholic prayer book and pour out his soul to the God of Israel. Luis describes his deep joy at seeing the prison warden enter their cell with the breviary:

con sumo gozo y alegría de ver que el s[eño]r D[ios] suyo abia  
ymbiadole por aquella orden lo que deseaba tanto que era tener  
por donde rezar los ps[alm]os como solia.<sup>31</sup>

At first, however, Luis was unable to fully express his Judaism because of the presence of his “compañero”, the monk. However, through Divine intervention, the monk was “enlightened and converted to the true God” (“alumbrado y convertido”) (696). Luis describes how they engaged in theological discussions and how, after a few days, the monk began to see the truth of the Law of Moses. Their relationship was transformed from simply one of prison camaraderie born of boredom and loneliness into a spiritual bond. In the course of a few days Luis went from hiding his Judaism to celebrating the God of Israel with the lapsed monk: “se alegraba y consolaba y cantaba himnos y loores al s[eño]r.” They would dance and praise God for having enlightened the monk and allowing them both to share in the divine service.

They also bonded over sacred texts. Fray Francisco lent Luis his breviary, allowing him to “poach”<sup>32</sup> passages from the Hebrew Bible out of the Catholic text for his own Judaizing ends. Luis describes them spending hours in their cells discussing “sagradas historias.”<sup>33</sup> During one such exchange, the monk was hungrily drinking in Luis' words when he declares:

quien me dierra sido alumbrado en la berdad de Dios fuera de esta carzel y caido en ella estando en los monasterios, que solyan donde tienen librerias abiertas con la sagrada escriptura y otros muchos buenos libros.<sup>34</sup>

This bizarre off-hand comment made by Francisco – his desire to have been a Judaizer in a monastery so at least he could spend his time reading the Hebrew Bible – plants a seed in Luis’ mind: “are those books open to all?” (696). Luis is struck by the idea of having access to vast libraries of religious works and echoes his friend’s sentiment and declares: “a quien me diera en unas de ellas.” Eventually this wish comes true, but even at this moment in the narrative, the two cellmates share the same dream of free access to religious texts.

In addition to prayer and study of the Bible, Luis and Fray Francisco share in another more primal religious act. Despite their hunger, the two Judaizers discard the pork products in their meager rations and bury them in the dirt floor of their cells as a “sacrifice”: “bamos a hacer el sacrificio” (697). Luis describes how they would suffer great hunger by passing up on this “forbidden food.” These shared acts of devotion and sacrifice, as in the case of Luis and his brother Baltazar, serve to bring the two inmates together and transform the monk from a “buen estrangero” into a “confesor de D[ios] verdadero y de su lay s[antis]ma” who eventually will wear the “corona de martir.” Luis is amazed at this transformation because of Fray Francisco’s Old Christian background. He repeatedly mentions the fact that Fray Francisco took to the Law of Moses as if he were raised by Judaizing parents: “Imprimiosele tambien en el anima a este buen estrangero la berdad del a la divina como si toda su vida ubiera sido criado en ella y enseñado por fieles p[adr]es.” Fray Francisco’s embrace of the “truth,” his bravery and sacrifice, is miraculous – the divine truth has been inscribed on his soul, without the usual process of nature and nurture. The case of this renegade monk, who ends his life at an *auto-da-fé* as an obdurate Judaizer, is a counterpoint to Luis’ brother Gaspar.<sup>35</sup> Despite their shared blood and despite Luis’ best attempts to reach out to him and “show him the truth,” Gaspar remains “other” to Luis, their fraternity is undone because of their different religious commitments. In the case of Fray Francisco, otherness is overcome by shared faith and sacrifice.

A powerful example of the role of sacrifice and the forging of a spiritual family can be seen in Luis’ narrative of Fray Francisco’s eventual martyrdom. Fray Francisco is sentenced to the galleys after his first Inquisitorial trial. While on board, he reportedly desecrated a crucifix and was re-arrested by the Holy Office. During his second trial, Francisco declared himself a devout Judaizer. He also lied to the Inquisitors in order to protect Luis. He testified that Luis taught him about Judaism before Luis’ confession and reconciliation to the Church,

thus saving Luis from being arrested as a false *reconciliado* (702). Luis praises the monk for his bravery and integrity: “el compañero de Joseph confeso aquella vez al D[ios] del cielo delante de los tyranos con tan valerosos animo q[uan]to no se a vista semejante cosa en ho[mbr]e de estraña nacion”<sup>36</sup> (702).

According to the *Vida*, Francisco tells the Inquisitors to their face that only the God of Israel is true and all other gods are frauds and tricks of the Devil. He audaciously claims that the “king and the inquisitorial dogs” know this but their hearts are hardened to the truth like the heart of Pharaoh.<sup>37</sup> It is not only that Francisco is pious, passionate, and brave; his commitment to Judaism is remarkable because of the way that it breaks with his ethnic past. He is of an “estraña nación,” an Old Christian, but becomes a Jewish martyr. Through his sacrifice he gains communion with Luis and his people.

### **Fray Pedro de Oroz, A Christian Father Figure Who Enables Luis' Jewish Rebirth**

We have already discussed the minor role that Luis' father plays in the *Vida*. In his place, Luis has a wide range of alternative father figures, most notably his uncle and Dr. Morales. These two represent two extremes – his uncle is a zealous Catholic, intolerant of any Judaizing proclivities, whereas Morales is the paragon of crypto-Jewish piety and heroism. After his first trial, however, Luis encounters a third figure who has a deep impact on his religious development, and whose kindness leaves a lasting impression. As part of his penance after his first trial, Luis was assigned to work at a hospital and its adjacent church (*Vida* 697). Luis missed his beloved sisters and mother, who were assigned to a different locale; he was also deeply troubled by his job as a custodian and the “sacristan de los idolos.” The idea of tending to the idols and cleaning the “House of the Idols” drove Luis to tears – while mopping the floor, Luis would cry his woe: “regando primero el suelo con muchas lágrimas.” After a year at this job, he gained permission to rejoin his mother and sister and was placed under the watch of Fray Pedro de Oroz, the rector of the Colegio de Santiago de Tlaltelolco.<sup>38</sup> At Tlaltelolco, Luis taught Latin to the Indian students and was a scribe for Fray Pedro. It was during these years 1591-1594 that Luis managed to gain access to and copy a vast amount of religious literature essential to his crypto-Jewish self-discovery. The accessibility of Bibles, exegetical and philosophical commentaries, and the time to read them, allowed Luis to learn more about the Old Testament and deepen his understanding of the practical and theological underpinnings of his “Judaism.”<sup>39</sup> Fray Pedro's confidence in the sincerity and efficacy of Carvajal's penitence afforded the *reconciliados* a

great degree of liberty that they used to clandestinely reconnect to Judaism. They developed close friendships with the leading crypto-Jews of Mexico City and the surrounding countryside, spending the Sabbath together with them in prayer and celebrating the festivals of Passover and the Day of Atonement.

Luis first describes Fray Pedro with great tenderness and respect for his piety:

Un anciano fraile hombre de mucha virtud . . . le amaba [a Joseph] y queria estrañamente no solo a el sino toda su g[en]te Y como les habian quitado los lobos carnizeros sus haciendas y ellos quedaban en pobreza, este de su mismo plato y mesa, todos los dias desta vida los regalaba.<sup>40</sup>

The fact that Fray Pedro is a devout Catholic does not color Luis' positive description. Fray Pedro is a man of "virtue" and generosity despite his Catholicism. His kindness is placed in contradistinction to the bloodthirsty wolves of the Inquisition who have left them destitute, while Pedro shares his own food with the Carvajals. His love is "strange" or "special" and it extends to his (Luis') "people," presumably Luis' family.<sup>41</sup>

As Fray Pedro's scribe, Luis works very closely with him; this allows them to bond over their shared intellectual passions. Luis is given the special privilege of having his own key to the library to facilitate his copying the varied manuscripts. As most things in the *Vida*, this favor is framed as a sign of divine providence: "esta m[e]r[ce]d. Del sr. fuese mas colmada de la mano de su liberalisima magnificencia." Luis points out that none of his other companions in the monastery were given this privilege: "lo cual no hazia con ninguno de sus compañeros frailes." At once, Fray Pedro's attention and kindness is a personal act and, as all things in Luis' narrative, it is an expression of Divine Grace and Providence.<sup>42</sup> The theological framing of these exchanges notwithstanding, in Luis' narrative he and Fray Pedro have a shared passion for books. Just four months after Luis' arrival at the monastery, Fray Pedro purchased Nicolas de Lyra's glosses on the Pentateuch. Luis describes Fray Pedro's excitement and desire to share the good news with Luis: "y quando se los truxeron le vino el mismo como a pedir las albricias y Joseph diziendole o que ricas cosas trahemos a nuestro collegio." Both, master and disciple, revel in their good fortune to have access to such erudite texts.

Luis' passion for these books, however, is one of the many areas where he deceives Fray Pedro, and takes advantage of his good will. The books in the monastery's library mean something different to each of these curious intellectuals. For Fray Pedro, they are edifying Christian texts, part of the expanding orbit of post-Renaissance Christian literature. For Luis, these Christian texts are a rich

source of biblical and rabbinic materials for him to mine for his own Judaizing purposes. He reads Nicolas de Lyra in order to copy out the passages from rabbinic and medieval Jewish sources that Lyra cites as part of his commentary. He reads Oleastre to discover bits of rabbinic literature and even discover the ideas of Maimonides: “en este libro le descubrio el Sr. los santos treze articulos y fundamentos de nuestra fee y religion cosa no sabida y oida en las tierras de captiverio”<sup>43</sup> (699). Luis reads these texts clandestinely, sneaking away to make his own copies of biblical passages and craft anthologies of Jewish literature for future use – what he refers to as his “matalotage para el anima.”<sup>44</sup> It is clear from Luis’ *Vida* that he believed the rector would be displeased if he found him “Judaizing” the library. He describes how he would work on his own texts at night, when everyone else was asleep or between classes. His fear of being found out by Fray Pedro is captured in one passage in the *Vida* where he describes one instance when he was about to enter the library, but felt a premonition from God to wait because Fray Pedro was approaching. Although Fray Pedro shares Luis’ joy and passion for sacred books, they clearly see the books in radically different ways, and Luis must betray the trust of his benefactor in order to follow his true convictions.

Perhaps Luis’ most audacious betrayal of Fray Pedro’s largesse occurs a few years later, when he sets out to collect alms in order to pay off his penance. Through intensive lobbying and bribery on the part of his brother-in-law, Jorge de Almeida, Luis and his family were granted a release from the restrictive terms of their penance in exchange for a large sum of money that they were meant to collect through alms. In order to help Luis gain his freedom, Fray Pedro not only releases him from his duties at the monastery, but arranges for Luis to receive fifty letters commending him to all the monasteries in the province: “Bolbio a faborezer a Joseph como de antes” (705). This act of kindness and concern on the part of Fray Pedro enables Luis to free himself from the limitations of his penance. Through his travels he makes the most of the hospitality of the monasteries while at the same time reaching out to Judaizers throughout the countryside and celebrating Jewish rituals with them.

We can assume that Fray Pedro believed that he was showing Christian charity towards a sincere *reconciliado*. Luis, however, uses this trust in order to collect the money that will enable him and his family to leave New Spain and eventually make it to the religious freedom of an Italian Jewish community. This subterfuge is in line with Luis’ crypto-Jewish activity – he lives outwardly as a pious Christian while he secretly subverts Christian texts and practices in the course of his Judaizing. Within the Inquisitorial context, Luis has no other choice but to hide his true intentions from Fray Pedro, and in the *Vida* there is not the slightest hint of remorse or concern. In fact Luis treats the entire relation-

ship with Fray Pedro, from his initial request to bring Luis to Tlaltelolco, to his ongoing kindness and the special privileges he grants Luis, including his help in collecting these alms, as orchestrated by the hand of God. In the theological frame of Luis' *Vida*, Fray Pedro was an instrument of Providence. However, there are fissures in that orthodox narrative, cracks in the providential view that allow Luis to relate to Fray Pedro with tenderness. And in those moments we see one of the remarkable ways that this impassioned crypto-Jew, who was so committed to his "heresy" that he was willing to risk it all for the God of Israel and the Law of Moses, was able to connect with this kindly priest who nurtured and cared for him and his family both physically and spiritually.

This points to the complexities of crypto-Jewish identity. Luis' Judaism is ultimately very Christian – he crafts a Judaism out of Christian texts, and reworked Christian concepts. His religious bond with other crypto-Jews has to do with a shared belief and a shared rejection of Christianity. But Judaism and Christianity cannot be so neatly separated – one flows from the other; both have evolved in a conscious and subconscious dialectic with each other,<sup>45</sup> and thus Luis is able to appreciate the humanity and kindness of Fray Pedro, and share in his joy over the arrival of a particular book; but at the same time, Luis will exploit both his kindness and his books to very different ends.

Gaspar, the Dominican monk, is Luis' brother in blood, but because of their religious differences they become estranged from each other. Both brothers feel blessed to have been saved from each other's fate: Gaspar is thankful that he was never tainted with Judaism, while Luis praises God for having enlightened him with the Mosaic truth. His cellmate, the renegade monk, is a stranger who becomes part of his people through faith, devotion, and sacrifice. With Pedro de Oroz we find a more ambiguous relationship. He is a father figure, whose benevolence nurtures Luis' body and soul but who ultimately is not part of his spiritual quest.

Luis de Carvajal crafts a narrative of spiritual enlightenment and heroic sacrifice guided by the boundless hand of Providence. But from its very beginning, the *Vida* is not a tale of one man's soul and its solitary journey to the divine truth, but rather a story intimately bound up with networks of family and fellow spiritual travelers. Natalie Zemon Davis shows that early modern autobiographical writing is distinguished not by the author's subjective independence, but rather by his "embeddedness" within his social realities.<sup>46</sup> The author's unfolding of self is mediated through the disparate relationships that make the autobiographer who he or she is. Mothers, fathers, siblings, teachers, masters, and servants are essential to shaping the autobiographer's self-portrait. Luis' autobiography is informed by the networks of trade, kinship, and culture developed by Converso families in the early modern Atlantic world. No one single element was the



determining factor in maintaining these networks; business or blood ties often overcame religious differences, and vice versa. By looking closely at how these relationships are transformed within Luis' narrative, we see that they are not only essential to the socio-economic mechanics of these transatlantic networks, but are also the stuff of dreams, of psychological unfolding and spiritual transformation.

## NOTES

- 1 I dedicate this article to the memory of my grandmother, Frida Eisen de Perelis, who passed away in May 2011 at the age of 104. She lived in four countries and spoke five languages and was a mother, grandmother, and great grandmother many times over. In many ways, her Atlantic crossings – from Transylvania to Cuba to Israel and then to Panamá for her last declining years – were informed and made possible by the tight bonds of family and the travails of history. In this sense, her life – and the experiences of her extraordinary generation – informs my own investigations into the transatlantic journeys I discuss in this essay.
- 2 See Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998, and his more recent tour de force *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540-1740)*. Leiden: Brill, 2002. For one excellent example of the interconnected nature of Converso and Sephardic business and social networks, see Yosef Kaplan, "The travels of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam to the 'Lands of Idolatry' (1644-1724)" in *Jews and Conversos: Studies in Society and the Inquisition*, ed. Yosef Kaplan. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985.
- 3 See her *Heretics Or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. This approach has a strong historiographic pedigree. It is safe to say that almost every important study of crypto-Jewish activity gives pride of place to the role of women and the domestic sphere.
- 4 This essay is part of a larger project analyzing the full range of Luis' familial relationships as they play out in his autobiography.
- 5 I want to thank both Claude Dov Stuczynski and Stan Mirvis for helping me consider this historiographic angle, each at a different decisive moment in the evolution of this project. It was in discussions with Silvia Arrom that I was able to perceive the centrality of family dynamics to Carvajal's writings. I am grateful for her critical eye.
- 6 For a synthetic biography of Luis de Carvajal, the younger, as well as a textual history of his autobiography, see my dissertation, Ronnie Perelis, "Marrano Autobiography in its Transatlantic Context: Exile, Exploration and Spiritual Discovery," New York University, 2006, 12-26.
- 7 All subsequent scholars of the Carvajal family must be grateful to Toro. In preparing his study of the Carvajals, he carefully transcribed Luis' *Vida* and other documents. Soon after, the original text of the autobiography, along with other precious artifacts related to the Carvajals, were stolen by a mysterious foreigner in 1932. While some of the artifacts were anonymously returned, the *Vida* has never resurfaced and would have been

- lost for all time if not for Toro's copy. Toro gives a detailed account of this heist and the ensuing scandal relating to the use of his own transcriptions in the publication of the trial documents under the authorship of Luis González Obregón, the chief historian of the AGN. See pages 15- 23 in *La Familia Carvajal*, 1944. (México DF: Editorial Patria S.A., 1977). See also Rafael López's introduction to the *Procesos de Luis de Carvajal (el Mozo)*, (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1935). Toro's ambivalent relationship to Jews and Judaism is seen quite clearly in his treatment of the theft of the documents. The suspected thief, a certain Prof. Jac Nachbim, is the target of Toro's latent anti-Semitism. Nachbim, Toro informs us, is a Brazilian citizen of German origin who is presently a professor at the University of New Mexico. But most importantly, it seems that Nachbim is Jewish. Toro constantly refers to him as "el profesor judío" or "el doctor judío." Throughout the work there are many bouts of atavistic anti-Semitism. Referring to the Jews as cheap, money-hungry and fanatical is commonplace in his description of the Carvajal family. What is most perplexing and fascinating about these comments is that they appear in a work dedicated to the heroic suffering and brutal persecution of Jews.
- 8 Martin A. Cohen, *The Martyr: Luis de Carvajal: A Secret Jew in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, 1973. Introduction by Ilan Stavans. (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2001). For Liebman, see his translation of primary sources relating to Carvajal, *The Enlightened*. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1967). As well as his collected essays on Conversos in Colonial Mexico, *The Jews of New Spain: Faith, Flame and the Inquisition*. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1970).
  - 9 Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2007). It is worth mentioning two contemporary scholars that look at the wider reverberations of the Carvajal family story. Erin Graff-Zivin's forthcoming *Figurative Inquisitions* explores the ways twentieth-century Latin American authors and artists utilize the Carvajal family story for their contemporary concerns. In her very promising dissertation, "The Other Sephardic Diaspora," Emily Colbert Cairns turns her attention to the trial records of Isabel, Carvajal's younger sister, as part of a wider study of Converso women in the early modern Iberian world.
  - 10 LCM refers to Luis de Carvajal, el mozo, as author of his *Vida*. Carvajal did not give his autobiography a title. Toro refers to it as the "Autobiografía" and Gonzalez Obregón uses the term "Memorias." I use the term *vida* because it is the term most often used for autobiographical texts in the early modern Iberian world.
  - 11 The territory stretched from Tampico to San Antonio, Texas, and reached six hundred miles inland from the Gulf of Mexico (Liebman 1967, 26). For a full treatment of the older Carvajal, see Cohen, 37-66.
  - 12 Cohen, 142-8 and 174-181.
  - 13 Toro, pp. 377-400, and Cohen, pp. 198-212. For an in-depth analysis of the activities at this unique New World institution, see Tvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*. Trans. Richard Howard. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 219-241.
  - 14 These letters are included in the *Procesos de Luis de Carvajal el Mozo*, pp. 497-522. See also Seymour Liebman's translations in *The Enlightened*.

- 15 “So that it would be known to all those who believe in the Holy of Holies and who await the compassion that He shows to sinners.” All translations from the Spanish, unless otherwise specified, are the author’s.
- 16 For an expanded discussion of this phenomenon, see my forthcoming article, “Daniel Israel López Laguna’s *Espejo Fiel de Vidas (London 1720)*” and “The Ghost of Marrano Autobiography,” in *The Jews in the Caribbean*, Jane Gerber, ed. (Oxford: Littman Library, forthcoming), especially pages 1-6.
- 17 See Chapter 3, 67- 90, in his *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal’s Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640* (Oxford: London, 2007). Studniki-Gizbert also deals with this issue in his essay, “La Nación among the Nations,” *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism 1500-1800*. Eds. Richard L. Kagan and Phillip D. Morgan. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 86-87. For other treatments of the centrality of family within the early modern Converso and Sephardic world, see David Graizbord, “Converso Children under the Inquisitorial Microscope in the Seventeenth Century: What May the Sources Tell us about Their Lives?” in Albrecht Classen, ed., *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 373- 388. See also the various contributions to *Familia, Religión y Negocio: el sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna*, eds. Jaime Contreras, Bernardo José García, and Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano (Madrid: Instituto Carlos de Amberes, 2002). Most recently, Francesca Trivellato questions the overriding centrality of family in economic activity in the early modern Sephardic Diaspora in her *Familiarity of Strangers* (New Haven: Yale, 2009).
- 18 Cohen, 55-57; see note 43 for the textual history of this official patent.
- 19 There is great speculation about how much the governor would have known about his family’s Judaizing. His own wife, Doña Guiomar, the daughter of his Portuguese New Christian business partner, refused to go to Mexico with him, apparently over religious differences. There is evidence that she asked Isabel, Luis’ mentally unstable sister, to try to convert her husband, which she attempted to do with disastrous effects. The Governor spent most of his adult life in the Americas and had limited contact with his family until he received his title to Nueva León. It would have been reasonable for Carvajal (the elder) to have assumed that they, like him, were committed to assimilating into the Catholic fabric of Iberian society, not in maintaining an atavistic faith in the dead law of Moses. Thus the degree to which he knew of his family’s Judaizing proclivities is unclear until later in their time in Mexico, when there were clear theological confrontations between the Governor and his sister’s family. See Cohen’s chapter dedicated to Carvajal, el viejo, “The Governor,” in *The Martyr*, 37-66, as well as Bodian, 47-52.
- 20 “He said: he did not know, although he presumes that this evil originated from the said Governor Luis de Carvajal, his uncle, who is almost a mortal enemy, for certain controversies between him, his parents and his brothers and for all the damage that he inflicted upon them in deceiving them into leaving Spain, for his sake they are poor and lost, or because some enemy has raised a false testimony against him.”
- 21 It was on one of the special days, the one that we call “[Day] of Pardons”, a holy and solemn day for us, on the tenth day of the seventh moon, and as the truth of God is so

clear and pleasant, all his mother, brother and older sisters and cousin had to do was call his attention to it [in order for him to accept it].

In this section I invert the syntax at times for greater clarity but I still try to maintain the idiosyncratic baroque style of Luis' writing, in particular the long and winding sentences. There is an echo of the original biblical Hebrew in Luis' Spanish rendering of "kipurim" as "perdonanças". The origin of this curious linguistic note is unclear.

- 22 In the trial records this description of Luis' father as religiously in the background is contradicted. A cousin, Phelipe Nuñez, quotes one of the sisters ("la viuda") as attributing their initiation and instruction in Judaism to the father: "sabed que mi padre nos dijo (*Procesos de Luis de Carvajal el Mozo* 8) su padre les había dicho (porque era leído) que había leído que un profeta decía" (9). Blaming the father, who was already dead, might have been a convenient way to deflect guilt from other living members of the family.
- 23 Cohen, 34-35 n. 36, discusses the issue of whether or not Gaspar knew of the family's Judaizing.
- 24 They considered it regretful to leave behind their brother, the blind one, a dominican friar, an educated preacher already [established] in his [monastic] order, and thus with a strong and loving spirit, both brothers [Luis and Baltasar] went to see him in his monastery which was located next to the Inquisitorial prison.
- 25 Both brothers replied, one from each side, "Glory to our God and Lord who has not left us in the blindness and perdition of this miserable one."
- 26 For a sophisticated discussion of Luis' bibliocentric approach to religion, see Bodian, especially 57- 58.
- 27 Although the context of this passage seems to indicate reading *xdad* as *verdad*, Claude Stuczynski suggests that the word may actually be "cristianidad," with the "x" indicating "Xpo"/Christo (email exchange March 5, 2012).
- 28 The absorption of Inquisitorial concepts and terminology by crypto-Jews is seen in many surprising ways. See Y. H. Yerushalmi, "Marranos Returning to Judaism in the 17th century: Their Jewish Knowledge and Psychological Readiness," *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* [Heb.] (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1969), 2:202.
- 29 My reading of the relationship between Fray Francisco and Luis is enriched by some ideas developed by Prof. Thomas Cohen of York University in his recent keynote address to the Early Modern Workshop in Jewish History (Brown University, February 26, 2012) entitled, "Entanglement: How the Whole World Worked and How Jews Joined In." In particular, his idea of the relationship between sacrifice and communion was very illuminating and provocative.
- 30 See Cohen, 166-167, especially n. 36. Luis asserts that he was placed in the cell because of the Inquisitors' concern over Luis' poor health and depressed spirits (LCM 694).
- 31 With the highest delight and joy in seeing that the Lord, his God, sent him, through that command, what he so desired, which was to have a means through which to recite the Psalms as was his custom.
- 32 Michel De Certeau, "Reading as Poaching," In *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven F. Rendall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 165-176.

- 33 Presumably these were stories from the Hebrew Bible, but quite possibly this general category might include a wider array of religiously edifying stories. It is important to notice that, in this case in particular, Luis is the teacher, he is the one regaling Francisco with the stories
- 34 What would I have given to have been enlightened by the truth of God outside of this prison, to have encountered it [the divine truth] while in the monasteries, which generally have open libraries filled with the sacred Scriptures and many other good books.
- 35 Cohen, 253, based on Medina *La inquisición en México*, 109.
- 36 Joseph's companion confessed the truth of the God of Israel before the tyrants with such a courageous spirit that has never been seen in someone of a foreign nation.
- 37 It is not clear if this exchange is the invention of Luis' fertile imagination or not. How Luis knew that Francisco used this creative piece of Biblical exegesis before the Inquisitors is hard to know. However, the application of the Exodus story to the plight of the Conversos before the Inquisitors could very well be an indication of the extent to which this monk already began to absorb Luis' bibliocentric hermeneutic.
- 38 The Colegio was founded in 1537 and in 1590 lost its most famous teacher, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún.
- 39 For further discussion of the texts Luis gained access to, see Toro, 459-480; Cohen, 198-212; and Bodian, 64, n. 101 and 102.
- 40 An elderly monk, a man of great virtue. . . loved [Joseph] and with a special love, he loved not only Joseph but also all of his people. And since the bloodthirsty wolves took away their goods and property and they [Luis' family] were left impoverished, this one [monk] from his very own plate and table would give to them for all the days of his life. Fray Pedro's piety and intellectual intensity are attested to in Juan de Torquemada's monumental, multi-volume history of the Franciscans in the New World, *Monarquía Indiana* Book 20, chapter LXXVIII, originally published in Seville (1615) and most recently by El Seminario para el Estudio de Fuentes de Tradición Indígena, Miguel León-Portilla coordinator, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1975-1979, and available online at:  
<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/publicaciones/catalogoiih/fichas/154.html>
- 41 This would be the meaning from context. However, "gente" also has the meaning of "people" and it may mean something more expansive, such as the larger group of *conversos*. Oroz was deeply interested in the culture and languages of the indigenous group his monastery serviced; we do not have any indication that this extended to New Christians.
- 42 See Perelis, 162-165.
- 43 In this book the Lord revealed for him the holy thirteen principles and fundamentals of our faith and religion, something not known of or heard of in these lands of captivity.
- 44 See Perelis, 140-170.
- 45 Miriam Bodian's treatment of Carvajal's religious ideas points to the Christian nature of his "Judaism." One prominent analysis of the Jewish and Christian symbiosis in the Medieval period is Israel J. Yuval's *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Translated by Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman. (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

- 46 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Fame and Secrecy: Leon Modena's *Life* as an Early Modern Autobiography" in *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah*. Trans. and ed. Mark R. Cohen. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 50-72. The parameters of pre-modern autobiographic subjectivity is also analyzed in James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). Richard Kagan and Abigail Dyer discuss the relationship of autobiography to Inquisitorial confessions in the introduction to *Inquisitorial Inquiries*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).