



López-Salazar, Ana Isabel y Moreno Díaz del Campo, Francisco J. (coords.), *La Monarquía Hispánica y las minorías. Élités, poder e instituciones*, Madrid, Sílex, 2019, 486 págs. ISBN: 9788477379140.

This is an excellent publication, indispensable for all those who study or are interested in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Iberia. It represents a new phase of research on minorities of Jewish and Muslim origin, attentive to connections between these communities, their participation in municipal institutions, cathedral chapters, guilds and associations, economic and financial activities, relations with the Crown and with the population of Old Christians.

The studies reflect a granular vision of minorities that has been developed in the past decades. They are no longer regarded as coherent communities with predictable beliefs and behaviour. Internal conflicts resulted from different political goals and strategies. Negotiations with the Crown and the Inquisition by communities in different regions demonstrate clear initiative and agency that were not unidirectional. Local isolation was never complete, while integration could register different degrees. As a consequence of this shift in the historiography, a coherent identity is not taken for granted, since the preservation of tradition and internal solidarity could assume different forms, while disruption with the past and full reinvention of families and lineages as Old Christians were a further option.

The chapter by Ana Isabel López-Salazar, who has produced some of the best studies on the Inquisition in Portugal, is really innovative. She compares the strategies of negotiation of both Moriscos and New Christians with the Crown, an important but novel approach. The suspension of enquiry related to religious allegiance was a first instrument of appeasement obtained by these communities both in Spain and Portugal in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century, extended in time against significant donations to moderate inquisitorial activity. Inhibition of the Inquisition was only temporarily obtained by the Moriscos in Valencia in 1542, due to the intervention of the landlords. Different strategies are highlighted here, although they overlapped: edicts of grace and exemption of the confiscation of property by Moriscos, reform of the inquisitorial procedure, mainly against secrecy, acceptance of false witnesses, and condemnation upon single witnesses by Portuguese New Christians. The negotiation of general pardons was a clear strategy of the New Christians, who offered significant sums of money to the King, but the results were temporary, followed by a backlash. Moriscos obtained exemption of confiscation of property against annual payments to the Inquisition, particularly in Valencia, Zaragoza and Valladolid, a strategy that the Portuguese New Christians tried to replicate via negotiations with the King without much success after 1579. In 1627, *asentistas* were exempted from confiscation that would touch the invested money and its interest, an agreement extended to all property of investors by the Portuguese King in 1649 for the creation of the Company of Brazil. Prohibition of migration showed local control

in the case of Moriscos against barriers for leaving the country to New Christians. Expulsion was only implemented against Moriscos, but the reconstitution of the debate concerning New Christians is useful.

The Moriscos of Granada are revisited by Bernard Vincent, one of the best specialists. He concentrates on royal mercies by Charles V in 1526, who rewarded local elites with nominations and fiscal exemptions, contributing to elevate their status. In time, internal conflicts spread related to fiscal partitions exactly due to these privileges. The growing tension provoked by the new royal policy against Morisco customs and the economic crisis around the production and trade of silk broke the social pact in the 1560s, leading to the War of Alpujarras. Vincent engages with the under-explored issue of non-participation of the urban Morisco elites, pointing out the disaggregation of the main lineages, and indicating several threads of research to be further developed.

The chapter by Luis Bernabé Pons on international relations of the Moriscos, their connections with the Ottoman Empire and the Moroccan kingdom, and the migration, post-expulsion, to North Africa, complements well the internal approach, which has predominated so far. Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco develops original research on the negotiations of the Inquisition with landlords and Moriscos in Aragon, which shows the mobilisation of other authorities and different social groups. Rafael Pérez García and Manuel Fernández Chaves present research on the Morisco elite of the Albaicín of Granada who moved to Seville, a meticulous study that enables readers to far better understand alliances, occupations and social integration.

The mobility of Moriscos in Spain is addressed in two interesting chapters. The first, by Miguel Fernando Gómez Vozmediano, focuses on thousands of Turks and other Muslims enslaved in the Mediterranean, to whom enslaved Moriscos from the War of Alpujarras were added. The passage to the Americas, the punishment to the galleys and the forced work in the mines of Almadén give an idea of constrained mobility. Ramón Sánchez González addresses a better-known issue, the transfer of the population from the Alpujarras to Castile, Extremadura and other areas of Andalusia, but this time with great precision due to extensive archival research, which included the registration and control of new residences, but also the identification of conditions for temporary and definitive authorisations for individual and family displacements. The process of implementing the expulsion is touched upon at the end of the chapter, which contributes to the ongoing debate about its real consequences.

José Alberto Tavim contributes an important chapter on Jewish financiers related both to Portuguese and Spanish Crowns. The first advantage of this approach is to highlight persistent close relations between the monarchies and New Jews from New Christian background, showing that rooted prejudices had political limits imposed by international and financial needs. The second advantage is to show that New Jews, who kept an ambiguous status, had similar strategies in Iberian kingdoms, being rewarded with noble titles, practice extended to Habsburg emperors.

Enrique Soria Mesa pursues his crucial research on New Christians who managed to cross the barriers of blood purity and become Old Christians. He sustains that the statutes of purity were used exactly for that purpose. He has uncovered hundreds of members of royal councils, municipal councils, chapters of cathedrals, military orders, and now the Inquisition, whose enquiries on purity of blood related to its own staff only started in the 1560s. The problem is to understand why many were refused,

leaving a stain for several generations, and why some were accepted. It is obvious that proofs and witnesses of enquiries were bought, but there is something else, visible in the main cases analysed by Enrique Soria: the importance of networks and patronage systems to protect the successful New Christians from enmity.

Claude Stuczynski develops here his excellent research on Portuguese New Christians based on extensive archival sources, this time focused on the case of Heitor Mendes de Brito, probably the richest financier in Lisbon from the 1590s to the 1610s, his network, his image and the literary production related to his family. Ana Sofia Ribeiro explores the investment of Portuguese New Christians in Spanish royal debt after the suspension of payments by Philip II in 1575. The relations with contractors of pepper in Lisbon is established, while the scale and the involvement of a consistent group of financiers, both in Madrid and in Antwerp in the 1580s and 1590s, is developed from previous studies. James Nelson Novoa, who published a brilliant book on the New Christians in sixteenth century Rome, returns to the subject here, gives new information on several financiers and enlarges the research to the seventeenth century family Brandão.

Anti-Jewish literature is very well addressed by Axel Kaplan Szyld, who presents a brief chronology of its shift in the twelfth century with the incorporation of rabbinic literature and Jewish mystics by scholastic research, followed by fifteenth and sixteenth century developments in Iberia, in which New Christians were systematically identified as Jews. Censorship of those works by the Inquisition reflected the refusal of religious education and specific catechism addressed to New Christians, due to the view that they would only feed apostasy. The change of strategy imposed by the Archduke Alberto, Viceroy and General Inquisitor of Portugal, made possible the publication of *Quarta Parte de la Introducci3n del Smbolo de la Fe* by Fr. Luis de Granada in 1583. This book is analysed and placed within the short tradition of anti-Jewish literature addressed to New Christians: the final dialogues involve a *con-verso*.

The critique of the idea of exclusively oral and female transmissions of Jewish traditions is developed by Bruno Feitler. He analyses the trials of forty-four New Christians from Paraíba, Brazil, who were detained, transported to Lisbon and interrogated by the inquisitors. He demonstrates the good level of literacy among men and women, the important role played by men in the transmission of Jewish traditions and the existence of manuscripts with translations from the Old Testament. There is no clear evidence of any direct relation with Jewish books, although funerary and penitential prayers, reproduced in this chapter, offer some similitude to Jewish liturgy.

I have deconstructed the wise embroidery of the editors, who rightly alternate between chapters on New Christians and Moriscos to make the volume coherent in its purpose, but I leave the final chapter in its proper place. It addresses a decidedly comparative issue, in line with the first chapter of the book. Franco Llopis and Iván Rega Castro compare the royal images projected by the Spanish Kings Charles V and Philip II with the image projected by the Portuguese King John V in the eighteenth century. The purists of comparison would be upset because Marc Bloch suggested that the method would be more successful within the same framework of time (and not very distant place, which is the case here), but Marcel Detienne challenged this view with his inspiring book *Comparer l'incomparable*. Franco Llopis and Rega Castro took a risk and have been rewarded, as this is an interesting text that explores

the place of Muslims and the Ottoman Empire in royal Iberian propaganda, in which the external and internal (in the case of Spain) enemy was used to project imperial ambitions. The Messianic side of these ambitions might have been better addressed, but we cannot ask too much from essays of this size.

To sum up, this book is a pleasure to read, it reflects and updates state of the art scholarship in these areas. All chapters introduce new perspectives or new elements of research. The effort to connect previously compartmentalised specialisations on New Christians and Moriscos is commendable. Collections of essays are frequently problematic and uneven, for the reasons we all know (availability of researchers and submission of chapters on time), but this collection reflects excellent choices by the editors. It prepares the field for a new stage of research, particularly on the relation between successful and rejected *conversos* in their applications related to purity of blood, the regularly renewed relation between Portuguese and Castilian New Christians of Jewish origin, which are still considered separated against clear evidence presented by several authors based on the evidence of archival sources. Finally, it will help to further locate exchanges between New Christians of Jewish origin and Moriscos in time and place with precision.

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