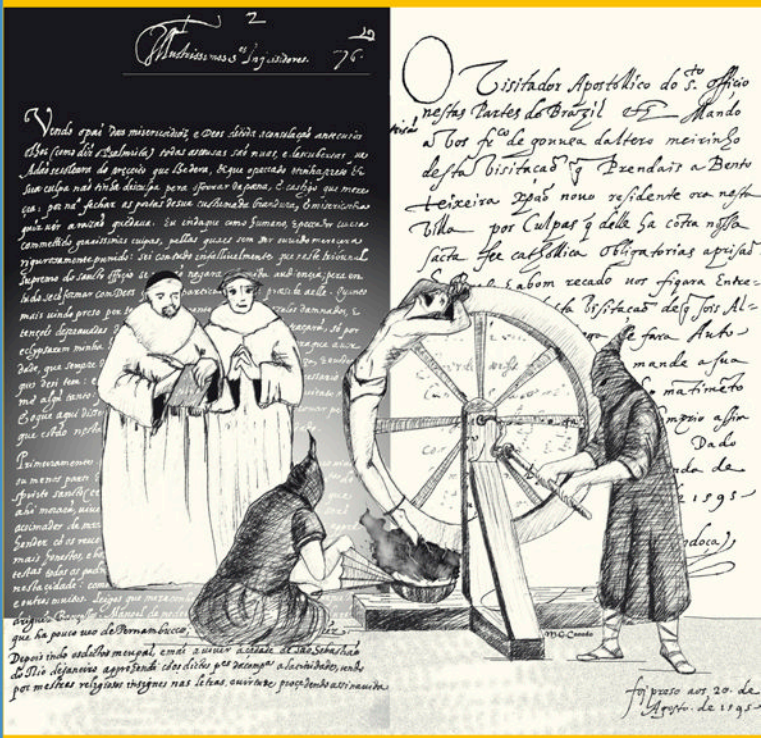
THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Through Cracks in the Wall

Modern Inquisitions and New Christian Letrados *in the Iberian Atlantic World*

Lúcia Helena Costigan



BRILL

Through Cracks in the Wall

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Europe, Africa and the Americas, 1500–1830

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Modern Inquisitions and New Christian *Letrados* in the Iberian Atlantic World

By
Lúcia Helena Costigan

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On the cover: An artist rendition of a scene of torture overseen by the inquisitors, superseded by documents produced by the Portuguese Inquisition.

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To the memory of my beloved friends,
Gertrude and William R. Spaulding,
and to Tim, Daniel, and Elen

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This book revises and expands arguments I explored in scholarly presentations and in a few articles published previously. Sections of the first chapter were originally developed in an article that appeared in *Revista Iberoamericana*. Some of the arguments in the chapter on Bento Teixeira have appeared in *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, *Colonial Latin American Review*, and in *Revisiting the Colonial Question*, edited by Mabel Moraña and Carlos Jáuregui. Fragments of chapter four have appeared in the special collection of essays *Framing the Quixote: 1605–2005*, edited by Alvin F. Sherman, Jr. Arguments made in chapters two and three have also appeared in *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities* (edited by Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti, published for the Omohundro Institute of Early History and Culture by University of North Carolina Press), and are reprinted here with permission.

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INTRODUCTION

PORTUGAL, PORTUGUESE AMERICA[1] AND NEW CHRISTIANS:[2] A MISSING LINK IN IBERIAN AND COLONIAL LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

The field of colonial Latin American literary studies has grown exponentially over the past three decades, due in part to the groundbreaking work of Rolena Adorno, Walter D. Mignolo, Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, Stephanie Merrim, and Sara Castro-Klarén, among other pioneer scholars who have brought to light a broad range of discourses produced by colonial subjects that had been previously marginalized by the canon. More recently the field has also been enhanced by a new generation of scholars who are crossing the frontiers of empires, nations, ethnicity, and gender and engaging in comparative studies about the experiences of subjects, such as black Africans, Moors, Moriscos, captives, and outcasts in the expansion of the European empires in early modern

[1] The name Portuguese America refers to the land named *Terra de Santa Cruz* [Land of the Holy Cross] that was "discovered" by Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500. Later, due to the abundance of brazilwood in the area, the land became known as Brazil. During King João III's reign (1521–1557), he divided the Brazilian coast between the Amazon and São Vicente into twelve captaincies (capitanias), which were granted to proprietary landlords, known as *donatários*. The *donatários* were required to settle and defend the land at their own cost, receiving in return extensive administrative, fiscal and judicial powers over the colonists brought to the land. Since most of the captaincies failed, King João III established a central authority to save the remaining settlements from collapse. In 1549 he sent Thomé de Sousa as governor-general, with orders to establish the seat of the government of the *Estado do Brazil* in Bahia de Todos os Santos (the Bay of All Saints). With the expansion of Portuguese America during the reign of the Spanish Habsburgs (1580–1640) the *Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará* was established as a separately administered *estado* or colony. In theory this happened in 1621 after the expulsion of the French from the region and in practice in 1626. Because the northern region was more accessible from Lisbon than from Bahia, it remained separate from the rest of Brazil until 1774.

[2] Throughout this book I will use the words *cristão-novo* or New Christian to refer to descendents of Jews who lived in the Portuguese domains during the late medieval and early modern times, and who became known as such in 1497, when Dom Manuel I (1495–1521) closed the borders of the country and imposed mass baptisms. Because during the reign of Dom Manuel the modern Inquisition was not allowed in Portugal, and the king did not make inquiries into the religious faith of the newly baptized Jews,

times.[3] Among these new comparative studies that have added a new dimension to our understanding of the complexities of early modern European empires are Barbara Fuchs's *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam and European Identities* and LisaVoigt's *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds*. By taking up a comparative perspective involving Spain and other European empires such as England or Portugal, these books break away from the tendency to focus solely on Spanish colonizers and indigenous subjects, and particularly on the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, which characterize the bulk of studies on colonial Spanish America. Colonial indigenous subjects from other areas of Latin America and individuals whose identities and experiences fall beyond the two types of subjects mentioned above, including Africans and descendents of Jews and Moors, are seldom studied by literary scholars, despite their ubiquitous identities and experiences. The work of Barbara Fuchs has called attention to the role of Moors or Moriscos in the conflicts of empire, and Lisa Voigt brings attention to the role of Portu-

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many of them did not really convert to Catholicism. The process was different in Spain, because the Jews who lived there had to accept conversion in order to remain in Spain. The word *converso* refers to descendents of Spanish Jews who opted for baptism over expulsion. I use the word crypto-Jew to allude to Portuguese New Christians or Spanish converts who tried to follow Judaism, rather than *marrano*, which is often used as a synonym for crypto-Jew, just as I use crypto-Judaism instead of *marranismo*. In his *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi states that crypto-Judaism among New Christians of Portugal "was to prove hardy enough to survive for centuries" (5). In attempting to explain the reasons behind the endurance of the New Christians from Portugal, Yerushalmi goes beyond the findings of scholars such as Meyer Kayserling who argues that because conversion in Portugal was entirely forced, and because the Inquisition was not established there for almost half a century after the mass baptisms, many New Christians continued to practice Judaism secretly. In Yerushalmi's opinion, crypto-Judaism among the New Christians of Portugal survived for centuries because the Jewish *community* itself was converted, *in toto*, allowing for the Portuguese Jewry to evade "the corrosive intracommunal and intrafamilial ruptures which conversion had brought to Spanish Jewry" (5–6). In *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews*, David M. Gitlitz uses the word *anusim* to refer to descendents of Jews who continued to identify themselves as Jews after the forced conversions of 1391 in Spain, and 1497 in Portugal. He also uses the term *meshumadim* to refer to willing converts who tried to assimilate into the Christian community (13).

[3] Authors who have recently published books on the experience of Muslim subjects in the context of the Portuguese and Spanish imperial expansion include Josiah Blackmore (*Moorings: Portuguese Expansion and the Writing of Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), and Vincent Barletta (*Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

gal in the expansion of European empires. However the role played by the Dutch, and above all, the role played by the descendents of Sephardic Jews, who became known as *conversos* and *cristãos-novos* after mass baptisms were introduced in Spain and Portugal, deserve more attention in colonial studies. To better understand the role played by Spanish converts and Portuguese New Christians in the Iberian Atlantic, literary scholars should take advantage of the rich materials found in the archives of the various branches of the Iberian Inquisition.

Until now research in the archives of the Inquisition has been embraced mainly by historians. However, even most historical studies center on the Spanish Inquisition. As Anita Novinsky rightly observes, despite the growing interest on the topic and the vast number of publications on the modern Inquisition in Spain, not much has been written about the Inquisition in Portugal and Brazil (1987, 3–4). Works that cut across disciplines and imperial and colonial frontiers, such as *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* by Stuart Schwartz, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550–1755* by Timothy Coates, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* by Jonathan Schorsch, and *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* by Irene Silverblatt, shed light on the impact of modern bureaucracies such as the Spanish and the Portuguese Inquisitions on the lives of religious and ethnic minorities in the Iberian Atlantic world, taking advantage of the rich materials found in the Inquisition archives.

To broaden the literary and cultural field even more, scholars have to expand the canon by including colonial subjects from geographical areas such as Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and other Hispanic areas of South and Central America and the Caribbean region. Their voices are still being marginalized from the programs of colonial Latin American studies taught in the United States and abroad. In addition, the contributions of colonial subjects of different ethnic origins—e.g., Africans and Tupi-Guaranis—are still absent from the literary canon despite the fact that they played a major role in the development of the Latin American culture and society.[4] Another ethnic group silenced by the literary canon

[4] Fortunately, groundbreaking research by Jan Vansina, Philip Curtin, Joseph Miller, among other Africanists, followed by the emergence of cultural and postcolonial studies and new research based on archival sources, such as Luiz Felipe de Alencastro's *O trato dos viventes: no Atlântico Sul*, *Afrografias da memória* by Leda Maria Martins, and *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World (1441–1770)* by James Sweet, are motivating literary scholars to add the experience of

(or transformed by later critics and historians into proto-nationalists) is the one formed by the descendents of Sephardic Jews who were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula or forced to convert to Catholicism in the last decade of the fifteenth century.[5] Although prohibited from migrating to the New World, many of them managed to come to the Spanish and Portuguese Americas during the colonial period. This was particularly true in Portuguese America, where these New Christians along with Africans brought to the New World as slaves played a major role in the colonization process and in the expansion of the Brazilian territory. As the cultural historian Jonathan Schorsh observes, "[d]espite their Otherness, Jews [and Black Africans] were active participants in the formation of the cultures in which they lived and suffered, especially in the Iberian Atlantic world" (12).

Looking into the past, one finds differences and similarities among colonial subjects of African and Jewish origin. Perhaps the most important difference was the fact that in general the New Christians who came to the New World were educated people who, like Old Christians, acted as colonizers. As slaves, Africans were uneducated, dehumanized, and treated as property and commodity. But there were certain similarities between the two groups as well, such as the fact that they had been prohibited from practicing the religion of their ancestors. Many black Africans and Jews who came to the New World had to rely on oral tradition and collective memory to recreate and to maintain their cultural and religious beliefs. Today, those Africans and New Christians have something else in common—they have both been marginalized by the canon of colonial Latin American literary and cultural studies.[6]

African and African descendents in the colonial Spanish and Portuguese Americas to their research agendas.

[5] It was under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, that the Sephardic Jews were expelled or forced to convert to Catholicism (in Spain this happened in 1492 and Portugal followed suit in 1496). After the forced conversions, the Jews who remained in the Spanish and Portuguese lands became known as New Christians or *conversos*. Due to the discrimination that they suffered after the imposition of Catholicism, some of them returned to Judaism as a form of resistance against the religious and political impositions of the Old Christians.

[6] Except for a few initiatives by specialists in colonial literature such as Margaret Olsen (who has studied the representation of Africans in colonial texts) and Kathryn McKnight (who has researched the experience of African slaves with the Inquisition), African subjects are still missing from the Latin American literature programs taught in most of the universities in the United States.

The books mentioned above deal with themes, subjects, and geographical areas other than the traditional ones that form the bulk of the content of courses and texts dealing with either colonial Latin American or early modern Spanish literature and history. They are expanding our knowledge of the imperial and colonial European and American contexts of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. They are also contributing to the expansion of the field of colonial Latin American studies by focusing on geographical areas other than Spain, Mexico, and Peru, and on subjects other than Spaniards and indigenous peoples of the Americas. Because descendents of Sephardic Jews settled in different parts of the Iberian Atlantic world and particularly because they held an ambivalent position in the colonies and empires (sometimes as successful entrepeneurs, other times as victims of the Inquisition), they offer excellent opportunities for comparative study, as Norman Fiering has observed (xii). As "settlers throughout the Western Hemisphere" and participants in the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English empires, their involvement cuts across the Protestant and Catholic divide (xi).

Through Cracks in the Wall: Modern Inquisitions[7] *and New Christian* Letrados *in the Iberian Atlantic World* analyzes literary writings and inquisitorial testimonies produced by individuals of Jewish heritage who lived in the Iberian Atlantic world during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By bringing to light the direct and mediated discourse produced by New Christians this book reveals the hitherto

[7] The expression "modern Inquisitions" is purposely used in this book to differentiate the new form of Inquisition that was introduced in the Iberian world during the monarchy of Isabella and Ferdinand from the apostolic Inquisition that existed in parts of the Iberian Peninsula prior to the ascendency of the Catholic monarchs. A form of apostolic or ecclesiastical Inquisition, under the control of Rome, existed during medieval times, and Pope Gregory IX (1227–1242) is credited with the organization of this apostolic Inquisition as an institution aimed at investigating heresies and protecting the Christian faith. Under his papacy Dominicans and Franciscans were sent to Aragon with the title of "inquisitors." With the establishment of the Holy Office in Castile, Aragon, and Leon, ordered by Isabella and Ferdinand in 1478 (and began operating in 1480), inquisitors were chosen by the monarchs. In 1484 Torquemada became the first inquisitor general nominated by the Catholic monarchs. As a modern institution linked to the crown and the church, the Inquisition played a decisive role in the birth of the Spanish nation, which came into being in 1516, after the incorporation of the reign of Navarre in 1515. Spanish Modern Inquisitions were definitively abolished only in 1834. In Portugal, modern Inquisitions were introduced in 1536, and lasted until 1821. During the reign of King José I (1750–1777), Sebastião José Carvalho e Melo, known as Marquis of Pombal, abolished the laws of purity of blood and prohibited the differentiation between Old and New Christians.

veiled contribution of an important but understudied ethnic and social group and foregrounds the need for a comparative, transatlantic and transnational examination of these Iberian and New World subjects. Recent books, such as Irene Silverblatt's *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*, David M. Gitlitz's *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the crypto-Jews*, and Yirmiyahu Yovel's *The Other Within: The Marranos, Split Identity and Emerging Modernity*, analyze the Inquisition's function in the imperial and colonial Iberian world, particularly in relation to the development of modernity. This book illustrates and enhances their discussion of the Inquisition's relationship to imperialism, colonialism, and modernity through specific case studies of New Christians who became the target of the Inquisition during the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century in places such as New Spain and Brazil. Similar to Silverblatt's approach, my work also places the peripheral colonial spaces at the center of the Iberian empires, and presents New Christians as a diverse ethnic group that managed to play a crucial role in the expansion of the Iberian empires, despite frequent persecution by the Inquisition.

The expression "through cracks in the walls" in the title of this book calls attention to the fact that although the modern Inquisitions of the Iberian world functioned at times as efficient bureaucracies intended to control their imperial and colonial subjects through fear, they sometimes failed to reach their goals, in part due to the extension of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, and in part due to the multifaced human nature of the subjects in charge of controlling the Inquisition as well as of those to be controlled by its inquisitors. The word "cracks" serves therefore as a metaphor that underlines the double and ambiguous nature of the Inquisition. While it sometimes succeeded as an efficient bureaucracy, other times it completely failed. Success and failure depended on different circumstances and variables, including the attitude and actions of the inquisitors toward the accused New Christians, the personality of the victim, and also the degree of the victim's involvement with Judaic practices. Success and failure also depended on the physical conditions of the prisons of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

The cases of the Jewish descendents studied in this book suggest that the inquisitors were not all alike. Some were more tolerant than others toward New Christians accused of crypto-Judaism. The trials studied in the book also suggest that the actions of the Inquisition against Jewish descendents increased or decreased depending on the political and economic crises faced by the Iberian empires. Besides suggesting that

the role of the Inquisition and of the inquisitors toward New Christians cannot be generalized, the trials also show that the same applies to New Christians. As Anita Novinsky emphasizes throughout her publications, "neither from the religious nor from the political point of view can New Christians be characterized as a homogenous group" (1971, 503). Even the lettered New Christians studied in this book were quite different from each other with respect to their economic, religious, and cultural backgrounds, and also in the way they acted and expressed their feelings about the inquisitors and the Inquisition. While some writers, such as Luis de Carjaval, used the pen to affirm their Jewish beliefs and to openly criticize the Inquisition, others, such as Bento Teixeira and Antonio José da Silva, were more subtle in their criticism.

The "cracks in the wall" have a literal dimension in this book as well. As we will see, the inquisitors used the cracks and peepholes in the walls of the prisoners' cells to collect evidence to condemn the victims. Yet on the other hand, many times the prisoners used the same cracks and peepholes to communicate with other victims and to subvert and resist the Inquisition's rules and regulations. The multiple uses of these actual, physical cracks corroborate Stuart Schwartz's argument that:

> An intense century of war, conquest, conversion and resistance often punctuated by bloody episodes of fanaticism and an accompanying discourse of condemnation of the minority religions had laid the groundwork for a new society in which absence of toleration of other faiths and of heterodox ideas would be the foundations. But the spiritual and mental edifice that arose on this base had cracks revealing the presistence of other ways of thinking. (48)

In the Spanish world it was mainly with Isabella and Ferdinand that a new society in which absence of religious toleration for other faiths became a policy of the State. As Francisco Bethencourt observes in his *História das Inquisições* this new policy characterized the modern bureacracy that emerged in the Iberian world in 1478 when Isabella and Ferdinand introduced a new modality of the Inquisition, independent from the early and late medieval institutions aimed at controlling heterodoxical thinking and behavior. In the early medieval phase the Inquisition was characterized as an episcopal model in which the "inquiries" were conducted by bishops authorized by Rome. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Inquisition became subordinate to the Pope and the Dominicans were the major religious order in charge of conducting the inquisitorial inquiries. It was during this second phase that Nicolau Eymerich wrote the *Directorium Inquisitorum*, a manual first published in 1376 that

served as guide for the inquistors and also as a model for subsequent manuals and *Regimentos* or rules of the Holy Office of the Inquisition that appeared in Spain and Portugal throughout the early modern and colonial period (Hamilton 21–22).

Because my work focuses on New Christians persecuted by the Inquisition in different parts of the Iberian Atlantic world, it encompasses a broader context than the one studied by scholars such as Henry Kamen, Alexandre Herculano, José Toribio Medina, Solange Alberro, and many others who specialize in the history of the Inquisition in specific geographic areas of the Iberian world, such as Spain, Portugal, and the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain. Additionally, because this book does not focus primarily on the Inquisition but on a diverse group of Jewish descendents, many of whom crossed the Atlantic more than once to escape persecution and who had connections with other Jewish communities in different parts of the world, it has more affinity with the work of scholars such as Jonathan Israel, Ellis Rivkin, and Yosef Kaplan, who see the descendents of Sephardic Jews, particularly those who came from Portugal, as major players in the expansion of trade and commerce in the Iberian Atlantic world during early modern times. This special group of colonial subjects is linked by the fact that their migration to the Americas was the product of a new Jewish diaspora that started with the creation of the modern Inquisition in Spain in 1478 and the subsequent expulsion of the Jews by Isabella and Ferdinand in 1492.

Most Portuguese Jews and New Christians joined the diasporic movement in three principal waves. The first principal wave was in 1497, when King Manuel forced them to be baptized and called them *cristãos-novos*, or New Christians. The second was in 1536, when the Inquisition was introduced in the Lusitanian Empire. And finally, the last wave occurred after 1580, the year in which Philip II of Spain declared himself king of Portugal. As descendents of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, Portuguese New Christians and Spanish *conversos* who lived in the New World in the centuries that followed shared an ethnic and religious heritage that made them a target of the Inquisition. Their discourse, comprised of written works and transcribed oral testimonies, provides a unique window on the colonial and imperial societies in which they lived. For example, the discourse of New Christian *letrados* contributes to our understanding of *criollo* consciousness or self-awareness of their distint identity, because many of them strongly identified with the New World, due in part to the economic and relative religious freedom that they found in some of the colonial areas such as the Portuguese America.

Since the individuals studied in this book are descendents of Iberian Jews who were forced to convert to Catholicism, it is important first to elaborate on a few key historical events that took place in the Iberian Peninsula during the late fifteenth century. These events led to the prohibition of Judaism in Spain and Portugal, and to the invention of the caste of *conversos* and *cristãos-novos* or New Christians.

I. *The Modern Inquisition in Portugal: A Spanish Imposition*

Most of the studies dealing with the modern Inquisition on the Iberian Peninsula and particularly the way the Holy Office dealt with subjects of Jewish heritage tend to make no distinction between the Spanish and the Portuguese cases. Due perhaps to the lack of knowledge of the Portuguese language, specialists in Iberian studies tend to ignore the fact that throughout the late medieval and early modern period Portugal was one of the most technologically advanced nations in the Western world. However, despite the great advantages in the art of navigation and maritime explorations that Portugal had in relation to Spain during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the English-speaking world only a handful of Iberian specialists, such as C.R. Boxer, A.J.R. Russell-Wood[8] and Patricia Seed, recognize that Portugal was an empire at the forefront of European discoveries and expansion. It is therefore useful to recall that due to its technological advances in navigation Portugal was the first western European empire to expand its territorial boundaries into Africa, Asia and the Americas. In fact, without the navigational training that he had received in Portugal, Christopher Columbus would not have been able to sail the south Atlantic in search of a short passage to India. Many of the scientists that contributed to the art of navigation in early modernity were Portuguese Jews or, later, New Christians or *conversos*. As Patricia Seed points out in her essay, "Jewish Scientists and the Origin of Modern Navigation," and also in her book, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640*, scientists of Jewish heritage who migrated from Spain to Portugal during the fourteenth and

[8] C.R. Boxer has written extensively on the Portuguese imperial expansion in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Some of his publications include *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (1969) and *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440–1770* (1978). John Russell-Wood followed in Boxer's footsteps with works such as *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415–1808* (1995).

fifteenth centuries were the principal agents of the so-called "discoveries" of new routes and continents that linked Europe with other parts of the world. Under the protection of the Portuguese kings, the Jewish scientist Abraham Zacuto composed his *Rules for the Astrolabe* in 1473. Zacuto's findings represented a breakthrough in the expansion of the Portuguese Empire. In 1481 José Vizinho in Guinea and in 1487 Bartholomeu Dias calculated precise latitudes on land using mathematical tables and the astrolabe. This instrument, which Zacuto perfected in 1497 by creating the first mariner's astrolabe, allowed for the successful voyages of Vasco da Gama to India in 1498 and of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil in 1500.[9]

As in the case of Spain, discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities existed both before and during Portuguese imperial expansion. Yet the Jews who lived in Portugal in the late medieval and early modern period did not suffer the same persecution and fate as those who lived in Spain. Despite the uprisings against Jews led by elements of the lower social sectors, and probably influenced by the ones that occurred in Spain, the Jews who lived in Portugal received protection from the Lusitanian monarchs. The Portuguese kings in general held the Jews in high regard and tried to protect them and keep them in their domains. To illustrate this statement we can turn to the chroniclers Fernão Lopes (c. 1380–c. 1459) and Damião de Góis (1502–1574), and to cultural historians such as João de Barros, Alexandre Herculano, and João Lúcio Azevedo, whose writings open a window for understanding the actions of the Portuguese kings toward Jews during late medieval and early modern times.

In the first volume of his *Crónicas de Dom João I* Fernão Lopes describes the political turmoil and conflicts that Portugal experienced for a period of two years following the death of King Fernando I in 1383. To prevent Castile from taking over the crown, which would result in the Portuguese nation losing its independence, in 1385 Fernando's half brother, Dom João, known as the Master of Avis (*Mestre de Avis*), was crowned king of Portugal under the name of John I. During the reign

[9] Patricia Seed, "Jewish scientists and the origin of modern navigation." In her book *Ceremonies of possession in Europe's conquest of the New World, 1492–1640*, Seed also recognizes that due to the astronomically based knowledge of subjects of Jewish descent, such as Pedro Nunes and Master John, "the Portuguese were the first Europeans to trade directly with the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa and what is now Indonesia, the first to contact the peoples of Brazil" (100). Ellis Rivkin believes that the economic incentives that the New Christians received from Dom Manuel led them to become leaders or in Rivkin's words, *cabeça de ponta* (273) in the modernization process of the western world.

of John I, which lasted from 1385 until 1433, Portugal entered a phase of prosperity and imperial expansion that may be characterized as the beginning of its early modern period. In chapter XIV of volume one of his *Crónicas* Fernão Lopes describes the trust that the Jews had in the Master of Avis, even before he had been crowned king of Portugal. He also elaborates on the actions taken by the future king, when a group of people from Lisbon tried to attack and rob a group of Jews:

> … nasceu entre eles un novo acordo, dizendo que era bem de roubar alguns judeus ricos da Judaria …. Os judeus com isto … foram-se às pressas onde o Mestre aquela noite dormira e disseram ao Mestre que os da cidade se alvoroçavam para os irem roubar e matar. … O Mestre cavalgou à Judaria e os defendeu …, pedindo ao juiz de crime da cidade que mandasse apregoar da parte da rainha, sob certa pena, que não fosse nenhum tão ousado de ir à Judaria para fazer mal aos judeus. (34–35)
>
> Among them a new agreement was born, that of robbing some of the rich Jews of the *Judaria*. Learning this, the Jews ran quickly to the place where the Master [Dom John I] had slept the night before and told him that the people from the city were plotting to rob and kill them. The Master went on horse back to the Judaria, and defended the Jews, and asked the criminal judge of the city to issue an edict in the name of the Queen warning that anyone who dared to come to the Judaria to cause harm to the Jews would be punished under the law.

Several other kings who governed Portugal prior to the beginning of the Avis dynasty in 1385, with the crowning of Mestre de Avis under the name of John I, also took special measures to protect the Jews. They include Dom Dinis, who reigned from 1279 until 1325, Dom Pedro I, who ruled from 1357 until 1367, and Dom Fernando I, who governed Portugal from 1367 until 1383. In *Testemunhos do Judaísmo em Portugal* or *Signs of Judaism in Portugal*, a book based on a collection of manuscripts and printed documents that were part of an exhibition of documentary evidence of the Jewish presence in Portugal, one finds a register of a letter signed by Dom Dinis in 1302 which grants a Rabbi Judas a house close to the synagogue in Lisbon. There are also letters signed by King Pedro I in 1364, giving the Jewish community of Trancoso total control of their lands, and determining that no one should lodge in their properties without their permission. Additional evidence of the protection that the Jews received from the Portuguese kings include letters signed by King Dom Fernando nominating the Rabbi Dom Juda as treasurer of the reign, and bestowing on him houses in Lisbon.

Some of the kings who ruled Portugal after 1433, the year of John I's death, tried to follow a similar tradition of protecting the Jews and

granting them favors. During the reigns of Dom Duarte (1433–1438), and Dom Afonso V (1438–1481) the Portuguese Empire started to expand its dominions to northern Africa by conquering Alcazarquivir in 1458, and Arzila and Tangier in 1471. This imperial expansion was made possible due to the findings of Jewish and Muslims scientists who worked with Prince Henry, the Navigator, in the maritime school of Sagres. When João II, the great-grandson of the Master of Avis, succeeded King Afonso V to the throne (1481–1495), thousands of Jews expelled from Spain in March of 1492 entered Portugal legally after paying a captation fee for entering the country. Although those who entered Portugal illegally were considered slaves of the king, on October 19, 1492, João II issued a law that guaranteed wide social and fiscal privileges to all the Spanish Jews who were willing to accept Christianity. Despite the fact that the king had previously ordered the removal of the children from their families, sending them to the Island of São Tomé to be raised as Christians and trained as producers of sugarcane and masters of sugar mills, João II did not succumb to the pressure from Ferdinand and Isabella to expel the Jews from Portugal. As mentioned previously, the Portuguese kings profited from the talents of Jewish scientists, such as Abraham Zacuto who moved to Portugal after the Inquisition was introduced in Spain in 1478. Besides working on the mathematical tables and perfecting the astrolabe, Zacuto also published in Portugal the *Almanach Perpetuum*, which appeared in Leiria in 1496. King João II ordered that the services rendered by Zacuto be paid in gold (29).

The literature produced by Jews who lived in Portugal during late medieval and early modern times, and also by contemporary historians, makes clear that the situation that the Jews experienced in the Lusitanian realm was more favorable than that experienced by the Jews who lived in Spain. The fact that only three among the forty-seven massacres of Jews on the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages occurred in Portugal is a clear indication of the protection that they received from the Portuguese kings. Jewish poets and writers, such as Diogo Pires and Isaac Abravanel, praised the Portuguese kings. In his book, *Isaac Abrabanel's Stance Toward Tradition: Defense, Dissent, and Dialogue*, Eric Lawee argues that in Abravanel's time Christian-Jewish relations "are thought to have been relatively tranquil" (13). Lawee bases his argument on Abravanel's statement: "gentiles … love us and would not speak wicked or hateful things against us" (13). In the poems written by Diogo Pires one finds similar praise, particularly for the Afonsine and Avis dynasties. Much of the praise found in Pires' poems are directed to John I because

the poet saw this king as a hero who resisted the Spanish intervention. The poet dedicates the following lines to John I: "Salve, herói invicto, que levas de vencida o rei ibero e o forças a voltar as costas em fuga desordenada" (121) [Hail, invincible hero, who defeats the Iberian King and forces him to turn in disorder in flight].

In 1495, when João II, the great-grandson of the Master of Avis, died, and Dom Manuel, the Duke of Beja, was crowned king of Portugal as Manuel I, matters began to change for the Jews who lived in the Lusitanian lands. Despite the fact that Dom Manuel regarded the Jews as important imperial subjects, the new Portuguese king felt pressured by the Spanish Catholic monarchs and the wishes of their daughter Isabel, whom he married in 1497, and struck a compromise of wide and lasting consequences. Torn between the demands of his future in-laws[10] and his intention to keep the Jews in Portugal, Dom Manuel closed the country's ports, imposed baptism en masse, and signed a decree ordering the children of the Jews who refused to be baptized to be taken from them. Yet in an attitude that shows Dom Manuel's desire to keep the Jews in Portugal, besides prohibiting the introduction of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in his kingdom, he also created a system of quotas that guaranteed the presence of the New Christians in the different sectors of the society, including the crown and the church. Despite the pressures from Spain, Dom Manuel managed to keep the Inquisition out of Portugal during the entire time of his reign. As Alexandre Herculano explains in his *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*: "Durante o governo de Dom Manuel, apesar de forçar os judeus a permanecerem em Portugal sob o batismo forçado; no dia 1 de março de 1507 decreta a igualdade civil completa entre cristãos-novos e cristãos-velhos" (vol. 2, xv) [During the government of Dom Manuel, despite forcing the Jews to remain in Portugal by imposing mass baptisms, on March 1, 1507 he issued a decree establishing complete equality of civil rights between New and Old Christians].

[10] Despite Dom Manuel not fully adhering to the demands of the Spanish Catholic monarchs, as a skillful negotiator the Portuguese king managed to maintain good relations with his in-laws. In fact, because he realized that the son of Isabella and Ferdinand was a sickly man, he envisioned himself or his future heirs becoming king of Portugal and Spain, and Dom Manuel only married women who directly descended from the Spanish Catholic monarchs. In 1497, he married Dona Isabel. After her death from childbirth in 1498, he married her much younger sister, Dona Maria, in 1500. Following the death of Dona Maria in 1517, Dom Manuel married Dona Leonor, one of the granddaughters of Isabella and Ferdinand, and sister of Emperor Charles V.

Besides seeking to integrate the New Christian minority into the Old Christian community, Dom Manuel defended the New Christians by punishing those who attacked them and by refusing to investigate if those forced to baptize had in fact abandoned Judaism, perhaps out of awareness of the financial and cultural loss that the exodus of the Jews would represent to Portugal. Through a series of measures he managed to effectively posptone the creation of the Inquisition during his reign. Unlike the *conversos* who lived in Spain, the New Christians from Portugal were free from official religious persecution until 1536, when the Inquisition was introduced in the Lusitanian lands. Herculano is therefore correct when he states: "D'esta maneira podiam os Conversos julgar-se em absoluta segurança e tomaram por ventura a concessão do soberano como autorização tácita do seu culto clandestino, que não deixaram de praticar, na aparência de cristãos verdadeiros" (xix) [As a result the *conversos* found themselves absolutely safe, and took the concession given by the sovereignty as a tacit authorization to continue practicing their religion in secret, which they continued practicing under the appearance of true Christians]. However, the desired integration sought by King Manuel I did not happen. As Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares observes, most of the New Christians continued to secretly affirm their own religion, while "a renewed anti-Judaism emerged on the part of Old Christian majority who did not forget that the New Christians were Jews and who called them by that name" (1997, 103).

After King Manuel's death in 1521, his son João III—a king whose religious zeal compared with that of his maternal grandparents, Isabella and Ferdinand—bowed to the pressures of his wife, Katherine of Habsburg, and requested the help of his cousin and brother-in-law, Charles V of Spain, to obtain permission from the Pope to introduce the Holy Office of the Inquisition into Portugal. Despite the hesitation of the papacy, permission was issued, and in 1536, more than a half a century after the Inquisition started in Spain, it arrived in Portugal. Due to the interference of Spain in the establishment of the Holy Office in the Lusitanian lands, it is accurate to state that the modern Portuguese Inquisition came into existence only through the pressures and the intervention of the Spanish crown. Unlike the Spanish Inquisition which persecuted Jews and Moors, since the Morisco community that remained in Portugal after the edict of 1496 was not signifcant, the Holy Office persecuted primarily New Christians accused of crypto-Judaism.[11]

[11] In the Spanish domains *conversos* of Jewish heritage also became major targets

As previously stated, the modern Spanish Inquisition was officially born in 1478, when Pope Sixtus IV, under pressure by the Spanish monarchs, signed the bull *Exigit sincerae devotionis affectus* which gave Isabella and Ferdinand total control to choose, nominate, and replace inquisitors for the major cities of the realms of Leon and Castile. As historian Francisco Bethencourt observes, this new power granted to the Spanish monarchs was unprecedented because it marked the beginning of a regular practice that confirmed and legitimized the Spanish Inquisition as an ecclesiastical tribunal with the power to judge matters of religious heresies (17). Before the signing of *Exigit sincerae devotionis affectus* the selection of inquisitors judging religious heresies was the sole responsibility of the pope. This new form of Inquisition created a pact between the court and the inquisitors, and strengthened the authority of the Catholic monarchs over the subjects that lived in their kingdoms. As Bethencourt observes in the chapter on the foundation of the modern Inquisitions, with this papal bull, a formal connection between ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction began for the first time. The intervention of the monarchs in the selection and nomination of the inquisitors altered the "relação de fidelidade desses agentes" (*História* 18) [the relation of fidelity of these agents]. It was under this new form of Inquisition that all the so-called "crimes of religious infidelity" became a major preoccupation in the Spanish domains. As a result, extensive mass conversions were imposed on Jewish and Muslim Spaniards and the term *converso* became widely used to distinguish old Catholics from those recently converted.

Although the introduction of the Inquisition in Portugal occurred only in 1536 during the reign of João III, the impact of the imperial politics of his grandparents Isabella and Ferdinand had long affected the Portuguese Jews. Despite the fact that Dom Manuel I, king of Portugal from 1495 to 1521, did not allow the new Inquisition into his empire, the life of the Jews who lived in Portugal changed drastically because the measures introduced by the king led Spaniards and Europeans in general to regard the Hebrews from Portugal as profoundly unconvinced "Christians" or crypto-Jews, who in fact would for centuries preserve their Jewish faith

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of the Inquisition. However, practioners of witchcraft and sorcery were not persecuted with the same intensity experienced by religious minorities in the Iberian world. In *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, when comparing the actions of the Portuguese and Spanish inquisitors to the witch-hunters of seventeenth-century England and New England, C.R. Boxer characterizes the Iberian inquisitors of the same period "as positively enlightened in the attitude to witchcraft and sorcery" (86).

in hiding. Dom Manuel's measures to promote assimilation of the New Christian population also led Europeans to equate Portuguese people with Jews.

Writers from the sixteenth century, such as Damião de Góis, provide firsthand accounts of the ambivalent attitude of King Manuel toward the Jews as well as the difficult circumstances that Portuguese New Christians faced during Dom Manuel's reign (1495–1521). These accounts illustrate the complex and layered political and religious contexts with which the subjects of this study interact. In Chapter One of his *Crônica do Felicíssimo Dom Manuel*, Góis describes the political controversies that erupted in Portugal in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Following the accidental death in 1495 of Prince Afonso, the only child of King João II of Portugal, a controversy about who should be crowned after the death of João II ensued. Because João II had fathered a son named Jorge out of wedlock, some agreed that he should be the next king of Portugal. However, Dona Leonor, João II's wife, disagreed. Instead, she convinced her husband to choose her brother, Dom Manuel, the Duke of Beja, to succeed him in the throne after his death. Dom Manuel happened to be her brother and the king's cousin. Damião de Góis writes the following about the event:

> El Rei do João Segundo no nome, & dos Reis de Portugal ho trezeno, faleceo na villa Dalvor, no Regno do Algarve, hum Domingo a tarde dos xxv dias do mes Doutubro, do ano do Senhor de M.CCCC.XCV, em idade de quarenta annos, & de seu regnado quatorze. E (. . .) antes de seu falecimento havia varios pareceres, & opiniões de a quem deixaria ha sucessam do Regno, se a dom Emanuel Duque de Beja, seu primo com irmão, se a dom Jorge seu filho bastardo. (8)
>
> King Dom John, Second in name, and the thirteenth King of Portugal, died in the village Dalvor, in the Kingdom of Algarve, on a Sunday afternoon, the twentieh fifth day of the month of October, in the year 1495 of the Lord, at the age of forty years and fourteen years of his reign. And (. . .) before his death there were many suggestions and opinions as to who would succeed him on his throne, whether Dom Manuel Duke of Beja, his cousin and brother-in-law, or Dom George his bastard son.

A few pages later, Góis explains the reasons that led Dom Manuel to baptize en masse the Jews from Portugal. He also describes the situation the Jews faced after Ferdinand and Isabella, who became Manuel's in-laws, demanded that he expel the Jews from his realms:

> Depois que hos Reis de Castella lançaram hos Judeus fora de seus Regnos, & senhorios (. . .) elrei dom Emanuel requerido por cartas dos mesmos Reis determinou de fazer o mesmo, mas (. . .) houve sobrisso varios pare-

> ceres, por hus diziam que (. . .) havia ainda nisto outros inconvenientes, porque além dos serviços, & tributos que elRei perdia, ficava obrigado a satisfazer as pessoas a que ele & os Reis passados deles fizeram merce,& que nam somente levavam consigo da terra muitos haveres,& riquezas, e mais ainda ho que he de estimar, sutis, & delicados espíritos com que saberiam dar aos mouros os avisos que lhes necessario forem contra nós, & sobretudo lhes ensinariam seus oficios mecanicos, em que eram muito destros, principalmente no de fazer armas, do que se poderia seguir muito dano, trabalhos, & perdas, assi de gente, quomo de vez toda a Cristandade. (35–36)

> After the Kings of Castile expelled the Jews from their realms and domains, . . . King Dom Manuel was required by letters of the same [Spanish] monarchs to expel the Jews from Portugal. [As a result of the demand from the Spanish rulers] there were many different opinions, for some [of the king's advisers] said that [the expulsion] would be inconvenient [for Portugal], because besides the service and taxes that the King would lose, he was obliged to comply with the promises that he and other previous kings had made with them [the Jews]. Besides [some thought that if expelled] the Jews would take with them many resources of the land, and also because of their delicate spirit and scientific skills, such as the art of constructing guns, they would serve as an asset to the Moors, which would result in great damage, work, and loss [of resources] and also of people [to Portugal] and the entire Christian world.

Faced with the dilemma of losing the advantages that the Jews represented to the Portuguese empire in order to please the Catholic monarchs, Dom Manuel forced the Jews to stay in Portugal by kidnapping their young children, imposing mass baptisms, and closing the ports of Lisbon. Damião de Góis's chronicle illustrates the ambiguous and difficult situation that Jews and New Christians faced in early modern and colonial times. Imperial rulers of the Christian world regarded them as undesirable but, at the same time, tried to keep them in their empires due to the economic advantages that they brought to their crowns.

II. *New Christian* letrados *and the Inquisition in the Spanish and Portuguese Americas*

As I have indicated above, up to this point the discourse of the New Christians and *conversos* studied herein has remained largely outside the margins of literary teaching and research. As a result, scholarship has not taken into account the significance of the writings and trial proceedings of these individuals which portray the Inquisition as a complex

bureaucratic institution of the modern Iberian empires. Based on the case studies of the New Christians studied in this book, the Inquisition appears as an institution in which the role of its agents determined its effectiveness, its degree of violence, as well as its failures to reach its established goals. My study also shows that although in theory the Holy Office of the Inquisition was supposed to be free from the intervention of the kings, in practice this was not the case. Some of the Spanish and Portuguese kings left a strong imprint on the actions of the Inquisition.

The major writers that I study are representative of *letrados* who suffered religious and political persecution and who produced literary and confessional discourses. These discourses help to show the complex and subtle collaboration between religious and political structures. The voices of New Christians, as liminal or in-between subjects, uniquely expose the malleability of empires. The way in which the Inquisition dealt with them, which we perceive through their more or less mediated voices, shows the varying effects that the Holy Office had on the subjects of the Iberian empires. These New Christian voices include: Luis de Carvajal, El Mozo (1567–1596), who immigrated to New Spain in 1580, and Bento Teixeira (1561–1600), Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão (1557–1618), Manuel Beckman (1630–1685), who lived in Portuguese America in the second half of the sixteenth and the early half of the seventeenth century,[12] and Antônio José da Silva (1705–1739), who was forced to move to Portugal in the second decade of the eighteenth century after his mother was accused of being a crypto-Jew. Descendents of Jews who lived in the Iberian Penin-

[12] During the period of the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns under the Spanish Habsburgs, Brazil's development accelerated, and the territory expanded significantly, surpassing the boundaries established by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Although the colonization of Brazil started under João III, it was between 1580 and 1640, when many Portuguese subjects who were not satisfied at home and moved to the New World with their families, that the colonization and expansion process accelerated. Brazil was a favorite place of refuge for the persecuted crypto-Jews and New Christians, since the Inquisition did not maintain a branch in the colony, as it did in Portuguese India and Spanish America. In his book *Salvador de Sá Benevides and the struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686* Boxer believes that the high percentage of New Christians and crypto-Jews in Brazil can be attested by the Inquisition visitation records for the years 1590–1618, by the colonial officials in neighboring Spanish America, and by the majority of foreign visitors to the Portuguese colony in the seventeenth century (16). Because many New Christians who came to Brazil brought their families with them Boxer thinks that "emigration from Portugal to Brazil was of a far healthier and more balanced type than that to the East, which, as far as more numbers went, still seems to have exerted a superior attraction for the unattached male" (16).

sula during the medieval and early modern periods, they were driven to cross the Atlantic, often more than once, as a result of the new Inquisition, which emerged in the Iberian Peninsula when Isabella and Ferdinand became the most powerful monarchs of the early modern Christian world.

Spain's late fifteenth-century Inquisition acted in essence as a state apparatus that played a crucial role in the definition of modern Western empires. Seen from this angle, the Inquisitions that flourished in the Iberian and in the Iberian-American worlds during the years covered in this book were, to a large degree, more the result of imperial ambitions than of religious zeal *per se*. Despite the substantive and relevant work on the Inquisition of Alexandre Herculano, José Toríbio Medina, and Richard E. Greenleaf, their approaches focus on the Inquisition in specific spaces or nations or from a strictly historical point of view, thus overlooking the rich literary and testimonial discourses of a particular yet transnational group, the New Christians of Portuguese background, who spread throughout the Iberian Atlantic world at different times and in movements of diasporas. This study focuses on trial proceedings and on writings produced by New Christians who were born in or lived in the New World during the sixteenth, the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Their writings and trial proceedings illuminate the complex dynamics of the modern Inquisition in the Iberian world. The personal struggles and crises of these figures provide glimpses into the negotiations that took place, for example, between imperial leaders and inquisitors, which are inaccessible through discourse analyses that do not use archival sources as a point of departure. This book recognizes the crucial intellectual, economic, and political roles that descendents of Jews played in the development of Iberian and Iberian American societies of the early modern and colonial eras, and demonstrates their continuing influence to the present day.

Moreover, by analyzing these writers as a coherent group, this work elucidates the still understudied transatlantic and inter-American connections of the early modern world. *Through Cracks in the Wall* illuminates political and religious developments that originated in the Iberian Peninsula and continued to exert influence on the lives of subjects of Jewish heritage who lived in the Iberian Atlantic world from the last half of the sixteenth century until the first half of the eighteenth century. I emphasize two key historical moments. The first moment starts in 1580 and ends around 1640, when Portugal and its ultramarine domains were part of the Spanish empire. The second moment is the first part of

the eighteenth century, after Portugal gained independence from Spain and emerged as a wealthy European empire enriched by the gold from Brazil.

The first two chapters of the book have as a backdrop the imperial politics of King Philip II,[13] who ruled Spain from 1556–1598 and Portugal from 1580–1598, and whose reign surpassed the Ottoman empire in territorial dimension and power. After the incorporation of Portugal and its colonial possessions to the Spanish crown, Philip II became the monarch of the largest empire of the early modern world. Distinguishing himself from imperial rivals such as the English, the Dutch, and the Ottoman rulers of the time, he followed the lead of his great-grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella, in seeing Jews and New Christians as a potential threat to Spanish imperial ambitions. This Inquisition, in particular, targeted Portuguese New Christians who had sought some alleviation from persecution through migration to the colonies in the New World.

The discourse of New Christians demonstrates how the Inquisition acted as an aid to Iberian imperial ambitions. The establishment of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico and Peru, the restructuring of the Portuguese Inquisition, and the implementation of regular visitations to Brazil were manifestations, in large part, of the concern over New Christians in the Americas. Passages from Carvajal's and Bento Teixeira's writings and their inquisitorial confessions provide glimpses into the imperial rivalries involving Spain, England, and Netherlands. They also offer insights into daily aspects of life in baroque urban centers such as Mexico City, as well as life in the marginal areas of the Spanish empire, such as Tampico, in the northern frontiers of New Spain, and Recife, in the northern part of Brazil. Details of daily life found in the Inquisition testimonies of Carvajal and Teixeira provide a vivid portrayal of the ways that they coped with the trauma of displacement and persecution by the Inquisition. They also provide insight into the role that *conversos* and New Christian *letrados* played in the colonial realities of the Spanish empire. The texts analyzed in the first two chapters show the strategies used by *conversos* and New Christians to maintain their Jewish faith and traditions, inside and outside the walls of the prisons of the Inquisition. The texts also show the fluidity of the borders of colonial Latin America, and the intensification of the movement of Portuguese New Christians across

[13] Although the three Spanish Habsburg kings who ruled Portugal between 1580 and 1640 were known in Portugal as Filipe I, Filipe II and Filipe III, in this book I will follow the English-language convention, and refer to them as Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV.

the Iberian Atlantic and the American continent after the Inquisition was established in the New World in 1570.

The context of the last two chapters is the Iberian Atlantic world from the beginning of the seventeenth century until the middle of the eighteenth century. Chapters Three and Four have as a backdrop the imperial politics of the last two Habsburg kings who ruled Portugal from 1598, the date of the death of Philip II of Spain, until 1640, when Dom João of Braganza was crowned King João IV of Portugal, and the Braganza dynasty initiated. Special attention is paid to King João V, who reigned in Portugal from 1707 until 1750. Conflicts involving Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands during the reign of Philip IV of Spain (III of Portugal) also emerge as a central focus. The Portuguese at the time, concerned with the lack of protection from the Spanish crown and with the Dutch incursions into their African and American possessions, rebelled against Spain and proclaimed their independence by crowning João de Bragança as king of Portugal. During the same era New Christians who lived in Brazil and in the Spanish American colonies were caught in the crossfire of these three European empires. Later, during the reign of João V of Portugal (1707–1750), the activities of the Inquisition intensified against Portuguese and Brazilian New Christians. Once again, we see the connections between imperial policies and the Inquisition through the discourse of the subjects studied in this book. What links these different contexts and historical moments is the shadow of religious persecution, particularly of New Christians.

The corpus that I have collected of written and oral discourses of New Christian *letrados* forms a quilt that provides insight into the conflicts of European empires in the Iberian world, and particularly in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of the Americas, during the early modern period. By failing to examine the literary production and trial proceedings of these lettered New Christians in relation to the conflicting societies in which they lived, many critics have underestimated the powerful message of cultural resistance present in their confessions, poems, plays, and testimonies produced inside and outside the prisons of the Inquisition. These documents provide a valuable counterpoint to official documents and discourses. The voices of New Christians, with few exceptions, have remained muffled. This book uncovers and contextualizes their writings in order to expose the valuable perspective of New Christians from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century and thus better understand the rise of the Modern Inquisition and imperial expansion in Iberia and Iberian America.

Chapter One examines the writings and the Inquisition trial of Luis de Carvajal, the Younger (1567–1596), a *converso* of Portuguese and Spanish background who immigrated to New Spain in 1580, and who became a leader of crypto-Jews. Historical studies such as Alfonso Toro's *La Familia Carvajal*, Seymour Liebman's *The Enlightened: The Writings of Luis de Carvajal, El Mozo*, and Martin Cohen's *The Martyr* have focused on the biographical aspects of Carvajal's writings in the context of the Mexican Inquisition, but have not adequately situated his discourse in the broader context of the Spanish empire under Philip II. On the other hand, the few literary studies on poets and religious poetry of colonial Mexico, such as Alfonso Méndez Plancarte's *Poetas novohispanos, 1521–1621*, and Jesús García Gutiérrez's *La poesía religiosa en México: Siglos XVI–XIX*, fail to elaborate on the relevance of Luis de Carvajal's religious poetry in the context of sixteenth-century New Spain. They thus miss the opportunity to situate his literary discourse within the larger and problematic spectrum of canonical discourses and practices of Spain and the New World. By underlining the fact that members of the Carvajal family were New Christians who left Portugal in 1580, and who were condemned by the Inquisition in New Spain, the chapter demonstrates Philip II's preoccupation with Jewish descendents and his reliance on the Inquisition to exert imperial control over his ultramarine possessions.

Chapter Two moves from New Spain to Brazil and focuses on the life and work of Bento Teixeira (1561–1600), a New Christian who migrated from Portugal as a child and died as a penitent of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1600. Fearing that his wife would denounce him to the visitor of the Lisbon Holy Office, Teixeira killed her, and while under the scrutiny of the Inquisition, he wrote his *Prosopopéia*, the first epic poem produced in Brazil, which traditional literary critics have dismissed as "um poema de medíocre feitio" (Ronald de Carvalho 78) [a poem of mediocre style] or one without "mérito algum de inspiração, poesia e forma" (José Veríssimo 52) [any merit of inspiration, poetry and form]. Current scholarship on Bento Teixeira, such as the work by Sônia Aparecida Siqueira and Luiz Roberto Alves, lacks a broad historical and geocultural perspective, and so places his work in a restricted context that fails to reflect the transatlantic dynamics that characterized the early modern period. My analysis situates Bento Teixeira's discourse within the broad Spanish imperial context that absorbed Portugal and its colonial possessions and that negatively affected the lives of New Christians from Portugal and Brazil. In my analysis of Teixeira's discourse—specifically of his epic poem and Inquisition trial proceedings—I emphasize the subtle yet marked criticism that

the New Christian from Pernambuco directed against the Spanish royal and religious authorities for taking advantage of the Portuguese Inquisition to persecute descendents of Jews. I also point to the emergence of imperial conflict involving Spain, the Netherlands, and England, as well as the creole consciousness or the sense of self-awareness and identification with the New World that appears in the verses of his *Prosopopéia*.

While Chapters One and Two provide specific case studies from sixteenth-century New Spain and Brazil, Chapter Three provides a broad overview of the ambivalent and dangerous situation that *conversos* and New Christians experienced during the seventeenth century. By examining the cases of Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão (1557–1618?) and Manuel Beckman (1630–1685), the chapter centers on the impact of Old World imperial political rivalries, and argues that this period witnessed the emergence of a *criollo* consciousness in this special group of colonial subjects who did not express admiration for the Spanish monarchs who had annexed Portugal to their crown. Perhaps because Brandão and Beckman lived in marginal areas of the Iberian Atlantic world or perhaps because they wrote in Portuguese, these significant figures of colonial Brazil have been almost completely ignored by Latin American literary critics and historians. My analysis underlines the strong attachment to the New World expressed in Fernandes Brandão's *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil* as well as in the letters and inquisitorial testimonies of Manuel Beckman. Through these texts one can detect opposition to the hegemonic European discourse and clear instances of an emerging *criollo* consciousness in the Iberian-American world.

Chapter Four focuses on an eighteenth-century Brazilian-born playwright who lived for much of his life in Portugal. Antônio José da Silva (1705–1739), was a New Christian born in Rio de Janeiro in 1705, who was forced to move to Lisbon because his parents were accused of practicing Judaism. When da Silva was twenty years old he became a victim of the Portuguese Inquisition. Upon his release from the Inquisition jail, he became a playwright and wrote in relative obscurity. Unlike the previous individuals studied in this book, substantial criticism has been written about Antônio José da Silva's theater. However, only a few critics situate their analyses within the sociopolitical context of conflicts of empire involving Portugal, Spain, and England during the first part of the eighteenth century. This chapter offers an appropriate close to the study of the discourse of *letrados* of Jewish origin, as Antônio José da Silva was the last Brazilian New Christian killed by the Portuguese Inquisition. The study of his plays and trial proceedings offer insights into the motives behind

the Inquisition that targeted, among others, individuals of Jewish origin. Even to a greater degree than the discourse of the New Christians and *conversos* studied in the previous chapters, the writings and oral testimonies produced by da Silva reveal strong opposition to the European hegemony and the ruling elite of the times.

The discourse produced by these and other New Christians and *conversos* has remained ignored or understudied by historians and literary critics of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. This book takes us one step closer to listening to and learning from their voices. By recovering and analyzing the writings and Inquisition testimonies of *conversos* and New Christians who were born or lived in the Iberian American world, we can begin to see the relevance of this discourse to Iberian and (Latin) American history and literary historiography of the early modern and colonial period.

CHAPTER ONE

LUIS DE CARVAJAL, THE YOUNGER, AND THE INQUISITION IN NEW SPAIN UNDER PHILIP II

When in 1589 the young New Christian Luis de Carvajal was arrested by the Holy Office of the Mexican Inquisition on charges of Judaism, for several months he refused to confess and admit that he was guilty of being a heretic. To break his silence, a friar named Francisco Ruiz de Luna, who had been accused of celebrating mass and administering the sacraments without the Church's permission, was placed as a spy in Luis de Carvajal's cell. To the inquisitors' great disadvantage, instead of extracting information from the young New Christian, the friar, who became so fascinated with Luis's religious arguments, besides failing as a spy, helped Luis to communicate with other crypto-Jews through cracks in the wall of the cell made by the two of them by rubbing mutton bones against it until they could see through. During Luis's second and last incarceration, the inquisitors tried the same strategy. They placed the prisoner in the cell of Luis Díaz, a spy who tricked Luis into confiding in him by pretending to be a follower of Judaism. To Luis's chagrin and to the inquisitors' advantage the information gathered by the spy, such as the existence of a memoir written by the accused and hidden in a crack in the wall of his home, made it possible for them to conclude that Luis de Carvajal was a relapser and unreconciled Jew who had to be burnt at the stake. These two incidents that ocurred during the imprisonment of Luis de Carvajal illustrate the ambivalent nature of the Inquisition. Sometimes the controlling tactics of the inquisitors, instead of curtailing them, enabled the accused heretics to spread Judaism through the cracks of the walls, other times they served to condenm their victims.

Departing from the passage above that offers a glimpse into the cracks and contradictions of the Inquisition as an institution as well as into its prisons, this chapter examines the confessional and testimonial writings found in the trial of Luis de Carvajal, the Younger (el Mozo). This New Christian of Portuguese and Spanish background immigrated to New Spain in 1580 and became a leader of crypto-Jews in the city of Mexico, the capital of New Spain. Although the study of Luis de

Carvajal's life and work is of fundamental relevance for the understanding of past and present issues related to Europe and the Americas, such as violence, migration, and the role of religion in defining modern empires and nations, the discourse that he produced during the last decades of the sixteenth century remains largely unstudied.[1] By examining this man within a broader disciplinary context, it is possible to make him accessible to a wider range of scholars in American literature and cultural studies, who may then appreciate the allegorical and rhetorical language of Carvajal's literary discourse and his experience as a New Christian subject in early colonial Latin American. This task involves situating his writing within the broad transatlantic circuit of the Spanish empire under Philip II. We may thus visualize and appreciate Carvajal's discourse as part of the larger and complex spectrum of experiences and practices that characterized the different ethnic and religious groups that inhabited the New World in early modern and colonial times.

The chapter focuses particularly on Carvajal's oral inquisitorial testimonies, his life narrative entitled *Memorias*, his last will or *Testamento*, as well as letters addressed to his mother and sisters during his imprisonment in the Inquisition jails. Similar to my analysis of the discourses of the other New Christian subjects studied in this book, I approach Carvajal's oral and written texts not as religious works of questionable literary value, as they have often been presented by critics, but rather as examples of subaltern literature of major relevance to the understanding of the social, political, and religious context of the Americas during colonial times. I situate the saga of Luis de Carvajal and other members of his family within the transatlantic context of the Iberian Peninsula and the American world of the final decades of the sixteenth century.

The persecution suffered by the Carvajal family and other New Christians of Portuguese origin resulted in part from the plan put forward by King Philip II of Spain to rid his empire of subjects of Jewish and Moorish background. After his powerful army invaded Portugal in 1580 and cleared the way for him to be crowned King of Portugal under the name of Philip I, the New Christians who lived in the Lusitanian lands became the major target of the Inquisition.[2] Due to Philip II's political ambition and

[1] Historians such as Alfonso Toro, Seymour B. Liebman, and Martin Cohen, have written about Luis de Carvajal and the persecution that he and his family suffered under the Mexican Inquisition, but their works have remained practically unkown among scholars of colonial Latin American literature and culture.

[2] In *The Inquisitors and the Jews in the New World*, Seymour B. Liebman states that after Philip II of Spain took over the Portuguese throne in 1580, "many Jews residing

religious zeal, after fighting against those who tried to prevent him from taking over the Portuguese throne, the Habsburg monarch decided to rid his large empire of the subjects that he regarded as political enemies and as threats to Catholicism. Among his enemies, the Spanish king targeted his maternal cousin, Dom António, Prior of Crato, a grandson of King Manuel I who received the support of the lower sectors of the Portuguese society in the dispute for the throne.[3] Apparently, due to the widespread suspicion that Dom António's mother, Violante Nunes, was of Jewish origin,[4] and also due to the fact that there were many New Christians among the popular sectors that supported Dom António, once on the throne, the Spanish king started persecuting those whom he regarded as his political and religious enemies.

The study of Carvajal can help us better understand not only the political dynamics of the Inquisition but also early modern articulations of testimony and strategic negotiations of identity. The fact that it was in the desolate northern frontier of New Spain that Carvajal and his family embraced Judaism confirms Jonathan Schorsch's observation that similar to the situation experienced by other minority groups in the Iberian world "Marranos have seen in judaizing practices and beliefs a mode of

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in Portugal accurately anticipated the arrival of Spanish inquisitors to the Holy Offices in Coimbra, Lisbon, and Évora because the Spaniards regarded the Portuguese as too lenient in the treatment of Jews, Moors, and other heretics" (19). To escape persecution many New Christians migrated to areas that they regarded as safer than the Iberian Peninsula. The assumed safer places included the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire, and the New World.

[3] As Manuel de Sousa documents on pages 103–104 of his *Reis e rainhas de Portugal*, after the disappearance of Dom Sebastião in the battle of Alcazarquivir, in 1578, and the death of Cardinal Dom Henrique, in 1580, the popular sector of the Portuguese society acclaimed Dom António King of Portugal. Dom António's position as king of the Lusitanian Empire lasted from June 19, until August 25, 1580, when Philip II's army invaded Portugal and defeated Dom António in the Battle of Alcántara. However, even after this major defeat, Dom António continued receiving the support of the masses. According to Sousa, after his defeat in the continent, Dom António went to the Azorian Islands where he reigned as king, until 1583.

[4] It seems that during the lifetime of prince Dom Luís, the father of Dom António Prior of Crato, he had a close relationship with the Portuguese New Christians. In her book, *No reino do desejado: a construção do sebastianismo em Portugal (séculos XVI e XVII)*, Jacqueline Hermann explains that Dom Luís worked as an intermediary between his father, King Dom Manuel, and the New Christian community. She also observes some people believed that Dom Luís had had an affair with Violante Nunes, a suspected New Christian, who gave birth to Dom António, and with whom Dom Luís married. The suspicion that Dom António's mother was of Jewish background led the members of the Portuguese aristocracy, including his uncle the Cardinal Dom Henrique, who was the grand inquisitor of Portugal, to deny Dom António's right to the throne (cf. 167).

being true to themselves and their past" (2009, 481). As we will see in this chapter, Carvajal's negotiations of identity seem to have originated from his traumatic experience as a subaltern colonial subject caught between Christianity and Judaism, and later as a victim of the Mexican Inquisition. The religious preoccupations and the conflictive and paradoxical circumstances that characterized the Iberian and Iberian-American societies after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) seemed to have played a decisive role in the transformation of Carvajal's identity from a (New) Christian to a Jewish persona. What is more, the case of Carvajal further exposes the complex and fluctuating role of the Inquisition in the Spanish domains during the late sixteenth century.

I. *From Victim of the Holy Office to Transformed Subject*

Luis de Carvajal, The Younger, was caught in the web of the Mexican Inquisition on May 8, 1589 following the arrest of his uncle, Admiral Luis de Carvajal de la Cueva, Governor of the Nuevo Reino de León, and the arrest of his sister Isabel de la Cueva in the early days of 1589. The initial arrest of the Admiral was apparently motivated by a land dispute with Don Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, a bitter and resentful man who became the viceroy of New Spain from 1585 until 1590.[5] After his imprisonment, the Governor's niece Isabel was accused of being a Jewess. Because of this, he, too, was suspected of practicing Judaism and was later transferred to the Inquisition jail. The suspicion of crypto-Judaism that fell on the Governor was much more serious than the problem of a land dispute.[6]

[5] According to A. de Valle-Arizpe's *Virreyes y virreinas de la Nueva España: Tradiciones, leyendas y sucedidos del México virreinal* (2000), Don Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga "tenía ánimo amargo y lleno de ira" (16).

[6] Alfonso Toro was one of the first historians to realize that the conflict between the viceroy and the governor was the real cause that led the entire Carvajal family to be caught by the Inquisition: "Cuestiones jurisdiccionales entre el gobernador … y el virrey … hicieron que éste tratara de perderlo, rastreando en su genealogía hasta encontrar que era de generación de cristianos nuevos y que toda su parentela era de judíos. El pleito entre el virrey y el gobernador fué realmente la causa de la perdición de toda la familia, y de que tuviera que habérselas con el Santo Ofício" (12–13) [Jurisdictional questions between the governor … and the viceroy … made the latter try to condemn him, searching his genealogy until he found out that he was a New Christian and that all his family were Jews. The grievance between the viceroy and the governor was really the cause of perdition for the whole family and involved them with the Holy Office]. In his *The Martyr: Luis*

Prior to his imprisonment in 1589, for more than two decades admiral Luis de Carvajal had worked closely with the viceroys of New Spain to defend the territory against English incursions. In addition to confronting pirates such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake, his accomplishments as a conqueror also included the pacification of restive Chichimec indigenous groups, and the expansion and settlement of the northern frontiers of New Spain. Due to his vital role in protecting the Spanish colonizers of the northern lands against attacks by Chichimec Indians and English pirates, viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa, who governed New Spain from 1568 until 1580, granted him the title of captain and pacifier and also made him mayor of Tamaulipas. In 1579, acting on the recommendation of Enríquez de Almansa, King Philip II named Carvajal governor of a large area of land in the northern frontier of New Spain, and granted him the right to pass the land to a son or an heir of his choice.

Perhaps because Philip II was determined to keep the northern territories of New Spain safe from the attacks of English pirates and the occupation of other European empires the king also authorized governor Carvajal to recruit one hundred people from the Iberian Peninsula to populate the newly granted territory, which the Governor named Nuevo Reino de León or the New Kingdom of León. In *Historia del Nuevo Reino de León (1577–1723)*, Eugenio del Hoyo establishes the presence of a substantial number of Sephardic Jews among the early settlers of the province. Focusing on the same province, Ida Latman concludes that the "settlers of the marginally attractive north of New Spain were correspondingly marginal individuals socially and economically" (254). In 1580, after recruiting family members and acquaintances from his Portuguese hometown of Mogadouro, and from other towns and villages along the border region of Portugal and Spain, the Governor returned to New Spain and started the colonization of New León, an area that stretched from the present day Tampico to San Antonio, Texas, and extended six hundred miles inland from the Gulf of Mexico. Among the relatives that the Governor brought with him to New Spain we find the family of his sister Francisca Núñez, the mother of the young Luis de Carvajal, his

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de Carvajal, a Secret Jew in Sixteenth-Century Mexico, Martin A. Cohen explains that the "struggle with the viceroy began once he [the Governor] had commenced to prove his success and once the regime learned of the vast treasures he had discovered. His conflicts with the viceroys must therefore be viewed as part of the general struggle for centralization on the part of the crown" (110).

favorite nephew and heir. Some of the acquaintances recruited by the Governor included Gaspar Castaño de Sosa and Antônio de Espejo.[7]

Unfortunately, after governor Carvajal's return to New Spain in 1580, his great admirer and supporter, Viceroy Enríquez de Almansa, was replaced by Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, count of Coruña, who arrived in New Spain in the same ship that brought the governor, his family and acquaintances to the New World. Don Lorenzo became viceroy of New Spain shortly after the Carvajal family began settling in New León around August of 1580. Apparently, the period of bonanza and recognition that governor Luis de Carvajal had experienced in New Spain under the mandate of the viceroy Enríquez de Almansa came to an end during

[7] In *Coahuila y Texas en la época colonial*, Vito Alessio Robles observes that the area that governor Carvajal assumed to belong to him consisted of more than one third of the extension of the current Mexican Republic. It involved the present states of Nuevo León y Coahuila, Tamaulipas, almost the entire areas of Zacatecas and Durango, and large parts of San Luis Potosí, Nayarit, Sinaloa, Chihuahua and Texas (90). According to Alessio Robles, Cabeza de Vaca was the first person to wander through the lands, but Governor Carvajal was the first to explore the area. The governor spent his own fortune on the exploration (92). Some of the soldiers that worked under the command of Carvajal included Castaño de Sosa and Antônio de Espejo. As Robles cites on page 107, during governor Carvajal's Inquisition trial he declared that under his command Antônio de Espejo discovered New Mexico. After the death of the governor in 1590, Castaño de Sosa, who had been named lieutenant of Coahuila by Carvajal, abandoned the region and, leading a group of over one hundred and seventy people, moved northwest and started the colonization of the areas that now form the states of Texas and New Mexico. Alessio Robles also documents that on January 17, 1593 Philip II signed a provision against Castaño de Sosa for entering New Mexico without a license or permission (106). Despite the fact that he was latter considered innocent, New Spain's highest court, sentenced him to six years of exile in the Philipines, where he died. David J. Weber writes that Castãno and his colonists imposed themselves on the Pueblos, but only briefly (80).

Stanley M. Hordes explains that by the late 1590s, after realizing the efficacy of establishing defensive outposts in the far northern frontier of New Spain, the king ordered Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco to name a candidate to lead an expedition to the area that now forms that states of Texas and New Mexico. The viceroy chose Juan de Oñate, "the son of a wealthy and powerful minor, and himself a descendent of converted Jews to serve as *adelantado*" (228). Hordes also states that some members of the Castaño de Sosa's aborted expedition were invited by Oñate to form his retinue. Although Hordes believes that the Inquisition in the New World showed more toleration than persecution toward crypto-Jews, the cases mentioned in his study reveal that inquisitional persecution of New Christians, particularly those of Portuguese background, occurred often during the period that extends from the last two decades of the sixteenth century until approximately 1660. Persecution intensified especially when Spain experienced political and economic conflicts with Portugal and other European empires. For example, 1662, the date cited by Hordes as the year when Inquisition agents were sent to New Mexico, and arrested the wife of Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábel, and Sargento Francisco Gómez Robledo (229) coincides with a period of imperial conflicts, when Spain was still refusing to recognize Portugal's separation from the Spanish crown.

the rule of viceroys Suárez de Mendoza (1580–1583) and Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga (1585–1590). The problems seemed to have started when silver mines were found in the lands that Governor Carvajal considered to be part of his territory. Because the boundaries of Nueva Biscaya and Nueva Galicia were not yet firmly established, the Governor was involved in land disputes and controversies that led to his arrest in 1589 by the viceroy Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga.

After the arrest of the Governor, the entire Carvajal family and many New Christians of Portuguese origin became the target of the Mexican Inquisition. Although the Tribunal of the Holy Office could gather no evidence proving that the Governor was a *Judaizante*—i.e. that he practiced and promoted Judaism—he was found guilty of harboring and concealing crypto-Jews. As punishment, the inquisitors stripped him from his position as governor, confiscated his land, and condemned him to six years of exile from the Indies. Governor Carvajal did not have a chance to appeal this final sentence. He died in 1590, shortly after the declaration of his sentence. The denunciations and depositions that started when Governor Carvajal was arrested in the beginning of 1589, such as those made by Felipe Núñez against Isabel on March 7, 1589, entangled forever the life of Luis de Carvajal, his mother, and five sisters and three brothers with the Mexican Inquisition.

Following the incarceration of his sister Isabel on March 13, 1589, Luis de Carvajal and his mother were arrested on May 9, 1589. During the first months of his imprisonment Luis consistently denied the charges against him. He also avoided bringing family members and other New Christians of New Spain, which he knew to be followers of Judaism, to the attention of the inquisitors. The only people who Luis admitted to be crypto-Jews were those that had already been implicated by others. These included his brother Baltasar—who had managed to hide and later escape to Europe with his younger brother Miguel—and his mother and sister, Isabel, also imprisoned by the Inquisition. Carvajal did everything he could to clear his brother Gaspar and his sisters, Leonor, Ana, Catalina, and Mariana, as well as friends and acquaintances, from any suspicion of Judaism. However, after a period of several months of pressure by the inquisitors, Carvajal's defiant attitude started to change. Around August 7, 1589, after being considered *negativo*, that is, guilty of denying the charges against him and refusing to denounce other New Christians, Carvajal was submitted to intense torture. Due perhaps to the maltreatment to which he was subjected, which included the infliction of physical abuse, isolation in the dark and cold chambers of the Inquisition prison, and

the pain of hearing the screams of his mother being tortured, Carvajal suffered several seizures, which he later described as messianic visions.

As a result of these "visions," he changed his name to Joseph Lumbroso ("the Enlightened"), signing with this name both his *Memorias* (Memoirs), written after he was released from the Inquisition on March 5, 1590, and his *Testamento* (Last Will and Testament) recorded during the last days of his second imprisonment by the Holy Office (February 1, 1596 to December 8, 1596), just before he was burnt at the stake as a recalcitrant Jew. His identification with the Old Testament's Joseph of Egypt, a figure with special powers of enlightenment, indicate that Carvajal attempted to transcend his own person in order to cope with the mental and moral distress that he suffered during his imprisonment. This process of transformation or self-fashioning, as Stephen Greenblatt has suggested, derives from the necessity of the subject to define and protect himself against something that is "alien, strange, or hostile" (9), such as the overwhelming authority and brutal torture of the Inquisition. From another angle, Carvajal's visions and sense of enlightenment can be seen as deliverance from confinement, a phenomenon which Michael Foucault considers to be "the very element of [. . .] liberty" (1988 260–261).[8]

As a result of intense beatings and other forms of torture that Luis, as well as his mother and his sister Isabel, suffered between August and December of 1589 after receiving three admonitions of being *negativos* or denying any offense against the Catholic faith, Luis admitted that he and his mother and sisters were crypto-Jews. In January of 1590 all the adult females of the Carvajal family had been arrested by the Inquisition. However, since this was the first time that the family had been caught by the Inquisition, and especially because they confessed that they had repented their sins, the inquisitors accepted their reconciliation to the church. After appearing in the public procession of *auto-da-fé* on February 24, 1590, Luis, his mother, and his sisters Catalina, Isabel, Mariana, and Leonor, were reconciled with the Catholic Church, and subsequently released from jail. In strict accordance with the Inquisition's policy regarding those formerly accused of practicing Judaism, the Carvajals's possessions were confiscated and the family members were placed under surveillance. They were also compelled to wear the penitence garment or *sambenito*–a public sign of shame and humiliation

[8] In *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1988), Foucault writes, "The dungeon, the chains, the continual spectacle, the sarcasms were, to the sufferer in his delirium, the very element of his liberty" (260–261).

analogous to the Scarlet Letter or a yellow Star of David—and were also obliged to engage in all of the rituals and sacraments prescribed by the Catholic Church. Before their release from the prison of the Holy Office the inquisitors required Luis, his mother, and sisters to keep secret everything they had said and heard during their trial. The inquisitors also informed them that due to the gravity of their sins they had to abjure *de vehementi*, and, as such, they were warned that a recurrence in the "crime" of embracing Judaism would lead to death at the stake.

From 1590 to 1594, the family lived from the charity of others. Luis de Carvajal himself was assigned sundry jobs, always under the watchful eyes of the Inquisition. First he worked as a sexton in the Hospital of San Hipólito, where one of his chores was to clean the images of the saints in the hospital chapel. For a man who believed in Judaism and who perceived saintly images as mere idols, such a chore must have represented a particular humiliation. Later in his life Luis describes the experience in his narrative entitled *Memorias*, he refers to himself in the third person as Joseph *Lumbroso*, or the Enlightened. The following passage shows the transformation of Carvajal's identity after he fashioned himself as Joseph of the Old Testament, the Hebrew leader responsible for saving Israelites and Egyptians alike from the effects of a seven-year famine:

> [a] Joseph pusieron en un hospital … haciéndole sacristán de los ídolos, en donde le afligian no poco y ocupaban en otros servicios como era barrer, lo cual hacía regando primero el suelo con muchas lágrimas, mas el señor Dios suyo como en todos los demás aprietos le acudió con infinita mysericordia. (480)
>
> They placed Joseph in a hospital and made him the sacristan of idols. This mortified him greatly. They gave him such tasks as sweeping. He did this first by watering the floor with tears. But God, the Lord, as in all other hardships, comforted him with His infinite mercy.

In 1591, Carvajal was assigned the task of teaching Latin to the Indians and acting as scribe for the administrator of the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, a famous institution of the Franciscan religious order that had been in charge of the education of the elite indigenous population of New Spain for more than a half a century.[9] When Carvajal was

[9] The Colegio de Santiago de Tlatelolco, founded by Zumárraga in 1536, was one of the most important centers for the schooling of Indians of noble descent in the Catholic faith and in the European curriculum in New Spain. Sahagún and Zumárraga worked actively at this school. González Obregón documents that in 1590 Sahagún died and was

transferred to Tlatelolco, the Franciscan priests were still mourning the death of the well-known Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who had passed away in 1590, and who had left a vast number of codices crucial to the understanding of pre-Columbian Mexican cultures. Luis de Carvajal's transfer to the Colegio de Santa Cruz occurred when the distinguished Franciscan priest Pedro de Oroz, appointed by the Inquisition as the Carvajal family's confessor or spiritual adviser, intervened in his favor. Luis considered Pedro de Oroz to be a virtuous and enlightened person who acted in a much more humane way than the inquisitors and other priests he had met in New Spain. Luis also recognized the fact that only the recommendation of such a respected person as Pedro de Oroz could have carried the necessary weight to meet the approval of the Holy Office that allowed him the dignified position of teacher and scribe in the Colegio of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco. One should bear in mind, however, that the inquisitors intended to take advantage of Carvajal's skills as a *letrado* or a man of letters who could help the church in the catechization of the Indians.

Carvajal's employment as a scribe for the inquisitors and priests and as a teacher of the Indians in the Colegio de Tlatelolco, considered the most selective school of New Spain at the time, illustrates the role of the *letrado* as a kind of free lancer, whose skills were in demand in colonial societies. Those who had such skills would or would not be compensated depending on the circumstances of each individual and the politics in which he was involved. In sixteenth-century Mexico a *letrado* such as Luis de Carvajal, who had studied Latin, grammar, and rhetoric, and who, while living in the northern frontier, had also learned many indigenous languages, including Nahuatl, Tarascan, and Zapotec, was an *avis rara*. In his assigned role as an instructor in the Colegio de Tlatelolco, Carvajal taught Latin to the Indians and assisted his confessor in writing letters and sermons. Carvajal's intellectual skills thus substantially aided the Catholic Church and enhanced literacy in New Spain's colonial society. Ironically, while serving his sentence and helping the friars to educate the Indians, Luis took advantage of every opportunity to perfect his

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buried at this school. It is important to point out that despite Zumárraga's excessive zeal with the Indians he seemed to be loved by many of them. Lewis Hanke explains that Zumárraga's faith in the intelligence of the natives led him to establish in Mexico the famous school for boys at Tlatelolco, and the school for Indian girls in Mexico City. He was also responsible for bringing the first printing press to America, to give incentive to a movement for the founding of a university in Mexico.

knowledge of theology and his defense of Judaism. He accomplished this by sneeking into the library during the absences of the priest to read and memorize passages of the Old Testament, psalms, and of books such as *Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith*, *Guide for Sinners* by Fray Luis de Granada. Empowered with such readings Luis transformed the *Colegio* into an underground headquarters for the crypto-Jews of New Spain. During the time that he lived there many New Christians and secret Jews came to seek his advice and counsel (Cohen 204).

Having served important members of the church, including the inquisitor's brother,[10] Carvajal eventually earned enough money to purchase a pardon for himself and his family in October, 1594. Yet, on February 1, 1595, Carvajal was again arrested, along with his mother and sisters, on the charge of being a *Judaizante relapso pertinaz*, or a persistent relapser into Jewish practices—a crime that carried the death penalty. Here it is again possible to witness the duality of Carvajal's social position as a *letrado* of Jewish origin. On the one hand, due to his intellectual talents and, particularly, to the fact that the inquisitor's brother chose him to be his scribe, Carvajal acquired a certain status among the religious members the Colegio. He later writes to this effect in his *Memorias*: "[Y] querían y amaban mucho, y trataban todos los del convento" (489) [Everyone in the convent cared for and loved him very much, and treated him well]. In fact, this status enabled him to have access to religious books housed in the library of the convent that helped him to define himself as a [crypto] Jewish subject. He also took advantage of his privileged status to raise money to buy a pardon from the Inquisition for himself and his family. On the other hand, due to his Jewish origin, he was still ostracized by Old Christians who regarded New Christians as impure and inferior.

Indeed, perhaps it was the New Christians' social marginalization and subordination to the dominant Old Christians that made Carvajal continue practicing Judaism and become a leader among New Christians in New Spain, where he ascertained his identity as Joseph, the beloved son of Jacob and Rachel, who was betrayed by his bothers, and taken as a slave to Egypt, where he later became an important leader due to his power of interpreting God's revelations through dreams. The transformation of Luis de Carvajal's identity into the historical figure that delivered the Hebrews from famine corresponds with Stephen Greenblatt's

[10] According to Carvajal's *Procesos*, during his first trial the general inquisitor was Luis Bonilla. Carvajal's second trial was conducted by Lobo Guerrero and Dom Alonso de Peralta. The death sentence was signed by the inquisitor Dom Alonso de Peralta.

explanation that a search for a new social identity arises from "dividing practices" that lead to the subalternization of some individuals, and that eventually force them to cultivate "rituals of kinship" which permit them to develop a sense of community and to compensate for pain and humiliation with a newly-created sense of superiority. Stephen Greenblatt's explanation of "rituals of kinship" corroborates Anita Novinsky's statement that, accused of being a heretic for not conforming to the official religious doctrine the New Christian had no other alternative but to assume "the guilt of Judaism" (1979 5). It is this assumed "guilt" that lead many New Christians to return to Judaism in order to find a social group with whom they could identify.

It seems that Carvajal found inspiration to overcome humiliation and trauma by imagining himself as Joseph, a person chosen by God to save the Jews from slavery and imprisonment. In some ways, Carvajal's invention of his superior persona and the interpretation of his imprisonment in New Spain find correspondence in biblical and midrashic arguments that view Joseph's brothers as instruments for securing Joseph's power in Egypt and later saving the Hebrews from famine.

Since it was the "visions" and dreams that Carvajal had during his imprisonment in the cells of the Holy Office that led him to forge his new identity as a Jewish figure of the Old Testament, before analyzing his writing in the pages that follow, it is important to highlight some of the sufferings that he endured as a victim of the Inquisition. The detailed descriptions of his life in the northern regions and in the capital of New Spain, and his experience in the cells of the Inquisition allow us to capture significant aspects of life in early colonial times, such as the religious persecution of subjects who were perceived as a threat to the Catholic doctrine, as well as the subtleties that these subaltern individuals used to resist the hegemonic religion and culture. Passages from his trial proceedings contain revealing insights into the Inquisition's divisive practices, such as the cruel procedures used by the inquisitors in order to extract information from the victims. Carvajal's depiction of the trauma suffered by prisoners who survived physical and psychological torture is consistent with the descriptions contained in one of the rare books housed at the John Carter Brown Library under the title *An Account of the Cruelties Exercis'd by the Inquisition in Portugal*.[11] Similar

[11] Referring to the confusion of the prisoner that resulted from the questioning by the confessor, the anonymous author of the *Account* writes, "The second time that a Prisoner is brought before the inquisitors is to ask him about his relations" (21); "O merciful God!

to his *Memorias*, Luis de Carvajal's trial proceedings also shed light on the Mexican Inquisition and illuminate different aspects of cultural and social life in New Spain during the last decades of the sixteenth century.[12]

II. *Carvajal's Stand and Mediated Voice in the First Trial Proceeding*

Luis de Carvajal's first trial started with his arrest on May 9, 1589, and ended with his release from the cells of the Inquisition on March 5, 1590. While confined to the secret cells of the Inquisition during his first trial, Carvajal persistently denied all of the charges against him. During the hearings from May 12 until July 4, 1589, and despite the fact that he was under threat of excommunication and torture, Carvajal boldly denied

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Why so much rigour and such dreadful dealings in this Tribunal; for if men of sense and courage have trembled before it, how can women and girls, brought up in ignorance and very tenderly, be able to bear it? This is the time in which many, with a visible fear, do confess several things which they never were guilty of" (27). It is useful to observe that authorship and accurate year of the first publication of this document have not yet been established. Several different versions of this anonymous document are found throughout the United States. At the Newberry Library I found two versions of this work. The first is entitled *An Account of the Cruelties Exercised by the Inquisition in Portugal. To Which is Added a Relation of the Detention of Mr. Luis René in the Prison of the Inquisition of the Kingdom of Mexico and Spain* (London, 1708). The second version, written in Portuguese, is *Relação exactíssima, instructiva, curiosa, verdadeira e noticiosa do procedimento das inquisições de Portugal: Presentada ao Papa Ignocencio XI pelo Pe. Antônio Vieyra* (Veneza, 1750). At the Henry Charles Lea Collection, University of Pennsylvania, I found another version of the document under the title *An Impartial Account of Many Barbarous Cruelties Exercised in the Inquisition of Spain, Portugal and Italy* (London, 1739). Authorship of this document has been attributed to Vieira; however, Cecil Roth and Hernâni Cidade believe that Rabbi David Neto had at least a hand in its publication. Anita Novinsky (1991), who also read at the John Carter Brown Library the English version of the document published in 1708, observes that *Notícias recônditas* were not published.

[12] Aspects of the daily life in Tacuba documented by Carvajal coincide with the chronicles written Luis González Obregón. In *México viejo y anedóctico*, González Obregón writes: "El camino de México a Zacatecas era entonces peligrosísimo. Las fieras e indomables tribus de indios chichimecas asaltaban, robaban y mataban a los mercadores y viajeros" (58) [The road from Mexico to Zacatecas was at that time most dangerous. The wild animals and the indomitable Chichimec Indian tribes assaulted, robed, and killed traders and travelers]. Carvajal's descriptions of the pompous religious festivities in Mexico City, such as the processions of *Corpus Christi*, which he regarded as "superstitions," are similar to "the pomp and pageantry" (36) depicted by Irving Leonard in *Baroque Times in Old Mexico*. Rafael López is right when in the introductory note of the *Procesos* he affirms that Luis de Carvajal's trial proceedings represent an important cultural document of sixteenth-century Mexico. It unveils the profusion of detail and hierarchy that

being a Judaizer. When asked to talk about his entire life or the *discurso de su vida*, Carvajal testified that he was born in Benavente, Spain. He did not provide the exact date of his birth, but suggested that he was younger than twenty-five years old. Perhaps as part of his scheme to convince the inquisitors of his fabricated Christian background, Carvajal tried to focus his "discourse" on the time that at the age of eleven to fourteen that he had spent in a Jesuit monastery in Spain learning Latin, grammar, rhetoric, and perfecting his Christian education.

In an attempt to obtain names of other suspected crypto-Jews from the victim, the inquisitors informed Carvajal that if he were simply to confess, he would receive the generous mercy of the Holy Office. In spite of various forms of coercion, and even after having been placed in solitary confinement, Carvajal refused to confess. On July 4, 1589, after being brought from his cell into the presence of the inquisitors, Carvajal was again ordered to confess. In bold defiance, he affirmed that he had already said everything that he had to say. He then demanded that he be permitted to face the person who had accused him.

Called again to face the inquisitors less than three weeks later, on July 27, 1589, Carvajal was newly subjected to threats and intimidation. On this occasion, the inquisitor Lobo Guerrero read a written statement providing evidence gathered by the inquisitors proving that Luis was a heretic *Judaizer*, an offense that carried strong penalties. Evidence showing that Carvajal was a crypto-Jew consisted of accounts that he had ordered that the body of his deceased father be washed before burial, that he was very knowledgeable about the Old Testament, and that he did not believe in Christ, the Virgin Mary, or the Holy Trinity. According to the evidence presented by Lobo Guerrero, in addition to embracing the Law of Moses, Carvajal had taught Judaism to other New Christians in New Spain. Even after hearing these condemning accusations against him, Carvajal continued to deny the charges. Because of this "insolence," Guerrero recommended that Carvajal be tortured in order to bring about his confession.

After being tortured on August 7, 1589, Carvajal confessed his belief in Judaism, as he later documented in his *Memorias* and *Testamento* or *Last Will*. Although he attempted not to incriminate other New Christians through his confession, Carvajal implicated his mother, his sister, Isabel,

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characterized the complex Baroque society of New Spain, and displays an account of the superstitions and legal procedures of the Mexican Inquisition. The *Procesos* also reveal how Judaism survived in that colonial society.

and his brothers, Baltasar and Miguel. According to the Inquisition's record, Carvajal admitted that they would sometimes gather in a room of the house of his brother in law, Jorge de Almeida, in order to discuss the Hope of Israel. Reminding themselves that as Israelites, although they were spread all over the world and suffered captivity, the Messiah would eventually come to gather and free them:

> [S]e juntaban de las esperanzas de la venida del Mesías, que esperaban, y bienes que con su venida habían de tener, holgándose y regocijándose entre sí de lo que acerca de esto allí trataban en el dicho aposento. (42)
>
> They gathered together in the hope of the coming of the Messiah, which they were awaiting, and of the blessings that they were to have with his coming, comforting themselves and rejoicing among themselves with what they discussed in this regard in the aforementioned room.

The series of confessions that began on August 7, 1589 and lasted until February 6, 1590 portray Carvajal as a divided person who, faced with the threat of torture, frequently fell to his knees and wept, imploring the inquisitors for mercy. Perhaps to escape further torture, in his attempt to convince the inquisitors of his repentance, Carvajal referred to his experience with Judaism as "*mala ventura*" [ill fortune], and called Jewish practices "*ritos del demonio*" [rites of Satan]. On more than one occasion Carvajal explained that he sought the advice of his brother, Gaspar. Since Gaspar was a Dominican friar who had studied theology, Carvajal thought he could explain which law of God was correct, the Mosaic or the Christian. He also stated that it was only after his father's death that he spoke with some of his family about the secret his father had shared with him: the family was Jewish by descent. Carvajal testified to his great surprise at having discovered that other members of his family also knew about their Jewish heritage. When asked about what his father had taught him, Carvajal explained that he was told to love one God alone and not to adore images of saints. He was also told not to eat pork or scaleless sea creatures and to observe Saturdays as holy days. Furthermore, while attending mass was necessary to maintain the appearance of being Christian, he was to omit the name of the Blessed Trinity and of Christ as the son of God from the Christian prayers. All of this was done in order to practice Judaism and at the same time avoid the Inquisition's persecution.

During these confessions, Carvajal mentioned that his deceased uncle, Admiral Luis de Carvajal, and his brother Gaspar had made a vain attempt to persuade him and his family that Judaism was wrong.

Perhaps to protect others, Carvajal was evasive when questioned about his relatives and acquaintances, failing to provide full names and saying that he avoided the places where they lived. For example, in response to a question about who had instructed his father concerning the Mosaic Law, Carvajal said that it was his Portuguese uncle, Diego Rodríguez, the eldest brother of his father, who lived in an area of Portugal unknown to him.[13] Later in this same hearing, however, Carvajal contradicted himself by stating that Diego Rodríguez had died many years ago, when Carvajal was still a child. He also claimed that his father mentioned that Manuel Morales, a Portuguese *letrado* and a medical doctor who had come to New Spain on the same ship as the Carvajal family, had also taught his father about Mosaic law. Apparently not knowing much about Morales, Carvajal stated that the Portuguese doctor had returned to Europe four years prior to his imprisonment. Luis contradicted himself again by stating that his brother, Baltasar, and his sister, Isabel, already observed the Law of Moses when his father began teaching Judaism to his mother. He also admitted that when Baltasar and he attempted to speak with their brother, Gaspar, they were not seeking religious guidance, but rather sought to convert the friar to Judaism.

At the conclusion of the August 12, 1589 hearing, Carvajal was a broken man. The inquisitors warned him that if he hid anything about himself or others, he would be considered a *diminuto*, or a person who was withholding information about heresies and heretics, and the Holy Office would display no further mercy toward him. Frightened and crying, Carvajal promised not to withhold any information. On 23 August two Dominican priests attended Carvajal's hearings. After being called into their presence several times to amend his previous confessions, on 9 September, Carvajal was again forced to testify before the inquisitors, his lawyer,[14] and other Dominican friars called to attend his hearings. For days afterwards, Carvajal was called upon repeatedly to respond to more questions.

Periods of weeks and months had passed since the Inquisition jailed Carvajal as an accused *Judaizante*. He suffered long torturous days and weeks in confinement, broken only by summons to stand before the Tribunal and submit a confession. Once a suspect had confessed, the confession had to be ratified or validated by repetition on three separate

[13] Confession dated of August 11, 1589.

[14] Gaspar de Valdés was assigned to defend Carvajal during his first trial proceeding before the Inquisition. A curator was a *letrado* whose role was also to convince the accused of his or her religious errors.

occasions. In this way, the Inquisition could at once produce a thrice-confirmed confession and also draw out a suspect's torture and misery, thereby increasing the likelihood that he or she would accuse others of crimes against the Church.

On October 10, 1589, more than a month after the ratification of his confessions, Carvajal was again brought before the inquisitorial authorities. This time inquisitor Lobo Guerrero informed him that the Holy Office would publish the testimony in which Carvajal accused his mother and his brother Baltasar of being Jews. In an indirect way, he also implicated his uncle, the Governor of the Reino de León, and his Dominican brother, Gaspar, as protectors of Jews. The ratification of Carvajal's confessions legitimized the power of the inquisitors to sequester the possessions of his uncle, to strip from him the title of governor, and to sentence him to exile. Luis's brother, Gaspar, was also summoned to appear before the tribunal of the Holy Office. After being privately reprimanded and punished for failing to denounce his family to the Inquisition, Gaspar, friar and true Catholic, became a target of ostracism and discrimination, even within the Dominican order. Gaspar's punishment took place within the walls of the Dominican convent to avoid exposing his religious order to ridicule. He was temporarily suspended from his order, but later, after delivering a letter that implicated his brother-in-law Jorge de Almeida as a Jew to the inquisitors, he was permitted to rejoin the Dominicans. The case of Gaspar exposes the dilemma and the trauma of religious subjects that were forced to denounce their family in order to avoid persecution by the Inquisition and to continue as a member of their order.

Around October 20, 1589, the first phase of Carvajal's peregrination in the prisons of the Mexican Inquisition approached an end when the Holy Office compelled him to swear that he would keep all of what he had heard and said during his trial proceedings secret. As stated previously, on November 8, he was sentenced to reconciliation in an *auto-da-fé* with the penance of having all his possessions confiscated, wearing the *sambenito*, and spending four years in a monastery while receiving instruction in Catholic doctrine. On January 15, 1590 Lobo Guerrero requested the publication of new evidence against Carvajal. The accused tried to defend himself against the new denunciations by presenting his vaults of reconciliation to the Catholic Church. His defense was written in poetic form. In the poem Carvajal appeals to God for help and mercy. Although the poem alludes to penance and conversion, there is no direct reference to Christ or Christianity.

It seems that in a clever way Carvajal accomplished a public display of his conversion for the benefit of those who might accuse him of being a heretic. However, the text itself appears to question the need for such public expressions of repentance. It also appears that his prayer remains consistent with those who follow the Jewish faith. The following verses suggest that Carvajal intended to receive God's mercy by fasting, helping the needy, and praying to the Creator of human beings, and not to Jesus Christ, as a penitent who had really repented and returned to Christianity would do.

> Mas esta conversión es necesario
> manifestar con obras evidentes
> con un encogimiento extraordinario
> que muestre cuánto estamos penitentes
> por haber ofendido de ordinario
> el nombre del señor de los vivientes,
> con ayunos, limosnas y oración,
> y otras obras que hay de devoción. (90)

> But it is necessary to manifest
> This conversion with open deeds,
> With an extraordinary sacrifice
> That shows how penitent we are
> For having regularly offended
> The name of the Lord of the Living,
> With fasts, charity, and prayer,
> And with other deeds of devotion.

Apparently feigning repentance and his abjuration of Judaism on February 6, 1590, standing before his judges and other important representatives of the Church and State, Carvajal received his sentence: he would be condemned to wear the *sambenito* for the rest of his life, and he would be sent to a monastery or another place where he could be observed and given the Sacraments of the Catholic Church.

On February 24, 1590, in a public *auto-da-fé* that took place in the Cathedral of Mexico City, Carvajal declared that he had abjured Judaism. In his abjuration, Carvajal was instructed to state:

> [D]e mi libre y espontanea voluntad, abjuro y detesto, y renuncio y aparto de mi toda y cualquier herejia, en especial esta de que soy infamado y testificado y que he confesado de la Ley Vieja de Moisén. (108–109)

> Of my free and spontaneous will, I abjure and detest, and renounce and separate from myself any and all heresy, especially this one of which I am accused and convicted and that I have confessed of the Old Law of Moses.

Upon swearing to abide by the Catholic Church's law forever, Carvajal was permitted to move from the Inquisition prison to the *Hospital de los Convalescientes*, a place where the priests could follow him closely. In order to ensure that he had understood his sentence completely, the convicted was brought before the inquisitors on the next day and was warned that if he were to commit heresy he would be considered a relapsed or recalcitrant Jew, for which the punishment was to burn at stake. On March 5, 1590, after swearing that he would keep all of his and the Inquisition's secrets, and promising to observe the Catholic rites of fasting on Fridays, praying the rosary, confessing and receiving communion on Easter and at least on three other Catholic religious festivities, Carvajal was sentenced to life imprisonment in the *Hospital de los Convalescientes* in Mexico.

III. *Self-Fashioning and Public Voice through Literary Discourse*

Luis de Carvajal's *Memorias*, letters, and *Testamento*, penned under his Jewish alter ego "Joseph Lumbroso," represent the literary pieces that most thoroughly display his private and public voice, and the development of his identity as a Jewish persona. The copies of Carvajal's writings, transcribed by the Inquisition amanuenses with the purpose of incriminating him as a *Judaizante*, are especially revelatory documents because they constitute examples of his public and private voice. These writings, unlike his oral responses recorded by the scribes of the Inquisition, were not mediated and filtered by the Inquisition. Rather, they were free expressions of the writer's alter ego and of the experiences that he perceived as truth.

Carvajal's written works reveal his skill as a *letrado* who, through written language, expressed vivid descriptions of life in New Spain and his own private vacillations between hope and frustration as an individual who was relentlessly persecuted by the Inquisition. These literary works also reveal how he gradually detached himself from his outward, socially imposed, (New) Christian identity and projected his alter ego onto the covert Jewish persona with which he privately preferred to be identified.

Although Carvajal produced all of his writings after he had become a victim of the Holy Office, his life narrative titled *Memorias* differs from his letters and Testament not only in relation to the time and circumstances in which they were written, but also in relation to the point of view adopted by the writer. *Memorias* was produced after Carvajal had

been released from the Inquisition's jail in March of 1591 and before his second arrest in February of 1596. Due to the evident hurry in which it was written, I agree with Seymour Liebman's assumption that *Memorias* was produced shortly before his second imprisonment by the Inquisition.[15] In contrast to the first-person narrative of the letters and *Testamento* penned by Carvajal by the end of his second trial, he wrote his *Memorias* in the third person. However, throughout the narrative the implied author participates in the story of the main character Joseph Lumbroso expressing opinions and judgments in the first person. His letters and his last will and testament, which were produced while he was imprisoned for the second time as an impenitent Jew, were written from the point of view of the first person. In his *Memorias* Carvajal presents himself in the texts through the heteronym Joseph Lumbroso. *Memorias* is perhaps the most important text produced by Carvajal because, in addition to providing important information related to the cultural context of late sixteenth-century New Spain, it allows us to document Carvajal's identity transformation.

Memorias starts with the omniscient narrator acknowledging the fact that his text was written with a twofold purpose: to document the dangerous situation faced by the protagonist and his family under the Mexican Inquisition; and to thank God in Lumbroso's name for all of the mercies received. "De gravísimos peligros, por el Sr. Librado José Lumbroso, de nación hebrea, de los peregrinos de la occidental India … en reconocimiento de las recibidas mercedes y dones de la mano del muy alto" (463) [Saved from grave dangers by the Lord, Joseph Lumbroso of the Hebrew nation and of the pilgrims to the West Indies, in appreciation for the mercies and gifts received from the hands of the Most High]. Perhaps due to the hurried conditions of composition, the *Memorias* lack the punctuation and the typical organization expected in a biography. Also, Carvajal did not have access to paper and it was later transcribed by the scribes of the Inquisition. It is therefore not a "literary" text, written for aesthetic purposes. But its content is relevant for understanding the situation facing New Christians in the Counter-Reformation environment of New Spain. The text also helps us to connect his *Memorias* with current *testimonios* written by subaltern subjects. Under conditions of oppression, these subjects wrote *testimonio* as a means of empowering themselves and of becoming agents of history. Carvajal's objective is to com-

[15] "The *Memoirs*, written about January, 1595, were to have been sent to Luis' brothers in Europe, who had also changed their names to Lumbroso" (*The Enlightened* 31).

municate the subaltern's individual and collective reality to metropolitan audiences who are ignorant of it in a discourse that audiences could decipher and with which they could identify.[16]

There are also many illustrative aspects that can be observed through Carvajal's *Memorias* and his other writings. The exacerbated religious emotionalism of his messages, the ascetic and medieval theme *de contentu mundi* as preparation for religious discipline, the wickedness of human beings, and the view of the world as a place where God and the Devil battled to win human souls, are some of the elements that José Antonio Maravall (1986) describes in his as forming part of a Baroque world view that characterized Spain (and its overseas possessions) during the period of the Counter-Reformation. At the linguistic level, the syncretic, visual and pictographic nature of Carvajal's prose and poetry serve to illustrate the metaphor *Guerra de las imágenes* that Serge Gruzinski uses to describe Baroque Mexico. Through a textual exegesis that chronologically starts with his *Memorias* and ends with his letters and Last Will and Testament, one can also observe Carvajal's gradual detachment from his socially accepted Christian persona and his affiliation with his Jewish identity.

Carvajal's *Memorias*, written prior to his letters and last will and testament, were addressed primarily in the third-person, a rhetorical technique that allowed for the writer to express judgments about the protagonist and other characters of his narrative. As an omniscient author, Carvajal stands behind the scenes in order to create a convincing main character whose beliefs and experiences coincide with those shared by Carvajal himself as a crypto-Jew. In his letters and *Testamento*, Carvajal used the first-person singular pronoun to refer to himself as Joseph Lumbroso, a Hebrew endowed with the divine gift of enlightenment and foresight.

Written with the apparent purpose of documenting his sufferings and persecution by the Mexican Inquisition,[17] *Memorias* can be seen as one of

[16] This is exactly what Mary Louise Pratt identifies as the case in the *testimonio I, Rigoberta Menchú* (39, "*I, Rigoberta Menchú* and the 'Culture Wars,'" 2001). She sees *testimonio* "as a genre produced transculturally, across the division between center and periphery … by marginalized groups … insisting on entering into dialogue with the lettered knowledge, from alternative epistemological grounds" (42).

[17] There is no clear indication about the exact date when Carvajal started writing his autobiography. Even among the most prominent scholars who have written about the life of the young *converso letrado* there are discrepancies. Martin A. Cohen (1966), states that Carvajal started writing his autobiography in 1591 or early 1592. Cohen's argument is based on the fact that at the beginning of the document Carvajal mentioned that he was

the first examples of collective narrative or a kind of *testimonio* produced in the Americas. The testimonial aspect of *Memorias* can be detected in form and content of the text. In relation to form, its non-literary quality—a characteristic that scholars of *testimonio* attribute to documents written by members of minority groups who bear witness to social injustice—serves to place Carvajal's text as one of the first examples of testimonial literature written in Latin America. In relation to content *Memorias* can be identified with what Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson classify as "life narratives" that "offer subjective 'truth' rather than 'fact,'" (10) aimed at conveying cultural information about his experience and that of the New Christian community persecuted by the Inquisition. By appropriating technical resources characteristic of fictional literature, and by relying on shreds of memory Carvajal starts the narrative by positioning himself as an intermediary or mediator who describes the saga of the crypto-Jew Joseph Lumbroso and his family in the context of colonial Mexico under the rule of Philip II.

From a literary perspective, Carvajal's narrative presents itself as a complex and hybrid text that tries to establish the Jewish faith of the protagonist, but does so from the perspective of the Catholic context in which Carvajal was raised. More than a mere effort to document events and facts related to the main character, the text also documents the experience of New Christians and crypto-Jews who suffered persecution by the Inquisition in the New World. Through the protagonist, Joseph Lumbroso, the narrator portrays himself as one of the pilgrims of the West Indies.

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twenty-five years old. Seymour B. Liebman (1967) thinks that Carvajal made a mistake about his age. He believes that Carvajal must have written his autobiography after November, 1594, when he was twenty-seven years old. Liebman justifies his opinion based on the facts that Carvajal refers to the pardon that came from Spain on October 24, 1594, and that the document was written in a hurry, showing lack of punctuation, overrun sentences, and other problems. Consult respectively Martin Cohen, "The autobiography of Luis de Carvajal, the Younger" *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LV, N. 3 (March, 1966): 277–318; and Seymour B. Liebman, *The Enlightened: The Writings of Luis de Carvajal, El Mozo*. Coral Gables: The University of Miami Press, 1967. According to Luis Díaz, the Inquisition informant placed in Carvajal's cell, the crypto-Jew intended to send the text to his brothers Baltasar and Miguel who had escaped the Mexican Inquisition and who apparently were living in Italy under the names David and Lumbroso. With the information provided by Díaz, the Inquisition confiscated the document, transcribed it and included it in Carvajal's procesos as incriminating evidence. The original document has disappeared. The excerpts of the autobiography cited in my text are from the *Procesos de Luis de Carvajal (El Mozo)*, Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, Vol. XXVIII (Mexico, 1935): 463–496.

The fact that Lumbroso is introduced at the opening of the narrative as one of the "*peregrinos*" of the Hebrew nation whose life is depicted as a pilgrimage is quite meaningful. Sixteenth-century Portuguese writers of Jewish origin, such as Fernão Mendes Pinto and Bento Teixeira, had used this word previously. The term *tribulaciones* was also prevalent in the writings of many Sephardic Jews during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Samuel Usque, a distinguished Portuguese Jew who lived in Castilian court society and left Spain after the modern Inquisition was introduced there in 1478, wrote a book entitled *Consolação às Tribulações de Israel* in which he tries to enlighten the spirits of the Sephardic Jews exiled in Italy and in parts of the Ottoman empire by consoling them with regard to the tribulations that they experience as a result of being forced to accept conversion to Christianity in Spain and baptism in Portugal. As made apparent through Carvajal's *Memorias*, the narrative itself attests to the religious drive that motivated Carvajal as an omniscient narrator to pen this work. It also gives the narrative a sense of plurality in which, through the life of Joseph, the experiences of other pilgrims or Hebrews are described. Based on the narrator's arguments it is possible to see that Carvajal's narrative functioned as a testimonial of Jews whose lives (particularly due to persecution and suffering in the West Indies) were marked with experiences reminiscent of those of the patriarch Joseph. The text's testimonial aspect is further validated by Lumbroso's proclamation in God's name that the narrative is true and accurate: "[C]on las rodillas por el suelo al D. unibersal Señor de todos gracias promete trayendo por todo al señor de las verdades, de tratar la puntual en todo lo que aqui escribiere y tomando su vida desde principio" (463) [Kneeling on the ground before the universal God, sanctified by all, he promises to tell in the name of the Lord of Truth all the truth and to be exact in everything that he writes. He starts [this account of] his life from the very beginning.

Although in its external structure the narrative follows the model of the picaresque novel which is realistic in manner and episodic in structure, the role of the protagonist differs from that played by the rogue or "*pícaro*." As Joseph Scraibman has pointed out, contrary to the opportunistic traits of those who try to ascend socially, Joseph Lumbroso tries to ascend spiritually. Thus the main character of Carvajal's narrative distances himself from the insouciant rascal who lives by his own wits and identifies with the chivalric hero who follows God's law. Joseph Lumbroso does not live by his own wits but by God's law. The protagonist faces many misfortunes in his pilgrimage through the New World, but he confronts

life's challenges with courage and faith, "encomendándose al señor de todo su corazón y ánima" (467) [committing himself to God with his whole heart and soul].

Based on Foucault's interpretation of the cultural function of the author according to which authorship "does not develop spontaneously as the attribution of a discourse to an individual" (1984 110) and "discourse are objects of appropriation" (108), Carvajal's writings can be interpreted as the cultural discourse of a New Christian subject trying to ascertain his identity as a Jewish persona. Carvajal's function as an author goes beyond himself as a New Christian individual throughout his writings. Through Joseph Lumbroso, Carvajal projects an alter ego in which the empirical characteristics of himself as a Christian subject are effaced and the covert side of his Jewish persona is projected. As discussed above, the name takes after the biblical figure, the son of Jacob and Rachel, who was taken to Egypt as a slave and, due to the gift of foresight and prophesy, won the favor of the pharaoh and the name *Salvator mundi* (Gn 41:45). Carvajal's writings function as a transgressive discourse that conveys the experiences of crypto-Jewish subjects in the Spanish dependencies of the New World during the second half of the sixteenth century.

In its language structure, *Memorias* convey a sense of reflection, or self-conscious analysis that allows for the narrator's religious renewal and transformation. This can be seen particularly at the end of the narrative, when Carvajal as a narrator identifies himself with the main character, Joseph Lumbroso. In some ways *Memorias* can be seen as a self-analytic discourse similar to Augustine's *Confessions*, which has been widely studied as a text that transforms the author through writing.[18]

There are many passages in the *Memorias* that attest to the fact that through identifying with the main character, Carvajal is transforming himself from a New Christian into a Jewish subject. Because of the persecution of subjects of Jewish origin by the Holy Office of New Spain, in his pilgrimage through the New World, the narrator sees Mexico as a place of "tribulations," "a land of captivity" (495), and "a lion's den" (496). Europe, particularly such Italian cities as Rome, and, on the other

[18] Similar to the process of self-reflexive composition of Augustine's *Confessions* that have served as a model for Freud's and Paul de Man's analysis of the writer as the subject of autobiographical narrative, Carvajal's *Memorias* function as a medium of transformation of the author as the subject of his text.

hand, the lands of the Ottoman Empire,[19] are portrayed allegorically as a "Promised Land" where Jews could serve their God freely. Lumbroso interprets his family's emigration to the New World as a sin, because they had apparently moved to New Spain in order to improve their socioeconomic status. In the narrative, the deceased governor of Nuevo Reino de León, who had convinced the family to move to join him in the New World, is metaphorically referred to as a "miserable blind man" (465). The family's persecution under the Mexican Inquisition is therefore interpreted by the writer as punishment for the sin of choosing to follow the advice of his uncle and to come to the New World for economic reasons instead of for the purpose of serving their God: "debio de ser la mudanza y venida a esta tierra uno de los pecados que castigó en sus hijos la divina justicia" (464) [one of the sins that divine justice punished in his children must have been the moving and coming to this land]. However, perhaps inspired by the religious books that he found in the library of the Colegio de Tlatelolco, Carvajal also interprets their coming to the New World as a kind of divinely ordained peregrination or pilgrimage that would lead them to eternal salvation. As a person of strong religious conviction who was raised under the influence of the Spanish Baroque culture and the Catholic doctrine derived from the Counter-Reformation, Carvajal sees martyrdom and death as the ultimate moment to seize God's mercy. He envisions his family's ordeals in the New World as God's merciful act of punishment for the salvation of their souls, "though not without great compassion" (464).

The writer describes the protagonist's, his mother's, and his sisters' persecution by the Mexican Inquisition as an act of God. It was in the dark dungeon of the Inquisition that God revealed Himself to the hero, as described in the following passage: "Joseph en su prision … rezibio regalos y fabores dignos de … su misericordiosisima mano" (475) [Joseph received gifts and favors from God's most merciful hand during his time in prison]. Through a hybrid and syncretic language that combines elements of the Catholic world view with the Jewish one, such as the expression "santo Salomón," the omniscient author describes Lumbroso's dreams as revelations:

[19] The favorable image of Italy in the text is due to the fact that the Pope allowed Jews to live freely in Rome, and that Venice and the northern part of that country was under the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish rulers of the sixteenth century viewed the Hebrews as very effective merchants, welcoming them in their territory and giving them freedom to practice their religion.

> [T]uvo otro sueño que por lo sucedido despues pareze fue divina y vera revelacion, via estar una redoma de vidrio muy tapada y envuelta por de fuera llena de dulcisimo liquor de la sabiduria divina, la qual a poco es descubierta, y oia que mandaba el señor santo Salomón y le dezia, toma una cuchara y hinchela deste liquor y dazela a beber a ese muchacho. (476)
>
> He had another dream, which, judging from what happened later seems to have been a true and divine revelation. He saw a glass vial, tightly stopped and wrapped outside. It was filled with the sweetest liquid, divine wisdom itself, which is dispensed only in small amounts. Then he heard the Lord commanding Saint Solomon. He said: 'Take a spoon, fill it with this liquid and give it to this boy to drink.'

The narrator also elaborates on the fear and panic that the inquisitors imposed upon the main character and his family: "Joseph y su madre viéndose en poder de tan crueles bestias el miedo les hacia ocultarse y negar su naturaleza y no confesar en publico ser guardadores de la santisima ley del señor Dios" (477) [Joseph and his mother remained in the hands of such cruel beasts. Fear made them hide and deny their nature, and not confess publicly that they were keepers of God's most holy law].

As a literary resource aimed at appealing to the reader's emotions, the omniscient narrator breaks the third-person pattern of the narrative by inserting meta-discursive commentaries in the first-person pronoun. The omniscient narrator emerges frequently in the text through the first-person subject pronoun to clarify aspects related to the story of the protagonist in order to convince the reader and to emphasize the writer's rhetoric. For example, the comments of the following phrases seem to function as an appeal to the readers' emotions and sympathy toward the injustice and persecution suffered by Joseph: "querer yo aqui relatar el llanto triste que todos … hicieron no podre porque fue mas de lo que sabran declarar mis palabras" (474) [I would like to describe the sadness of their lamenting, but I cannot because it is beyond the power of my words].

Appealing to the reader's emotions appears especially in the passages that describe the fear and the torture of Carvajal's family members by the Inquisition. Referring to Joseph's and his sisters' feeling of sorrow for seeing their mother being informed by the constables and notaries of the Inquisition that she was under arrest, the writer makes the following commentaries: "[L]o que la afligida madre aqui sentiria dexase a la consideracion del prudente lector …" (474) [I leave to the prudent reader's imagination the feelings of their lamenting mother as she heard

these words]. Also with the purpose of engaging the reader's emotion, the omniscient narrator contrasts the hatred of the inquisitors to the faith and resignation of the main character: "[A]qui dexo de dezir por abrebiar y porque mi yntento no es sino escribir los inmensos beneficios y mysericordias que el señor Dios de israel hizo a Joseph y toda su gente" (485) [I stop my explanation here because I want to make this story short, and because my purpose is to record the immense benefits and mercies that the Lord God of Israel imparted for Joseph and his entire family]. The passage makes clear the association that Carvajal establishes between the experience of Joseph, as a prisoner in Egypt, and that of his people in New Spain. These and other examples of intrusion into the narrative also make the writer a participant in the story, and at the same time they function as a means of appealing and conveying to the reader the author's rhetorical argument that as descendents of Israelites, he and his family were God's chosen people.

Negative commentaries about the inquisitors also appear in the narrative as being said by the protagonist. The inquisitors are compared to "cruel and beastly enemies," "carnivorous wolves," and "atrocious tyrants" (466). Frequently the narrator invites the reader to join him in praising God for his mercies toward the protagonist and his family: "[C]onfessemos al señor del univerzo porque es bueno, porque es eterno con los hombres su mysericordia pues el es como santo David dize el que encamina a los que han errados" (476) [Let us give thanks to the Lord of the universe, for He is good, for His mercy with men endures forever. For as Saint David said, He is the one who restores to the right path those who have gone astray]. Sometimes the narrator breaks the sequence of the narrative by inserting impersonal phrases to express his judgments about Joseph's actions. The comments are addressed directly to the reader: "[E]n fin hubo de ir y sabe el sr. D. con y cuan cercado de temores" (499) [He finally went. You can imagine the fright and panic he was in when he finally resigned himself to going]. Additional comments include: "Aqui es de notar como desde el día que Joseph rezibio este santo sello y sacramento sobre su carne le fue armadura fuerte contra la luxuria y ayuda a la castidad" (465) [It is worth noting here that once Joseph received the seal of this holy sacrament upon his flesh, it served as a bulwark against lust and aid to chastity]. The narrator's observations directed to the reader sometimes appear parenthetically; this lends his argument more emphasis: "[P]ara que se noten los milagros del señor Dios y como es guardado el que Dios guarda" (483) [To make people recognize God's miracles work and how a person protected by God is protected].

The fear of losing God's protection and of dying as a sinner is the most predominant feeling that emerges in *Memorias*, in the letters written to his family, and also in the *Testamento*. One also finds the explanation that the fear of being excluded from the Book of the Living caught Joseph's eye and struck his heart with terror, and convinced him to perform a hasty self-circumcision: "diole tal golpe de temor … [que] tomo unas tixeras de … gastados filos, y se corto casi todo el prepucio" (465) [he was so frightened … that he took a pair of blunted and worn shears and he cut off nearly his entire foreskin]. Although the events narrated in this part of the text refer to the Old Testament and to Jewish traditions, the influence of Catholic beliefs promoted by the context of the Counter-Reformation and Baroque culture is present in the fear of death and in the practice of penitential rites for heavenly rewards. Here we see a construction of a different persona from within. By positioning himself as an omniscient narrator, Carvajal is able to describe God's feelings toward Joseph and his family: "y fue tanta la gracia que el señor Dios suyo dio a Joseph con este que le amaba y queria entrañablemente no solo a el sino toda su gente … todos los días de esta vida los regalaba y ansi por su mano como por la de los enemigos los sustento el señor mas de quatro años y medio" (481) [The Lord his God gave Joseph such favor [in the eyes of] this man, for he loved him dearly and cherished him, and not only him, but all his family as well. The Lord maintained them every day of their lives, and thus by his hand, and by that of their enemies, for more than four and a half years]. The narrative voice also interprets the escape from all of the natural disasters and dangerous situations that Joseph Lumbroso and his family experienced in the New World as God's mercy; escape from hurricanes, from hostile Indians, and from the inquisitors are all referred to as miracles.

Contrasted with the reticence and the shallowness of the facts related by Carvajal to the inquisitors as recorded in his first inquisitorial process, in which Carvajal's beliefs, emotions, feelings, and impressions seem to have been deliberately muffled, his autobiographical narrative presents an opportunity for the reader to penetrate the inner thoughts of the omniscient author portrayed particularly through the meta-discursive commentaries. The following passage in which the writer wished that the God of Israel would enlighten the Christians whom he considered "Gentiles" may clarify this point: "[Q]ue el señor Dios de ysrael alumbre [los mismos barbaros gentiles] y traiga a su santo conocimiento para que [por] todas sus criaturas sea adorado y servido" (492) [May God of Israel enlighten [the barbarous Gentiles] and bring them to a recogni-

tion of His holiness, and that He may be adored and served by all His creatures].

Another salient aspect of Carvajal's narrative rests on the fact that it functions as a chronicle of life in New Spain during the latter part of the sixteenth century. The descriptions and the commentaries that contrast life in the wild and violent lands of the northern frontier, with the wealth and exuberance of the city of Mexico elucidate the contradictions between central and peripheral spaces in colonial societies. Examples of such contradictions are the conflicts, uprisings, and wars involving native peoples and Europeans on the northern frontier, and the ostentation of power in the processions and other religious festivities that took place in the capital of the viceroyalty. Even traditional Jewish customs such as matchmaking to prevent Joseph's uncle from marrying the protagonist's sisters to Christian soldiers appear in *Memorias* (468). Contrast between the barren life in the Northern regions of New Spain and the baroque exuberance of the city of Mexico appear in the passage where the writer relates that, in Pánuco, Joseph's sisters were poor and dressed in tattered skirts (469), while in the city of Mexico, where they moved after marrying Portuguese New Christians, they were "cubiertas de terciopelos [y] joyas de oro" (469) [covered in velvet and golden jewels].

As a *letrado* who had experienced the cultural enevironment of European schools, the uncultured, desolate, hot and wild northern borderlands of the Gulf of Mexico disgusted the protagonist of this narrative. Pánuco is described as "tierra monstruosa," "desconsolado destierro poblado de muchos mosquitos y calor" (464) [Monstrous land, a sad exile plagued by many mosquitoes and heat]. New León, where Carvajal and his family lived, is metaphorically described as a kind of Egypt, where "chichimecos enemigos" (466) [hostile Chichimecs], hurricanes, storms, and diseases posed a constant threat to Joseph and his family. Carvajal explains his effort to educate himself about Judaism in the following passage: "volvio a panuco en donde le deparo Dios una biblia sacra, que le vendio un clerigo de alli por seis pesos, con cuya leccion asidua en aquella soledad vino a conozer muchos de los diuinos misterios . . ." (464) [He returned to Pánuco where God supplied him with a Holy Bible, which a cleric from there sold him for six pesos. He read it assiduously in that forsaken land and came to learn many divine mysteries].

Lumbroso's love, respect and sympathy for his family come forth in every page of the text. The description of the madness of the protagonist's sister leads us to recognize Carvajal's own acceptance of and resignation to the insanity of his sister Mariana:

> A la otra hermana mayor donzella le dio el altisimo señor y Dios nuestro otra gravisima y no menos peligrosa enfermedad de locura causada de grandes melancolias, con la qual no solo estubo y esta si en muy temido peligro su vida sino las de todos los demas … es tal la locura de esta pobre moza que de dia y de noche habla sin sesar y a buelta de pocos disparates de locura dize muchas verdades descubiertas a los frailes y ydolatras que le vienen a ver … (493–494)
>
> The most High Lord and God gave Joseph's unmarried sister another very grave and no less dangerous illness of insanity, caused by great fits of depression. Thus her life and the lives of the others were and are in grave danger. The insanity of the poor maiden is such that she speaks day and night without stopping and in the midst of insane nonsense she also utters many truths in front of the friars who come to see her.

After describing the dementia of Joseph's sister Mariana the narrative ends abruptly, but on a joyful note, which reminds us of the Hope of Israel or the Jewish belief in the return of the Israelites to the Promised Land. The omniscient author explains that on October 10, 1594, Joseph Lumbroso, his mother, and his sisters received from Spain provisions with which to purchase their pardon. Two weeks later, after paying the Inquisition, they were able obtain a pardon that would allow them to get rid of their penitent cloaks or *sambenitos*. Referring again to Joseph and his family as "pilgrims" and to Mexico as "a land of captivity," the omniscient narrator identifies himself with the main character, expressing relief for the fact that, with the help of God, he and his family will soon be able to escape from New Spain:

> [A]gora por estar el que esto ha escrito todavia en tierras de captiuerio, aunque en visperas de salir con la ayuda y favor del atlismio y fuertisimo Adonai Dios de ysrael de uno de los mayores y mas peligrosos captiuerio que gente de nuestra nacion a padezido … (495)
>
> Presently because the writer is still in lands of captivity, though on the verge of leaving one of the greatest and most dangerous captivities which members of our nation have suffered with the help and favor of the Omnipotent and Almighty Adonai, the God of Israel …

In the last lines of the *Memorias*, the narrator uses the first person subject pronoun to thank God for His mercy toward him and other Israelites: "Por lo qual humillo mi coración. Adoro y glorifico a su santísimo nome y confieso que es bueno y máximo y que es eterna su misericordia la qual no valga y a todo Ysrael. Amén" (496) [Wherefore I humble my heart, worship and glorify God's most holy name and declare that He is good and very great and his mercy is eternal. May He help us and all Israel. Amén].

As stated previously, the ambivalent position of the author-narrator, particularly revealed at the end of the narrative, transgresses the standard role of the omniscient narrator. When he replaces the third person subject with "I," he identifies Joseph Lumbroso, the main character of *Memorias*, as himself and signs his name. It seems that *Memorias* was written from the perspective of an omniscient narrator as a strategy of dissimulation to hide Carvajal's identity. Another possible explanation for Carvajal's use of the third-person singular can be understood from the perspective of Wayne C. Booth. In *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, Booth clarifies that the use of the third person allows for the writer to gain the "sympathetic involvement" of the reader. By adopting the point of view of a third person, Carvajal as a writer was able to elaborate on his heteronym Joseph Lumbroso as a sympathetic character.

Since Carvajal's main concern in writing his text is renewal and transformation, he assumes the covert side of his identity as a crypto-Jew by distancing himself from the overt (New) Christian persona Luis de Carvajal. By performing a kind of healing self-analysis that allows him to fashion his narrative in such a way that it obliterates the cowardly and "sinful" actions, such as Carvajal's denial of his Jewish faith during his first inquisitorial trial, he is able to rid himself of the Christian side of his persona. The creative process of writing allows for Carvajal as a subject of his writings to transcend his "past foulness" and to engage in a kind of therapeutic process, which allows him to affirm himself as a Jew. This therapeutic and creative process is observed in the text when the writer abandons the third person and starts using the first person pronoun to refer to Joseph Lumbroso. The use of the first person seems to have the rhetorical purpose of convincing the reader, and perhaps the writer himself, that he is no longer the (New) Christian Luis de Carvajal, but the enlightened Jewish persona, Joseph Lumbroso. It is based on this self-representation and assertion, observed through the pronoun "I" that dominates the last part of *Memorias*, that Luis de Carvajal is going to act later, as one sees in the second part of his trial. The use of the first person allows for Carvajal as a writer to focus on his Jewish persona, Joseph Lumbroso, and to efface or delete from his narrative the actions taken by Luis, the persona which represented the Christian side of Carvajal's identity.[20]

[20] My interpretation of Carvajal's autobiography approximates Sigmund Freud's discussion of the "Wolf Man" case, recollections "brought up by an exhaustive analysis" which seemed not to be "reproductions of real occurrences," but rather, "products of the

Although Carvajal had abjured Judaism during his first arrest, in his *Memorias* the narrator does not admit submission to the inquisitors or to Christianity. By distancing himself from the New Christian individual Luis, and by erasing from his *Memorias* facts associated with his Christian past, the narrator reinvents himself as Joseph Lumbroso, a superior being, or a martyr who will serve as example for other New Christians by prefering to be subjected to torture and death than to disobey God's law. "poniéndoles por delante el exemplo de los santos que antes consintieron ser hechos pedazos en los crueles tormentos [que desobedecer los mandamientos]" (480) [placing before them the example of the saints that allowed themselves to be torn to pieces by cruel torments before] they disobeyed God's commandments.

As stated previously, throughout Carvajal's life narrative, the terms "Peregrination," "Tribulations," and "Promised Land" appear frequently. The word "tribulation" functions as a metaphor of the sufferings endured by the Jews and their descendents in a world that did not tolerate any religion other than Catholic Christianity. However, it is particularly in his letters that these metaphors are further elaborated. The *Memorias* function, therefore, as a catharsis that allows Carvajal to erase his past and to project his future in the actions of his fictional character. This can be seen in his second trial, and also in his letters and *Testamento* or last will.

IV. *Carvajal's Second Trial*

Luis de Carvajal's second and last arrest by the Holy Office occurred at the beginning of 1595 after a Portuguese New Christian and crypto-Jew named Manuel Lucena, subjected to torture by the Inquisition, confessed that Luis de Carvajal and many other New Christians living in New Spain were followers of Judaism. On February 1, 1595, he was incarcerated in the dungeon of the Inquisition as a heretic, relapser, and apostate. Metaphorically speaking, Carvajal's first confinement in the Inquisition secret cells was a round trip ticket, while his second arrest warrant was a trip without return.

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imagination . . . which were intended to serve as some kind of symbolic representation" In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Translated by James Strachery. London. Hogart, 1955, 17–49. On the influence of psychoanalysis on writing consult Paul Jay's *Being in the Text: Self-Representation from Wordsworth to Roland Barthes*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984.

To Carvajal's great disadvantage, Don Alonso de Peralta, who then shared the role of inquisitor with Lobo Guerrero, was very unforgiving toward those who were considered threats to Catholicism.[21] Given the seriousness of the charges against him, Carvajal was locked up in the Inquisition's secret cells the same night that the petition for his arrest was signed. Upon searching Carvajal's belongings, the prison warden, Gaspar de los Reyes Plata, found three booklets that were written in Latin. Their titles, *Salmorum*, *Prophete*, and *Génesis*, indicated that the accused had been reading forbidden materials. In order to extract information from Carvajal, Luis Díaz, a Dominican cleric, was placed in Carvajal's cell as if he were another prisoner. Because Carvajal was raised in a Catholic Baroque culture that promoted evangelization, unaware that proselytism was not part of the Jewish tradition, Carvajal attempted to convert Díaz to Judaism. Not knowing that he was an informant, Carvajal confided in his cellmate, sharing with him secrets about his life and that of many crypto-Jews who lived in New Spain. Believing that Díaz would soon be released from jail and escape to Europe, Carvajal revealed to him that prior to his second arrest he had written a document entitled *Memorias*, which was hidden in a crack of the wall of his house. Since Carvajal hoped that the document would reach his brothers Miguel and Baltasar and other crypto-Jews who had escaped the Inquisition and were practicing Judaism in Italy, he explained to Díaz where he had hidden the papers. The written work was soon confiscated by the inquisitors who used it as a focus for interrogating and extracting information from the victim.

Betrayed by Díaz, Carvajal, as well as his mother, and his three sisters could no longer escape the wrath of the Inquisition. The betrayal by Díaz led to the arrest of Carvajal's mother and sisters, who were placed in separate cells of the Inquisition. To comfort them and to encourage them not to denounce other crypto-Jews, Carvajal started sending them messages that he wrote on the peals of fruit and on papers placed in his cell by the inquisitors. The officers of the Holy Office intercepted these writings to build a strong case against the *reo* and his family.

Due to the resistance demonstrated by Carvajal, his second trial lasted twice as long as the first one. Many incidences of abuse and torture by the inquisitors, and also many examples of resistance by Carvajal emerged in

[21] In the "Introduction" of his book *The Enlightened: The Writings of Luis de Carvajal, El Mozo*, Seymour B. Leibman uses the following words to describe the inquisitor Alonso de Peralta: "His mien and his actions were so stern and frightening that … Luis admitted to another inquisitor that his flesh cringed with fear in the presence of Peralta" (33).

the pages of this second trial. For example, on February 9, 1595, during the first hearing of his second trial, despite being terrified due to his imminent torture, Carvajal timidly denied charges that he had secretly maintained his Jewish faith after he was released by the Inquisition in March of 1591. The Inquisition scribe wrote that Carvajal affirmed "que no ha hecho cosa contra Nuestra Santa fe Católica, ni la he visto hacer nadie" (220) [that he had not done anything against Our Holy Catholic faith nor had he seen anybody doing so].

Some rather humorous statements and unexpected episodes also emerged during Carvajal's second trial. For example, on June 27, 1596, Carvajal requested a hearing in order to accuse his cell mate, Gaspar de Villa Franca, of being a pervert and obscene person who practiced obscenities with his cat. For Carvajal, a strict observer of Moses's law, to share cells with such an inmate was a form of torture. In a passage recorded by the notary, Carvajal describes his cellmate as a dirty and dishonest person:

> [E]l dicho Gaspar de Villafranca es hombre deshonesto y sucio, y [Carvajal] le tiene por sométicо, porque así que se levanta de la cama por las mañanas, descubre sus verguenzas y las partes traseras, y ha visto éste una vez que tenía junto a sus verguenzas un gato que se ha criado en la misma cárcel … y vía éste que besaba al dicho gato en la misma boca y le llamaba "mis querindajes" y otras desverguenzas indignas de se decir. (381)
>
> The aforementioned Gaspar de Villafranca is a dishonest and dirty man, and he [Carvajal] regards him as a sodomite, because as soon as he gets up from bed in the mornings he exposes his genitals and his hind parts. And one time he saw him holding a cat that he took care of in the same cell against his genitals, and he used to see him [Villafranca] kissing the aforementioned cat on its very mouth and calling it "my precious" and other shameless things unworthy to put into words.

On another occasion, when asked why he had ripped the pages of the fourth volume that corresponded to the New Testament from his Bible, Carvajal responded that it was because his Bible was too bulky with the New Testament and did not fit in the leather bag that he was carrying:

> Preguntado: el tomo cuarto de la dicha Biblia, en que se contiene el Testamento Nuevo de Nuestro Redentor Jesucristo, adónde le tiene éste o qué se hizo de él? Dijo: que el dicho tomo cuarto lo dejó en sus alforjas, porque … no cabiendo en la dicha bolsa de cuero, puso en ella los dichos tres tomos del Testamento Viejo. (221)
>
> When asked where he put or what he did with the forth book of the Bible that contains the New Testament of Christ the Redeemer, [Carvajal]

> replied that he left it in his pack saddle because since the entire Bible did not fit in said leather bag he only placed in the bag the three books of the Old Testament.

Later, in an attitude of repentance and guilt for hiding his Judaic faith, Carvajal himself requested a hearing. On February 11, 1595, demonstrating courage and faith, Carvajal unveiled many aspects of his life to the inquisitors. Through this confession, the inquisitors learned that at the age of fourteen he was introduced to Judaism. Carvajal also explained that in his willingness to gain greater knowledge of the faith secretly professed by his parents, after arriving in New Spain he purchased a Bible from a local priest who lived in Pánuco. He mentioned that he had studied Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy in particular.

As mentioned above, in one of the accounts Carvajal revealed that, after reading in the Bible how God had ordered Abraham to circumcise himself, he sat under a tree and, using blunt scissors, inflicted upon himself a painful and deep cut that passed as an act of circumcision. For Carvajal, this act of self-mutilation that he took as circumcision became a rite of passage and a decisive step toward changing of his identity from a Christian to a Jewish person. Marking the body in such a way sometimes confirms or intensifies the alignment of the person with his original beliefs. What is more, the person perceives it as akin to martyrdom. Paradoxically, Carvajal's act of self-mutilation intersects with the self-flagellation that some Catholics at the time believed to be a step toward communion with God. However, in spite of the fact that Carvajal aimed his mutilation at reconfirming his Judaism, we are faced with a situation in which Carvajal is both criticizing and appropriating some aspects of the Catholic religion of the time, because Judaism explicitly condemned such acts.[22]

Throughout the hearings requested by Carvajal he shows a more defiant and consistent defense of his faith than he did during his first trial. The fact that Carvajal was an older and more mature person helped him to face the inquisitors with more conviction and determination. However, his experience as a teacher in the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco,

[22] The works by Serge Gruzinki, such as *La colonización de lo imaginario*, and *La guerra de las imágenes*, serve as a point of departure for understanding the complexity of religious contact in New Spain during the Baroque period, during which time opposing groups sometimes waged battle on the bloody terrain of sacrifice and martyrdom.

where in addition to teaching the Indians, he also had access to Biblical and religious books, strengthened his Jewish belief. Since prior to his second arrest he wrote his *Memorias*, it is possible to argue that this written document, similar to the mark in his body, functioned as a rite of passage that psychologically and morally had transformed him into a stronger person.

In all the documents that Carvajal wrote, and also in many of the oral confessions during his second trial, he admitted that he never stopped believing in God's Law as delivered to Moses and explained that he had participated in Catholic festivities and sacraments, of which he often made fun, only to maintain the appearance of being a Christian and avoid further prosecution. Throughout the depositions made during the first half of 1595, Carvajal revealed a profound familiarity with the Old Testament. His sense of mysticism and his enduring faith appear in confessions that explain his visions and the miracles that he admitted he and his family had received from God. Due to the inquisitors' persecution of Jews and New Christians, Carvajal compared them to dogs (*perros*) and butchers (*carniceros*). He courageously affirmed that his family had never abandoned Judaism; however, when told to name others who believed in the Old Testament, Carvajal continued to dodge their questions and provided incomplete answers. He also seemed unwilling to respond to specific questions about things he had written about his family and friends in his *Memorias*. During his confessions Carvajal argued his case with erudition, displaying knowledge of Latin in his response to questions as to why he had stated in his book that he and his family were threatened when they thought a priest, who had come to their house to bring bread, was an official of the Inquisition. He answered by citing the psalm, "*illic intrepida berum timore ubi non erat timor*" (52.6 Vulgate; 53.5 KJV), and argued that a summons by the Inquisition would make anybody afraid, even the viceroy: "el llamamiento de la Inquisición engendra miedo en cualquier persona, aunque sea el virrey" (250) [The summons of the Inquisition causes fear in anyone, even if it is the viceroy].

In the confession of March 13, 1595, Carvajal stated that he wanted to continue to be faithful to the Mosaic Law. Opposing those who proclaimed that Moses's Law was dead Carvajal referred to the hope of Israel and repeated that he did not want to abandon it:

> [P]or Hieremías, esperanza de Israel: Señor, todos los que te dejan serán confundidos y echados en los infiernos y todos los que de ti se apartan en la tierra serán escritos porque desampararon la vena de las aguas vivientes, que es el dador de las vidas. (261)

> By Jeremiah, hope of Israel: Lord, all those who abandon you will be confounded and thrown into Hell, and all those who separate themselves from you on Earth will be recorded because they have renounced the source of the living waters, He who is the giver of life.

Nonetheless, these rampant outbursts of defiance are followed by a great silence. This silence illustrates the Inquisition's technique of intimidation through psychological torture. As a way to break the spirit of the victim, the inquisitors left Carvajal in the dungeon for three months. On June 10, 1595 they called upon him again for interrogation by the inquisitors, but he failed to denounce other crypto-Jews and attempted to reason with his judges; he questioned why Christians persecute those who believe in God, the Creator of all beings, when they claim to be people of understanding and compassion:

> [S]abiendo que los cristianos son gente de buen entendimiento y de razón, habiendo el Dios Altísimo, Criador de todos, que puso ley a todas las criaturas, puéstole la Santísima Ley que … guarda, en que protesta morir, y no lo negando los cristianos, se ha … afligido por eso. (262)
>
> Knowing that the Christians are people of good understanding and reason, the most Almighty God, Creator of all, who gave the law to all creatures, having given the Most Holy Law to him that he keeps, in which he professes to die and, the Christians not denying it, he has been afflicted for this reason.

In a gesture of exasperation with Carvajal's defiance, Dr. Martos Bohorques, the official of the Inquisition, presented to the inquisitors a written accusation that stated that Carvajal was of the caste and generation of Portuguese Jewish converts ("de casta y generación de portugueses Conversos, descendientes de judíos" (263) [of stock and lineage of Portuguese *Conversos*, descendents of Jews]).

This particular statement carries a deeply pejorative tone, one that reveals the Inquisition's and Spanish society's enduring suspicion about anyone who was a descendent of Portuguese New Christians. The statement also suggests a kind of ethnic profiling and focused persecution that spread throughout the Iberian world after Philip II of Spain invaded Portugal in 1580, which consequently negatively affected the individuals of Portuguese origin who lived in the Spanish American colonies. The new modality of the Inquisition in Portugal can be largely explained by Philip II's struggle to effectively and completely incorporate Portugal into his realm. This form of Inquisition was significant specifically in the context of the abundant presence of New Christians, who had experienced a relative tolerance in an independent Portugal. As mentioned

previously, prior to entering Portugal and establishing residence in Lisbon from about 1581–1583, the Spanish monarch was vehemently opposed by a popular resistance led by Dom António, prior of Crato, a member of the Portuguese nobility whose mother was a New Christian of Jewish ancestry. Through the strategies sought by Philip II of Spain to punish those who did not want him to become king of Portugal, the racist and political character of the modern Spanish Inquisition thus becomes clear. By relying on the Holy Office to persecute the Portuguese of Jewish origin who lived in the Old and the New World, the Spanish government wielded a powerful, yet ostensibly independent weapon to achieve its goals of imperial consolidation as well as ethnic and religious cleansing.[23]

Carvajal's family exemplifies an intensely persecuted group, many of whom migrated to New Spain, where they became the focus of much of the Inquisition's attention toward the end of the sixteenth century. Following Carvajal's return to Judaism after having abjured it in the public *auto-da-fe* that ended his first trial, the inquisitors compare him to a dog that returned to its own vomit. Taken from Proverbs 26:11, the Inquisition used the phrase upon condemning relapsed heretics:

> Y es así que como perro que vuelve al vómito, después de haber sido reconciliado y abjurado, se ha tornado a pasar a la creencia, guarda y observancia de la dicha Ley de Moisén y de sus ritos y cerimonias. (263)
>
> And it is so that, just as a dog returns to its vomit, after having been reconciled and abjured, he has returned to the belief, keeping, and observance of the aforementioned Law of Moses and its rites and ceremonies.

The case against him humiliates Carvajal, describing him not only as a dog, but also as a blind man who misread and misunderstood the psalms and prophecies of the Christian faith ("hombre ciego y sin luz, no quiere persuadirse a la verdadera inteligencia de los dichos salmos y profecías" (265) [a blind man and without light, he does not wish to be persuaded by the true understanding of the aforementioned Psalms and prophecies]).

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[23] Silverblatt makes this point in *Modern Inquisitions*. Barbara Fuchs, in her book, *Passing for Spain*, notes that in order to establish imperial centralization of modern Spain, Isabella and Ferdinand introduced the Inquisition and relied on the *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*. In Fuchs' words, "[a]s Philip II's monarchy aligned itself with Counter-Reformation orthodoxy, the elaboration of a national myth based on a 'pure' Christianity took on greater urgency" (1). I would like to underline the fact that the control sought by Philip II to subdue Portugal after the death of Dom Sebastião was similar to that under the Catholic Kings.

His Jewish faith is described as false, his hopes for the coming of the Messiah are seen as ridiculous, and his dreams and visions, which he interpreted as miracles are mockingly portrayed as laughable, insane, and sinful:

> Y es de tenerle lástima … cuenta otras cosas y sucesos por milagro, negocio bien de reír en que se echa de ver cuán deslumbrado anda de la verdad y en tinieblas … para confirmación de la falsa creencia de la Ley de Moisén y su guarda y observancia y de la ridiculosa esperanza de la venida de su Mesías. (266, 270, 264)

> And he is to be pitied; he tells other things and events as miracles, a matter worthy of laughter in which one sees how disenlightened he lives from the truth and in the darkness … for the confirmation of the false belief in the Law of Moses and its keeping and observance and in the ridiculous hope of the coming of his Messiah.

On July 10, 1595, following another month of incarceration in the cell of the Inquisition, Carvajal was summoned for another hearing where he was again asked to confess everything he knew. This time he had his feet bound in cuffs. Because of his continual refusal to denounce other crypto-Jews, Carvajal was subjected to physical and psychological torture through extensive confinement in his dark cell. After a long period of silence, on October 10, the inquisitors brought him to their presence and asked him to admit publicly that Judaism was wrong and Christianity was right. Since his death sentence had already been written and it would be published for public scrutiny, the inquisitors were interested in proving Carvajal's ultimate indoctrination into Catholicism in order to portray the victory of Christianity over Judaism. The difficult political position into which Carvajal had maneuvered the Inquisition proved to be frustrating and potentially damaging for the Holy Office: by refusing to admit, even faced with imminent execution, that Christianity was right and Judaism was wrong, Carvajal could then set an inspiring example for others who would observe his execution and then witness his courageous defiance and martyrdom.

Carvajal remained *negativo*, refusing to provide the inquisitors with names of other crypto-Jews and stating that he has nothing else to confess. Perhaps in reaction to the pressure of the ministers' efforts at proselytizing him, on December 15, 1595, Carvajal openly rejected the teaching of a theologian assigned to him by the Inquisition. He told the priest that he did not accept Christ's doctrine, and regarded it as false. He also stated the he would rather remain faithful to Mosaic law and die for it than become the king of Castile:

> [N]o se querendo sujetar a lo que le aconsejaba su letrado … dijo que cree en un solo Dios verdadero … y no cree en la Ley de Jesucristo porque la tiene por falsa; y que hace voto solemne al Sr. de los Ejércitos, si porque la negara o se apartara de su bendita Ley le hicieran Rey de Castilla, que tal no acetara. (293–294)
>
> Not wishing to subject himself to what his lawyer was recommending him, he said that he believes in One True God and does not believe in the Law of Jesus Christ because he considers it false. And he takes solemn vows to the Lord of Armies; even if they were to make him King of Castile so that he deny or separate himself from his Holy Law, it would not work.

As a result, the theologian friar Dionisio de Rivera Flores forfeited his attempt to convert Carvajal, and the inquisitors considered the case closed: "Y el dicho Dr. Canónigo Dionisio de Rivera Flores, dijo que supuesta la pertinacia y obstinación del dicho Luis de Carvajal … [consideraba] esta causa por conclusa definitivamente" (294) [And the aforementioned canon Dr. Dionisio de Rivera Flores said that, given the impertinence and obstinacy of said Luis de Carvajal, he considered this case concluded definitively].

Nevertheless, because the inquisitors knew that Carvajal was a key person who could lead them to many other crypto-Jews in New Spain, they persisted in their attempts to extract information from the victim even after his death sentence had been publicized and his case officially closed. On February 8, 1596, Archbishop Juan de Cervantes informed Carvajal that he would be questioned under torture until he confessed. The accused protested, using a rhetorical argument that torture is an unjust practice opposed by the canon law. He also asked God's pardon for any possible lies and accusations that he might produce while being tortured. "[Tormento] era contra el derecho canónico y se le hace injusticia […] que si con los garrotes y aflición dijere mentiras y falsos testimonios por librarse de él, que Dios se los perdone" (299) [Torture was against canon law and he was being done an injustice; God forgives him if he lies or gives false testimony under the garrotes and affliction in order to free himself from it].

On February 10, 1596, Carvajal was submitted to long hours of torture and humiliation. Naked, hungry, and tormented by confinement in a cold prison chamber, Carvajal finally gave in, and named many New Christians he knew. As Carvajal made clear during this forced confession, tortured individuals will say anything to stop the agony. In a more general sense, torture does not achieve the results sought by the torturer (i.e.,

religious conversion). Rather, the nefarious acts, in this case committed by the Inquisition, which intended to obligate a true commitment to Catholicism, often produced precisely the opposite. We can see this in the case of Carvajal.

Perhaps in order to endure the physical and moral pain for having revealed the names of other crypto-Jews, Carvajal recited psalms, hymns, and prayers which were part of their Judaic gatherings:

> Señor Dios, Nuestro Adonay, Dios de nuestros
> padres, apiada sobre nos y sobre todo Israel,
> tu pueblo; apiada sobre Hierusalem, tu ciudad,
> y sobre el Monte de Sion, morada de tu honra;
> apiada sobre tu Ley y sobre tu gloria que anda
> habilitada entre la gente; apiada sobre la
> gloria de tu nombre, y mira que las gentes
> que criaste y tú sustentas, lo toman en su boca
> por escarnio y menosprecio, por causa de nuestros pecados, & a. (338)

> Lord God, our Adonai, God of our
> fathers, have mercy on us and over all of Israel,
> your people; have mercy on Jerusalem, your city,
> and on Mount Zion, your honored dwelling;
> have mercy on your Law and on your glory that is
> empowered among the people; have mercy on the
> glory of your name, and see that the nations
> that you have created and sustain take it upon their lips
> for cursing and degrading, on account of our sins, etc …

On that same day, trying to extract more names from Carvajal, inquisitor Alonso de Peralta ordered that the torture be intensified. This time Carvajal was placed in the "*potro*" or torture bed. With the intensification of pain the list of names increased.

Due to the signs of weakness caused by his prolonged suffering, on February 14, 1596 the primary authorities of the Holy Office gathered to vote on whether or not to continue Carvajal's torture. The majority voted in favor of continuation. Carvajal protested the vote, declaring that, except for some members of his family and three other people whom he knew to be Jews, he had lied about all the other people because of the torture:

> Dijo: que su madre doña Francisca, doña Isabel, doña Mariana, doña Leonor, Baltasar Rodríguez y Miguel, Justa Méndez, Manuel de Lucena, Manuel Gómez Navarro, son judíos y guardan la Ley que dio Dios a Moisén, y que a todos los demás les ha levantado falso testimonio por temor del tormento. (367)

> He said that his mother Doña Francisca, Doña Isabel, Doña Mariana, Doña Leonor, Baltasar Rodríguez y Miguel, Justa Méndez, Manuel de Lucena, Manuel Gómez Navarro, are Jews and keep the Law that God gave to Moses, and that he has given false testimony concerning the rest for fear of torture.

Desperate with the thought of being tortured and having implicated others, and ashamed of himself for having failed to withstand the pain, Carvajal attempted suicide by jumping through a window on the way to his cell. However, he recovered well enough to withstand more laborious interrogation. On February 16, the inquisitors threatened him with more torture. Carvajal then requested a private hearing with inquisitor Lobo Guererro. He explained that the presence of inquisitor Alonso de Peralta made his body cringe: "ha pedido esta audiencia y que no se halle en ella el Sr. Inquisidor Lic. D. Alonso Peralta, porque le tiemblan las carnes en verle su rigor" (368) [He has requested this audience and that the Lord Inquisitor Lic. D. Alonso Peralta not participate, since his body trembles upon seeing him and his rigor]. In addition to his regret for naming other crypto-Jews, he now felt profound remorse for attempting to commit suicide, an act that contradicted his Jewish faith. Carvajal concluded that he had been tempted by the Devil:

> [Y] si ayer dijo que no lo era, fue tentado del demonio que le persuadía poniéndole delante que se condenaba si no revocaba lo que había dicho, que lo revocase y negase, diciendo no ser verdad y haber levantado falso testimonio, juntándose con esto el temor que tenía de la ira del dicho Sr. Inquisidor . . . y que tiene por evidencia haber sido tentación del demonio. (369)

> And if yesterday he said he was not, he was tempted by the Devil who was persuading him, telling him that he condemned himself if he did not revoke what he had said, that he should revoke and deny it, saying that it was not true and that he had given false testimony; this was combined with the fear that he had of the aforementioned Lord Inquisitor's anger, and that he considered evidence having been the temptation of the Devil.

The concern with the Devil that we see in the passage reveals that despite rejecting the beliefs of the Catholics, Carvajal cannot free himself from the influence of Catholicism and the inextricable culture of the Baroque, which started to permeate the Iberian and Iberian American society at the time.[24]

[24] The effects of the colonization of the imaginary which became prevalent in the Iberian world in the Counter-Reformation, and which we see expanded into the context

Carvajal's inquisitors persisted with their interrogation regarding the individuals about whom the prisoner claimed that he had lied. Carvajal was pressured to once again address this issue of the names that he had mentioned previously to Luis Díaz, the informant placed in his cell by the inquisitors, and also about facts he had written in his *Memorias*. For example, here are some of the questions as recorded in the proceedings: "¿[S]abe [si] alguna persona religiosa … guarda la dicha Ley de Moisén?," "¿[A]l dicho Gregorio López[25] le ha visto hacer o decir alguna cosa por donde entienda es judío?," "[L]eyó las vidas de patriarcas y profetas … en presencia de … su madre?" (370–371) [Do you know is any religious person who follows said Law of Moses? Have you seen Gregório López do or say anything that made you think that he is a Jew? Have you read the lives of the forefathers and prophets in the presence of your mother?].

Seven days later, on February 17, 1596, Marcos Bohorques, fiscal officer of the Inquisition, suggested that "por estar [Carvajal] … muy malo y en peligro de muerte" [because Carvajal was very ill and at the brink of death] he should testify for the second time in front of the church authorities against all those whom he had accused of being crypto-Jews (373). This corroboration was required as part of the legal procedures that would lead to their arrest. On February 19, Lobo Guerrero and two Dominican priests went to Carvajal's cell and read a list of more than a hundred names, most of them of Portuguese New Christians, and required that Carvajal repeat it and sign it as true.

On February 23, a sentence was written declaring Carvajal as a heretic that not only persisted in following Moses's dead law, but that preached it to others: "hereje, Judaizante, relapso, pertinaz, dogmatista de la Ley muerta de Moisén" (380) [a heretic, Judaizer, relapser, impertinent, dogmatist of the dead Law of Moses]. The sentence recommends that the guilty be punished and that his possessions be confiscated. On March 4,

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of New Spain through the work of Irving Leonard's *Baroque Times in Old Mexico*, are clearly described by Serge Gruzinski in his *La guerra de las imágenes*.

[25] Gregorio López is described by chroniclers of sixteenth-century Mexico as an eccentric *letrado* who made friends among the members of New Spain's elite society, and who later abandoned the city of Mexico and lived as a hermit or mystic in the hinterland. Carvajal knew and admired Lopez. According to legend, López was a close friend of Philip II's ill-fated son, prince Carlos who was imprisoned and put to death at his father's behest in 1568. During his lifetime, López was arrested by the Inquisition, and later cleared of any fault against the Catholic Church. After his death López was beatified. For additional information on Gregorio López and his friendship with Luis de Carvajal, see Martin A. Cohen's *The Martyr*, and especially the chapter "Servants of God" (118–148).

Lobo Guerrero went down to Carvajal's cell in order to continue extracting information from the ailing victim. There ensued another long period of silence.

Beginning July 12, 1596, along with several publications of his sentence, Carvajal was again pressured to provide more information. Trying to convince Carvajal to convert to Christianity, the inquisitors used the rhetorical argument that because he was young and had not been trained in theology, he erroneously chose the wrong religion. Assuming again a defiant and courageous stance, Carvajal responded that through Moses's sacred Law, which he followed by faith and not by impertinence, he was already living under God's grace: "que vive el Altísimo Dios, en quien cree y adora, que por reverencia suya y de su Ley Santísima, persevera en la fe de ella, no la teniendo por pertinacia" (306) [that lives the Most High God in whom he believes and whom he adores, that due to his reverence of him and his Most Holy Law, he perseveres in his faith, not regarding it as impertinence].

During the hearings that took place in July and August of 1596, the inquisitors focused on details that would help to build a strong case against those whom Carvajal previously identified as crypto-Jews. The inquisitors also tried to instruct him in theology. As a reaction against the intense attempts at his indoctrination, Carvajal became more defiant. On September 12, 1596 he gave the inquisitors a confession written on a small piece of paper. The confession entitled *Testamento* stated that he wanted to die in Moses's law, and desired that the paper be considered the conclusion of his process.[26]

Carvajal's strong determination to remain faithful to Judaism led Flores to resign his position as his inquisition lawyer: "E vista por el dicho canónigo Dr. Dionisio de Ribera Flores, la obstinación, ceguera y perti-

[26] "[E]l dicho Luis de Carvajal [dijo] que él hacia demonstración de un papelillo escrito y firmado de su nombre y mano, en que traía escritos los Mandamientos que él guardaba, y escrito en él juntamente su Testamento, y que debajo de él y en la creencia de los dichos Mandamientos quiere vivir y morir. Y que así pide y suplica se ponga en este su proceso y causa como su última voluntad, para que conste en todo tiempo de ella, y que concluye definitivamente" (411–412) [The aforementioned Luis de Carvajal [said] that he was making a demonstration of a small piece of paper written and signed in his name and hand in which he had the writings of the Commandments that he kept, and written alongside it his Final Testament and below that also his belief that he wishes to live and die in the aforementioned Commandments. And so it is that he asks and begs that it be included in this his process and case as his last will and that it consists of it for all time and that it concludes definitively].

nacia del dicho Luis de Carvajal, dijo que él se exoneraba y exoneró de la abogacía y ayuda suya" (418) [And since the aforementioned canon Dr. Dionisio de Ribera Flores had seen the obstinacy, blindness, and impertinence of the aforementioned Luis de Carvajal, he said that he was exonerating himself and he exonerated himself from his advocacy and aid]. The accused was taken to his cell after being told that his case was considered closed. Nevertheless, throughout September, October, and November of 1596, he was repeatedly called before the inquisitors to provide details about events and people he mentioned previously during his interrogation under torture. The final pages of trial proceedings include the Inquisition's sentence in which Bohorques portrays Carvajal as a person of bad character: "de entendimiento y ánimo pertinaz y depravado" (442) [of depraved and impertinent understanding and persuasion]. Due to Carvajal's resolution to remain faithful to the Mosaic Law, the accuser requested that Carvajal be excommunicated and burned alive in order to set an example for others:

> [N]os pedía declarásemos … al dicho Luis de Carvajal por hereje, Judaizante, impenitente, relapso, apóstata de Nuestra Santa fe Catolica … encubridor de herejes Judaizantes … y haber incurrido en sentencia de Excomunión Mayor … y como a tal lo mandásemos relajar y relajásemos a la Justicia y Brazo Seglar, para que vivo fuese quemado en llamas de puro fuego, para digno y justo castigo suyo y público ejemplo de otros. (447)
>
> He asked us that we declare … the said Luis de Carvajal a heretic, Judaizer, impenitent, relapse, apostate from Our Holy Catholic Faith, concealer of Judaizing heretics, and to have incurred the sentence of Major Excommunication, and as such that we judge him to be relaxed [executed] and relax him to the Secular Arm and Justice so that he might be burned alive in the flames of pure fire as a worthy and just punishment for him and a public example for others.

The sentence was written, signed by the inquisitors Alonso de Peralta, Lobo Guerrero, and Juan de Cervantes, and read to Carvajal. It stated that he was condemned to be exposed publicly in the streets of Mexico during the *auto-da-fe* celebrated on Sunday, December 8, 1596, a day of great Catholic festivity honoring the Immaculate Conception. Carvajal's sentence reads:

> condeno a que sea llevado por las calles públicas de esta ciudad, caballero en una bestia de albarda y con voz de pregonero que manifieste su delito, sea llevado al tiangues de S. Hipólito, y en la parte y lugar que para esto está señalado, sea quemado vivo y en vivas llamas de fuego, hasta que se convierta en ceniza, y de él no haya ni quede memoria. (456)

> I condemn him to be led through the public streets of this city, riding on a beast of burden and with a public crier manifesting his crime, that he be taken to the plaza of San Hipólito and, in the spot and place that is designated for this, that he be burned alive and in living flames of fire until he be converted into ash and there be nor remain any memory of him.

To build a stronger case against the accused, the inquisitors included in Carvajal's process the writings that he had produced outside and inside the prison of the Holy Office. Ironically, if it was through the documents written by Carvajal that the Inquisition managed to exclude him and other crypto-Jews from New Spain's colonial society, it was also, as I have indicated, by way of these same written documents and oral confessions that Carvajal solidified his faith and martyrdom. What is more, Carvajal's documentary legacy enables us now to rescue the discourse of colonial subjects who made up the religious, cultural, and political quilt that formed the transatlantic Luso-Hispanic imperial and colonial world of the late sixteenth century.

V. *Carvajal's Letters and* Testamento

During the first year of Carvajal's second confinement in the Mexican Inquisition cells, he managed to write letters to his mother and sisters, who had also been arrested again on charges of being relapsers or persistent Jews. Although the Inquisition forbade their prisoners to correspond with people outside or inside prison, apparently they allowed objects other than written messages to be exchanged between prisoners and members of their families. Carvajal took advantage of these opportunities, sending items such as clothes and fruit within which were concealed secret written messages. Although there is no clear information about the exact number of letters and notes written by this *letrado* of Jewish origin, a total of thirty-nine messages were intercepted, transcribed and appended to Carvajal's process. The officials of the Inquisition took advantage of the letters in order to obtain information that would lead to the imprisonment of other crypto-Jews.[27]

Similar to Carvajal's *Memorias*, the letters addressed to his mother and sisters contain revealing information about the sufferings of those caught by the Inquisition, and also about Carvajal's religious views, and many

[27] The letters transcribed by the officials are found on pages 496–534 of the *Procesos de Luis de Carvajal*.

aspects of the Baroque culture and society of the late sixteenth century. Most of the letters appended to the trial proceedings were written during his second and final imprisonment, after his mother and sisters were arrested by the Holy Office around the middle of 1595, a time when Carvajal had not yet been put in a dungeon and subjected to intense torturing. Initially, Carvajal managed to write messages to his mother and sisters in fruits such as melon, bananas, pears, and avocado pits. Through these letters we can see that Carvajal remained firm in the Jewish faith throughout his second imprisonment. The first letter transcribed in the *Procesos* dates from May 13, 1595. It was carved inside a melon and sent to Leonor, Carvajal's favorite sister. The inquisition warden Gaspar de los Reyes discovered it and showed it to his superiors. Hoping to extract from the accused and his family additional incriminating information, the inquisitors ordered the warden to place paper and ink in Carvajal's cell.

Although Carvajal did not sign the letters with his Jewish name Joseph Lumbroso, the written correspondence with his family conveys the feelings and experience of his enlightened Jewish persona. Revealing to his family the Jewish aspect of his identity as a crypto-Jew, Carvajal tried to persuade them with his letters that he had been chosen by God as a leader who could guide them in their pilgrimage to the "Promised Land" or Heaven. Since their hope of fleeing from Mexico to Europe had faded away with their re-arrest as impenitent heretics, Carvajal tried to convince his mother and sisters that redemption could only be acquired through the salvation of their souls. Having thoroughly detached himself from his Christian identity, Carvajal, who saw himself as a shepherd, and his family as his flock, tried to console his mother and sisters by citing psalms and biblical passages that emphasized eternal life: "ay rebano de mi alma que ainsi [sic] estás disparzido. Consuélate, consuélate dize el Señor que yo te libraré de los lobos y lo pondré en dulces pastos con la oveja de tu madre" (501) [Oh flock of my soul, that you are dispersed so! "Take comfort, take comfort," says the Lord, "I will free you from the wolves and place you in sweet pastures with the sheep, your mother"].

Interpreting his discovery of paper and pen in the cell as miracle, Carvajal tried not only to console his mother and sisters, but also to persuade them to remain faithful to Judaism even under torture. He offered himself as an example: "ni el fuego vivo apartara mi ánima de my dulcisimo senor y Dios" (500) [Not even the living flames will separate my soul from my Most Sweet Lord and God].

As both Martin A. Cohen (1966) and Seymour B. Liebman (1967) have observed, the letters document Carvajal's sensitivity and care for

his family more than any other source.[28] Carvajal knew his sisters well and always provided moral support and religious guidance, much as a rabbi would. He tried to enlighten the lugubrious and sad existence of the women who faced torture and the possibility of death at the stake, encouraging them to resist the torture and remain steadfastly committed to Judaism. In many of the letters, besides reminding them about biblical passages that referred to life after death, Carvajal also painted for his sisters elaborate, exuberant, glowing and cheerful, in other words, archetypically Baroque, scenes of the heavenly life that God was preparing for them. As one can see through the passage below, some of the allegorical descriptions of Heaven, aimed at boosting the spirits of his sisters, reveal the influence of Spanish baroque culture, where intricate and ornamental language conveys a sense of material values that transmit the exuberance of items such as gold, silver, and brocade that decorated the palaces, the churches and the religious festivities of Old Mexico in baroque times.[29] The concepts of martyrdom and good deaths or *dichosas muertes*, so prevalent in the Catholic teachings of the Counter-Reformation, are also present in Carvajal's writings, and particularly in his letters. The passage of the letter cited below could very well serve to illustrate a scene from the baroque dramas performed in the city of Mexico in the second half of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century:

> Trahe, trahe, angeles a mys hijas a mys esposas dessas ricas vestiduras que les e mandado hazer denseles en lugar de paño sayas de raso blanco, y en lugar de raso jubones de brocado de siete altos, tocadmelas muy bien y penedles ricosescofiones, y guirnaldas no quede dedo syn su anillo pues tanto passaron por mi, y mira que primero que las vistais las labeis en ricas aguas olorosas … (Carta a Leonor, *Procesos*, 521)
>
> Angels, bring my daughters, bring my betrothed some of those rich robes I have told you to make. Exchange their vestments of ordinary cloth for vestments of white satin; their plain jackets for new ones that have seven layers of brocade. Set their hair beautifully and put rich hair dresses and garlands on their heads. Leave no fingers without a ring, for they have suffered so much on my behalf. And before you dress them be sure to bathe them in luxurious, scented waters …

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[28] Consult respectively Martin A. Cohen's introduction to "The Letters and Last Will and Testament of Luis De Carvajal, the Younger." *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LV-4 (June, 1966): 451–520, and Liebman's *The Enlightened*.

[29] In a PhD dissertation entitled *In the Shadow of the Mexican Inquisition: Theological Discourse in the Writings of Luis de Carvajal and in Sor Juana's* Crisis de un sermón,

The description of the luxurious and glittering satin, garlands, brocade, rings and scented waters recall some of the fleeting pleasures of mundane life that characterize the wealth of the Spanish Golden Age, and that underlie the Baroque theme of the *carpe diem*. Carvajal's long and convoluted sentences, his elaborate metaphorical language, and his exacerbated religious emotionalism are characteristics of the baroque style. Other intersections with the Baroque emerge in the way the writer described life in this world, which he portrayed as ephemeral and vain. The baroque concept of the *desengaño* or disenchantment with life on earth is contrasted with the idealized and utopian vision of life in Heaven. Spiritual life is manifestly superior to human life, which is represented allegorically in his writings as a "gusano de carne" or "flesh-eating worm" (512). In his letter to his sister Ana, *desengaño*, also understood as vanity and the worship of the flesh or of material possessions, emerges as the central theme: "no temas el oprobio de los hombres, no te pongas miedo las carzeles, ni afflicciones porque como a lana los comera el gusano e como a pano los deborara la polilla, en vano ponen al muerto la mortaja que los gusanos la rompen para le comer las carnes, ansi seras mis hijos dize Dios los que os afligen, y la salvacion que yo os e de dar a de ser eterna y para siempre" (510) [Do not fear the censure of men, do not fear prison or affliction, because just as the worm consumes wool or the moth devours cloth, they place in vain the burial cloth on the dead that the worms break through to eat the flesh, so those who afflict you. You will be my children, says God. and the salvation that I will give you will be eternal and forever].

The subject of Carvajal's letters is so highly repetitive that it makes us think that he suspected that the inquisitors could be intercepting them. Perhaps because of his hunch, Carvajal never revealed in his correspondence with his family anything that could incriminate anybody but himself. In his letters he did not express his suspicion, preferring to state in many of his letters that paper and ink had appeared in his cell as a miracle. Carvajal could be very well simulating naiveté in order to dissuade the inquisitors of the fact that his mother and sisters had also returned to their Judaic practices. In fact, in some of his letters Carvajal seemed to be trying to gain the sympathy of the inquisitors. For example,

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Karen Rebecca Dollinger highlights the influence of the Baroque style and ideology in Carvajal's writings. She argues that Carvajal successfully reappropriated "various discursive strategies … used by the Inquisition for suppressing Judaism" (66–67) to contest the inquisitors, and to affirm his Judaic faith.

in one of his letters, Carvajal tells Leonor that she does not need to be afraid because the inquisitors "are very merciful" (504).

Throughout the letters two concepts that are repeated over and over again relate to the diasporic experience of sixteenth-century religious groups from Europe, particularly Portuguese New Christians and Spanish *Conversos* of Jewish origin. Carvajal expresses the first one through the words *peregrinación*, *peregrinage*, and *peregrino*. The second term that reappears in Carvajal's writings is the word *tribulaciones*, a word used to refer to the constant sufferings experienced by the Jewish people. As previously stated, in Carvajal's writings the word *peregrinage* is used to describe the sufferings to which the descendents of Hebrews were destined. Another aspect of Jewish culture that appears in Carvajal's writings and particularly in his letters has to do with messianic ideas expressed through expressions such as *Esperanza de Israel*, [Hope of Israel] and *Tierra Prometida* [Promised Land]. In his letters, the expression "Promised Land" has a different meaning than it has in his life narrative or *Memorias*. In *Memorias* the expression *Tierra Prometida* was used to refer to a secure place in Europe where he and his family could freely practice their religion. In his letters "Promised Land" corresponds to Heaven or life after death. Earth or mundane life becomes "tribulations." Since hope of escaping the Mexican Inquisition was vanishing, it seems that the writer used the expression "Promised Land" as a metaphor for life after death. In his letter of May 22, 1595, after alluding to passages of the Old Testament, such as the captivity of Joseph and the pilgrimage of the Israelites, Carvajal tried to convince Leonor and Isabel that death, metaphorically described as "the journey to eternal glory," is much better than the planned voyage to Europe: "Acordaos del sacrificio del Santo Ysaac … de las prisiones de Joseph … y de las peregrinaciones de Ysrael … este es el camino de la gloria del paraiso donde nos esperan y no ay otro y mejor viaje es que el de Castilla" (500) [Remember the sacrifices of Saint Isaac, the imprisonment of Joseph, and the pilgrimage of Israel. This is the path to the glory of Paradise where they wait for us. No other trip is better than this. Not even the one to Castile].

In his letter dated of May 26, 1596, addressed to Isabel, Carvajal again alludes to the aborted trip to Castile as a stop to the pilgrimage to Heaven: "veis patente que la voluntad del altisimo es llebaros por estas carzeles a su parayso y gloria sin los rodeos y debaneos de castilla" (507) [you clearly see that the will of the Most High is to free you from these prisons to his Paradise and glory without delay and the distractions of Castile]. In his wish to show solidarity to his family, and in his desire to prepare them to

face death, he changes the meaning of the word "captivity" to refer to life on Earth. Expressing a view that did not differ from the one sponsored by mystics and Christians, in his letters to his mother and sisters Carvajal portrays life after death as the end of their *tribulaciones*, and *Tierra Prometida*, the final destination of their earthly life or *peregrinage*.

Similar to his letters, Carvajal's *Testamento* was also written when the accused had been jailed for the second time. Since during this second imprisonment Carvajal continued affirming his Judaic faith, even after enduring different forms of torture for a period of almost two years, he knew that the Inquisition would offer him only two alternatives: death at the stake or the comparatively less horrendous option, death by garrote, if he abjured Judaism in the *auto-da-fé* scheduled for December 8, 1596.

In a gesture of courage and boldness, on September 12, 1596, Carvajal presented to the inquisitor a written document that he titled *Testamento*. In the document Carvajal openly assumed his Jewish identity by signing it with his heteronym Joseph Lumbroso. In contrast to his *Memorias*, which started in the third person and only at the end changed to the first person, Carvajal's Last Will and Testament was written in its entirety in the first person. Emphasizing to the inquisitors that he was a Jew and not a Christian, Carvajal went on criticizing Christian beliefs, which he saw as contradictory. Some of Carvajal's major criticisms against Christians had to do with their interpretation of the Old Testament and their perception of Judaism as a dead religion. On these points he wrote: "es grande atrevimiento de los hombres querer mudar los Mandamientos de Dios Nuestro Señor" [It is a great temerity on the part of man to wish to change the Commandments of God our Lord] and "lo que dicen los cristianos que los preceptos ceremoniales y yudiciales son muertos y que ya expiraron, es contra uno de sus mismos evangelios" (413) [What Christians say about the ceremonials and Judaic precepts being dead and having expired is against one of their own Gospels].

In a bitter criticism directed at the Iberian kings of his time, including Philip II, who was then king of Spain and Portugal and was responsible for the exodus beginning in 1580 of so many Portuguese New Christians, Carvajal stated: "creo que aquel rey Antíoco … fue figura de los reyes de España y Portugal" (416) [I believe that king Antiochus represents the kings of Spain and Portugal]. In a gesture that ascertains his self-confidence as an enlightened *letrado*, and his superiority as a Jewish person, Carvajal claimed that the only reason he allowed theologians in his cell was to convert them to Judaism. Before signing the document with his adopted Jewish name, Joseph Lumbroso, (Joseph, The

Enlightened), Carvajal declared that his case is closed and stated: "[D]é con alegría mi ánima por la fe del Testamento Santo" (417) [I joyfully gave away my soul for the faith of the Holy Testament].

As the title *Testamento* suggests, this document written by Carvajal in the last days of his life was intended to officially imprint the principles by which he lived and for which he was willing to sacrifice himself. As Ilan Stavans concludes, this text is "an expression of painstaking commitment to the Judaism of his forebears" (*The Martyr* xxiii). Similar to modern *testimonio*, it documents not only his experience but also that of other crypto-Jews, who in sixteenth-century New Spain experienced religious persecution. The *Testamento* demonstrates Carvajal's strong, but muffled rhetorical discourse and his interrogation of the religious politics of the times. It also reveals aspects of Baroque culture in colonial Mexico, the Inquisition's practices, procedures and prisons. Above all, it attests to the fact that religious persecution and torturing motivated him to affirm his Jewish identity instead of leading Carvajal to convert to Christianity.

Throughout the procession of the *auto-da-fe* that ended the lives of his mother and sisters Isabel, Catalina and Leonor, Carvajal kept encouraging them to face death as a blessing. For Carvajal death at the stake represented a victory of their Jewish faith and liberation of their souls. His encouragement went beyond family members. When his friend, Justa Méndez, was about to be sentenced, in a loud voice Carvajal cried: "Let me hear the sentence of that fortunate and blessed girl."[30] However, in a written report dated December 9, 1596, one day after Luis and his family were forced to march in the procession of a macabre *auto-da-fé* in the Plaza Mayor, and afterwards placed on beasts of burden and taken to the burning grounds, the Dominican friar, Alonso de Contreras, states that a few moments prior to being burned, Carvajal repented, and instead of being burned alive he was garroted before the flames consumed his body. Contreras also claimed that due to Carvajal's strong defense of Judaism, he had no doubt that if had lived before the incarnation of Jesus Christ "he would have been a heroic Hebrew, and today his name would be as famous in the Bible as are the names of those who died in defense of their law when it was necessary."[31] Because Carvajal's death did not occur

[30] Martin A. Cohen writes that without success people tried to persuade Luis to convert. He also states that when Justa Méndez was about to be sentenced Luis managed to throw off his gag and cry out, "Let me hear the sentence of that fortunate and blessed girl" (256).

[31] Citation found in S. Liebman's *The Enlightened* (19–20).

in front of the multitude of people who attended the *auto-da-fé*, we will never know what happened and how he felt in the last moments of his life. But because Luis had been such an influential person in the New Christian community of New Spain, we can only conjecture that the inquisitors either wanted to make a public display of Carvajal's recantation, or that Contreras wanted to present his account in such a way to deflate his image as a martyr.

Paradoxically, by attempting to eliminate Judaism through the death of Luis and his family, and by registering the erradication of their lives through a trial that used his oral and written discourse to incriminate him, the Inquisition preserved for posterity Carvajal's resistance to the imposed religion and his staunch commitment to Judaism. Despite the fact that he constructed his identity from within Christianity, Carvajal's Judaic determination is the one that prevails in his *Memorias*, letters, written *Testimonio* as well as in his oral confessions of his trial proceedings filed in the Inquistion records of the Archivo General de la Nación.

Luis de Carvajal was not the only victim who in the New World exposed the "cracks" in the foundation of the modern Inquisitions, and who put in doubt the success of the Holy Office in converting crypto-Jews to Christianity, so often portrayed in inquisitorial trials. As we will see in chapter two, the case of Bento Teixeira, a Portuguese New Christian who immigrated to Brazil in the last decades of the sixteenth century, presents similar problems. We see considerable evidence against the authenticity of his conversion to Christianity and his abjuration from the faith of his ancestors that took place in an *auto-da-fé* in Lisbon on January 31, 1599.

CHAPTER TWO

BENTO TEIXEIRA: A NEW CHRISTIAN CAUGHT BY THE FIRST VISIT OF THE INQUISITION TO BRAZIL

This chapter moves from Mexico to Brazil and focuses on the life and work of Bento Teixeira, a New Christian who became a victim of the Inquisition in the same decade that Luis de Carvajal was burned at the stake in the city of Mexico. Although Bento Teixeira's trial took place in Lisbon because there was no Inquisition tribunal in Brazil, during his imprisonment in the jail of the Holy Office in Lisbon, known as *Estaus*, it is possible to see that even in the jails of the major cities of the Iberian empires the prisoners managed to take advantage of the cracks in the walls of their cells to communicate among themselves, and to resist the Inquisition. For example, in a confession produced by Bento Teixeira toward the end of his trial, he exposed many of the problems of the Inquisition jail, such as the different forms of treatment received by the rich and and the poor prisoners, the physical and mental damage caused by torture, and the different strategies used by the prisoners to cooperate with each other and to maintain their beliefs. One fascinating aspect that emerges from Bento's confession is that the prisoners of the Lisbon Holy Office used the holes in the walls of the cells even to arrange marriages. As will be seen throughout this chapter, despite the many similarities that link the lives and the social contexts of these two New Christians embracing an attenuated form of Judaism in the New World, there are also significant differences between Bento Teixeira and Luis de Carvajal. One of the major differences between these descendents of Sephardic Jews is the fact that in comparison to Carvajal, who was very radical in his defense of Judaism, Bento could be seen as a perfect prototype of the New Christian as a divided person or *homem dividido* as described by Anita Novinsky (1972). He was a curious and skeptical person who vacillated in his religious stance and who embraced Judaism from a less extremist point of view.

Bento Teixeira was born around 1561 in the northern city of Porto, Portugal. When he was approximately six years old he moved with his parents from Portugal to Brazil. In Brazil he studied with the Jesuits

and later became a prominent man of letters in Pernambuco, the most prosperous captaincy in sixteenth-century Brazil. As in the case of Luis de Carvajal, Bento Teixeira's entanglement with the Inquisition resulted from the political and social changes that took place in the Portuguese lands after King Dom Sebastião of Portugal disappeared in the Battle of Alcazarquivir in 1578, and Philip II of Spain annexed Portugal and its overseas possessions to the Spanish empire. Relying on what Fernando Bouza classifies as *imagen y propaganda* and what Norbert Elias calls "power-play" of court society, the Spanish Monarch succeeded in defeating Catarina of Braganza and Dom António, Prior of Crato, two major Portuguese aristocrats who claimed right to the throne. Following disputes for the crown involving the Bragança family and Dom António, prior of Crato, the powerful monarch of Spain invaded Portugal and declared himself king of the Lusitanian lands in 1580. During the time that the Spanish Habsburg king ruled over Portugal he made sure that the Inquisition would work toward his political goals. With the blessings of the Spanish monarch, his nephew, the Archduke Dom Alberto of Austria, became not only viceroy but also the general inquisitor of Portugal, two of the most powerful religious and political positions at the time. As viceroy and general inquisitor, the Archduke introduced regular visits by the Holy Office in Brazil. The first visitor of the Inquisition sent to Brazil by the Archduke Alberto was Heitor Furtado de Mendonça. The visitor arrived in Bahia in July of 1591 and served until 1593. From September 1593 until November of 1595 he was in the captaincy of Pernambuco, completing the first visit of the Holy Office to Portuguese America. It was in Pernambuco that Bento Teixeira was jailed and sent to Lisbon under the accusation of being a blasphemous and heretical Jew.

Following three years as a prisoner in the cells of the Lisbon Tribunal, the Portuguese New Christian, raised and educated in Brazil, apparently abjured Judaism. Shortly after participating in the *auto-da-fé* that took place in Lisbon on January 31, 1599, and while still fulfilling the penance stipulated by the inquisitors, Bento Teixeira died in the court jail of the city of Lisbon. According to a certificate signed by the medical doctor João Álvares Pinheiro on April 9, 1600, the victim apparently died of tuberculosis or some other disease that made him bleed from his mouth. A note written on the upper corner of the cover page of the Inquisition process 5.026 states that Bento Teixeira died in July of 1600. At the time of his death he was approximately thirty-nine years old.

While under the scrutiny of the Holy Office, Bento managed to write the poem *Prosopopéia*, the first epic written in the Portuguese language in

colonial Brazil. Because the poem establishes a dialogue with canonical texts such as *Os Lusíadas*, the most famous Portuguese epic of all times, nineteenth and twentieth-century literary critics such as José Veríssimo and Oliveira Lima have regarded the *Prosopopéia* as mere "arremedos e paródias dos *Lusíadas*," [mimicry and parodies of the Lusiads] by Luís de Camões, (Veríssimo 51) and as "a monotonous and confusing poem" (Oliveira Lima 45). With few exceptions, contemporary critics have continued to repeat the same mistakes and misjudgments promoted by traditional historiography as they fail to investigate the complexities of both his published and non-published works. Among the scholars who have corrected erroneous judgments regarding the life and work of Bento Teixeira are José Galante de Sousa, Sônia Aparecida Siqueira (1972), José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello (1996) and Luiz Roberto Alves. The studies by these critics are relevant for understanding the *Prosopopéia* because they consider biographical aspects found in the trial proceedings of the poet in their studies of the poem, thereby providing a deeper insight into the literay analysis of his *Prosopopéia* by using evidence found in his Inquisition trial to clarify hidden messages of the poem. On the other hand, because the majority of those who have written about this New Christian poet do not regard his Inquisition process as relevant, literary critics continue presenting a one-dimensional analysis that focuses exclusively on the aesthetic aspects of the poem, failing to recognize that, as in the case of Luis de Carvajal's *Memórias*, Bento Teixeira's wrote his poem under pressure from the Inquisition, and that his major concern was not with the form, but with the content and the messianic messages of the text.

Prosopopéia should not be seen as a poem that simply imitates *Os Lusíadas*, but as an epic that dialogues with Camões's masterpiece. Supporting Barbara Fuchs's observation that "the most interesting mode of resistance to orthodox ideologies of exclusion may often be imitation with a difference" (2001, 164), I argue that Bento Teixeira relied on mimesis as an exercise aimed at deconstructing Camões's text, and as a strategy for inclusion of the Jewish and New Christian experience within the Iberian epic tradition.[1] Furthermore, *Prosopopéia* should not

[1] It seems that Bento Teixeira also read Samuel Usque's *Consolaçãm às Tribulações de Israel*, an allegory written by Usque with the purpose of sending a message of hope to the descendents of Sephardic Jews who left Portugal after the Inquisition was introduced there in 1537. Verses found in Cantos IX and LXII of *Prosopopéia* such as "Os heróicos feitos dos antigos tendes vivos e impressos na memória" (59) [The heroic deeds of the ancestors are alive and printed in your memory] recall the following lines that open

be understood as a work that praises the expansion of Christianity through the Portuguese colonization process, launched by Duarte Coelho and his son Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho in the captaincy of Pernambuco, Brazil. Throughout the entire poem there is hardly any praise of Christ or of Christianity. Only in the forth stanza—when the poet describes the battles led by the captain of Pernambuco against the French Protestants that invaded Brazil in the sixteenth century—do we find verses that state that Jorge de Albuquerque would wish to see the flag of the Lutherans "aos católicos pés vitoriosos" [under the victorious Catholic feet]. I concur with Galante de Sousa that such verses "não significam nenhum sentimento religioso do autor, mas apenas incensam o catolicismo extremado de Jorge de Albuquerque" (13) [do not express the religious feelings of the author, they only refer to the extreme Catholicism of Jorge de Albuquerque], to whom the poet dedicates his poem. The analyses by Sônia Aparecida Siqueira (1972), Nelson Vieira (1993) and Luiz Roberto Alves tend to place Bento's discourse within the literary and cultural production of crypto-Jews and New Christians. Although very provocative due to their consideration of the poet's inquisitorial process, their analyses lack a broad historical transatlantic perspective. They thus fail to situate the work of Bento Teixeira within the context of the politics and imperial rivalries that negatively impacted the Lusitanian world after its annexation to the Spanish crown in 1580.

My reading of Bento Teixeira's discourse coincides in part with that of Luiz Roberto Alves, who argues that the *Prosopopéia* cannot be understood if disconnected from the inquisitorial confessions of the poet. Besides reading the *Prosopopéia* in connection with Bento's inquisitorial confessions, I also situate his discourse within the broad and conflictive transatlantic and geopolitical context that characterized the discourse of other descendents of Sephardic Jews during the second half of the sixteenth century. Similar to Alves, I also believe that Bento's work "não pode ser entendida fora do círculo do letrado deslocado para a vida de colonizador" (148) [cannot be understood outside the context of men

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Usque's masterpiece: "Aos aflitos animos soe a memoria dos males passados em parte deminuir o trabalho dos presentes . . ." (iii) [Memory of past afflictions tends to diminish the suffering of the present]. I also believe that Bento was familiar with the novel *Menina e Moça* written by Bernardim Ribeiro, a Portuguese New Christian reconverted to Judaism who went to Italy after the Inquisition was introduced in Portugal. *Menina e Moça*, a work full of hidden messages and first published in 1554, was also printed in Ferrara by a press that produced works addressed to the Jewish and crypto-Jewish community that had left the Iberian Peninsula.

of letters who found themselves displaced from intellectual centers and transformed into colonizers]. Neither can one deny that Bento Teixeira hoped to influence the colonizing process through his work. Additionally, this Brazilian critic also argues that "a história dos cristãos-novos brasileiros é a história das relações comerciais, políticas e espirituais que o ímpeto de aventura e conquista do século XVI propicia" (72) [the story of the Brazilian New Christians is the story of the commercial, political and spiritual relations that the impetus of adventure and conquest of the XVI century promoted].[2] The same could be said of the case of Luis de Carvajal and other New Christians who migrated from the Iberian Peninsula to the Americas and other parts of the world in the second half of the sixteenth century. Additionally, I situate the cases of Carvajal and Bento Teixeira within the specific framework of the political conflicts that characterized Philip II's empire from 1580 until his death in 1598. As I will show throughout this chapter, the policies implemented by the Habsburg monarch after the annexation of Portugal in 1580 negatively affected the lives of many descendents of Sephardic Jews in the Americas as well as in the Iberian Peninsula and other imperial domains in Europe, Africa and Asia. Examples of these effects and their repercussions for Bento Teixeira and many other crypto-Jews will be illustrated in the following pages.

Although the poem was posthumously published in Lisbon in 1601, it is not clear when Bento wrote his epic. Most of the critics who have written about the poem believe that it was written in Brazil before Heitor Furtado de Mendonça arrested the poet in September of 1595. Through Bento's process we learn that upon his arrest in Pernambuco in 1595 Heitor Furtado de Mendonça sequestered some compositions written by the accused. These included sonnets and other compositions in verse. Luiz Roberto Alves has correctly stated that the oral and written confessions produced by the poet in the last years of his imprisonment share the same political and religious points of view expressed in his epic. Both in his poetry and in his oral and written confessions there is an acute preoccupation with the theme of justice. It is possible to assume that, similar to the case of Luis de Carvajal, Bento wrote his epic poem with the major purpose of registering for posterity his experience as a New Christian unjustly persecuted by the Inquisition. He may have also intended to use the poem to send encoded messages to other New Christians and crypto-Jews who were likewise suffering persecution by the Holy Office.

[2] The position defended by Alves coincides with the views expressed by historians such as Jonathan Israel (1996) and Jonathan Schorsch (2008).

In my analysis of Teixeira's discourse I emphasize the subtle but strong criticism that the New Christian letrado of Pernambuco directed at the religious and royal authorities, such as Philip II of Spain, who used the Inquisition as a way to enhance his power, and to curtail the relative freedom that Sephardic Jews and their descendents had previously experienced in the Portuguese domains. The chapter also points to the emergent *criollo* consciousness evident in the verses of Bento Teixeira's *Prosopopéia*.

I. *From Poet and School Teacher to Prisoner of the Holy Office*

Similar to the case of Luis de Carvajal, the Younger—sometimes confused with his homonym, the governor of the Kingdom of New León, Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva—Bento Teixeira has been mistakenly believed to be named Bento Teixeira Pinto. This mistake, found even in books published recently, seems to have started in 1736 when Bernardo Gomes de Brito suggested in his *História trágico-marítima* that the author of *Prosopopéia* was born in Pernambuco and had traveled to Portugal in the company of Jorge D'Albuquerque Coelho in the Nau de Santo Antônio, a ship that sank in the Atlantic in 1565. In 1741 Diogo Barbosa Machado published an entry in his *Biblioteca Lusitana* stating that, in addition to the *Prosopopéia*, the man of letters from Pernambuco had also written the *Relação do naufrágio que fez o mesmo Jorge Coelho vindo de Pernambuco em a Nau Santo Antônio em o ano de 1565* and the *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*. Although in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries historiographers such as Francisco de Varnhagen who had access to Bento Teixeira's process tried to correct the mistakes about the name, birthplace and work attributed to the New Christian poet, the misconceptions around his life and literary production persist even today. The mistakes continue because most scholars who have written about him have never read his Inquisition process.

In an attempt to correct the misconceptions and misunderstandings about Bento Teixeira's discourse, I will rely on oral and written confessions produced by the poet and his contemporaries during the last decade of the sixteenth century. I will focus on a confession dated January 21, 1594, when the poet voluntarily appeared in the presence of the visitor of the Inquisition Heitor Furtado de Mendonça in Olinda. When the visitor left Bahia and arrived in Pernambuco in September of 1593 to complete the first visit of the Inquisition to northeast Brazil, he urged its inhabitants to come forward and confess their sins during the so-called grace

period. Following the solemn procession of October 24, 1593, in which marked the "Acto da publicação da Santa Inquisiçam" and the "Edicto da Graça" (*Primeira Visitação do Santo Ofício às partes do Brasil: Denunciações de Pernambuco, 5*), several people appeared voluntarily to confess their sins and to denounce suspected heretics to Heitor Furtado de Mendonça. Bento Teixeira was also among the first confessants who came forward. In his confession of January 21, 1594 he identified himself as a New Christian of approximately thirty-three years of age, married to a woman of supposedly Old Christian origins named Filipa Raposa. He was born in the city of Porto, and when he was five or six years old he moved to Brazil with his parents Manoel Álvares and Leonor Rodrigues. At the time of the confession he was residing in the Pernambucan area of Cabo de Santo Agostinho. More specifically, he was living in the lands of João Paes, where he worked as a private school teacher to the sons of the sugar plantation owners. The poet also stated in his confession that both his parents descended from Portuguese Jews, and that both had died in Brazil. It is possible that the migration of the family to Brazil was motivated by the increased activities of the Inquisition in Portugal. When his parents first arrived in Brazil they lived in Espírito Santo, a captaincy praised by some crypto-Jews as a perfect place for those who wanted to follow the Law of Moses.[3]

In a confession produced during his imprisonment in the Lisbon Tribunal, Bento revealed that when he reached adolescence and the family had moved to Bahia, his mother, a fervent Jewess, began to introduce him to Judaic beliefs and practices. She even hired the secret Jews, Francisco Lopes and Francisco Mendes, to formally teach him Judaism and prepare him for circumcision. As one later finds out, the circumcision did not materialize because his father, who preferred to raise him as a Christian, prevented the act by stabbing Francisco Lopes and denouncing him to the local priest. If his parents came to the New World in search of a better life for the family, they did not succeed in reaching their goal. As is apparent in Bento Teixeira's confession, in Brazil the family wandered through different captaincies, including Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, where they died in poverty, leaving him dependent upon the

[3] The statement that Espírito Santo was an ideal place for crypto-Jews appears in one of Bento Teixeira's written confessions. According to Teixeira, Francisco Gomes, a crypto-Jew lawyer and friend of the family, thought that, unlike Rio de Janeiro, "terra de muita gente e tráfego" [a land of many people and trade], Espírito Santo was a place where one would find peace "para praticar la lei de Moisés" (L.R. Alves 90) [to practice the Law of Moses].

charity of the Jesuit priests. Bento's confession also suggests that his parents often fought because his father wanted to raise him as a Christian and his mother planned to raise him as a crypto-Jew. It seems that the religious divergences between his parents made it difficult for the family to adjust to the New World. Economically speaking, the family did not succeed in Brazil because of the early death of Bento's father. After his father's death, Bento received material and spiritual help from people outside his immediate family. Among those who supported the education of the young man we find crypto-Jews, such as Baltasar Pereira, and also Jesuit priests. In Bahia, the bishop Dom António Barreiros, whom Bento considered to be a "pai benigno dos pobres" [father of the poor], helped the young poet after he became an orphan.

Apparently noticing Bento Teixeira's talents and hoping that the young orphan would later join their religious order, the Jesuits provided him with a solid education. Studying liberal arts with the Jesuits helped Bento to gain a deep knowledge of grammar, Latin, Spanish, and theology. He also learned Italian during the time that he lived in Bahia. As he explained in one of his later confessions, he took Italian classes from an Italian crypto-Jew who lived in Bahia at the time. During the secret meetings and gatherings that some crypto-Jews held in Bento's home during his father's absence, the poet engaged in religious discussions aimed at proving the superiority of Judaism over Christianity. While attending the Jesuit school Bento also discussed religious matters with his teachers and peers. The theological debates that he had with priests and other people who knew him caused concern among his teachers. This is documented through the assertions of some of Bento Teixeira's acquaintances summoned by the Inquisition visitor to clarify issues related to statements made by the New Christian poet. For example, Paulo Serrão, a former classmate who considered Bento to be a poet of "trovas e sonetos … de bons ditos" [popular verse and well-crafted sonnets], stated in a confession to the visitor that a priest named Manoel de Barros noticed Bento's inquisitive mind while they studied with the Jesuits in Bahia, and advised him not to proceed with religious studies in order to prevent him from becoming a heretic. The Inquisition notary writes that Paulo Serrão said that the priest tried to dissuade Bento from continuing studying letters because "ele tinha muitas opiniões e dúvidas em suas argumentações" [he had many opinions and doubts in his arguments], and "que se ele, Bento Teixeira, fosse letrado, corria o risco de dar em herege" [if he would became a lettered person, he would run the risk of becoming a heretic].

Perhaps because during his childhood Bento had been simultaneously exposed to Christianity by his father and to Judaism by his mother, he became a perfect example of what Yirmiyahu Yovel characterizes as a marrano who "manifested multiple forms of duality and a confused, ambivalent identity" (78). Throughout his youth while studying with the Jesuits he continued being indoctrinated into Judaism by his mother and other members of the crypto-Jewish community of Bahia. The fact that Bento experienced life between Christianity and Judaism inside and outside his home makes him a typical conflictive New Christian whose life fluctuated between Judaism and Christianity[4] in search of freedom of conscience. When contrasted with the case of Luis de Carvajal one has to agree with Anita Novinsky (1971) that "nem do ponto de vista religioso nem do ponto de vista político [o]s cristãos-novos podem ser caracterizados como um grupo único" (503) [New Christians can not be characterized as a homogenous group neither from the religious nor from the political point of view]. Bento's conflictive attitude can be detected through the arguments that he had with some of his colleagues in the seminary in Bahia. The arguments and doubts expressed during his studies with the Jesuits led his teachers to advise him to abandon the plans of completing his studies and becoming a priest. In a confession during his imprisonment in the Lisbon Inquisition cells Bento explains that he abandoned his studies due to a "grande injúria" or a severe embarrassment that the New Christian Tristão Ribeiro and some of his relatives inflicted on him. According to a denunciation made by Paulo Serrão to Heitor Furtado de Mendonça on September 23, 1595, Bento's embarrassment consisted of "uma garrafa de sujidade" a [bottle full of feces] that Tristão Ribeiro's relatives threw on him as a result of an argument between them.

Probably because Bento felt pressured by the threats of denunciation from his wife, or perhaps because he feared that someone had already denounced him to the representative of the Holy Office, as soon as the visitor arrived in Pernambuco and urged the local people to take advantage of the grace period and confess their sins, Bento rushed to

[4] The in-betweeness of Bento Teixeira is much more complex than the experience of Luis de Carvajal and of other New Christians and crypto-Jews studied by Eva Alexandra Uchmany in her *La vida entre el judaísmo y el cristianismo en la Nueva España*. Different from the case of Diego Díaz Nieto who formulated many doubts about Christianity (19), Bento vacillated between Christianity and Judaism. It seems that he was comfortable with his condition of New Christian, because some of those who denounced him to the visitor of the Inquisition observed that he often stated that the best part of him was the New Christian.

appear in front of Heitor Furtado de Mendonça. In the confession that Bento submitted on January 21, 1594, he spoke about the sins he had committed when he lived in Bahia and also in Pernambuco. The Inquisition notary writes that the confessant asked the representatives of the Holy Office pardon for the following sins: for having translated from Latin into Portuguese Deuteronomy and parts of Leviticus for Antônio Teixeira, whom the confessant identified as a relative of his. Apparently in an attempt to justify the translation, which he completed while living in Bahia, Bento explained that his relative was a merchant who owned a Bible in Latin. Allegedly Antônio Teixeira did not know how to read Latin well and asked Bento the meaning of the phrase: "*non facias calvitium super mortuum*." After Bento explained that the words meant that "não arrancareis os cabelos da cabeça quando pranteardes os mortos" [one should not pull the hair out of the head when crying for the dead], Antônio Teixeira contracted Bento to translate Deuteronomy. The confessant tried to persuade the visitor of the Inquisition that he did the translation because he needed the money, and that it was "sem malícia ou vã intenção" [without malice or vain intention].

The act of translating the Bible, especially parts of the Old Testament, could result in serious problems for the confessant because the Catholic Church prohibited unauthorized reading and translating of the Bible. However, this was a minor sin compared to other faults confessed by Bento Teixeira which were considered acts of heresy. Some of the most serious sins included having made fun of certain Catholic dogmas and beliefs. Bento admitted that, after moving from Bahia to Pernambuco, one day while residing in the village of Igaraçu he swore on the private parts of the Virgin Mary. Bento explained that he only uttered the blasphemous swear once when he was frustrated. But because he said the imprecation in a loud voice he was reprimanded by João Pinto, Antônio Madureira, and other people who heard him. The confessant also stated that on another occasion he was talking in front of Pedro Lopes' house about religious matters when he said something that offended a passerby, who reprehend him. Bento stated that he did not remember exactly what he said that caused such a response, but he recalled that he replied by explaining that what he said was true, for it was a passage from the book of the apostle John. Bento also confessed that a few years earlier, when he went to the house of Bartolomeu Ledo to pick up some bricks that he had purchased, the mason Brás da Mata was there and asked Bento to let him buy the bricks to complete a project that he had started at the local church. An altercation

between the two men followed because the mason argued that, since the church was a sacred place, Bento was obligated to give the bricks away in order to complete the project. Bento replied that the church was not the only sacred place. He contended that his own house and that of any man of honor was also sacred. Bento ended his confession by saying that he had repented of the sins he had confessed, and also for not having allowed Brás da Mata to use the bricks to complete the work on the church. The confessant stated that "como um bom cristão que sempre seguiu os ensinamentos da Santa Igreja Católica" [as a good Christian who always believed in the Holy Catholic Church] he had repented for these and other possible sins that he had committed. He then begged Heitor Furtado de Mendonça and the other members of the Portuguese Inquisition for their pardon and for the mercy of the Holy Office. Bento Teixeira signed this first confession, dated January 20, 1594, also signed by the visitor and the notary of the Holy Office, Manoel Francisco, who accompanied Furtado de Mendonça into Pernambuco.

Since Heitor Furtado de Mendonça had spent the previous three years in Bahia soliciting information about heresies committed by its inhabitants, particularly by those of Jewish origin, it is possible that Bento Teixeira, who had spent his adolescent and young adult years in Bahia, came forward during the grace period announced upon the visitor's arrival due to fear that his wife or other acquaintances had already accused him of heresy. Paradoxically, as historians of the Inquisition such as Francisco Bethencourt (1996) have suggested, many times the so-called "tempo da graça" or grace period served to trap rather than help those who appeared in front of the inquisitors. The case of Bento Teixeira was no exception. Teixeira's case also contradicts the idea that the inquisitors generally acted with benevolence toward the penitents, and particularly with those who came forward during the *período da graça*. In fact, it seems that Furtado de Mendonça disregarded the instructions of the *Regimento do Santo Ofício da Inquisição* to treat beningly those who confessed during the grace period. He used great rigour with Bento and used his confessions and the denunciations collected in Bahia to entangle the poet in the web of the Inquisition. Upon the completion of the penitent's confession, Heitor Furtado de Mendonça instructed him to return to the Holy Office once the grace period had expired. In the meantime, the visitor started gathering additional information about the victim. To build a solid case against Bento, Heitor Furtado de Mendonça summoned several people whose names were mentioned in Bento's confession. Other individuals who knew the poet also came voluntarily forward to denounce him.

There were many people who testified against Bento, serving to further incriminate him in the inquisitorial court. Among those people who appeared before the visitor without a summons was Manoel Chorro, who accused Bento of having "jurado pelo pentelho da Virgem" [swear on the pubic hair of the Virgin]. M. Chorro also stated that he had heard that Bento had told the judge Álvaro Barbado that he would cause great benefit or great damage to the Church if he were a man of letters. Matheus Fernandes, who identified himself as an "alcaide-mor" or local magistrate in the captaincy of Pernambuco, also appeared without a summons. He informed the visitor that he had heard from João da Rosa and Manoel Lobeira that Bento had "jurado pelas partes secretas da Virgem" [swear on the secret parts of the Virgin]. Additionally, João da Rosa, who identified himself as half Old Christian from his mother's side, also came voluntarily to denounce the poet. In his accusation he stated that one day, while rehearsing for a play sponsored by the local church, his brother was singing a song that said: "Uno solo y trino / Trino solo y uno / no es otro alguno / sino Dios divino" [One alone and triune / Triune alone and one / is nobody else / other than the divine God]. According to the accuser, Bento Teixeira interrupted the rehearsal to say that the proposition was false.

Many other people appeared voluntarily to denounce the New Christian poet, including Domingos Fernandes, Ana Lins, and Gaspar Rodrigues. Domingos Fernandes identified himself as an Old Christian and a former student of Bento Teixeira. He told the members of the Inquisition that while attending school under the New Christian teacher he noticed that classes were not offered on Saturdays. Intrigued with the fact, he asked why, and Bento replied that he preferred not to teach on Saturdays. To corroborate his story, the accuser mentioned the names of several other pupils who also studied with Bento Teixeira. Ana Lins, who identified herself as an Old Christian daughter of a German man named Rodrigo Lins and his Indian slave, informed the inquisitors that on certain days of the week Bento used to come to the house of a deceased New Christian named Violante Fernandes to read and discuss the Bible with her. Gaspar Rodrigues, who admitted being a New Christian, stated that one day he found Bento reading the book *Diana* by Jorge Montemayor. According to the accuser, when he warned Bento that he was committing a heresy because the book had been prohibited by the Inquisition, the poet replied that he would burn it.

Brás da Mata, the mason worker mentioned by Bento Teixeira in the argument involving the bricks, also appeared voluntarily to denounce the

school teacher. Besides elaborating on the details related to the quarrel that he had with Bento, Brás also mentioned that he heard that Bento had sworn against the sexual parts of the Virgin Mary. When the visitor asked Brás da Mata if the church had already been consecrated when the incident occurred or if Bento appeared to be drunk or showing signs of any abnormal behavior, the mason replied that the church had already been dedicated at the time of the incident and that Bento, whom he considered to be an intelligent and discreet man, appeared perfectly lucid during the quarrel.

To complete the first phase of the Inquisition process, the visitor summoned other people who had not voluntarily appeared before the representatives of the Holy Office. Among them were Antônio da Rosa and Jorge Thomas. Unlike the previous denouncers and witnesses who were summoned to appear in front of the visitor, Antônio da Rosa seemed to be hesitant in accusing Bento. Showing a more neutral attitude than the one previously presented by his brother, Antônio da Rosa told the visitor that when he was playing his guitar during a rehearsal for the play celebrating the Holy Ghost he heard the following words from Bento: "It is not good." Noticing Antônio da Rosa's hesitancy in accusing Bento of heresy, Furtado de Mendonça admonished him concerning the rigor of the justice of the Holy Office. The visitor also threatened the New Christian, Jorge Thomas, summoned to appear before the members of the Holy Office because his name appeared in a denunciation against Bento previously made by a witness named Francisco Mendes. Apparently, since Jorge Thomas was a friend of the poet, when he first appeared in front of the members of the Inquisition on June 4, 1594, he refrained from saying anything that would implicate the suspect. However, after being pressed by the visitor who recommended "um exame de consciência" [an examination of conscience], Jorge Thomas was forced to recount the things that Bento had confided in him.

After "searching his conscience" Jorge Thomas finally remembered that years ago, when both lived in Bahia and Bento was approximately twenty-three years old, Bento had told him many secrets including that on the day of the final judgment one would learn which law was the right one, the Jewish or the Christian. Jorge Thomas also confessed that Bento had advised him not to say the prayers "Ave Maria, Padre Nosso, o Credo e as mais orações de bom cristão" [Hail Mary, Our Father, or the Creed, and the other prayers of a good Christian] because they were wrong. Bento also advised him to give up confession and communion because "logo se lançava o sacramento pelo trazeiro afora" [soon the

sacrament would be expelled through your behind]. The confessant also stated that although Bento was a Jesuit novitiate at the time of their encounter, Bento told his friend that he did not plan to become a priest. Instead, he was going to get married. At the time of his confession Jorge Thomas observed that he believed that Bento was living with his wife Filipa Raposa in Cabo de Santo Agostinho, Pernambuco. However, based on a document written by the accused during his imprisonment in the jail of the Lisbon Holy Office, one learns that in June of 1594 Filipa Raposa was already dead as a result of a stab wound inflicted by her husband. In one of Bento Teixeira's written confession produced after his arrest on charges of being a heretic he explained that he killed his wife because she had betrayed him with other men. Apparently, Filipa Raposa's assassination which seems to have occurred around March of 1594 did not have any impact on his arrest. The visitor of the Inquisition never mentions the assassination of Filipa Raposa in the sentence against Bento Teixeira.

In a letter written to the inquisitors on January 26, 1598, Bento explained that after killing his wife, he went to the house of Juan Bautista, a merchant crypto-Jew from Spain that had business in the commercial route of Pernambuco, Tucumán and Peru to seek his advice. The confessant stated that Bautista, who had become Bento's confident, consoled him with the words: "Hermano de mis entranas hicistes muy bien de matar vuestra mujer, porque no solamente os lo merecía por adúltera, sino porque os tenía enclavado en la Inquisición." [My dearest brother, you did well to kill your wife, because she did not only deserve it for adultery, but also for having you nailed in the Inquisition]. Besides approving of the fact that Bento had assassinated his unfaithful wife, the *Converso* from Castile offered to hide Bento in a commercial boat that he was taking to Tucumán. The escape did not take place due to an attack by English pirates on the coast of Brazil and the subsequent decree by King Philip II prohibiting ships from leaving Brazil to go to Tucumán or Peru.

Because Jorge Thomas was a New Christian and a friend who had never had any conflicts or quarrels with Bento, the visitor and other members of Inquisition present during the audience of June 4, 1594, considered Thomas's statements as true and very reliable. The information provided by a former friend who did not hold anything against the accused was crucial for the inquisitors to complete the first phase of the process, and to proceed with the order for the imprisonment of Bento Teixeira. However, even before the visitor was able to proceed with the order to imprison the victim, two priests from the Benedictine monastery

where Bento sought asylum after killing his wife also came to testify against the accused. They were fray Damião da Fonseca and Honório Cabral. On July 6, 1595, Damião da Fonseca informed the inquisitors that in a conversation that they had with Bento while he was living at the monastery in Olinda, the accused had said that "ainda que Adão não pecasse, nem por isso deixaria de morrer" [even if Adam had not sinned he would not escape death]. The Benedictine friar also claimed that on one occasion when he questioned Bento for referring to a passage in the Old Testament in the present tense, the accused replied: "cada um fala em sua crônica" [each one speaks by their own book]. Fray Honório Cabral confirmed the accusations of the first priest. He stated that the he had also heard Bento saying the "if Adam had not eaten the prohibited fruit he would not escape death," and that after being reprehended by fray Damião, Bento replied: "cada um alega com seu breviário" [each one argues according to his breviary]. The accusers understood the statement as a sign that Bento was speaking from the point of view of a Jewish person who did not believe in the Christian interpretation of Adam's death.

After summoning the accusers again in order to ratify their denunciations against the poet, Heitor Furtado de Mendonça arrested Bento Teixeira on August 20, 1595. The list of accusations made against the suspect revealed that his religious and philosophical beliefs contradicted those of the majority of Catholics. In fact, the Catholic dogmas questioned by Bento—his disbelief in the trinity of God, in the divine powers of the pope, in the sacraments of confession and communion, and his mocking of the Virgin Mary and of the Catholic prayers—coincide with the attitude that led many New Christians, such as Carvajal and his family, to be condemned and executed as heretic Jews in 1596 by the Mexican Inquisition. Bento was aware of the gravity of his sins and was afraid of being arrested by Heitor Furtado de Mendonça. The confession that he voluntarily made to the visitor on January 20, 1594 is a clear indication of Bento Teixeira's concern and fear.

Bento Teixeira's second confession was submitted to Heitor Furtado de Mendonça only after his arrest and imprisonment in Olinda on August 20, 1595. In contrast with his first confession, which was orally presented to the visitor on January 20, 1594, the second confession was composed in a written form. In the confession dated September 17, 1595, Teixeira repeats the plea of his repentance. The document also contains much of the biographical information previously furnished by the poet. However, in this case Bento's situation was very grave. After being in jail for four

weeks, he learned that the visitor planned to transfer him to the prison of the Lisbon Tribunal, a place reserved for those charged with serious deviance from the Catholic Church. Perhaps in an attempt to avoid being taken to Lisbon, Bento tried to defend himself through a rhetorical discourse that portrayed him as a good Christian and a respectable and honorable man who was a victim of "conjecturas" or rumors spread by his enemies and detractors. He started the written confession by presenting himself as "Eu, Bento Teixeira, homem pobre e necessitado" [a poor and needy man] who after being in jail for four weeks due to some "conjectures" wanted to prove to the visitor that he had always been a good Christian, who only "tratou com homens nobres, cristãos velhos, principalmente com religiosos" [dealt with noble men, Old Christians, and above all with members of the clergy]. He also emphasized that he always avoided the company of New Christians because he detested their depraved way of living.

In contrast with the first confession, Bento devotes a large part of this written confession to describing the adulterous behavior of his deceased wife Filipa Raposa. He compares her not only to the serpent responsible for Adam's downfall from paradise, but also to a hydra of seven heads that personified a multitude of vices and that brought disgrace to everybody that came in contact with her: "E para vs. ms. acabarem de conhecer a intenção danada e zelo luciferino desta Hidra de Sete Cabeças, assoalhava de mim estas coisas antes as sobreditas e outras pessoas, para que se referisse nelas quando viesse o Santo Ofício e ela ante o visitador, vomitasse sua peçonha e veneno infernal" [And in order for you to understand the evil intention and the devilish zeal of this Hydra of Seven Heads, she would mouth these bad things about me to those names I indicated previously and to other people, for them to refer to them when the Holy Office arrived, and that she would vomit in front of the visitor her infernal poison]. The confessant explained that he moved from Bahia to Pernambuco to offer a better life to Filipa. However, his wife's arrival in Pernambuco brought disruption and disgrace to the poet. Shortly after her arrival in Olinda, where the poet resided and had the support of the local leaders, he lost the "tença" or the financial subsidy that he had received from the members of the city council to dedicate to his teaching and writings. With the lack of financial support Bento was forced to engage in a variety of trades including the commercialization of brazilwood. This implied that he had to leave his wife in Olinda and voyage into the jungle to extract the precious wood. During his absence, however, apparently Filipa betrayed him with local men.

According to Bento, to save his marriage he moved from Olinda to several places in the captaincy of Pernambuco, including Igaraçu, Marin, and finally to Cabo de Santo Agostinho, where he found a job as a successful schoolteacher. His success as a teacher led many local sugar plantation owners to take their children from the Jesuit colleges and place them in Bento's school. Unfortunately for Bento, Filipa's behavior did not improve. According to his account, she found lovers in every place they went. In Igaraçu she even attempted to hire a person to kill her husband. In this part of his life narrative Bento compares Filipa to Noah's ark "por não ficar animal que nela não entrasse" [because there was no animal that didn't enter her]. Bento's patience came to an end after Pedro Lopes Galego publicly challenged him to cut his "cornos" [horns] by killing Duarte Pereira, the priest who had slept with Filipa many times. The confessant explains to the representative of the Inquisition that he had to kill his unfaithful wife to defend his honor: "E vendo que o negocio era público e que minha honra andava empenhada por casas alheias e se fazia inventário de minha vida, foi necessário, por conformar com o Poeta (*immedicabile uulnus, en se escindendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur*), matá-la" [and seeing that the matter was public and that my honor was about in mouths of everyone and they were commenting on the event, it was necessary to follow the Poet (an untreatable wound should be amputated, lest the healthy part become infected)].

It appears that the major motive of Bento's written confession was to gain the sympathy of Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, whom he portrays not only as "pai piedoso" [a pious father], but as a benevolent father with a good and loving heart. Through his inquisitorial confession Bento enters Brazilian history as a precursor of what in contemporary times one calls "crime de paixão" [crime of passion]. This happens when he stated in his first confession that he killed his wife because he loved her and could not bear to see her with another man: "… a matei por amor do dito Duarte Pereira toda a devassa dará testemunha" [I killed her because of her love for Duarte Pereira, which this trial will prove]. Alternatively, it could be conjectured that Bento killed his wife because he thought that she and her lover had denounced him to the visitor. "Por onde tenho para mim que do dito Duarte Pereira e dela me veio este mal que tenho ou que foram eles as principais figuras desta minha triste e lamentável tragédia" [It is my belief that the disgrace that I now have came from Duarte Pereira and from her, and that they were the principal figures that caused my sad and lamentable tragedy].

Because the Inquisition as a rule prevented the accused from obtaining any information pertaining to the denunciations, Bento did not know who his denouncers were or when and where the denunciations took place. Besides blaming Filipa and her lover Duarte Pereira as the major culprits of his disgrace, Bento also indicated other possible accusers. One of them was Damião da Fonseca, the priest from the Benedictine monastery where he hid after killing his wife. The confessant explained that Damião da Fonseca's resentment against him resulted from the fact that Bento criticized him for mistreating his subordinates and calling the other priests "filhos de vilãos ruins" [sons of bad villagers]. Bento had also reprimanded fray Damião for his engagement in sexual affairs with the daughter of a poor woman who lived near the monastery. Bento also suspected that some New Christians, such as Duarte Dias Henrique, who according to the defendant hated him, could have denounced him. The prisoner ended the written confession begging the inquisitorial authorities to ignore all the accusations made by Filipa Raposa and her adulterous lovers on the grounds that they were false. He cited other people whom he perceived to be his enemies.

He listed several witnesses who could testify on his behalf and prove that he had always been a good Christian. Ironically, although in the confession he stated that he had always avoided the company of people of Jewish descent, most of those who he listed as favorable witnesses were also New Christians or crypto-Jews. Despite the fact that witnesses, such as Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, Fernão Vaz, Luís Antunes and his wife, gave very favorable testimony on behalf of the accused, Bento's vehement defense did not help him. The death of his wife caused him no problems because the laws established during the monarchy of Philip II made clear that "Achando o homem casado sua mulher em adultério, licitamente poderá matar a ela como o adúltero, salvo se for … o adúltero … pessoa de maior qualidade" (*Ordenações Filipinas*, Livro V, 151) [If a married man would catch his wife in an adulterous act, he could legally kill her and also the adulterer, except if the adulterer were a person of higher rank]. However, the religious inclinations of Bento did serve to incriminate him. In October of 1595 he was sent to the Holy Office of the Lisbon Tribunal under the accusation of being a heretic and blasphemous person who had betrayed the Catholic faith through his involvement with Judaic practices.

Glancing through the pages of Bento Teixeira's Inquisition trial it becomes evident that, in addition to the theological knowledge that he had acquired with the study of the Old and New Testaments, the accused

had read some of the most important classical books of the Western tradition. In the vast list of authors and titles read by Bento Teixeira one finds Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Pelagius, and Camões. Writers that had been placed in the *Index Inquisitorum* or Index of Prohibited Books such as Luis de Granada, Jorge de Montemayor, and Samuel Usque, among others, were also part of his discursive universe. Bento had also read and memorized books of prayers that were popular among the diasporic communities of Sephardic New Christians and crypto-Jews.

The fact that, while living in Brazil, Bento was able to obtain so many prohibited and non-prohibited texts reveals that during the last decades of the sixteenth century the ports of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro enjoyed an intensive transatlantic trade. Through the written confessions found in Bento's inquisitorial process, it is possible to see that not only Portuguese and Spanish vessels entered the ports of Brazil, but also Dutch, French and English ships. In 1594, a year of intense religious and political conflicts between Philip II and Queen Elizabeth of England, a fleet led by the English corsair James of Lancaster attacked the Nau da India and raided Pernambuco. To prevent England from reigning over his colonial possessions in the southern seas, the Spanish monarch prohibited ships from leaving Pernambuco. The king's prohibition resulted in the defeat of the English but also prevented Bento from escaping to Peru with a fellow crypto-Jew after committing uxoricide. In a letter dated January 26, 1598, Bento explains that when he and his friend, Juan Bautista, a descendent of *Conversos* from Castile, were ready to leave Pernambuco, news of Philip II's prohibition arrived: "vieram novas que sua real majestade proibia sob graves penas que nenhuma pessoa do Brasil nem de outra parte fosse ao Tucumán pelo Rio da Prata [ou] pela costa do Brasil [...] e parece ai vir seguro por temor dos ingleses, o que foi a causa do dito Juan Batista desistir e eu com ele da ida que fazíamos" [News arrived that your royal majesty had prohibited under severe punishment that nobody from Brazil or from other part went to Tucumán through the River Plate or through the coast of Brazil ... and such prohibition resulted from his fear of the English, and that was the reason why both Juan Bautista and I gave up the plans to go (to Peru)]. Bento Teixeira's confessions thus reveal that contact between those in Brazil and Peru, and also the commerce and contraband between these regions via Tucumán, were already established in the sixteenth century.[5]

[5] This fact is recognized by Alice Piffer Canabrava in her book *O comércio português no Rio da Prata (1580–1640)*. Besides documenting the forms of licit and illict commerce

Bento Teixeira's confessions and also some of the denunciations registered by Heitor Furtado de Mendonça indicate that many of the traders and navigators circulating through the Western Hemisphere descended from Sephardic Jews and Portuguese New Christians. It was through Bento's contact with other New Christians who traveled to Brazil as traders or who had settled in Bahia and Pernambuco during the sixteenth century that he gained access to some of the prohibited books he possessed and read. Many of the New Christians involved in transatlantic trading came from the Netherlands, Italy, France and other parts of Europe and went to different areas of the Americas, including Brazil, Tucumán, Peru, New Granada, and New Spain. Many of the ships also navigated through the commercial ports of Africa and Asia. The navigators who arrived in Brazil from these different ports brought with them not only books and other kinds of merchandise but also different customs. For example, Miguel de Morgante, a crypto-Jew who lived in Bahia and had two wives, explained to Bento that he was not doing anything wrong. He argued that the Old Testament allowed men to have more than one wife. Morgante also explained that when he lived in India he learned that by paying for sexual favors a man could have as many women as he could afford.

Among the materials that Bento turned in to Heitor Furtado de Mendonça was a book of prayers that came from the Netherlands. This information is significant because it suggests that crypto-Jews who lived in Brazil tried to gain more knowledge of Judaism through their connections with Sephardic Jews who had migrated to Flanders and Amsterdam. The information also serves to substantiate the observation made by Jonathan Israel that the faith of crypto-Jews was "a religious culture and awareness powerfully influenced by ideas and practices emanating from outside the Spanish empire" (2002, 110), and not essentially a product of syncretism as some have believed. The crypto-Jews of New Spain also

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between Brazil and Peru she also shows that an intense migration of New Christians from Brazil to Tucumán and Buenos Aires ocurred around 1591 and 1618, when Heitor Furtado de Mendonça and Dom Marcos Teixeira were sent to northeast Brazil as the visitors of the Inquisition (135–136). The contribution of Luso-Brazilian New Christians toward the economic and cultural expansion in the River Plate region has also been addressed by Maria José Goulão. In her essay "A triangulação Portugal / Brasil / Rio da Prata e a arte colonial sul-americana" she states that in 1619 eight Portuguese ships entered the Port of Buenos Aires (8). These two scholars admit that the large group of Portuguese New Christians which included artisans and many other professions contributed to the artistic and cultural development of Buenos Aires and Tucumán.

had contact with the Sephardic community of the Netherlands. Through Luis de Carvajal's trial one learns that he too had a notebook of prayers copied from a book brought to New Spain from Amsterdam. Crypto-Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies also read the work of Luis de Granada and other works by writers, who were considered mystics and whose orthodoxy was at times questioned. It is possible that Teixeira's and Carvajal's frequent invocations of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah as God's ambassadors of justice and mercy were based on their readings of Luis de Granada's *Guia dos Pecadores* and *Símbolo de la fe*.

Portuguese New Christians and Spanish *Conversos* appropriated texts that were part of a hegemonic discourse to construct their identity and to build a critique of the dominant social system and its institutions from within. For example, the eighth commandment "Não levantarás falso testamento contra teu próximo" [You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor] contains an implicit critique of the Inquisition, because it forced people into accusing others, which often led to false accusations. Throughout Carvajal's and Teixeira's trial proceedings there are many implicit and explicit criticisms of the Holy Office.

Teixeira also addressed the issue of racial discrimination in the Iberian Atlantic world. In one of his written confessions he posed the following question to the inquisitors: "[S]e antes que eu nascesse me perguntaram qual queria, se ser filho de cristão-velho se de novo, merecera ante Vossas Mercês castigo (se escolhesse ser filho de cristão-novo). Mas se Deus Nosso Senhor foi servido que meu pai fosse cristão-novo e eu seu filho que culpa tenho eu?" [If prior to my birth someone asked me if I wanted to be born from an Old Christian or from a New [Christian], I would deserve to be punished by Your Mercies (if I chose to be son of a New Christian). But if God Our Father wished that my father were a New Christian, and I his son why am I guilty?] The question posed by the New Christian poet from Pernambuco underlies what Charles Boxer has studied in his *Relações raciais no império colonial português* such as the discriminatory nature of the brief *De Puritate Sanguinis* introduced by Philip II during his monarchy. In the same confession Bento urged the inquisitors not to pay attention to his ethnic origin, but to his Christian behavior: "Peço a Vossas Mercês não respeitem ser eu cristão-novo, pois não nisso senão em ser bom cristão está o negócio" [I beg Your Mercies to respect not the fact that I am a New Christian, but that I am a good Christian because this is what matters]. When compared with Luis de Carvajal, however, one notices that Bento Teixeira's list of readings went far beyond religious titles. The New Christian of Pernambuco used not only

biblical but philosophical and rhetorical reasoning to support his arguments. Possibly it was due to his extensive readings and to his inquisitiveness that Old and New Christians from the colony misunderstood him.

Through Bento Teixeira's trial it is possible to see that, compared to New Spain, Brazil was a much more eclectic ethnic and religious society during the last decades of the sixteenth century. For example, among the friends and acquaintances that the poet had met in Bahia and in Pernambuco we find many female and male individuals born from the union between white Europeans and African or Indian slaves. Ana Lins, a female who appeared before the members of the Inquisition when the visitor arrived in Olinda, was a Mameluco born from a German man and an Indian woman. In one of his confessions in the jail of the Lisbon Tribunal, Bento refers to the mulatto women Maria and Brasília born from a New Christian man and an African slave from Guinea. Apparently these two mulatto women, who also embraced Judaism, would gather with other crypto-Jews in the house of the "rabino" Francisco Pardo to practice some Judaic rites. In addition to Catholics and crypto-Jews, Lutherans, Anglicans, and agnostics also lived in Brazil.

Many of the settlers of colonial Brasil embraced attitudes and propositions that were considered by the inquisitors as deviant behavior. Different forms of sexual morality and thinking stand as one of the most common forms of deviant behavior among colonizers, including crypto-Jews. For example, in one of Bento's confessions he describes the Englishman Tomás Babintão, who defended the point of view that Anglican England was the most Christian nation of the entire world. Ironically, Babintão's wife, Maria de Peralta, was a New Christian who played an active role in the crypto-Jewish community of Portuguese America. Bento Teixeira also talks about the Dutch New Christian Duarte Dias de Flanders and many Italian and Spanish crypto-Jews who lived in Bahia and Pernambuco. The Italian Doniziani was a womanizer who lived with two women. The Portuguese priest Simão Proença was a crypto-Jew who came to Brazil in order to practice Judaism more freely. He had a love affair with a beautiful Jewess from Bahia. Diogo Fernandes was also a secret Jew who came from Italy.

In some of the meetings of the secret Jews the topic of discussion was the diasporas that the people of Israel had to endure, and their struggle to follow Judaism. Lionel Mendes, for example, complained about the dispersion of the Jewish people. He would remind the members of the crypto-Jewish community from Bahia that, now that they were under Spanish rule and had lost their synagogues and were denied access to

their sacred books, any sincere effort to worship God was of value: "agora que estamos cativos qualquer coisa valia para honrar Adonay" [Now that we are captive, anything suffices to honor Adonai]. Fernão Ribeiro was another Italian crypto-Jew who became a close friend of the poet, and who taught him the Italian language. Fernão Ribeiro, being a womanizer, wanted to acquire a special stone known among some African and native Brazilians as having the power to attract lovers. Ribeiro had a bigamous relationship with two sisters. When Bento criticized him for living with them, Ribeiro replied that the patriarch Jacob had also lived with two sisters, and that he did not commit a sin. There were also many Spanish crypto-Jews who lived in Brazil. Bento would gather in private meetings with them to discuss political and religious matters that affected the lives of Sephardic New Christians and Jews. Some comic passages emerge from the conversations and discussions that took place during the meetings. For example, Bento and Meireles laughed at the bull issued by the Pope and Philip II of Spain that gave indulgences to people who sent money to rescue the Portuguese soldiers that had been captured by the Muslims during the Battle of Alcazarquivir. Meireles called the bull a "burla" or joke. Some other crypto-Jews made fun of the selection process used by the Catholic Church to choose the Pope.

The participants of the secret meetings of crypto-Jews described by Bento Teixeira came from different backgrounds and represented different parts of the world. There were many Spaniards, such as the medical doctor Pedro Henríquez, Diogo Rodrigues, Gomes d'Ávila, Juan Bautista, and Luis Alvarez. There were also affluent Portuguese men who owned "engenhos" or sugar mills that flourished in Bahia and in Pernambuco. Among them we find Gabriel Pinto, Pero Vieira, Bento de Santiago, and others who provided economic support for the less privileged crypto-Jews of the late sixteenth-century Brazil. Some of the secret meetings of the crypto-Jews took place in the homes of people trusted by the local, crypto-Jewish community, such as the rabbi Francisco Pardo, and Bento Teixeira's mother, Leonor Rodrigues, who was considered to be one of the most reliable and knowledgeable persons about Judaic practices in colonial Brazil. In the last confessions that he presented to the inquisitors while in the cells of the Lisbon Tribunal, Bento explained that his mother introduced Judaism to him with "mimos e brandura" [affection and tenderness]. This passage corroborates the point of view expressed by historians such as Anita Novinsky and Sônia Aparecida Siqueira that after the mass baptisms Jewish beliefs and practices were generally transmitted primarily by women.

II. *In the Cells of the Lisbon Inquisition*

During the first two years of Bento Teixeira's imprisonment by the Lisbon Tribunal, which started on January 20, 1596 and ended in December of 1599, the poet and school teacher from Pernambuco insistently denied the accusations that he was a follower of the Mosaic Law. As one later finds out, during these years of Bento's imprisonment, he played a leadership role for other Portuguese crypto-Jews who had also been caught by the Holy Office. Unfortunately, Bento Teixeira's defiant attitude and leadership role started coming to an end in September of 1597, when the inquisitors warned him that he was running the risk of being executed by the Inquisition because he had refused to admit that he had abandoned Catholicism and embraced Judaism. Following such a warning, a sentence was read to Bento Teixeira. The sentence declared Bento to be a heretic and apostate of the Catholic faith. Due to the fact that even after the sentence was read to him, Bento kept insisting that he had always been a good Christian, the inquisitors considered him to be a "negative." This conclusion implied that Bento would be subjected to torture to make him confess and, above all, that he was running the risk of being delivered to the secular justice to be burned at the stake. Following the procedures prescribed by the *Manual dos Inquisidores*, a theologian named Manoel Cabral was assigned to act as a defense lawyer for Bento Teixeira. The primary role of the defense lawyer was to persuade the victim to confess and repent of his sins.

The pages of the process that follow September 13, 1597—when the libel was read to Bento Teixeira—reveal that the accused experienced physical and psychological torture. The mental and psychological pressure can be observed through the changes in the oral and written confessions that Bento started submitting to the inquisitors two months after the issuing of the libel. Beginning with the confession of November 7, 1597, and other written statements that Bento Teixeira submitted to the inquisitors during the period that preceded his abjuration and participation in the *auto-da-fé* of January 31, 1599, the accused admitted that throughout most of his life he had been involved with Judaism. Bento Teixeira's confessions during the last years of his life also contain rich information about social and religious interactions involving descendents of Sephardic Jews inside and outside the Inquisition jail. They also reveal unknown aspects of Bento Teixeira's personal life. For example, in the confession of November 18, 1597, the poet admitted that his Judaic practices formally started when he was approximately fourteen years old

and that they continued throughout most of his life. It seems, however, that, even prior to Bento's birth, Leonor Rodrigues planned to introduce Judaism to her son. The fact that she chose to give him the name Bento, which in Hebrew corresponds to Baruch and means "the blessed one," suggests that she intended to raise him as a Jew. Telling Bento when he was a young child that a golden tooth would grow in his mouth if he followed the Judaic practices that she taught him further illustrates her intentions.

Apparently, when Bento reached his adolescence, his mother Leonor Rodrigues started dissuading him from participating in Catholic processions and from practicing corporal mortifications introduced to him by the Jesuit priests. She argued that corporal sacrifices were habits of Egyptians and gentiles, and that he should refrain from them. According to the confessant, in his early adolescent years his mother also persuaded him to distance himself from the Catholic faith, which she portrayed as idolatrous. She urged him to believe only in the "Deus único e verdadeiro, creador do universo" [one and true God, creator of the universe]. To ensure that the seed of Judaism would grow in Bento's soul, Leonor also started introducing him to some of the practices followed by crypto-Jews of the time, such as the dietetic habits of only eating fish with scales, keeping Saturdays as the Sabbath, fasting during the Jewish holidays, refraining from saying the Catholic prayers that alluded to Christ, the Virgin Mary or that ended in the words: "Gloria ao pai ao filho e ao espírito santo" [Glory to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit]. In the same confession, Bento Teixeira explained that when his father, a Christian, found out that his wife and son were secretly involved in Judaic practices, he beat Leonor and punished Bento to the point of torture, giving his son "muitas razões eficazes para que fosse cristão" [many efficacious reasons that he become a Christian].

According to Bento the fights between his parents affected him to such a point that he became "confuso, sem saber determinar se seria judeu ou cristão" [confused, without knowing if he would be a Jew or a Christian]. It was then that Leonor Rodrigues decided to hire Francisco Lopes and Francisco Mendes to teach Judaism to Bento and prepare him for circumcision. The act never took place because when his father found out about Leonor's plan he stabbed Francisco Lopes and threatened to kill him. Bento explained that even with his father's prohibition he continued participating in the secret meetings held in different houses of the New Christians who lived in Bahia. His Judaic practices continued even when he was a Jesuit student and clergyman. Similar to the case of Luis de

Carvajal, who took advantage of the books found in the library of the Colegio de Santiago de Tlatelolco to learn more about Judaism, it seems that some of the books that Bento read at the Jesuit school helped him to solidify his religious and philosophical beliefs.

Bento's confession suggests that, when an opportunity was available, his mother and her crypto-Jewish friends would gather to teach him the Law of Moses. During these gatherings they would engage in debates that underscored the superiority of the Judaic faith over that of the Christians. They also fasted during the gatherings that occurred around Jewish holidays, particularly during the months of September and December. It appears that, similar to the crypto-Jewish community of the city of Mexico, which believed in proselytism, some of the crypto-Jews from Bahia also tried to convert Christians to Judaism. Bento recalled that in some of their reunions they would mention cases of Catholics who had been converted to Judaism. One of them was Pero Vaz, a king's knight, who represented the Spanish crown in Brazil.

The confession of November 17, 1597, makes clear that many New Christians who lived in Bahia and in Pernambuco during the last decades of the sixteenth century had returned to Judaism. There were some well-educated crypto-Jews who acted as rabbis and who spoke Latin during their secret gatherings to prevent being understood by their slaves and servants. Bento himself seemed to have played a major role in fostering Judaic practices among New Christians who sought his advice. As he mentioned in his first confession, in Bahia he had translated parts of the Old Testament for his cousin's son. In Pernambuco crypto-Jews, such as Violante Fernandes, who wished to learn more about the Old Testament often called on him. He constantly offered advice to his fellow crypto-Jews, including those whom he saw as transgressors of the natural law, such as the Italian Fernão Ribeiro, the bigamist who lived with two sisters. Some crypto-Jews reacted negatively to his advice and resented him for his comments about the depraved way they were conducting their lives. Bento's criticisms regarding the social behavior of many people in Brazil coincided with those of the Jesuit Manuel da Nóbrega who condemned many religious and lay people who lived in Bahia and Pernambuco for their depraved way of life. Nevertheless, despite being antagonized by some crypto-Jews and Christians whom he openly criticized, Bento was perceived as a leader among many who knew him, particularly among New Christians.

The information that Heitor Furtado de Mendonça had gathered during his visit to Bahia and Pernambuco about Bento's leadership role

among some New Christians from Brazil made the Holy Office see him as a threat to the Catholic faith. In Pernambuco Bento had not only advised and taught New Christians, but he had also engaged in theological debates and arguments with priests, friars and Catholic people in general. Even when brought to Lisbon as a prisoner of the Inquisition, Bento continued exerting his influence on other crypto-Jews. The written documents that he submitted to the inquisitor during the last year of his imprisonment in the jail of the Lisbon Tribunal contain detailed information about his relationship with crypto-Jews in Brazil and in Portugal. Perhaps because Bento was aware of the fact that the inquisitors knew that within the cells of the prison of the Holy Office he had also been sought by many of the prisoners accused of Judaism, he felt the need to produce another confession that would prove once and for all that he was no longer a "negative" that hid information from the inquisitors. In a written confession dated December 22, 1597, which seems to have been strategically delivered to the inquisitors on the eve of Christmas day, Bento makes a vehement plea to convince the inquisitorial authorities that once and for all he had decided to abandon everything and everybody that had linked him to Judaism.

Bento started the confession of December 22, 1597, by comparing his life to that of the Hebrew patriarch Jacob, who could not live with Rachel, the woman he loved, because her father forced him to spend seven years with Rachel's sister, Leah. In his confession Bento compared his involvement with Judaism to the ugly Leah. The beautiful Rachel was associated with Christianity, a religion that Bento wanted to embrace after being convinced by the inquisitors. He regretted the fact that his involvement with Judaic practices placed him on the wrong path, not for seven or fourteen, but for more than twenty-four years. Written in a moving and pious tone, the introduction of this written confession seems to have as its main objective that of convincing the inquisitors that he sincerely wished to abandon Judaism. However, the intimate and somewhat fictionalized confession changes its pious tone and points to the failures of the Inquisition as an institution.

Following the intimate description of his life as a crypto-Jew who had finally found the truth in the Catholic Church, the writer began describing his experience in the Inquisition jail. In the second part of the confession the accused assumed the role of an accuser who pointed to the failures of the inquisitors in converting those caught in their web to Catholicism. Here the writer no longer acted as a humble confessant but as an experienced observer who has authority to warn and advise the

inquisitors about the way to proceed with the prisoners. He talked about the different treatment that poor and rich people accused of Judaism received from the Inquisition. He described the precarious physical conditions of the cells, full of cracks in the walls. He also elaborated on the impact of torture or "tratos" on the physical and mental health of the inmates. Bento also explained that through the cracks of the walls of the cells the prisoners communicated among themselves, informing each other about events occurring inside and outside the jail that affected their lives. The prisoners also used the cracks and openings that they made in the walls to advise the newcomers on how to avoid incriminating others during the confessions. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, one fascinating aspect that emerges from this part of Bento's confession is that the crypto-Jews found in the prison of the Lisbon Holy Office used the openings in the walls even to arrange marriages. For example, Bento used a hole made in the wall to marry a woman named Maria Henriques de Salvaterra. He described the wedding in the following manner: "Por um buraco que está hoje tapado na quarta deste patio, me recebi (ou para falar mais propriamente) prometi, diante de cinco testemunhas … que tirando-me Deus daqui com vida de qualquer maneira que fosse, de receber por mulher Maria Henirques de Salvaterra …" [Through a hole that is now covered in the forth cell of this patio I received (or to properly speak) I promised, in front of five witnesses, that if God would take me alive from here in any state of health, I would receive as wife Maria Henriques de Salvaterra …]. Through Bento's written confession one learns that around the last part of 1597 some of the prisoners started sending messages advising the inmates to remain "negative" or not to admit guilt as long as they could, because they had learned that some rich New Christians in Rome were trying to obtain a general pardon from the pope for Portuguese New Christians accused of Judaism. Relying on his memory, Bento produced written documents describing the system of codified language that the Portuguese New Christians used to send messages to each other.

In a subtle but firm stance, the schoolteacher and poet from northeast Brazil also exposed the corruption that he observed in the Inquisition throughout his trial. For example, he explained that many crypto-Jews from Bahia and Pernambuco escaped persecution by the Inquisition because they were rich. Bento also explained that the inquisitorial guards that accompanied the prisoners from Brazil to Portugal were corrupt. According to him, even before leaving Recife some guards offered to free him in exchange for money. When the prisoners arrived in Portugal, the

official of the Inquisition that came to meet them on the Dutch ship that brought them offered to help them to escape. Bento claimed that he did not accept the bribe from the official but that João Nunes, a rich New Christian, did. João Nunes paid the official to put him in contact with influential people in Lisbon who later intervened on his behalf to keep him from imprisonment by the Holy Office.

Throughout the confession Bento emphasized that many inmates preferred torture and death over confessing and denouncing others, because those who confessed, once out of jail, were usually humiliated by Catholics and persecuted by crypto-Jews. Bento also stated that many prisoners complained that the Inquisition tended to execute primarily the poor and the simple. He illustrated his argument by explaining that some rich New Christians had given King Philip II of Spain one and a half million gold coins to prevent being executed by the Holy Office. Bento concluded his confession by stating that the document was written and signed by him.

In the year of 1598 Bento produced confessions that did not follow the guidelines of the *Manual of the Inquisitors* or of the *Regimento do Santo Ofício* for many of them did not emerge through oral inquiries under the control of the inquisitors, but in narrative form written in his cell.[6] Perhaps because the inquisitors were intrigued by some of the observations made by the poet in his confession dated December 22, 1597, they provided additional paper and ink in order for Bento to elaborate on specific examples of communication with other inmates and on other aspects of his experience in the jail of the Lisbon Tribunal. Unlike the previous confessions, these written documents do not have a humble and repentant tone. Most of them only describe events related to Bento's experiences in Brazil and, above all, as a prisoner of the Lisbon Tribunal from January 1596, until approximately January 1599, when Bento signed a document abjuring Judaism.

In a document written at the beginning of 1598, the accused informed the Inquisition that the prisoners were refusing to admit their involvement with Judaic practices because they had heard from outside sources that a general pardon was being negotiated in Madrid, and that many of the prisoners, including those who had been brought from Brazil, would be released from jail. Such a deal indeed happened. João Lúcio

[6] The *Manual dos Inquisidores*, based on Nicolau Emérico's *Directorium Inquisitorum* stated that "the trials should be brief … and reject all sorts of appeal" (11).

Azevedo documents in his *História dos cristãos novos portugueses* that, pressed by the economic problems, Philip III (II of Portugal) urged Pope Clement VIII to issue a general pardon to the New Christians caught by the Inquisition in exchange for one million and seven hundred thousand *cruzados*. On August 23, 1604 the brief *Postulat a nobis* was signed by the Pope. The signing of the document by the Pope led to the release of four hundred and ten New Chrsitians who had been detained by the Inquistion in Portugal and in Spain (162). Unfortunately, for Bento Teixeira it came too late: he was already dead. However, the pardon issued by the pope and the king helped free more than four hundred New Christians jailed by the Portuguese Inquisition, including many who were brought from Bahia and Pernambuco as a result of the first visit of the Holy Office to northeast Brazil.

Through the reports requested by the inquisitors, Bento covertly and overtly complained of the corporal and psychological punishment inflicted upon the prisoners, and the cruel attitude of the wards and officials of the Holy Office toward the New Christians. The accused cited the example of Gaspar de Molina, a ward that mistreated even the well-educated prisoners, such as himself and Diogo de Horta, an important intellectual who had also endured torture and abuse in the Inquisition jail. In an indirect manner, the poet advised the inquisitors to change their behavior in order to convince the prisoners that they were sincerely interested in their salvation. The poet cites Lopo Nunes, a crypto-Jew whose whereabouts were unknown to Bento, as someone who said that the inquisitors were worse than the heretics of England. Through the example of Lopo Nunes, Bento explains that many New Christians considered the descendents of Jews to be martyrs. They mocked the inquisitors for their supposed piety and Christianity, when in fact they were simply torturers of those who were seeking the true God. Many of the prisoners compared the Inquisition to hell and equated the Inquisitors to demons working for the Devil.

In a gesture that seems to have resulted from a question by the inquisitors, Bento explains that many prisoners asked for his advice and help because they saw him as a firm and honest person, or as an "Oráculo de Delfos" [Delpho's Oracle]. He believed that Portugal housed the "cream of the crop of the Jews" because it was there that one could find the finest Hebrews in the world. However, Bento was also pleased to find out that in Brazil, a place where only the scum of the world would go, there existed a "tão fino judeu" [such a fine Jew] like himself. The poet stated that despite the fact that he was no longer an adept of Judaism, he would never for-

get that he came from the people of Israel. He also tried to persuade the inquisitors that he was advising the prisoners to confess in order to save their lives and souls.

Perhaps as a response to another question by the inquisitors, Bento explained how the prisoners managed to send messages to other New Christians both inside and outside the Inquisition jail. In his answer he stated that they used many different methods, including codified messages written in starched handkerchiefs, as well as through oral words or phrases. He affirmed that he himself had used a starched handkerchief to send someone a written message. He also explained that if a person, after being tortured, would yell a phrase with the name of Our Lady of Victory (*Virgem da Vitória*), the other prisoners would know that the person had not denounced other crypto-Jews. If after leaving the torture chamber the victim would cry out "there I left in pain my flesh and blood" it meant that he or she had incriminated his or her parents during the confession produced under torture. The poet also elaborated on some codified messages that crypto-Jews would send to others informing them about the actions taken by the inquisitors and by the political rulers that would affect them. Some of the messages involved the memorization of long documents, a custom that reflected the oral tradition that had long existed among their Jewish ancestors.

Bento Teixeira was able to remember many phrases and prayers that he had heard from the crypto-Jews that he met inside the jail and in the secret meetings of New Christians in Bahia and Pernmabuco. The phrases, psalms and prayers that he had learned by heart demonstrate the importance of memorization for the descendents of Sephardic Jews. Since the synagogues in Spain and later in Portugal had been forced to close their doors during the times of Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain, the descendents of Sephardic Jews had to rely on their memory to transmit the wisdom and prayers of their ancestors. The oral tradition among New Christians became a form of cultural and religious survival. Luiz Roberto Alves admits that until today many prayers and songs that were transmitted orally by the New Christians are alive in northeast Brazil. Some of the prayers, songs and popular beliefs transmitted by New Christians during colonial times can be observed today in the *cordel* or string literature and songs produced by popular artists know as *repentistas*, as well as in the popular plays of well-known playwrights such as Ariano Suassuna. It is quite possible that the oral tradition introduced by colonial subjects, such as New Christians and Black Africans, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contributed to the enrichment

of the Baroque culture and the rich folklore that still exists in Brazil today.[7]

One of the last reports written by Teixeira contains a very relevant account of a meeting that he had in Brazil with a crypto-Jew from Spain named Juan Bautista. In this account we learn about important aspects of Bento's life and of the political situation of Brazil under the control of Philip II. After killing Filipa Raposa, Bento went to Bautista's home and asked for help. The Spanish crypto-Jew advised Bento to sell six African slaves that he owned, to change his name to Joseph Bautista, and to leave Pernambuco in a boat that was going to Peru via Tucumán. The Spanish crypto-Jew told Bento that he did well in killing his wife because besides being an adulteress she had him "enclavado en la Inquisición" [tied to the Inquisition]. Bautista also told Bento that through Heitor Furtado de Mendonça's servant he had learned that Frei Damião da Fonseca had denounced Bento. Bento followed the instructions given to him by Bautista and was ready to leave Pernambuco with his protector. As stated previously, the escape never happened because in the middle of 1594 an English fleet commanded by James of Lancaster invaded Pernambuco and the Spanish monarch prohibited all ships from leaving the area. Bento explains that a few days before his extradition to Portugal as a prisoner of the Inquisition, Juan Bautista came to see and advise the poet not to incriminate other crypto-Jews. Prior to Bautista's visit, Bento had also received warnings and threats from wealthy crypto-Jews from Bahia. According to Bento, Lopo Fernandes wrote to him and sent him money to help cover *buracos* [cracks] or unexpected expenses. In the letter, Lopo Fernandes compared the visit of the Inquisition to a war that passed through Bahia, but that had left him and other members of the crypto-Jewish community unharmed. The confessant explained that Lopo Fernandes ended his letter with a suggestion that Bento take the seal from the letter and place it in his mouth to avoid incriminating the crypto-Jews from Bahia.

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[7] In *A Inquisição Portuguesa e a sociedade colonial* Sônia Aparecida Siqueira observes that despite the efforts of the Christian missionaries to change the religious beliefs of the inhabitants of colonial Brazil, the Indians and the Black Africans continued to practice in secret their religion. The fact that many of the white settlers were New Christians contributed to the development of the religious syncretism that started in the colonial period and that can be observed in the Brazilian folkloric traditions and festivities even today. As Siqueira explains: "Três estágios diferentes de crenças e espiritualidades roçavam-se no dia-a-dia dos homens na Colônia" (43–44) [Three stages of different beliefs and spiritualities intermingled in the daily life of the colonial men].

Due to the fact that Bento was required to show repentance of his involvement with Jewish practices by denouncing crypto-Jews that he had met inside and outside the jail in order to save his life, one cannot assume that everything that he wrote and told the inquisitors was true. Still fulfilling his penance when he died in July of 1600, it is difficult to conclude whether he had indeed become a sincere Catholic. One thing that transpires in Bento's written statements produced during the last months of his imprisonment is the fact that he was a prolific writer with great capacities for memorization and creativity. It is possible that much of the information that Bento gave the inquisitors was not truly accurate. Most of the names mentioned in his confessions were of people that had already been caught by the Inquisition, or of some who had already left Brazil or Portugal for other parts of the world. One thing that becomes evident throughout the documents that he wrote in the last years of his imprisonment is his criticism of the unfairness of the Inquisition and of the political and social system of his time. A phrase found in one of the papers that Bento wrote during his imprisonment in the cells of the Lisbon Tribunal may very well summarize the last days of his life: "Tenho a prisão por recreação, a solidão por companheira e a tristeza por prazer" [I have prison for recreation, solitude for companion and sadness for pleasure]. Bento's sadness and disillusion probably resulted from the fact that he did not resist torture and revealed to the inquisitors many secrets that other Jewish descendents who were arrested by the Inquisition had confided in him.

Since he had become so disillusioned to the point that he saw prison as recreation, one question that comes to our minds is why did he try to leave the Inquisition cell? It is possible that he tried to survive the Inquisition to make sure that his poem *Prosopopéia* would be published. The epic poem contains relevant information about Bento's life, as well as about sixteenth-century Brazil. It is also reasonable to assume that the poem is full of subtle messages directed to Portuguese New Christians and other colonial subjects who suffered persecution during the monarchy of Philip II of Spain. As we will see, a strong claim for justice permeates the verses of the epic published posthumously in 1601.

III. *Bento Teixeira's* Prosopopéia*: Text and Context*

As stated previously, Bento Teixeira's literary work cannot be understood without a close look at his Inquisition process, and without situating his discourse—which includes his epic and his confessions—within the context of the early modern Iberian empires. Through many of the written confessions found in Bento Teixeira's Inquisition process (Processo 5.206 da Inquisição de Lisboa) housed in the National Archives of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, one can see the vast network and the web of connections among individuals of Jewish heritage that had been dispersed from Portugal and forced to take refuge in the New World, in the Netherlands and other parts of Europe. As displaced subjects during the rule of Philip II, New Christians and Jews played a crucial role within the larger context of the Atlantic and Mediterranean world. It is clear from Bento Teixeira's trial that the Dutch capitalized on the resources and knowledge of the Portuguese New Christians to conquer Brazil and other strategic areas of the Spanish empire. One also sees glimpses of imperial rivalry between Spain and England, as well as between Spain and the Netherlands. The fluidity of imperial and colonial borders can be seen through the commercial and personal connections among New Christians from Brazil and other parts of the New World, particularly those from Peru, Cartagena de Indias, and Tucumán. Through his process one can also study the jails of the inquisition and the contacts and behaviors of the accused.

Most of the critics who have written about the *Prosopopéia* regard it as an insignificant poem that imitates *Os Lusíadas*. These critics usually forget that Camões, like other poets before him, had also modeled his poems on Virgil's *Aeniead* and on the writings of other classical Latin and Greek poets. One should also consider that in Bento Teixeira's use of *imitatio* both praise and subversion are equally present. In a time when the Inquisition determined the fate of a text, the writers also relied on intertextuality to escape censorship and to successfully publish their works. It is possible that Bento Teixeira chose to model his poem after *Os Lusíadas* to pay homage to the beloved Portuguese poet and at the same time to escape censorship by the Inquisition. It is relevant to note that Camões' epic was published for the first time in 1572, just six years before Dom Sebastião, the unmarried Portuguese king, disappeared during the Battle of Alcazarquivir in 1578, leaving Portugal without an heir to the throne while *Prosopopéia* was written in the last decade of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese Empire had

fallen under the Spanish crown. Critics who compare *Os Lusíadas* to *Prosopopéia* have not looked past certain superficial similarities, such as structure. On a deeper level, the works are quite different, primarily because they were written before and after the traumatic loss of the Portuguese king.

Os Lusíadas is about the glorious days of past when Portugal was the leading European nation in maritime exploration and imperial expansion in Africa and Asia, whereas *Prosopopéia* is about the future and the possibilities availabe to the Portuguese people in Pernambuco, Brazil. *Os Lusíadas* also glorifies Christian expansion. For example, in *Canto* 5 Camões praises Vasco da Gama's voyage that brought the "fé de Cristo" [the Christian faith] to the capes, the islands and the African kingdoms where the Portuguese had sailed with Gama. *Prosopopéia* does not praise Christianity or imperial expansion. Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, the "hero" to whom Teixeira dedicates his epic, was a soldier from Brazil who had fought in the lost battle of Alcazarquivir, in which Dom Sebastião and all but one hundred of his army of over twenty thousand soldiers died or disappeared. Teixeira praises the courage of the soldier from Brazil who had been enslaved and humiliated. He also consoles the suffering of the Portuguese people who had lost their sovereignty, their monarch and had become unwilling subjects of the Spanish empire. Particularly suffering under the new king were the New Christians, and *Prosopopéia* contains many hidden messages that seem to have been directed to crypto-Jews and other colonial subjects from the Luso-Brazilian world.

These messages begin with the title itself. *Prosopopéia*, from the Greek *prosopon* (person), may be interpreted as the "person behind the mask." This sends Teixeira's first message: look for hidden meanings under the surface. The Jewish poet seeks inspiration in God and rejects the help of the pagan muses that inspired Camões. The Greek deities that appear in Teixeira's poem share aspects in common with crypto-Jews: Proteus, who had the power to assume any shape he pleased, and Thalia, a deity who holds a mask in her hands, both represent the dissimulation that crypto-Jews were forced to adopt.

Proteus, who, according to Greek mythology, had the power of transformation and metamorphosis, and also enjoyed the gift of prophecy, occupies the major part of the *Prosopopéia*. Proteus has traditionally been associated with old age, wisdom and immortality. Because he had the power to change forms in Greek mythology, to hide and escape from those who wanted extract information from him, and because only when under subjugation he confessed to Aristeus, Proteus thus became an

irresistible protagonist for the New Christian poet. Proteus's gifts of prophecy and metamorphosis correspond to the attributes of many of the great Jewish patriarchs—such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. All these patriarchs used dissimulation to escape persecution from enemies. Proteus—who, in addition to changing form, could interpret dreams and had power over water—could be identified with Moses, as well as with Bento Teixeira and his own crypto-Jewish brethren, currently hiding from the Inquisition.

One of the crypto-Jewish messages in the *Prosopopéia* can be found in the dedication of the poem. The poem was dedicated to Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, governor of Pernambuco. This was different from other epics of the time, such as *Os Lusíadas* and *La Araucana*. Following the conventions of their times, Camões dedicated his epic to the Portuguese king Dom Sebastião, and Alonso de Ercilla dedicated *La Araucana* to the Spanish king Philip II. Two major facts may explain why Bento Teixeira did not dedicate his epic poem to Philip II, and chose instead to dedicate it to Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, a figure that in the vast domains of the Spanish empire had little importance outside Pernambuco. A first reason may be because the governor's father, Duarte Coelho, had welcomed New Christians in Brazil when he became the captain of Pernambuco. Second, because Bento wanted to voice his opposition to the Spanish domination of Portugal and the policies of Philip II toward the descendents of Portuguese New Christians. Throughout the *Prosopopéia* there are many other passages in which Teixeira disagrees with Camões. One of these discrepancies occurs in *cantos* X and XI. Here the New Christian poet disagrees and corrects Camões who describes Tritão as a horribe creature that resembled a monstruous lobster full of scales:

> Do Mar cortando a prateada vea,
> Vinha Tritão em cola duplicada,
> Não lhe vi na cabeça casca posta
> (Como Camões descreve) de Lagosta
> Mas uma Concha lisa e bem lavrada
> De rica Madrepérola trazia. (25)

> Cutting throught the Ocean silver vain
> Came Tritão in double tail
> I did not see in his head an encrusted shell
> (Like Camões describes) of Lobster
> But a shiny and smooth shell
> Of rich mother of pearl that he was bringing.

In Bento Teixeira's poem the description of Tritão resembles that of the herald of Proteus who announced with its trumpet the prophecies of the god of the sea. Kênia Maria de Almeida Pereira identifies the shape and color of the sea shell or trumpet held by Tritão with that of a shofar, an instrument that calls for the unity of those of the Jewish faith (86).

Prosopopéia also seems to be a poem of subtle but strong resistance against Spanish domination and social injustice in the New and Old Worlds. As the verses that follow suggest, the poet seemed to be encouraging the Portuguese people who were suffering persecution to find the strength to face the difficulties that they experienced after the disappearance of King Dom Sebastião:

> Neste tempo Sebasto Lusitano,[8] (65)
> [. . .]
> Da fome e da sede, do rigor passando,
> E outras faltas em fim dificultosas
> Convém-vos aquirir uma força nova
> Que o fim as cousas examina, e prova (59)
>
> In this Sebastian Lusitanian time,
> Passing through hunger, thirst,
> And other hardships even worse,
> You should acquire a new strength
> That examines and tries things at the final hour.

These verses may allude to the intensification of sufferings of the Portuguese people after the death of Dom Sebastião, a king whose concessions to the New Christians were later criticized and cancelled by Philip II.[9] The poetic voice urges them to acquire a new conviction and power to face the many adversities that they are experiencing. The intensification of hardships that the Portuguese people, and particularly the New Christians, faced after 1580 can be documented through the passages of Teixeira's trial. The findings of historians like João Lúcio de Azevedo, David M. Gitlitz and Gordon M. Weiner, among others, point

[8] The page numbers that appear after the Portuguese citations of Bento Teixeira's epic are from the orthographically updated edition of *Prosopopéia* published by Celso Cunha and Carlos Duval.

[9] Jacqueline Hermann explains that in 1577 Dom Sebastião granted the New Christian the freedom to leave Portugal at any time, and that he also exempted the New Christians from having their assets confiscated by the Inquisition for a period of ten years. In exchange, the New Christian community donated two hundred and fifty thousand cruzados toward the king's expedition to Morocco (168). After Dom Sebastião's death, Philip II protested the exemption issued by Dom Sebastião, and introduced the purity of blood law against the New Christians of Portugal.

to the intensification of persecution of Portuguese New Christians after the coronation of Philip II as king of Portugal in 1581.[10]

A careful reading between the lines shows clearly that the *Prosopopéia* intertextualizes *Os Lusíadas* in communicating messages of hope and resistance to other Portuguese New Christians who were forced to disperse after the imposed baptisms that occurred in the last decade of the fifteenth century, and especially after Philip II invaded Portugal and relied on the Inquisition to impose religious and social control in the Lusitanian empire. The message of resistance transpires in the following lines of *Prosopopéia*:

> —Companheiros leais, a quem no Côro
> Das Musas tem a fama entronizado,
> Não deveis ignorar, que não ignoro,
> Os trabalhos que haveis no Mar passado.
> Respondestes até agora com o fôro,
> Devido a nosso Luso celebrado,
> Mostrando-vos mais firmes contra a sorte
> Do que ela contra nós se mostra forte. (59)
>
> Loyal companions, whom the choir
> Of Muses have enthroned to fame,
> Ignore ye not (as I do not)
> The labor ye have spent at sea,
> Until now ye have responded accordingly
> Owing to our celebrated Luso,
> Showing yourselves firm against fate,
> Which, arrayed against us, is shown to be great.

[10] João Lúcio de Azevedo explains that in order to get rid of the New Christians who lived in Portugal, Philip II obtained a special permission from the Pope that limited their economic and social benefits. In his words: "interveio Filipe II, alcançando de Xisto V a proibição de serem providos em benefícios indivíduos de linhagem hebraica" (151) [Philip II intervened, coercing Pope Sixtus V to prohibit special benefits to those of Hebrew heritage]. David M. Gitlitz documents that in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century "more than fifty autos-da-fé" took place in Portugal (52). Gordon M. Weiner affirms that "After the Inquisition began in earnest in Portugal in 1536, and especially after the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1580, there was a dramatic increase in Sephardic migration" (190). In her book *La vida entre el judaísmo y el cristianismo en la Nueva España (1580–1606)*, Eva Alexandra Uchmany observes that the majority of the Portuguese New Christians who migrated to New Spain in the late sixteenth century arrived there around 1580, the year when Philip II was crowned king of Portugal. Ulchamany explains that many of them were still poor and became peddlers in the streets of Mexico City. In her words: "[L]a mayoría de los cristianos nuevos de origen lusitano, que comenzaban a abundar en España desde 1580, año en el que Felipe II se coronó rey de Portugal, estaban todavía pobres y vendían en las calles" (50) [The majority of New Christians of Lusitanian origin, who began to abound in Spain from 1580,

Such verses that allude to collective sufferings and resistance may very well refer to the persecution suffered by the Lusitanians of Jewish origin. They can also be seen as a manifestation of the Lurianic Kabala movement that spread throughout the Old and the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in response to what many considered apocalyptic times experienced by Jewish exiles from the Iberian Peninsula. The disappearance of Dom Sebastião in the Battle of Alcazarquivir in 1578, and the subsequent annexation of Portugal to the Spanish Empire in 1580, the cataclysmic experiences felt by the Portuguese people in general and the New Christians in particular gave origin to Sebastianism: a popular messianic movement that spread throughout Portugal and its colonies.

Taking advantage of topoi of Renaissance and Baroque poetry to highlight the instability of life, Bento allegorically refers to the uncertainty of the lives of New Christians who lived in the Portuguese empire at that time through the following verses: "Ó sorte tão cruel, como mudável" (43) [Oh fate so cruel, so changing], and "Neste tempo Sebasto Lusitano" (65) [In this Sebastian Lusitanian times]. Here the poet seems to be going against the norm of ancient epic tradition that attributed justice and other virtues to the king, this poetic voice does exactly the contrary: he denounces the fictional king's injustice and lack of sincerity with his subjects:

> Mas quem por seus serviços bons não herda
> Desgosta de fazer cousa lustrosa,
> Que a condição do Rei que não é franco
> O vassalo faz ser nas obras manco. (33)
>
> But he who for his good works does inherit
> Dislikes to do worthy thing,
> If frankness is not the condition of the King,
> Is going to empede the vassal's efforts is without merit.

In stanza XXXIV the poetic voice again criticizes the king. This time it is the ingratitude of the monarch that the poet attacks:

> Mas, quando virem que do Rei potente
> O pai por seus serviços não alcança
> O galardão devido e glória digna,
> Ficarão nos alpendres da Piscina.[11] (43)

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the year in which Philip II crowned himself king of Portugal, were still poor and sold [merchandise] in the streets].

[11] In note 8 of stanza XXXIV Cunha and Duval explain that the verse "Ficarão nos

But, when they saw that from the mighty King,
The father receives for his work
Neither due reward nor glory dignified,
They remained at the edge of the bethel.

Although the verses above allude to the king's lack of recognition and reward for the services rendered to the crown by Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, and by his father, Duarte Coelho, the first governor of Pernambuco, and also by his brother Duarte Coelho de Albuquerque who fought on the side of Dom Sebastião in the battle of Alcazarquivir, it is possible to see between the lines a critique of the King for his ingratitude toward the Jews and New Christians for their services rendered to the Portuguese empire.

The Brazilian critic Sílvio Romero detects a gesture of colonial resistance in these verses as well. He affirms in his *História da literatura brasileira* that the poem "encerra uma certa dose de humor satírico,—uma censura aos reis descuidados e inúteis" (362) [contain a certain dosage of satirical humor—a critique of the careless and useless kings]. However, because he did not take into consideration the larger imperial context to which the poem was connected, Romero failed to recognize that the criticism present in the verses seem to be addressed to the Spanish king who assumed the Portuguese throne after the disappearance of Dom Sebastião in 1578. The literary scholar Nelson H. Vieira, who sees *Prosopopéia* "as a vibrant literary expression of crypto-Judaism" (1993, 145), also identifies the lines of stanza 35, with "a lament over the king's failure to recognize and honor … those who are denied recognition and live as the "unaccepted" (158). Similar to Sílvio Romero, Vieira did not identify the king who failed to recognize those who deserved recognition. Given the broad imperial context of the poem, it is necessary to emphasize that the criticism and lament of the poet was probably directed at Philip II, a king known among Spaniards by the nickname "Prudent," but who was regarded by the Portuguese people in general (and the descendents of Jews in particular) as a tyrannical ruler who tried to get rid of the New Christians who lived in Portugal.

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alpendres da Piscina" corresponds to "Ficarão à espera das mercês reais" (117). The verse gives evidence of the injustice of the king. Cunha and Duval also explain that the word *Piscina*, derived from the Latin term *Piscis*, corresponds to the Hebrew term Bethsaida or Bethesda, a biblical word that means lake, fountain and place of healing. The Hebrew meaning of this word, which appears in capital letters, reinforces the idea of crypto-Jewish and messianic messages encoded in Bento Teixeira's poem.

As I have attempted to prove elsewhere,[12] based on passages of Bento Teixeira's inquisitional trial, the poet seemed to have regarded Philip II and his political and religious zeal as a threat to all the descendents of Jews that lived within the Spanish Empire. A passage from his trial clearly shows the poet's opposition to the policies of the monarch regarding New Christians. In one of Bento's "Avisos" [Warnings] written in the inquisition jail, the poet explains that he and other Portuguese New Christians caught by the Inquisition had to pay large sums of money for forgiveness of their sins, and that even after the payment they did not obtain the pardon promised by the royal Highness. Finally, the social stigma linked to their ethnic and religious past was never lifted:

> Mostrem este capítulo aos que vão para Madri, e digam-lhes que não reparem com sua real Magestade em dinheiro inda que seja dar-lhe um milhão e meio d'ouro, porque pelo capítulo desta me obrigo a dar eu só 30.000 cruzados de letras passadas à vista e mais me obrigo só no Brasil tirar 400.000 cruzados.[13]
>
> Show this chapter to those who are going to Madrid, and tell them not to bother with [the demands] for money made by his royal Majesty, even if we are to give him a million and a half in gold, because by this chapter I promise to give thirty thousand cruzados paid on sight, and oblige myself to raise in Brazil four hundred thousand cruzados.

The passage suggests that during the monarchy of Philip II of Spain the Portuguese Inquisition became harsher toward New Christians than before the disappearance of Dom Sebastião. It also explains that in order to free themselves from the persecution of the Inquisition New Christians from Brazil, including Bento Teixeira, had to raise large sums of money for the monarch. Another passage found in Bento's trial makes clear that the policies of the Spanish emperor hurt New Christians:

> Estes anos atrás mandou El-Rei Filipe visitar as inquisições deste reino … as quais visitou Martin Gonçalves da Câmara, que em tempo del Rei Sebastião governou o reino todo. E tal seja a sua saúde e vida, qual foi a visita que ele fez, que se antes disto prendiam muita gente da nação mais prendem agora e penitenciam.[14]
>
> Some years ago King Philip ordered the Inquisitions to come to this kingdom … Martin Gonçalves da Camara visited them, he who in the

[12] See "A experiência do converso letrado Bento Teixeira …" (1994), and "Empreendimento e resistência do cristão-novo face à política de Filipe II." (2003).

[13] Cf. "Quinto Aviso," *Processo 5.206 da Inquisição de Lisboa*.

[14] See "Título das palavras que usam a gente da nação" *Processo 5.206 da Inquisição de Lisboa*.

> time of King Sebastian governed the whole kingdom. And such be his health and life, which was the visit he made, that if they previously seized many people from the land, even more do they seize now and punish.

It is possible that Teixeira and other Portuguese New Christians who lived in the New World shared the hostility that some of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, including Sephardic Jews and Dutch rebels, had towards the religious and political laws of Philip II. Teixeira's criticism of Philip II's politics, his empathy with the Lusitanian people, and the view of northern Brazil as a place of hope and salvation echo the attitude that emerges from the following words of William of Orange:

> [...] if in all Spaine they had bin able to have founde a tyraunt, more fit to exercise tyrannie upon the poore Portugales then he [Philip II]. (90) [...] for amongst the Indies and in other places, where they [Spaniards] commaunded absolutely, they yeelded to evident a proofe, of their perverse, naturall disposition, and tyrannous affection and will. (*Apologie* 53)

William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, *The Silent*, known in the Portuguese-speaking world as Guilherme I de Nassau (1533–1584), was considered by the Spanish monarch to be the architect of Dutch rebellions against the Spanish in 1576. The persecution of William of Orange was launched on March 15, 1580 through the "Proclamation and an Edict in form of a Proscription" written by Philip II and sent to the Catholic kingdoms of Europe. The Spanish monarch not only accused William of Nassau of being a terrorist and "the cheefe Captaine and disturber of the state of Christendome" (150), but also offered aid and a major reward for anyone who would hunt down and kill the Prince, described by the king "as a publique plague," a heretic, a hypocrite and an evil person. Before being assassinated, William of Orange wrote an apology defending himself from the accusations of the king (*Apologie against the Proclamation of the King of Spain*, 1581). In this apology, he employed a subtle rhetoric, making it clear that it was the King of Spain, not William of Orange, who was the one terrorizing the world:

> For, if the King of Spaine ... having all the world thorowe published, that I am a publike plague, an enemie of the world, unthankfull, unfaithfull, a traytor, and a wicked person: these are such injuries that no gentleman, [Sir] can or ought to endure (3) I do at this present and declare thereby, that the faultes, wherewith the King of Spaine mindeth to charge me, belong unto him selfe.[15]

[15] *The Apologie of Prince William of Orange Against the Proclamation of the King of Spaine*. Edited after the English edition of 1581, by H. Wansink. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969.

In the same period that William of Orange was challenging him in the Netherlands, "the Prudent King" also had to face the opposition of Dom António, prior of Crato, a Lusitanian prince who was born of a son of king Dom Manuel and a New Christian woman, and who challenged Philip II's right to the Portuguese crown. In Portugal the king persecuted not only Dom António and his followers but also all the subjects who had Jewish blood.

This fact can be confirmed by the correspondence exchanged between the Spanish king and his nephew the Archduke Albert of Austria, who between the years 1586–1593 accumulated the positions of Cardinal, viceroy, and general Inquisitor of Portugal. It was during this time that the visits of the Holy Office were introduced in Brazil. A letter found in the Archivo General de Simancas reveals that Philip II had ordered the Archduke to expel the descendents of Jews from Portugal. In a reply letter sent to his uncle on August 9, 1586, the Archduke writes:

> Por muitas vezes tratei a importancia de que he irem-se desta Cidade [Lisboa] os judeus que nella andão. E VMe. o tem assi mandado, E por mais diligências que nisso se fizerão, até agora não foi possível acabarem de se ir …[16]
>
> Many times I have noted how important it is that the Jews of this City [Lisbon] leave. And Your Royal Majesty has ordered so. However, despite all the efforts made toward this end, until now it has not been possible to see that all of them leave …

The letter reveals that Philip II of Spain was behind the dispersion of many Portuguese Jews in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Since Bento Teixeira suggests in his trial that, after the death of Dom Sebastião and the coronation of Philip II as king of Portugal, New Christians were persecuted by the Inquisition even more than before, it is possible that the encoded messages of the *Prosopopéia* are directed to other New

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2. The part that is italicized appears in the original text. According to Benjamin Schmidt, the Prince of Orange followed in the steps of the rebels in the United Provinces and looked for a broad international audience. He published the *Apologia* originally in French, translating it immediately to Dutch, German, Latin and English. Schmidt affirms that a few months after the publication of the text, the representative of the United Provinces reiterated Guilherme I of Nassau's argument and accused Philip II of Spain off seeking "to abolish all the privileges of the country and have it tyrannically governed by the Spanish *like the Indies*." Cf. nota 16 de B. Schmidt, "The Hope of the Netherlands: Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Idea of America." In Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, Eds. *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books: 86–106.

[16] Secretarías Provinciales, Livro 1550, Archivo General de Simancas.

Christians and Sephardic Jews who played an active role in the imperial rivalries involving Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch interests during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

The imperial rivalries and conflicts that can be detected in the verses of the *Prosopopéia* are also present in *Os Lusíadas* and *La Araucana*, poems that like *Prosopopéia* break away from the rules of the ancient epic tradition by incorporating in the verse lines autobiographical elements. However, different from what Camões and Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533–1594) had done previously, "in these poems the hallowed accidental practice of imitatio … poetic imitation, far from serving as mere digressive ornament … played a key role in the construction of a new 'poetics' of imperialist expansion" (Nicolopulos ix), *Prosopopéia* does not defend ultramarine expansion as a messianic mission reserved for Christians of Portugal and Spain. Instead, the verses of *Prosopopéia* show it to be a poetic, messianic, and religious work that assigns a central role to the descendents of Sephardic Jews in the imperial expansion to the West.[17]

Benjamin Schmidt has studied the impact of the Dutch Revolt against Spain (1568–1648) and the ferocious war of words waged by the rebel party. In his essay, "The Hope of the Netherlands: Menasseh Ben Israel and the Dutch Idea of America," he concludes that as a result of the work of the polemicists close to the Prince of Orange, "from the assumption of mutual suffering between the Dutch and the inhabitants of the New World, evolved a more ambitious notion of a tactical alliance between those two 'nations' that most intimately knew the misrule of Spain" (93). Therefore, the depiction of the northern regions of Brazil as a place of promise and salvation that emerge in *Prosopopéia* appears to be dialoguing with the polemic of imperial rivalries that helped to broaden the geography of the Netherlands during the late sixteenth century. The messianic role of Pernambuco envisaged by Bento Teixeira was fulfilled when, after the Dutch invasion of Pernambuco in 1630, Recife and the region described in the *Prosopopéia*, were transformed into a place where people from different religious, social and ethnic backgrounds experienced prosperity and harmony. This was especially true between

[17] The poem also shares commonalties with documents written in the last quarter of the sixteenth century by the Dutch rivals of Philip II, such as *The Apologie of Prince William of Orange Against the Proclamation of the King of Spaine (1581)*, a sense of empathy with the Portuguese people, and a messianic hope for the New World.

1636 and 1644, under the rule of John Mauritz van Nassau, the grandson of William of Orange's brother.[18]

Prosopopéia praises Pernambuco for the generosity of its fauna and flora, for the courage of its people and its port that functioned as a safe haven for those seeking refuge and a better life in the New World:

> Para a parte do Sul, onde a pequena
> Ursa se vê de guardas rodeada,
> Onde o Ceo luminoso mais serena
> Tem sua influição, e temperada;
> Junto da Nova Lusitania ordena
> A natureza, mãe bem atentada,
> Um porto tão quieto e tão seguro,
> Que para as curvas Naus serve de Muro. (31)
>
> For the southern part, where the Ursa Minor
> Sees itself surrounded by guards,
> Where the luminous Heavens most serene
> Have influence and temperance;
> Next to New Lusitania
> Nature, a caring mother, arrays
> A port so quiet and safe that it serves
> As a wall for ships within its curves.

In these verses, the poet depicts Nova Lusitania (today Pernambuco) as a *locus amoenus* where one could find security. The capital of Nova Lusitania, Recife, is transformed in Bento Teixeira's epic into a kind of "Earthly Paradise" or "Promised Land" where anyone could find peace and prosperity. In this, *Prosopopéia* shares commonalties with documents written in the last quarter of the sixteenth century by those who protested or rebelled against Philip II's imperial politics.

If Philip II was so determined to rid his empire from Jewish descendents, why didn't he established a tribunal of the Inquisition in Brazil? In his study of New Christians in the Atlantic world the Brazilian historian José Gonçalves Salvador suggests that

> por detrás de tudo ocultavam-se razões econômicas, principalmente. A presença de semelhante organismo em nosso País provocaria, sem a menor dúvida, a fuga dos judeus para o meio do inimigo calvinista, dinamizando-lhes as forças; o povoamento retrocederia, porque a Metrópole não dispunha de gente bastante para a empresa ultramarina; todas as atividades sofreriam graves danos. (xvii)

[18] Arnold Wiznitzer (1959) explains that from 1630 until 1654, Recife, the capital of Pernambuco became the first vibrant center for Jewish life in the New World. He also says

> behind everything lied economic reasons, primarily. The presence of such an organism in our country would provoke, without any doubt, an exodus of the Jews to the middle of the Calvinist enemy, energizing their efforts; the development of the colony would retreat, because the Metropolis would not have enough people for the ultramarine entreprise; all the activities would suffer serious damage.

Despite the fact that Philip II did not establish a permanent Tribunal of the Inquisition in Portuguese America, perhaps to prevent the descendents of Jews from leaving Brazil and joining forces with the Dutch, many New Christians left Brazil during the time that Portugal and its overseas lands fell under Spanish rule. As one can see through the first two chapters the persecution of Jews and New Christians backfired: "Bento Teixeira and Luis de Carvajal are case studies that show that in the late sixteenth century the persecution of Philip II led to the dispersal of knowledgeable Portuguese New Christians throughout the Iberian world, providing a number of atrophying crypto-Jewish communities with an influx of fresh information and fresh zeal" (Gitlitz 232). This is what emerges through the trial proceedings and the creative writings of New Christians such as Bento Teixeira and Luis de Carvajal. It appears that the changes that ocurred in the Iberian world, and particularly in the New World, where the tribunals and the visitations of the Inquisition introduced during the monarchy of Philip II, contributed to the creation of crypto-Jewish communities in Pernambuco and Nuevo Reino de León, places distant from the imperial centers of power such as Madrid and Lisbon. Furthermore, the continued migrations from Brazil to the Dutch and British colonies testify to the influence of the Sephardic Jews and New Christians throughout the Americas.

The next chapter will provide some glimpses into the communities that flourished in the Americas as a result of the dispersal of the Sephardic Jews. These descendents of Portuguese Jews played a central role in the economic and political life of the northeast and northern regions of Brazil, as well as the development of self and collective identity also known as creole consciousness, which emerged with strength in the seventeenth century.

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that in the Sephardic congregation *Zur Israel* located in Recife "all Jews were considered citizens of the Jewish community, enjoying equal rights . . ." (11).

CHAPTER THREE

AMBIVALENT ACTS OF THE INQUISITION TOWARD NEW CHRISTIANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIAN DOMAINS

On November 9, 1606, a Moorish gardener named Miguel F. de Luna appeared in front of the members of the tribunal of the Holy Office of the Lisbon Inquisition to denounce Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão (1557–1618) and his family of crypto-Jewish practices. Miguel F. de Luna justified his accusation by explaining that on more than one occasion while working in the garden of Fernandes Brandão's house located in the *Calçada do Combro*, Lisbon, he saw and heard the family act in strange ways that convinced him that they were secret Jews. According to the accuser, through an open window of the living room he had repeatedly observed the family reading a book in the morning and evening hours, and fasting for three days preceding Yom Kippur. Through the same open window he said he had heard complaints against the Inquisition and the sufferings of New Christians in the prisons of the Holy Office. The gardener also stated that a New Christian woman named Maria da Costa, who visited Brandão's family weekly, criticized him for working on Saturdays. Although Brandão had been previously accused of being a secret Jew, the denunciation by the Moorish gardener did not lead to an Inquisition trial against this wealthy and respected New Christian who was acquainted with high government figures in Lisbon and Brazil, and who at the time held the position of treasurer general of the Office of Deceased and Absent Persons in Lisbon. After being cleared of the charges, Brandão once more crossed the Atlantic and returned to Brazil, where he apparently remained for the rest of his life.

Despite the fact that Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão twice escaped persecution by the Inquisition, it seems that he was indeed a follower of the Law of Moses. This argument can be evidenced through the anonymous and apocryphal writings attributed to him. As in the previous chapters, however, the episode of the gardener's accusation and the lack of a trial against the accused reveal the "cracks" in the Inquisition as an institution. The ambivalent and inconsistent manner in which the inquisitors treated New Christians accused of being crypto-Jews leads us to agree

with Bento Teixeira's observation that the Inquisition was like a spider web that trapped small flies and let the big and noisy bugs escape.

The present chapter provides an overview of the impact of the imperial and political rivalries involving Spain, Portugal, France and the Netherlands on the descendents of Portuguese Jews and New Christians in the New World, particularly Brazil, during the seventeenth century. On one hand, it traces the intensified persecution that New Christians of Portuguese descent faced in the Spanish American colonies as a result of imperial rivalries with the Dutch. On the other hand, it studies the development of a strong identification with the New World among Portuguese New Christians in the same period. This identification, which can be observed in the writings attributed to Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão and Manuel Beckman (1630–1685), can be associated with what scholars of colonial Spanish America have called "*criollo* consciousness," an emerging sense of difference from Europe that began to intensify in the early seventeenth century.[1] Until now, few critics have appreciated the parallel phenomenon that Brandão and Beckman embody in Portuguese America. In my analysis, I underline the socially advanced ideas that these two New Christian authors defended through their writings, as well as their strong attachment to the New World. Through Fernandes Brandão's *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil* and the letters and inquisitional testimonies of Manuel Beckman, one can detect opposition to the hegemonic European discourse and clear instances of an emerging *criollo* consciousness in the seventeenth century in Portuguese America.[2]

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[1] In "Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas," Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti explain that the new elite that emerged in the New World in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were considered suspect by the crown and also by the Old World nobility "who were aware of the lowly social origins of the most of the American conquerors" (23). In "Racial, Religious, and Civic Creole Identity in Colonial Spanish America," Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra expresses a similar opinion when he admits that although the "self-styled Criollos or Creoles … presided over racially mixed colonial societies of Indians, blacks, Spaniards, and *castas* (mixed bloods), [they] felt voiceless and discriminated against by Peninsulares" (423). Since many of the first settlers who came from Brazil descended from Sephardic Jews, discrimination against the Creole elite of Portuguese origin by Spanish Peninsulares was intensified between 1580 and 1640, when Portugal and its overseas domains were under the Spanish crown.

[2] As previously stated, during the first two centuries Portuguese America, known nowadays as Brazil, was comprised of two major colonies: the state of Brazil, with seat in Bahia de Todos os Santos, and the state of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, with seat in São Luis. These two colonies were not governed by viceroys, but by governors who reported directly to the Portuguese crown.

I. *Spanish* Conversos *and Portuguese* cristãos-novos *in Seventeenth-Century Portuguese America and the Spanish American Colonies*

When contrasting the Inquisition trials of Luis de Carvajal and Bento Teixeira, one can see that, although not entirely free from religious persecution, the descendents of Sephardic Jews in Portuguese America enjoyed relative freedom compared to their counterparts in the Spanish American colonies during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. The absence of a Tribunal of the Inquisition in Brazil allowed many New Christians to enjoy a certain degree of freedom and to share in the economic prosperity in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, especially due to the sugar plantations in Pernambuco and Bahia. As seen in the previous chapter, throughout Bento's written and oral confessions, he describes Brazil as an ideal place where one could find religious freedom and economic opportunities. Even the New Christians who did not find wealth and freedom in Portuguese America referred to Brazil as the "terra da promissão" or Promised Land. In the secret meetings of the crypto-Jews in northeast Brazil, Diogo Rodrigues would explain that many descendents of Jews were leaving Portugal because they found greater freedom in Brazil. A written confession reports Rodrigues' words in the following way: "Se vossas mercês soubessem as desventuras que causam as inquisições em Portugal—as misérias e orfandades—ficarão fora de si. Por essa razão estamos cá no Brasil." [If you knew about the disgraces that the inquisitions are causing in Portugal—and the miseries and orphans—you would lose your minds. It is for this reason that we came to Brazil]. Gaspar Rodrigues de Cartagena, a crypto-Jew, who apparently depended on the charity of his wealthy counterparts, used to remind his fellow *cristãos-novos* that they should be more generous to needy people like him because they lived in the "terra da promissão." Throughout Bento Teixeira's trial, Brazil, and especially the captaincy of Pernambuco, is depicted as a Promised Land. The messianic vision of Brazil as "terra da promissão" appears especially in his epic poem *Prosopopéia*.

The messianic view of Brazil as a "Promised Land" resulted in part from the economic prosperity brought by the sugar plantations in the northeast regions, such as those that fueled the local economies in the captaincies of Pernambuco and Bahia.[3] However, as we can also see

[3] For additional information on this topic consult Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*

through the case of Bento Teixeira, things began to change in the last decade of the sixteenth century, when Heitor Furtado de Mendonça was dispatched to Bahia and Pernambuco as the first visitor of the Portuguese Inquisition during the monarchy of Philip II of Spain (I of Portugal). Although the Inquisition was not formally established in the Portuguese America, men such as Furtado de Mendonça were sent regularly on inspection tours to evaluate religious orthodoxy in the colonies throughout the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Despite the fact that this first visit of the Holy Office did not influence the population of Brazil in the same way that the full-fledged Inquisition tribunals of Mexico and Peru did, the new policies introduced in Portugal during the monarchy of the Spanish Habsburgs (1580–1640) negatively affected New Christians living in the Iberian Peninsula and in the New World.

As Alexandre Herculano, Antônio José Saraiva and other historians of the Inquisition in Portugal explain, the discriminatory measures introduced by Philip II between 1581 and 1598 to prevent Portuguese individuals of Jewish origin from entering the religious orders and from occupying important positions in the government, combined with the rigors of the Inquisition, led many New Christians to move to safer places in the New World and in Europe. The annexation of Portugal to the Spanish crown also altered the commercial and diplomatic relations that the Lusitanian nation had with England and the Dutch Provinces since medieval times. Because Portugal was no longer an independent empire and Philip II was regarded as their principal enemy, the Portuguese overseas possessions became a target of attack by Spain's imperial rivals. In 1581, when Prince William of Orange renounced his allegiance to Philip II, many New Christians from Portugal migrated to the Netherlands to find a safe heaven. The exodus of the Sephardic population from Portugal helped to accelerate the economic decline of the Spanish Empire. During the government of Philip III of Spain (1598–1621), a period of political and economic decline for Spain and the rise to power of the Netherlands, many Spaniards began to assume that all Portuguese New Christians were not only Jews but also allies of emerging European powers, particularly the Dutch. In Portugal, members of the Inquisition and the lower sectors of society expressed dissatisfaction with the general pardon that the Spanish king gave to New Christians in exchange for one million, seven hundred thousand *cruzados*.

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in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

It was also during Philip III's monarchy that Inquisitor D. Marcos Teixeira visited Bahia between 1618 and 1620. At a time when the sugar economy was booming and some New Christians were among the wealthiest members of the society, it seems that Marcos Teixeira's visit was less effective than Heitor Furtado de Mendonça's visit to the region from 1591–1593. Despite the fact that a great number of New Christians who lived in Portuguese America fled to Buenos Aires, Tucumán, and other South American regions during the visitations of Furtado de Mendonça and Marcos Teixeira, as James E. Wadsworth observes, "it is doubtful that [these visits] had much of a long-term impact on the morality and religious orthodoxy of the colony" (22). However, discrimination against New Christians who lived in the Spanish American colonies increased, and tensions between Portuguese and Spaniards intensified when the Dutch began to invade the Portuguese territories in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. In *Poder e oposição política em Portugal no período Filipino* (1580–1640), historian António de Oliveira documents the different forms of protest expressed by the Portuguese people against the Spaniards and other perceived enemies. Among the protests Oliveira cites one that took place in 1619 when Philip III visited Lisbon for the first and only time in which the monarch was received with protests from people of different parts of the country urging him to free them from the "servidão senhorial em que estavam" (43) [signorial servitude in which they found themselves]. Tensions between Portuguese and Spaniards reached their peak during the years between 1621 and 1640, when Portugal was under the regency of Philip IV of Spain (III of Portugal), and Brazil was invaded by the Dutch. During this time of intense economic crisis in the Spanish Empire, and when, according to J. Lúcio de Azevedo, the King "temperava com benevolência a severidade" (187) [seasoned severity with benevolence], subjects of Jewish origin became the major target of discrimination and persecution in Portugal, and especially in the Spanish American domains. António de Oliveira describes several uprisings of Old Christians against New Christians in Portugal, including one that started at the University of Coimbra and that resulted in the expulsion of the New Christian students from the university.

The climate of hostility faced by New Christians in the Iberian Peninsula during the reign of Philip IV led many of them to navigate the Christian Atlantic in search of safe waters and lands. While many went to the Netherlands where a vibrant Jewish community was already in place since the beginning of the seventeenth century, thousands of them flooded to the Americas, including the viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru,

and New Granada. It was particularly during this period that the word "Portuguese" was synonymous with "Jew." Despite the fact that the New Christians who fled to the Spanish American colonies had no direct involvement in the European imperial conflicts between the secular and clerical powers, they were often caught in the crossfire of such conflicts, and became the target of the Inquisition. As we will see in the case of Antônio Vieira, there were those who defended the New Christians from Portugal and Brazil against the persecution of the Inquisition in the Spanish American colonies. Historian José Toribio Medina observes in his *La Inquisición en el Rio de la Plata* that in 1619 when the Spanish governors of Buenos Aires arrested some Portuguese crypto-Jews who had left Brazil during the Inquisition visitation of Dom Marcos Teixeira, several friars came to their rescue. Seymour B. Liebman also cites examples of priests aiding crypto-Jews in other parts of the New World, who "would perform marriages between Jewish immigrants and girls of the town who were secret Jewesses, thereby securing the right of residence for the immigrants" (1974, 21). However, the spirit of tolerance and cooperation between Spaniards and Portuguese, Christians and non-Christians changed drastically when the Dutch invaded Brazil in 1624.

In her book, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*, Irene Silverblatt explains that at the time of Dutch influence over northeastern Brazil, the inquisitors in Peru regarded as a serious threat the Dutch presence in the southern lands. In Silverblatt's words: "[T]he inquisitors feared that a vibrant Jewish community in Brazil would only facilitate the enemy's political goals. Of course, they worried equally that Bahians might encourage their recently arrived New Christian kin to cross the Amazon and settle in Peru" (33). Silverblatt is correct in describing the panic that the invasion of Bahia caused among inquisitors and other members of the upper sectors of Spanish society. However, it is important to clarify that Brazil never fell under the jurisdiction of the Lima office or any other branch of the Spanish Inquisition, as Silverblatt implies.[4] It is also useful to recall that the city of Bahia was invaded in 1624 and recaptured in 1625; five years later, the Dutch invaded the captaincy of Pernambuco and remained from 1630

[4] Silverblatt writes, "The Lima office of the Spanish Inquisition had jurisdiction over all of contemporary South America except present-day Colombia." See note 13 (348), of Silverblatt's "The Black Legend and Global Conspiracies: Spain, the Inquisition, and the Emerging Modern World." *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, edited by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan.

until 1654. Thus, it was especially during the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century, when a vibrant Jewish community bloomed in Pernambuco that fears of the Dutch and Jewish community in Brazil increased among Spanish inquisitors in Peru and other viceroyalties of the New World. Fear that the New Christians were undermining the work of the missionaries "through unsavory associations with Indians and blacks" (Silverblatt 2007, 109) led to idolatry campaigns in the viceroyalty of Peru. One of the best examples of sermons that became part of such campaigns has been documented by Judith Laikin Elkin. In her essay "Imagining Idolatry: Missionaries, Indians, and Jews," she studies a sermon preached by the priest Francisco de Ávila to the Indians of Huanuco, Peru. In this sermon, which was published in Cuzco in 1648, the priest portrayed the Jews as idolaters. Elkin convincingly explains that the anxiety caused by the presence of Portuguese New Christians in Peru, combined with the fact that the Indians had not abandoned their ancestral beliefs and images, led missionaries like Francisco de Ávila to associate Jews with idolatry in their sermons. Elkin also observes that in other printed documents of the period, the word *iudio* [judio] easily became *indio* and vice versa, and that "[t]hese orthographic slips mirrored actual confusion in European minds between Indians and Jews" (29).

The Spaniards were not the only ones who reacted negatively to the presence of the Jewish community that was established in Brazil after the Dutch invasion of Pernambuco. On the Portuguese side, dissatisfaction also intensified during the third decade of the seventeenth century, when they saw the loss of their maritime routes and overseas possessions to the Dutch as a result of the disinterest or inability of the Spanish monarchs to protect Portugal's interests. In particular, between 1621 and 1647, the Dutch gained significant maritime routes and outposts previously dominated by the Portuguese. In fact, Charles R. Boxer observes in *The Dutch Seaborne Empire: 1600–1800*, that due in part to the presence of the Sephardic Jews in the Netherlands prior to 1621, Amsterdam was a major international commercial emporium. In 1609, the same year that marked the beginning of a peace treaty between Spain and the Netherlands, the Amsterdam Exchange Bank was founded and soon after, in 1614, the Lending Bank was established.[5] In *Diasporas within a*

[5] Charles R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire: 1600–1800* (19). In *Os judeus portugueses em Amsterdam* Joaquim Mendes dos Remédios explains that soon after arriving in Amsterdam the last decade of the sixteenth century the crypto-Jews or *Marranos*

Diaspora Jonathan Israel also explains that between 1609 and 1621, during the years of the so-called Twelve Years' Truce when Dutch ships were freely admitted into the ports of Spain and Portugal, the Portuguese Jewish community played a crucial role in the expansion of the Dutch Empire, and formed "an impressively wide ranging maritime commercial web—which at the same time was a social, cultural and religious network" (2002, 22). In 1621, when Philip III of Spain died and his son ascended to the throne as Philip IV of Spain (III of Portugal), the Twelve Years' Truce came to an end, and relations between Spain and the Netherlands became strained. The Dutch started making major incursions into the Portuguese possessions in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, which resulted in tensions between the Portuguese and the Spaniards. Furthermore, the economic policies established by Philip IV's principal minister, Gaspar de Guzmán, known as the Conde-Duque de Olivares, required Portugal to contribute revenues to the Spanish crown, caused even more dissatisfaction among the Portuguese. Olivares' economic moves led his political rivals such as Francisco de Quevedo to accuse him of selling Spain to the Jews by receiving economic help from Portuguese merchants of Jewish origin in exchange of a general pardon from the king and the pope. In 1624, when the Dutch invaded the city of Bahia, tensions between the Spanish and Portuguese increased, and New Christians and Portuguese subjects who lived in the Spanish American colonies and in the Iberian Peninsula became major targets of discrimination and persecution by the Inquisition.

As one can see in Lope de Vega's *El Brasil restituido* New Christians who lived in Salvador da Bahia, then the capital of Brazil, were portrayed as traitors who betrayed the Portuguese and the Spaniards by turning Bahia over to the Dutch Calvinists. As a result of the imperial rivalries involving Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands, New Christians from the Iberian Peninsula and people of Portuguese origin who lived in the Spanish viceroyalties, were identified with the Jews. Historic texts from the same period also document the fact that, in New Spain, Peru and New Granada, Portuguese immigrants became the target of the Inquisition. The ferocious actions of the Holy Office took the lives of many descen-

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formed a religious and familiar nucleus that had contact with people of Jewish origin who lived in different parts of Europe and the New World. According to him, after founding the synagogues in 1597 and 1608 the Jews of Portuguese origin became "em tudo os primeiros" [the first in everything], and the "primeiros judeus na estimação do mundo" (20–21) [foremost Jews in the world's view].

dents of Sephardic Jews during the first half of the seventeenth century, especially those of Portuguese origin. The case of Francisco Maldonado de Silva, a medical doctor born in the province of Tucumán around 1592, tried and executed in 1639 by the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Lima, stands as an example of the treatment reserved for colonial subjects of Portuguese and Jewish origin.

Similar to Luis de Carvajal, who descended from New Christians who had left Portugal in the last decades of the sixteenth century, Maldonado de Silva also took advantage of the every opportunity, including the cracks in the walls of the Inquisition jail, to resist the imposed religion and to affirm his belief in the Jewish faith. Between his arrest by the inquisitors in 1627, and his execution in an *auto-da-fé* in 1639, Maldonado de Silva managed to take advantage of many of the weaknesses that he noticed in the human and physical elements of the Holy Office of the Lima Inquisition. Because his imprisonment coincided with the massive persecution of Portuguese New Christians in the viceroyalty of Peru, which became known as *Grande Cumplicidad* or Great Conspiracy, Maldonado de Silva took advantage of the overcrowded jail with insufficient and unprepared guards to communicate with many other prisoners. As observed in the cases of Bento Teixeira and Luis de Carvajal, Maldonado de Silva made holes in the walls of the Inquisition cell to send oral and written messages to other cellmates. Indeed, due to the precarious situation faced by the Lima Inquisition between 1635 and 1639—when weak buildings served as jails, when supervision of the prisoners was scarce due to the lack of personnel, and when irregularities such as bribes occurred within the Inquisition walls—Maldonado de Silva apparently succeeded in converting many other prisoners to the Jewish faith. He also managed to write letters addressed to the Jewish Synagogue of Rome, which were delivered by Portuguese New Christians who had managed to escape from the prison of the Lima Inquisition.[6] The letters

[6] *Historia de los judíos en Chile* by historian Günther Böhm contains passages of documents that show many irregularities that took place in the prison of the Lima Inquisition. One of such document is a formal complaint by the inquisitors Juan de Mañozca, Andrés Joan Gaytán and Antonio de Castro y del Castillo against Bartolomé de Pradeda, the guard of the Inquisition prison of Lima where Maldonado de Silva was placed during the period of the Great Conspiracy. According to the document, Pradeda accepted bribes from some the prisoners, including sexual favors from a nice looking young woman who had also been arrested. Pressured by some of the New Christian prisoners who knew about his improper behavior with the prisoners, Pradeda opened the doors of the prison, and let some of the prisoners escape. See for example, "En las cárceles secretas de la Inquisición," vol. I (129–134).

written by Maldonado de Silva and the news of his subsequent death were received with great consternation by the Hebrews who lived in Rome and other parts of Europe. His death had a great impact on the Jewish and crypto-Jewish communities throughout the world. The fact that even while being burned alive he kept affirming his Judaic faith and proclaimed in a loud voice that he welcomed death because it allowed him finally to face Adonai, the God of Israel, and enabled him to be regarded as a martyr of the Jewish faith.

The persecution and death of Francisco Maldonado de Silva occurred during the height of the political crisis that led to the uprising of the Portuguese people against Spanish domination. By the end of the 1630s, when Philip IV of Spain faced opposition in France, England, the Netherlands, and Catalonia, Portugal managed to break away from the Spanish Habsburgs. This happened on December 1, 1640, after an uprising in Lisbon that resulted in the imprisonment of the vice-queen Margarida of Habsburg, the major representative of the Spanish king in Portugal. It also resulted in the subsequent coronation of Dom João, a member of the Lusitanian aristocracy and Duke of Braganza, as King Dom João IV of Portugal in 1640. Maldonado de Silva's trial and imprisonment culminated in the *auto-da-fé* that took place in Lima on January 23, 1639, when he and many Portuguese New Christians were killed as a result of the political conflicts between Spain and Portugal during the third decade of the seventeenth century. The persecution of Portuguese subjects living in other Spanish American colonies in the same period are also linked to the imperial conflicts involving Spain and Portugal. In *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571–1700* Solange Alberro describes the persecution of Portuguese New Christians in New Spain initiated by Juan de Palafox, after the news of the "Great Conspiracy" and the uprisings in Catalunia and Portugal reached México. The years between 1642 and 1649 are marked by intense Inquisition activity in New Spain. Alberro explains that in those dramatic years, "Palafox tom[ó] medidas enérgicas en contra de los portugueses" (561) [Palafox took energic measures against the Portuguese]. Seymour B. Liebman (1967) states that during that time "the word 'Portuguese' became equated in New Spain with the term judío" (141). Between 1642 and 1649 more than four hundred Portuguese New Christians and Spanish *conversos* were persecuted by the Mexican Inquisition. Many of them were burned at the stake, including Ana de León Carvajal, Luis de Carvajal's younger sister who had escaped being burned in the *auto-da-fé* that killed her family in 1596 for being a child at the time. According to Liebman (1967), from the time of

Ana's arrest in 1643 until her death at the stake in 1649 she withstood all attempts of the inquisitors to have her reveal the names of other crypto-Jews in New Spain. The Inquisition eavesdroppers placed outside her cell reported that she frequently invoked Adonai.

The economic problems faced by Spain due to the imperial rivalries of the first half of the seventeenth century led to the persecution and death of many New Christians who lived in the viceroyalty of Peru.[7] As we have seen, Francisco Maldonado da Silva was one of them. Unlike the other Jewish descendents who perished in the *autos-da-fé* that took place in Lima and other parts of the Iberian Atlantic world during the 1630s and 1640s, Maldonado de Silva apparently composed beautiful and inspiring messages in verse and prose during the time he spent in the cells of the Lima Holy Office, but they were burned in the same fire that ended his life. Yet if such writings were produced, they were not transcribed in his Inquisition trial.[8]

When comparing the cases of Bento Teixeira and other descendents of Jews who lived in Brazil with those of Luis de Carvajal and Francisco Maldonado de Silva, it is intriguing to find that in most of the cases New Christians who were born or had lived in Brazil had a different view of the New World than those who lived in the Spanish American colonies. For example, in their Inquisition trials both Carvajal and Maldonado de Silva expressed the desire to escape from Mexico and Peru to a safe place in Europe. Carvajal and Maldonado de Silva respectively described Mexico and Peru as a second Egypt or a land of captivity. As seen in Chapter Two, in Bento Teixeira's trial we find many passages that present Brazil as a Promised Land. Is it possible to assume that the portrayal of Brazil as *terra de promissão* results from the fact that the Inquisition never managed to establish a tribunal there? Was it that, through contact with other descendents of Sephardic Jews, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

[7] Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert asserts that "the growing opposition mounted against the Portuguese merchants and bankers in the 1620s and 1630s … which led to the defeat of their project to reform Spanish economy … and their expulsion from the imperial economy in the 1630s and 1640s, occurred because their new arguments in favour of commercial interests ran counter to the prevailing understandings of the economy" (i).

[8] Despite the fact that one does not have access to Maldonado de Silva's writings, one can learn more about him through Günther Böhm's *Historia de los judíos en Chile*. In addition to historians, contemporary fictional writer Marcos Aguinis has taken advantage of his creative writing skills to revisit the case of the *New Christian* from Tucumán. Aguinis' novel, *La gesta del marrano*, published in 1993 during the post-dictatorial Argentine regime, transforms Maldonado de Silva from a martyr for Judaism into a martyr of religious tolerance and freedom of conscience.

crypto-Jews living in Brazil knew that the Dutch invasion was imminent and that the Dutch rulers who would come to Brazil would guarantee them religious freedom? From the perspective of the present one cannot find a definitive answer to these questions.[9] However, it is in the work of Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão that the idea of Brazil as a Promised Land gains strength, and we may begin to look for answers here.

II. *Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão and his* Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil

Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão was born in Portugal around 1557, but lived in Pernambuco and Paraíba most of his life. He was denounced two times before the Inquisition. He was first denounced to the Inquisition during Heitor Furtado de Mendonça's visit to northeast Brasil between 1591 and 1595. As described at the beginning of this chapter, Ambrósio F. Brandão was also accused of being a crypto-Jew when he and his family moved to Portugal in 1597. This second accusation took place in 1606, when the gardener Miguel F. de Luna appeared in front of the inquisitors of the Lisbon Holy Office to report that the observations that he had made through the open window that faced the flower garden led him to conclude that Brandão and his family secretly practiced Judaism.[10] Upon being cleared of the charges of Judaism, Brandão returned to Brazil in 1607. According to Arnold Wiznitzer, in 1613 he moved from Pernambuco to Paraíba where he became a successful sugar plantation owner. Wiznitzer argues that in 1627 Brandão acquired additional land in Paraíba. There is no evidence that Brandão was still alive

[9] To my knowledge the only time that people of Jewish origin compared Brazil to a land of captivity occurred in 1646, when the *mazombos* or the local inhabitants of Pernambuco tried to expel the Dutch and the Jews who had migrated to Recife during the government of the Maurice of Nassau. In *Bandeirantes espirituais do Brasil*, David Weitman cites a document signed by Rabbi Abraham Cohen de Herrera in which appears the expression *Cur HaBrasil* comparing Brazil to Egypt (see XIII). In *O Valeroso Lucideno* Frei Manuel Calado describes in detail the uprising of the so-called *mazombos* or *Brasilianos* against the Dutch colonizers. According to Calado, during the battle of August 17, 1645 "morreram muitos Holandeses, e todos os Indios que ali se acharam, que foram quase duzentos …" (vol. I, 50) [many Dutch, and all the Indians that were there, which were almost two hundred, died].

[10] The second accusation against A.F. Brandão made by the gardener Miguel F. de Luna, of Moorish origin, is found at Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, in *Caderno n. 4 (1606–1624) Livro do Promotor*, 205, *Inquisição de Lisboa*.

when the Dutch invaded Pernambuco in 1630 and Paraíba in 1634. What is certain is that in 1618, while living in Brazil, he wrote *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*, a book that portrays Portuguese America as a Promised Land.

Written around 1618 during the rule of Philip III of Spain (II of Portugal), a complete version of the manuscript was discovered in Leiden by Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen (1816–1878), a nineteenth-century historiographer who along with João Capistrano de Abreu (1853–1927) searched for archival documents to shed new light on the colonial past. For almost a century after its discovery, critics believed that the author of the manuscript was Bento Teixeira. Identification of its author as Brandão and publication of the entire text began in the nineteenth century, and were completed with the critical edition published by José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello in 1966.[11]

The text consists of six dialogues between Brandônio, a Portuguese man who settled in Pernambuco, and Alviano, a newcomer from the Iberian Peninsula, full of misconceptions about Brazil. The names of the protagonists and the autobiographical elements in the text played a major role in the identification of its author. Brandônio and Alviano are latinizations of the names of the author and of his friend, fellow tax collector, Nuno Álvares. Unlike Bento Teixeira, who chose the epic as a generic vehicle for his political critique, Brandão chose the dialogue form, a rhetorical device based on exposition and argumentation that had been widely used by classical and medieval writers.[12] Despite the pragmatic tone of the dialogue form, in many passages the writer rises to poetic heights as he lauds the beauty and grandeur of the new land. The text starts with a conversation between Brandônio, a tax collector and longtime resident of the colony, and Alviano, the skeptical newcomer:

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[11] In addition to José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello's edition of Brandão's *Diálogos*, two other major sources for the study of the differences and similarities between the manuscript found in Lisbon and the one found in Leyden are: *Dialogues of the Great Things of Brazil* by Frederick Holden Hall and others, and the *Diálogos* published in 1968, according to the edition of the Academia Brasileira de Letras, published for the first time in 1923. In this study I rely on information found in the editions by Gonsalves de Mello and Holden Hall.

[12] On page 11 of the "Introduction" of the English version of the *Diálogos*, translated and annotated by Frederick Holden Hall, the editors explain that "Brandão's models were . . . most likely contemporary works that used the dialogue to extol the glories of new founded lands, such as Garcia d'Orta's *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da India* (1563) and Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos's *Diálogos do sítio de Lisboa* (1608)."

Alviano: —Que bisalho é esse, Sr. Brandônio, que estais revolvendo dentro nesse papel? Porque, segundo o considerais com atenção, tenho para mim que deve ser de diamantes ou rubis.

Brandônio: Nenhuma coisa dessas é, senão uma lanugem que produz aquela árvore fronteira de nós em um fruto que dá do tamanho de um pêssego, que semelha propriamente a lã . . . E porque ma trouxe agora há pouco a amostrar uma menina, que o achou caído no chão, considerava que se podia aplicar a muitas coisas.

Alviano: Não de menos consideração me parece o modo da árvore que o fruto dela; porque, segundo estou vendo, semelha haver-se produzido do sobrado desta casa, onde deve ter as raízes, pois está tão conjunta a ela.

Brandônio: A umidade de que gozam todas as terras do Brazil a faz ser tão frutífera no produzir que infinidade de estacas de diversos paus metidos na terra, cobram e em breve chegam a dar fruto; e esta árvore, que vos parece nascer de dentro desta casa, foi um esteio que se meteu na terra, sobre o qual, com outras mais, se sustenta este edifício, que por pender, veio a criar essa árvore, que demonstra estar unida com a parede.[13]

(41–42)

Alviano: What is that little trinket, Senhor Brandônio, that you are turning over on that piece of paper? From the way you are looking at it so carefully, I should think that it must be made of diamonds or rubies.

Brandônio: It is nothing like that, but just a bit of fluff that looks rather like wool. That tree right there in front of us has a fruit about the size of a peach, and the fluff grows inside it. A short while ago a little girl found it on the ground where it had fallen. She brought it over to me, and I was just thinking how many things it could be used for.

Alviano: The tree itself seems no less remarkable than its fruit, for it looks to me as if it's growing right out of the upper story of this house. It must be rooted there, for it seems to be part of the house.

Brandônio: The humidity that all the soils of Brazil enjoy makes them produce so abundantly that any kind of stick thrust into the earth will send forth roots and soon bear fruit. This tree, which looks to you as if it is growing out of the house, was a pile driven into the ground—one of several that supports the house. The pile took root, and from it grew the tree that seems to be part of the wall.[14]

The dialogue between Brandônio and Alviano portrays Brazil as a kind of earthly paradise that had much to offer to the settlers from the Old World. The editors of the English translation correctly observe: "Not only is the reader's curiosity piqued by the 'trinket' itself and by the odd site of

[13] The Portuguese passages of Brandão's text cited in this study are found in *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*, edited by Gonsalves de Mello.

[14] For this and all the English translations and citations from the *Dialogues* I have relied on the edition translated and annotated by Frederick Holden Hall, et al.

the parent tree, but the fluff both illustrates and symbolizes the fertility of Brazil and its yet untapped natural resources" (Hall, 15) The natural resources of the new land are the subject that occupies the speakers throughout the six dialogues. Given the fact that when the *Diálogos* were written many Portuguese people of Jewish heritage threatened by the Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula were looking for safe places in the world, it is quite possible that, behind the metaphorical language of the text, the writer was trying to send them a message that Brazil represented a fertile soil where Judaism could take root.

Brandônio is the curious and knowledgeable observer of the Brazilian scene. Alviano, on the other hand, reveals himself as "a heretic in Brazilian things," as Brandônio calls him later. "The episode is a happy introduction to Brandônio's grand plan: to describe the 'great things of Brazil' so convincingly that even a skeptic like Alviano will become 'better informed … and able to change [his] opinion' " (Hall 15). This task is successfully accomplished. The sixth and last Dialogue ends with a persuaded Alviano, who, overwhelmed by Brandônio's arguments, no longer has doubts about Brazil, even offering to spread the word about the greatness of the land: "Tendes-me já tão convertido à vossa seita, que por onde que eu me achar, por toda parte apregoarei do Brasil e de suas grandezas os louvores que elas merecem" (326) [You have me so converted to your sect that everywhere, wherever I may be, I shall proclaim of Brazil and its great things the praises they merit].[15] The phrase "You have me so converted to your sect" could also be interpreted as an encoded message indicating that descendents of converted Jews who would go to Brazil could return to Judaism.

With expertise from his long and successful experience in trade and industry, Brandônio shows how the riches of the new land could be turned to the advantage of the metropolis, or—as Hall explains—more properly, Spain, since Portugal was part of the Spanish Empire, though it retained certain rights regarding the administration of its overseas lands. But it is primarily in defense of the commonwealth of Brazil and its permanent settlers that Brandônio engages in the dialogue with Alviano. Besides the literary, cultural, historic, ethnographic and cosmographic value of Brandão's work, one novelty of the *Diálogos* is the way the writer describes the settlers. Diverging from some of the chroniclers who lived

[15] The argument between the two interlocutors typifies a conflict that extended over several centuries between those who saw the New World as a land of either innocence or promise and those who condemned it out of hand as savage or degenerate.

in other areas of the New World, the main interlocutor criticizes the European colonizers who come to Brazil with the purpose of becoming rich and returning to their mother country. He blamed the greedy and lazy Europeans, including the representatives of the court, for their selfish intent to enrich themselves to the detriment of the land and its permanent residents. In a gesture of collective identity, the writer argues that the richness of Brazil should favor the settlers who remained on the land. In similar fashion, he continually praises the local residents for their good and polite manners. According to Brandônio, Brazil was superior to any kingdom or city. Even the *degredados*, or outcasts from Portugal, transformed themselves into better people because of the opportunities found in Brazil, a place seen by the writer as "a crossroads of the world":

> Alviano: . . . sabemos que o Brasil se povoou primeiramente por degredados e gente de mau viver, e pelo conseguinte pouco política; pois bastava carecerem de nobreza para lhes faltar a polícia.
>
> Brandônio: Nisso não há dúvida. Mas deveis de saber que esses povoadores, que primeiramente vieram a povoar o Brasil, a poucos lanços, pela largueza da terra deram em ser ricos, e com a riqueza foram largando de si a ruim natureza, de que as necessidades e pobrezas que padeciam no Reino os faziam usar. E os filhos dos tais, já entronizados com a mesma riqueza e governo da terra despiram a pele velha, como cobra, usando em tudo de honradíssimos termos, com se ajuntar a isto o haverem vindo depois a este Estado muitos homens nobilíssimos e fidalgos, os quais casaram nele, e se liaram em parentesco com os da terra, em forma que se há feito entre todos uma mistura de sangue assaz nobre.[16]
>
> (184–185)

> Alviano: . . . We know that Brazil was settled first of all by persons of evil ways and men who had been banished from Portugal for their crimes, and therefore persons of scant civility. Their not being of gentle birth surely was enough for them to lack all refinement.
>
> Brandônio: There is no doubt of that. But you must realize that the first settlers who came to Brazil had many opportunities to get rich in a hurry on account of the liberality of the land. As they prospered, they promptly shed their evil nature, which the necessity and poverty they had suffered in the Kingdom had brought out. And the children of those men, having those riches and enthroned as rulers of the land, sloughed off their old skin just the way a snake does, and adopted in everything the most polished manners. I must add that later on many gentlemen

[16] The assumption that New Christians and Portuguese minorities found opportunities in Brazil to integrate into the majority and ascend the social ladder is demonstrated in Ernst Pijning's article, "New Christians as Sugar Cultivators and Traders in the Portuguese Atlantic, 1450–1800."

> and persons of noble birth came out to this state. They married here and became attached to the colonists by family ties. Thus there was developed among them a mixture of fairly gentle blood. (47–148)

Contradicting the hierarchical thinking prevalent in early modern European society, Brandão discards the assumption that evil nature was inherent in people outside of the nobility when he states that it resulted from the "necessity and poverty they had suffered in the Kingdom." In statements such as this one, the *Diálogos* appears surprisingly modern for the seventeenth century.

In Dialogue 6 Brandão describes some of the customs of the country, both European and native. He regards the local residents as more elegant than the people who live in Madrid, then center of the Spanish and Portuguese court: "E eu vi já afirmar a homens muy experimentados na corte de Madri que se não traja melhor nela do que se trajam na Brasil os senhores de engenhos, suas mulheres e filhas, e outros homens afazendados e mercadores" (181) [And I have heard men who have had much experience at the court in Madrid say that even there they do not dress better than the mill owners, their wives and daughters, other rich men, and the merchants of Brazil]. Contrary to the "indio feo" … (122) [ugly Indian], "abominable … de mala cara y de peores fueros" (70) [abominable … of ugly face and worse heart] that Bernardo de Balbuena portrays in his *Grandeza mexicana*, the natives described by Brandônio are healthy, handsome and intelligent.[17]

> Alviano: Não pode haver mais bárbaro costume desse que me tendes referido; e creio que por todo o mundo se não achara seu semelhante, nem era lícito que o houvesse senão entre estes índios, que não faço diferença deles às brutas feras.
>
> Brandônio: Enganai-vos grandemente nisso; que posto que usam deste e de outros semelhantes costumes que aprenderam, … todavia se acha neles bons discursos e agudas respostas, e não se deixam enganar de ninguém. (336)

> Alviano: There can be no more barbarous custom than that which you have described [the couvade]. It is unthinkable that it should be found anywhere except among these Indians, whom I hold to be no different from brute beasts.

[17] Despite trying to defend the reputation of the natives from the misconceptions and prejudicial beliefs that Alviano and other settlers had about the Tupinambá Indians, Brandão also repeats some of the erroneous beliefs. For example, he affirms the idea that the spiritual guide of the Indians was the devil. However, he does not waver from presenting the Indians as handsome and intelligent people.

> Brandônio: Now there you are greatly mistaken, for though they follow this and other customs that they learned and inherited from their ancestors, still one meets among them people who can reason a thing out and give you a shrewd answer. They do not allow themselves to be deceived by anyone.

Because of the natives' unselfishness, Brandônio sees them as superior to the people of Spain:

> Brandônio: … se não enxerga entre eles, rosto nenhum de ambição.
> Alviano: Disso se lhe pode ter grandes invejas, por ser coisa de que a nossa Espanha anda muito desviada. (334)

> Brandônio: One cannot discern in them even a trace of covetousness.
> Alviano: One might envy them greatly for that, which is a trait not often to be met with in our Spain.

As one can see in these passages, for its fertile lands, the wealth and generosity of its inhabitants, and its rich and abundant fauna and flora, Brazil is portrayed as a Promised Land for any European, including outcasts and subjects regarded as undesirable, such as the descendents of Sephardic Jews who were facing discrimination in the Iberian Peninsula. Like Bento Teixeira's poem, in the *Diálogos* one can also detect signs of crypto-Judaism in the references to the Old Testament and to Jewish figures such as David and Solomon, found in *Dialogue II*, and Habakkuk, Jacob and Rachel, cited in *Dialogue VI*. What is notable as well is the omission of the names of Jesus, the Virgin Mary and other Christian names that were so plentiful in the literature of the discovery and conquest. The omission of the name of Christ and the lack of reference to the expansion of Christianity in the New World may derive from Brandão's Judaic faith.[18] Kathe Windmüller arrives at this conclusion when she points out the lack of mention of Christianization and conversion of the Indians in Brandão's text, previously unnoticed by critics (415–416). What is abundantly evident in the *Diálogos* is the fact that the writer loved Brazil, the country that he adopted with both heart and mind. If as a tax collector he served the crown, as a Portuguese settler he led a company of merchants who fought against the French and their Indian allies. After working with the

[18] Based on the fact that Brandão was twice denounced to the Inquisition, and also on the writer's omission of Christian names and praise of the expansion of Christianity, it is safe to assume that he was a crypto-Jew. David M. Gitlitz also noticed that: "For many *Conversos* who struggled to remain Judaizers in the fear of rapidly eroding Jewish knowledge, the essence of the Jewish identity was a strong affirmation of not being a Catholic" (137). The absence of Christian references in the writings of Brandão, Teixeira, and Beckman function as an affirmation of their Jewish identity.

wealthy crypto-Jew Bento Dias de Santiago, who held the contract for collecting tithes in the captaincy of Pernambuco, Brandão became a wealthy sugar planter and a person of high social standing in Brazil and in the Peninsula. As a writer he defended above all the interests of the permanent settlers of Brazil, particularly of those of Jewish heritage.

III. *Dawn and Dusk of Brazil as* Terra da Promissão

With the Dutch occupation of Pernambuco in 1630, the messianic ideal found in the writings of New Christians, such as Bento Teixeira and Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, became a reality. The economic incentives offered by the Dutch government to any individual or European ethnic and religious group that planned to settle in the occupied lands of northeast Brazil attracted many immigrants to the area. The freedom of religion promised to the immigrants led thousands of Jews of Portuguese origin to leave the Netherlands and come to Brazil. Around 1635 a large percentage of the Europeans who lived in Pernambuco were descendents of Portuguese *cristãos-novos* that had returned to Judaism. Many of them came from the Netherlands. In Recife they founded the first synagogue of the Western hemisphere. In *O valeroso Lucideno*, a book that describes in great detail the conflicts between the *moradores* or settlers of Pernambuco, and their efforts to expel from Recife the Dutch Calvinists and Jews who moved there between 1629 and 1654, Fray Manoel Calado affirms that "depois que o Holandês entrou na terra [muitos cristãos-novos] se circuncidaram publicamente, e se declararam por judeus" [once the Dutch entered the land many New Christians were openly circumcised and declared themselves to be Jews] (Lipner 5).

Manuel Calado's observation seems to be accurate, because during the Dutch occupation of northeast Brazil, and particularly between 1637 and 1644, under the government of Johan Maurits van Nassau, known in Brazil as Conde Maurício de Nassau, when the region experienced a certain kind of religious tolerance. It is believed that under Nassau's government Pernambuco experienced religious freedom and much prosperity, and that immigrants of different parts of the world enjoyed the economic opportunities brought by the West Indies Company. In his essay, "Religious Tolerance in Dutch Brazil," Jonathan Israel sees it as "essentially a pragmatic matter tailored to suit the harsh circumstances of an embattled colony" (30), although it is also well-known that Portuguese persons of Jewish origin residing in the Netherlands and elsewhere in the world

moved to Pernambuco, where they temporarily found a safe haven under the spiritual guidance of rabbis of the Jewish community *Zur Israel*.[19] From 1636, the year that marks the official establishment of a synagogue in the Southern hemisphere, until approximately 1654, thousands of Jews migrated to Brazil. In *Diasporas within a Diaspora*, Israel explains that in 1644 the Sephardic population of Dutch Brazil comprised more than one third of the white population of the colony and that the Jews acted as intermediaries between the Portuguese Catholic planters and the West Indian Company.[20]

After Johan Maurits's return to the Netherlands in 1644, the Jewish community started to decline. As Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom clarifies in his text *A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623–1654*, although under the Dutch "Jews generally fared better than at the hands of the authorities than the Catholics," after Maurits's departure anti-Jewish sentiment in Brazil escalated because the Protestants "made common cause with the Catholics against the Jews" (75) Wim Klooster also explains in *The*

[19] In *Gente da Nação*, José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello documents that between 1649 and 1653 the major rabbis of the Jewish community *Zur Israel* of Recife were Isaac Aboab, Samuel Frazão, Isaac Nehemias and Abraão Azubi. Rabbi Y. David Weitman considers the previously mentioned rabbis as authentic Jewish pioneers of Dutch Brazil. Weitman also includes in his list of Jewish pioneers the famous Izaque or Isaac de Castro, also known by the nicknames José de Lis, Tomás de Luis, and Isaac Tartas, due to the fact that his family had lived in France. According to Weitman, Isaac was the nephew of Rabbi Mosseh Raphael d'Aguillar, and came to Brazil with the intention of converting other New Christians who lived outside the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Apparently because New Christians had called Isaac from Bahia to instruct them in Judaism, in 1644 he left Pernambuco and went to Bahia. Upon his arrival in the capital of Portuguese America, Isaac was apprehended by the general governor of Brazil, Antônio Telles da Silva, under the suspicion of being a spy for the Dutch. In Bahia the governor and the bishop submitted Isaac to interrogation on more than one occasion. Because the information that Isaac gave to the local authorities during the interrogations was different every time, he was sent to the Holy Office of the Portuguese Inquisition in Lisbon. Isaac arrived in Lisbon on March 15, 1645. In Lisbon he remained in the cells of the Inquisition until December 15, 1647, when he was forced to participate in an *auto-da-fé*, and subsequently burned alive. Elias Lipner, a Jewish scholar who has studied in detail the case of Isaac de Castro in his book *Izaque de Castro: o mancebo que veio preso do Brasil*, states that in the process of Isaac de Castro, found in Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, João de Morais Homem, notary of the Inquisition wrote: "vi queimar vivo no sítio do Chafariz, em que se faz a queima dos judeus, a José de Lis, por outro nome Isaac de Castro, e vi fazer seu corpo em pó e cinza" [I saw Jose de Lis, also known by the name Isaac de Castro, being burned alive in the place called Chafariz, where they burn Jews. I also saw his body transformed into dust and ashes].

[20] On the case of New Christian Isaac de Castro, who was apprehended in 1644 when he left Pernambuco for Bahia and who died in Lisbon in 1647 as a martyr of the Jewish faith, see David Weitman and Elias Lipner.

Dutch in the Americas that the large debts of the West Indies Company, compounded with the lack of effective leadership in the region, led to the end of Dutch Brazil. According to Klooster, because Johan Maurits possessed "an amiable personality" (28) and diplomatic skills to negotiate with the Indians, and because his presence ensured freedom of worship, problems emerged after his departure. In 1645 the Portuguese planters and their slaves revolted against the Dutch, marking the beginning of the end of the golden age of the Jewish community in Dutch Brazil. The end came on January 26, 1654, when the Portuguese and their Brazilian sons forced the Dutch to surrender. With the submission of the Dutch in 1654, the Sephardic Jews had to face one more diaspora, and again set sail across the Atlantic Ocean.

As is well known, the exodus of the Dutch and Jews from Brazil led to the development of other Jewish communities in the Caribbean islands of Curaçao, Jamaica, Barbados, and Martinica, as well as in "the eastern shores of North America, squeezed between English dominions in New England and Virginia … [where] land and conquest posed few initial difficulties for the colonists of New Netherland." (Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, 246) However, the situation changed when the Jews who left Brazil in 1654 sought asylum in North America. In *The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora*, Robert Swierenga observes that, when the Jews who had left Brazil arrived in New Amsterdam (later called New York), they faced intense harassment from Governor Peter Stuyvesant, and also from the local Calvinist clergy. The Governor and the Calvinists wanted to expel the Jews from New Amsterdam on grounds that they were a "deceitful race," and "hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ" (37). Steven Waldman also explains that Stuyvesant "asked the Dutch West India Company to rule that the 'very repugnant' Jews not be allowed to 'infect' the colony" (15). Despite the persecution that the Jews suffered in North America, shortly after their arrival the Sephardic community succeeded in establishing the congregation of Shearith Israel in New Amsterdam, which helped to provided religious leadership to the dispersed Jews, and enhanced the cultural life of the region by offering public classes of Hebrew, Spanish and Portuguese.

Prior to the expulsion of the Dutch in 1654, King João IV of Portugal corresponded with the members of the Jewish Nation of Amsterdam and intervened in favor of four Ashkenazi Jews who were sent from Brazil to Lisbon as prisoners of the Inquisition. João IV also took several other steps to protect Portuguese New Christians. In 1649, for example, he

issued an edict prohibiting inquisitors from confiscating the properties of New Christians apprehended by the Holy Office. Unfortunately the edict was annulled in 1657, after the death of the king in 1656.

The Jesuit Antônio Vieira, who was raised in Brazil and became one of the major advisers of João IV, may have played a major role in the King's actions in favor of New Christians of Portuguese origin. Even after the death of the Lusitanian king in 1656, the influential Jesuit continued advocating public tolerance for New Christians. In his defense of *cristãos-novos* from Brazil and Portugal he portrayed the Inquisition as "uma máquina de fazer judeus" [a machine of making Jews]. After the death of João IV, Vieira faced many problems with the Holy Office. Reacting to Vieira's unorthodox attitude, and his outspoken advocacy for "the hated New Christians [which] made him unpopular with all sorts and conditions of men,"[21] the Portuguese Inquisition kept him in prison from October 1665 until December 1667. After being released under a sentence that prohibited him from teaching, writing and preaching, the Jesuit from Brazil was still able to fight the Inquisition. By appealing to the Pope and working closely with influential Portuguese New Christians and Jews, many of whom had left for Italy, Amsterdam and England, Vieira eventually succeeded in having the Portuguese Inquisition temporarily discontinued. By order of Pope Clement X, the Holy Office was suspended in Portugal from 1674 until 1681. When the Inquisition resumed its activities in 1681 the Holy Office harassed numerous descendents of Jews living in Brazil and Portugal. Manuel Beckman, for example, a New Christian who had migrated from Portugal to the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará[22] in the second half of the seventeenth century, was one of the descendents of Jews harassed by the Inquisition during the conflict-ridden, imperial times of Afonso VI and Pedro II of Portugal (1662–1706).

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[21] C.R. Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure: Pe. António Vieira*, 18. In his book, *The Fire of Tongues: António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal*, Thomas M. Cohen argues that Vieira's conflict with the Inquisition derived primarily from the interpretation of political and ecclesiastical authority that Vieira developed in his books *Esperanças*, *História do futuro* and *Representation*, and also from his "uncompromising identification of the failings of the church hierarchy" (121).

[22] The first Portuguese settlements in the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará were established in the northern part of the Portuguese America around 1618, after the expulsion of the French from the area, and the state itself was formally recognized in 1621. This new state comprised the captaincies of Maranhão and Grão-Pará. The capital of Grão Pará was the city of Belém, and the city of São Luis, founded during the French occupation of the region, was the capital of Maranhão.

IV. *Manuel Beckman and the* Levante do Maranhão

Manuel Beckman was another Portuguese New Christian who loved Brazil and distanced himself from the Europeans coming to the New World to exploit the land and its people. Born in Lisbon in 1630 of a German father and a Portuguese mother, Manuel came to Brazil in 1662, when Portugal was facing serious economic problems, the consequences of more than half a century of Spanish rule. After declaring independence from Spain in 1640, Portugal was engaged in several wars against its powerful neighbor to regain its continental territory and secure its independence. During this period, known as the Restoration, which lasted until 1668, many Portuguese migrated to Brazil looking for a better life. Because the Portuguese Empire had lost many of its possessions in Africa and Asia as a result of the sixty years of Spanish domination, during the Restoration, Brazil was seen as "the milk cow of Portugal."[23] The promise of a better life led many people to migrate to Portuguese America. However, upon arriving in the new land, many discovered that the burden of heavy taxation imposed by the king in order to pay for the wars and restore the kingdom's economy was too much for them.

This was the situation that Manuel Beckman faced when he settled in Maranhão and Grão-Pará in the north of Brazil. There in 1664, Beckman married Maria Helena de Cáceres, a woman of Jewish heritage. Starting in 1670, Beckman played an active role in regional politics. As an elected councilor, he defended the interests of the settler residents before the representatives of the Portuguese crown by opposing the policies of General Governor Inácio Coelho da Silva,[24] which were perceived as contrary to

[23] Luiz Felipe de Alencastro states that during the Portuguese restoration Brazil was the primary economic support of the crown. According to an expression used by King Dom João IV in a conversation with a French diplomat in 1655, Brazil was the "milk cow" or "vaca de leite" of Portugal (247).

[24] Pedro César de Menezes governed Maranhão between 1671–1678. Starting with him, the residence of the governors was established in Belém, a town far from Maranhão. The discontent of the settlers of Maranhão was in part motivated by the absence of the governor. In 1678 a popular uprising by the people of Maranhão resulted in the replacement of Pedro César de Menezes by Inácio Coelho da Silva, who governed the captaincy from 1678 until 1682. It was during the government of Coelho da Silva that the conflict between Beckman and the Portuguese governors began. As Rafael Ivan Chambouleyron points out, in his dissertation *Portuguese coloniazation of the Amazon region, 1640–1706*, in 1679, governor Coelho da Silva accused Beckman of being a "turbulent man" (147). During the government of Francisco Sá de Menezes (1862–1688) the frustration of the residents of Maranhão led to the popular revolt that resulted in the death of Beckman.

the interests of the local people. The confrontation with the governor led to Beckman's incarceration in 1679. While in jail Beckman wrote *Representação a S.M. de hum home culpado numa morte com a rellação do succedido e alguas noticias do Maranhão* [*Representation to Your Majesty of a Man Blamed in a Death with a Relation of the Happenings of and Some News from Maranhão*], a letter addressed to Pedro II, who governed Portugal and its domains as prince regent from 1678 until 1683, and as king from 1683 until 1706. Confirming one of the arguments made previously by Brandão, Beckman blamed the greed of those Europeans who came to Brazil only to seek fortunes as the cause of the problems in the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará. This greed extended to government officials, and, according to his letter, their resulting despotism was a major obstacle to the prosperity of Maranhão and its permanent settlers: "Os governadores chegam pobres ao Maranhão e usando o seu poder e despotismo regressam a Portugal com enormes fortunas" (73)[25] [Governors arrive to Maranhão poor, and using their power and despotism, return to Portugal with enormous fortunes].

Beckman's letter to the king describes the difficulties experienced by the local residents, emphasizing particularly "as miseráveis condições de vida da população e a exploração a que estava sujeita" (71) [the miserable living conditions and the exploitation imposed on them by the incompetent, greedy and corrupt governors]. Beckman argues that the governors that came to Maranhão did not love the king because they betrayed his laws and his cause. He reports that the four fortress of the region, located in Gurupá, Itapicuru, Maranhão and Pará, were abandoned by the governors, posing a risk to the permanent settlers and to the Portuguese empire. He also believed that, if not for the dedication and love of the local residents, "os verdadeiros defensores das fronteiras brasileiras" (73) [the real defenders of the Brazilian frontiers], the northern lands of the Portuguese America would have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. Although not as skillful a writer as Bento Teixeira or Brandão, the self-educated Beckman was successful in the use of metaphors to persuade the King to intervene in the political conflicts involving the settlers and the governor of Grão-Pará and Maranhão. In the following passage, he

[25] The citations from *Reprezentação a S.M.de hu home culpado numa morte com a rellação do succedido e alguas noticias do Maranhão*, the only document signed by Manuel Beckman, found in the Arquivo da Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon, are based on the reproduction of the text found in Maria Liberman's book entitled, *O Levante do Maranhão: 'Judeu Cabeça do Motim,' Manuel Beckman*.

compares the captaincy of Maranhão to a healthy body that became crippled with the abuses, exploitation and disregard of the representatives of the crown. Beckman also explains that, under the pretext of serving the king, the governors spent most of their time in the city of Belém, the provincial capital of the State located in the captaincy of Pará, and traveled to Maranhão only for the purpose of exploiting its land and its people:

> Os governadores e mais ministros de Vossa Alteza todos acistem no Pará, por servirem a Vossa Magestade mas por se aproveitarem assy, por do Maranhão já não terem o que tirar porque o que avia lhe tirarão e de cabeça do estado o tornaram em pés e o puzeram em muletas. (73)
>
> The governors and other ministers of Your Highness, they all remain in Pará, so as to better serve Your Majesty, but they come to Maranhão for profit, even though there is nothing left to take, since what there was, they have already taken, turning the state [of Maranhão and Grão-Pará] upside down by twisting its feet and putting it on crutches.

Before signing the letter Beckman also states that he was "willing to give his life to the people of Maranhão" (73), a sacrifice that in his opinion no governor would be willing to make.

Perhaps because the king was moved by Beckman's argument, or because he feared a major popular revolt, in a letter dated September 22, 1679, Pedro II of Portugal ordered the immediate replacement of the governor and the release of Beckman from jail. Unfortunately, despite the steps taken by the king, the conflicts between the local people and the government did not end. In 1684, the imposition of new taxes by the government upon the residents of Maranhão resulted in a major popular uprising. The revolt that started in the city of São Luis on February 24, 1684, became known as the "*Levante do Maranhão*."

According to archival documents and chronicles that describe the event, the participants of the revolt comprised hundreds of local residents including priests, owners of sugar plantations, humble workers, mulattoes, *mestizos*, and free black slaves, as well as Old and New Christians. The popular revolt forced the new governor, Francisco de Sá e Menezes, as well as the members of the Jesuit order who had control over the Indians to leave the region. A collective letter addressed to the king on the day of the rebellion, signed by sixty representatives of the participants in the *Levante*, explained that the popular revolt was motivated by the oppressive regime and the lack of assistance from the government. The document also clarifies how government oppression forced the people of Maranhão to remedy the situation with their own hands.

This time the reply that the people of Maranhão received from the king of Portugal was very different. On May 15, 1685, Gomes Freire de Andrade, who had an instrumental role in defending Portugal's interests in Restoration wars, arrived in São Luis as a new governor. Accompanied by judge Manuel Vaz Nunes, the newly appointed governor had been assigned the special mission of punishing the rebels and establishing peace in the region. Taking advantage of intelligence information provided by Francisco da Mota Falcão and Jacinto Morais Rego, who had been sent as spies to the region prior to the governor's disembarking in São Luis, Freire de Andrade ordered the imprisonment of Beckman and other leaders of the revolt. The accusations against Manuel Beckman portrayed him as a criminal, a traitor, and a Jew. Although the revolt had received the support of the state and city councils, and also of the local residents from the upper and lower sectors of society, including priests, artisans, and many plebeians, the new governor charged Beckman as the *cabeça do levante* (leader of the revolt) and sent him to prison. Fearing a new uprising from the people who tried to break into the prison and set their leader free, the new governor sent Beckman to Pará, where he was hanged on November 2, 1685.

The *Levante do Maranhão*, considered by historian Anita Novinsky as "the first organized explosion that took place in Brazil" (4),[26] can be compared to the revolt that agitated Mexico City less than a decade later in 1692, which was described by the well-known *criollo* Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora in his *Alboroto y motín de los indios de México*. However, in contrast to the position taken by Manuel Beckman, Sigüenza y Góngora did not identify himself with the Mexican people in the rebellion. The word "alboroto" chosen by the writer to describe the popular uprising is associated with a disorderly, confused, noisy, and boisterous gathering, conveying the idea that those who participated in it were inhuman. By presenting only the Indians as the participants of the revolt, Sigüenza y Góngora distanced himself from the popular movement that involved people of different social, racial, and economic backgrounds. The praise that he directed to the viceroy Count Galvez and the meaning of the word "alboroto" suggest that the creole from

[26] Although historians João Francisco de Lisboa, Arthur César Ferreira Reis, Anita Novinsky, and more recently Maria Liberman and Rafael Ivan Chambouleyron, have tried to rescue from obscurity this collective revolt that took place in the periphery of the Iberian empires, the role played in it by Manuel Beckman remains marginalized from official colonial Latin American history.

Mexico was a faithful servant of the Spanish crown, and that the Indians and other people considered inferior castes had to be contained and subjugated by natural law to the Spaniards and Spanish *criollos*.[27] By contrast, Beckman in his letter to the king, as well as before being hanged, not only defended the rebellion but also offered his life for the betterment of the people of Maranhão.

As one can see from the experiences and writings of the New Christians Ambrósio F. Brandão and Manuel Beckman, a sense of collective identity emerged in the Americas not only in the urban centers with their courts, cathedrals, universities, and other European institutions.[28] This argument corroborates Stuart B. Schwartz's observation that a feeling of distinctiveness, a lack of identification with Europe, and a profound realization of the colonial reality existed precociously among subaltern subjects who lived in different parts of the New World (1987). Writers, such as Brandão and Beckman, asserted their *criollo* consciousness in lands of the New World that the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch and the French contested. Perhaps because of their Jewish ancestry, New Christians who left voluntarily or who had been banished from the centers of imperial power, begin to manifest an inclination to articulate their difference vis-à-vis Europe comparable to other seventeenth-century writers

[27] Sam Cogdell detects the ambivalent position of Sigüenza y Góngora in the text *Alboroto* when he says: "Una de las cuestiones que surge de la lectura del *Alboroto* es la referente a cómo reconcilia Sigüenza su patente actitud antiplebeya y específicamente sus ataques virulentos al sector más desamparado—los indios—con la sincera admiración, entusiasmo y hasta orgullo cuasi-patriótico que había demonstrado ya en sus indagaciones sobre las antiguas culturas indígenas" (265) [One of the questions that arises in reading *Alboroto* is the reference to how Sigüenza reconciles his clearly anti-plebian attitude and especially his virulent attacks on the most neglected sectors—the Indians—with sincere admiration, enthusiasm and even quasi-patriotic pride, which he had already demonstrated in his research related to the ancient indigenous cultures]. Mabel Moraña supports Codgell's point of view about Sigüenza's anti-plebeian position. In her words: "Si la temática del texto de Sigüenza expone, indudablemente, uno de los modelos más frecuentes de expresión de la contracultura plebeya dentro de los parámetros de la sociedad de la época, su organización discursiva revela la constitución ideológica y la cosmovisión del sector dominante, que se nuclea y cohesiona en el contexto amenazante de los levantamientos populares" (163) [If the subject matter of Sigüenza's text presents, undoubtedly, one of the most frequent models of expression of the plebian counterculture within the parameters of the society of the time, its discursive organization reveals the ideological disposition and worldview of the dominant sector, which centers and coheres around the threatening context of popular uprisings].

[28] For this view see Solange Alberro, "La emergencia de la conciencia criolla: el caso novohispano."

born in the Americas.[29] Possibly due to Brandão's and Beckman's familiarity with not only political but also ethnic subaltern conditions, their writings do not show the anti-plebeian attitudes, the preoccupation with courtly values, the attachment to the metropolis, and the ideology of the dominant sector of society that can be found in Spanish American representatives of seventeenth-century *criollo* consciousness like Sigüenza y Góngora. The *cristãos-novos* Brandão and Beckman thus bring to light the generally unappreciated presence in colonial Brazil of a *criollo* consciousness that is both comparable to and distinct from the oft-cited representatives of the movement in Spain's colonial possessions.

As seen in the previous pages, subjects of Jewish origin such as Bento Teixeira, Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, and Manuel Beckman, who came to Brazil during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, played a major role in the development of Brazilian colonial society as writers, school teachers, tax collectors and community leaders. In Brazil, in addition to their roles as intellectual leaders in an environment marked by illiteracy, they were also involved with the brazilwood and slave trade and the development of the sugar cane industry. They contributed to expanding and safeguarding the frontiers of Portuguese America, as well.[30] Their cases confirm that it was only after 1580 with the annexation of Portugal and its overseas possessions to the Spanish Empire by Philip II that visitors of the Holy Office were dispatched to Brazil. It was also during the Spanish Habsburg dynasty that descendents of Portuguese Jews became the primary target of the visitors of the Inquisition. But even with these visitations, the Holy Office of the Inquisition did not have a devastating impact on the New Christian community of Brazil, as the fact that Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, twice accused of Judaism, was not arrested by the inquisitors shows. Ronaldo Vainfas reinforces this argu-

[29] Timothy Coates identifies Maranhão and Pará as prime areas targeted by the Portuguese Crown and the Conselho Ultramarino for settlement of Portuguese people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[30] In the eighteenth century the Brazilian economy started diversifying due to the discovery of gold in the Southeast region. Rachel Mizrahi Bromberg observes that there were many New Christians among the great financers of the new economy that flourished in the region with the discovery of gold in the Minas Gerais. Lina Gorenstein Ferreira da Silva shows that between 1709 and 1728 the Portuguese Inquisition intensified its activities in Brazil. She also proves that the majority of the victims accused of Judaism and punished by the Holy Office in Lisbon during the first half of the eighteenth century came from this region. As result of Portuguese concerns related to contraband and fear of invasion by powerful empires such as the British, in 1776, during the reign of King José I of Portugal the capital of Brazil changed from Salvador, Bahia, to Rio de Janeiro.

ment when he states in the introduction to *Confissões da Bahia* that during the visit of Heitor Furtado de Mendonça to the northeast region of Brazil between 1591 and 1595 most of the rich colonizers of Jewish origin denounced to the Visitor received special protection from local civil and religious authorities and escaped imprisonment. Once in Brazil, distant from viceroy and Grand Inquisitor Cardinal Alberto of Austria, Furtado de Mendonça befriended the Jesuits and the powerful landowners of the colony. As a result of these alliances the visitor of the Holy Office disregarded the strict rules of the Inquisition and followed his own ideas about the cases of heresies brought to him. According to Vainfas, Furtado de Mendonça "absolveu indivíduos com graves culpas" [pardoned subjects who had committed serious offenses] as well as "sentenciou gente que os inquisidores de Lisboa julgaram inocentes" (1997, 27–28) [sentenced people that the Lisbon inquisitors had judged innocent]. Because of these inquisitorial infractions, Furtado de Mendonça was reprimanded by the Cardinal and prohibited from visiting other colonial possessions. The visitor's attitude toward the wealthy colonists from Brazil corroborates a statement made by Bento Teixeira in one of his written confessions, in which he compared the actions of the Portuguese Inquisition in Brazil to "a spider web that only caught the small flies and let the big and noisy bugs escape."

However, as we will see in the following chapter, the social and geographical dynamics affecting New Christians shifted significantly when gold was found in the hinterlands of Brazil in the last decade of the seventeenth century. The search for gold in the interior of Brazil was motivated in part by the poverty that Portugal faced as a result of the loss of its overseas possessions during the time of the Spanish domination (1580–1640). As seen through the case of Manuel Beckman, this poverty later worsened due to Portugal's wars with Spain during the Restoration period, which lasted from 1640 until 1668. After the death of João IV in 1656, his son Afonso was crowned king of Portugal under the name Dom Afonso VI. During Dom Afonso VI's monarchy Portugal experienced internal and external instability. Because of internal and external conflicts and a conspiracy led by his mother, his brother, and the woman whom Afonso had recently married, the king was ousted from the throne in 1667. From 1667 until his death in 1683 Dom Afonso VI remained locked in a palace in Sintra. Meanwhile, with the approval of the queen mother, his brother Pedro assumed the throne as prince regent. In 1668 Pedro also married his former sister-in-law, Queen Maria Francisca de Sabóia, after she obtained the annulment of her previous marriage to

Dom Afonso VI. In 1668 the prince regent also signed a peace treaty with Spain ending the long War of Restoration which took many lives and resources from Lusitanian lands. When in 1683 Dom Afonso VI died in prison, Dom Pedro II was crowned king of Portugal. He reigned as king from 1683 until 1706, when his son João V succeeded him on the throne.

To guarantee the sovereignty of the Portuguese territory Dom Pedro II took advantage of the good relation with England, which became effective in 1662, when, through the intervention of Queen Luisa de Guzmán, widow of King João IV, princess Catherine of Braganza (Pedro II's sister) was married to Charles II of England. As part of her dowry, Portugal gave England Tangier and Bombaim, and the right to trade with Portuguese overseas domains. During Pedro II's government as prince regent (1667–1683) and as king (1683–1706) he also offered incentives for people to search for metals in Brazil. Many of the *bandeirantes* or pioneers who found gold in Minas Gerais and in other regions of the interior were New Christians of Jewish descent.[31] Some of them came from the Northeast, others from the regions that now form the states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, but there were also many other descendents of Jews who came from Portugal and other European empires.

While the alliance with England helped to secure independence from Spain and promote trade and industrialization in Portugal, with the signing of the Methuen Treaty in 1703, the British Empire made significant advances into Portuguese possessions in Asia. The presence of England in the Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa and the Americas caused dissatisfaction among the Spaniards and the French, and social unrest in Portugal and its colonies. Already in 1657, when Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) opened the doors of the British Empire to Jews, many of the New Christians, who had migrated from the Iberian Peninsula to the Netherlands, then moved to the British domains. Due to this migration, some members of the Portuguese elite began to see the New Christians from Portugal and Brazil not only as allies of the Dutch but also of the British. Thus, as a result of the conflicts involving Portugal, England, Spain, the Netherlands, and France in the second part of the seventeenth century, tensions between Old and New Christians re-emerged in the Atlantic world. After the death of King João IV in 1656 the Portuguese inquisitors started to protest João IV's prohibition of the confiscation of the assets of New Christians accused of Judaism. It was also during this

[31] See José Gonçalves Salvador, *Os cristãos-novos em Minas Gerais durante o ciclo do ouro (1695–1755): relações com a Inglaterra* (1992).

period that the Jesuit Antônio Vieira was jailed by the Portuguese Inquisition for defending the New Christians. Tensions between New and Old Christians gained strength when the Holy Office began its persecution of heresy anew in 1681 following the seven years of interruption by papal orders. However, it was after the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais in the last decade of the seventeenth century that the fear of connections between New Christians from Brazil and Sephardic Jews from England and other parts of Europe intensified in Portugal.

During the reign of João V (1706–1750), many Portuguese feared that New Christians living in Brazil would smuggle gold to their relatives and compatriots in England and other parts of Europe. Despite the treaties that Portugal had signed with England, such as the Methuen Accord in 1703, or perhaps because of them, the Portuguese people were generally suspicious of British enterprises. As David A. Francis explains:

> [T]he Portuguese were very jealous of foreign infiltration, and trusted neither the British nor the Dutch, though the integrity of Portuguese dominions overseas as well as the homeland was guaranteed by the 1703 treaties. This did not mean that the Portuguese were less suspicious of the Spaniards, or of the French who had attacked Rio de Janeiro in the late war and showed a disposition to develop their trade in the South Seas. (42)

As a result of imperial rivalries the Inquisition was used to curtail foreign infiltration and heretical ideas. It was particularly during the reign of João V that the Portuguese Inquisition gained strength with a significant increase in the number of its officials known as *comissários* and *familiares*,[32] leading the Holy Office to launch a severe attack against *cristãos-novos* living in Brazil. This time the attention focused on the captaincies of southern Brazil. It was at the beginning of the second decade of the eighteenth century that Antônio José da Silva was arrested by the Inquisition. This occurred during the peak of gold production in Brazil and at a time when the Portuguese crown and church began to perceive the progressive ideas of the Enlightenment as a threat.[33] Similar to Philip II, João V was also a king whose acute religious zeal led him to spend much of his energy and wealth in transforming his court and empire into one

[32] Francisco Bethencourt observes that while in the case of the Spanish Inquisition the largest number of *familiares* occurred between 1520 and 1620, in Portugal it happened between 1690 and 1770. See *História das Inquisições* (364).

[33] Dom João V reigned from 1703 until 1750. Alberto Dines documents in his *Vínculos do Fogo* during the forty-four years of Dom João V's reign there was an *auto-da-fé* every twenty months. Dines calls attention to the fact that the autos were usually held around the festivities of the Jewish calendar (40).

of the most exuberant of the times. Also, as in the case of Louis XIV's court society, which has been studied by Norbert Elias, during the reigns of Philip II and João V art and patronage became the center of the power play of court life. The authoritarian character of John V could also be compared to that of Philip II, which has been described by Geoffrey Parker as "both the greatest strength and the greatest weakness of his Monarchy" (296). Their court societies epitomized an absolute monarchy where the lives of their subjects rested almost exclusively in the hands of the kings. With the rules and power play established by these absolute monarchs one could climb to or fall from power from one day to the next. To organize and maintain the distance between all the groups and persons in their court society they created rules of etiquette and ceremony, and spent part of their lives in extravagant royal residences such as the Escorial, built by Philip II, and the palace of Mafra, constructed by John V. As David C. Goodman explains, under Philip II "[t]he hand of government was felt in the university training of physicians and surgeons, in the technical training of gunners and pilots, and in the collection of scientific information concerning the Indies" (261). In a similar manner, to enhance the power of his crown John V also relied on scientific and technological skills of men from other more advanced parts of Europe. Both monarchs used the arts as a way "to glorify and render more powerful" the ceremonials of their courts (Delaforce, xx). They also relied heavily on the Inquisition to impose disciplinary techniques and "dividing practices" aimed at excluding those whom they regarded as a threat to their power.[34] During the reign of João V, Antônio José da Silva was one subject who was regarded as a threat due to his ethnic origin and his enlightened ideas.

As one can see from the cases studied in this chapter, the conflicts involving Portugal, Spain, and other European empires throughout the seventeenth century brought turbulence and death to many descendents of Portuguese Jews who lived in the Iberian Atlantic world. However, despite the persecutions that many of them suffered in the New World,

[34] The changes introduced in Brazil by the Portuguese Inquisition during the reign of Dom João V can be seen as strategies aimed at oppressing subaltern groups. R. Vainfas compares the Inquisition under Dom João V as "uma auténtica engrenagem" [an authentic engine] composed of a network of officials and *familiares* spread throughout the territories or captaincies of Brazil. Relying on the support provided by the visitors of the different dioceses these officials managed to send to the Lisbon Inquisition many people from the area that now forms the states of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. See Vainfas, *Dicionário do Brasil Colonial* (310).

they saw Brazil as a Promised Land. Unfortunately, with the discovery of gold in the region that is known today as the state of Minas Gerais, New Christians living in Brazil became the major target of the Portuguese Inquisition. Historians who have studied modern Inquisitions from a comparative perspective are unanimous in opining that during the first half of the eighteenth century the Portuguese Inquisition surpassed the Spanish Holy Office in its violence. Its impact was felt particularly in the southern regions of Brazil where many New Christians lived. It was in Rio de Janeiro during the first decade of the eighteenth century that Antônio José da Silva, the New Christian that will be analyzed in the next chapter, was trapped by the Inquisition.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INQUISITION AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGAL: THE CASE OF ANTÔNIO JOSÉ DA SILVA

Antônio José da Silva was a New Christian, who was born in Brazil in 1705 and forced to move to Lisbon two years after his parents were accused of practicing Judaism in 1712. In 1726, when da Silva was twenty-one years old, he also became a victim of the Portuguese Inquisition. After participating in the *auto-da-fé* that took place in Lisbon on October 13, 1726, he was released from the Inquisition jail. Upon his release from the cells of the Holy Office he embraced literature and around 1733 created a special theater that used puppets to represent the different characters. These first incursions into the world of theater, the realm in which A.J. da Silva would accrue a substantial reputation, perhaps derived from economic need that he and his family experienced as a result of the Inquisition's appropriation of their assets. On October 12, 1737, on the eve of Yom Kippur, the New Christian from Brazil was again arrested by the Inquisition. During his second imprisonment, the inquisitors made extensive use of torture techniques to obtain information from the *cristão-novo* from Rio de Janeiro. They also used Inquisition guards and spies to observe the prisoner. In a manner that resembles the panopticon described by Foucault in *Madness and Civilization*, Antônio José was constantly being observed through secret holes made in the walls of his cell. In contrast to the cases of Luis de Carvajal and Bento Teixeira, who used the cracks in the walls of the Inquisition jail to communicate with other crypto-Jews and to resist the inquisitors, in da Silva's case the holes in the wall functioned as a mechanism of control rather than subversion.[1]

[1] Unlike some of the previous individuals studied in this book, who are still relatively unknown among Latin American and Iberian literary critics and historians, Antônio José da Silva's life and literary work have received serious attention by scholars such as José Pereira Tavares, Claude Henri-Frèches, José de Oliveira Barata, and Alberto Dines, among others. Yet the work of this New Christian playwright continues to be practically unknown outside the Luso-Brazilian and Lusophone African worlds. Additionally, in a situation analogous to the cases of Luis de Carvajal, Bento Teixeira, and Manuel Beckman, the critics who have studied Antônio José's inquisitorial trials and theater have failed to

This chapter frames Antônio José da Silva's inquisitorial trials and plays in a broad imperial context involving Portugal, England, Spain and other Western European nations. The pages that follow serve as an appropriate close to the analysis of the discourse of *letrados* of Jewish origin, especially given that Antônio José da Silva was the last New Christian from Brazil executed by the Portuguese Inquisition. The study of his trial proceedings and plays offers insights into the motives that led the modern Inquisition to persecute New Christians. As Francisco Bethencourt observes in *Histórias das Inquisições*, despite the fact that the Holy Office aimed to punish all kinds of heresies, individuals of Jewish origin became "o alvo maior da actividade inquisitorial ibérica" (297) [the major target of the Iberian inquisitorial activity]. As we will see in the following pages this was particulary accurate in the case of the Brazilian-born playwright.

I. *Framing Antônio José da Silva's Case*

To best evaluate the trial proceedings that register the experience of Antônio José da Silva, we must first confront a key question. Why did the Portuguese Inquisition, which until then had shown a certain restraint and tolerance toward New Christians from Brazil, initiate a much fiercer persecution of this group during the first half of the eighteenth century? To answer, it is useful to keep in mind that gold was found in Brazil only at the end of the seventeenth century, and that the mining of the mineral reached its peak in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Until that time, Brazil, unlike the Spanish colonies, had not attracted the ambition and enterprise of large sectors of traditional Old Christians from Portugal. In the previous centuries, because members of the Portuguese elite preferred to colonize Africa and Asia, the monarchs lacked the human and financial resources to secure and colonize their possessions in the New World. However, to prevent other European empires, such as those of the French, the English, and the Dutch, from occupying Brazil, the Portuguese leaders entered into contracts with New Christians that allowed them to explore and commercialize some of the natural products, as well as to settle in Portuguese America. Right after Pedro Álvares Cabral "dis-

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situate their analyses within the broad and conflictive imperial rivalries that Portugal experienced during the first part of the eighteenth century, when the gold found in Brazil attracted the attention of other European empires.

covered" Brazil in 1500, Dom Manuel signed a contract with the New Christian Fernando de Noronha and other descendents of Portuguese Jews who started the colonization process and the trade of brazilwood. It was with this group of enterprising New Christians that the colonization of Brazil began. With the introduction of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Portugal during the reign of João III (1521–1557), the presence of Portuguese New Christians increased in Brazil. Nonetheless, it was mainly during the Habsburg dynasty, which had begun in 1580 with the annexation of Portugal to the Spanish crown by Philip II, that migration of Portuguese people of Jewish descent to Brazil intensified. Anita Novinsky, Sônia Aparecida Siqueira, José Gonçalves Salvador, Ronaldo Vainfas, Geraldo Pieroni, among other historians who have written about the topic, agree that the New Christians living in Brazil during colonial times came from different socio-economic sectors and exercised different professions. Many of them came to Brazil voluntarily, but some came as *degredados* [outcasts] who were forced into exile as punishment for their religious or secular crimes.[2] It seems that A.J. da Silva's ancestors were among the New Christians who voluntarily came to the Portuguese America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many members of his family, including his father and mother, occupied a distinguished social position in Rio de Janeiro in the eighteenth century.

II. *Glimpses of Antônio José da Silva's life through his First Trial*

According to the *Processo 2.027 da Inquisição de Lisboa*, Antônio José da Silva was born in Rio de Janeiro on May 8, 1705. At the age of nine he was forced to leave Brazil because his mother, Lourença Coutinho, a suspected crypto-Jew, had been denounced to the Holy Office. As observed in the case of Bento Teixeira, since there was no Tribunal of

[2] Anita Novinsky reveals that in the early decades of the seventeenth century many of the New Christians who lived in Bahia and that constituted approximately twenty percent of the population were farmers and merchants involved in sugar production and trade. See *cristãos novos* (88). In *A Inquisição Portuguesa e a sociedade colonial*, S.A. Siqueira observes that during the two first centuries of the colonization process an intense ethnic miscegenation occurred in Brazil, affecting, directly or indirectly religious life in the colony (63). J.G. Salvador also admits that throughout Brazil miscegenation occurred involving colonial subjects of different beliefs, economic status and skin color. Nevertheless, he explains that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century the New Christians who lived in the regional areas of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro became more segregated as a result of the topographical nature of the region as well as of the

the Holy Office in Brazil, heresies and other deviant behaviors of the inhabitants of Portuguese America were under the jurisdiction of the Lisbon Tribunal. Da Silva's parents, João Mendes da Silva and Lourença Coutinho, were sent to Lisbon in 1712. Separated from his parents for two years, A.J. da Silva and his brothers Baltasar and André joined their parents in Lisbon in 1714.

In the *auto-da-fé* that took place in July 1713, Antônio José's mother was condemned to the "penas de abjuração, cárcere, hábito penitencial e confiscação dos bens" [penalties of abjuration, prison, penitential garment, and confiscation of assets]. This verdict prohibited his parents from leaving Portugal for the rest of their lives. In 1726 his mother was arrested by the Inquisition for the second time. As punishment for her presumed religious crime Lourença Coutinho was sent to Castro Marin, a village in an isolated region of Algarve, which Geraldo Pieroni describes in *Os excluídos do reino* as one of the places reserved for those who were perceived as heretics. Ironically, despite the fact that Castro Marin was a place of captivity or exile where criminals and religious outcasts could be redeemed by repenting from their sins, the presence of other crypto-Jews in these isolated areas contributed to reinforcing their heterodox ideas and beliefs.[3]

When Antônio José was less than twenty years old, he entered the prestigious University of Coimbra. It was then that the Inquisition reached him with its "iron claws." According to trial proceeding number 2.027 housed in the archives of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, on August 8, 1726, following the second imprisonment of his mother, the Holy Office arrested him and his brothers Baltasar and André on charges of Judaism. The three were subjected to torture, but it seems that A.J. da Silva's punishment was particularly harsh.

As the excerpt from his trial reveals, on September 23, 1726, approximately a month after being submitted to corporal punishment, the victim

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emergence of discrimination in their societies (*Os cristãos-novos: povoamento*, 372–373). In *Banidos: A Inquisição e a lista dos cristãos-novos condenados a viver no Brasil*, Pieroni presents statistical data that shows that New Christians accused of Judaism constituted the largest number of Portuguese outcasts sent to Brazil.

[3] Lourença Coutinho's case and also the examples of imprisonment, exile, and segregation of subjects with similar identities and interests, such as New Christian crypto-Jews, illustrates Lisa Voigt's argument that while "[t]he practice of captivity attests to the violence that infused relations between people of different faiths and cultures in an age of extraordinary religious divisiveness and imperial ambitions within and without Europe [,] captivity [also contributed to] the production of knowledge, identity, and authority in the early modern imperial world" (1).

was unable to sign the confession made under the *trato corrido* [intense torture] he had suffered: The Inquisition notary Thomaz Feio Barbudo wrote that he and other witnesses, including the inquisitor João Álvares Soares, signed the document "pelo reo … não estar capaz devido ao tormento" (46) [for the accused [because] he was not able [to sign it] due to the torture].[4] The arrest, dated August 8, 1726, was signed by Theotonio da Fonseca Souto Mayor and two other inquisitors. Since A.J. da Silva was only twenty-one years old at the time of his first imprisonment, he was assigned a priest as a legal guardian and spiritual mentor. Inquisitor João Álvares Soares informed the Brazilian *cristão-novo* that in order to shorten his trial, he had to denounce all those whom he knew practiced Judaism.

Perhaps to avoid additional torture and to abbreviate the trial, Antônio José confessed that his aunt Esperanza, who was already dead, had first introduced him to Judaism. During the interrogation of his genealogy the accused admitted that he was a student of canon and civil law at the University of Coimbra. Although under pressure, he first refused to accuse any of his living relatives and friends as followers of Mosaic Law. Later, under the severe torture that rendered him unable to sign his sentence, the victim admitted that many members of his family, including his mother, practiced Judaism. Here one can see that, similar to the cases of Luis de Carvajal and Bento Teixeira, only under severe pain did Antônio José admit that he was guilty and provide the inquisitors with names of other followers of Judaism. Because it was only under torture that those accused of Judaism incriminated others, more enlightened subjects, such as the seventeenth-century Jesuit Antônio Vieira and the eighteenth-century diplomat Dom Luis da Cunha, called the Inquisition a "máquina de fabricar judeus" [Jew-producing machine].

After being submitted to torture and admitting that he was guilty of the crime of Judaism, Antônio José da Silva's first trial ended with the *auto-da-fé* that took place in Lisbon on October 13, 1726. Apparently reconciled, the penitent was sentenced to house arrest and to wear the *sambenito*. This penance required that, in addition to wearing the Inquisition garment, the victim had to reside in Lisbon for the rest of his life and could not leave the city without the permission of the Holy Office.

[4] This and all other citations from Antônio José da Silva's Inquisition trials are based on the printed version found in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográphico Brazileiro*. Tomo LIX (1º e 2º trimestre): 5–261.

Furthermore, the Inquisition assigned him a priest to instruct him in Catholic doctrine and required the victim to confess and to receive communion at least four times a year. There is no clear information about the life that Silva led or any occupation that he had from October 1726, the end of the first trial, to 1733, the year when his first play, *Vida do Grande Dom Quixote de la Mancha e do Gordo Sancho Pança*, was performed in Lisbon.

José Pereira Tavares believes that Antônio José was able to return to Coimbra during the years following his first trial and complete his law degree, but this assertion has not been substantiated. Based on the fact that a person who had been denounced to the Inquisition was prohibited from entering or continuing studies at any university, and also taking into consideration that the inquisitors required him to remain in Lisbon under the watch and care of the Holy Office, it would have been practically impossible for him to leave Lisbon and move to Coimbra for study.[5] Further evidence that A.J. da Silva was not a lawyer is found in his second trial. The *inventario* dated October 22, 1737, reads: "Perguntado, que bens de raiz tinha de seu, e … que peças de ouro, prata ou penhores … tinha de seu, e de que estivesse de posse ao tempo de sua prizão" (137) [asked at the time of his arrest if he had assets or real estate, or pieces of gold and silver, and if he had any liens or debts], the answer transcribed by the notary was: "Dice, que ao tempo que o prenderam não estava de posse de bens alguns de raiz, e somente tinha uma livraria, da qual pertenciam alguns livros a seu irmão Baltazar Rodrigues Coutinho, e não sabe a estimação que poderá ter, nem o que valerá" (137) [He said that at the time of his arrest he did not have any assets or real estate, and that the only thing he had was a library which had some books that belonged

[5] José de Oliveira Barata maintains that the New Christian from Brazil indeed did not return to Coimbra. He affirms that he consulted the records of Universidade de Coimbra and did not find A.J. da Silva's name in the list of students who graduated from there. Oliveira Barata (Vol. I, 156–157). Jerônimo da Silva Araújo's *Advocatus Perfectus*, published in 1743, reinforces the argument that Antônio José could not have completed his law studies when it states that Jews and heretics were prohibited from practicing law: "Os hereges, os pagãos e os excomungados não podem ser advogados, e peca o juiz que os admite" (56–57) [Heretics, pagans, and the excommunicated cannot be lawyers, and the judge who admits them commits a sin]. Silva Araújo also explained that those who were prohibited from practicing law could only offer legal advice when working as assistants to lawyers or judges: "Aquele que está proibido de advogar pode dar conselhos particulares" (58) [A person who has been prohibited from practicing law can offer legal council privately]. Based on statements made by witnesses who testified during his second trial, Antônio José worked sporadically with his brother Baltasar, a lawyer, who was capable of proving to the inquisitors that he was not a heretic.

to his brother Baltasar Rodrigues Coutinho, and he cannot estimate the contents of it nor what it might be worth]. Additional notes transcribed by the Inquisition scribe also reveal that the accused struggled to make ends meet. As the following passage suggests, he owed money to many people and lived from hand to mouth:

> E que ao réo lhe não devem cousa alguma, e que elle está devendo a José Gonçalves Rocha, mercador na rua dos Escudeiros, sete mil trezentos e noventa réis de fazendas que lhe levou da sua loja. E que elle deve a Pedro Affonso, aguadeiro, dezesseis tostões d'água que lhe dava para sua casa. E que à lavadeira da mesma casa, chamada Paschoa, não sabe de que, nem d'onde é moradora, lhe deve dous tostões. (138)
>
> And that nobody owes anything to that accused, and that he owes to José Gonçalves Rocha, merchant on Escudeiro Street, seven thousand three hundred reis from fabric that was taken (purchased) from his store. And that he owes Pedro Afonso, water-bearer, sixteen hundredths of a real's worth of water which he delivered to his house, and to the laundress of the same house, called Paschoa, of unknown address or lineage, he owes two hundredth of a real.

The life of this New Christian *letrado* between 1726, when he was released from the Inquisition jail, and 1737, the year of his second imprisonment, can be reconstructed through his second trial proceeding as well as through the plays and writings that were posthomously attributed to him. After being submitted to additional torture, participating in the *auto-da-fé*, and being forced to abjure Judaism on October 23 1726, Antônio José was released from the Inquisition cells.

III. *Embracing Literature and Theater after His First Trial*

Perhaps pressed by financial need, A.J. da Silva started writing plays which were later performed at the Teatro do Bairro Alto. Apparently he was in charge of opening the building, taking care of the stage settings, and operating the puppets. However, as we will see in the following pages, in addition to taking care of the stage settings and operation of the marionettes, Antônio José wrote many of the plays performed at that theater. The inquisitors and most of the audience did not know that the New Christian who had become a victim of the Inquisition was a creative playwright, but some of the members of the enlightened circle of Portuguese intellectuals did. Although the Inquisition's rules keeping the young law student under scrutiny and prohibiting him from re-entering

the university forced him to live in anonymity and continue studying on his own, there are also indications that the self-taught playwright received direct and indirect help from influential members of Lisbon society to write and publish his plays anonymously.

Passages of the confessions found in his inquisitorial trials indicate that he continued his studies in the private libraries of wealthy and enlightened members of Portuguese society. Possibly it was in one of these libraries that he studied the art of playwriting. It is hard to find precise information regarding the places where da Silva studied theater and the contacts that he established after his release from the Inquisition jail. However, based on information found in his trial, one learns that the library of Dom Francisco Xavier de Menezes, Fourth Count of Ericeira, was one of the places frequented by the young writer. In his confession, dated September 7, 1726, Antônio José stated that in the previous year while going to the house of the Count of Ericeira to study, he met João Álvares, a New Christian medical student. He recalled that it was a Saturday, and "ambos se declararam por crentes e observantes da lei de Moisés … no caminho que vae … para a horta do Conde da Ericeira" (34) [both declared themselves believers and followers of the law of Moses on the way to the garden of Count of Ericeira].[6] However, since Ericeira's library and the theater were destroyed during the earthquake that hit Lisbon in 1755, no document showing the connections between the playwright and the influential Count has been found.

Another indication of Antônio José's success as a playwright comes from an explanation by Francisco Luiz Ameno, a reputable editor who published in 1744 a collection of comic plays that had been performed in Lisbon in previous decades. The collection entitled *Theatro Cómico Portuguez* included the three plays previously published by Isidoro da Fonseca and five others that had been staged at the popular theater of Bairo Alto. Without mentioning openly the name of the playwright,

[6] In *Chefs d'Ouvres du Théatre Portugais* Ferdinand Denis states that, for at least some time, Antônio José was a protégée of the Count of Ericeira, and believes that the New Christian playwright from Brazil is "digne du surnom de Plaute portuguais" (25), or deserves the title of Portuguese Plautus. According to Denis, Ericeira recommended that the young playwright read and imitate Molière, and that Antônio José only followed part of the advice given by the Portuguese Count, for he continued to be guided by the whim of his wild imagination, and didn't follow the theatrical rules of the time: "António Jozé ne vouloir s'astreindre à aucune des régles du théatre …" (25). Denis also thinks that the Count of Ericeira gave up protecting Antônio José da Silva because he did not follow his advice. Unfortunately, Denis does not explain where he obtained such information.

Ameno informs the reader that between 1733 and 1738 the eight comic plays or operas had enjoyed great success in Lisbon. Beginning with the title of the book, Ameno clarified that the operas had been performed at the popular Teatro do Bairro Alto. *Theatro Cómico Portuguez ou Colecção das Óperas Portuguesas, que se representaram na casa do Teatro do Bairro Alto de Lisboa*. Ameno's explanation in the introduction of the first volume of *Theatro Cómico Portuguez* confirms that the eight plays printed in his collection were written by the Brazilian-born New Christian.

To prevent the book from being censured by the Holy Office, since the Portuguese Inquisition was still very fierce at the time of *Teatro Cómico Portuguez*'s publication, Ameno did not openly identify A.J. da Silva as the author of the operas. However, Ameno managed to subtly inform the reader that the New Christian from Brazil was the author of the comic operas by using an acrostic poem in which the letters that opened the verses formed the name "Antônio José da Silva." The opening pages of the first volume start with an introduction comprised of the following dedication and warning to the reader: "*Dedicatória à mui nobre Senhora Pecúnia Argentina*" and "*Ao Leitor Desapaixonado*" [Dedicated to the very noble Lady Pecúnia Argentina and Warning to the Open-Minded Reader]. Ameno does not clarify if these statements were written by him or by Antônio José. However, the editor does not fail to lead the "open-minded reader" to identify the author of the plays.

The authorship of the operas published posthumously by Ameno was only deciphered more than a century after A.J. da Silva's death. The Portuguese historian Inocêncio Francisco da Silva was the first person to recognize in the acrostic the name of the young playwright whose life was cut short by the horrors of the institution that Samuel Usque, a noble Portuguese Jew who migrated to the Otoman empire after King João III introduced the Inquisition in the Lusitanian lands, compared to "a ferocious monster that came from Rome." The recognition of the success of da Silva as a playwright at the Teatro do Bairro Alto was first admitted by Diogo Barbosa Machado in an entry in the first volume of his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* published in 1741. However, in 1858 Inocêncio Francisco da Silva alluded to the fact that Varnhagen and other scholars who had read and written about A.J. da Silva's trial proceedings had failed to identify the New Christian *letrado* as the author of the eight plays found in volumes one and two of *Theatro Cómico Portuguez* edited by Ameno in 1744. Inocêncio also affirmed that the dedication to the "open-minded Reader" originated from Antônio José. He wrote the following in his *Diccionário Bibliográphico Portugués*:

> No tomo I da edição do Theatro Cómico de 1787 (que é a que possuo e tenho agora presente) vem de páginas 6 a 8 sob o título 'Ao Leitor Desapaixonado' uma advertência preliminar, que inculca ser do próprio auctor das Operas, até por se distinguir de outra, que a esta se segue de pag. 9 a 12 … Não direi agora se aquela primeira advertência passou para alli das edições anteriores do mesmo Theatro, ou se já foi trasladada de alguma das Óperas avulsas impressas ainda durante a vida de Antônio José: mas o certo é que ella, não só inculca, como digo, ser do próprio auctor das Óperas, mas indica claramente quem ele seja nas duas décimas que a terminam, e que por serem acrósticas, dão aquele nome reunindo as primeiras letras de cada verso, como passo a mostrar, escrevendo-as convenientemente: assim ficarão de uma vez desterradas todas as dúvidas, e bem conhecido o desígnio com que as duas décimas foram ali introduzidas. (180)

> On pages 6 to 8 of volume I of *Theatro Cómico* published in 1787 (the edition that I own and that I presently hold) one finds a preliminary warning entitled "Ao Leitor Desapaixonado" [To the Open-Minded Reader] which suggests that it was written by the author of the Operas. I arrive at such a conclusion because the warning is quite different from the one that appears on pages 9 to 12 … Right now I am not able to confirm if the warning came from the previous editions of *Theatro Cómico Portuguez* or if it appeared in some of the loose Operas published during Antônio José's life.[7] What is clear, however, is not only that the dedication was written by the author of the Operas but that he is the person whose name is indicated in the ten syllable verses with which he ends the dedication. Because the verses appear in acrostic they provide the name of the author in the first letter of each verse line. By transcribing the verses below I hope to erase, once and for all, any doubt about the authorship of the plays and clarify the reason why the verses were introduced there.

Inôcencio concluded his entry on Antônio José by transcribing and highlighting in bold the first letter of the verses that formed the name of the playwright identified in the acrostic found in Ameno's *Theatro Cómico Portuguez*:

Amigo leitor, prudente,	Affable, prudent reader,
Não crítico rigoroso,	Not a demanding critic,
Te desejo, mais piedoso	To you I most faithfully plead
Os meus defeitos consente:	Of my defects give leave:
Nome não busco excelente,	No excellence in name do I seek,
Insigne entre os escritores;	In the rank of distinguished writers;

[7] The warning *Ao Leitor Desapaixonado* did appear in the first edition of *Guerras do Alecrim e Mangerona*, published anonymously by Isidoro da Fonseca in 1737.

Os aplausos inferiores	Of your mild applause
Julgo a meu plectro bastantes;	Judge I enough for my plectrum;
Os encomios relevantes	Only greater geniuses
São para engenhos maiores.	Seek truly relevant praise.
Esta cómica harmonia	Endowing serious pastimes
Passatempo é douto e grave;	Pleasing with comic harmony
Honesta, alegre e suave,	Honest, happy and soft
Divertida a melodia.	Diversion in melody.
Apolo, que ilustra o dia,	Apollo, who brightens the day,
Soberano me reparte	Sovereignly grant me
Ideas, facundia e arte,	Ideas, eloquence, and art,
—Leitor, para divertir-te,	—Lo!—reader, to amuse you,
Vontade para servir-te,	Volition to serve you,
Afecto para agradar-te.	Affection to please you.

In the entry published in 1858 by Inôcencio he also referred to A.J. da Silva and his comic plays as "o teatro do Judeu" [the theater of the Jew]. Since before Inôcencio Francisco da Silva no historiographer had referred to A.J. da Silva and his plays as "the theater of the Jew," it is safe to say that the nickname "O Judeu" that became widespread among critics and fiction writers of the nineteenth and the twentieth century originated from Inocêncio's entry. The historical novel entitled *O Judeu* written in 1866 by the well-known Portuguese writer Camilo Castelo Branco probably contributed to drawing attention to the New Christian's theatrical production.[8]

IV. *From Abjuration to Second Incarceration*

To trace the New Christian's last years in Lisbon I will now return to his second arrest by the Inquisition. As previously stated there is no clear information about the professional activities that the victim engaged in between October 23, 1726, the date when he was released from jail

[8] Among Brazilian writers the fate of the playwright of Jewish descent had also become a theme for literary production. In 1839 José Gonçalves de Magalhães wrote and directed the play *O Poeta e a Inquisição* [The Poet and the Inquisition]. It seems that when the play was staged in Rio de Janeiro, Gonçalves de Magalhães was not in fact aware that the Brazilian New Christian had been a playwright. The word *poeta* in the title of Gonçalves de Magalhães's work seems to have originated from the fact that Antônio José's father had written some poetry during the time that the family lived in Rio de Janeiro. The interest in Antônio José among Brazilian intellectuals emerged after 1822, when Brazil became an empire independent from Portugal.

after participating in the *auto-da-fé*, and October 5, 1737, when he was arrested for a second time.[9] What is clear is that around 1734 he married his cousin Leonor Maria de Carvalho, who had also previously been punished by the Inquisition. The marriage to his cousin possibly contributed to Antônio José da Silva's second imprisonment, for the sentence given by the Inquisitor during the first trial instructed him to "evitar a companhia de pessoas contaminadas do mal herético." (50) [to avoid the company of people corrupted by the evil of heresy]. The abjuration transcribed by the notary of the Holy Office on October 13, 1726 after the victim participated in an *auto-da-fé*, attended by King João V, reads:

> Eu, A.J. da Silva, Juro nestes santos evangelhos em que tenho minhas mãos, que de minha própira & livre vontade antthemizo & aparto de mim toda espécie de heresia que fr, ou se levantar contra nossa Santa Fe Cathólica e Sé Apostólica, especialmente estas … [que] me foram lidas, as quaes hey por repetidas aqui, e declaradas. E juro de sempre ter & guardar a Santa Fe Cathólica que tem e ensina a Santa Madre Igreja de Roma, e que serei sempre muyto obediente ao nosso muy Santo Padre o Papa Benedicto XIII, nosso presidente na Igreja de Deus, e a seus successores; e confesso que todos os que contra esta Santa Fe Cathólica vierem, são dignos de condenação e juro de nunca com eles me ajuntar, e de os perseguir, e descobrir as heresias que delas souber aos Inquisidores, ou Prelados da Santa Madre Igreja: & juro e prometo quanto em mim for de comprir a penitencia que me he, ou for imposta, e se tornar a cahair nestes erros ou em outra qualquer espécie de heresia, quero e me praz que seja havido por relapso, & castigado conforme a direito, e se em algum tempo constar o contrário do que tenho confessado ante Vossas Mercês por meu juramento que esta absolvição me não valha, e me someto a severidade, & correição dos Sagrados Cânones. E requeiro aos Notários dos S. Ofício, que disto fazem instrumentos e aos que estão presentes sejam testemunhas, *e assinem aqui comigo … as testemunhas abaixo assignadas … por não poder assignar por causa do tormento*. (49–50)

[9] Antônio José's arrest was ordered by the Great Inquisitor, Dom Nuno da Cunha, on October 3, 1737. The fact that the Great Inquisitor ordered his arrest suggests that this was a special case. In *O Judeu em cena* Alberto Dinis arrives at the same conclusion when he states: "A indicação de que a prisão foi determinada por uma ordem pessoal e verbal de D. Nuno … [parece] um aviso aos inquisidores de que este era um 'caso especial' " (35, note 16) [The indication that the arrest was determined by a personal and verbal order by D. Nuno seems to be a warning to the inquisitors that this was a 'special case]. Claude Henri-Frèches also thinks that the inquisitors knew that Antônio José was an important victim when he states: "Il avait quelques bonnes raisons de connaître l'homme et son oeuvre" (1967, 33) [It is reasonable to assume that they knew the man and his work].

> I, Antônio José da Silva, swear on these scriptures of the Holy Gospel on which I have my hands, that by own and free will I refute and distance from myself all types of heresy that may exist, or that may emerge against our Holy Catholic Faith and Apostolic Church, especially these [that] were read to me [in my sentence], and which I consider repeated and declared herein. I swear that I will always have and keep the Holy Catholic Faith that the Holy Mother Church of Rome has and teaches, and that I will always be very obedient to our very Holy Father, Pope Benedict XIII, our president in the Church of God, and to his successors. And I confess that all those who turn against the Holy Catholic Faith deserve condemnation. And I swear never to join them, and to persecute them, and to denounce to the inquisitors or authorities of the Catholic Church any heresy that I know about them. And I swear and promise all that is within me to comply with the penance that is, or will be, imposed upon me, and that if I incur again in the same faults or any other kind of heresy I will gladly accept to be considered a relapser, and to be punished as deserved. If at any time anything contradicts the confession that I made to you in order to receive your favors, I accept that the absolution will be nullified, and I accept to be submitted to severe punishment and rehabilitation according to the Holy Canon Law. *And because I am unable to sign it due to the torment I suffered*, I request the notaries of the Holy Office here present to act as instruments, and those who are here as witnesses to sign [this abjuration] for me.

It is clear that the words transcribed by the officials of the Holy Office did not come from Antônio José da Silva, but from the inquisitors. As I highlight in the passage above the victim did not sign the abjuration because the torture to which he had been submitted made it impossible for him to use his hands. The notaries of the Inquisition signed the abjuration for him, and not "with" him. As we will see in his second trial, it was obvious that Antônio José could not avoid the company of those who were considered corrupted by the evils of heresy.

Perhaps because he wanted to marry someone who shared his faith, or perhaps because it would be difficult to marry an Old Christian woman since he was marked by the stigma and marginalization of a New Christian who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, the *cristão-novo* from Brazil married his cousin. The marriage to Leonor Maria de Carvalho may have been used as an excuse for the Inquisition to trap him in its web a few years later. According to the *Processo Inquisitorial* 3.464, also housed at the Torre do Tombo, at the age of fifteen Leonor Maria and her mother had been caught in Spain while they were attempting to escape the Portuguese Inquisition. The notes transcribed at the beginning of Leonor Maria's second trial explain that her mother was killed in Valladolid by the Spanish Inquisition. After her release from the Inquisition

jail, the young woman was placed in the house of her sister Paschoa dos Rios, who was married to Antônio José's youngest brother André. It was while Leonor was living with her sister and brother-in-law that she met Antônio José and eventually married him.[10]

Leonor stated in her trial that from her marriage with Antônio José she had a two-year-old daughter and also a son who was born during her second imprisonment by the Inquisition. Apparently, the second child born in the cells of the Lisbon Holy Office was taken away from her by the inquisitors. The notaries of the Inquisition write that when asked about the names of her children she replied that her daughter's name was Lourença, but that she did not know the name of the child born in the jails of the Holy Office. The only thing she knew was that it was a boy. Here it is possible to see that, similar to what had happened in previous centuries, and particularly in 1496 when the mass baptisms were imposed on the Jews from Portugal, many had their children taken away from them to be raised in orphanages as Christians.

On October 3, 1737, for the second and last time, Antônio José was arrested by the Inquisition. The scribe that transcribed the opening of the second trial proceedings wrote that the victim was a lawyer who resided in Lisbon. When summoned to confess and admit his "crime" against the Catholic faith, Antônio José stated that he had nothing to confess. Throughout his entire imprisonment the New Christian playwright repeated over and over again that he did not have anything to confess. During the depositions those accused of heresy were expected to list their possessions, which would be confiscated by the Inquisition. Perhaps because the family had suffered previous confiscations, the inventory taken on October 22, 1737 reveals that the victim owed more than he owned. In the deposition dated November 15, 1737, the accused gave no evidence that he might have left Lisbon upon being released by the Inquisition after participating in the *auto-da-fé* of October 13, 1726. The belief that he returned to Coimbra to complete his studies is again put into question. Nonetheless, one must ask, why did the inquisitors list him as a lawyer? Perhaps it was because Antônio José assisted his brother Bal-

[10] The fact that Antônio José and his brothers married New Christian women confirms that in Portugal, more than in Brazil, people of Jewish heritage tended to remain segregated and to marry people from their community. As Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares states, in the Jewish communities in Portugal "o hermetismo encontrava-se bem patente na escolha do cônjuge" (51) [hermeticism was a clear trend in the choice of spouse]. She also observes that generally New Christian families opened to Old Christians by using their services, or by acquiring slaves that had been baptized.

tasar in his law office. Throughout his second trial, he never mentioned that he was the author of the plays that he had directed and performed in the theater of Bairro Alto. However, because his performances at the theater of Bairro Alto had attracted much attention, the inquisitors were concerned with the success of the plays being performed there. Probably if the inquisitors knew that he authored the plays performed at the *Teatro do Bairro Alto* they would have been sequestered.[11]

During his second imprisonment in the cells of the Lisbon Holy Office, the inquisitors made extensive use of torture techniques to obtain information from the *cristão-novo* from Rio de Janeiro. They also used Inquisition guards and spies to observe the prisoner. As previously mentioned, in a manner that resembles Foucault's panopticon, Antônio José was constantly being observed through secret holes made in the walls of his cell. As seen in the cases of Luis de Carvajal and Bento Teixeira, the inquisitors also placed people who pretended to be Jewish in the victim's cell in order to gather information that would implicate the accused. By using their own inside agents as spies against the victim, it would be difficult for anyone to question the truthfulness of their testimonies. The inquisitors ordered the officials Maximiliano Gomes da Silva and António G. Esteves to spy on the victim through the holes in the wall. Both men incriminated Antônio José. The first one testified that the prisoner observed the Law of Moses. The second stated that, based on his previous experience in observing prisoners, he believed that Antônio José had fasted according to the Jewish tradition. As members of the Inquisition their testimony put the life of the prisoner in jeopardy. With their help the Holy Office found an easy way to build the case against him.

Throughout the year 1738, the inquisitor Theotonio da Fonseca Souto Mayor called the spies, Pedro da Silva Andrade and Francisco dos Reys Campos, on several occasions to testify against the New Christian from Brazil. Similar to the accusation made by the Inquisition official Maximiliano Gomes da Silva, they also incriminated Antônio José by stating that the prisoner had fasted according to the Jewish tradition. The inquisitors never questioned the words of those who spied on him. By relying totally on the testimony of the spies, the inquisitors seemed unusually interested in proving the prisoner's guilt. It is curious that when Antônio José, apparently unaware that he was being observed through the holes

[11] Because there are so many unexplained gaps in A.J. da Silva's trial it is also possible to think that the inquisitors decided to kill him due to the fact that he refused to turn his writings over to them, or to explain where the manuscripts of his plays could be found.

in his cell, acted in a Christian manner by praying after getting up in the morning and before going to bed at night, the officials spying on him thought that he was faking. When the prisoner prayed, he was not considered a sincere Christian. If he did not immediately eat the food that was brought to him, the officers did not take into account the possibility that he may not have been hungry or that he may have become tired of eating the same meals repeatedly. They simply assumed that, if Antônio José did not immediately eat the food brought to him, he was fasting as a Jew. The conclusion of the inquisitors corroborates what Frèches has observed in *Antonio José da Silva et l'Inquisition*, that the victim's fate had been determined "*a priori*" (180). Frèches also affirms that because the inquisitors saw the victim as an intelligent person who exerted influence on other intellectuals, they decided that "António José était le membre à extirper, celui que risquait de contaminer le corps" (Vol. 2, 180) [António José was the member to be extirpated, the one that could infect the body].

The accusations transcribed by the Inquisition notary were read and the witnesses signed them. However, in order to be condemned as a heretic someone had to testify that, in addition to being a *Judaizante*, the accused had also shown a lack of Christian piety. Since the inquisitor Souto Mayor was not sure that the prisoner lacked piety, a spy named José Luis de Azevedo was placed in da Silva's cell. Azevedo's testimony on June 10, 1738, was very harmful to Antônio José da Silva. It stated that the accused had made fun of the Virgin Mary. In December of 1738 another spy was placed in da Silva's cell. This time it was a young and ignorant soldier named Bento Pereira, who, according to the records of the inquisitors, was a descendent of Jews. Bento Pereira told the inquisitors that da Silva had fasted on important Jewish holidays. Pereira also testified that the prisoner had admitted that he was a follower of Mosaic Law. Additionally, he told the inquisitors that the prisoner had tried to convince him to return to Judaism.

Because Antônio José da Silva was a very wise and careful person who had survived previous incarceration and torture by the Inquisition, it is hard to believe that he would put his life and those of his family members in danger by mocking Catholic icons or by trying to indoctrinate an illiterate and ignorant person like Bento Pereira. However, for the inquisitors, the accusations by these two last spies were the pieces that they needed to condemn Antônio José as a heretic who lacked Christian piety.

On June 12, 1739, when summoned by the inquisitors, da Silva denied any wrongdoings. Throughout the interrogations he always stated that

he had nothing to confess. He did not know who had accused him. He suspected his slave Leonor Gomes and his servant Maria Theresa, who had threatened to denounce him to the Inquisiton because he had reprimanded the slave for hiding her lover in his house with the help of the servant. The testimonies made by the officers and by the individuals instructed by the inquisitors to spy on him were never revealed to the victim. The inquisitors ended the interrogation sessions charging Antônio José da Silva with the crimes of Judaism and lack of a Christian piety.

On September 19, 1738, the so-called interrogation *in specie* began. Inquisitor Theotonio da Fonseca Soutomaior started the process, accusing Antônio José of embracing Judaism. His argument was based on the fact that some people testified that the accused fasted as a Jew and that he was seen with people of his race after being reconciled in the *auto-da-fé* of October 1726. On September 24, 1738, after being admonished and submitted to additional interrogation and torture, the prisoner continued to deny that he was guilty. The inquisitors insisted that he was a "*relapso*" or recalcitrant Jew who had never abandoned Judaism. Antônio José continued denying the charges.

The victim proposed the names of several witnesses who could testify on his behalf. Among those who testified in favor of the victim were members of the clergy. Priest José da Camara, who had known Antônio José for many years, believed he was a good Christian. Friar Luis de São Vicente Ferreira also stated that he thought the victim was a good Catholic. The fifty-year old Dominican friar Antônio Coutinho stated that although he could not judge the inner thoughts of the accused, based on Antônio José's behavior, he believed him to be a good Catholic. The forty-four year old Diogo Pantoja stated that he knew Antônio José well, both as a Christian and as a professional who worked with his brother Baltasar giving legal advice. Although several members of the clergy who testified in his defense stated that Antônio José was an honest person who believed in the Christian God, their testimonies did not have an impact on his case. The fact that priests and friars from different denominations appeared in front of the inquisitors to testify in defense of the Brazilian playwright reveals that many members of the Church were not in favor of the Inquisition's actions with respect to New Christians.

As part of the Inquisition procedure, the names of two theologians were also presented to Antônio José to help him prepare his final defense. In an attempt to escape death, Antônio José appealed his case and presented his own defense. One innovative aspect of his defense was the fact

that instead of answering directly to the charges against him, he posed questions to his unidentified accusers and to the inquisitors. This strategy had been successfully used by the Jesuit Antônio Vieira a century earlier during his defense in front of the inquisitors. As a clever man of letters, Antônio José focused on the intention, questioning his accusers and, indirectly, the inquisitors. Instead of only responding to the accusations, he prepared his defense by asking questions that challenged his unknown accusers. He wanted his accusers to prove that, beyond appearances, his acts really demonstrated that he had intentionally acted as a Jew. Could his accusers prove anything for sure? Could they prove anything beyond exterior gestures, suppositions and impressions?

The charges that he did not work on Saturdays and that he did not go to church on Sundays and Catholic holidays had originated from the denunciations made by the slave, Leonor Gomes. The accusation made by the slave and the testimonies of the spies ordered by the inquisitors to observe him conflicted with the statements of the priests who knew the accused and who admitted that he was a good Catholic. As one can see from the closing of the trial, it seems that for the inquisitors the accusations made by the slave, the officials of the Inquisition, and the two men placed in his cells were far more important than the testimonies of the priests who knew the victim well.

On November 13, 1738, the spies José Luis de Azevedo, Bento Pereira, who had been placed in the victim's cell, and the Inquisition guards who observed him through the holes of the wall were summoned to ratify their testimonies. However, since Antônio José was not present to challenge them, they continued accusing him of being a heretic. The inquisitors did not use the written questions posed by the victim, and, apparently, they did not doubt the veracity of those who had spied on him. Here again we can see that his fate had been decided beforehand.

In a last attempt to clear the accusations against him, the playwright submitted the name of Elena Caetana, a humble Old Christian, who knew the bad manners of Leonor and of Maria Thereza, and who also knew that they intended to denounce Antônio José to the Inquisition as revenge for being reprimanded by him. Other Old Christians who testified on behalf of the victim were Maria Messia, Elena Caetana's sister, Antônio de Castro Soares and his wife, Catharina, and his sister-in-law, Antonia Coutinho. Among this last group of witnesses António da Costa Soares was the only male testifying in favor of the playwright. Perhaps because the inquisitors did not weigh the testimonies of women on the same scale as those of men, they did not take into serious consideration the defense

made by these Old Christians in favor of the accused. Again, one sees that A.J. da Silva's fate had been decided beforehand.

On March 11, 1739, the inquisitors declared Antônio José a heretic and apostate of the Catholic faith. This crime carried a heavy sentence. The inquisitors excommunicated the young New Christian, ordered the "confiscação de todos os seus bens para o fisco da cámara real" (261) [confiscation of all his assets by the real court], and that he be turned in to the secular authorities for execution. This sentence, written on March 13, 1739, was read to Antônio José on October 16, 1739, seven months after his fate had been decided, and only two days prior to the *auto-da-fé* that ended with the playwright burning at the stake on October 18, 1739.

In a contradiction characteristic of the late Baroque manifestations of Portuguese society in the first half of the eighteenth century, the sentence recommended that A.J. da Silva's execution had to be carried out with care and piety: "… pedem com muita instância [à justiça secular] se haja com ele benigna e piedosamente e não proceda à pena de morte com efusão de sangue" (261) [they plead for the secular justice to act in a pious and benign manner with him, and that his death is not carried with excessive bleeding]. Antônio José was supposed to be burned because the inquisitors believed that only fire could redeem his soul. Curiously, both his mother and his wife, who also participated in the same *auto-da-fé* as relapsers, were not condemned to die. Despite the fact that according to the *Regimento do Santo Ofício da Inquisição dos Reinos de Portugal* "os hereges relapsos ….não poder[ão] ser reconcilado[s] ao gremio da Igreja Catholica; ….antes ser[ao] relaxado[s], e entregue[s] à Justica secular" (224) [heretics who relapsed or returned to their condemned religious practices could not be reconciled and accepted in the Catholic Church; … instead they should be turned over to the secular authorities] the inquisitors accepted the abjuration of his mother and wife (who had returned to Judaism), but not Antônio José's abjuration. Despite the fact that he denied being a heretic and abjured Judaism, because he did not accuse others, and did not provide the information that the inquisitors wanted to get from him, they decided to execute him.

V. *Resistance Through Writing*

When comparing Antônio José da Silva's case to those of his mother and wife, as well as to the case of Carvajal and Teixeira who admitted their involvement with Judaic practices, one cannot avoid asking the question:

Why was he killed when in his second trial there was no clear evidence that he had embraced Judaism? A close reading of his trials and writings in conjunction with a brief analysis of his plays and the sociopolitical context of Portuguese society of the first half of the eighteenth century leads us to believe that A.J. da Silva was killed because his performances at the Teatro do Bairro Alto were attracting the attention of members of the emerging Portuguese bourgeoisie and of European foreigners who visited Lisbon at that time. The fact that his arrest was ordered by the Great Inquisitor Dom Nuno da Cunha Ataíde, a controlling and powerful man very close to João V, suggests that the upper sectors of the church and the crown perceived Antonio José's performances as a threat.[12] Antônio José's second arrest ocurred at a time of rising tensions between Old and New Christians in Lisbon, when the high nobility relied on the myth of purity of blood as a way to maintain their privileges.[13] Since João V had certain control over the the acts of the inquisitors, and the money confiscated by them would go directly to the monarch who had acquired the title *O Magnânimo* [The Magnanimous], it is evident that economic and political factors played a role in the actions of the Holy Office against New Christians from Brazil, such as Antônio José da Silva and his family.[14]

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[12] A note attached to Antônio José da Silva's second trial, written and signed by the Inquisition notary Manuel Alfonso Rebello on March 10, 1739 states: "certifico, que de ordem verbal do Exmo. Sr. Cardeal da Cunha, Inquizidor geral, conforme me disseram os Senhores Inquizidores, foi decretada a prizão do réo António José da Silva" ("Traslado" 52) [I certify that the imprisonment of António José da Silva was declared by verbal orders of Cardinal da Cunha, general inquisitor, as the inquisitors have informed me].

[13] In *Os cristãos-novos em Minas Gerais durante o ciclo do ouro, 1695–1755: relações com a Inglaterra* J.G. Salvador explains that tensions between Old and New Christians in Portugal and in the southern regions of Brazil after the French admiral Duguay Trouin invaded the city of Rio de Janeiro around 1711. The French attacks on Brazil started after Portugal had signed the treaties of peace and free commerce with England. Because England was at war with France, Portugal became involved in the conflict. Although the imperial conflicts involving England, Portugal, France, and Spain decreased in the second decade of the eighteenth century, due in part to the signing of the Treaty of Utrech (1713), and the marriages of members of the Portuguese royal family to French and Spanish aristocrats, throughout the reign of Dom João V the Portuguese Inquisition continued to arrest new Christians from the areas of Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro. J.G. Salvador documents this in the above mentioned book. See, for example, "A ação do Santo Ofício no Rio de Janeiro e nas Minas" (172–182).

[14] Charles Frédéric de Merveilleux, a Swiss naturalist who worked for King Dom João V, documented in his *Memoires Instructifs* . . . , published in 1738, that all the assets confiscated by the Inquisition belonged to the King. In the Portuguese translation of Merveilleux's text by Ayres de Carvalho one reads: "Tudo o que possuem os criminosos presos pela Inquisição pertence ao Rei de Portugal. O que fica dum Auto-de-Fe ao outro

As previously stated, in Antônio José's trial proceedings there is no clear reference to his plays, but the inquisitors and the King were aware of the success of Antônio José's performances at the *Teatro do Bairro Alto*.[15] However, it seems that they did not know that the plays staged at the theater, and later published anonimously by António Isidoro da Fonseca and Francisco Luís Ameno, had been written by the New Christian playwright. Silva's plays *Labirinto de Creta* (1736), *As variedades de Proteu* (1737) and *Guerras do Alecrim e Mangerona* (1737) were published by A. Isidoro da Fonseca while da Silva still lived. His other plays were published posthumously by Francisco Luís Ameno in 1744.[16] These two editors, who apparently were of Jewish origin and close friends of the playwright, avoided identifying him as the author of the plays in order to escape censorship.

It seems that besides the inquisitors, many people who attended the popular theatre of Bairro Alto did not realize that the plays performed there had been written by Antônio José. Nevertheless, some of the members of the enlightened bourgoisie who attended the plays were aware

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entra realmente nos cofres do Rei" (93) [All the assets of the criminals arrested by the Inquisition belong to the King of Portugal. What is left from one *auto-da-fé* to another really enters the King's safe boxes].

[15] The word "compozições" which appeared in Frei Diogo Pantoja's testimony in defense of the victim has led scholars such as Frèches, Dinis and Pereira Tavares to believe that Frei Pantoja was referring to Antônio José's plays. The passage of the second trial in which the word appears is the following: "Perguntado se conhece algumas pessoas da nação dos cristãos-novos presos no cárcere do Santo Ofício … Disse que ele conhece a um Antonio José, cristão-novo, advogado … natural do Rio de Janeiro … e que da última vez que o comunicava por causa das *Compozições* que ele fazia, assim no Bairro Alto em casa de um irmão dele …" (161, italics mine) [Asked if he knows some people of the New Christian nation jailed in the cells of the Holy Office … [Frei Pantoja] said that he knows Antonio José, a New Christian lawyer natural of Rio de Janeiro … and that the last time he communicated with him was because of the Compositions that he wrote, in Bairro Alto in the house of one of his brothers. Because in the context of the eighteenth century the word "composizões" could refer to legal council as well as to literary production, one could not determine if the priest was referring to the plays performed at the theater located in the Bairro Alto area.

[16] Other operas were *Esopaida ou Vida de Esopo*, 1734, *Encantos de Medéia*, 1735, *Anfitrião ou Júpiter e Alcmena*, 1736, *O Labirinto de Creta*, 1736, *Guerras do Alecrim e Mangerona*, 1737, *As variedads de Proteu*, 1737, *Precipício de Faetonte*, 1738. In addition to the plays published by Ameno in 1844, Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, Claude-Henri Frèches, and more recently Alberto Dinis argue that *El Prodígio de Amarante* was also written by Antônio José da Silva. Other writings attributed to the New Christian from Brazil include *Obras do diabinho da mão furada*, a play that contains many parallelisms with the experience of torture experienced by the victims of the Inquisition.

that the New Christian from Brazil was the author of the plays. They also understood the critical content hidden in the lines of the plays. One of the members of João V's court who frequented the theater of Bairro Alto and who helped Antônio José compose the arias of the plays was António Teixeira, a talented musician who received the protection of the King. It is possible that the participation of António Teixeira in the theater of Bairro Alto displeased the King. Since João V was a ruler who—like the monarchs he sought to emulate, Philip II and Louis XIV of France—tried to preserve his own power by maintaining rivalries and the social barriers between the nobility and the bourgoisie, he may have perceived the activities of the Teatro do Bairro Alto as a threat. It is possible that the King would have been interested in having the theater closed to prevent contact and cooperation between the bourgoisie and the nobility, and between those he patronized and those he despised.

It seems that *Vida do Grande Dom Quixote de la Mancha e do Gordo Sancho Pança*, the first opera written by Antônio José da Silva, was staged at the Teatro do Bairro Alto in 1733. Between 1733 and 1737 seven other comic operas would be written and performed at the same location. All of da Silva's operas were written for the purpose of making a living by offering entertainment to the Portuguese elite who had become rich and decadent with the gold brought from Brazil. These works are permeated with passages that, when removed from their humorous context, severely criticize the abuse of power of the ruling elite of the time.

Because of the popularity of Antônio José's theater[17] among the intellectual circles and the enlightened bourgeoisie that was emerging in Portugal, his plays attracted foreigner visitors and also some of the disillusioned members of the nobility.[18] The Brazilian New Christian modelled his work on classic Greek and Latin plays, as well as on theatrical pieces and novels by French artists such as Molière, Spanish Golden Age playwrights, and fiction writers such as Cervantes. Besides the creative forms of adaptation and intertextualization of classic masterpieces used by the Brazilian to convey social messages, among the most innovative aspects of his work lay in puppetry and dialogues composed in prose instead of

[17] This expression was borrowed from Pierre Furter. According to the French critic, Antônio José da Silva's theater had a special appeal to enlightened subjects who were becoming disillusioned with the Portuguese establishment.

[18] The palace of the Count of Soure was transformed into the theatre known as Teatro do Bairro Alto. The theater was destroyed by the earthquake that devastated Lisbon in 1755.

verse (the norm at the time), as well as the popular songs he incorporated into his plays. Due to the presence of music in his work, da Silva's theatrical performances became known as comic "operas."[19]

Scholars such as Claude-Henri Frèches, José de Oliveira Barata, and Alberto Dines underline the importance of music and puppets in creating an atmosphere conducive to the social criticism present in da Silva's plays. Liberto Cruz also notes that the innovative strategies employed by Antônio José convey a sense of complicity between the playwright and the audience. According to this scholar the complicity was established from the moment the curtain was lifted. Throughout the performance there was a sense that the dialogues of the characters represent a conversation between the playwright and his public, also victims of society. Through subtleties, such as tongue twisters, funny scenes, and the lyric verses of his puppets, the playwright amused his audience, and subtly criticized the vices that plagued the Portuguese society of his days.[20] Interspersed throughout the comic lines of his plays one finds indirect but very effective criticism of Portuguese institutions and society. Though as a previously convicted heretic the accused was in no position to openly criticize the system, he used his puppets to question and object to the abuse of power of the state and religious institutions.[21] One of the plays in which social criticism is particularly evident is his *Vida do Grande Dom Quixote de la Mancha e do Gordo Sancho Pança*.

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[19] José Pereira Tavares, one of the first critics who studied Antônio José da Silva's theater, believes that by introducing prose in his plays the New Christian from Brazil managed to transform and revolutionize the Portuguese theater. In his words: "A grande revolução que operou … foi a adopção da prosa, inexistente entre nós no teatro … desde Sá de Miranda, Antônio Ferreira e Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos" ("Prefácio," LXXXIII–LXXXIV) [The great revolution that he introduced in the Portuguese theater was the adoption of prose, which did not exist in our theater from Sá de Miranda, Antônio Ferreira and Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos].

[20] See Liberto Cruz's "Selecção, introdução e notas" to Antônio José da Silva's *Vida do Grande Dom Quixote*, *Esopaida e Guerras do Alecrim e Mangerona* (33).

[21] Oliveira Barata does not believe that da Silva purposely attacked the Inquisition. In his opinion it would have been imprudent for da Silva, who was under suspicion, to have attacked it even subtly (169). Dines, on the other hand, believes that da Silva was killed because some members of the decadent Portuguese aristocracy viewed the playwright as "um perigo para a saúde nacional" (43) [a danger for national well-being]. Because during Antônio José's time the king regarded himself as above the state, it is more pertinent to argue his performances at the *Teatro do Bairro Alto* represented a danger not to the nation, but to the king and the high nobility. I do agree with C.H. Frèches that "[s]a notoriété d'intellectuel aggravait son cas" (1982, Vol. 2, 180) [his intellectual notoriety aggravated his case], because some members of the ruling aristocracy felt threatened by Antônio José's intelligence and courage.

In *Vida do Grande Dom Quixote de la Mancha e do Gordo Sancho Pança*, da Silva's adaptation of the second part of Cervantes's famous novel *Don Quixote*, there are many innovative ideas. In addition to the fact that the New Christian transformed the novel into a tragicomic play, there are many other aspects that differentiate the Luso-Brazilian work from the Spanish novel. One of them appears at the opening of the play. Different from Volume Two of Cervantes's novel, which begins with a "conversation about our knight's illness, between and among the priest, the barber, and Don Quijote himself" (362), Antonio José da Silva deletes the priest from his play.[22]

Other improvisations found in Antonio José da Silva's play include the substitution of the Island of Barataria for the Island of Lagartos (Lizards), the trip of Sancho to Mount Parnasus, and an abundance of expressions with double meaning. In a way that surpasses Cervantes, the Brazilian-born playwright relied on the comic and the grotesque, and explored satire and ridicule to criticize the negative tendencies that he detected in eighteenth-century Portuguese society. In the play, the figure of the "Gordo" or the fat Sancho, who embodies the popular hero that unmasks the imposters and false nobles of his time, occupies a role that is even more central than the one that he has in the second part of Cervantes's novel.

Another major aspect that differentiates Antonio José da Silva's work from that of his model is the emphasis on the theme of justice. In Cervantes's masterpiece this theme is addressed primarily by the protagonist Quijote. For example, in chapter XLII of the second part of the novel, Don Quijote councils Sancho before he sets out to govern the Island of Barataria. In the lines that follow, Don Quijote advises Sancho to fear God, to govern with wisdom, to be guided by virtue and not by the idea of purity of blood, and to be a just, equitable and compassionate governor:

> Primeramente, ¡oh hijo! Has de temer a Dios; porque en el temerle está la sabiduría, y siendo sabio no pordrás errar en nada. [. . .] Mira, Sancho: si tomas por medio a la virtud, y te precías de hacer hechos virtuosos, no

[22] Some critics believe that the exclusion of the priest from the play indicates that Antônio José da Silva was trying to avoid complications with the Holy Office. In her work, *O Quixote no teatro de Antonio José da Silva*, Elza Gonçalves de Araújo, for example, thinks that by excluding the priest from his work the playwright was avoiding expressing his views "frente às coisas da igreja e seus ministros" (39) [regarding matters related to the Church and its ministers], and preventing being persecuted by the Inquisition for a second time.

> hay para qué tener envidia a los que los tienen príncipes y señores, y la virtud se aquista, y la virtud vale por sí sola lo que la sangre no vale. [...] Nunca te guíes por la ley del encaje, que suele tener mucha cabida con los ignorantes que presumen de agudos. [...] Cuando pudiere y debiere tener lugar la equidad, no cargues todo el rigor de la ley del delincuente; que no es mejo la fama del juez riguroso que la del compasivo. Si acaso doblares la vara de la justicia, no sea con el peso de la dádiva, sino con el de la misericordia.[23] (638)

> First of all, my son, you must fear God, for in the fear of him is wisdom, and being wise you cannot err in anything. [...] Remember, Sancho, if you make virtue your aim and take pride in doing virtuous actions, you will have no cause to envy princes and lords, for blood is an inheritance but virtue an acquisition, and virtue has in itself alone a worth that blood does not possess. [...] Never go by arbitrary law, which is so much favored by ignorant men who pride themselves on cleverness. ... When equity may and should be brought into play, press not the utmost rigor of the law against the guilty; for the reputation of the stern judge stand not higher than that of the compassionate. If perchance you permit the staff of justice to bend, let it be not by the weight of a gift, but by that of mercy.

As the passage above suggests, in Cervantes's novel the main concern is with justice as a virtue that should be practiced by every individual, especially by those in positions of power. The knight is warning his squire against excessive ambition, a vice commonly embraced by rulers, and which leads to injustice and threatens the common good of societies.

Whereas Cervantes addresses the theme of justice at the individual level, Antonio José da Silva focuses on justice at the institutional level. Following the theatrical tradition of Gil Vicente, who used the stage to teach moral values, the New Christian playwright permeates his play with passages that illustrate the writer's concern with the social system of justice. An example of his preoccupation with justice as a civil right that should be granted to all individuals appears in the closing lines of Scene One of the first Act, in which Don Quijote declares, "Quantos pupilos estarão sem justiça? Enfim, não tenho mais nada que dizer: vou castigar insolentes e endireitar tortos" (29) [How many pupils will remain without justice? Finally, I have nothing more to say: I am going to punish the insolents, and straighten out the crooked].[24] In these lines

[23] This passage is found in *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, an edition illustrated by Manuel Angel. For the English translation of the passage I have relied on the special edition by Joseph R. Jones and K. Douglas. See p. 655.

[24] The excerpts from Antônio José da Silva's plays cited in this part of the book are from his *Obras completas* published by José Pereira Tavares in 1957 and 1958.

Don Quijote promises to seek justice for those who deserve it. He also pledges to curtail corruption by punishing the crooks.

However, throughout most of the play the squire Sancho is the one who talks about institutional justice and injustice. For example, in Scene Four of the second act, in a dialogue between Sancho and Meirinho, the squire associates Justice with Dulcinéia del Toboso, a figure imagined by Don Quijote

> Sancho: Ah, sô Meirinho, endireite essa vara, e não ma troça à justiça: saiba Deus e todo o Mundo que me quero pôr recto com a sua espada.
> Meirinho: Ora já que vossa mercê falou em espada e justiça, diga-me: porque pintaram a Justiça com olhos tapados, espada na mão e balança na outra, pois ando com esta dúvida, e ninguém ma pode dissolver, e só vossa mercê ma há-de explicar, como sábio em tudo?
> Sancho: Que me faça bom proveito! Dai-me atenção, Meirinho. Sabei, primeiramente, que isto de Justiça é cousa pintada e que tal mulher não há no Mundo, nem tem carne nem sangue, como v.g. a Senhora Dulcinéia del Toboso, nem mais, nem menos; porém, como era necessário haver esta figura no Mundo para meter medo à gente grande, como o papão às crianças, pintaram uma mulher vestida à trágica, porque toda a justiça acaba em tragédia, taparam-lhe os olhos, porque dizem que era vesga e que metia um olho por outro, e, como a Justiça havia de sair direita, para não se lhe enxergar esta falta lhe cobriram depressa os olhos. (89–90)

> Sancho: Ah, Mr. Meirinho, straighten out this stick, and don't joke with me about justice: may God and everyone know that I want to straighten myself out just like your sword.
> Meirinho: Look, since your honor has spoken of swords and justice, tell me: why did they make justice out to have covered eyes, a sword in one hand and a scale in the other … You see, I have been in doubt, and no one can clarify, and only your honor can explain it to me, as one who is so knowledgeable of everything?
> Sancho: May you take advantage of the opportunity then! Pay attention, Meirinho. Know first, that this thing of Justice is merely artwork and that such a woman does not exist in the world. She has neither flesh nor blood, like (*v. g.*) the lady Dulcineia del Toboso, neither more, nor less; however, because it was necessary to have this figure in the World to frighten people, like the boogeyman for children, they painted up a woman and dressed her for tragedy, because all justice ends in tragedy. They blindfolded her because they say she was cross-eyed and that she traded one eye for the other. And since Justice is supposed to be straight, they quickly covered her eyes to prevent people from seeing this defect.

As can be seen in the passage above, by parodying Cervantes and making extensive use of the work's carnivalesque elements the Brazilian-

born playwright succeeds in ridiculing the Portuguese judicial laws. He accomplishes this by comparing the judicial system to the ugly Dulcinea del Toboso, a figure that was the product of imagination. However, it is particularly in the following lines of a dialogue between the squire and a man who appears in the same scene of the second act that the mockery of justice as an institution reaches its peak:

> Homem: Senhor Governador, peço justiça.
> Sancho: Pois de que quereis que vos faça justiça?
> Homem: Quero justiça.
> Sancho: É boa teima! Homem do diabo, que justiça quereis? Não sabeis que há muitas castas de justiça? Porque há justiça direita, há justiça torta, há justiça vesga, há justiça cega e finalmente há justiça com velidas e cataratas nos olhos.
> Homem: Senhor, seja qual for, eu quero justiça.
> Sancho: Pois contra quem pedis justiça?
> Homem: Peço justiça contra a mesma Justiça. (91)

> Man: Mr. Governor, I plea for justice.
> Sancho: Well, of what would you like justice done?
> Man: I want justice.
> Sancho: It is a good demand! By the devil, what justice do you want? Don't you know that there are several types of justice? Because there is straight justice, crooked justice, cross-eyed justice, and finally there is the justice with floaters and cataracts in her eyes.
> Man: Sir, be as it may, I want justice.
> Sancho: Well, against whom do you wish justice?
> Man: I cry for justice against Justice herself.

As one can see in the dialogue above, what is at stake in the work of Antônio José da Silva is the judicial system, and not justice as a virtue, as observed in the Cervantine model.

Vida do grande Dom Quixote e do Gordo Sancho Pança is clearly a parody not only of Cervantes's masterpiece, but also a mockery of Silva's Portugal, which, like Cervantes's Spain, was engaged in the persecution of ethnic minorities within its empire. It was not by accident that Antônio José chose to start his career as a playwright with a parody of Cervantes's masterpiece. In the first half of the eighteenth century, when Portugal experienced the apogee of its golden age, the Portuguese Inquisition likewise reached its peak, and injustice reigned. Perhaps it was because of what he saw in the Portugal of his days that the place where his characters lived is described as hell:

> Sancho: … Mas, diga-me, Senhor, aonde estamos nós?
> Quixote: Estamos no inferno. (I, 55)

> Sancho: But, tell me, Lord, where are we?
> Quixote: We are in hell.

As in the case of Cervantes, who lived at a time when Spain had experienced the peak of its Golden Age, when the Brazilian New Christian wrote his plays Portugal was also experiencing almost identical circumstances in its economy. The similarities that exist between Cervantes's Spain and da Silva's Portugal are striking. Kings Philip II of Spain and João V of Portugal both epitomized absolutism, while their successors are seen as lacking in strength and direction. Portuguese diplomats such as Dom Luis da Cunha (1662–1749), among other intellectuals who were despised by members of the ruling aristocracy because of their foreign (and enlightened) ideas, were perceived as a threat to Portugal. Therefore, analagous to Cervantes's Spain as analyzed by Maravall in *Utopia and contra-utopia en el "Quijote"*, Dom Luis da Cunha's *Testamento Político* condemns the actions of the Inquistion against New Christians and deplores the backwardness of the Portuguese system in general during the reign of Dom João V. In many ways, the contradictions that Antônio José da Silva experienced in Portugal during his lifetime were similar to those that Cervantes detected in Spain of the Golden Age.

Similar to the changes that Cervantes observed in Spain between the reign of Charles V and Philip II, Antônio José was aware of the political and economic crisis that was beginning to overtake Portuguese society. The gold brought to Portugal from Brazil during the first part of the eighteenth century contributed to the decadence of Portuguese society. While in Golden Age Spain silver was used to feed the expensive wars aimed at maintaining the power of Philip II, in the Portugal of João V, the gold that came from Brazil was used to pay for the Succession Wars against Spain and also to satiate the lust and the desire for luxury of the King himself and of the decadent elite of João V's court society.

As in sixteenth-century Spain, then, the minerals from eighteenth-century Brazil did not contribute to the creation of a true economy. Instead of helping to develop a solid agricultural and industrial base, the gold and diamonds were used to feed the megalomania of the nobility and aristocracy, which increased significantly in the last part of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. Gold sharpened the social differences in Portugal.[25] While in Lisbon and other major

[25] Liberto Cruz argues that with the money that came from Brazil, Dom João's court gained prestige and imposed gayety and abundance, changing the customs and attitude of the nobility (28).

cities the nobility entertained itself and wasted the resources that came from the colony, in the rural areas the situation was calamitous. With the lack of support and the exodus to the cities, the landowners could not cope; the fields became barren. Also, similar to Philip II's Spain where the so-called *estatutos de pureza de la sangre* [statutes of purity of blood] were used to maintain the privileges of the aristocracy, during the reign of João V, when the Enlightenment started to flourish among the educated bourgeoisie, some members of the aristocracy, known as *puritanos*, relied on the construct of purity of blood to prevent enlightened members of the bourgeoisie from ascending the social ladder. Just as Cervantes wrote the second part of the *Quixote* as an alert against "the impracticability and ineffectiveness" (Maravall 18) of the evasive utopia that was transforming Spain into a stagnant society, it is quite possible that Antônio José da Silva modeled his first play on the second part of the *Quixote* to send subtle messages of resistance to other enlightened subjects in order to produce social reforms in Portuguese society, starting with the judicial system.

In all of his other plays performed at the theater of Bairro Alto between 1733 and 1738, we find interpersed in the lines an implicit critique of the Portuguese society of his day. The themes of freedom and justice is brought to the forefront in many of his theatrical productions. Following the performance of *Vida do grande Dom Quixote e do Gordo Sancho Pança* in 1733, *Esopaida ou vida de Esopo* was the next play staged at the Teatro do Bairro Alto, in April of 1734. *Os Encantos de Medéia* was performed in the same theater in 1735, and like *Esopoaida ou vida de Esopo*, is grounded in Greek mythology. This well-known myth deals with the adventures of the Argonaut Jason and his friends who leave their country in search of the golden fleece, and become entangled in the spell of the witch Medea. Antônio José transforms the tragedy into comedy. In 1736 the plays *Anfitrião ou Júpiter e Alcmena* and *O Labirinto de Creta* were staged in the Teatro do Bairro Alto. Antônio José's *Anfitrião* was modeled on *Amphitryon* by the Latin comedian Plautus, *Os Anfitriões* by Camões, and the *Amphitryon* by Molière. The major theme is Jupiter's passion for Alcmene, the wife of Anfitrião. However, the preoccupation with the topics of freedom and justice also appears in this play through the voice of the character Mercurio, as the passage below suggests:

> Mercúrio: . . . um juiz, para ser bom, há-de ser como um espelho: aço por dentro, e cristal por fora. Aço por dentro para resisitir aos golpes das paixões humanas; e cristal por fora, para resplandecer com virtudes; e um juiz desta sorte é o espelho em que a República se revê.
>
> (Vol. II, 180)

> Mercurio: … a judge to be good has to be like a mirror; steel inside, and crystal outside. Steel inside to resist the sufferings of the human passions; and crystal outside to shine with virtues; and this kind of judge is the mirror in which the Republic reflects itself.

Scholars such as Francisco Torrinha rate this play as one of the most humorous works by da Silva, and the one that makes the most allusions to members of eighteenth-century Portugal. Torrinha believes the powerful Jupiter who descended from his throne to seduce Alcmene represents the figure of João V who used to leave his palace and engage in illicit affairs with young women, including a nun who bore him a bastard son. Passages such as Mercurio's explanation that he agreed to trick Alcmene after Jupiter gave him a bag full of money are also interpreted by the aforementioned scholar as references to the corruption and abuse of power by some of the governing elite of Portugal. Torrinha also states that the persecution and death of Antônio José da Silva in 1739 to a large degree resulted from his strong criticism of the imperial rulers and institutions of his time. Torrinha also identifies many allusions to the Inquisition in the dialogues of the play.[26] Some of the passages describe forms of torture used by inquisitors. For example, the passage in which Saramago, Anfitrião's servant, elaborates on the "bad treatment" given to him by Mercurio reminds us of the torture suffered by the playwright during his first trial. The rigors of the Inquisition and the injustice of the system are also evoked through the words spoken by characters like Alcmena:

> Alcmena: … quando terão fim os meus males? (Vol. II, 174)
> Alcmene: … when will my sufferings end?

The feelings expressed in the scene described above convey the pain and the sense of betrayal and despair experienced by victims of torture, as described by David Sussman and Elaine Scarry. As Sussman explains in his essay "What is Wrong with Torture," the pain that the torturers inflict on the victim's body not only insults and damages the victim's agency, but turns such agency against itself forcing the victim to experience him or herself "as helpless yet complicit in her own violation" (179). The verses below, which show the protagonist contemplating his own destiny—*Sorte Tirana*—could also be applied to the playwright's own painful experience:

[26] In his words: "O *Anfitrião* é uma das obras … que mais contribuíram para que o talentoso escritor fosse odiado e arrancado ao convívio dos seus na flor da vida" (27)

Sorte tirana, estrela rigorosa,
que maligna influis com luz opaca
rigor tão fero contra um inocente!
Que delito fiz eu, para que sinta
o peso desta aspérrima cadeia
nos horrores de um cárcere penoso,
em cuja triste, lôbrega morada
habita a confusão e o susto mora? (Vol. II, 213)

Impious fate, godless star
that malignantly sends your blurred light
and harsh rigor against an innocent!
What crime have I committed to provoke
The weight of such a harsh chain,
In the horrors of a grievous jail,
Which sad and lugubrious home
Confusion and fright inhabit?

The stanza underlines the state of mind of a New Christian who, accused of a "crime" and excluded from the mainstream of society for the "guilt" of being a Judaizer, finds in the interstices of the comic lines of his plays subversive ways to ponder the reason for his own existence and to question the unfairness of the system:

Mas, se acaso, tirana, estrela ímpia,
é culpa o não ter culpa, eu culpa;
mas, se a culpa que tenho não é culpa,
para que me usurpais com impiedade
o crédito, a esposa e a liberdade? (Vol. II, 213)

But if by chance, godless star,
It is guilty not to be guilty, I am guilty;
But if the guilt I have be not guilt,
Why do you impiously wrench from me
My name, wife and liberty?

Besides the criticism of the judicial system, the stanza above also conveys the sense of panic, fear, "horror and disgust" (5),[27] characteristic of victims of torture.

In the play *O Labirinto de Creta*, also performed in 1736, one also detects fear and despair. The theme of the labyrinth of Crete, the most

[*Anfitrião* is one of the plays that most contributed to the fact that the talented writer was hated and taken away from those whom he loved when his life was in full bloom].

[27] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*. See also E. Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, and M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

intricate and confusing maze in Greek mythology, may very well illustrate the Kafkian, conflictive, and convoluted nature of the Portuguese Inquisition during the first half of the eighteenth century. The labyrinth could be seen as the dark dungeons of the Holy Office, and the Minotaur, the grand-inquisitor. In 1737, the New Christian from Brazil produced two other plays: *Guerras do Alecrim e Mangerona* and *As variedades de Proteu*. Similar to the previous ones, *Guerras do Alecrim e Mangerona* is full of social criticism. This play, which has been considered by critics such as Maria de Lourdes Ferraz as one of the greatest works performed by Antônio José, is a strong satire sweetened by music and songs that were popular among the lower sectors of society. The playwright ridicules several aspects of Portuguese society, including the false appearences of characters such as Dom Fuás and Dom Gilvaz, *pícaros* who look for a rich woman to save them from poverty. The dress code and the convoluted language of the decadent aristocracy are also criticized by the playwright. Likewise, the play criticizes the judicial and educational systems and mocks the Portuguese scholastics who insisted on defending Aristotelian philosophy and rejected the innovative Enlightenment ideas that were spreading throughout Europe, remaining prohibited in the Iberian Peninsula. As Ferraz observes, the oxymoronic title of the play, which can be translated as "wars of rosemary and marjoram," suggests the presence of the carnivalesque element as a resource used by the playwright to expose the tensions between the different social classes. Through the actions and dialogues of the protagonists Semicúpio and Sevadilha, Antônio José da Silva satirizes the lack of common sense, the artificial manners, and the empty gongoric or affected language of the pretentious aristocrats and false nobles: "Semicúpio: Chitom! Não me usurpe a jurisdição: já disse que estas averiguações só a mim me pertencem. Vamos andando *ad cagarronem*" (Vol. III, 273) [Semicúpio: Chitom! Do not take away the jurisdiction from me. I already said that these inquiries are a matter that only belong to me. Let's go *ad cagarronem*].

In *As variedades de Proteu*, a play also performed in 1737 and that has as its main protagonist Proteus, an iconic figure of much relevance for New Christians and crypto-Jews, is also full of social critique. One finds in this play phrases that seem to allude to the condition of innocent people who tried to find an explanation for their persecution by the Holy Office. The dialogues between the King and Políbio, found in Scene Two of the Second Act of the play, also serve to illustrate the fact that because João V regarded the so-called heretical ideas and religious crimes

a violation of the laws of the State, he had established that all the cases judged by the Inquisition had to be reviewed by his court:[28]

> Rei: Pois, … levem-no à torre do palácio, aonde se apure of seu delito …
> Políbio: Não pode haver castigo aonde não há culpa. (Vol. IV, 62)
>
> King: Well, … take him to the palace tower, where his crime will be judged.
> Políbio: Punishment should not occur where there is no crime.

In the songs and verses interspersed in the play there are many references to punishment imposed by the king on his subjects: "Não me assusta, ó Monarca, esse castigo que me intimas irado" (62) [The punishment that you, irate Monarch, impose on me does not frighten me]. A.J. da Silva also mocks the pretentious and ignorant attitude of the artisticracy in this play, as in the following lines: "Maresia: Ainda assim, o sangue real é vermelho como os outros sangues" (61) [Maresia: Even so, royal blood is red like other blood].

Precipício de Faetonte, the eighth play included in the collection of *Operas*, edited by Ameno and published in 1744, was composed of three acts. It was staged at the Teatro do Bairro Alto in 1738, when the playwright was jailed for the second and last time. *Precipicío de Faetonte* continues the line of social criticism that one observes in the playwright's previous works. It is mainly in this last play, which was staged at the Bairro Alto when the playwright had been arrested, that we detect the playwright's frustration and despair:

> "Oh, violento poder … Quem pode resistir a teus impérios?" (Vol. IV, 118) [Oh, violent power … Who can resist your empires?]; "Morrerei ao duro golpe da sentença cruel …" (Vol. IV, 160) [I will die under the harsh blow of the cruel sentence …]; "Ouve D'us os ecos, os clamores / de um mísero infeliz / a quem a sorte / dá na vida o rigor da minha sorte" (Vol. IV, 175) [God, listen to the cries of an unhappy, miserable man to whom you give in life the rigor of my fate].

The phrases above highlight the state of mind of a New Christian or marrano "who manifested multiple forms of duality and a confused, ambivalent identity" (Yovel, 78).

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[28] See the following passage cited by Frédérique de Merveilleux: "Sua Majestade estabeleceu, que, apesar das conclusões da Inquisição serem consideradas até então como supremas, deviam ser revistas pelo seu Parlamento" (86–87) [Your Majesty established that, although the conclusions reached by the Inquisition had until then been considered supreme, they had to be reviewed by his parliament].

VI. *In Search of Possible Answers*

As previously stated, the inquisitors knew that Antônio José da Silva was a performer at the Teatro do Bairro Alto, but apparently they did not know that he had also written the plays performed there. It seems that they also knew that the actor was a friend of some of the disillusioned members of the Portuguese society, the so-called *estrangeirados* whose ideas were starting to challenge the system. It is also quite possible that the activities of the theater of Bairro Alto started to annoy the King and the inquisitors. The fact that the arrest of the actor occurred two days after the grand-inquisitor Dom Nuno da Cunha issued a verbal warrant for his imprisonment indicates that Antônio José da Silva had been regarded—as Alberto Dines says—"um caso especial" [a special case], and a dangerous *estrangeirado*.[29]

Despite the fact that the Inquisition condemned the playwright on grounds of Judaism, it is possible that the real motive behind his death lies in the fact that his performances at the Theater of Bairro Alto were attracting the attention of enlightened subjects who were starting to oppose the actions of the Inquisition and to challenge traditional ideas, such as the myth of purity of blood, defended by the King, traditional aristocrats and the upper sector of the clergy. Documents from this period reveal that João V and the inquisitors were trying to curtail the influence of *estrangeirados*, such as the Fourth Count of Ericeira, Alexandre de Gusmão, Francisco Xavier de Oliveira (known as Cavaleiro de Oliveira), and Dom Luis da Cunha.[30] Passages from correspondence between Alexandre de Gusmão and Dom Luís da Cunha found in Mário Domingues's *Dom João V: O homem e sua época* indicate that these two

[29] In his book, *Dom João V, o homem e a sua época: Evocação histórica*, a book based on primary sources written during King John V's time, Mário Domingues arrives at a similar conclusion when he observes that because the subtle criticism of da Silva's play "represented the awakening of the critical spirit and freedom of conscience … the Inquisition could not leave him alive" (339).

[30] Luis da Cunha, a contemporary of Antônio José, was widely recognised as the most enlightened of Portugal's diplomats. During his lifetime he was respected as a stateman, writer and political thinker. In 1737, the year of Antônio José's second arrest by the Inquisition, D. Luis was working as ambassador to the court of Louis XV. Dom Luis was trying to take advantage of his position as a diplomat to change the negative image that Portugal had in France and other European empires. To succeed in this endeavor he worked closely with intellectuals who lived in Portugal to convince the king to change his domestic and foreign affairs. Because at the time Gusmão worked as secretary of state under Dom João V, Luis da Cunha corresponded with him frequently.

enlightened subjects tried, without success, to influence the King and to change the image of Portugal abroad. For example, in a letter written by Dom Luis da Cunha to Alexandre de Gusmão, in December, 1746, the embassador asks Gusmão to help him convince João V to hold a conference in Lisbon. As the passage below states, since the purpose of the conference was to promote peace among the European empires, Luis da Cunha thought that by holding it in Lisbon, the image of Portugal would improve in the world:

> Eu convido a el-rei nosso amo para figurar muito na Europa, sem parte nas desgraças dela. Os príncipes beligerantes se acham cansados da guerra, e todos desejam a paz. Esta pretendo eu se faça em Lisboa, e que nosso amo seja árbitro dela; mas não posso entrar neste empenho sem que V. Sa. tome parte nele, porque conheço as dificulades que hei-de encontrar em el-rei e nos seus ministros de Estado. Ajude-me V. Sa. a vencer este negócio, pois que so V. Sa. é capaz de fazê-lo persuadir.[31]
>
> I invite the king our master to have a strong presence in Europe, without sharing in its desgraces. The belligerant princes are getting tired of war, and all wish for peace. I hope the [conference] will be held in Lisbon, and that our master will be its coach; but I cannot try to negotiate this without your participation in it, because I am aware of the difficulties I will find in the king and in his State ministers. Please help me in this endeavor, because only you are capable of persuading him.

The reply by Alexandre de Gusmão dated Febrary 2, 1747, reveals that despite his effort he was not able to convince the king, because the three members of the high clergy who served as his ministers, dissuaded João V from listening to Gusmão or Dom Luis da Cunha.

> Ainda que eu jé sabia, quando recebia a carta de V. Sa., que não havia de vencer o negócio em que V. Exa. me empenhou, contudo por obedecer e servir a V. Exa. sempre falei a S.M. e aos ministros actuais do governo. Primeiriamente, o cardeal da Mota me respondeu que a opinião de V. Exa era inadmissível, … que Deus nos tinha conservado em paz e que V. Exa queria meter-nos em arengas, o que era tentar a Deus. Finalmente, falei a el-rei … Disse-me que a proposição de V. Exa. era muito propria das máximas francesas, com as quais V. Exa se tinha co-naturalizado, e que não prosseguisse mais. (*Cartas* 129)
>
> Despite the fact that when I received your letter I already knew that I would not be able to accomplish the task that Your Excellency assigned me, to obey and serve Your Excellency I spoke with Your Majesty and with the

[31] Cited by Mário Domingues, *Dom João V, o homem e sua época: Evolução histórica*, 290.

> current ministers. First of all, Cardinal da Mota replied that the opinion of Your Excellency was inadmissible, … that God had kept us in peace, and what You Excellency wanted was to bring us harangues, which meant to tempt God. Finally, I spoke with the king … He told me that Your Excellency's proposition was typical of the French attitudes which you had embraced, and that I should stop talking.

As the passages above makes clear, the advice given by enlightened diplomats such as Dom Luis da Cunha and A. de Gusmão was regarded by Cardenal da Mota and Inquisitor Dom Nuno as inadmissible and dangerous. Due to the interference of the Church in matters of the State, they were able to convince the King that Dom Luis da Cunha had became a *estrangeirado* who had embraced French attitudes. Despite the fact that both Gusmão and Dom Luís da Cunha had always defended the interests of the Portuguese crown and were instrumental in the negotiations that resulted in solving the imperial rivalries involving Portugal, France, and Spain, they were seen as suspicious individuals. The animosity of the inquisitors toward Alexandre de Gusmão started when his brother, Baltasar de Gusmão, became the target of the Inquisition after inventing an engine that could fly. Although Baltasar de Gusmão is recognized today as a pioneer of aviation, his inventive ideas caused him to be persecuted by the Holy Office on charges of heresy. The diplomat Francisco Xavier de Oliveyra also became the target of the Inquisition for his advanced ideas. As a result of such persecution, he never returned to Portugal. In a letter written by him on December 9, 1737, two months following the second arrest of Antônio José, Cavaleiro de Oliveira states: "Em Castella, e em Portugal … domina a força, sendo a razão escrava do poder …" (545) [In Castile and in Portugal force … rules, and reason is a slave of power]. Besides Dom Luis da Cunha, Alexandre de Gusmão and Xavier de Oliveyra, Dom Francisco Xavier de Meneses, the fourth count of Ericeira, was also considered as a *estrangeirado* because of his enlightened ideas.

As mentioned previously, the library of the Fourth Count of Ericeira was one of the places where Antônio José learned about theater. It is also possible that the young playwright exchanged ideas with Ericeira and with other intellectuals who frequented the house of the distinguished man. The Count was not only a friend of the New Christian from Brazil, but he also befriended many of the Jews who lived in England. The Count appreciated those who used the pen to challenge the Inquisition and bring cultural and social changes to the Lusophone world. A rare document, *Oração fúnebre nas exéquias do reverendíssimo Pe. Antonio*

Vieira, found at the John Carter Brown Library, reveals that Ericeira seemed unafraid to show respect for someone like Vieira, who had been persecuted by the Inquisition for defending Jews and New Christians. The fact that he ordered that verses in Hebrew (and other languages) be written on the walls of the room where the posthumous ceremony honoring Vieira was to be held, also demonstrates his admiration for enlightened subjects and his respect for Jewish culture.[32]

As an intellectual founder of literary academies, Ericeira had close ties with many Portuguese intellectuals of Jewish origin who had left Portugal for England to escape the Inquisition. His circle of New Christian connections in England included Isaac de Sequeira Samuda, Rabbi Davi Neto, Jacob de Castro Sarmento and Manuel Mendes da Costa.[33] Another fact linking Antônio José da Silva to the Fourth Count of Ericeira can be demonstrated with a passage from a letter written by King John V to Cardinal Mota on January 9, 1739, found in Ayres de Carvalho's *As memórias d'El Rey D. João V pelo naturalista Merveileux*. As seen from a letter found in this book of the Charles Boxer Collection at the Lilly Library, Dom João V despised the ideas of Ericeira and suspected that he had close ties with people of Jewish origin: "Feita esta comparça se podia o despacho compor de um cego poeta, de uma Senhora daquela

[32] "Em dezembro de 1697 … o Conde da Ericeira, que desde o anno de 1696 tinha estabelecido em sua casa humas conferencias de homens eruditos sobre várias matérias scientíficas … lhe pareceo fazer huma demonstração, em que … venerava a memória de hum dos mais insignes Varoens … Escolheo a Igreja de S. Roque da Casa Professa da Companhia de Jesus de Lisboa, e mandando-a armar inteiramente de panos negros com guarniçoens proporcionadas, os fez adornar com … versos Hebraicos, Gregos, Latinos, e nas línguas vulgares, com que os mayores engenhos de Portugal, e de outras partes de Europa cantarão sonora, e tristemente este Episódio" (57–58). [In December of 1697 … the Count of Ericeira, who since 1696 had begun in his home meetings of erudite men where they would discuss diverse scientific issues … decided to do a demonstration in which … he would pay homage to one of the most respected gentlemen [Vieira] … He selected the Igreja de S. Roque da Casa Professa da Companhia de Jesus de Lisboa, and ordered it to be covered in black cloth decorated with … verses, written in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and modern languages, with which the greatest minds of Portugal and other parts of Europe will sing harmoniously and sadly this episode].

[33] Jacob de Castro Sarmento was a medical doctor who, after leaving Portugal, held an important position in the London Royal Society. As historian José Sebastião da Silva Dias observes in his book *Portugal e a cultura européia (séculos XVI a XVIII)*, when the Academia de História was founded in Portugal, Jacob de Castro Sarmento wrote to Ericeira offering to send to Portugal seeds for a botanical garden. Cecil Roth (1954, 208) describes Jacob de Castro Sarmento as a prolific medical writer and advocate of vaccination. Emmanuel Mendes da Costa, a clerk and librarian to the Royal Society, was a member of many learned societies. It is relevant to note that Ericeira was also a member of the Royal Society during the time the Mendes da Costa was a librarian for the Society.

casta" (43) [Because of the alliance the agreement was made between a blind poet and a Lady of that caste]. In the passage the King refers to Dom Luis Carlos de Menezes, the son of the Fourth Count of Ericeira, as a "blind poet" who married a woman of Jewish origin. Besides mocking their union by calling it "comparça" or a matching of criminals, the King also makes clear that he planned to get rid of the Ericeiras: "por ora não me lembro mais e peço me ajude até botarmos fora estes Ericeiras" (43) [For now I do not remember anything else, and I ask you to help me to get rid of these Ericeiras]. In João V's court only a few members of high nobility and clergy were trusted by the King. Diplomats, such as Ericeira, Dom Luis da Cunha, and Alexandre de Gusmão, were regarded with suspicion due to their enlightened ideas. Perhaps Antônio José da Silva was a scapegoat for such figures, since his status as a New Christian made him more vulnerable.

The cloud of mystery that surrounds Antônio José da Silva's death cannot be totally dissipated because many of the related documents were destroyed by the earthquake that devastated Lisbon in 1755. However, it is possible to conclude that Antônio José's death was the result of the power-play of João V's time. Because the New Christian from Brazil was an *estrangeirado* from the emerging bourgoisie that was becoming powerful and confident enough to oppose the power of the decadent aristocracy, but not strong enough to claim power for themselves, his trial and condemnation was an example that could be used to intimidate others. Even if enlightened nobles and bourgeois such as Ericeira, Dom Luís da Cunha and Alexandre de Gusmão were against the imprisonment and death of Antônio José, they could not have done anything to prevent the tragic end of his process. As Elias explains in *The Court Society*, at a time when the nobility had lost their administrative and judicial function due to their "shrinking financial basis" (167), and the ministers from the emergent bourgoisie, "with their growing wealth," (167) worked for the crown, the king relied on the jealousies that divided the nobility and the bourgoisie as a power balance. Because the circle of enlightened subjects linked to the Portuguese court was still very small, intellectuals such as Ericeira, Gusmão and da Cunha found themselves in an ambivalent situation. They could not make concessions or defend others because they did not have sufficient power to go against the decadent aristocracy and the king. The court of João V very much resembled that of Louis XIV, where as Elias describes, everyone competed with one another for prestige and different groups struggled with each other. The rightful princes and princesses competed with the legitimized bastards of

the king, against whom the 'great ones', the dukes and peers, also struggled. "As a separate group there are the ministers risen from the bourgeoisie, often from the *robe*. They too belong fully to the court; and they cannot survive unless they understand the unwritten laws of court life" (Elias, 119). In order to maintain his power, then, the king took advantage of the conflicting tendencies of members of his court and constantly ensured that the rivalries worked in his own favor. Besides using numerous festivities, including *autos-da-fé*, to make a permanent impression on those under his rule, the king prevented a unification of court society against him (129–133).

In such an environment, no one but the king could spare Antônio José da Silva's life. Perhaps because Antônio José's performances at the Teatro do Bairro Alto unveiled the weaknesses of those in power and denounced the evils of Portuguese society, João V relied on the Inquisition to execute him. Ironically, despite his death, A.J. da Silva's posthomously-published plays reveal—like no other document produced at the time—the spirit of intolerance and persecution in Portuguese society, and portray the courage of a New Christian who did not succumb to the violence inflicted on him.

It is clear that da Silva used his writings to express his feelings regarding the inequities of the sociopolitical system in which he lived. Similar to some passages found in the writings of the New Christians Luis de Carvajal and Bento Teixeira, da Silva's disappointment with social injustice and the cruelties of the Inquisition suggest that the writer had reached the point of despair. Nevertheless, despite the inquisitors' attempts to extricate inculpating information—both through torture and spying through the cracks in the walls of his cell—Antônio José da Silva managed to take advantage of his skills as a playwright to voice and preserve his criticisms about the Portuguese society of his time. Through the criticism expressed in both his inquisition trial and his plays, da Silva managed to expose some of the "cracks in the foundation of the edifice of the Inquisition" (Schwartz 48). Despite the fact that he was unable to prevent the Inquisition from cutting short his promising life, Antônio José da Silva managed to voice his opposition to the system, thus escaping the anonimity that the inquisitors and the king had intended for him.

AFTERWORD

The discourse of the New Christians and *Conversos* examined in this study has remained largely understudied. One of the major objectives of this book, grounded in archival work in Europe and the Americas, is to enhance the fields of colonial Latin American and early modern Peninsular literature and culture with case studies of individuals of Jewish origin who suffered religious and political persecution and produced literary and confessional discourses. These writings show the complex and subtle collaboration between religious and political structures. At a time when historians such as Irene Silverblatt and Francisco Bethencourt call attention to the workings of the Inquisition in shaping some of the European colonial empires, the study of Luis de Carvajal, El Mozo, Bento Teixeira, Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, Manuel Beckman and Antônio José da Silva illustrates that behind the Inquisition there were imperial ambitions that surpassed the simple aim of spreading Christianity throughout the globe.

As demonstrated in the introduction of the book, it was in 1478, under Ferdinand and Isabella, that the so-called *Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisition* began to operate independently from Rome and became wholly subject to the Spanish monarchs, who also chose the inquisitors. It was then that the modern Inquisition began and the persecution of Jews, *Conversos*, and other non-Christian Spanish minorities increased. Richard Greenleaf has pointed out that many of the members of the Inquisition were well-intentioned people who followed the standardized rules established by the Council of the Supreme Inquisition in Spain. Yet, as the cases of the New Christians studied in this book demonstrate, inquisitors were not all alike. Some of the inquisitors, and other agents of the Holy Office, were very religious individuals who followed the rules of orthodoxy, while others went beyond the norms and procedures established by the Council. Due sometimes to the overzealous attitude of the different representatives of the Holy Office who came to the New World or due to the distance from Spain or Portugal some of them disregarded regulations and abused their power. Juan de Mañozca in Peru and Alonso de Peralta in New Spain are examples of inquisitors who seemed to have used excessive rigor and acted as torturers whose techniques for extracting information from the prisoners of the Inquisition inflicted physical

and moral pain into their victims. The case of Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, the major representative of the Portuguese Inquisition who visited Brazil during the last decade of the sixteenth century, is a clear example of an inquisitor who did not follow the standardized method of investigating heresies.

My research reveals that throughout the early modern period subjects of Jewish origin became one of the chief targets of persecution by the Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula, and in the Iberian Atlantic World, particularly during the reigns of Philip II of Spain, and John V of Portugal. The different cases studied in this book also reveal that toleration and persecution of New Christians in the Iberian Atlantic World were linked directly to the political and economic interests of the different kings. Although in theory the Inquisition was supposed to be an independent agency that enforced orthodoxy, one cannot deny the political function of the Holy Office. The persecution of New Christians of Portuguese origin who lived in Portugal and in its overseas possessions and in the Spanish American colonies intensified during the Habsburg dynasty, particularly during the last decades of the sixteenth century, when in Europe, among other rivals, Philip II was challenged in England by Queen Elizabeth, in the United Provinces by William of Orange, and in Portugal by Dom Antonio, Prior of Crato. Individuals of Jewish origin who lived in the Iberian Peninsula and in the New World during the period that extends from approximately the beginning of 1620s until the end of 1660s, a time when Portugal reacted against the loss of her colonies and fought for its independence from Spain, also suffered persecution by the Inquisition. Curiously, different from the Spanish case where the activities of the Holy Office decreased by the end of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Inquisition intensified its persecution of New Christians, especially during the first half of the eighteenth century. As shown through the case of Antônio José da Silva, the actions of the Portuguese Inquisition against New Christians were in part motivated by fear that New Christians who lived in Brazil would smuggle the gold found in the Brazilian mines to other European empires. During the reign of John V (1707–1750), when gold brought from Brazil had become Portugal's major source of wealth, and when the aristocracy felt threatened by an emerging enlightened bourgeoisie in the Metropole, the king relied on the Inquisition to control the imperial and colonial subjects perceived as a threat to the crown and the Church. The trials of Luis de Carvajal and Bento Teixeira demonstrate that King Philip II's policies had a strong impact on their case due to the persecution he launched in

the Metrople and in the colonies against subjects of Jewish descent. The trial of Antônio José da Silva also reveals that John V of Portugal used the Holy Office of Inquisition "as a disciplinary apparatus" to control possible dissidents within his domains. Both monarchs left a strong imprint on the Inquisition of their times and relied heavily on it to achieve their imperial ambitions.

In addition to the observations related to the connections between the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs and the Inquisition during the early modern period, another relevant aspect of this research has to do with the characterization of New Christians, the role that they played in the Iberian Atlantic World, and their reaction to religious persecution. Although they are often regarded as a uniform group and treated with suspicion by both Catholics and Protestants, New Christians were very different from each other. This can be seen in the cases of Luis de Carvajal, Bento Teixeira, and Antônio José da Silva when some of the members of the same New Christian family embraced Christianity, while others were crypto-Jews or followed Judaism in secret. My study also has shown that besides suffering persecution under some of the Iberian Catholic monarchs, Jews and New Christians also suffered discrimination under Protestant rulers. This happened not only in Europe and Dutch Brazil, but also in seventeenth-century British America. The lack of toleration toward the Jews who left Dutch Brazil in 1654, and came to New Amsterdam (today New York), as highlighted in Chapter Three, corroborates Steven Waldman's argument that contrary to the myth that "America was settled as a bastion for religious freedom [. . .] it was settled primarily by people who wanted rule of one religious denomination over others" (xi).

Perhaps most importantly, these case studies make clear that New Christian *letrados* not only played a major role in the cultural development of the colonial and imperial societies in which they lived, but that even while imprisoned they acted as leaders who questioned and defied the cruelties of the Inquisition and the arbitrary rules of their societies. Through their recorded oral testimonies and written documents produced under persecution, they helped to make and to expose the "cracks" in the edifice that formed the basis of the Inquisition. This book thus recognizes one key aspect of the crucial intellectual, economic and political roles that descendents of Jews had in the development of the Iberian and American societies of the early modern and colonial period, and demonstrates their continuing influence to the present day. Moreover, these subjects, when analyzed as a group, give us insight into the still understudied transatlantic and inter-American commercial,

philosophical, religious, and cultural connections. Their cases provide a comparative historical and cultural perspective on the complex Iberian Atlantic world, whose edifices and institutions were full of both actual and metaphorical "cracks in the walls." It was in this world that these *conversos* and New Christians lived.

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