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**A dissertation entitled**

**THE LIBRO VERDE:  
BLOOD FICTIONS FROM EARLY MODERN SPAIN**

submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Wisconsin-Madison  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

**John Beusterien**

**Date of Final Oral Examination:** July 9, 1997

Month & Year Degree to be awarded: **December**                      **May**                      **August** 1997

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THE *LIBRO VERDE*:  
BLOOD FICTIONS FROM EARLY MODERN SPAIN

by  
John Beusterien

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
(Spanish)

at the  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON  
1997

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### Acknowledgements

This study has been read and commented by Professors Steven Hutchinson, Catherine Connor, and Jacques Lezra. Professors Catherine Jagoe and David Hildner also formed part of the committee. I am grateful to all of them for their comments and suggestions.

A special thanks to Carmenchu who occupies the blank space before it begins, who fills the empty spaces on every page, and who takes the place of the void that begins after the very last word.

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## Introduction

### *The Circular Problem: Ink and Blood*

If it is to be "used" at all, one use of human blood, although a bit gruesome and unusual, can be paint. While "blood" typically hid behind the language of family honor, in the seventeenth-century play, *El pintor de su honra*, Calderón de la Barca puts human blood on display. The play concludes with the artist showing the body of his murdered wife. He wants his spectator to convert the image of the bloody body into an artistic creation: "el dibujo es, / que ha dibujado con sangre" (196, Act III). Why does Calderón portray a man who conceives human blood as paint, the artist's fundamental medium for representation?

Calderón's overt display of blood invites a more subtle inversion of this question that is not quite so easy to visualize: what does it mean to use paint as a medium of representation instead of blood? One of the most marvelous and poignant moments in Spanish Golden Age literature, found in the opening pages of *La pícaro Justina*, a picaresque novel written in the early seventeenth century by Francisco López de Ubeda, deals not with the problematics of the substitution of paint for blood, but ink for blood. The novel opens in the following way: Justina begins to write her auto-biography, but is tantalizingly

stifled by a hair that has fallen on the tip of her pen that causes her to put a spot on the page. Ubeda has Justina explain that she ends up not writing anything but the ink blot. Her preoccupation with the inkstain, in fact, mimics her preoccupation with her stained blood, her blotted family genealogy.

In this fictional autobiography, Justina's inability and incapacity to write, to create an identity for herself, is at once the subject that has given her a reason for writing and *is* her writing. She spends the opening pages of her autobiography getting nowhere, trapped in an inkspotch that I would argue that Ubeda suggests replaces a blood stain. Ubeda's description of the stain paradoxically becomes a wonderful simultaneity: his character creates her identity by not being able to create one.

A legendary belief about blood informs Ubeda's creation of the Justina character: one's being is one's blood, and to write, to truly communicate and bond oneself to a reader, one must write not with ink, but with blood. In the Dr. Faustus story, a legend that found Spanish versions in such works as Gonzalo de Berceo's story of Teófilo (*Milagros de nuestra señora*) or Calderón de la Barca's *El mágico prodigioso*, when the protagonist wants to join the devil, he signs the soul-granting contract with his blood.<sup>1</sup> We could say the same about the

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the history of signing in blood see Crow 230

contract that the fictional writer, Justina, makes with the reader: the precious guarantee of the writer's soul, the authentic communication of her essence, is sealed for the reader when that guarantee is made in blood. When Catherine of Siena, a fourteenth-century saint, wrote, she understood her ink as metamorphosing into Christ's blood: "I write to you in his precious blood...." (Bynum, *Holy* 176). Ubeda suggests, then, that if that blood is impure as in the case of Justina, then the communication, the author-reader bond is tainted and the writer can not get beyond the ink. The subject of writing, then, becomes the thwarted writing process itself.

In the seventeenth-century semantics of blood in Spain, other examples existed that substituted ink for blood. At the end of Baltasar Gracián's *Criticón*, when the characters reach the end of the world, they find themselves in a sea of ink--a transformed version of the image from the end of the Biblical Apocalypse where the waters of the earth turned to blood (16:4). Might the nature of blood as understood in seventeenth-century Spain provide a window into how literary works from the time may be read? I propose that navigating a blood-sea maps out and describes the nature of the sea of ink of seventeenth-century

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and Hsia 9. Inquisitional cases against witches often reported that the witch had signed her contract with the devil in her own blood (Blázquez Miguel 104).

literary production or, put the other way around, the sea of ink spilled at this time reveals a sea of blood.

The *pícaro* Justina substitutes ink for blood: Ubeda conscripts Justina's identity through the conflation of botched blood and ink. Like the indelible spot of Clytemnestra's blood that time could not erase in Aeschylus's *Oresteia* or the one which Lady MacBeth could not wash out in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, so Justina can not be rid of her spot. For the reader, Justina comes into existence through the description of an inkstain. Her bloodlike ink spoke out and communciated like the bloody wounds that converted into mouths in Calderón de la Barca's *La vida es sueño* (106, Act III).

### *Identity and Blood*

I would suggest that many seventeenth-century Spanish authors found themselves immersed in this problem, feeling the reciprocal problematics between ink--the writing about the attempt to write--and a preoccupation with impure blood. Ubeda depicts a character who struggles to create an identity for herself despite her recognition of her impure blood. Justina's struggle to begin to write may very well have reflected Ubeda's individual worries, but it also reflected a larger social problem of the time. The main purpose of this thesis, likewise, is not to provide a specific biographical motivation of any

individual author, but to describe this larger social problem: the forces behind the Spanish identity crisis in the early seventeenth century. The crisis arose from the following insoluble dilemma: a process of excluding those of impure blood had developed, while at the same time, the language of exclusion had become potentially all-inclusive. An investigation of the struggle to represent blood reveals how the very forces that attempted to define a standard of purity perpetuated this identity crisis--of how impurity could be purity and purity could be impurity.

In order to undertake a study of questions of identity at this time, I make the argument that one must understand how genealogical books like the *Libro verde* contributed to the social identity crisis--the blood chaos--of the time. Since no scholar has dedicated a full-length monograph to the *Libro verde*, a few words are in order about the nature of this book. The *Libro verde* was a manuscript that principally contained genealogical information that was supposed to slander a family name. In general the information in the *Libro verde* varied depending on its anonymous authors. The most common feature to common to all *libros verdes* is the last page. Here one normally finds an index page that gives a list of surnames and the corresponding pages in the book where the brief genealogical description of the family name can be found. This page serves as an index that directs the reader to a page where a

genealogical description can be found that typically consists of the most basic information: grandparents, aunts, uncles, wives, husbands and who in the family was Jewish.

In the fifteenth century this information had been written up for particular regions in Spain and it, along with other information pertaining to that region, was put in a green binding (or calfskin). While the information that described the region or the lineage from that region was generally considered to be favorable, in the late 1400s and early 1500s, many *libros verdes* were confiscated and used by the Inquisition and used for different purposes. Specifically, genealogical information from these books formed part of the Inquisition's secret archives-- *libros verdes* were used and copied by inquisitors so that Jewish families could be rooted out based upon family names.

During the course of the sixteenth century the association of the books with particular regions was lost and *libros verdes* came to be known as lists of slanderous name. New types of name lists were created and added to the contents of the *libros verdes*. Interestingly, although every critic who has commented on the books argues that the names are "slanderous," the book itself does not necessarily slander individual names; often it simply records a list. For instance, names of people who had been tried or burned by the Inquisition were added to the list of noble names as were lists of names of converts from the time of the expulsion that could be found on record in local

churches. Towards the end of the sixteenth century these books were released to the public by the Inquisition. The books circulated covertly at an extraordinary rate among the public in manuscript form (none was ever published in the seventeenth century despite their enormous popularity)--a fact that increased their authoritative status among the public since the handwritten word held more influence than the more uniform, anonymous printed one. The definition of this "book" was not necessarily only this manuscript, but also simply someone's spoken word. Hence, the makeup of the community of "readers" for the *Libro verde* reaches into the illiterate public at-large.

For the purposes of this study, my interest is not a genealogical exploration of individual Jewish names and families in early modern Spain,<sup>1</sup> but the nature of this unique genre and how these books perpetuated antisemitism at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At this time some *libros verdes* not only contained lists of Jewish names, but also short antisemitic histories. Since the manuscript of *El libro verde de Aragón* is the best preserved of the *libros verdes* and caused the most

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<sup>1</sup> Some scholars including Norman Roth have relied upon the genealogies in the *Libro verde* for their historical reconstruction of Jewish family histories from the fifteenth century.

outrage, I focus my attention on its contents.<sup>1</sup> Although editors have called the book "*El libro verde de Aragón*," in its day it was simply called the *Libro verde* (which incidently translates to "obscene book" in modern Spanish) and versions of it had found their way beyond the borders of Aragón. Two surviving manuscripts of this particular version of the *Libro verde* (one in Seville and the other in Madrid) contain the following: a short prologue supposedly written by an Inquisitor in 1507, genealogical descriptions of many noble families in Aragón, a narrative of a Jewish conspiracy plot against the Inquisition, a history of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, letters between the Jews of Spain and Constantinople, a list of those people tried and burned by the Inquisition up until the year 1574, and finally the typical table of contents that gives a family name and the corresponding page on which that family's history can be found.

Although his work has been abused, trivialized, and extrapolated in distorting ways, Américo Castro placed the

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<sup>1</sup> All subsequent quotes and references to *El libro verde de Aragón* are taken from Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos' edition. The early reactions to the book were not based on its contents, but its linguistic value. Navarro Tomás, for example, was surprised at the number of Aragonese dialectalisms. See Alvar and Navarro Tomás.

foundational building blocks for this study by pointing to the intense discursive tension between the so-called New and Old Christians. He argued that this tension fomented an "edad conflictiva" and signaled a preoccupation with Judaic issues and pointed out Jewish cultural influences (along with Islamic) in Spain not only in the medieval period, but in the early modern period after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Some critics in the shadow of Castro, succumbing to a modern sensibility that favors the underdog, have followed him by seeking to pinpoint Judaic qualities in the writers from the time. It is possible to find references to the Jewishness of Francisco López de Ubeda or Miguel de Cervantes, despite the fact that neither writer would have considered himself a Jew. While many critics have romanticized about the existence of Jews and Jewishness in this period with varying degrees of persuasive success, Castro's legacy in this thesis is not a description of secret Jews.

I am, however, inspired by Castro's interest in seventeenth-century Spanish social conflict, Spanish identity, and the topic of Judaism in post-expulsion Spain. To explain the social forces in the struggle to define blood and identity, I examine the increased antisemitism in seventeenth-century Spain that was directed against people based on their supposed genealogical association to past Jews. I use the term antisemitism (as opposed to a term such as anti-Judaism) because Judaism was not simply defined as a religious marker against

which Christianity could direct hostility (for the spelling of "antisemitism" see Wasserstein's introduction). The "Jews" were at once defined by racially inherited characteristics (as evidenced by the genealogies in the *Libro verde*) and they were also an economically inter-European and interdependent element against which supranational hatred could be directed (see my comments on Quevedo's *La isla de los Monopantos* in Chapters 2 and 5). In defining antisemitism Gavin I. Langmuir has written that it is an unusual hostility directed at the Jews and he qualifies "unusual" as the chimerical creation of attributes divorced from empirical characteristics of the Jews. While my research in the Spanish context concurs with Langmuir's position that a chimerical creation of Jewish attributes occurred, I also argue that in the case of seventeenth-century Spain the chimerical hostility was directed at a force outside the country (former Spanish Jews now occupying other lands) and against the chimerical Jews within the country itself. These "Jews" within the country could potentially be any Spaniard thereby making the hatred a self-hatred, emanating from social paranoia and chaos over identity. The social identity crisis that created a situation of blood impurity where anyone could be a Jew while it also, ironically, marked a protonationalist moment in which the notion of a single Spanish blood was being forged. The *Spanish* version of antisemitism, then, is one fundamental reason why this antisemitic discourse is not simply a medieval religious

rivalry, Jewish versus Christian, but more nationally based: Jew versus Spaniard.<sup>1</sup>

One key vehicle for determining blood identity was the creation of lists of who the true-blooded Spaniard was not. This was done through the compilation of tainted, most often Jewish, genealogies and name lists in the *libros verdes*. Essentially those who have trivialized Castro's thesis have assumed that a clear definition existed of who was or who was not New Christian or Old Christian. I argue, however, that the New / Old Christian distinction was largely arbitrary--*libros verdes* could target anyone. One would suppose that the *libro verde*, being a list, pretended to be an exhaustive and all-inclusive catalogue of who had impure blood and, hence, potentially practiced secret heresies. This, however, was not the case. Like the epic catalogue in which a poet might add to or edit as he saw fit, so the list of names or lineages in the

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<sup>1</sup> Although outside the scope of my historically-based approach, I have found that the most intriguing modern approaches to antisemitism have been proposed by George Steiner and Julia Kristeva (who have developed their ideas from Friedrich Nietzsche's). They have described the concept as a desire to return to a primitive prelapsarian existence and a rage against the Jewish imposition of monotheism, patriarchal and moralistic structures, and symbolic order.

*libros verdes* could be capriciously fabricated. So the book was ultimately not an exclusive document, but an inclusive one, because while it intended to signal those of impure blood, it could potentially contain any name. One scholar criticized the *Libro verde* in 1623 because people simply made up its contents:

no es escritura autentica, signada por mano de Notario, sino escrita por personas singulares, las quales segun el original que alcançaron, y segun el afecto de odio, o encuentro que tuuieron con algunos linages, le añadieron, y quitaron, y de cada dia le van variando, viene a ser su verdad, y credito totalmente incierto. (*Consultationis* 28)

While many wanted to see the book eliminated, as in this case, still more people gave credit to the book's authority and the contents of books known as *libros verdes* were sometimes held as authoritative in Inquisitional cases. Hence, depending on the whims of the governing body (such as the Inquisition or a military order) or any literate individual, one's ancestors and past, one's very identity, could be constructed.

One central argument that I make, keeping in mind the work of José Antonio Maravall, is that Inquisitional and religious authorities strategically released copies in order to sow antisemitic hatred and fear and maintain blood hierarchies based on purity and impurity. This attempt at social control contributed to confusion with respect to identity and with

respect to the circulation of the *libros verdes*. Chaos resulted when these authorities lost control of the contents of the lists and anyone could add or subtract a name on a whim.

*Beyond Blood Symbolics*

*La vie consiste en sang. Sang est le siege de l'ame. Pourtant un seul labeur poine ce monde, c'est forger sang continuellement ... Adoncques chascun membre se prapare et s'esvertue de nouveau á purifier et affiner cestuy thesaur.*

François Rabelais (53,55, Bk.3, ch.4)

The metaphor "pure blood"--as opposed to infected or impure blood--has occupied a significant place in the writings of many prominent scholars of early modern Spanish history and literature (Domínguez Ortiz, Julio Caro Baroja, Américo Castro, Henry Kamen, and Marcel Bataillon, for example). Writers and thinkers who have theorized about early modern Europe have also enjoyed symbolizing blood as it relates to heredity. Michel Foucault, for example, in his *History of Sexuality*, does not discuss the substance blood. Instead, he puts enormous weight on the symbolics of blood as it relates to family. He asserts that the aristocracy had given a special character to its body in the form of blood, "that is, in the form of its ancestry and the value of its alliances" (124). Scholars, for the most part,

have been interested in "blue blood"--their gaze has remained on the body's surface, not penetrating beyond the skin.

In the construction of the perfect aristocratic body, blood was not expected to naturally escape its orifices. Blood was not associated with the base or crude bodily fluids, but with the "higher" functions and a "higher" order. Bakhtin, for example, in *Rabelais and his World* includes such bodily secretions as dung, urine, and sweat in his list of the body's "gay matter," but does not include blood (Paster). In Rabelais' works and in early modern Spanish literature and culture, nevertheless, there are references to the bodily fluid blood. What are we to make of representations of blood as "matter" or substance?

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this study, I go beyond the symbolics of blood (blood as family) by discussing representations of blood within the human body and as it escapes the body. Gail Kern Paster has written about the substance blood with respect to shame in early modern England and, with respect to early modern Spain, George Mariscal has paved the way for such a study. In his *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes, and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture* he mentions the relationship between the medical notion of blood within the human body and the ideologies of blood within the social hierarchy. I build upon his initial suggestions and make a cross-disciplinary study of representations of blood as a

substance as I work to unveil aspects of seventeenth-century identity confusion in the context of antisemitism.

The Inquisition and religious authorities attempted to manipulate representations of blood in order to maintain social hegemonies of blood. In other words, they sought to create simple dualistic standards of purity and impurity. In Chapter 1 and 2 I discuss this binary equation of purity and impurity in genealogical discourse (names), economic discourse (professions), and legal discourses (the Pure Blood Statutes). Also, in conjunction with the *libros verdes*, Inquisitional and religious authorities disseminated other "official" histories concerning the substance blood. These included stories about Jewish men who menstruated (Chapter 3), Jews who committed blood libels (Chapter 4), or miraculous flowings of blood from holy bodies (Chapter 5). Such stories were strategically linked to the more figurative representation of blood as family; in the case of menstruation and crime, to the Jew's blood impurity and in the case of holy blood, to the Christian's blood purity.

While the Inquisition would have liked to create an exclusive ethnic notion of blood purity, the identifying of exactly who had impure blood was not possible. Essentially, impure blood might be pulsing through the veins of anyone and the representations of blood as a substance helped create a hidden presence that could potentially spring forth at any moment from any place. Not only did the chaos occur in social

identities as a result of the arbitrariness of the contents of the *libros verdes*, but it also occurred as a result of stories about the substance blood. For instance, medical authorities classified menstruation as a disease and a hidden sign of impurity that could occur on anyone's body, and the Jewish blood libel and other crimes were part of hidden, covert conspiracies that could be occurring anywhere at any time.

One reason that the topic of the *libros verdes* has not been discussed by historians is because their contents have not been considered authentic; one historian called the inserted stories in *El libro verde de Aragón* ridiculous. Furthermore, the topic of the *libros verdes* has not been discussed by literary critics because they have not been considered "literature." My study, however, argues that an investigation of these books, particularly the *Libro verde*, has both literary and historical value because the *libros verdes* and accompanying representations of blood in antisemitic contexts reflected and contributed to the social identity crisis in seventeenth-century Spain. The process itself of creating and defining what it meant to have pure, Spanish blood was a self-destructive endeavor doomed to failure--as limits were drawn, boundaries became more diffuse.

A discussion of the *libros verdes* also opens a window onto a historical moment that influenced cultural production of the time. For instance, while Maurice Molho has meticulously and convincingly traced European versions of the folkloric tradition

that contributed to the creation of Miguel de Cervantes' *entremés El retablo de las maravillas*, my study traces significant cultural-historical forces that informed the imagination at work behind the play's creation. Also, aside from locating certain social engines at work behind the creation of the Justina character, I listen to blood speaking (to borrow Calderón's metaphor) and show how examples such as Quevedo's poetry and prose ("La isla de los Monopantos") and Lope de Vega and Calderón's plays (*El niño inocente de La Guardia* and *El médico de su honra*) at once participated in the throes of the seventeenth-century struggle to define an identity and contributed to the undoing of that identity, fomenting social paranoia over blood.

## Chapter 1: One's Name, One's Blood

*Librum cuius inscriptio vulgaris est Libro Verde, qui de puritate, vel infectione sanguinis familiarum Aragoniæ tractat perniciosum esse, multorum malorum seminarium, & pessimarum detractorum originem arbitror.*

Vincentius Blascus de Lanuza, 1623

(Consultationis resolutio 20)

In 1623 a council in Zaragoza declared that anyone who had a copy of the *Libro verde* committed a mortal sin. The King tried to gather up and burn all copies that could be found. Nonetheless, copies of this book spread like wildfire. The *libro verde* was no ordinary best-seller: its contents most often consisted of lists of names and genealogies, names that were considered to be Jewish names. Its principal subject matter, lists of names, had sprouted out of the late medieval tradition of name-slandering as found in *Las coplas de provincial* and practices that stigmatized names such as the *sambenito* or the *Manta*. Although many of the *libros verdes* contained only lists, the genre is enormously important for uncovering a hidden chapter of seventeenth-century Spanish social history.

As Spain developed into a single national entity in the late medieval and early modern period, Jewish names, categorized

as bad, new Christian, and foreign were abandoned in favor of Gothic names, constructed as good, old Christian, and Spanish. People adopted practices in which they tried to abandon any sign that suggested their association with a Jewish identity, and adopt a Gothic one. Notwithstanding the desire to create a Gothic identity, impurity subsisted in the branches of people's genealogical trees. Largely due to the existence of *libros verdes*, the feeling of being at home, of having established a clean lineage, changed into an illusion as Jewish blood was invented libellously and inscribed itself. Through the dissemination of *libros verdes*, the blood of those expelled, those condemned to be forgotten, infiltrated the sacred place of origin, the mythic Gothic identity.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I draw heavily from the language that Michel de Certeau used in *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other* to describe the resurfacing of Freud's notion of the repressed. Compare, for example: "But what was excluded re-infiltrates the place of its origin--now the present's 'clean' [*propre*] place. It resurfaces, it troubles, it turns the present's feeling of being 'at home' into an illusion, it lurks--this 'wild,' this 'obscene,' this 'filth,' this 'resistance' of 'superstition'--within the walls of the residence, and, behind the back of the owner (the *ego*), or over its objections, it inscribes the law of the other" (4).

*The Noble, Gothic-sounding Name*

*...de cesarea tela vestido, tela ordida de godos, tramada de reyes...*

Juan de Lucena, *Tratado de vita beata*

What exactly did it mean to have a Gothic name in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, over eight hundred years after the Goths had occupied the Iberian Peninsula? The Goths had conquered Spain and occupied the Peninsula from the fifth to eighth centuries. In 711 the Moors conquered the Goths and remained in Spain for the next eight centuries. During the years of the Christian reconquest of Spain from the Moors, the image of the pure Christian Goth was resurrected out of a nostalgia for the days previous to the Moorish occupation of the Peninsula. By the final years of the reconquest the connection between "pure lineage" and the Goth had been firmly established.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The medieval development in Spain of an artificial Gothic identity has been discussed by Américo Castro. Castro traces the history of the Goth in Medieval Spain in *The Structure of Spanish History* (60-81) as well as the re-invention of the Goth in *The Spaniards* (174-208).

In the 1400s one can find an increased number of examples of noble families, particularly those associated with the royal house, who had genealogists create family trees that stretch the centuries, linking back to Gothic family names. In 1455 the son of ex-Rabbi Pablo de Santa María, Alonso de Cartagena, wrote a history of Castile called *Anacephaleosis*. In this history, Cartagena asserted that the Castilian royal house descended directly from the Goths. He showed how royal family lines were "ingeridas fasta el rrey don pelayo" (qtd. in Rodríguez de Castro 240-241). Cartagena attempted to eliminate one stereotype circulating at that time, namely that all the nobility in Spain had impure Jewish blood, and he created another, that all the nobility had pure Gothic blood.<sup>1</sup>

The dichotomy between pure Gothic blood versus impure Jewish blood intensified in the 1500s and 1600s. "Gothic" or "Jewish" identity became associated with one's name. In the early 1600s, the social interest in creating a Gothic ascendancy

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<sup>1</sup> Contrast Alonso de Cartagena's assertion, for example, with Fernán Díaz de Toledo's mid-fifteenth-century assertion that he could convincingly demonstrate that nearly "all the nobility had converso relatives and ancestors" (qtd. in MacKay 185-186). Lope de Barrientos also made the claim that "las más ilustres casas de Castilla contaban de una manera con ascendencia judaica" (Caro Baroja, *Los judíos* 2: 257).

by adopting a Gothic name was so widespread that it became the target of literary humor. Francisco de Quevedo, for example, in one poem in the early 1600s described a situation where nobody acted like a Goth, but everyone's genealogy nonetheless yielded Gothic descent: "Las descendencias gastan muchos godos,/ todos blasonan, nadie los imita/ y no son sucesores, sino apodos" (Obras 144). In another poem Quevedo made fun of the daughter of a pharmacist. According to popular opinion, pharmacists (*boticarios*), along with others who practiced professions related to medicine, had Jewish blood. In this poem Quevedo jokingly pointed out that the parents, instead of calling her by a name that was associated with the pharmaceutical profession ("Espátula", a palette knife), wanted her to have a Gothic name:

Que pudiéndote llamar  
tus padres, por nombre propio  
doña Espátula, quisieron  
que tuvieses nombre godo. (Obras 1137)

The Gothic name and lineage, recognized as a purely an artificial construction, served to create the impression of noble, pure, and Old Christian blood.

Satirizing the adoption of Gothic names became a favorite trope in various picaresque novels. The false coat of arms that Mateo Alemán used in the opening pages of *Guzmán de Alfarache* or that López de Ubeda used in *La pícaro Justina* humorously pointed to the Spanish practice of constructing a noble identity. In

the picaresque novel *Estebanillo González*, the protagonist bragged that he had pure blood by arguing that an aunt of his had nursed the Pelayo, who Estebanillo called "the famed Goth" (152). Estebanillo recalled the association between Pelayo, the supposed initiator of the reconquest from the mountains in the north of Spain, and the Goths; an association that had already been made over two centuries earlier by Alonso de Cartagena. It was a common assumption that not only Pelayo but those from Asturias, Vizcaya and the mountains of the north--the heartland of the reconquest--boasted stainless families free from Moorish and Jewish blood (Bataillon, *Pícaros* 228).

The strategy of making oneself a Goth was used both by Cartagena in the fifteenth century and this *pícaro* in the seventeenth. By the seventeenth century it was not just the nobles, but nonaristocrats (the world of the *pícaros*) had begun to catch on to the game of pure names and noble genealogies. The *pícaro* wanted to create a blue blood identity and the main way to give the impression of having noble blood was to have a Gothic name. Guzmán de Alfarache claimed to "make himself a Goth" (Alemán 2: 368)--that is, he feigned noble ascendancy and an untainted lineage. Even his chosen name, Guzmán, was Gothic for "Good Man" (Godoy Alcántara 117). The expression "es de los Godos; es de los Guzmanes" was commonly used to describe one of honorable lineage (Alemán 2: 368, n. 16). The *pícaro* Justina,

in fact, made a linguistic game with this convention of choosing a noble, Gothic-sounding name:

Yo confieso que este es un tiempo en que el zapatero, porque tiene calidad, se llama Zapata, y el pastelero gordo, Godo; el que enriqueció, Enríquez, y el que es más rico, Manrique; el ladrón a quien le lució lo que hurtó, Hurtado; el que adquirió hacienda con trampas y mentiras, Mendoza; el sastre, que a puro hurtar girones fue marqués de paño infiel, Girón; el herrador aparroquiado, Herrera; el próspero ganadero de ovejas y cabras, Cabrera; el vaquero, rico de cabezas irracionales y pobre de racional, Cabeza de Vaca; y el caudaloso morisco, Mora; y el que acuña más moneda, Acuña; que goza dinero, Guzmán. (169, Bk. 1, Ch. 2)

According to Justina, people of simple bourgeois professions, such as the shoemaker, the pastry maker, the tailer, had no reservation in appropriating names from the most exalted noble families in Spain. They claimed to be of the purest lineage, to create the genealogical impression of a Gothic ascendancy.

Writing genealogies in seventeenth-century Spain was no longer exclusively practiced by the nobility. The growing middle class also began to adopt a genealogical strategy that the ruling class had practiced since the Middle Ages: the fabrication of pure-blooded ancestry. Because of the intense social and legal stigma associated with a Jewish name, the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the greatest anarchy with respect to name creation and usage. The adoption of the patronymic, a tradition that had begun to take hold in the Middle Ages, was abandoned (Godoy Alcántara 63-66). Many never adopted their father's last name and would adopt either the mother's name, their place of origin, or create a name from another source. Guzmán de Alfarache was a literary case in point. This *pícaro* did not want to be known by his father's last name (it is never mentioned in the novel), but adopted his mother's (Guzmán) and his place of origin (Alfarache). Also, with sufficient money, anyone could pay the *lineajudo*, the genealogist, and have him create a pure family tree. Many hoped that the adoption of the Gothic name could link the family back to what had come to be considered as essentially pure, Christian, and Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The focus of this chapter is on names and genealogies in the Peninsula. The attempt at creating noble-sounding lineages in seventeenth-century Spanish communities outside of the Peninsula became more complex. For example, the Spanish Jews in Amsterdam were at once proud of their Spanish heritage, but sought to forge their own identity (Bodian; Yosef Kaplan, "Political"). In a similar way, the fascination with genealogies and identity-construction in the New World was complicated by not only the Spanish example of noble

*A Jewish Name: The Worst Name and the Worst Blood*

Guzmán selected his mother's name in order to hide a family connection to "infected" or "dirty" blood. Referring to name changes in the city of Burgos, the anonymous author of *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura* wrote:

Mas te hago saber que aqui, por encubrir su suçia sangre, tienen autoridad de mudarse los nombres como Ponitifices en sus elecciones; que si el Padre es judio y la madre hidalga, dexa el apellido del padre y acoxese al sagrario de la madre, de Manrrique Cerda

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genealogies, but also the indigenous tradition of the same (see, for example, Guaman Poma de Ayala's genealogies in his *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*).

With respect to blood, Spanish discursive examples existed that attempted to re-valorize Jewish blood, but they typically occurred before the expulsion ("Que a sangre de los judios hera buena y linpia, y que eran los judios de sangre real...aun por ser tan linpia sangre la de los judios avia Dios escogido a Nuestra Señora para su Encarnacion" (qtd. in Gitlitz, *Secrecy* 132, n. 123)) or in exile (as a character in Miguel de Barrios' play from Amsterdam states: "Moseh soy, y mi Linage / La sangre por las venas / De Leví corre incesante" (Rebollo Lieberman 187)).

Barba o Aulano, o otro de tal jaez, que de esto de linaxes precianse mui mucho i blasones. (Foulché-Delbosc 169)

While many people hoped to create the impression of Old Christian blood through a Gothic-sounding name, so they tried to cast off associations with New Christian blood by abandoning Jewish-sounding names. Names such as Fagueles, Guaypanes, Golondrinos, Cotas, Dientes, Faros, and Cabales disappeared in the 1500s (Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 153; Godoy Alcántara 255). One seventeenth-century source purported to give the origin of the *cristianos viejos* and reported that all converts ignored their ancestry and adopted names of Old Christians, "purgando el olvido de los difuntos su origen" (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 217). Aside from adopting the matrilineal name, people who feared that they might be descendants of Moorish and Jewish converts oftentimes chose godparents of noble names and, in turn, adopted their names. Diego de Hermosilla wrote in the *Diálogo de los pajes* (from the mid-sixteenth century) that at the time of the expulsion of the Jews,

los más judíos y moros que se convertían a nuestra santa fe católica tomaban por padrinos de pila a los hidalgos y caballeros más principales que había en los lugares donde se bautizaban, y éstos les permitían por honrarlos que tomasen sus apellidos. Y venidos en su

poder, hállanse tan bien con ellos que los publican y señalan por suyos, mayormente donde no los conocen.

(qtd. in Pérez 111, n. 8)

Just as the myth of the Goth exemplifying the pure Spaniard was from ancient medieval lore in the late medieval and early modern period, so too was the myth of the corrupt Jew.

There was a rich late medieval Spanish tradition that associated certain names, particularly certain noble families' names, with Jewish blood. Evidence of a tabloid mentality, a desire to see the tainted name of the high and mighty, could be found in the *Las coplas de provincial* from the late 1400s (Foulché-Delbosc "Las coplas"; Ciceri). These anonymous verses often linked racial inheritance to Jewish names. One poem, for instance, directed to the Marquis of Astorga stated:

Don Diego Pérez Ossorio  
 fraile de nuestra abadía  
 dicen que de una judía  
 desciende vuestro abolorio. (Ciceri 184)

The anonymous writer wished to slander the son of the Marqués de Astorga by accusing him of Jewish grandparents (*abolorio*). The verses were not only used to cast calumnies on figures from the 1400s. In 1604, Pedro Osorio petitioned the king for a *beneficio de limpieza de sangre*. He presented a genealogy that not only linked him to the Osorios, Alonso de Cartagena, and the ex-Rabbi Pablo de Santa María, but all the way back to the

Virgin Mary (Cantara Burgos, *Alvar García* 280-284). The genealogy harkened back to Alonso de Cartagena's own interest in Gothic identities, but this time the gesture swept the entire family line back beyond the Goths to Mary. The genealogical fascination was so intense at this time that even Mary's bloodline had been traced genealogically and been proven to be the paragon of purity (Surtz).

Such fabrication, the intent to make a name that was Jewish-sounding appear Christian-sounding, was perfectly normal throughout this time period. In fact, fabrications were the norm and the legitimacy of all lineages was questionable. As Godoy Alcántara has commented:

Ningún nobiliario merece fe [...]. Sus autores no buscan más que halagar vanidades y favorecer intereses, haciendo posibles entronques quiméricos que lleven las estirpes adonde convenga, incluso hasta Adán, como hizo el licenciado Diego Matute de Peñafiel, canónigo de Baeza, con las genealogías de Felipe III y del Duque de Lerma. (65)

The linking of genealogies to foundational myths certainly was not unique to Spain (for examples in England and elsewhere see Thomas 426-428), but the combined genealogical and naming crisis was especially acute in Spain particularly with respect to perceptions about Jewish names and lineages.

One reason for this was the fact that *Las coplas de provincial* not only linked Jewish names to lineage, but also semantically linked Jewish lineage to what was considered physically and morally perverse. For example, another poem in *Las coplas de provincial* asserted that Alvaro Pérez Orozco had descended from those related to the Pharaoh, for Egypt was often synonymous with the land of the Jews. His heritage made him a *bujarrón*, a pejorative term for a sodomite, and his nose became a physical feature that signaled his stigma:

A ti frayle bujarrón  
 Alvaro Pérez Orozco  
 en la nariz te conozco  
 ser de los de Faraón. (Ciceri 77)

The jokes associated with the Jewish nose were well-known. One popular poem from the early 1500s that mentioned Charles V's chief governmental tax collector, Pedro de Villacís, went: "Judío de corva nariz,/ paga la farda a Villacís./ Judíos de larga nariz,/ paga la farda" (qtd. in Baron 33).

Another way in which *Las coplas* concentrated on blood inheritance was their linking of impure lineage to sodomy. For example, another poem argued that Pedro Méndez claimed to be a Christian, but his lineage showed him to not really be a Christian, but one quarter *marrano* and three quarters sodomite:

Fray Pedro Méndez cristiano  
 mintio bien tal te dezia

que el un quarto es de marrano  
y los tres de sodomia. (Ciceri 105)

Méndez inherited the conflated aberrations of sodomy and Judaism, making both the determination of one's sexual behavior and religion a question of heredity rather than individual will. Méndez may have chosen to be a Christian, but the poem used the language of racial inheritance (one quarter Jew, and three quarters sodomite) to insist that bloodlines determined his identity.

His alleged sodomizing formed part of the tradition that associated heresies with deviant sexual practice. The slang word for sodomite, *bujarrón*, (bugger or *bougre* in French) was derived from the twelfth-century Bulgarians who were considered deviants and heretics (Ragan 9). In medieval Europe the heretical Cathars had been labeled sodomites (Brundage 399). The most common association in the Middle Ages and early modern Spain with respect to sodomy and religion was made in reference to the Moors. In some sources, the origin of the practice of sodomy, however, was attributed to the Jews. In the *Libro del Alborayque* the anonymous author, for instance, wrote that "La sodomía es venida de judíos...; de los judíos vino a los moros, a los malos cristianos..." (qtd. in Pérez 79, n. 10; Gitlitz, "Hybrid" 8).

The poem that includes a slander against Pérez Orozco's nose and the charge of *bujarrón* in fact compactly combines two

contradictory deviant sexual markers on the Jew's body: the existence and lack of priapism. Traditional folklore has long associated the size of the male's nose with his sexual libido and the size of his genitalia while the label sodomite implied sexual passivity and the lack of male virility. For his poem "Erase un hombre a una nariz pegado," Francisco de Quevedo borrows the two sexual extremes found in the *copla* directed against Pérez Orozco. Maurice Molho in his article "Una cosmogonía antisemita" comments on the contradictory dual signs on the Jew's body in the poem--the Jew's enormous genitalia (as symbolized by his nose) as well as the lack of the male member:

...el hombre a quien va disparado el soneto y que es el Judío, posee un órgano viril considerable, pero desproporcionado con relación a su persona, lo que hace tan impotente como Léntulo: difracción castradora que implica contradictoriamente hipervirilidad e inocuidad de eunuco. (75)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aside from the suggested sexual organ by reference to the nose, Jews were typically considered to have tails, a characteristic that linked them to the devil as well as suggesting disproportionate virility. Likewise, along with the charge of sodomy, Jews supposedly menstruated (Chapter 3). Also see Sander Gilman.

While Quevedo attacks an unnamed individual in his sonnet, the target of defamation in *Las coplas de provincial*, was not Judaism in general, but specific individuals. The force of the slander rested in calling attention to a particular name (be it Pedro Méndez or Alvaro Pérez Orozco) and thereby causing scandal and discrediting that family's bloodlines. *Las coplas de provincial* circulated in the late 1400s and continued to grow in popularity in the 1500s. Many first circulated during Enrique IV's reign and more versions appeared in the early 1500s under Carlos V. They were first published in a *Cancionero* compiled by Pedro del Pozo in 1547 (Ciceri 45). In the 1500s and into the 1600s, the religio-geneological equation perpetuated in *Las coplas de provincial* evolved into the tradition of the so-called green book or *libro verde*.

*The Dissemination of the Name: The History of the Libro verde*

With the circulation of *libros verdes*, the tradition of defaming noble names and blood spread; any name, not just those connected to the nobles, became open to suspicion and possible defamation. The history of the *libros verdes*' reception and circulation illuminates the relationship between impure blood, bloodlines, and Jewish names in seventeenth-century Spain.

Apart from the tradition of *Las coplas de provincial*, the seeds that grew into the *libro verde* tradition can be found

during the heyday of Inquisitional activity in the early 1500s. Spanish society had developed various methods that perpetuated the slander of the Jewish-sounding family name. For example, the names and images of condemned Jewish heretics surrounded by flames were often painted on church walls. In another example of public shaming, the Tudela cathedral wrote out the names of New Christians on a great cloth called the *Manta* in its most conspicuous spot. The town hall of the city wrote in 1610 the reason for the *Manta*:

para que la limpieza se conservase en la ciudad y otras partes y se sepa distinguir los que descienden de los tales, para que con el tiempo no se escurezca y estinga la memoria de los antepasados, y se sepa y pueda distinguir la calidad de los hombres nobles.  
(qtd. in Yanguas 525; Godoy Alcántara 264; and José Amador de los Ríos 3: 504)

The most common method of name spreading was the display of the *sambenito*. Churches spread public shame of one's family name by hanging the name of condemned Jewish heretics and the robes that they had worn (*sambenitos*) from their ceilings or in their cloisters. Cecil Roth described how this evolved from an Inquisitional punishment:

All abjuring *de vehementi* had to carry lighted tapers in their hands and to wear the *sambenito*, or *saco bendito*. This, an innovation of the Spanish

Inquisition, consisted of a long yellow robe, transversed by a black cross ... Where the heretic had escaped the stake by confession, flames pointing downwards were painted on the garment...in certain cases, as an additional punishment, the *sambenito* had to be worn in public, particularly on Sundays and festivals, even after the release of the prisoner, exposing him to universal scorn and derision. After its immediate utility had passed, it was generally hung up in the parish church of the delinquent, accompanied by a fitting inscription; the wearer and his family being thus marked out for lasting humiliation. (A History 130-1)

The Jewish stain on the individual's family, the proof of its Judaism, was the printing of the family name on a *sambenito*. As one Inquistional trial corroborated: "El canónigo Gamboa le dijo a don Francisco Vázquez que era un judío y que lo probaría con un *sambenito* que tenía en tal parte..." (qtd. in Burgos Esteban 371).

Since the peak of the Inquistional activity had occurred at the end of the 1400s and early 1500s, by the 1600s the names of the condemned inscribed on the garments had often faded. One could no longer read the names on the *sambenitos*. One contemporary source writes:

Es de notar que los *sambenitos* de todos estos quemados se ponían y pusieron colgados en la claustro de la santa iglesia de Toledo, a la parte de huerto, en unos maderos colgados, y yo los vi allí: mas porque andando el tiempo con los aires, soles y aguas, los dichos *sambenitos* estaban ya rotos y gastados, y no se podían leer... (qtd. in Godoy Alcántara 254-5)

On their visits to local districts and parishes the Inquisitors were instructed to update and renew the *sambenitos*. A 1569 mandate instructs the Inquisitor to bring

el Memorial de los que obieren sido condenados y reconciliados en aquel partido para, si fuere necesario renovar los *sambenitos*, lo pueda hacer, poniendo en los que renovare el tiempo y el delito conforme a la Instrucción, si estuvieren renovados porná los que faltaren. (Jiménez 291)

Although many *sambenitos* were repaired (one source from the late eighteenth century wrote that *sambenitos* were still hanging in the cloister at Segovia [Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 152]), by the early 1600s the names no longer served as the most efficient way to disseminate and defame heretics' names. The practice of hanging the *sambenito* or a great cloth in the church and the popularity of the vituperative *coplas de provincial* reflected the mentality that served as the socio-historical context for the circulation of the *libros verdes*. In the later

part of the sixteenth century, many dioceses and the Inquisition sought to keep the tradition of spreading the names of impure families alive. In order to do so, they released lists of the names of condemned heretics from their Ecclesiastical and Inquisitional Archives to the public and distributed the names to individual parishes (Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 152). As I will mention below, the voluntary distribution of the names would backfire; and once out of the hands of official authorities, the contents and circulation of the books became uncontrolled.

Before discussing this, we should recognize that the initial reason for the compilation of these name lists was that certain institutions (the Inquisition, churches) could be made aware of the names of the Jewish heretics, those condemned and those who were *confesos*, that is, those Jewish heretics who had confessed and whose sentence had been relaxed. One scholar, Marcel Bataillon, found twelve lists from various parishes from Segovia (Bataillon, "Les nouveaux-chrétiens"). Examples from the headings for these lists include for the San Andrés parish "Los nuevamente convertidos a nuestra Santa fe católica" or for the San Millán de los Caballeros parish "Estas personas que fueron judíos." Bataillon stated that although the lists were originally written in 1503 and formed part of the Ecclesiastical records of the churches, they were reprinted and circulated publicly in the later part of the century. Bataillon called his

list of names an example of a *Libro verde de Segovia* where *libro verde* meant a defamatory name book or pamphlet.

What is the origin and meaning of the name *libro verde*?

The name *libro verde* was a popular borrowing of the name for a text that could be commonly found in official archives.

Domínguez Ortiz described the etymology of the *libro verde* as a name for government documents in the late Middle Ages in Aragón (*La clase social* 107). For example, the *libro verde* from Castellón is entitled *Llibre de memories, status, bons costums & bon Regiment de la vila de Castello* (Díaz Manteca). There is also a *libro verde* from Montearagón from the fourteenth century that contains "privilegios, donaciones, concordias y otros documentos del Real cenobio de Montearagón" (Arco y Garay 147).

This type of *libro verde* existed not only in Aragón, but also in other parts of Spain and America. A *libro verde* is on record, for example, in the archives in Segovia that corresponded to Castellón's *libro verde*. The book was quite different from Bataillon's *libro verde*. This *Libro verde de Segovia*, also entitled *Costumbres de Segovia y sus preheminencias y iurisdiccion*, was a series of governmental documents that contained a description of the city of Segovia. The prologue states:

Aquí hallará el lector en diez capítulos todo lo que es en orden al gobierno y jurisdicción, al ejemplo y buena disciplina, a la urbanidad y cortesía, al

cuidado y vigilancia que deben tener los ministros y regidores de las repúblicas, y en estas costumbres verá el alma de Segovia. (González Herrero 8)

Books that described the customs of a city or region were known as *libros verdes*. Another *libro verde* included some of the earliest Spanish manuscripts that exist from the New World. The text, dating from 1534, was a combination of documents that outlined activity in governmental chapters in Quito and was collectively known as the *Libro verde* (Rumazo González xi-xii).

The *Diccionario de autoridades* gives the following definition for *libro verde*: a book "que contiene las cosas particulares de un País, y especialmente de los linages del, y lo que cada uno tiene de bueno o de malo" (II: 400). Late medieval governmental archives known as *libros verdes* principally discussed a "país," region, or sometimes a noble family and "de lo que tienen de bueno." By the early 1600s, the primary definition of *libro verde*, however, had changed. A single aspect of the traditional *libro verde*, the tradition of listing noble family names, made up only a part of its new contents. At this time the book became principally known as a book that contained information concerning certain names and families. In 1623 Felipe IV prohibited the circulation of all books known as *libros verdes*. His order did not refer to governmental documents or books that described the customs of a city, but to lineage books--genealogical books that recorded

family names. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, then, the definition of *libro verde* had evolved from its meaning of a hundred years earlier--it was primarily associated with a book that contained information about families and names, information that was typically defamatory.<sup>1</sup> As Baltasar Gracián wrote in *El Criticón*, the names of the infamous would end up in a *libro verde* (II, Crisi IX, 326-327).

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<sup>1</sup> The practice of disseminating *libros verdes* that contained disparaging information disappeared in the 1700s. The last recorded *libro verde* in this vein is from the early 1800s, when Fernando had all names of people who threatened his despotic rule written in a *libro verde* (Lea 4: 452; Buero Vallejo 62, n. 12). A *libro verde*, following the late medieval custom of describing the city's customs, was published in Barcelona in 1848 and then re-edited in 1945 (Mantua, *El libro verde de Barcelona*). In Madrid in 1841, a book entitled *El libro verde o Pensamientos crítico-serio-burlescos sobre política, literatura, costumbres, etc*, containing short aphorisms retained something of the tradition of describing customs. At the end of the 1800s another example of a *libro verde*, an edition of Quevedo's burlesque poetry from 1887, was published. In this case, *verde* was not associated with a genealogical list or the good customs of a city, but with the burlesque.

Today the term *libro verde* implies a lewd or obscene book. In the seventeenth century, however, *verde* did not typically mean "obscene" when it modified books, although expressions such as *viejo verde* were quite common (for a fine history of *libro verde* and *verde* as obscene in the seventeenth century, see Lázaro). In the late Middle Ages, the name *libro verde* was coined because these government manuscripts had a greenish binding as in the case of the *libros verdes* from Castellón and Montearagón (Arco y Garay 334, n. 147).<sup>1</sup> Later, the adoption of the color "green" for the books may have been due in part to the association between these books and the Inquisition, particularly the green Inquisitional cross (Bataillon "Les nouveaux-chrétiens" 211; Serrano y Sanz 65). Green seems to have been the dominant color associated with the Inquisition. The green cross was the principal insignia on the standard of the Inquisition and was carried in a procession of the same name on the eve of an *auto de fe*. Those persons sentenced to the stake were give green crosses to carry in the *auto*. After the procession the green cross was placed above the altar (Avilés 257-258). Also, oftentimes, instead of yellow *sambenitos*,

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks also to John O'Neill, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Hispanic Society of America, for this information.

penitents were given green ones to wear as their sentences were read (Sánchez Moya 330).

The argument that the *libros verdes* got their name from their association to the Inquisition is attractive and quite persuasive, especially since these *libros verdes* often formed part of Inquisitional trials and were cited to establish the genealogy of the accused. Nonetheless, the adoption of the color green for the books' name primarily resulted from the popular adaptation of *libro verde* as they had known them to be used for official government documents. I make this assertion because the term *libro de becerro* had nearly an identical evolution as *libro verde*. When Felipe IV banned *libros verdes* his decree included books that were called "verdes o del becerro" (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 107).

The semantic evolution of the definition of *libro becerro*, the calf-hide book, a book bound in vellum, paralleled that of *libro verde*. The *libro becerro*, like the *libro verde*, originally meant a book where governmental records were taken. The *Diccionario de autoridades* states under *becerro*:

Se llama el libro que tienen las Comunidades, Cabildos  
Eclesiásticos de las Cathedralas y Colegiales,  
Ayuntamientos de Ciudades y Villas, en el qual están  
sentados todos los actos, acuerdos, ordenanzas y  
establecimientos pertenecientes al gobierno y economía

pública de cada Comunidad, o su jurisdicción y pertenencias. (I: 587)

This definition reached the New World. One colonial source recorded that the King "manda que todos los pueblos de indios...se hagan un libro becerro" (Boyd-Bowman 2567). Nonetheless, under Felipe's 1623 prohibition, the *libros becerros*, like *libros verdes*, were genealogical books, not governmental documents or books that contained information or favorable customs "particulares de un País." Both names, *verde* and *becerro*, had found their way into the popular vernacular and were used to refer to genealogical books. These names were reappropriations of names that had referred to documents contained in official archives, books that often contained titles of nobility. While many medieval manuscripts associated with governmental matters can be found that were bound in green or in calf-hide, the typical seventeenth-century *libro verde* was not green, nor made out of calf-hide. The labels, however, of *verde* and *becerro*, being the traditional names for official government books, were adopted by the public-at-large. In the quest to establish credibility and to make them official-sounding, they adopted these names for scandalous genealogical books.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> England did not use green, but the color black to indicate a blemished name. A book that listed the names of

Of the many circulating lists of names and genealogies from the 1500s and 1600s, the best example of a *libro verde* that has survived from the early 1600s is known as *El libro verde de Aragón*. The two modern scholarly editions of *El libro verde de Aragón* are from manuscripts taken from different libraries, but contain nearly identical information.<sup>1</sup> Isidro Cagigas used a

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"base rogues"--a general catalogue of knaves, informers, panderers, and pirates circulated in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. It was commonly known as the *Blacke Booke*. See McPeck.

<sup>1</sup> Other portions of the manuscripts that have been called *El libro verde de Aragón* have been reprinted. At the end of Cagigas' edition is printed a second, shorter green book--it is only a list of names and genealogies. A fragment of a manuscript from the Archivo Histórico Nacional is printed in Serrano y Sanz 444-520 and a fragment from the manuscript from the Biblioteca Colombina is printed in José Amador de los Ríos 3: 616-634.

In the nineteenth century, older manuscripts were printed and the title *Tizón* was coined for the *libros verdes*. For a list of 19th century printings of the *Tizón de la nobleza*, *Tizón de España*, or simply, *El tizón*, see the *Revue Hispanique* 7 (1900): 246-7. For a printing of the same book from 1655 that

1623 manuscript from the Colegio de Abogados in Zaragoza (Cabezudo Astraín 75). The only annotated modern edition was published in segments by Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos in 1885 from a nearly identical manuscript from the Colombina Library in Seville.

In the late Middle Ages some of the contents of *El libro verde de Aragón* probably formed part of the typical *libro verde* tradition that recorded that which was considered good and favorable from a particular region. The original "*Libro verde*"

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is entitled *Discurso de algunos linajes...* see *Revue Hispanique* 8 (1901): 510-512. Another example of a *libro verde* is printed in *Caro Baroja* 3: 287-299.

With respect to the surviving original manuscripts see Astraín Cabezudo for copies found in Madrid, Zaragoza, and Valencia. The manuscript in Madrid is found under the title *Linages de Aragón y particularmente dela Ciudad de Zaragoza que llaman El Libro verde* (Biblioteca nacional Ms. 3090). It contains an introduction identical to the manuscripts from the Biblioteca Colombina and the Colegio de Abogados in Zaragoza. Also see Ms. 19167. The manuscript in Zaragoza dates from 1623 and is the most complete (Alvar 62-63). The manuscript in Valencia is simply titled *Libro verde* and contains a list of names and genealogies (Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Varia 1074).

from Aragon would have contained a list of noble Aragonese and their family like many genealogies at that time. Some critics have called Juan Anchías, the Inquisitor for the districts of Huesca and Lérida from 1486-1490, the author of *El libro verde de Aragón* since in 1507 he copied the genealogies of noble families who had Jewish descendants as recorded in the medieval version of *El libro verde de Aragón* and put together a document for the Inquisition. His sixteenth-century genealogical book, however, by the early 1600s, had taken on new additions from a variety of anonymous sources. The seventeenth-century version of the book not only contained a list of noble genealogies from Aragon, but also a list of those sentenced by the Inquisition and other assorted prose histories. The anonymous *Libros verdes*, then, could be genealogies of noble families (such as the first part of *El libro verde de Aragón* attributed to Anchías), but they also could simply be parish lists (as in the case of Bataillon's parish lists) or lists of those condemned (such as the last part of *El libro verde de Aragón*--fig. 1).

Memoria de los que han sido quemados hasta el año de 1574 en la Inquisición, de los habitantes desta ciudad de Zaragoza

- 1488.—Alonso Rodriguez de Sevilla, doctor en Medicina, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío, relaxado en persona á 12 de Março.
- 1488.—Alonso de Ribera, doctor en Medicina, natural de Córdoba, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxado en persona á 12 de Março.
- 1489.—Antonio de Mathos, rotiguero, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxado en persona á 13 de Setiembre.
- 1485.—Alvaro de Segobia, mercader, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxado en persona á 13 de Setiembre.
- 1493.—Almona Rosell, mujer de Galcerán Belenguier, vobro, vecino de Zaragoza, judío; relaxada en persona á 1.º de Junio 1493.
- 1494.—Antonio de Pumar, berguero, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxado en persona en 28 de Abril.
- 1507.—Antonio de Leon, sastrero francés, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje luterano; relaxado en persona á 21 de Octubre.
- 1546.—Antonio Bolson, francés, residente en Zaragoza, hereje luterano; relaxado en persona en 28 de Noviembre.
- 1497.—Antonio de Iasa, mercader, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxados sus huesos en 27 de Junio.
- 1493.—Antonio de Altanda, tendero, defuncto, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxados sus huesos en 10 de Junio.
- 1497.—Aldonça Boneta, mujer de Jayme de Santa Clara, defuncta, vecina de Zaragoza, hereje judía; relaxada sus huesos en 27 de Junio.
- 1487.—Anton Perez, mercader, fugitivo, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxada su estátua en 25 de Enero.
- 1487.—Angelina Sanchez, mujer de Guillen de Buyosan, mercader, fugitiva, vecina de Zaragoza, hereje judía; relaxada su estátua en 24 de Março.
- 1487.—Alonso Sanchez, letrado, fugitivo, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío; relaxada su estátua á 24 de Março.
- 1494.—Antonio de Vallera, vecino de Zaragoza, defuncto, judío; relaxado sus huesos en 28 de Junio.
- 1495.—Aldonça Perpiñan, mujer de Manuel de Almaran, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judía, fugitiva; relaxada su estátua á 3 de Junio.
- 1492.—Anton de Romos, mercader, vecino de Zaragoza, hereje judío, fugitivo; relaxada su estátua á 28 de Setiembre.
- 1492.—Aldonça Belenguier, vecina de Zaragoza, hereje judía, fugitiva; relaxada su estátua en 28 de Setiembre.

Fig. 1. A list of those burned in Zaragoza through 1574 by the Inquisition as recorded in the *Libro verde*. [Source: Amador de los Ríos, Rodrigo. *El libro verde de Aragón*. *Revista de España* 105 (1885): 570-571.]

From the sixteenth century, the term *libro verde* would have referred to a book that slandered names in general, which would have included genealogies that slandered specifically noble families. Such noble genealogies were known as *Tizones*. Multiple copies of these manuscripts have survived--Víctor Infantes tracked down some 50 manuscripts. Their dates ranged from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The most famous noble genealogy was written in 1560 and attributed to the bishop of Burgos, Francisco Mendoza y Bobadilla. He was angered that King Felipe II had refused to admit his nephew to the prestigious military order of Santiago based on the accusation that his nephew had impure blood. In order to show the ridiculousness of the king's decision, Mendoza y Bobadilla wrote the genealogical book in order to show the king that all the nobles had impure, Jewish blood somewhere in the family bloodlines. During the seventeenth century, the book only existed in manuscript form. The first printing was not until the nineteenth century (Gibraltar, 1821) when it enjoyed numerous editions under variations on the *Tizón* theme: *El tizón de España*, *El tizón de la nobleza*, or *El tizón* (Domínguez Ortiz, *Los judeoconversos en España moderna* 248). One edition from 1876, *El tizón de la nobleza o Máculas y sambenitos de sus linajes*, directly associated the *Tizón* with the older practice of hanging the *sambenito*. In the 1600s, lists of noble families

such as Mendoza y Bobadilla's book would have formed one part of what made up the *libro verde* tradition.

Before discussing my principal, but contentious argument that the existence of these *libros verdes* made all Spaniards potential Jews, we should keep three things in mind regarding the history of the *libros verdes* in seventeenth-century Spain: namely, that they were widely disseminated among the public, they consistently survived attempts to eliminate them, and they could take the form not only of written texts, but individuals. These three characteristics need to be remembered in order to understand how the books backfired on themselves.

The first point, that the books were widely disseminated, can be found in a variety of sources from the time. An early sign that they circulated outside authoritative control was the fact that the Inquisition failed to keep them under lock and key. Lists of those who had been condemned by the Inquisition were supposed to be kept stored away in its secret archives. One Inquisitional source described one of these secret books:

otro libro de abecedario en que se asienten los relajados y reconciliados y penitencados, el cual corresponda con los libros de los Autos que se hicieren de la Fe, que de suso está dicho que ha de haber... (Jiménez 289)

The last part of *El libro verde de Aragón*, however, contained exactly such a list of names. The list was organized

alphabetically and included physicians, merchants, tailors, shoemakers, gardeners, candlemakers, men and women alike.

Despite this supposed secrecy, the government document known as *El libro verde de Aragón* had reached the public domain in the 1500s--copies of these books escaped or were allowed to escape from the secret archives of the Inquisition and other ecclesiastical archives. In order to prove the history of various families, Mendoza y Bobadilla used one part of *El libro verde de Aragón* to write his own genealogical book; he used a genealogical text that he stated could be found in the Zaragoza inquisitional archives (99). His access to *El libro verde de Aragón* demonstrates that the text was no longer a secret book in the inquisitional archives.

The books circulated and were well known in the seventeenth century. Fray Juan de Heredia commented on *El libro verde de Aragón* in 1602: "Está tan recibida del vulgo la relación que se saca y hace por el dicho libello, que la tienen por oráculo y verdad certísima" (*Consultationis resolutio* 13). Labeled as a talisman by many, the actual content of the *libros verdes* for many people was not as important as the social conventions that facilitated the reproduction of the book, that would have included copying, gossiping, circulating both orally and physically, and falsifying the names in the books.

It is difficult to say how many people could actually read the books. The existence of these books, as well as the

practice of publicly displaying names, assumed a certain degree of literacy and an even higher incidence of town talk about written names. Research has been done on clandestine reading and the contents of personal libraries in Aragon (Gimeno Blay, Moll), on libraries and readership in Spain (Chevalier), and on marginal literature from early modern Spain (García de Enterría), but these studies do not consider the existence of *libros verdes*. No major study on readership and reading has discussed early modern Spain's fascination with names, which in many ways germinated an interest in the word, written documents, and books. As noted in an article about book circulation in Aragon in the 1500s "...la presencia del libro en una casa implica un acto de concienciación en favor de la cultura escrita..." (Gimeno Blay 216).

María Cruz García de Enterría has commented on the explosion of what she labels marginal literature, *literatura de cordel* and *pliegos sueltos* at the beginning of the seventeenth century. She comments that the literature of the margin--short poems, romances, dramas, *coplas* (which included *Las coplas del provincial*)--were read and were *heard read* (39). I would contend the the *libros verdes* should be added to her list, since they formed another facet of this marginal literature. They were widely read, heard, and circulated. In fact, because the *libros verdes* were not printed, but circulated in manuscript form, the public would have invested them with a particular type

of literary prestige. The vast majority of government documents were, of course, still manuscripts and, as mentioned, the name itself of the books indicated their connection to official documentation. Also, due to their manuscript form, they would have circulated in a relatively limited geographical space, passed on and copied by intimate groups, and, although anonymous, would have been considered more authoritative than the impersonal, mass-produced printed word for a more amorphous readership. They, too, could be more easily supplemented and re-ordered than the bound folios of a book.

The very fact that they were manuscripts made them more difficult to control and more scandalous because they were not censored and therefore potentially more scurrilous. A similar situation occurred with libels in seventeenth-century England. Compare, for example, the 1662 "Project for Preventing Libells:" "Of Libells some are only written, others printed; and those in Manuscript are commonly ye more seditious & scandalous of ye two; Besides that they are forty times as many..." (qtd. in McKenzie 94). Likewise, the phenomenon of the *libros verdes* was not isolated and contained. While they were most vehemently criticized in Zaragoza, they had an extensive reading public and condemned by many as dangerous to the health of the readers and the country. We find the following published in 1623:

Contra estos libellos (que su lectura son testimonios falsos, e infamias injustas) deben todos los

superiores conspirar por los daños que de su lectura y  
 permisión resultan en las Repúblicas y conciencias.

(*Consultationis resolutio* 19).

With the fact that these libels circulated unabated, we  
 turn to the second, related point--that the books, like the  
 Phoenix, consistently survived attempts at their elimination.  
 For a century, attempts were made to eliminate the *libros  
 verdes*, to no avail. Felipe III, for example, ordered the  
 destruction of the *El libro verde de Aragón* in Zaragoza in 1606  
 and had to repeat the decree in 1615. Since the previous  
 prohibition did not meet with any degree of success, Felipe IV  
 ordered that all copies be burned in 1622. In 1623, Felipe  
 issued a pragmatic sanction in which he expressed his pleasure  
 at the success of his decree. He reaffirmed the worthlessness  
 of the *libros verdes*, discussed his concern with the fallacious  
 stain that they put on noble blood, and the general chaos their  
 circulation had caused among the public (Domínguez Ortiz, *La  
 clase social* 107). Felipe IV wrote a royal decree in which he  
 claimed to be grateful to Andrés Pacheco, the General Inquisitor  
 and the bishop of Cuenca, for the diligence with which he had  
 collected the *libros verdes* and urged him to continue his task  
 of destroying them.

Also in 1623, a council in Zaragoza published a pamphlet  
 entitled *Consultationis resolutio, grauissimorum doctorum, tam  
 theologorum, quam iur is pontificii professorum, condemnans*

*Auctorem libelli famosi nuncupati, el Verde...* (A resolution of a council made up of the most eminent authorities, including both theologians and pontifical professors, whereby a judgment is made condemning the author of a famous libel called *el Verde...*) (fig. 2).

CONSULTATIONIS  
RESOLVTIO. GRAVISSIMO-  
RVM DOCTORVM, TAM THEOLOGORVM,  
QVAM IVRIS PONTIFICII PROFESSORVM, CONDEMNANS  
Auctorem libelli famosi nuncupati, *el Verde*, retinentes illum grauissimè  
obiurgans: in communicantes acerbissimè inuehens: & nomina in eo  
scripta reuelantes vehementissimè increpans: atque testifican-  
tes notitiæ ab eo acceptæ vi innitentes,  
asperè incusans.

IVSSV ILLUSTRISSIMORVM DIPPVTORVM GVBERNACVLA  
*Regni Aragonie typis mandata, tantoque bonorum omnium applausu, tantaque letitia, quanta  
in animis hominum rectè sentiensium egregium facinus potuit excitare.*



CVM LICENTIA,  
CÆSARAVGVSTÆ, APVD IOANNEM A LANAJA ET QVARTA-  
net Regni Aragonum, & Vniuersitatis Typographum.

Anno M. DC. XXIII.

Fig. 2. Frons-piece from 1623 pamphlet published in Zaragoza and signed by 147 scholars condemning the existence of "el Verde." [Source: *Consultationis resolutio...* Zaragoza, 1623. (Biblioteca Nacional Madrid VE 189/ 29).]

The council unanimously affirmed that the possession and use of the *Libro verde* was a mortal sin (*Consultationis resolutio* 20, Méchoulan "Une interessante"). According to the pamphlet (written in Latin and Spanish), every single person in Zaragoza had a copy of *El libro verde de Aragón*. It stated that "...no hay hombre vil y mecánico en aquella tierra que esté sin el libro" and that "el *Libro verde* se multiplicó por copias hasta lo infinito" (*Consultationis resolutio* 1; qtd. in Gómez Uriel 326). The pamphlet contained a list of 147 names of theologians, priests, professors, doctors, and other learned people who condemned the book--many wishing to see the book burned and forever destroyed.<sup>1</sup> As the historian Julio Caro

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<sup>1</sup> Many of these people wrote short descriptions (normally of one or two paragraphs) that explained their reasons for condemning the book. For example, Fray Juan de Heredia signed his name in 1602 and wrote: "Será muy justo recoger del dicho libello con todas sus copias y quemarlas..." (*Consultationis resolutio* 12). In another entry, Professor Pedro de Alcomeche signed his name with three other scholars in 1623 and wrote "que tenerlos por libellos, merecedores, no solo del olvido del, que de ellos tuvo noticia, sino de fuego, con que se abraze y consume daño que trae apestadas muchas familias, y perdidas muchas honras injustamente: assi lo sentimos" (*Consultationis resolutio* 19).

Baroja writes, the situation got out of control: "...durante la mocedad de Felipe IV, las copias se multiplicaron de modo alarmante; en ellas, además, cada copista puso lo que alcanzó a saber o imaginar por su cuenta y el *Libro verde*, era, en suma, un motivo de escándalo" (II: 255-6).

Despite the resolution of the council in Zaragoza and the royal prohibitions, attempts to regulate and eliminate traces of the *libros verdes* continued throughout the seventeenth century (Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 207) and *libros verdes* circulated beyond the confines of Aragon. In the years that followed, moralists and preachers continued to condemn those who collected *libros verdes* and other genealogical documents. The universities at Valladolid, Salamanca, and Alcalá each judged the measures taken by the Aragonese diputation to be opportune (Gallego 34-35). When Cardenal Belluga was serving in Córdoba, he found out that people were clinging to these books with near religious fervor. He was remembered as having preached such an energetic speech that everyone who possessed the books secretly turned them in to be destroyed.

People nevertheless disregarded the official condemnation and considered the book to be an authoritative text for establishing lineages, even into the eighteenth century. In 1724, Gerardo Lobo writes these verses in his book published in Pamplona:

De las hojas de Historia,

hortelano preminente;  
 pues sin murmurar de nadie,  
 en su cholla el Libro Verde.  
 Libro dixé (ya está dicho)  
 por donde la Lealtad lee, ... (qtd. in Infantes 121,  
 n. 16)

The notion of "lealtad" that was attributed to the *Libro verde* indicated a deep rupture between those in power who condemned the *Libro verde* and a public who judged its contents to be authoritative. The protean, slippery book surreptitiously survived in covert spaces despite the condemnation of three great universities, the clergy, and the King.

In 1742, a law on the books in Murcia stated that no one was allowed to have or to use books known as *verdes* (Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 107). With this idea of "using" a book, we turn to the third point: that these "books" did not necessarily take the form of a written text. The word "use" gives insight as to how these books were "read." Although collected at different time periods and added to by different authors,<sup>1</sup> the *libros verdes* were written with a fundamental purpose. They were to be used in the legal setting in order to prove one's ancestry. Essentially, they were written with the

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<sup>1</sup> For the most recent discussion of possible authors see Gallego.

intention of wiping out traces of impure blood by providing evidence for Inquisitional trials (Lea, II: 307).<sup>1</sup> The names contained in the *libros verdes* were used to show who had and did not have an ancestor of impure blood. Their circulation, hence, also helped establish an ideology for the pure blood statutes that found themselves on shaky ground at the beginning of the 1600s (Kamen "Una crisis"; Kamen "Limpieza").

As the seventeenth century wore on, the term "*Libro verde*" came to mean not only a book of lineages, but a person who reconstructed family lineages, the *lineajudo*. The *Diccionario de autoridades* adds to the definition of *libro verde*, stating that the phrase also figuratively referred to a person dedicated to lineages (II: 400). In his list of moral apothegms in the *Orácula*, Baltasar Gracián echoes this definition:

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<sup>1</sup> The political manifestation responsible for the popularity and dissemination of the *libros verdes* were pure blood statutes and *probanzas* (see Gilman (491-497) and Guerrero Mayllo (5-6) for a description of *probanzas de hidalguía* and *expedientes de limpieza de sangre*). The pure blood statutes were restrictions drawn up by a variety of organizations and used to deny membership to those of Jewish, Moorish, or of some other impure origin. Although never the law of the land, these statutes could be found in city councils, religious and military orders, universities, or cathedral chapters.

para vivir con prudencia y estimación es el de no ser libro verde. En estas materias el que más escarva, más se enloda; pocos se escapan de algún achaque original, o al derecho o al través. (qtd. in Bataillon, "Les nouveaux-chrétiens" 210)

The conflation of person and book adds an evocative dimension to the history of the circulation of these books; the object that gave credibility to one's name and lineage was not only a book, but the oral word of a person. In Inquisitional trials, oral testimony was accepted as evidence from people who could not produce copies of the book, but claimed that they had got their information from having heard that names of those accused were contained in *libros verdes* (Lea, II: 307).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Although seriously considered, hearsay about one's name did not necessarily ultimately carry weight in Inquisitional trials. In 1600 many argued, for example, that Mercado was a Jewish name. Niño de Guevara argued this charge against Mercado was unreasonable: "...y oyo decir que su abuelo no se llama Mercado sino del Mercado por que tenia una casa en el mercado de d(i)cha villa y que oyo decir que los que thenian este apellido del mercado eran judios y con solo estas oidas se reprobó su informacion estando aprobada tantas veces y destas suerte entiendo que se hace con otros muchos cosa a mi parecer muy terrible..." (qtd. in Williams 261). In this case, Niño de

These three points--that the books were read and copied by the public-at-large, that they continued even after their prohibition, and that they were accepted as authority even when they took the shape of a person's opinion--would make it easy for nearly all to fear that their bloodline might be blemished. With this in mind, I now examine how the dissemination of the *libros verdes* is key to understanding how the entire country became plagued with the worry of its own impure blood.

*Every Spaniard is Potentially a Jew*

...¿qué linaje hay en el mundo, por bueno que sea, que no tenga algún dime y direte?

Miguel de Cervantes, *Coloquio de los perros*

We now return to the main argument that I wish to make in this chapter: by means of the *libros verdes*, Jewish blood resurfaced on the Peninsula despite the official desire to eliminate the presence of Jews. Numerous studies have been done on Jews in seventeenth-century Spain.<sup>1</sup> I diverge from these

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Guevara's plea was accepted and Mercado was made a councillor of the Inquisition.

<sup>1</sup> For a historical survey of Judaism in seventeenth century see the introduction to Quevedo's *Execración contra los*

investigations because I do not wish to present a historical account of who had Jewish names and who was or was not Jewish during this century. Rather, I am interested in how sources from the time defined who was Jewish and who had Jewish blood.

There was certainly no scarcity of references to Jews in the seventeenth century. One can find antisemitism in sermons (Caballero de Isla),<sup>1</sup> plays (*El niño inocente de La Guardia*, *El Brasil restituido*), *auto sacramentales*, and in popular poetry of the time ("El perro de Alba").<sup>2</sup> Learned men attacked the Jews in such works as *Propugnacula validissima religionis christianae contra obstinatam perfidiam Iudaeorum* by Diego García in Zaragoza in 1606 (Méchoulan, *El honor* 109), and *Tractatus*

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*judíos*; Caro Baroja, *La sociedad criptojudía, Inquisición, brujería, y criptojudaismo*, and *Los judíos en la España*; Constance H. Rose; and Pilar Huerga Criado (130-140). There are numerous portrayals of individuals who secretly continued practicing their Judaism such as Cardoso (Yerushalmi) or Cortizos de Villasante (ter Horst 156-157).

<sup>1</sup> A variety of antisemitic sermons were published in seventeenth-century Spain. Early seventeenth-century Portuguese antisemitic sermons were almost immediately translated into Spanish. For one example see Glaser, *Convertentur*.

<sup>2</sup> For a reproduction of a *pliego suelto* of "El perro de Alba" see "Una colección" and for a modern edition see Gillet.

*bipartitus de puritate et nobilitate probanda* by Escobar del Corro in Lyon in 1637 (Méchoulan, *El honor* 112). Numerous other books targeted against Jews appeared throughout the 1600s with various re-editions, such as antisemitic tirades found alongside the genealogies in the anonymous *El libro verde de Aragón* (see subsequent chapters), Francisco de Quevedo's *Execración contra los judíos*, Francisco de Torrejoncillo's *Centinela contra los judíos*, P. Benito Remigio Noydens' *Visita general y espiritual colirio de los judíos*, and the *Discurso contra los judíos*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the following chapter for the numerous reproductions of the antisemitic texts found in *El libro verde de Aragón*. *Centinela contra judíos* was most likely first published in 1673 and has an early edition from Madrid from 1676. It had many subsequent editions. The *Discurso contra los judíos* (Lisbon, 1622) by Vicente da Costa Matos was translated from the Portuguese into Spanish by Diego Gavilán Vela in 1628. It had various subsequent editions; for excerpts from a version from 1629 see Riandière la Roche (56) and for excerpts from 1680 see Albiac (400). For an extensive list of antisemitic texts written in Spain from the Middle Ages see the introduction to José Amador de los Ríos' history. For other antisemitic references from the early seventeenth century see, for example, Malkiel, García Guillén ("Judaism"), and the works of Glaser and

Aside from tracts targeted against the Jews, there are many texts not specifically about Jews, but still riddled with antisemitic references. Quevedo in *El buscón*, for example, had one character refer to an unknown evil-doer as "algún puto, cornudo, bujarrón, y judío..." (127). Quevedo's association between the Jew and *puto* and *bujarrón* carried on the slanderous spirit of the *Las coplas de provincial* and other popular jokes from the time.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the plethora of antisemitic language, a Jewish community in Spain is hard to locate. Fray Agustín Salucio wrote in 1600 in his *Discurso sobre los estatutos de limpieza*: "nuestra misma admiracion haze evidencia de quan persuadidos estavamos de no aver reliquias de Iudaismo en este reyno" (36). While Jewish communities existed in remote areas such as the border of Portugal or on the island of Mallorca, for example, no substantial Jewish community existed on the Peninsula in the seventeenth century. Renée Levine Malamed's description of crypto-Jewish rituals of birthing and menstruation, Haim Beinart's fascinating account of a community of crypto-Jews in Ciudad Real, or Pérez Zagorin's and David Gitlitz's discussion

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Gitlitz.

<sup>1</sup> For antisemitism combined with attacks of sodomy in popular jokes see, for example, *Biblioteca* (in "Libro de chistes" by Luis de Pinedo), vol. 176, 116.

of crypto-Jews and ways of lying took place at the time of the expulsion and the early 1500s.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, the majority of practicing Jews had left Spain at the time of the expulsion decree in 1492 or within the one or two decades that followed. Many *converso* families did emigrate to Spain from Portugal after the 1580 annexation and still others arrived in Spain in 1628 after the issuing of a decree that permitted Portuguese *converso* bankers to circulate freely in Spain (Rose 54; Silverman "Anti-Semitism"). These new arrivals only had a vague notion of a few selective rituals (Sachar 170). As Natanyahu has shown, the threat of Judaizing and crypto-Judaism did not exist since the late 1400s. In short, the Spanish dread of the impure name, the miscegenation of a family line, incited seventeenth-century antisemitic discourse more than any possible threat of secret Judaizing.

Essentially, the antisemitic discourse written in Spain was not directed against practicing Jews or Judaizers. The antisemitism was much more abstract and removed from an attack on specific individuals. It expressed itself in the language of the Catholic cause against the forces of the infidels, particularly the Jews, that formed the essential part of the

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<sup>1</sup> The most comprehensive study to date on the religious customs of the crypto-Jews can be found in Gitlitz's *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews*.

Christian providentialism that gave Habsburg Spain its *raison d'être* (Elliot 165). Ironically, this antisemitic language, when it reached the populus, did seek out a specific target and, by means of the names in the *libros verdes*, found one.

As mentioned previously, my purpose is not to estimate exactly who and how many people were Jewish descendants in Spain. Rather, I am interested in who the *Spanish* considered to be the descendants of Jews during this time period. According to a variety of sources, a Jewish name, a Spaniard with impure blood, could potentially be anyone. Before looking at the language about who could potentially be a Jew in Spain, we should remember the image of Spain that many in Europe wanted to create. At the end of the 1500s and into the early 1600s the stereotype that Spain was a country of infidels had been a commonplace across Europe for almost a century. Already in the early part of the sixteenth century the German leader of the Reformation, Martin Luther, wrote: "I would prefer to have the Turks as enemies than the Spaniards as suzerains; the majority are marranos, converted Jews" (qtd. in Poliakov 2: 220; Bainton 10). In France in 1593 one writer wrote that all of Spain was inhabited by Jews and Sarracens (Méchoulan, *El honor* 134). In the novel *Guzmán de Alfarache* the insult came from Italy: an Italian calls Guzmán a "marrano," a term typically used to insult Spaniards that had come to imply "pig" and "Jew." One

source from England in 1611 defined *marrano*: "a name for a Spaniard, that is, one descended of Jews or infidels."<sup>1</sup>

Not only in Germany, France, Italy, and England, but also many in Spain recognized that the country projected a negative image of itself onto Europe. One Spanish source from 1629, the *Tratado de los estatutos de limpieza*, argues that the blood statutes should be eliminated because they spread the false idea to foreigners that all Spaniards were *marranos* (Lea, II: 309). Of course, not everyone was sure that this image was wrong--the stereotype was not only projected by Spain on to other countries, but also was projected back upon itself.

In Spain, many felt that those who *knew* their genealogies had Jewish blood. As one source from the 1500s commented: "En España, el que presume de no tener en sus venas una gota de sangre judaica es que no conoce bien su genealogía y de esta ley no escapan ni aún las casas reinantes de Castilla y Aragón" (qtd. in Marqués Villanueva, "El problema" 59). He who did not know his origin had pure, Old Christian blood. Hence, the idea became widespread that any plebeian or peasant was clean of Jewish blood.

By the early 1600s the stereotype of blood impurity had become generalized to include everybody. It was a stereotype

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<sup>1</sup> From John Florio's *Queen Anne's New World of Words* as quoted in James Shapiro 13.

held, as we have seen, in countries outside of Spain and many Spaniards themselves believed they all might be descendants of Jews and infidels. Miguel de Cervantes made fun of the idea of universally impure blood in his *entremés El retablo de las maravillas*, where each and every member of a town feared his blood was impure. The preoccupation of the characters in the imaginary town of Cervantes' play was a preoccupation also found in other sources from the time. For example, a cleric described the origins of the population of the inhabitants of Ronda, a town in Málaga, stating that "con auer sido poblada esta çiudad de gente de Castilla la vieja no ay linage que no este ynfamado de confeso" (qtd. in Haley 201; Espinel 229).

The defamation of one's name--including the king's name and blood--became a constant worry in the 1500 and 1600s. Even the sacred, shielded institution of the Inquisition was not immune. One Inquisitor wrote: "neither the Inquisition nor its ministers were pure, and so everything was tainted" (qtd. in Jaime Contreras, "Aldermen and Judaizers" 116). The idea was common in Spain, then, that not just nobles, but that the entire body politic, Spain itself, pulsed with impure blood. Hence, the target of the vast body of antisemitic rhetoric was not a community of practicing Jews, but all Jewish descendants, which, ultimately, included all Spaniards. In this way, the more the country tried to clean itself from an infection, the more it became infected.

In the 1600s, impure blood in a family genealogy could suggest a variety of different scenarios. Infected blood could be found in the Moors and proponents of various "heresies" such as the Lutherans, and their respective descendants. In the language of the times, an impure bloodline could also stem from an illegitimate birth, being a woman or a *segundón* (a child without primogeniture status), or non-aristocratic ancestors, and a variety of negative "others" such as gypsies, blacks, mulattos, or natives from America.<sup>1</sup> While tainted lineage was most often associated with Moorish and Jewish blood, Jewish descendants were the primary target of the negative stereotyping. The majority of the names in the *Libro verde de*

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<sup>1</sup> In general, the *moriscos* (Christians who continued to practice Moorish customs) and their descendants maintained distinct styles of dress, language, and lived in their own communities. Blacks and slaves could be branded in the face. For examples from literature of human branding from the period see *Viaje de Turquía* 71, Cervantes' "El celoso extremeño," Calderón's *El médico de su honra*, or María de Zayas. In seventeenth-century Spain no physical or external characteristic distinguished someone who was considered a descendant of Jews and someone considered of "pure" descent. While the *moriscos* were expelled in the early 1600s, *converso* communities had disappeared and assimilated in the early 1500s.

Aragón were those of a Jewish descent or those Judaizers who had been tried in the late 1500s and early 1600s. The book did include Moorish and Lutheran names, but devoted considerably less space to them.

The *libros verdes* continued the association found in *Las coplas de provincial* between religion and heredity and the assumption that the worst blood was Jewish. Sometimes the *libros verdes* reprinted entire poems from *Las coplas de provincial*. For example, in one *libro verde* the entry for Pedro Arias reads as follows: "el contador de el rey Enrique cuarto fue hijo de una tavernera de Madrid, que su padre se convirtió de judío" (Caro Baroja, *Los judíos* 3: 298). In order to provide additional information about Arias' lineage the entry also included one of *Las coplas de provincial*: "A ti Don Arias el puto / que eres y fuiste judío..." (Ciceri 85). The *libro verde* continued the negative genealogical-Jewish equation: if a person's ancestor was a Jew, then that person is a Jew. The purpose of the *libro verde*, however, in contrast to *Las coplas*, was that it wished to present its genealogical material in a supposedly objective tone, almost in the style of modern newspaper obituary. The appearance of historical accuracy that the books tried to project was essential for their continued use as official documents disparaging individuals who supposedly had tainted genealogies.

While tainted lineages in the *libros verdes* and *Las coplas de provincial* included those of the Moorish descent, the arch-impurity, the arch-antagonist of bloodlines was invested in the name and the blood of the Jew. Jaime Contreras, writing about Counter-Reformation Spain, explains:

The Judaizer's presence is constant--always necessary but always uncomfortable. He embodies adverse stereotypes; he is the typified enemy, the opposing archetype who permits self-affirmation by means of negation. The Judaizer is the expiatory victim, the most hated antisocial agent because he is the heretic par excellence and, affirming the magic aspect of collective existence, he is the cause of all the evils that afflict the realm. ("Family Patronage" 131)

The term "Jew" for numerous writers became a catch-all term for the many possible names and lineages that indicated impure blood. For example, in the early 1600s Vázquez de Espinosa attributed a Hebrew origin to the Indians, a sentiment found in earlier conquest chronicles (Méchoulan, *El honor* 56). He entitled two chapters, for instance, "Cómo en los entierros fueron semejantes los indios a los hebreos y en otras cosas" and "Cómo los indios son parecidos en todo a los hebreos de donde procedieron" (84, 82).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Note also certain traditional antisemitic (and anti-

For many, in an attempt to establish orthodoxy, the conceptual distinctions between Jews, heretics and Moors eroded, making the Jew out to be the enemy of the true religion. In the 1500s, for example, the *alumbrados* were called Judaizers. In 1556 Felipe II attributed the existence of heresies against Catholicism to *converso* families: "all the heresies which have existed in Germany and France...have been sown by the descendants of Jews" (qtd. in Parker 193). Quevedo repeated the accusation found over a hundred years earlier in *El libro de Alboraique* that the sins of the Moors had their origin in the Jews. He wrote "Mahoma fue maldito discípulo de los rabíes" (qtd. in de Sión 105). Also, according to Quevedo, the hated gypsies were tame in comparison: "Más confió Dios de los gitanos que de los judíos" (*Execración* 33-34).

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Moorish) slanders were also transferred to the Indians. In sixteenth-century Spain sodomizing was not only associated with the figure of the Jew, but also with natives from the New World (Méchoulán, *El honor* 108). In some of the Spanish conquest chronicles the barbaric and the sodomitic were interchangeable. De Gómara in *Hispania victrix* called the natives of the isla Española "grandísimos sodométicos" and Bernal Díaz del Castillo in *Historia de la conquista de Nueva España* spoke of the Indians and their "maldito oficio de sodomitas" (qtd. in de Armas Wilson 120). Also see Chapter 4.

In some people's minds, the hidden threat of Islam was perpetuated by those who had Jewish names. One Inquisitional testimony from the early seventeenth century disparaged a person for having a Jewish name and confusedly thought the Jewish name meant that person had a copy of the Qur'an. Referring to the name Ceniceros y Medrano, the accusation stated: "Ques este apellido el más notado y más conocido por descendiente de judíos que ay en toda la tierra tanto en su casa dicen que tenían el alcorán" (qtd. in Burgos Esteban 373). While the terms New Christian, neophyte, *marrano*, *converso*, or *confeso*<sup>1</sup> could refer to a variety of "new" converts, or people with impure blood, they associated most frequently with the negative catch-all "Jew."

The term "Jew" at this point in time was no longer limited to include those secretly dissimulating their beliefs, but every Spaniard was potentially a Jew in name. The most holy and honorable names were giveaways for Jewish ancestry. As Quevedo wrote in *El buscón*: "Estuvo casado con Aldonza de San Pedro, hija de Diego de San Juan y nieta de Andrés de San Cristóbal. Sospechábase en el pueblo que no era cristian vieja, aunque ella, por los nombres y sobrenombres de sus pasados, quiso probar que era descendiente de la letanía" (qtd. in Glaser,

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<sup>1</sup> A definition of these terms can be found in Carrete Parrondo's introduction.

"Referencias" 49). As indicated in Quevedo's poetry cited above, in the seventeenth century the abandoning of a Jewish name for a noble, Gothic-sounding one no longer necessarily created the appearance of having lost a stigmatized Jewish identity. The practice of adopting a Gothic-sounding name had become a worn-out, transparent practice. As mentioned earlier, the patronymic was abandoned and names were adopted based on how legitimate they may have sounded. The adoption of a Gothic name no longer meant that one achieved the hoped-for artificial Gothic kinship, but the name indicated the despised, Jewish kinship. Torrejoncillo wrote in his *Centinela contra los judíos*:

Muchos vemos que se honran con decir, que son Guzmanes, Mendozas, Zuñigas, y Toledos; y como por otra parte no dizen sus acciones con el nombre ellas descubren la ficción de su nobleza. (qtd. in Yerushalmi 62; Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 152)

The anonymous author of the antisemitic *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura* wrote: "Caualleros, ailos en esta ciudad a centenares en solo el nombre, pero no en la sangre..." (Foulché-Delbosc 166). One's name, the doorway into the pure-blooded family history, lost its sacred association.<sup>1</sup> The one who had

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<sup>1</sup> "Laín Calvo" and "Nuño Rasura" were the supposed first judges of Castile and their names were considered pure Gothic

the purest family name was considered a descendant of the ones who held the impure name, the Jews.

The combination of lineages and narratives fabricated a historical basis for the malignity of the Jewish name and, by extension, implicated any person with Jewish blood. This ideology included noble lineages as well as names of non-aristocratic families and was spread to include those of plebeian professions through the circulation of *libros verdes*. Since *libros verdes* not only included noble lineages but parish lists of those tried by the Inquisition, the notion that everyone's bloodline had Jewish blood became more and more universalized. Sources often repeated the idea that the possibility almost anybody could have a Jewish grandparent or that all had at least an impure drop of blood.<sup>1</sup> The

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names. Nonetheless, even they had been stained by the seventeenth century. Mateo Alemán recalls in his *Guzmán* that the names "Lain Calvo" and "Nuño Rasura" had begun a pure Gothic line of "envejecida nobleza," but that their descendants had been trampled on and no longer esteemed (273, Pt. 1, Bk. 2, Ch. 4).

<sup>1</sup> Luis Vélez de Guevara joked in his *El diablo cojuelo* in 1641 that for all the praise given to the heritage and beauty of the mythological Phoenix, it nonetheless was "sospechosa de su sangre, pues no tiene agüelo que no haya sido quemado" (229-

universality of the "Jewish" name, in fact, made David Gitlitz conclude that names have *nothing* to do with crypto-Judaism on the Peninsula since they are universally not Jewish, but Spanish; he writes that supposed "Jewish" names are "strikingly similar to lists found in the telephone directory in any major Hispanic city" (*Secrecy* 211, n. 11).

In his 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* Sebastián de Covarrubias noted that the expression "tener el judío en el cuerpo" meant "to be afraid" (688). A general feeling of fear and the belief of the existence of a Jewish presence in one's body make an apt description for understanding antisemitism in seventeenth-century Spain. Any seventeenth-century Spaniard could potentially form part of a green book's list of names. Family histories were typically falsified and changed and, in effect, although genealogy determined Judaism, personal whims determined genealogy. One frustrated source from the time period, in fact, used the following metaphor to describe the

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230). Juan De Zabaleta from the same time period borrowed the theme in his *custumbrista* "El día de Fiesta." He described some *lineajudos* who looked at a well-dressed youth: "Mírale el lineajudo muy atento y en pasando le dice al otro: bien le veis que entonado va y que aliñado; pues no tiene más de un cuarto de judío, su abuelo materno andaba en Salónica con tocas" (qtd. in Allendesalazar Arrau 213-214).

situation: "con nuestra propia espada nos degollamos" (Cantera Burgos, "Dos escritos" 35). With such genealogical manipulation possible, the antisemitic dagger found no object, but turned back on those who sought to wield it. Those who argued for pure blood statutes, those who wanted to see *libros verdes* as legitimate authoritative documents, unwittingly cast these stereotypes back on themselves. In this way, the Old Christian could become the New Christian and the antisemite could become the Jew. As all Spaniards became potential Jews, the originary myth of Gothic lineage faltered and the Jewish name and blood found itself involuntarily superinscribed in the place of origin.

## Chapter 2: The Economy, The Physician, and Impure Blood

The plural for the Hebrew word for blood, *dam*, is a homonym for the classical word for money, *damim*. A negative reaction and fear over the Hebrew semantic connection between blood and money may not have been overtly expressed by seventeenth-century Spaniards. Nonetheless, economic rhetoric intertwined with antisemitic rhetoric and one great crime attributed to the Jews was precisely the selling, the commercialization, of Christ's blood. Francisco de Quevedo wrote that the Jews

(t)omaron el dinero de Judas escrupuleando echarele en la bolsa por ser precio de sangre, mas tomaronle.

Diéronle sin mirar a conciencia para que Cristo fuese vendido y parecióles lícito que entrase en la bolsa de Judas... (*Execración* 31-32)

This religious antisemitism, the sale of Christ's blood by the Jews, had its reflection in economic discourse. In the language of the feudal economy, just as in Quevedo's description of the sale of Christ's blood, pure blood should not have a price. Nonetheless, a growing fear existed in the seventeenth century that social hierarchies might not be organized by blood inheritance, but by commercial exchange--that blood could have a price. For instance, the Crown, running up vast military expenses, sold more noble titles than ever, enabling people to buy their blue blood rather than inherit it. Many writers

feared that that the social hierarchy might be organized by how much money one could earn rather than one's blood inheritance and one way in which this fear was expressed was through a growing rejection of commercial, urban jobs.

The *Libro verde* attacks one of the professions, the physician and, in particular, the royal physician, and combines that attack with antisemitism. I would argue that, while many socio-historical reasons and literary precedents existed for disparaging physicians, the *Libro verde's* negative depiction of Jewish physicians participates in an ideological attack on the free-flow of capital, a phenomenon that represented the potential toppling of the feudal blood ideology.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Competing Notions of the Economy: Stasis versus Free Movement*

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, the discourse of antisemitism often combined with the language that attacked commercial exchange. Quevedo, for instance, inserted a short text called *La isla de los Monopantos* in his prose work known as *La hora de todos*. In *La isla de los Monopantos*, protean creatures whose principal god is money, the *Monopantos*, team up

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<sup>1</sup> For a good overview of the refeudalization of the seventeenth-century Spanish economy, see Thompson and Casalilla, and Lynch.

with a group of Jews in a conspiracy to overthrow Spain (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of Jewish conspiracies and Spain). This conspiracy between the Jews and the *Monopantos* interestingly sums up the combination of antisemitic and economic paranoia that existed in seventeenth-century Spain. In Quevedo's mythical island, the Jew joins forces with the economic everyman, the "one" (*mono*) who is "all," (*panto*). The fear of the Jew masked a growing fear about the exchange of free-flowing money. Capital, like impure Jewish blood, could belong to anyone, anywhere.

Money, not political or religious institutions, was the lynchpin to the conspiracy theory. As one *Monopanto* comments:

El dinero es una deidad de rebozo, que en ninguna parte tiene altar público y en todas tiene adoración secreta; no tiene templo particular, porque se introduce en los templos. Es la riqueza una seta universal en que conviene los más espíritus del mundo y la codicia, un heresiarca bienquisto de los discursos políticos y el conciliador de todas las diferencias de opiniones y humores. (270)

In the same way that Karl Marx described how capital leveled all of man's gods and converted them into merchandise so Quevedo's conspirators, personifications of "money," with their polymorphic ability to enter into any nation or religion, profanate the sacred. At the conclusion, the Jews go off

together with the Monopantos, and their pact is not based on religion (or atheism), but money: "Con esto se apartaron...para fundar la nueva seta del dinerismo, mudando el nombre de *ateístas en dineranos.*" (346).

One of the principal reasons for the dissemination of conspiracy plots was to preserve blood distinctions. In the growing international colonial economy, the accumulation of wealth began to substitute the old feudal blood order. Personal gain rather than heredity could determine social status. Quevedo's economic antisemitism could already be found in the late sixteenth-century *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura*. The seduction of capital had polluted noble, "Gothic," bloodlines:

Porque con este vil dinero an ensuçiado su sangre los nobles que abia, tomando por mugeres por los millares de ducados a una suçia muger de un merchante recién bautiçado, atanto, que a dos açadadas en los mas estirados que presumen ser de los godos hallarias agua turbia. (Foulché-Delbosc 166)

The designation "newly baptized" in this text identifies the merchant as New Christian and when a nobleman marries into a merchant's dirty money, he pollutes his noble blood.

The language of antisemitism and the longing for the Gothic name, the "presumir ser de los godos," veiled a nostalgia for an economic system based on blood inheritance. This nostalgia

increased in the early seventeenth century when economic activity faltered and feudal ties began to strengthen. As one economic historian has shown, at this time the prosperous manufacturing and commercial centers of the sixteenth century (Medina del Campo, Cuenca, Segovia, Toledo) had suffered a decline and economic depression (Gelabert 204) and the economic crisis of the seventeenth century reinforced the bonds between state and aristocracy. This resurgence of "reseignorialization" accompanied an ideology that sought tighter bonds based on blood. Not until the eighteenth century would the Spanish have an equivalent for "bourgeois" (Bjornson 17), and the economic rhetoric of the *antiguo régimen*, a feudal and static system where fathers passed on their pure blood to their sons, was the norm. Silvestre de Saavedra expresses the longing for this heredity-based system in 1615: "Si el padre es noble y hidalgo, si pechero y mal nacido, también lo es el hijo..." (qtd. in Cavillac 196). This "distinción de la sangre," as Suárez de Figueroa calls it in his *El pasajero* in 1617 (qtd. in McKendrick 324), was not, however, the only social organizing ideology that existed in seventeenth-century Spain.

In the early 1600s economic discourse that celebrated feudal blood relations existed side-by-side alternative discourses that celebrated capital and disregarded the noble-pechero blood distinction. By the seventeenth century the fantasy of a rigidly stratified class society, in which social

mobility was essentially nil, existed along with a growing recognition that money could replace classic feudal blood hierarchies. The two discursive systems clashed and co-existed and the struggle of the growing urban class would be prolonged and inconclusive. Those same authors that yearned for the *antiguo regimen*, likewise recognized the other side of the economic equation, the power that money exerted in making bloodlines a thing of the past. Quevedo, in his hyperbolic way, equates the riches that ran in the veins of the East (gold, for example) to the blood that pulsed through the royalty's veins. He mockingly describes Sir Money:

Son sus padres principales,  
 y es de nobles descendiente,  
 porque en las venas de Oriente  
 todas las sangres son reales;  
 y pues es quien hace iguales  
 al rico y al ganadero,  
*poderoso caballero*  
*es don Dinero.*            (Obras 734-735)

The personified, aristocratic Sir Money allowed for the purchase of a noble title. Capital, with its democratizing and universal magic wand, allowed one potentially to claim the purest of blood.

Heredity could be reduced to the language of possession. Sancho, for example, passes on to Don Quijote his grandmother's

advice: "Dos linajes solos hay en el mundo, como decía una agüela mía, que son el tener y el no tener" (711, II, ch. 20), a sentiment repeated by López de Ubeda's pícaro Justina (166, I, ch. 2). As Lope de Vega wrote in "La Dorotea," "la mejor sangre, el dinero" (Rivers 234) and in *La prueba de los amigos*: "No dudes que el dinero es todo en todo / es príncipe, es hidalgo, es caballero, / es alta sangre, es descendiente godo" (qtd. in McKendrick 326). In the picaresque novel *Guzmán del Alfarache* money became the pícaro's blood and identity; in one episode Guzmán was treated as *vuesa merced* and then, after losing his capital, he loses all respect.<sup>1</sup>

Already in the late fourteenth century Enrique II had granted titles not based on blood, but on personal alliances and economic power. The formation of a new class of aristocrats reached its peak in the early 1600s. Domínguez Ortiz wrote that the sale of public posts and offices skyrocketed under Felipe II and reached its apogee under Felipe IV. He explained that this situation was:

...un agente eficacísimo de transformaciones sociales, puesto que, al poner cargos de influencia en manos de plebeyos enriquecidos, preparaba su ascenso al

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<sup>1</sup> For the growing importance of money also see "El dinero en la literatura y especialmente en la picaresca" in Maravall 118-129.

estamento nobiliario. En general puede afirmarse que la depresión económica de aquella centuria, al ahondar las diferencias de clases, al producir la ruina de antiguas familias y la elevación de otras de oscuro linaje, acentuó la separación entre la teoría y la realidad, y preparó la desintegración del sistema.

*(Las clases privilegiadas 14)*

The selling of public posts included the Inquisition itself. Rafael de Lera García has written how in the 1600s even positions in the Holy Office were sold to those who desired them.

The system that based the transfer of power on blood inheritance had to contend with a system where noble titles could be bought, strengthening the sense of loss for that system, making the nostalgia for the "pure" even more pronounced. Aside from the selling of titles, the existence of the *libros verdes* and other genealogical books also hurt the precious symbolics of blood upon which the Crown rested the justification for the existence of the noble class. While money was the way, the *libros verdes* and other genealogies were the means to achieve noble, pure blood. In the hands of the Inquisition and the Crown, the *libros verdes* provided the ideal source upon which a new symbolics of blood could be based. In the hands of a political and authoritative body, a noble genealogy and a list of heretical families could be used as

evidence to indict certain families and redeem others. However, the *libros verdes* in public "vulgar" circulation posed a genuine threat to blood ideology.

Spread and reproduced at will, the *libros verdes* created a space that allowed popular control of names and lineages. The books thereby became emblematic of an economic resistance to the feudal practice of noble name granting. The Crown's principal worry about the *libros verdes* was not that they were used as evidence for discriminatory blood laws, that they were antisemitic, or that they contained false information. The Crown condemned the books because they gave anyone the power to fabricate bloodlines. The King not only banned defamatory books such as the *libros verdes*, but also prohibited all other genealogical books. According to Domínguez Ortiz, any book that established lineages, such as *Nobiliario genealógico de los Reyes y títulos de España* by Alonso López de Haro published in 1612-1622 (*Las clases privilegiadas* 22), was banned by Felipe IV. His prohibition would have included all sorts of genealogical manuscripts such as copies of the *Lucero de Nobleza*, *Lucero de España*, or *Discurso de la nobleza de España* that praised certain family names, rather than slandered them, but circulated and reproduced in a clandestine manner (Infantes; Arco y Gary 335, n. 163). In 1633, Escobar del Corro, the Inquisitor from Llerena, argued that these genealogies should not be eliminated, but their circulation better controlled by

the proper institutions and should not be in the hands of the common people (Sicroff, *Los estatutos* 265). The Crown was not so concerned with the fact that the *libros verdes* might have been false, but that it or the Inquisition no longer had the monopoly in determining lineages.

A close look at Felipe IV's pragmatic sanction indicates that he was mainly interested in the fact that the *libros verdes* had escaped the hands of the proper authorities. In Felipe IV's pragmatic, he wrote that its author was unknown (its origin had become obscure) and that anonymous people had written the books based on personal inclinations and prejudice (Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 107). The Crown more than ever tried to maintain its hold over the granting of names and titles since in the seventeenth century the establishment of a noble title and a pure bloodline conflated. Janine Fayard writes that the idea of purity of blood became inseparable from the idea of nobility. Names, however, were no longer the property of the state, but increasingly part of the private sphere. Aside from attempting to eliminate and regulate genealogical books, the Crown frowned on the proliferating ability to create one's own origin, to change one's bloodtype. Numerous genealogical scandals and cases in the 1600s involved the Crown prosecution of *lineajudos*, considered corrupt and false (Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social* 209).

The one who held rights to the purest blood and indelible name, the king himself, was losing control over the determination of identity based on name and blood. The practice of selling offices unintentionally hurt the base of the King's own power. By selling names the Crown made nobility an economic issue rather than one of bloodlines, unwittingly undermining the ideology that supported the pure royal lineage. The calls for government control of the *libros verdes* attempted to fabricate the feudal ideology of the *antiguo régimen* and resisted the slippage of the royal power to name--naming in the sense of the determination of noble name, blood, and identity.

#### *Professions and the City Dweller*

One way in which writers expressed their nostalgia for the feudal was to criticize the professions of the growing urban economy.<sup>1</sup> Just as certain names resonated impurity, so common professions, such as old clothes dealers, evoked associations with impure or "bad" blood (King 101; Kaplan 157). Likewise, those who populated the growing cities were often labeled as having tired, impure blood. According to one dismissive comment from Lope de Vega's play *San Diego de Alcalá*, "Let him get back

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the situation of urban growth and rural depopulation see Lynch 2.

to the city with his defiled blood" (qtd. in Silverman, "Some Aspects" 156). Going to the city meant abandoning a system of seignorial control, a system that was based upon work on the land. Hence, the language that attacked the city dweller emanated from the feudal ideology of the landed aristocrat that wanted to maintain its economic control.

Writers criticized the growing urban working class. For example, in his poems and prose (*Los sueños*), Quevedo lambasts the incompetence and hypocrisy of nearly every profession that made up early modern Spain's economy. In this example, he keeps the old symbolics of blood alive (he clings to feudal notions of blood inheritance) by repressing what was happening in the urban sector economy. A study of discourse about one profession in particular, the physician, further elucidates how forces within seventeenth-century Spain shifted and struggled with respect to the representation of blood.

As Luis García Ballester comments, the term "doctor" at the end of the sixteenth century connoted a variety of medicine-related professions (250). For example, aside from doctors and surgeons, we find barbers and phlebotomists (*sangradores*), pharmacists and apothecaries, quacks (*saludadores*), bonesetters (*ensalmadores* or *algebristas*), exorcists (*conjuradores*), *brujos* (the male version of the witch, *bruja*), necromancers (*nigromantes*), astrologers (*astrólogos judicarios*), and cataract removers (*batidores de cataratas*) (López Piñero, "The

Medical" 89). "Doctor" also included professions that many women performed such as those of a midwife, *comadre*, *madrina*, and *bruja*. In the literary tradition we may remember *Celestina*, the "*física de niños*" or the *lozana andaluza* who cured by bloodletting. There was also a rich tradition of *morisco* practitioners (López Piñero, "The Medical" 90). Most importantly, medical professions were considered plebian professions; the "pure in blood," the nobles and clergy, did not typically practice medicine.

Quevedo targets many of these medical professions among his attacks on tailors, shoemakers, constables, and the rest. In fact, in the poem cited above about the daughter of the pharmacist, Quevedo not only plays on popular perceptions about Gothic names, but also plays on perceptions about professions. The way in which the physician and medical-related professions were represented in seventeenth-century Spain formed a building block in the construction of the symbolics of blood, particularly of the notion of pure blood.

In contrast with medieval Spain, in which many of the physicians were Jewish,<sup>1</sup> the target of antisemitic rhetoric

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<sup>1</sup> Anti-physician rhetoric was directed in part against families of Jewish doctors that came from Portugal after it became part of Spain in 1580 (Yerushalmi). The Cardosos, Silveirias, Orobios, and other families of cypto-Jews,

against doctors in the seventeenth century was difficult to locate. The medical professions themselves were occupations that implied impure, most often Jewish, blood. Antisemitic discourse typically attacked the profession itself. The *libros verdes*, books that slandered the names of those who had inherited Jewish blood, also attacked the doctors. We remember that the north of Spain, the mountains of Asturias and Burgos, had, according to popular belief, held a population of pure Old Christian blood. With the universalizing of the impure blood myth even this area did not escape attack. For instance, one edition of *El tizón de la nobleza española*, the nineteenth-century published version of a *libro verde*, reports that:

A Vizcaya se fue a vivir un médico que se llamaba maese Pablo: tuvo cuatro hijas y fue judío. Casólas con pretendientes de cuatros casas muy hidalgas, y de allí se mancilló mucha parte de Vizcaya, hasta las montañas de Burgos y Asturias de Santillana, de cuya limpieza se precian tanto los montañeses... (169)

My interest in the next part of this chapter is to move from the association of name and blood (Chapter 1) to profession and blood. In this example of Pedro the Jew, no name was given

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nevertheless, made up a relatively insignificant number in comparison to the number of practicing, non-Jewish doctors who were slandered for having Jewish blood.

except his common name. The *Tizón* adopted the common stereotype of a profession, the physician, and used that to spread a mythology of impure blood in Spain's "pure" mountainous north.

*The Libro verde: More than just Names*

Henry Kamen has called *El libro verde de Aragón* a "genealogical table tracing the origins of the nobility" (Kamen, *Inquisition and Society* 23; *The Spanish Inquisition* 20). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the labeling of this book as a genealogy that exclusively describes families of noble lineages is erroneous; the book contains other lists of names of people from urban middle class professions. For the purposes of this part of the chapter, I point to another aspect of *El libro verde de Aragón* that Kamen neglects to include in his description of the book's content: the book's short prose documents. It is true that many *libros verdes* only contained alphabetically arranged tables of names. *El libro verde de Aragón*, however, also contains a prologue and four short antisemitic fictions that pose as true histories.

Three of the *Libro verde*'s antisemitic prose narratives--the prologue, the history of the expulsion of the Jews, and the spurious letters between the Jews of Spain and Constantinople--respectively include references to a national disease, a royal physician, and physicians in general (see Chapter 5 for a

description of the fourth prose piece). The representation of the Jewish royal physician in the prose narrative of *El libro verde de Aragón* called "La expulsión de los judíos de España" seeks to build a foundation, a fictional history, for notions of blood from the *antiguo regimen* and, in turn, a notion of blood for the pure blood statutes.

The prologue of *El libro verde de Aragón* began by describing a situation of pestilence and disease: "... se señaló la yra del Señor con la saeta de la pestilencia ..." (557). The author concludes the prologue by making an indirect association between the general pestilence on the peninsula with the continued Jewish presence on the Peninsula. Although the Jews have been expelled, their descendants keep the Jewish threat alive. The author concludes:

...assi deliberé de hacer este sumario para dar luz a los que tuviesen voluntad de no mesclar su limpieza con ellos, que sepan de qué generaciones de judios descenden los siguientes, por que la expulsion general dellos fecha en España en el año 1492 no quitó de la memoria los que fuesen sus parientes. (R. Amador de los Ríos 558)

The prologue's initial description of physical pestilence and its conclusionary warning about the threat of mixing one's pure descendants with descendants of Jews establishes the antisemitic

tone for text. The country's disease, its problems, come from Jewish descendants still populating the Peninsula.

*El libro verde de Aragón*, in its argument that impure bloodlines, particularly Jewish, were passed down from generation to generation, embraces a medical philosophy that could be used to prop up the notion that impure blood was tied to one's lineage. Having defined blood as lineage in the prologue, the author then goes on to establish Jewish genealogy as impure. In *El libro verde de Aragón*, blood does not exclusively have to do with the figurative sense of a "lineage."

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries various medical explanations were given as the cause of plagues.<sup>1</sup> The specific diagnosis suggested in *El libro verde de Aragón* received attention by other sources of the time. The Doctor Alonso de Feilas (*Conocimiento, curacion y preservacion de la peste*, 1606) put the plague in religious terms by attributing "la voluntad de Dios" to be its principal cause (qtd. in Chinchilla 267). The Hieronymite friar Alonso de Oropesa wrote that the Jews "crecen

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<sup>1</sup> Loimology was debated and the Jewish cause was only one of many existing explanations. For example, in 1600 Manuel Escobar argued that the plague in Tarragona occurred due to poor food and the influence of the stars. See Chinchilla, II: 196-197 and González de Fauve.

como el cáncer" and Ignacio Villar Maldonado made the connection between the infection, race, and heredity:

...hasta el décimo o centésimo grado, lo mismo que una mala semilla que se ha sembrado: todo lo que nace de ella no es más que infección y concurre a la misma enfermedad y al mismo vicio. (qtd. in Méchoulan, *El honor* 114)

The Dominican friar Agustín Salucio specifically links Jewish "infection" to the plague. In 1599 in his *Discurso acerca de la justicia y buen gobierno de España en los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* he wrote:

No hay peste en el mundo más contagiosa, y el ayre de ella solo basta a inficionar, y donde entra la mancha, no es posible que salga y poquita levadura corrompe toda la masa. (qtd. in Gracia Guillén, "Judaism" 336)

Such connections between the Jews and the plague have many medieval precedents. This connection, however, in *El libro verde de Aragón* in the seventeenth-century has specific socio-historic implications. For the anonymous author of *El libro verde de Aragón*, the transmission of disease by a religious ideology was a medical reality passed down through Jewish family trees.

As a result of the parallel development of the pure blood ideology as expressed through heredity, and the relationship between pure blood and medical symptomatology, the figurative

threat of Jewish blood was the real fear of contagion of Jewish blood. In seventeenth-century Spain, antisemitism, particularly the pure blood ideology found in legal discourse, had been forming a crucial alliance with medicine over the course of centuries. From the fifteenth- through seventeenth-century, disease came to be seen as much a part of the Jewish physiological character as the racial characteristics which were attributed to Jews. It was not only a matter of large noses, birth defects, red hair, a foul smell, or a tail.<sup>1</sup> One text,

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<sup>1</sup> For noses, see Chapter 1. For a description of babies born with their right hand stuck to their face, see Torrejoncillo. The blood of childbirth and menstruation typified pollution in general in the Judeo-Christian tradition (Jay 29).

For red hair, see *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura* and also Tirso de Molina's play *La gallega Mari-Hernández*: "aquí los judíos son barbi-rojos" (34) (for the history of the color red and Jews in Europe see Gow). Normally red hair was a sign of a sanguinous complexion (Camperosi 17). Also, in Spain one reason that the Jews may have been associated with the color red because they were called the "enalmagrados" (dyed with red ochre, "almagre") because they were forced to wear a round, red patch on their right shoulder in the early fifteenth century (Covarrubias 688). Later, in sixteenth-century Italy they were

which was printed several times in late 15th and early 16th century, *De Hispanis laudibus* (*In Praises of Spain*), stated

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purported to dress in Christian fashion, but wore red hats to distinguish themselves (Braudel I: 641).

For bad smell, Doctors Huarta and Quiñones both described a putrid and permanent odor emitted by Jews. Many other Spanish portrayals existed of the foul-smelling Jew. In *Las coplas de provincial* we find: "Según hedéis a judío / avéis menester mandil" and "si no os cunple menjuí / según edéys a judío" (Ciceri 103). In the *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura*: "por el olfato unos a otros se conozen" (174). In *Discursos contra los judíos*: "Muestrase mas este marauilloso cuydado en que a los mas les hiede el cuerpo con tan grande extremo, que casi no le sabian otro nombre los poetas antiguos, y Historiadores, saluo el de hediondos...Autores dizen, que este hedor era natural en todos los que interuinieron en la muerte del Señor..." (qtd. in Albiac 400).

For tails, see *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles*, Meruéndano 15, and Torrejoncillo 168. In general, the figure of the Jew was often animalized. Aside from *marrano's* association to the pig, Jews were often associated with dogs and greyhounds (*galgos*) (Marqués Villanueva, "La interacción" 166-167).

that "los hebreos padecían ya desde sus orígenes un tipo de congénita sarna o roña, léase lepra..." (Ferrer-Chivite 376).

Not only did Jews harbor diseases of the plague, but if a cure had been offered by a doctor of Jewish origin, that cure was judged ineffective. At the end of the sixteenth century some remedies that been thought successful for combatting the symptoms of the plague were discarded because they were thought to have been invented by Jewish doctors. For example, the doctor Andrés Laguna in the early part of the sixteenth century, recommended a bit of mercury (*solimán*) underneath the left underarm to combat plague symptoms, but doctors, such as Zamudio de Alfaro, at the end of the century (1599) threw out the remedy since "el inuentor de este remedio fue Judío" (qtd. in Carreras Panchón 100).

Medieval Spain, like the rest of medieval Europe, circulated legends that blamed the Jews as the cause of plagues. In late-medieval Spain, Jewish physicians were often held responsible for the disease's transmission. In 1415 Dr. Chirino--ironically, a doctor who would have been labeled "Jewish" himself--scorned Jewish doctors for spreading leprosy among Spanish Christians: "...mayormente los fisicos judios...causaron lepra, a qual pegaron a muchos cristianos en este reino" (qtd. in Gracia Guillén, "Chirino" 273). Almost two hundred years later, the scapegoating of plagues on the Jews existed in *El libro verde de Aragon's* prologue.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, particularly during the fanaticism of the Counter-Reformation in Spain, this religio-medical blood equation continued and was used as evidence in support of the blood statutes. Those who argued on behalf of the pure blood statutes, among them many physicians, consistently borrowed the medical terms "impure" or "infected." Various seventeenth century writers, aside from the author of *El libro verde de Aragón*, such as Arce de Otalora, Ignacio del Villar Maldonado, and Escobar del Corro (Méchoulán *El honor* 113-116), defended the ideology of the statutes, linking Judaism and other heresies to illness that supposedly had been passed on by parents and grandparents.<sup>1</sup> The Inquisitor Escobar del Corro, in fact, in 1637 argued that the fetus acquired its parents' moral characteristics at the instant of conception (Gracia Guillén, "Judaism" 383; Méchoulán, *El honor* 114). All of those who equated heresy and illness based their argument on the fact, that from a medical point of view, habits of the blood, particularly evil ones, were passed on through heredity (Duden 151).

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<sup>1</sup> In Catholic medieval Europe in general, competing religious ideas were associated with infection and disease. R. I. Moore has shown how heresy was linked to the disease in Europe from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

It was important for the writer of the *Libro verde* to establish an apparently truthful history: the prologue began by specifying that a plague broke out at a certain date, 1507, and occurred in a specific place, Zaragoza. At some point in the late sixteenth century the prose narrative entitled "La expulsión de los judíos de España" was added to *El libro verde de Aragón*. This story, like the prologue, also purported to give a historically accurate account. However, instead of giving a date and place, the text shifted from the subterfuge of historical truth to the more irrefutable divine truth. It declared at the conclusion of the history: "Este fue el motivo y causa que los desterraron, que verdaderamente trae razón. Dios sabe la verdad de todo" (R. Amador de los Ríos 568).

The connection between disease and Jewishness found in the prologue is presented in a more direct way in "La expulsión de los judíos de España." We are told that the cause for the expulsion has to do with sickness. In this case, Prince Juan of Spain fell ill and King Fernando, his father, sought to discover the origins of the illness. He found the cause to be his doctor, an unnamed Jewish physician. Prince Juan got sick after this physician showed him a painted image in which this same physician exposed his buttocks to Jesus on the crucifix.<sup>1</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> One Inquisitional case also supposedly reported a similar profanation: the accused got up to leave a church and

his disgust at the profanation, the King ordered the execution of the physician and the immediate expulsion of the Jews.<sup>1</sup> The doctor, the one assigned to cure and heal, paradoxically, caused his patient to suffer physical and spiritual disease.

The spurious prose that immediately followed "La expulsión de los judíos de España" in *El libro verde de Aragón* employed

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then "boluió las espaldas fasya el altar e fiso la reuerençia con el posadero" (qtd. in Gitlitz, *Secrecy* 175, n. 102). This profanation was not unusual in popular European antisemitism. In the ritual murder accusation that involved the victim Simon of Trent, the Jews supposedly exposed their bare buttocks to Simon's Christ-like murdered corpse (Haliczzer 150). One might compare this with the buttocks in witchcraft that became an object of worship and adoration. In Quevedo's *El buscón*, for example, Pablico's witch mother kissed the Cabrón's buttocks every night. "Dícese que daba paz cada noche a un cabrón en el ojo que no tiene niña" (111).

<sup>1</sup> "...el Rey tomó muy secreto al dicho su hijo, al qual con promessas y ofertas que le hizo de qualquiera merced que pidiese, le contó y escribió su enfermedad y que no tendría salud ni contento, sino que en la misma hora mandase castigar fuertemente al judío, al qual el Rey mandó quemar vivo luego y en la mesma hora, y desterrar todos los otros judíos de España, o que se hiziessen cristianos" (R. Amador de los Ríos 568).

devices similar to those of the prologue to make the text appear historically accurate. It includes two letters that had supposedly been hidden away in the Archives at Toledo until they were found and published; they are "found documents," one of the oldest "proofs" of veracity in literary history. According to the prologue of *El libro verde de Aragón*, the expulsion did not extirpate Jews from the national memory and, like a virus, these letters, lurk below and desecrate the national memory, the archives.

The first letter was from the supposed prince of the Jews of Spain, Chamorro, and the second was a response from the prince of the Jews of Constantinople, Uliff. The royal denomination of "prince" from a community of Jews, let alone a community of Jews in post-expulsion Spain, makes absolutely no historical sense to any Jewish studies scholar today. Nevertheless, the author used the attractive device of the letters and the archives to make the story appear authentic.

These letters repeat the portrayal of the evil Jewish doctor as a threat to Spain.<sup>1</sup> This time, the Jewish doctor was

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<sup>1</sup> Aside from *El libro verde de Aragón*, these letters were found in many sources from the time period. See such varied sources as the Archives of the Kingdom of Navarre in the Ecclesiastical Section (Yanguas 522), Balthasar Porreño's *Defensa del Estatuto de limpieza que estableció en la Iglesia de*

not the single physician of the royal court, but all the future sons of Jews who converted and remained in Spain. The letter from Uliff and the Jews from Constantinople advise the Jews in Spain to teach their children to be doctors so that they can kill Christians in order to take vengeance on the Christians for having killed them. Following the letters, the author comments that this Jewish plot was evidence to justify the Toledo church's adoption of pure blood statutes.

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*Toledo el Arzob. Siliceo* (Sicroff, *Los estatutos* 149), Chapter 10 of the *Discurso contra los judíos* (Riandière la Roche 61), *Centela contra los judíos* (86), the 1614 book from Madrid called *Sylva responsorum ivris* by Ignacio del Vilar Maldonado (Caro Baroja, *Los judíos* 3: 303-4), Francisco de Quevedo's *Execración contra los judíos* (11), Julián de Medrano's *Silva curiosa* from 1583 (Loeb, "La correspondance" 262), and a *magna miscelánea* from the second half of the sixteenth century (Gómez Moreno 186). In 1847 Alfonso de Castro found copies of these letters and called them apocryphal. See Hoyos 21-22 and Kriegel 180 for further discussion about the letters. For other antisemitic blood-related documents that were falsified at this time see Pflaum (this spurious letter is also printed in López Martínez 383-387), Foulché-Delbosc "Un opuscule," and Domínguez Ortiz, *Los conversos* 213-217.

Kamen's labeling of *El libro verde de Aragón* as simply a genealogical table is a clear misrepresentation. The author or authors of *El libro verde de Aragón* wishes to present supposedly authentic materials in order to make an argument for the creation of pure blood statutes. Aside from their explicit statements in their support, the way in which the doctor is portrayed in the prose texts of *El libro verde de Aragón* also reveals how the book lobbied on behalf of the blood laws.

*The Position in Favor of Pure Blood Statutes: The Portrayal of the Royal Physician*

The portrayal of a corrupt, murderous doctor was part of popular folklore and literature in Spain and across Europe for centuries (Shatzmiller 85-90). In early seventeenth-century Spain, where relatively few Jews lived, the representation of the malicious doctor, particularly the Jewish royal physician, was exaggerated and expanded, infiltrating nearly every type of written discourse.<sup>1</sup> Aside from *El libro verde de Aragón*, we

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<sup>1</sup> For sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources that attributed murder to evil Jewish doctors in general--not only royal physicians, see Glaser, "Referencias antisemitas" 44; Méchoulan, *El honor* 154-155; Foulché-Delbosc, "Diálogo" 176; Ruderman 289; and Sicroff, *Los estatutos* 147.

find examples in poetry, drama, histories, and legal and medical texts. Quevedo's poem about the pharmacist (Chapter 1) forms part of his attack on medicine and its professions. In another poem, he describes a certain unnamed doctor: "Quien os lo pintó cobarde,/ no lo conoce, y mintió,/ que ha muerto más hombres vivos/ que mató el Cid Campeador" (*Obras* 1116).

The likening of doctors to killers and executioners was well-known. Equally popular in early modern Spain was the conflation of the two negative figures, the doctor and the Jew. Although Quevedo does not mention the relationship between doctors and Jews in his poetry, he does make the connection explicit in his *Execración contra los judíos* (11-13). The man who wrote the first blood statutes, Juan Martínez Silíceo, Archbishop of Toledo, made the same argument that could be found in the spurious letters of *El libro verde de Aragón*. He complained in 1548 that all physicians were of Jewish origin, and they adopted their profession only to kill Christians (Cruikshank, "The Metaphorical" 34).

A connection was often made not only with physicians in general, but between physicians of the royal court and figure of the conspiring Jew. Aside from the story of Prince Juan and the Jewish physician found in *El libro verde de Aragón*, numerous examples existed in the literature of the time that depicted a Jewish conspiracy instigated by a Jewish physician in the royal court. Tirso de Molina's seventeenth-century play *La prudencia*

*en la mujer* recalls the legend of the Jewish doctor Ismael who poisoned King Fernando IV of Castille from the early fourteenth century (1296-1312) (Caro Baroja, *Los judíos* II: 167).

Late medieval charges of Jewish medical murder became more frequent and more exaggerated in the seventeenth century. For instance, the murder charge of another Spanish monarch, Enrique III, at the hands of a Jewish royal physician had begun to gain popularity in the mid-1400s. José María Monsalvo Antón commented:

El caso más conocido fue el de don Mayr, a quien se acusó de haber evenenado a Enrique III, cuyo médico fue. Alonso de Espina dio en la segunda mitad del siglo XV gran difusión al caso. (49)

Alonso de Espina's charge of fifty Christians murdered by Jewish doctors (Tremallo 58) amplified to 30,000 killed in the late sixteenth century. The *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura* included this accusation, along with another charge of conspiracy against a Spanish king. Amidst his antisemitic, anti-converso tirade, the figure Laín Calvo states:

I tu no saues que al buen Rei Don Enrique le mató en Segovia un medico judío con una purga, llamado Don Mois[es]... i a los tormentos confesó este medico como auia muerto al dicho Rei, i mas 30.000 cristianos viexos. (Foulché-Delbosc 176)

The Jewish doctor's treason against King Don Enrique III (1390-1406) was not only mentioned in the *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura*, but also repeated in del Poyo's play *La próspera fortuna del famoso Ruy López de Avalos el bueno*, printed in 1611, 1612, 1613, and 1614 (Cruickshank 34) and authenticated by Diego de Colmenares in the *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia* published in 1637 (Caro Baroja, *Los judíos* II: 168).<sup>1</sup>

The legend of a Jewish medical conspiracy to kill Old Christians would have been a powerful contribution to the ideology that was used to justify the existence of the pure blood statutes. The physical health of the king was metonymic for that of his kingdom. The royal body threatened with disease and death substituted for a kingdom threatened with the same. Particular histories that showed the monarch's body and, by extension, the political body, as threatened by an evil Jewish doctor gave an incredibly strong foundation for the creation of pure blood statutes. As might be expected, legends of the malicious royal physician were found in documents that expressly defended these statutes that excluded people from joining

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<sup>1</sup> We have testimonies that indicate that the legend was still alive in the nineteenth century . Emilia Pardo Bazán heard the story in Segovia, "Cuéntase que a principios del siglo XV, un judío, que por señas había sido médico del rey Enrique III ... se confesó autor del envenenamiento de Enrique III" (50).

certain institutions because of a Jewish impurity in their family bloodline. The Jewish doctor's perversion and treason against Prince Juan is not only found *El libro verde de Aragón*, but in the Ecclesiastical Archives of the Kingdom of Navarre, other Inquisitional Documents, and in other writings that defended the pure blood statutes for the Cathedral in Toledo.<sup>1</sup>

In one medical text from 1607, a direct association is made between the impurity of blood of the physician and the crimes of the royal doctor. In his book *Medicina española contenida en proverbios vulgares de nuestra lengua*,<sup>2</sup> the physician Juan Sorapán de Rieros argues that people should make sure that their physician be of a pure and a noble lineage (Méchoulán, *El honor* 136). He then reaffirms that doctors of a Jewish descent conspire against the lives of the royalty and other Spaniards. For evidence he describes the treason committed by one doctor, Sedechia, "a descendent of Jews." According to Rieros, Sedechia deprived Charles IX of France (1550-1574) of his life.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For these references see: Norman Roth 405; Caro Baroja, *Los judíos* 3: 168; and Yanguas y Miranda 199-200.

<sup>2</sup> Publications of this medical text, just as offshoots of the *libros verdes* (*El tizón de la nobleza*) remained popular through the nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> "Sobre todo procurarán los señores, que el médico que tiene cargo de su salud, sea letrado, experto, prudente,

The inclusion of the accusation against a Jewish royal physician in *El libro verde de Aragón* was especially powerful. The structure and social repercussions of this work were unique from historical and literary documents in that the antisemitic stories were inserted within a book that records lineages and names. *Las coplas de provincial* presents a name and then a slander (Chapter 1). *El libro verde de Aragón* includes genealogical information, presumably historical data, alongside antisemitic stories. This strategy was an effective method for perpetuating a convincing "history" with respect to malignant Jewish bloodlines. The combination of genealogy and history was potent for helping to create and foment a popular base for the symbology behind the Jewish name and the pure blood statutes.

*Strategies to Limit the Blood Statutes: Alternative Representations of the Jewish Physician*

The same type of generalization occurred in England with respect to the plotting royal physician. In England, the malicious Jewish doctor did not only represent a Jewish

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piadoso, humilde y vergonzoso, de limpia y noble casta, que con estas condiciones, no hará la trayción, que aquel médico (descendiente de Judíos, llamado Sedechia) hizo, privando de la vida, por dinero, al Emperado Carlos Calbo de Francia" (118).

conspiracy against the Crown, but also formed part of a larger Spanish conspiracy. Interestingly, the most famous case of Jewish criminality in Elizabethan England had to do with Roderigo López, the Queen's physician. Doctor López was charged with an alleged plot to poison the queen. In the decades following his 1594 execution he was typically called "López the Jew" and supposedly formed part of a Spanish conspiracy plot.<sup>1</sup>

*El libro verde de Aragón* sought to create a historical artifice, an official history, that described Jewish bloodlines and Jewish crimes. This strategic combination would have been the perfect sort of ideological backing for the blood statutes. As discussed in Chapter 1, there were many people that disagreed with the ideology of the blood statutes. They complained that an ideology based on inherited blood impurity helped spread the

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<sup>1</sup> One source wrote: "Spaniards, suspecting the fidelity of the English in a manner of so great weight, used the help of Roderigo López, a Jew by religion, the Queen's domestic physician." From William Camden's *History of the Reign of Elizabeth* as quoted in Shapiro 73. In this case, as in the other charges of medical conspiracy, my interest is not to sift through documentation about the historical validity of the charge or give a true biography of Roderigo López, but to show the manner in which the event was interpreted at the time. See also Felsenstein 38 and Edgar 111.

idea in Europe that all of Spain was a country of Jews. Doctor López's plot in England was a case in point. The myth of the medical conspiracy was used in England and was amplified to create not only antisemitic, but antisemitic and anti-Spaniard stereotypes. The Jewish conspiracy became a Judeo-Spanish conspiracy.

The fact that blood statutes spread a negative image of Spain internationally was only one of many arguments made in Spain against their adoption. Other Spaniards disputed the adoption of blood statutes by constructing alternative histories and representations of the doctor in contrast to mythologies of the evil Jewish physician. The doctor Juan Huarte de San Juan, for example, counters the ideology of the pure blood statutes in two ways. In his *Examen de ingenios*, Huarte de San Juan directly contradicts the legend of the Jewish physician who murdered the king. He recounts the history of the French King Francis I (1515-1547) who recovers from his illness only after having been attended by a Jewish doctor. The use of a legend of the French King Francis I curiously refutes the contemporary account that charged the *converso* doctor Sedechia with the murder of Charles IX of France.

Portrayals of the Jewish doctors who cured, not killed, obviously undermine portrayals of a Jewish medical conspiracy. Huarte de San Juan goes on to maintain a second, more important, position. He argues that the association between doctors and

Judaism made no sense for Spain. In his anecdote about the French King Francis I, he records that the king first called for a doctor from Spain and discovered that he was a *converso*, and sent him away arguing that the *converso* Spaniard was certainly not a Jew, but a Christian. The king sent to Constantinople for a Jewish physician. Huarte underscores an agenda contrary to the one presented in *El libro verde de Aragón*. In Spain, the doctors were Christians, not Jews--bloodlines had nothing to do with determining one's religion.

These attempts to debunk the myth of the Judeo-Spanish doctor formed part of the attack against the pure blood statutes. In 1600 Fray Agustín Salucio submitted a book to King Felipe II in which he argued for the limitation of the blood statutes. A letter accompanying his book argued that a stereotype circulated according to which people falsely assumed anyone in the medical profession to be Jewish. The letter stated that people's identities were manipulated and changed based on hearsay and rumors. According to the letter, there is "...tanta voluntad y arbitrio, juzgando por antojo, por amistad, o por los oficios, que sin más razón tienen al Espadero por limpio y al Medico por Judío" (Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase* 230). The letter both attempted to expose false legends about doctors and expressed the growing frustration concerning the manipulation of identities that frequently occurred in the *libros verdes*.

Examples also can be found in literature of the time that recall the representation of the Jewish royal physician and seek to dismantle the ideology of the blood statutes. Miguel de Cervantes found himself writing at the moment when the crisis over names and blood impurity was running high. For example, the *Quijote* was published in 1605 and 1615 and Latassa reported prohibitions and burnings of the *Libro verde* in 1606 and 1615.<sup>1</sup> In the previously mentioned short drama, *El retablo de las maravillas*, Cervantes mocks the notion that everyone thought that they might have impure blood. In this play he also borrows the plural form of the name of a Jewish royal physician. Specifically, Cervantes uses the name of Chirinos for one of the characters, a form of the name of the well-known Alonso Chirino who was a physician of Jewish origins in the royal court of Juan II in the early fifteenth century (Gracia Guillén, "Chirino").<sup>2</sup>

Although he borrows the name, Cervantes is interested in a different sort of portrayal of the evil Jewish doctor for the content of his play. Cervantes changes the gender and profession of Chirino, and makes his Chirinos a traveling show-

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the banning of this book also see the *Consultationis resolutio*, the entry under *libro verde* in Gómez Uriel 328, and Pina y Ferrer.

<sup>2</sup> For connotations on possible meanings of the word Chirino see Molho, *Raíces* 173.

woman. While he does not portray Chirinos as a doctor, Cervantes is interested in the *libro verde*'s association between names and impure blood and the medical rhetoric that the blood statutes employ. The characters Chirinos and her companion Chanfalla arrive at a town and declare that only those who are not "infected" or "diseased" will be able to see their show.

Making pure blood preoccupation part of a farce within a farce, Cervantes exposes the notions of impure and pure blood as artificial fabrications. Through the false association between disease and inherited Judaism or illegitimacy, he criticizes those who would have considered the representation of medical discourse in *El libro verde de Aragón* as authoritative and, by implication, those who would have wanted to see the creation of pure blood statutes. For Cervantes the character Chirinos is simply a woman who manipulates an imaginary puppet show, not a murderous royal physician. In this way Cervantes emasculates and exposes popular representations of the evil Jewish doctor that were used as a means to gain support for the blood statutes.<sup>1</sup>

*El libro verde de Aragón*, along with other documents from the time, construct the image of the evil royal physician as

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<sup>1</sup> For a complementary discussion on Cervantes' reaction to the pure blood statutes see Bruce W. Wardropper's comments on the *entremés*.

part of a project to legitimize pure blood statutes. Obviously, a variety of other portrayals of royal physicians and doctors in general exist in seventeenth-century Spain.<sup>1</sup> Although it may seem that the antiphysician language is used for humorous or purely literary effects, the language, nevertheless, resonates with the seventeenth-century discourse that combines antisemitism and a move towards refeudalization. The negative portrayal of the physician reflects the struggle to fossilize traditional institutions based on blood inheritance in the face of an economic system that would eventually revolutionize those very institutions.

The polemic over the Jewish royal physician and, in turn, the symbolics of blood, reflects a larger economic crisis. The ideology of the pure blood statutes followed the model of the *antiguo régimen*, where the blood of the Christian monarch set the standard for feudal organization. The notion of a royal physician represented a great threat to those longing for the feudal system. The person who had become the doctor to the king had achieved his status not because of his clean lineage, but because of his profession. The mere existence of such an

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Teresa S. Soufas's discussion of the physician in *Refranero* wisdom, Luis S. Granjel's discussion of the physician in the picaresque, or Yvonne David-Peyre's global study of the physician in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

occupation, that of royal physician, was contradictory to the *antiguo régimen's* notion had at its center the purity of the king's blood.

Ideally, the king, the embodiment of the Empire's purest blood, would have been immune to infection and would have been considered the paragon of the physician. In 1595, Enrique Jorge Enríquez published his *Retrato del perfecto médico* and equated the king with physicians, stating that as the king ruled a republic, so the physician was king of a *pequeño mundo*, the human body' (Gracia Guillén, "Judaism" 393). Mateo de Lisón y Biedma wrote in the early seventeenth century that the King is a "doctor que lo ha de curar" (qtd. in Aguilar-Adan 70). In fact, writers such as José Eusebio Nieremberg in his *Curiosa filosofía y Questiones naturales* (1630) (Alejandro Campagne 210) and Joseph Pellicer in his *El Fénix y su historia natural* (1630) argue that the king himself had the power to cure and exorcise demons from the body. Vélez de Guevara comments in *El diablo cojuelo* that the Monarch's power, not surgery, is successful for curing *lamparones* (Sicroff, "A. Castro" 24).

In 1655, Gaspar Caldera de Heredia attributed this curative power to his royal blood: "los Reyes de España tienen virtud innata por su sangre, y Real ascendencia, de curar energúmenos, y lanzar espíritus de los cuerpos" (1). Such propaganda for royal powers of healing suggested that the king was held responsible for not only individuals' physical health and

spiritual purity, but, by extension, the body politic.<sup>1</sup> The idea that the physician, one from a common profession and of *mala sangre*, was responsible for the health of the king would be antithetical to the royalist ideal of the king as a universal healer.

The *Libro verde* contains attacks on a royal physician as well as attacks on physicians in general. It also contains a list of names of supposed Judaizers who were physicians (see Figure 2). These attacks reveal the desire of the Inquisition and religious authorities to create an ideology of impurity based upon blood heredity. The circulation and contents of the *libros verdes*, however, escaped the control of the Inquisition and therefore no single institution was able to control names which, in turn, created a chaos with respect to blood hierarchies. A situation resulted where the Inquisition, the King, and religious authorities decided who was pure in blood, but, because the *libros verdes* still existed unofficially, anyone else could secretly decide who was pure in blood. This situation was reflected in the economic fear of money replacing blood heredity: a discourse on money and self-appointed names,

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<sup>1</sup> This royal healing power seems to have gained ground in the seventeenth century. Traditionally, Spaniards in need of healing had travelled to see the French king (Alejandro Campagne 208-210, Elliot 167).

not one of pure-blooded ancestors, crept below the officially-espoused rhetoric of feudal hierarchies, as a potentially new standard upon which purity could be judged.

## Chapter 3: Medicine, Blood, and the Menstruating Jew

The *Libro verde* provided a target for the discourse of antisemitism in seventeenth-century Spain by listing Jewish-sounding names (Chapter 1) and professions associated with Jews such as medicine (Chapter 2). These names and professions were associated with impure, infected blood. Although these associations suggest a more figurative definition of blood, those who used the rhetoric of impurity also envisioned the Jewish body as one that literally contained impure blood. No clear distinction existed between the representations of impure blood as an inherited quality and representations of blood as a bodily fluid. In other words, the notion of infected blood was not simply the metaphorical usage of a medical term, but was also a literal belief that infected blood pulsed within the veins of every Jewish body.

For instance, in seventeenth-century Spain, aside from the plague, a common "illness" attributed to Jews was menstruation: the Jewish body supposedly leaked impure blood. While the supposed disease was neither witnessed nor empirically proven, it nonetheless was considered authentic; it was legitimized by the King's own physicians. These physicians' description of the Jewish body not only reflected a fear of an individual's illness, but also a larger fear: impure blood expelled from the Jewish body was a potential contaminant to the body politic.

Through the accusation of Jewish menstruation, by the use of the politics of "blood," medical and religious authorities combined discursive forces to create a powerful connection between blood sickness and impure blood. Nonetheless, while the accusation of menstruation was used to attack individuals (such as Francisco de Andrada), the target of the accusation was fundamentally ubiquitous. This bleeding disease was hidden (it was not empirically shown) and could be superimposed on the bodily orifices of anyone, reflecting at once an attempt at social control, but also its failure, since it universalized fear. Pollution that threatened the order of the Spanish empire might enter by means of any person through any space.<sup>1</sup>

*Competing Notions of Blood: Static versus Circulatory*

In order to discuss the accusation made by certain doctors about the menstruating male Jew in seventeenth-century Spain, it is necessary to discuss the nature of blood as was understood medically at this time. As two competing notions of the economy existed (one based on the hierarchy of blood and the other on

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Stallybrass and Allon White in *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* draw a parallel between a geographic body politic and a physical human body, noting a connection between orifices of the human body and pollution.

the flow of capital), so the understanding of how blood functioned in the human body was similarly split between two visions: the humoral and the circulatory. In seventeenth-century Spain, the majority of physicians doggedly conceived blood within a humoral-based version of the body despite evidence that made the humoral body a thing of the past. According to the humoral concept of the body, blood was not completely static: it flowed, but formed part of a continuous closed system.<sup>1</sup> Galen and Hippocrates, the classical authors upon which Spanish medicine through the eighteenth century was principally based, wrote that digested food was converted into blood in the liver and then entered other parts of the body through the respiratory system. With each delivery to the vital organs the stock of blood needed to be continually replenished by a resupply from the liver (Burke 20; Harvey viiii-ix). In

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<sup>1</sup> We should remember that the nature of a person was determined by what humor predominated in his or her body. The predominance of the humor blood indicated a sanguine temperament that was supposed to love "mirth musick, wine and woman" (Edgar 112). Blood was the humor of love and was said to increase in the spring (Falvo Heffernan 7). In Spanish literature, Sancho Panza is perhaps the best example of such a temperament. For one medieval description entitled "De la complisión del ombre sanguino" see *El Corbacho* (Martínez 206-207).

other words, after blood fulfilled its function of nourishing an organ, circulation ceased.

This concept of the limited, one-way circulation of blood meant that the humoral body did not contract disease from a foreign body (such as a virus or bacteria) that was carried through the system, but from something inherent to one's physical makeup (Niebyl). The harmonious functioning of the four humors, or bodily fluids--blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile--determined one's well-being. In humoral medicine, actual human blood was not necessarily the same thing as the humor, "blood." Actual blood was thought of as a sanguineous mass, a combination of humors, that flowed through the veins. Typically, in order to clarify the distinction between the humor and the sanguineous mass, "pure blood" referred to the humor itself and "impure blood" indicated the humor blood mixed with one or more of the other three humors.<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, then, from a medical point of view, everyone had impure blood in their veins.

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<sup>1</sup> Nancy Siraisi writes: "Blood occupied a special place among the humors. The actual fluid in the veins was considered to be a sanguineous mass consisting of a mixture of the pure humor blood with a lesser proportion of the others" (105-106). Also see Gil-Sotres for the definition of blood in humoral medicine.

One was unhealthy if the humors were not in balance (P. Brain 14).<sup>1</sup> An imbalance of the humors could result in such "diseases" as love-sickness or melancholy, and sins or heretical tendencies. The humoral system of the body was also understood in the context of a network of infinite correspondences to the workings of the world, which, likewise, made up of four primary elements. Because of this, when humors within the body were not balanced, when an individual was ill, it reflected the fact that other forces in the greater cosmos were also out of balance such

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<sup>1</sup> Typically excess blood, however, was not considered a sign of sickness (except, for instance, in cases of lovesickness). As one historian of medicine has written: "As to the blood, from the very beginning it had (so to speak) got in only by the back door, for not only was it not a surplus humour, it was the noblest and the most essential part of the body. Though it remained a recognised principle that the blood too caused illnesses...constitutional predominance of the blood was generally regarded, not as a morbid disposition, but rather as the healthy one *par excellence*, and the therefore the best, so that medical texts often replace the usual wording "complexio sanguinea" simply by the term "complexio temperata" (Klibansky 13).

as the winds or the stars.<sup>1</sup> Physical pain itself, the sign of sickness, as Töllner has written, was

nothing other than the suffering of the soul from the defectiveness of the world...[T]he soul felt the injury to the body directly as pain, because body and soul, though terminologically distinct, were still imagined as one reality and could therefore not be separated. (qtd. in Duden 87)

Since diseases were rooted in the general nature of man, physicians determined a remedy based on the nature of the individual as well as the nature of the disease itself (Jackson 13-14). For Galen and Hippocrates, the human body was best understood within the context of this broader philosophy of human nature (Burke 20).

In the 1500s the scientific foundations of the four humors, the role of blood as the principal humor, and humoral medicine began to experience profound changes. In many ways, Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> Jerónimo Cortés, for instance, borrowed this ancient understanding of the world in his *El non plus ultra del lunario y pronóstico perpetuo* from 1628 where he connected the four humors with the four elements, the four parts of the world, the four winds, the four parts of the year, and the four ages of man. Cortés' *Lunario* enjoyed publications through the nineteenth century (Rico 165).

cultural forces played a significant role in the toppling of humoral medicine. One of the first to make a step toward the discovery of the circulation of blood was the Spaniard from Aragon, Miguel Servet, whose discovery would make the medical notion of the humoral body obsolete. Essentially, Servet reintroduced the notion of the pulmonary circulation of blood, recognizing that blood circulated through the lungs, mixed with air, and changed colors (*Circulation* 23; Izquierdo 57-71).<sup>1</sup> He proposed that the true soul was not in any body part such as the heart, the liver, or the brain.<sup>2</sup> He argued that it was found in the blood, and that it coursed through the body--as Symporien

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<sup>1</sup> Many scholars grant the discovery of the pulmonary circulation of blood to Ibn Nafis, an Arab physician from Damascus in 1210. Servet may have known about his description since a translation of one of Ibn Nafis' works (not the part that contained allusions to the pulmonary circulation of blood) was made in Venice in 1547 just before Servet published *Christianismi restitutio* (*Circulation* 23; Bainton 123). In the nineteenth and twentieth century, the debate over whether Servet actually discovered the circulation of blood or not, touched on issues of Spanish national pride. For the nineteenth century, see Izquierdo and Menéndez Pelayo, I 979-1035. For the twentieth, see Palacios Sánchez.

<sup>2</sup> For an English translation see O'Malley.

Champier wrote: *Sanguis est peregrinus*, "the blood is a traveler" (qtd. in Bainton 126).

Servet's descriptions of the circulation of blood form a small part of a larger project in which outlined a return to truer, simpler Christianity.<sup>1</sup> His *Christianismi restitutio* from 1553 did not question the medieval notion of the interconnectedness between the body and the greater cosmos, but did drastically rewrite both, particularly with respect to traditional Catholic doctrine and the function of blood in the body.

Servet found it fundamental to his argument for his rewriting of Christianity to include a revolutionary description of how blood circulated through the body. Although he wrote and died outside the country, the first twenty years or so of his life (from 1511-1530) were spent in Spain.<sup>2</sup> The religious

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<sup>1</sup> Servet's idea of restitution, as opposed to reformation, demanded not the reform of existing institutions, but their complete overhaul and a return to primitive apostolic Christianity. It was a basic motif of the Anabaptists. For Servet and his religious ideas see Jerome Friedman.

<sup>2</sup> He was born in Tuleda in the province of Navarre and reared in Villanueva. For Servet's family history see Barón Fernández. For Servet's family's problems with the Spanish Inquisition, see Bataillon "Honneur."

climate of those formative years, Spain's zeal for pure blood, provided, in part, the impetus behind his religious views. The importance of and fascination with blood formed a significant part of the rhetoric of purity in the Catholic Spanish empire. The heterodox Servet not only reconfigured how blood was understood within the human body, but also, maybe unwittingly, changed the idea of blood as determiner of the political body.

Miguel Servet was charged with heresy by the Spanish Inquisition, the Calvinists, and the Roman Inquisition and he was burned by Calvin's followers for Arianism, a heresy that had originally been practiced by the Goths who first invaded Spain. The man who fled from Spaniards who claimed to be the true Goths was ironically condemned to death for practicing a Gothic heresy. The first written reference to Servet was not made until 1694 in England. William Wotton wrote:

The first step that was made towards it [discovery of the circulation of the blood], was, the finding that the whole Mass of the Blood passes through the Lungs, by the Pulmonary Artery and Vein. The first that I could ever find, who had a distinct Idea of this Matter, was Michael Servet, a Spanish Physician, who was burnt for Arianism, at Geneva ... (qtd. in Fulton 42)

Despite his exile from Spain, Servet always called himself a "Spaniard from Aragon," a particularly curious and bittersweet

self-association in light of the fact that he never returned to Spain and it was Aragon where discourse on blood impurity was particularly acute as demonstrated by the popularity of *El libro verde de Aragón*.

His comments on pulmonary or minor circulation occurred just before an Italian, Realdus Columbus, discussed pulmonary circulation in 1559. Another Spaniard, Juan Valverde, more concerned with exclusively medical issues than rewriting Christianity, further developed the idea of pulmonary circulation.<sup>1</sup> In the mid-1500s the Italian anatomists--many influenced by recently-arrived Spanish Jews--dissected the human body and established the foundations for the preeminence of the human body over the microcosm / macrocosm teleology as the foundation of medicine.

When did the discovery of the circulation of blood and the subsequent rejection of humoral medicine occur in Spain? I would suspect that many in seventeenth-century Spain were aware of Servet's ideas. Religious and medical ideas traveled quickly and, in fact, evidence exists that suggests Servet was not completely unknown in the early seventeenth century. While scholars assume that he was forgotten until Wotton's 1694

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<sup>1</sup> For general information on the history of circulation up until Harvey see Dalton and Izquierdo. For Juan Valverde in particular see Barona Vilar.

recognition, his image was made in 1607 in Holland by a well-known engraver, Sichem, who inscribed the copper portrait with "Michel Servetus Hispanus de Aragonia." Why was the portrait made a half century after Servet's death? The existence of the portrait indicates that Servet was not only known by certain people in Holland, but also that many in Spain probably knew of him (and probably his ideas) since Jewish and *marrano* residents in Holland remained in continual contact with the Peninsula (Méchoulan, *Hispanidad* 37).

Servet retained the Galenic view that blood originated in the liver and was used up as it supplied other parts of the body and for that reason he did not arrive at a complete understanding of the circulation of blood (Bainton 119). It was England's William Harvey who made the decisive step and argued the body continuously circulated blood. Although most conclude that Harvey did not know Servet's work, Harvey curiously shared many of Servet's assertions. In order to substantiate their claims, both men recalled Biblical passages such as "the life is in the blood" (Genesis 9:4), "the life of the flesh is in the blood" (Leviticus 17:2) and "the blood is the life" (Deuteronomy 12:23).<sup>1</sup> Both Servet and Harvey also stressed that the blood

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<sup>1</sup> For Servet's references to these passages see *Circulation* 21 and Singer 30-31. For Harvey's references to the Hebrew scripture see Pagel 500.

contained the true soul within the body, rejecting the notion that any static organ might be the center of life. Harvey wrote "I maintain, against Aristotle, that the blood is the prime part that is engendered, and the heart the mere organ destined for its circulation" (qtd. in Pagel 500). Harvey's ideas ultimately forced the radical medical reconception of the human body and the nature in which disease was contracted.<sup>1</sup>

No one has shown whether Servet and his ideas about the partial circulation of blood were known in Spain in the seventeenth century. We do know, nonetheless, that in 1631, three years after his discovery of the circulation of blood was published in England (the discovery was first made public in 1616), Harvey arrived in Spain. One of Felipe IV's doctors, Gaspar Bravo de Sobremonte, was an ardent defender of Harvey's ideas (Izquierdo 206-207). He defended Harvey's doctrine in his *De sanguinis circulatione et de Arte sphygmica*, published in

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<sup>1</sup> Audrey Davis wrote that the circulation of blood changed the way in which disease was conceived: "Long recognized as the medium of transportation for nutrients and heat, the blood's role as a carrier of disease was most dramatically portrayed in the publications of Harvey. He first illustrated the disease-spreading property of the circulating blood in his discussion of the effect of poison injected into the blood by the bite of a venomous animal" (173). See also Pagel 503.

1662 (Granjel, *La medicina* 142-143). The majority of Spanish doctors, however, clung to Galen and the traditional framework, preferring "to deny the undeniable," as the suppression of circulation was one of the main ways that the the medical field in seventeenth-century Spain expressed its resistance to medical innovations (López Piñero, "Harvey's" 231-233).

Even after the discoveries of Servet and Harvey, the humoral construction of the human body did not disappear as the dominant medical model in Spain. Their medical advances were ignored by Spanish institutions and humoral medicine paradoxically returned with more vigor. For example, ignoring all sixteenth-century advances in the area of anatomy, Galen once again became the basis of anatomy taught at Salamanca in 1625 (Burke 23). In a curious parallel to the resistance of an economic system based on the free-flowing movement of capital (we remember that the word *bourgeois* did not enter the Spanish vocabulary until the eighteenth century (Chapter 2)), the acceptance of the circulation of blood would not occur in Spain until the eighteenth century. Social ideologies, such as the desire to see a hierarchical feudal economy, were projected on the surface of the body. The static medical paradigm of the humors paralleled the static feudal system where precedence was given to blue blood--a term that itself implied a gaze that rested on the surface of one's body rather than penetrating to

the interior, and one which, incidentally, came to English by way of the Spanish expression *sangre azul*.

Language that celebrated the circulation of money, just as language that explained the circulation of blood, was suppressed and remained on the marginal fringes. In medicine, as in the economy, two competing ideological notions were at loggerheads. One was a dynamic vision of the circulation of blood within the human body, paralleling the free-flowing exchange of capital within the body politic. The other was static, repeating medieval conceptions of the body politic and the nature of blood as passed down by the humors--the pre-Harvian, canalized body, in which blood flowed but did not circulate. The slow crumbling of the feudal existed side-by-side the notion of the circulation of blood, shaking the foundations of the concept of a humoral body.

As the medical historian López Piñero has commented, scientific and medical advances remained based on antiquated institutions of the *antiguo regimen*:

Las novedades médicas, químicas y biológicas  
encontraron una barrera que dependía casi  
exclusivamente de un simple proceso de inercia social.  
Las doctrinas tradicionales disponían del refugio casi  
inexpugnable de unas instituciones anquilosadas, que  
permanecían cerradas tanto en lo que respecta a la  
información de las contribuciones que se estaban

realizando en el mundo, como en lo relativo a la selección de los hombres que las regían. (*Ciencia* 392)

While Harvey's ideas reached Spain, those who sought a social structure based on blood repressed the discovery.<sup>1</sup> Although the theory of the circulation of blood would have radically remapped the humoral body, the humoral basis of the body remained the dominant medical paradigm of the period. George Mariscal best sums up the stakes for Spain and its blood ideology at this point:

Had the circulation of blood been accepted as biological fact, it would have problematized identity in ways that threatened the deepest structures of Spanish society; indeed, it had this effect on other cultures where it was introduced earlier. Once the hierarchical theory of humors was replaced by a systemic model in which function mattered more than

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<sup>1</sup> Harvey himself did not recognize the modernity of his ideas. He based his discovery on Aristotle and a more ancient world view--the parallelism of the macrocosm and microcosm (Pagel 499). It would take other thinkers such as Descartes to formulate the discovery of the circulation of blood into a revolutionary finding (Lindeboom).

substance, both the physical and the social body had to be reconceived. (45)

As I argued in Chapter 2, doctors and medicine were a target of the pure blood statutes, the *Libro verde*, the Inquisition, and religious institutions. Nonetheless, as Diego García Guillén has pointed out, medicine, more than a target, allied with the Inquisitional authorities in the task of corporally and morally disciplining Spanish society (375). The medical discourse on pure blood was adopted by one medical camp in order to make medicine more theocentric, rather than "body-centric." Medicine as an institution tended to side with Mal Lara's prescription for physical pain: "ponerlo en manos de dios, que es el verdadero medico" (qtd. in Cruickshank, "Pongo" 49) and Mateo de Lisón y Biedma's opinion on the counterproductivity of medicine: "hacen más dañosa la medicina que lo era la llaga" (qtd. in Aguilar Adan 70).

In the seventeenth century the alliance between medicine and other institutional authorities consisted of all sorts of different medical, legal, and religious allegiances. The monarch became invested with healing powers (Chapter 2). Likewise, the legends of the saints and relics as healers grew (Beaujón; Alejandro Campagne 201-205; and see Chapter 5). The medieval role of priests as doctors flourished: they gave the sign of the cross to expell sicknesses and, in some cases, cured where doctors had given the patient up for death (Alejandro

Campagne 206-207). One physician-priest, Gaspar Tristán, wrote in his medical tract in 1606 that the angels, saints, prophets and Jesus practiced "todas las partes de la medicina" (Chinchilla 279). Morisco medical practitioners met with prohibition after prohibition by the Church (Ballester 251). These are but a few examples of strengthening seventeenth-century relationships between the Church, Inquisition, the Monarchy, and medicine.

The Inquisition and one of the King's royal physicians, Gerónimo de la Huarta, sought to institute blood statutes for the medical profession.<sup>1</sup> Another one of the King's physicians, Juan de Quiñones, counseled the Inquisition on specific cases such as *Memorial de Juan de Quinones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, inquisidor general, sobre el caso de Francisco de Andrada, sospechoso de pertenecer a la raza judia* (1632). These

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<sup>1</sup> For example, when Diego Mateo Zapata finished his medical studies he was not allowed to practice because he was unable to produce a certificate of *limpieza de sangre* (López Piñero, *Ciencia* 393). According to a statute at the Hospital in Santiago, physicians, pharmacists, and surgeons "antes de entrar en posesión de sus plazas han de dar información de limpieza de sangre, buena vida y costumbres" (Rodríguez González 138). See Méchoulan *El honor* 156 for a discussion of blood statutes in the medical profession in the 1600s.

two physicians did more than simply ally themselves with the orthodox ideology of the Inquisition, they used the language of medicine, particularly of blood as a bodily fluid, in order to reinforce the more abstract notion of blood as heredity: they both argued that Jews menstruated and had an impure flux of blood from the lower strata of their bodies.

*Jewish Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century Spain*

Though medicine had advanced under the discoveries made by Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of blood, in Spain the medical experts chose to ignore these advances and maintain medieval medical notions that reinforced their own antisemitic ideologies. In the seventeenth century, plagues were not the only medical phenomena linked to the spread of heretical ideas or Judaizing. Juan de Quiñones and Gerónimo de la Huarta argued that Jews suffered an unhealthy flow of blood. While Felipe IV's physician, Gaspar Bravo de Sobremonte, had accepted Harvey and his new medical advances, the majority of the royal physicians not only ignored the advances, but these two resurrected medieval medical notions that linked medicine to religion.<sup>1</sup> They assumed that the substance itself, impure

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, too, it would take even longer for his ideas to trickle down to the level of general practice (Duden 106).

blood, pulsed through the veins of the Jewish body. For the most part these two physicians considered the inner workings of the body as a world apart, a place of hidden activities, upon which they projected their own ideologies. In 1632, Doctor Juan de Quiñones, an official in the royal court, devoted an entire treatise to Jewish maladies, focusing on the allegation that Jewish males menstruated.<sup>1</sup> He wrote: "cada mes padeciessen flujo de sangre como las mujeres" (qtd. in Mariscal 43). Quiñones' labeling of menstruation as women's disease was later repeated by Torrejoncillo: "...derraman sangre por su partes vergonzosas cada mes, como si fueran mugeres" (166). Holding a similar conception of the Jewish body, King Philip IV's physician, Dr. Gerónimo de la Huarta, also asserted that Jews suffered from a permanent menstruation, a blood flow from their lower regions (Méchoulan, *El honor* 139).

This unusual accusation can be understood in the context of the general socio-religious presuppositions about menstrual blood from which these doctors drew their assertions. The accusations of the menstruating Jew borrowed certain misogynist presuppositions about menstrual blood from Judeo-Christian

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Humoral medicine was practiced in the twentieth century in parts of Spain and in the Spanish Americas (Foster, *Hippocrates*).

<sup>1</sup> For two different manuscripts of Quiñones text, see Yerushalmi 124 and Mariscal 43.

tradition. Some ancient doctors attributed leprosy and other diseases to contact with menstruating women (Holcomb 89). Their assertions about the impurity of menstrual blood had various precedents that are found in the Bible. In the Book of Genesis Rachel hid the family's household gods that Laban sought to destroy.

Now Rachel had taken the household gods and put them in the camel's saddle, and sat upon them. Laban felt all about the tent, but did not find them. And she said to her father, "Let not my lord be angry that I cannot rise before you, for the way of the women is upon me." (Genesis 31:34)

Rachel hid the forbidden religious cult objects in a gesture that placed menstrual blood alongside a hidden object of worship. Although this connection between the cover-up of an outcast religion and menstruation was found in Hebrew scripture, these Christian doctors from seventeenth-century Spain reappropriated a similar ideology and turned it against the Jews. Quiñones felt that although one could not see the hidden Jewish religion through any external corporal sign, one had to look for the hidden sign of pollution: "y cuando el reconocimiento es difícil por el aspecto del rostro, se ha de recurrir a ver las señales ocultas que ay en el cuerpo" (qtd. in Mariscal 44). For Quiñones, the physical sign of menstruation would reveal the hidden, rejected religion.

The parallel that Quiñones and Huarta drew between impurity and menstrual blood, an assertion found in Hebrew scripture, formed part of early Christian tradition.<sup>1</sup> The Christian foundational texts treated blood flows as unclean and as signs of infection. In general, in the language of the Church, involuntary bloodletting from the sexual organs was a sign of sickness. One of the many miracles performed by Jesus in his capacity as healer was the arresting of blood flows (Matthew 9:20; Mark 5:25-34). The miracle continued in histories that formed the tradition of Christian hagiography. For example, in one story the saint's attention was drawn

...to a woman who lay in the colonnade of the main street (of Scythopolis), isolated even from her fellow beggars by the stench of an uncontrolled

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<sup>1</sup> For example: "When a woman has a discharge of blood which is her regular discharge from her body she shall be in her impurity for seven days, and whoever touches her shall be unclean until the evening. And everything upon which she lies during her impurity shall be unclean; everything upon which she sits shall be unclean" (Leviticus 15:19). In Leviticus 20:18 the woman (and her lover) are ostracized, a tradition also continued in the Islamic tradition. In the seventeenth-century in Iran women were ostracized in houses off in the country (Roux 61). Also see Qur'an 2:222.

menstrual hemorrhage. 'He came over to her in the the colonnade and said..."This my hand I lend to you, and I trust in the God that I worship that you will be cured." Taking the saint's hand she applied it to the hidden part, and immediately the flux of blood ceased.' (qtd. in Brown 77)

In medieval and early modern Europe some debate existed in the medical profession about the nature of menstrual blood. Many argued that it provided the lifegiving nutrition of the fetus--such as is found in the *Tratado de la generación de la criatura* that explained that the fetus received "nadrimento de la sangre menstruosa" (folio 3v).<sup>1</sup> Quiñones and Huarta,

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<sup>1</sup> For the contradiction between the positive and negative associations of menstrual blood see Pouchelle 34-35, Camperosi 113-120, Wood 713, and Duden 167. María Eugenia Lacarra writes that menstrual blood as fecund, not poisonous, prevailed in medieval medical opinion. She explained: "Esta relación de la capacidad generativa de la mujer con la muerte, compartida también por Inocencio III y por otros destacados eclesiásticos tiene su origen en la medicina galénica que sostenía que la sangre menstrual nutría al embrión. Naturalmente, la ambivalencia de considerar la sangre menstrual como simultáneamente venenosa y fecunda planteó muchos interrogantes a médicos y teólogos, pero las conclusiones galénicas

however, borrowed language from the medieval tradition that thought menstrual blood to be impure and, hence, during menstruation, viewed the woman herself as impure (Edwards 354). Esther Lastique summarized the medieval notions about menstrual blood upon which they borrowed for their claims:

However the actual composition of menstrual blood may have been conceived, there is a long tradition affirming the venomous nature of this substance...The menses is poisonous and infects the body; if it touches the twig of a green tree the twig immediately dries up; a fetus generated from it becomes leprous; and it will cause great harm to the male member. Women who have their menstrual period are so filled with poison that they can kill babies merely by glancing at them...The pollution caused by a woman's

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prevalecieron durante siglos" (Lacarra 26). One sixteenth century source from Italy wrote that a woman's monthly purgations "not only keep her more refined and more delicate, but also protect her from many illnesses to which men so frequently fall victim" (qtd. in Samporesi 96-97). For examples of the positive power of woman's menstrual blood in Colonial America, see Behar. Also, compare the nineteenth-century belief that the menses signaled fertility.

menses leaves an indelible mark on her body; she is permanently unclean. (60-1)

In some places in early modern Europe menstruating women experienced varied prohibitions such as the fact that they could not pickle beef or receive communion (Thomas 38, 649). The Aristotelian idea of spreading infectious blood simply through a glance was repeated in one Spanish medical text from 1494: "Porque los ojos de la mujer mestruosa infeccionan el espejo tanto que como escriue Aristoteles en el libro que hizo del sueño e de la vigilia que con su vista se engendran nuues sanguinolentas en el espejo" (*Compendio de la humana salud* 22r). The French surgeon, Ambroise Paré, wrote in the sixteenth century that "Las mujeres manchadas de sangre menstrual engendran monstruos..." (qtd. in Roux 64). Hagiographers in medieval and early modern Europe, often assumed that female saints did not menstruate--that the lack of menstruation was a sign of holiness. As was the case with the saints Lutgard, Colette, Columba, or Jane Balame, the holy female body contained only pure blood and hence did not menstruate (Bynum 123, 138, 148, 211).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, for most women, when a woman failed to menstruate, it was taken as a sign of sickness. The impurities within needed to be purged (Duden 17, 92, 139-140). In Spain, Dr. Chirino wrote that this experience was the worst

Such medieval religio-medical notions about purity in women were still very much alive and, in fact, revitalized in early seventeenth-century, Counter-Reformation Spain. Navarro, for example, wrote *Abecedario virginal y excelencia del nombre de María* in 1604 that praised the excellence of the Virgin Mary and established a link between the letters that made up her name to five precious stones that had cathartic properties. In particular, the pearl, according to Navarro, was able to arrest blood hemorrhaging and flows (Méchoulán, *El honor* 126). In a medical text by Gaspar Caldera de Heredia from 1642, menstruation was listed as one of seventy-two diseases that were revealed from Holy Scripture (Chinchilla 399).

A women's menstrual blood was considered by many to be impure--the monthly flow of blood contained poisons purged from the humors, or eliminated excess humors (Wood 724, Bullough 489, Gil-Sotres 94). Such a medical explanation was generally held across Europe. One medical source from seventeenth-century England wrote: "Some call them purgations, because that by this fluxe all a woman's body is purged of superfluous humours" (qtd. in Crawford 50). Using this tradition of the purification of the blood as a medical base, Quiñones and Huarta depicted the

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that a woman could experience: "El mayor mal que las mugeres an de enfermedades en la mayor parte es quando non viene su mestrua, que es aquella sangre que purga cada mes" (Herrera 97).

Jew as perpetually menstruating or hemorrhaging blood, needing to purge impure, infected blood.

While their accusation borrowed certain misogynistic attitudes about menstrual blood and neatly combined them with antisemitism, it seems that the biological impossibility of the accusation was of no concern and in no way presented an obstacle to the charge. The biology of the menstruating male can be explained variously. First, anatomical distinction based on gender was not wholly formulated until the nineteenth century (Bynum, "The Body" 406 and Laqueur). As Emily Martin summarized: "medical scholars from Galen in second-century Greece to Harvey in seventeenth-century Britain all assumed that women's internal organs were structurally analogous to men's external ones" (27). In fact it was not uncommon in the early modern period to find descriptions of men who experienced a regular menstruation.<sup>1</sup> Men under certain conditions could suffer "womanly" diseases. For example, Doctor Huarte de San Juan wrote in his *Examen de ingenios* that warm fresh water "hace al hombre mujerial, con flaqueza de nervios, nescio, aparejado para flujo de sangre y desmayos" (675).

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<sup>1</sup> Aside from menstrating men, cases of menstruation could be found among young girls, women who never menstruated unless they were pregnant, and seventy-year-old women (Duden 115-117).

Second, and much more significantly, what mattered to the seventeenth-century antisemitic sources was the continual hemorrhaging blood from the lower strata of the body, not the biological organ from where the blood flowed. Typically, a normal evacuation of blood was a sign of the purgation of humoral matter. As Barbara Duden writes: "The hemorrhoids and the menses were both seen as spontaneous evacuations of the body; they resembled each other and were interchangeable..." and they had a "common task of relieving the body by discharging superfluous, troublesome, and impure matter" (116). While the evacuation was thought to be healthy, Spanish writers who repeated Huarta and Quiñones' accusation were mostly concerned with drawing attention to infected blood. They, typically combined the description of menstruation with the charge of hemorrhoids and of anal blood flows. Pedro Aznar Cardona wrote about the Jews in 1612 in his *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles*:

naciendo muchos dellos con colas de lagartos, y  
 haziendo cursos de menstrosos o purgación de cada mes,  
 como las mujeres, y padeciendo (dexando otros axes y  
 males) ignominiosas e inquietas almorranas. (qtd. in  
 Márquez Villanueva "El problema" 61, n. 28)

From a medical perspective *almorranas* or *sangre de espaldas* were clearly distinguished from the woman's disease *sangre lluvia* or *cursos de menstrosos*. The *Diccionario de autoridades* listed

under *sangre lluvia*: "Enfermedad en las mujeres" (38).  
 Nonetheless, both were grouped together in an effort to  
 associate the Jewish body with impure blood and bleeding.

While advances in sixteenth-century medicine had begun to  
 distance the discourse of religion from medicine by  
 concentrating on the inner workings of the body, the majority of  
 doctors in seventeenth century Spain ignored the new medical  
 paradigm, and, likewise, physicians maintained the language of  
 the humors as they interacted with religious concepts. Quiñones  
 and Huarta's medical justification for their depiction of the  
 bleeding Jew had been justified by humoral medicine over three  
 hundred years previously. One widely circulating medical text,  
 Bernardo de Gordonio's *Lilium Medicinae* (1305), for instance,  
 had been translated and published in Spain in 1495 and was used  
 as a medical text in the medical curriculum at the University of  
 Salamanca. It had a publication date in Spain as late as 1697.  
 The 1513 Spanish edition explained why Jews suffered from  
 hemorrhoids:

...nota que los judíos por lo más padecen almorranas  
 por tres cosas. La primera porque siempre están en  
 ociosidad y por esso se engendra en ellos la sangre  
 melancólica. Lo ii, por que de contino están en temor  
 e angustias, por esso se allega en ellos sangre  
 melancónica. Cerca d'esto dize Ipocras: "El temor e  
 pusilaminidad que mucho tiempo turparen, melancónico

fazen el humor." Lo tercero, que esto es por la exaltación divina cerca de lo qual se dize "e firiólos en lo postrimero del espinazo e maldición les dio."

(262)<sup>1</sup>

Gordonio's first two arguments justified hemorrhoids in the language of the humors. In these two arguments he talks about the overproduction of melancholic blood. In this context, blood does not refer to the humor blood, but simply the bodily fluid or sanguinous mass itself. Gordonio argues that Jews produced a surplus of the humor melancholy, a surplus or humoral imbalance that occurred because the Jews were continually idle and in fear.

In Gordonio's diagnostic of Jewish hemorrhoids, the human body / body politic equation was already built into his explanation. For Gordonio, the humoral explanation--impure blood due to the presence of the melancholic humor--naturally gave way to the third religious explanation--Jews menstruated because they had been smitten in their hind quarters for having crucified Christ. The ideological jump from an explanation that had to do with the inner workings of the body to an religio-racial one, makes perfect sense when one remembers the way that

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<sup>1</sup> An English translation of this cite is quoted by Gilman, *The Case* 155. Gordonio also, in another part of his treatise, reasserted the venemous nature of menstrual blood (513).

Gordonio would have understood the nature of disease. Gordonio naturally combined an explanation of how infection occurred within the individual body to the notion that Jews received the illness as a result of a divine punishment, an explanation that reflected the fear that they were a threat of infection to the body politic.

Dr. Quiñones and Dr. Huarta repeated that religious ideology as it linked to the individual body. The religious explanation, the idea that the Jewish illness was due to their denial of Christ, in fact, was favored in their seventeenth-century medical diagnosis. Quiñones completely ignored Gordonio's humoral explanation and wrote that the Jews suffered

corporeal y espiritualmente, dentro y fuera de su cuerpo, por aber perseguido el verdadero Mesias Christo nuestro redentor, hasta ponerlo en una Cruz, que todos los meses muchos dellos padecen flujo de sangre por las partes posteriores, en señal perpetua de igncminia y oprobio... (qtd. in Mariscal 43)

For some writers the religious connection to the biological was chronologically linked to the religious calendar. The day the Christ was killed, the spilling of his blood, was the day that the Jews suffered their bodily malaçy: "el Viernes de la Passion todos los Judios, y Judias tienen fluxo de sangre" (Torrejoncillo 169).

With respect to Quiñones and Huarta's stereotype of the menstruating Jew, numerous and varied sources from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, other sources from the late Middle Ages, as well as in seventeenth century Germany, England, France and Italy repeated the charge.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish portrayal,

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<sup>1</sup> In Spain, it could be found in such varied sources as the anonymous *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura* from 1580, the *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles* by Pedro Aznar Cardona from 1612, the anonymous *Discursos contra los judíos* from 1629, and *Centinela contra judíos* by Francisco de Torrejoncillo in 1676. In the Middle Ages Thomas de Cantimpré made mention of the Jewish malady. It was reported by Thomas Calvert in England in 1648, by Heinrichs Kormann in Germany in 1614, and by Franco da Piacenza in Italy in 1630 (Gilman, *The Case 98 and Shapiro 37*). Thomas Calvert wrote, for example, in 1648. "...Jews, men as well as females, are punished *curso menstruo sanguinis*, with a very frequent blood flux." (qtd. in Shapiro 37).

The broader, cross-cultural applications of the accusations clearly suggest that its alliance with the Spanish blood statutes was not the unique reason for its perpetuation. Menstruation and menstrual blood has numerous cross-historical and cross-cultural implications and been studied by numerous anthropologists. For some recent studies on the anthropology of

however, particularly Huarta's, had a distinctive purpose. Huarta, a doctor, advocated the pure blood statutes for the medical profession. Huerta, in fact, was the King's most trusted physician. Upon Huerta's death in 1649, Felipe IV was attributed to have said: "No viviré mucho tiempo, muerto Huerta" (qtd. in Chinchilla 248). So while the menstruation accusation was not new or unique, its strategic alliance with the proposals that advocated the adoption of pure blood statutes was unique to seventeenth-century Spain. Huarta's social standing made his accusations--such as that the Jews suffered from "un flujo de sangre anal" (qtd. in Méchoulan *El honor* 139)--carry significantly more weight than an isolated, scurrilous slander.

Huarta's accusation of anal bleeding resonates with the accusation of sodomy (Chapter 1). René Girard's has linked menstruation to violence and sexuality:

...to understand the impurity of menstural blood we must trace its relationship to blood spilt by violence, as well as to sexuality. The fact that the sexual organs of women periodically emit a flow of blood has always made a great impression on men; it seems to confirm an affinity between sexuality and those diverse forms of violence. (35)

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menstruation see Knight and *Blood Magic*. For the centrality of menstrual blood in Western culture see Grahn.

*El libro verde de Aragón* did not include Quiñones' or Huarta's claim about the menstruating male Jewish body. It did, however, participate in the religio-biological ideology that disparaged those who might have impure blood in their ancestry. As mentioned, the prologue linked the notion of inheriting impure blood, the very ideology of the blood statutes, to the medieval notion of the Jew as the perpetrator of disease.

The connection between the more abstract use of impure blood as it was used in the language of inheritance would not have been and, in fact, was not divorced from the literal impure blood sickness of the Jews. For example, the anonymous author of the *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura* explicitly associated the impure name with the Jewish blood flow. Immediately following Laín Calvo's assertion that "Caualleros, ailos en esta ciudad a centenares en solo el nombre, pero no en la sangre..." (qtd. in Chapter 1), he stated:

Pero de los de esta ciudad, te hago saber que de los que ai y presumen ser de los de cabo, esos tienen almorranas i hechan sangre lluvia, y otros tienen terribles males de madre que cada hora los mata; dando voces los veras por esas calles: "Ai, ai, que me muero de mal de esta madre y almorranas!" (Foulché-Delbosc 166)

The disease, was explicitly tied into the one's name and the language of blood inheritance. Quiñones, for instance, wrote

about the Jewish blood flow: "sobre ellos y sobre sus hijos, quedaron con esta macula, plaga, y señal perpetua y todos sus descendientes afectos..." (qtd. in Mariscal 43). The concrete meaning for the notion of "impure blood," carried it beyond the abstraction of lineage to the substance itself. In this way, a reciprocity existed between the blood disease and *El libro verde de Aragón*. Essentially, the description of impure blood leaking from the Jewish body served to bolster the more abstract ideology of blood that perpetuated the existence of the pure blood statutes. *El libro verde de Aragón* provided an object for the attack, a record of those who had impure Jewish blood.

The accusation of Jewish hemorrhoids or menstruation was not an uncommon insult in seventeenth-century Spain. The Spanish exile, Doctor Isaac Cardoso, felt it necessary to refute it when he wrote his monograph *Las excelencias de los Hebreos*, published in Amsterdam in 1679 (Yerushalmi 436). Censorship and medical intransigency on the Peninsula, however, kept Cardoso's ideas at the margins. On the Peninsula, using the emotionally and religiously charged notion of blood as its trump card, one side of the pure blood debate sought rhetoric from medieval, humoral medicine to sustain legitimacy for its argument. The hidden malady, like the rumors of one's family's association to Jews, ended up the perfect rhetorical device to stir up paranoia and continue antisemitism in a social situation where no one was and, at the same time, everyone could be a Jew.

Chapter 4: Bloodletting, the Jewish Blood Libel, and Consuming Blood

*...I give you everything. Only you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is its blood. Genesis (9:3-4)*

*...Now could I drink hot blood  
And do such bitter business as the day  
Would quake to look on.*

*Hamlet (96, Act III, Scene II)*

*Now draw back from the pit,  
and hold your sharp sword away from me  
so that I can drink of the blood  
and speak the truth to you.*

*The dead Teiresias to Odysseus in the Underworld*

*(Odyssey, 170, Book 11, 95-96)*

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a medieval romance became so popular in Spain that it was published twice in the same year, 1604. The romance, entitled *La historia de los nobles caballeros Oliveros de Castilla y Artús d'Algarve*, contains a rather gruesome scene in which the ailing Artús tells his friend Oliveros that he needs to drink human blood, the blood of Oliveros' children, in order to remedy his illness.

Oliveros goes and cuts off his children's heads and collects their blood for his friend Artús.<sup>1</sup>

In roughly the same years as the revival of this anonymous romance, another medieval legend became popular. This legend also depicted the spilling of children's blood. Although the legend of the death of a boy from La Guardia was celebrated in

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<sup>1</sup> Another legend of the curative powers of blood drinking can be found in Lope de Vega's *La vitoria de la honra*. One character recalled that Emperor Marcus Aurelius' wife Faustina was supposedly lovesick for a gladiator, so in order to cure her lovesickness the emperor gave her the gladiator's blood to drink since the blood of the lover "suele ser / contra el veneno de amor." (Vega, *Ferías* 156).

While the consumption of all human blood had been taboo (the practice of barbarians, witches, and Jews) in the early modern period, the consumption of bloody animal flesh was considered therapeutic by non-Jews. One doctor (Francisco López de Villalobos) prescribed the following for a lovesick chap: "denle a comer un sabroso manjar / en quien mucha sangre y sustancia s'encierra" (qtd. in Márquez Villanueva, *Orígenes* 34). In another case the medical prescription of eating roast meat was given to restrict "sangre lluvia:" "para detener la mucha sangre que viene a la mujer que se llama sangre lluvia para esto conuiene comer asado" (qtd. in *Textos médicos* 1429).

the context of a dramatic work (Lope de Vega's *El niño inocente de la Guardia*), it was considered authentic Spanish history--not a fantastical fiction from a chivalric novel as was the case with the Oliveros and Artús story. The boy from La Guardia had supposedly died because a group of Jews needed his blood for a secret ritual.

In seventeenth-century Spain, many feared crimes associated with bloodletting; the major blood crimes, in fact, were associated with the Jews: that of the conspiring, killer doctor and also that of the theft and consumption of children's blood. The innocent Christian body replete with pure blood was a potential site of violation for the Jews' murderous bloodlettings and a crime against the Christian body was a microcosm for a crime against the body politic just as the polluted Jewish body was a microcosm for impurity within the body politic. In other words, the fear of infection from the blood of the Jewish body (Chapter 3) was not the only fear tied to the substance blood in seventeenth-century Spain. The Inquisition and other religious authorities were the major disseminators of the Spanish version of the blood libel (the crime against the boy from La Guardia) and they used the representation of this blood crime, along with portrayals of menstruation, to close the semantic gap between blood as concept, an inherited quality, and literal representations of blood itself, blood as bodily fluid.

Although Lope's perpetuation of the myth of the blood libel in his play *El niño inocente de la Guardia* sought to create a notion of Jewish-versus-Christian blood, a survey of certain socio-historical forces reveals that the play glossed over the complex symbolics of blood of the time by creating a simplifying duality. Probing beneath the language of the blood libel takes us away from the Peninsula and reveals an attempt to assimilate the new populations of America into a Christian-Jewish dichotomy. The language of the blood libel as it was used to describe America reveals the frustrated attempt to create a simple notion of purity. Probing beneath the surface of the language of the blood libel also reveals memories of circumcision, a buried custom that reflects the blood identity crisis of the time.

Likewise, an investigation of the accusation of the Jewish blood libel in the context of two picaresque novels and from the play *El médico de su honra* unveils significant forces that resist the formation of a myth of Christian purity and Jewish impurity at the same time that the effort to make the distinction became most intense. The language of *El buscón* and *La pícaro Justina* confronts the language of the blood libel and presents alternative efforts to shape identity. *El médico de su honra* reacts to the rhetoric of the Jewish blood libel and reflects the failed use of antisemitic language in attempting to achieve identity by revealing that Spain's particular brand of

antisemitism enables anyone's identity to easily slip from pure into impure. Although the story of the blood libel was designed to draw clear divisional lines between purity and impurity, it ultimately backfired and contributed to the era's social paranoia over blood and identity.

*Bloodletting in Medicine in Early Modern Spain*

*E la su cura propia en la primeria  
 es dela parte contraria sangria  
 Tirando de la sangre mucha cantidad  
 Si la sangre es mucha y de mala qualidad  
 ...Y si es mucha y muy mala la humor  
 faz sangria otra de la parte do es tumor.*

*Cirurgia rimada 12r*

*...tanbien se sangran quon  
 sangizuelas las quales an de ser de agua  
 dulce i gorriente...*

Medical Student's Notes from Italy,  
 Transliterated from Hebrew Characters,  
 Sixteenth Century  
 (Crews 66)

Since the Jewish criminals in the mythological blood libel draw the blood of their victim, a few comments should be made with respect to the drawing of blood in seventeenth-century Spain. The act of drawing blood from one's body by another was, of course, quite common and not normally associated with a crime, but a cure. Deep in the Western medical tradition one's essence, whether an evil tendency or an illness, could be found in one's blood. Bloodletting, hence, was the principal curative practice--it was the anchor of therapeutics (Saunders 6). The purgation of impure blood decontaminated the body.

Since sickness was considered a result of an imbalance or an excess of the certain humors (Chapter 3), a regular bloodletting allowed for the release of the bad blood and restored the patient to a well-balanced state.<sup>1</sup> Typically, blood was obtained by four ways: the phlebotomy or venesection (opening of the vein), arteriotomy (opening the artery), scarification (with cupping), and leeches. While menstruation was often a sign of disease, it was also thought to be healthy

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<sup>1</sup> For a good overview on the procedure and instruments of bloodletting see Davis, *Bloodletting*. For good histories of bloodletting see Niebyl, Léonard, Smith, and Silvette 36-60. Bloodletting was not only the principal remedy in the West, but also in non-Western healing traditions such as the Arawakans (Oyarzún 25) and other American tribes (Tibón 21).

purgation. It was thought that woman, through menstruation, had a natural cleansing capacity in evacuating impure matters, and, hence, men were often prescribed monthly bloodlettings paralleling the natural female cycle (J. Brain 313).<sup>1</sup>

Bloodletting relieved the infected blood that was the root of the sickness: "Para aliviar los enfermos, que se ven oprimidos de evacuación de materia sanguinosa" (*Diccionario de autoridades* 40). It was the first and last remedy. Pedro de Urdemalas told the dying Vizir in *El viaje de Turquía*: "si no te sangras, te mueres" (234). Since a sick person had a humoral imbalance and produced an excess of a certain humor, bloodletting allowed the release of that impure bodily fluid. For instance, in the case of cholera, one medical text recorded that "por la sangria cessa el bullir de la sangre o de la colera en las venas" (*Tratado de la epidemia y pestilencia* 45r). In the case of melancholy, another source stated: "la rotura sea fecha larga que la malenconja sangre salga e la sangria sea de la negra vena" (*Cirugía rimada* 71r). In one medical text from 1601 (Miguel Franco's *Discurso medicinal*), the author proposed bloodletting as the first procedure to be administered against the plague (*Chinchilla* 247).

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<sup>1</sup> The Spanish doctors who discussed Jewish menstruation, of course, neglected its purgative attributes and focused their attention on its association with impurity and diseased blood.

In general, bloodletting was a procedure that made one healthy and fit. In Spain, as across medieval and early modern Europe, the medical praises for bloodletting abounded. It was not only a curative procedure, but palliative and preventative. Under its section entitled the "Utilidades de la sangría" the late medieval medical text *Compendio de humana salud* extolled bloodletting:

...la sangria repara el coraçon y el pensamiento  
 acrecienta la memoria adelgaza y haze subtil el  
 sentimiento aclara la boz: y aguza la vista: temple el  
 oydo, procura digestion: succorre el estomago:  
 destierra la mala sangre, confuerta la natura: y con  
 ella bota defuera todos los malos humores. (11r)

In the early modern period these attributes were often repeated in the common dictum: "alarga la vida, regula la salud,/ [...] quita las penas, refuerza la memoria, limpia la vejiga, tranquiliza el cerebro" (qtd. in *La vida* 280, n. 262). The character Estebanillo González gave a good example of bloodletting in the context of this last attribute, that it "tranquiliza el cerebro." After he narrowly escaped an execution, he declared: "...me fui a dar dos sangrías para atajar el daño que me pudiera venir del susto que había pasado" (280, ch. 5).<sup>1</sup> Bloodletting was so commonly associated with

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<sup>1</sup> A character from one of Lope's plays (*Lanza por lanza*)

healing, in fact, that in one seventeenth-century novel the character Marcos de Obregón used the expression "me sangré en salud" (314) in order to suggest that he tried to cure himself when he was already healthy.

Although the doctor often prescribed bloodletting, barbers typically did the job. In 1500 King Fernando and Queen Isabel issued a pragmatic that allowed barbers to do what had officially been performed by doctors: "abrir tienda donde sajar, sangrar, poner ventosas y sanguijuelas y sacar dientes y muelas." (qtd. in Hernández Nieto 52). Don Quijote's "yelmo de Mambrino," the copper barber's basin that he wore on his head (175, I, ch. 21), would not so much have been associated with a container that contained beard shavings, but as a container that collected the results of bloodletting, impure blood (Davis, *Bloodletting*).<sup>1</sup> The widespread familiarity with the blood basin is evidenced by the fact that almost everyone would have experienced a bloodletting at one time or another. The performing or prescription of the *sangría* in fact gave the

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also sought out a bloodletting for the same reason as Estebanillo: "Sangrarme pueden del susto" (*Biblioteca*, vol. 212, 70).

<sup>1</sup> Extravated blood was the bad blood or impure humors and filled such basins and later was dumped in the sewers with other bodily wastes and filth (Paster 87).

physician his economic livelihood. Enríquez Gómez had one physician say: "Mi cotidiano pan, es la sangría" (qtd. in Granjel, "La figura" 501).<sup>1</sup>

Debates existed over where one should bloodlet, when children should have their blood let, if bloodlettings were overprescribed, if the ankle was the best place, or over the method in which blood was drawn.<sup>2</sup> Despite such debates, sources universally agreed that bloodletting was the best way to get the

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<sup>1</sup> In *El Quijote* from the scene between Juan Haldudo and Andrés, the boy who he whipped, Haldudo mentioned that a typical bloodletting cost about a half a real (Hernández Nieto 50).

<sup>2</sup> For bloodletting and children see *Tratado de la utilidad de la sangría en las viruelas y otras enfermedades de los muchachos*. Andrés Ordóñez (*De missione sanguinis libelum*, 1623) and Lorenzo Romeo (*Desengaño del abuso de la sangría y purga*, 1623) wrote against the abuses of bloodletting (Chinchilla 318, 324). With regard to the proper place on the body to bloodlet, Juan Bautista wrote *Concordia de la controversia sobre el sitio de la sangría en los principios de las enfermedades* (Sevilla, 1655) (Granjel, *Historia* 87) and Alonso Granado wrote *Dudas a la aniquilación y defensa de las sangrías de los tobillos* (Seville, 1653) (Chinchilla 433).

illness, or bad blood, out of the body (Granjel, *Historia* 86-88).<sup>1</sup>

*Bloodletting: From Healing to Killing*

...y es la mujer al fin como sangría  
que a veces da salud y a veces mata...

Lope de Vega  
(Rivers 219)

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<sup>1</sup> When did bloodletting disappear as a curative procedure? Although Harvey himself still advocated bloodletting (Davis, *Circulation* 167), Harvey's discovery of circulation and concentration on the blood as the prime mover of the disease cast doubt on the ancient practice of bloodletting and eventually led to its disappearance as a therapeutic practice (Davis, *Circulation* 219). Bloodletting, of course, continued throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century it was still the favorite cure. As one visitor to Spain commented: "*Fiat venesectio es siempre la receta favorita, a pesar de la ridiculez impresa a esa práctica...*" (qtd. in Peset 97). The practice still had not disappeared in the twentieth century in some Spanish towns and parts of Latin America (Foster, *Hippocrates*).

Although bloodletting was considered health-giving, those who administered it were not necessarily trusted and hence the practice itself was subject to distrust. Since doctors themselves were prone to suspicion, bloodletting was often the target of literary humor, especially in the seventeenth century. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón in an epigram jokingly suggested that the practice was so out of hand that doctors prescribed drawing blood before examining the case:

Yo fui a llamar cierto día  
 para un enfermo un doctor,  
 y él sin saber el dolor  
 o enfermedad que tenía,  
 me dijo: "mientras se ensilla  
 mi mula, mancebo, id,  
 y que le sangren decid;  
 que yo voy luego." (qtd. in Granjel, "La figura" 503,  
 n. 28)

The jabs at bloodletting included more serious attacks. In the same way that the doctor was at once the healer and the executioner (Chapter 2), so also the abuse of the principal curative practice, bloodletting, was widely thought of as not as a potential remedy, but a potential killer. Typically in the antimedical literature and popular wisdom of the seventeenth century, drawing blood, along with other curative practices, was cited as a way in which doctors murdered their patients. For

example, the following refranes noted: "Lanceta, receta y escopeta, trinidad completa," "Tantos mató la lanceta como la receta," and "purgalde y sangralde, y si se muere enterralde" (qtd. in Soufas 175-176, 170).<sup>1</sup>

We recall that in the seventeenth century the association between Jews and medical conspiracies and murderous medicine was quite common (Chapter 2). Torrejoncillo wrote that:

En la ciudad de Toledo llevaba un Medico en la uña de un dedo veneno; y tocando a la lengua de los enfermos, los mataba. Otro Cirujano en la misma Ciudad echaba veneno en las heridas, con que despachaba las curas matando. (152)

The story that a Jewish physician had killed King Enrique by a purgative was widely disseminated. Doctor Juan Sorapán de Rieros, a physician and Inquisitor, writes in *Medicina española contenida en proverbios vulgares de nuestra lengua* (1607):

En nuestros tiempos, fue presso en Portugal, por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición un médico Portugues judayzante, que en Castilla había exercitado su arte. Siendo atormentado, declaró que había muerto en

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<sup>1</sup> The seventeenth-century Peruvian poet Juan del Valle y Caviedes also wrote: "En cuantas partes dijere / Doctor el libro, está atento / que allí has de leer verdugo... / Donde dijere sangría / allí leerás degüello" (260).

Ciudadrodrigo (sólo por su gusto) siete frailes  
Franciscos, estando enfermos, y curándolos él. (118)

The list goes on. Particularly popular was the story of, as Quevedo puts it, the

médico judío que se le averiguó haber muerto más de  
trecientas personas con medicinas adulteradas y  
venenosas, y que, todas las veces que entraba en su  
casa cuando volvió de asasinar los enfermos, le decía  
su mujer, que era como él judía: "Bien venga el  
vengador"; que el judío respondía, alzando la mano  
cerrada del brazo derecho: "Venga y vengará" (Quevedo,  
*La execración* 12).<sup>1</sup>

Since the profession of the doctor was associated with Jews and bloodletting was typically cited as a medical crime, it would also have been taken as a Jewish crime. In one poem Quevedo writes about the *pharmakon* nature of the doctor's job, how the bloodletting antidote can also deliver death:

El oficio de mi amo

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<sup>1</sup> The story is also found in *Sylva responsorum ivris* (1614) from Madrid by Ignacio del Vilar Maldonado. It is repeated in *Discurso contra los judíos* by Diego Gavilán Vela in 1628 (Glaser, "Referencias antisemitas" 44; Quevedo, *La execración* 12, n. 33). For defenses of the Spanish and Portuguese physicians written by exiled Spaniards see Ruderman.

por más que cura, recelo  
 que es oficio de difuntos...  
 Ayer le dijo un cristiano:  
 "Sospecho que no estoy bueno",  
 y luego llovió sangrías  
 sobre el cuitado Sospecho.  
 Recatado y temeroso  
 pasa por los cimiterios;  
 y agora una clavera  
 se la juró con güeso. (*Obras* 939)

Quevedo does not directly associate the medical *oficio* with the Jews in this poem, but since he repeats the popular connection between Jews and assassin doctors, his description of criminal bloodletting not only implicates a stereotypical doctor, but a stereotypical Jewish doctor.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aside from its use in satiric poetry and its association with Jewish blood crimes, the semantics of bloodletting as a crime varied in different contexts. For example, in *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Lazarillo's father was taken prisoner for "ciertas sangrías" from a wheat sack (9-10), and later Lazarillo himself "bloodlet" wine from a jug from his first master, the blindman (16). Bloodletting was also used figuratively to refer the removal of the economic life force of the country. For instance, in the *Memorial de Hurtado de Alcocer* (1621) addressed

The relationship between Jews and doctors is particularly important in light of the medical practice of bloodletting. The one who decided that one's body should be cut, and blood be let, had control over one's most essential property, one's blood. The fear of Jewish physicians and their potential threat and desire for their patients' blood was found deeply rooted in Spanish antisemitism. In 1397, for instance, legislation was directed against Jewish physicians because of their desire for blood: "because these perfidious Jews are thirsty for Christian blood, as enemies would be, and it is dangerous for Christians to obtain any medical help from Jewish doctors when they are sick" (qtd. in Shatzmiller 87-88). One principal fear was that the Jewish doctors used Christian blood in blood libels, a fear that continued into the early modern era. David de Pomis, for example, wrote a Latin tract (*De medico enarratio apologetica*, 1588) in which he argues against the popular perception that Jewish doctors performed blood libels (Schleiner 69). The play *El médico de su honra* also borrowed the popular perception that Jewish doctors not only would draw one's blood in order to kill, but also consume it in a blood ritual (see my comments below).

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to King Felipe IV it referred to an economic crime against Spain. "La primera sangría y más perjudicial que V. M. y estos Reynos han tenido" was the fact that all Spain's profits were going directly to foreign investors (qtd. in Blue 151).

*The Blood Libel in Seventeenth-Century Spain*

The blood libel consists of the notion that the Jews stole a victim's blood and subsequently used it in a secret ritual such as an ingredient in matzoh Passover bread.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to this crime, the sacrament of eucharist is the most sacred part of the mass and fundamental for one's salvation, a doctrine reaffirmed by the Council of Trent in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Typically, the blood of Christ (wine is believed to have literally converted to blood), was especially revered since the transubstantiation in the chalice was only

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<sup>1</sup> Many uses of blood were purported in blood rituals. In this chapter I mention the spreading on the door to keep demons away, its use in circumcision customs, its use in the making of Passover matzoh, and the need to replace one's own blood. Human blood was also gathered by Jews to supposedly remove the finger stuck to the head at birth (Hsia 127). Also, blood was used to annoint the dead. John Donne wrote: "a barbarous and inhumane custom of the Jews" who "always keep in readiness the blood of some Christian, with which they anoint the body of any that dies amongst them, with these words, 'If Jesus Christ were the Messiah, then may the blood of this Christian avail thee to salvation'" (qtd. in Shapiro 2).

observed, and the consumption was reserved for the priest and excluded from the laity.

The mocking of this ritual, the restaging of the spilling of innocent blood and its consumption was expressed in the accusation of the blood libel, the killing of a child and subsequent ritual use of his blood. This charge was the most widely disseminated and scandalous blood crime attributed to the Jews in Europe from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The ritual murder charge has been made against a variety of enemies: "ya de los cómplices de Catilina que conspiran contra los latifundios de los patricios y el arrendamiento de las rentas provinciales de los caballeros, ya de los Templario demasiado ricos para la codicia de Felipe el Hermos..., ya de los partidarios de Carlos I y adversarios de Cromwell y los puritanos" (Malkiel 113). In general, however, the crime of blood became associated with the Jews from the Middle Ages. With respect to the killing of five children to obtain blood for the purpose of healing by Jews (in 1235 in Hesse Nassau, Fulda), Cecil Roth comments: "...the episode serves to show how the use of blood had become associated with the Jews in the general mind" (*Blood* 268).

In Europe, one of the first cases was Thomas of Monmouth account of the death of William of Norwich 1144 (Shapiro 103). For history of the blood libel in Europe and antisemitism see

The blood libel constituted a perversion of the eucharist, a Black Mass, where black magic, instead of spirituality, and profanation, instead of worship, reigned. Monsalvo Antón describes this:

La acusación consistía en responsabilizar a los judíos, normalmente en Semana Santa y mediante simulacros de crucifixión, de dar muerte a cristianos, sobre todo niños, con el objeto de extraer su sangre o devorar su corazón con finalidades rituales, sirviéndose de la magia negra y haciendo escarnos de la comunión. (50-51)

The Catholic eucharist connected to the Jewish ceremony of Passover in some precariously similar ways. The celebration of the blood spilled in Christ's passion found its origins in the feast of Passover, the memorial of the spilled blood of innocent, sacrificial lambs on the doors. Likewise, the use of unleavened bread in the Catholic Church was itself a custom that formed part of the Jewish feast of Passover, where unleavened matzo bread (*ázimo*) was eaten. In its own ironic way, the perpetuation of legends of the blood libel legitimized the true eucharist by criminalizing what was false: the profanation of a

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Poliakov I: 56-65; Tractenberg 124-155; and Dundes 339-342. For a history of blood libels and their high frequency in nineteenth-century Europe see Gilman, *The Case* 208-209 and Jesi.

covert and murderous celebration of Passover. Pardo Bazán reported that popular tradition associated the blood libel with this Passover bread. One description of blood libels consisted of:

...las lúgubres etapas del martirio sufrido por niños y vírgenes, a quienes los judíos secuestran y hacen sufrir todas las torturas de la Pasión de Cristo-- azotes, espinas, clavos, cruz--a fin de recoger su sangre y amasar con ella los panes ázimos. (50-51)

While the blood libel has a long history and was made in Spain and across Europe for centuries, in seventeenth-century Spain it became official church and Spanish history. The most celebrated case of a Jewish blood crime in Spain from the seventeenth century concerns a boy in La Guardia, a town near Toledo. The crime supposedly occurred in 1491, the year before the Jews were expelled from Spain. Because of its proximity to the expulsion date many scholars have assumed that the case from La Guardia contributed to much of the popular support for the 1492 expulsion. This, however, was not the case. Of the hundreds of documents from the late fifteenth-century that contained slanderous charges against the Jews that related to the Expulsion Decree, Luis Suárez Fernández found that none of them referred to the supposed 1491 La Guardia blood libel (314).

The blood libel crime in La Guardia did not become well-known and widely disseminated until the early seventeenth

century. The Inquisition and other religious authorities (from the Seo Cathedral in Zaragoza) elaborately fabricated the history at this time. In 1600 the remains of the boy were "discovered" and a marble urn with his name was found (Despina 68-69). Diego de Espes, the Canon of the Zaragoza Cathedral, organized "el culto al 'santo' de acuerdo con los canónigos de la Seo y con los inquisidores" (Despina 68). In short, the fiction quickly became history:

Diego compone un triunfal epitafio de la nueva tumba, y los canónigos la erigen en una capilla de la Seo, creando un culto solemne con la participación del clero local...Se da a todo la apariencia de restauración de un culto muy antiguo, caído en olvido. Desde 1600 son varios los autores que publican obras en prosa y en verso en honor de Dominguito de Val, citándose a otros como fuente y como base. Será casualidad, pero todos son o capitulares de la Seo, que resulta beneficiada por este nuevo culto, o miembros de la Inquisición o ambas cosas. (Despina 69)

Just as the Inquisition allied itself with medical authorities in creating blood myths (Chapter 3), so it did in this case. The boy became the patron saint of La Guardia. More importantly, with respect to the story's popular dissemination,

Lope de Vega wrote his play on the theme, *El niño inocente de La Guardia*, in 1601 (Glaser, "El niño" 153 n. 1).

The blood libel case, then, was not used as propaganda to generate support for the expulsion. Interestingly, the origins for the fabrication of the case in the first place came in part from the name craze that the *Libro verde* had caused. The family from Zaragoza that went by the name of de Val wanted to prove its purity of blood and sought the sanctification of Dominguito de Val in order to make themselves noble and pure (Despina 69). The story was invented in the seventeenth century; it remembered and rehistoricized the expulsion; and it formed part of the intensified struggle to define blood's role in organizing social and religious hierarchies.

In his depiction of the innocent boy, Juanico (not Dominguito), Lope de Vega is primarily interested in connecting the boy's pure blood with that of Christ's. In the play a group of Jews need Christian blood for a spell which will enable them to take over the Inquisition and kill King Fernando and Queen Isabel. For these purposes they make Juanico go through the passion of Christ with a crown of thorns, lashes, torments, and put him on a cross. In the final overly drawn-out scene, Benito, one of the Jewish conspirators, has trouble finding it, but finally takes out Juanico's heart. Aside from the heart, the acquisition of the boy's blood is the main ingredient for the success of their spell and the reason for their ritual

murder. Benito states that the boy must be bled "porque ha de ser la sangre, para el hechizo, de importancia" (Vega, *El niño* 137).

Lope's play was the first play to deal with the theme of the blood libel in Spain. Lope based his play on a Latin poem from the late sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Aside from the archeological

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<sup>1</sup> In Spain, prior to the La Guardia case, ritual murder was mentioned in *Siete partidas* Alfonso X 13th century and Alonso de Espina's antisemitic tract mentioned a case in Valladolid and another occurred in Zamora (Monsalvo, "Antisemitismo"). In Valladolid in 1452 and Sepúlveda in 1468 a crucifixion and blood libel of Christian child were reported (Carrete Parrondo 77).

The first known written account of the La Guardia case was the *Memoria muy verdadera de la pasion y martirio, que el glorioso martir, inocente niño llamado Cristobal, padescio...en esta villa de la guardia* (1544) by Licenciado Vegas whose account circulated and was copied in Toledo in sixteenth century (Haliczzer 151-152). In Madrid in 1583 Rodrigo de Yepes also wrote the *Historia de la muerte y glorioso martyrio del Sancto Inocente, que llaman de la Guardia...* (Vega, *El niño* 33; Despina 67). Lope, however, primarily borrowed from the Latin poem *De raptu innocentis martyris Guardiensis* by Jerónimo Ramírez (Madrid, 1592) (Glaser, "El niño" 142).

"find" of the boy's relics and the fact that the child from La Guardia was made the subject of Lope's play, he was the subject of sermons such as that of the preacher Fray Damián López de Haro at the Toledo Cathedral in 1614 (Haliczer 153). The story of the boy from La Guardia was also published in *El niño inocente; hijo de Toledo y martyr en La Guardia* by Sebastián de

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After the seventeenth century the story became part of official Spanish history. Another play, inspired by Lope's, was written by José de Cañizares (*La viva imagen de Cristo*) in the early eighteenth century (Glaser, *The Jew* 17). Despite nineteenth-century scholarly work that debunked the La Guardia myth (Loeb's concluded after carefully examining the case: "L'enfant de La Guardia n'a jamais existé" (232)), it formed part of Spanish history well into the twentieth century. This blood libel is found, for example, in the 1963 *Encyclopedia Espasa-Calpe*, a *Diccionario de Historia de España*, and numerous Spanish elementary school books in Franco's Spain in order to demonstrate how the Jew was evil and conspiring (Shephard). One school book stated that Jews committed horrible crimes such as "...el martirio, en La Guardia, de un niño en el que se había reproducido la pasión de Cristo..." (qtd. in Sopeña Monsalve 155). Stephen Haliczer recently wrote that Christobalico remains the patron Saint of La Guardia's annual celebrations (155).

Nieva Calvo 1628. Torrejoncillo reprinted the story in his antisemitic tract (158).<sup>1</sup>

The La Guardia case connected the innocent victim of the Jewish crime to Christ and the day Christ died, a connection that had been made in medieval Spain. We find that the 7th Partida--title 24, law 2--from the thirteenth century stated that the Jews "fiçieron et façen el dia de Viernes Sancto rememrança de la pasión de nuestro sennor Iesu Xhristo (...) furtando niños e poniedolos en la Cruz..." (Monsalvo Antón, "Antisemitismo" 62; Despina 48). In the popular dissemination of the blood libel, the crime in La Guardia likewise occurred on a Good Friday (Pérez 107), something that Lope also underlines in the play by linking every moment of Juanico's suffering to Christ's passion.

A loose definition of the word "libel" suggests a "malicious defamation" and, in this case, Christian blood is libeled or defamed. The word, however, fundamentally connotes the printed or written word and "blood libel" thereby implies a written attack on the Jews, a libel against them, for misusing and consuming human blood. The renewed interest in the legend

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<sup>1</sup> Exiled writers such Isaac Cardoso responded point by point against the blood libel and with other accusations such as Jewish menstruation, the smell of Jew, Jewish hemorrhoids (Yerushalmi).

in Spain was quite different from the perpetuation of the medieval version when Jews were living in towns across the Peninsula. It formed part of an emerging antisemitism in seventeenth-century Spain, joining itself to the *libro verde* tradition of libels and a more pronounced rhetoric of blood impurity. The version of the medieval legend of the blood libel in seventeenth-century Spain was directly tied into other representations of blood in the context of antisemitism.

According to Torrejoncillo, Jewish men and women menstruated on every Good Friday, the day that the Jews supposedly had spilled the blood of Jesus. In general, because the Jews were sick, almost dead, they needed to consume Christian blood.

Torrejoncillo wrote: "estando casi a la muerte, que no se les avia de quitar aquella enfermedad, sino con sangre de Christianos" (Torrejoncillo 169). More specifically, the diseased nature of Jews signaled by menstruation necessitated the killing of innocents and the consumption of blood. The *Discurso contra los judíos* made the claim in 1629 that "el Biernes Santo todos los Iudios y Iudias, tienen aquel dia fluzo de sangre, y que por este respeto son casi todos de color palido. Y para limpiar esta plaga, introduxeron los Iudios la embegecida costumbre de matar criaturas inocentes..." (qtd. in Albiac 400; Riandière la Roche 65).

These representations of blood as a substance helped fuel the ideology of impurity of blood as it meant inheritance and

race. The *Discurso contra los judíos* wrapped the blood of Christ, the Jewish disease and libel, and the language of race into the same package:

...la tradicion auerigua en los descendientes por linea recta, de los que en la muestra de Iesu-Christo Messias verdadero, tomaron la sangre que para remedio de todos se derramo en la Cruz, sobre si, y sobre sus hijos, los quales no ay duda que padecen fluxo de sangre, purgacion, y menstruo, como algunos Santos lo testifican, y muchos Autores graves (qtd. in Albiac 400; Riandière la Roche 64).

The stereotype of a Jew who lost his impure blood through menstruation and the stereotype of conspiring Jews that needed to consume the pure blood of innocent children depicted literal representations of blood. Both of these depictions were linked to the language of heredity--that the Jews were criminals and sick and had inherited both qualities. Their evil traits were passed on from generation to generation--"los descendientes por linea recta." In the flurry of connected blood images in the *Discurso contra los judíos*, the racial component is crucial in the context of the heightened concern over Jewish names, ancestry, and origin in seventeenth-century Spain. Literal representations of blood supported the foundation for the figurative depiction of blood in the ideology that underlay the blood statutes and blood meaning heredity, legitimizing a

justification for the perpetuation of the notion of impure blood.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The link between menstruation and the blood libel was not unique in the Spanish context. It had its roots in the Middle Ages. Shapiro comments: "The roots of the belief that Jewish men lost blood and needed Christian blood to replace it can be traced at least as far back as the thirteenth century... (38). He continues: "...these Jewish men are caught in a terrible cycle of bleeding and replacing that lost blood by crucifying children for supplementary blood that then leaks out of them" (Shapiro 108). Thomas de Cantimpré in his *Miraculorum et Exemplorum Memorabilium Sui Temporis* (1597) entitles a section: "Cur Judaei Christianum sanguinem effundant quotannis" (Shapiro 242-243) and in his *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, (II, 29, 23) writes: "ever since the Jews had called out to Pilate, 'His blood be on us and on our children' they had been affected with hemorrhoids. They had been informed by a wise man that they could be cured of this only by Christian blood that of the Messiah whom they had rejected. However, they followed this wilful blindness, some congregation in every province slaughtering a Christian each year in order to obtain blood for distribution" (qtd. in Roth, *Blood* 268-269). Gilman also summarizes: "Thus the libel of the blood guilt, the charge that Jews sacrifice Christian children to obtain their blood, is the

*Displaced Aggressions: The Blood of Innocents, Impure Blood, and America*

The blood libel charge, the charge that Jews murdered and used the blood of an innocent victim in some sort of ritual, grew in Spain precisely at the moment that it was losing ground in Europe. After 1570, in the wake of the Reformation, the accusation began to decline in Europe (Hsia 138). The vanguards of the Reformation discredited the power of blood: they ridiculed the manifestation of old superstitions, miracles, veneration of saints, Marian devotion, and the eucharistic doctrine of transubstantiation. On the other hand, these religious manifestations grew in Counter-Reformation Spain. With their rise, so rose the dissemination of stories about Jewish blood crimes, recharging medieval antisemitism and Christian providentialism in the seventeenth century.

The influence of the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation is one of a series of complex historical explanations for the resurgence of the rhetoric of blood

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result of the intransigence of the Jews in their rejection of the truth of Christianity and is intimately tied to the sign of Jewish male menstruation" (*The Case* 98). See also Hsia 2 and Tractenberg 50, 148.

impurity and antisemitism in Spain. The changing economy, an economy where one could succeed and better his or her economic status without the help of noble bloodlines, contributed to much of the revival of the discourse about blood and antisemitism (Chapter 2). At the root of Spain's economic transformations was its colonization of America. Aside from the appearance of rhetoric that suggested that money could replace feudal blood orderings, the encounter with the American population also forced many to question and reevaluate Spanish ethnology and identity.

With respect to representations of blood, then, an important repercussion followed Spain's colonizing experience: the necessity for a social reordering of the blood hierarchy taking into account the peoples of America. In fact, sorting out standards of blood purity after the discovery of new races triggered language that simplified blood's role as a social organizer on the Peninsula. The seventeenth-century revival of the power of blood and, in particular, the revival of the blood libel, must also be read in light of Spain's experience with America.

The accusation of the Jewish blood libel in Spain, particularly the version in Lope de Vega's play *El niño inocente de La Guardia*, depicted the Jews removing the heart and collecting a child's blood. While Lope did not connect the Jewish crime to parallel sacrificial and cannibal legends that

had arrived from America, his portrayal of the Jews supported a social order based on blood heredity. The actions of the Jews in his play resonated with the negative depictions of cannibalistic, blood-hungry Indians--those who were "derramando la sangre de los inocentes." The representations of the Amerindians, like the ones of the blood-hungry Jews, perpetuated a hierarchical social ordering based on blood.<sup>1</sup>

Because it necessarily found itself part of the struggle to define blood and its role in determining social hierarchy, certain aspects of the American experience were not divorced from the language of antisemitism. In fact, the creation of the Jew-Christian blood dichotomy in seventeenth-century antisemitic rhetoric swept the new, complex situation that Spain faced with respect to race and blood symbolics under the carpet. Many historians such as Vázquez de Espinosa argued that the Indians were descendants of the Jews (Chapter 1). Fray Gregorio García (*Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*, 1607) and Fray Juan de Torquemada (*Monarquía indiana*, 1615)

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<sup>1</sup> The word "cannibal" itself was a bastardized form of the word Carib, the name of the first tribe that Columbus encountered. The association between this tribe and anthropophagy was purely fantastical; he coined the name based on rumors and medieval man-eating legends (Arens 44). For Indians and Cannibalism see Félix Bolaños, Arens, and Villalta.

argued that America was settled by survivors of flood at the time of Noah and that the natives were descendants of the ten lost tribes (Durán, *History* 3, n.1).

The historical explanation that the Indians were one of the ten lost tribes of Israel described in the Book of Esdras was a popular sentiment of the time (Pagden 156). Another late sixteenth-century chronicler, Diego Durán, repeated it and, in fact, sought to locate the Hebrew Bible in the Mesoamerican jungles. According to Durán, among the list of Hebrew rites practiced by the ten tribes of Israel and the American natives were the fact that they both sacrificed children and ate human flesh (18).

He opened his chronicle *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* by attempting to locate "la cierta y verdadera relación del origen y principio de estas naciones indianas" (13). Interestingly he uses the language of antisemitism when describing their origins:

esta gente nos da, con su bajísimo modo y manera de tratar, y de su conversación tan baja, tan propia a la de los judíos, que podríamos ultimadamente afirmar ser naturalmente judíos y gente hebrea...sus cerimonias, sus ritos y supersticiones, sus agüeros e hipocresías, tan emparentados y propias a las de los judíos, que en ninguna cosa difieren. (13)

Durán's text described a multitude of rituals such as the cutting of the sacrificed victims chest and removal of the heart that made for him a clear parallel for his justification that the Jews and the Indians "en ninguna cosa difieren."<sup>1</sup> Durán wrote that what convinced him most of the Hebrew origin theory was the fact that both the Jews and the Indians never abandoned certain idolatries: "Y lo que más me fuerza a creer que estos indios son de línea hebrea es la extraña pertinacia que tienen en no desarraigar de sí estas idolatrías y supersticiones..." (18). He cited, for example, that they asked God for mercy but then returned "a idolatrar y a sacrificar sus hijos e hijas a los demonios, y derramando la sangre de los inocentes..." (18).

Durán borrowed generalizations about the Jews in order to make ethnological sense out of the American population. Biblical stories of the spilling of the blood of innocents on one hand provided a mythology on which Durán read or fabricated explanations for native customs. Aside from providing a

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<sup>1</sup> In one instance in the description of the funeral rites of a certain king, Durán wrote: "cortábanles el pecho y [sacábanles] a todos el corazón y la sangre" (300). At another point he described: "El rey alzaba el cuchillo y cortábale por el pecho: en abriéndole, sacaba el corazón y ofrecíasele al sol..." (193). Also compare Bernal Díaz and his descriptions of the removal of palpitating hearts (Arens 62).

historical base for Durán and others, those same stories of Jews spilling the blood of innocents, when repeated in the seventeenth century, ought to be understood in light of the legends that had accompanied the discovery of America. Put in another way, late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century antisemitism was not wholly separated from blood fears linked to fears of miscegenation that the American experience had set off.

The Spanish Empire confronted a unique historical moment because of the enormous nationalizing task that it faced in trying to assimilate America; now, not only former Jews, Blacks, *moriscos*, and gypsies, but a multitude of indigenous populations from the New World fell into the category of impure blood. Writers such as Durán borrowed literal representations of blood in order to justify the notions of blood purity and impurity and also to collapse the enormous problem of a multitude of religions and races into a simple duality of Jewish versus Christian.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am only citing examples of those who judged the Indians to be an "inferior" blood type. Many argued against the Hebrew origin myth and others did not necessarily couch that origin myth in antisemitic terms (Pagden). Other writers such as Las Casas flatly denied the existence of cannibalism (Arens 54).

*Circumcision: Cutting the Flesh and Consuming Blood*

*El caliz del consagrar  
se quiso hazer cuchillo  
para vos circuncidar  
otra vez, y recortar  
un poco mas del capillo.*

"Coplas del Conde de Paredes a Juan Poeta,"

15th Century

(Battesti-Pelegrin 59)

Aside from Spain's American experience, below the discourse of the blood libel one can find the male identity-marking custom of circumcision. Interestingly, the earliest recorded Spanish document concerning bloodletting and the consumption of blood of innocents (*La disputa entre un cristiano y un judío*) had to do with circumcision. Echoes of the struggle to erase the memory of the circumcised, while not explicitly voiced, can be heard below the language of the seventeenth-century Spanish blood libel.

Many popular versions of the blood libel in early modern Europe mentioned circumcision as part of the ritual murder of the Christian child. In English versions of the charge, the Jews circumcised their victims before killing them (Shapiro

114). Some influential illustrations of Jews committing ritual murder showed Jews bleeding the boy Simon of Trent from the genital area (Shapiro 242, n. 116). The blood was not only taken from the boy's genitals, but also supposedly used to alleviate the Jews' own circumcision wounds (Tractenberg 149). In other versions of the blood libel case of Simon of Trent, the Jews "applied wine mixed with blood to the circumcision wound" (Haliczer 149).

The incomplete thirteenth-century Spanish text *La disputa entre un cristiano y un judío* gives another earlier version of the accusation.<sup>1</sup> This fragment, written in the form of a dialogue, begins by portraying a nameless Christian scorning a nameless Jew for his circumcising a child and subsequent consumption of blood. The "Christian" in the dialogue makes reference to three Hebrew terms and gives their Spanish translations. The three terms form part of the act of circumcision: *milá* (*tagar*, cut the skin), *pería* (*romper*, break the skin), and *mezizá* (*sugar*, suction of the blood by the rabbi upon performing the circumcision).

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<sup>1</sup> The quotes that follow from this text are from Castro's 1916 edition. A more recent printing can be found in *De la España que aún no conocía* II: 325-332.

It should be remembered that for the Jew, the act of bloodletting would have formed a highly significant part of the circumcision ritual. As one Jewish scholar explains:

...the essential event was not the cutting and removing of the foreskin--though that was necessary, of course--so much as it was the shedding of blood. According to Jewish law, if boys are born circumcised they must still have a token drop of blood drawn ritually from their already circumcised penis.

(Hoffman 96)

The blood itself from circumcision was often associated with magical powers. Among Oriental Jews, for instance, the blood of circumcision was used for writing the tetragrammaton on talismans for protection against pestilence (Hsia 9).

In *La disputa entre un cristiano y un judío*, in order to lend force to his scandalous argument and viciously criticize the Jew, the Christian calls attention to the drawing of blood during circumcision, particularly the last part of the ritual of circumcision, the sucking of blood, or sugar. Although the Christian in the dialogue may have been familiar with the Hebrew words and the ritual of circumcision, he uses that knowledge to stage an attack. The Christian sets up his argument by stating the typical belief that the Jew is not allowed to consume blood (a reference to kosher practices), but consumes the blood of his sons: "Pues luego entendemos que la primera es contraria de tu

ley; ond tu ley non comia seuo, ni sangre, & uos dexades de comer las sangres & comedes las de uestros fiios" (Castro 176).<sup>1</sup>

In the dialogue, in his attack on the Jew for consuming his children's blood, the Christian feminizes the Jewish rabbi who performs the *mezizá* by rearranging his body parts. The rabbi's mouth and nose become a female vagina.

Ond, quando bjen uos mesurarades, fonta uos i iaze & muy grand; que la boca de uuestro rabi que conpieça uestra oraçion, feches cono de muier; & de mas sabedes (& de mas sabedes) que la barba & las narizes an y mal logar. E de mas ueedes qual fonta de sugar sangre de tal logar. (Castro 176)

The popular humoristic tone of this medieval antisemitic accusation of blood consumption had developed and taken on a different shape in the early modern period.<sup>2</sup> In seventeenth-century Spain the ritual of circumcision was rarely if ever

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<sup>1</sup> According to Mosaic laws Jews had to refrain from tasting blood because it contained the spirit of living beings (Leviticus 17).

<sup>2</sup> The comic side of the accusation has a long history among non-Jews. In his *Rationale of the Dirty Joke*, G. Legman has suggested that this circumcision practice has been treated humorously in cannibalistic terms in the twentieth century (538).

performed, making obsolete the hybrid Hebrew-Spanish language that the Christian used to describe the ritual and to criticize the Jew in the medieval dialogue.<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century, the language of blood consumption remained, but the Jews did not consume the blood of their own children, but those of the Christians.

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<sup>1</sup> Aside from a few supposed cases, Yerushalmi concludes that seventeenth-century *marranos* refrained from the rite of circumcision because it "represented the utmost danger, as it was potentially an indelible death warrant for its bearer" (37). Also see Gitlitz, *Secrecy* 202-207. While circumcision as a practice had been nearly wiped off the Peninsula with the expulsion of the Jews, the *moriscos* practiced it in the sixteenth century. Bernard Vicent has argued that circumcision was fundamentally associated with Islam and the *moriscos* in sixteenth-century Spain. He describes how the Inquisition continued to round up *morisco* circumcisors throughout the sixteenth century and that being circumcized was "a declaration of Muslim faith" (90). Nonetheless, in the early seventeenth century, with the expulsion of the *moriscos* and just as Moorish crimes conflated with Jewish crimes (Chapter 1), so circumcision was depicted as a hidden Jewish practice. Quevedo writes that the Jews wore a "traje que sirve de máscara a la circuncisión" (*La hora* 330).

On one hand, the existence of Jewish circumcision was gravely feared by the seventeenth-century body politic. The Jewish ritual of circumcision formed the Jew's intimate, secret alliance with his God--a mark on the male body that distinguished him from an uninformed humanity.<sup>1</sup> Even within the Hebrew tradition, an opposite valence existed between women's blood (the woman's impurity due to menstrual blood and blood at childbirth) and the shedding of the male's blood in circumcision as a purifying act (Eilberg-Shwartz 174-175). The author of Leviticus, for instance, explicitly interrupted the discussion of women's impurity to mention circumcision:

If a woman conceives, and bears a male child, then she shall be unclean seven days; as at the time of her menstruation, she shall be unclean. And on the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised.

(Leviticus 12:1-4)

The act of circumcision, the spilling of male blood, directly countered the impure spilling of the female blood.

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<sup>1</sup> For the importance of circumcision in making blood spouses, for forming an alliance with God and with Israel, see Exodus 4:25-26 and Genesis 17:10-13. Circumcision also formed a past and present blood brotherhood of a community (Eilberg-Schwartz 162-163).

When Doctor Quiñones commented in the seventeenth century on the hidden mark or *señal* on the Jewish body, he blatantly overlooked circumcision, citing the distinguishing body marker on the male Jewish body to be menstruation. Quiñones borrowed the Judeo male-female blood distinction: he eliminated the male purifying rite of circumcision and substituted it for menstruation, semantically replacing a mark of purity with impure blood. In other words, in order to create his own standard of male blood purity, Quiñones feminized the Jewish body in his own ingenious way: the hidden sign was not found on the male genitals, but in the act of menstruation.

Paradoxically--in this culture where the semantics in the ethical determination of blood so easily could shift from a negative to positive identity marker--one circumcised body remained the model for purity in the seventeenth century. Christian children had pure, innocent blood and, often, as in Lope's play they could be associated with the paragon of pure blood, Christ. In Christian tradition and iconography, Christ spilled his blood twice: most importantly, at his crucifixion, but also at his circumcision, an act that prefigured his crucifixion. Sermons about Christ's circumcision stressed the act as covenant in part, but primarily emphasized his suffering and the spilling of his blood (Bynum, "The Body" 413). As Catherine of Siena wrote of Christ's blood: "Eight days after his birth, Christ spilled a little of it in the Circumcision,

but it was not enough to cover man..." (Bynum, *Holy* 176). For Catherine, in fact, the blood of the circumcised Christ was an enormously charged icon. In one vision she received his foreskin in a vision and put it on as a wedding ring, associating the piece of bleeding flesh with the eucharistic host (Bynum, *Holy* 407).

The circumcised Christ was celebrated and a fairly common icon in seventeenth-century Spain. January 1 was the feast day of "The Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ." Zuburán painted the circumcision of Christ for *Nuestra Señora de la Defensa* in Jerez de la Frontera (1639) (Gregori 63) and Angelo Nardi painted the *Circuncisión* for the lateral altar pieces in the Bernardas Church at Alcalá de Henares (1620) (Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 209). Interestingly in Nardi's version the artist depicted the Christ child with an ornate blood basin for catching the blood, a basin that that very well could represent a barber's basin from the time. The basin collected not pure blood, but the spilled impurities found in blood as a result of drawing blood. It was metonymic for the bi-valence of blood purity and impurity: on one hand visual representations existed that depicted the basin catching the holy, circumcised blood of Christ while on the other visual representations existed that

depicted the basin catching the holy blood of the child victim of the blood libel.<sup>1</sup>

From the baby Christ's blood poured into this basin in Nardi's depiction of the Circumcision, we can further explore the complex symbology of blood and the blood libel in seventeenth-century Spain. Blood and circumcision in one context were used to connote an arch-impurity while in another it connotated an arch-purity. The blood in the basin of Nardi's depiction of the circumcision prefigured the blood spilled at the Crucifixion, and, likewise, was a powerful icon for the eucharist. Two Jewish customs--circumcision and Passover--could be associated with Christ's blood (his circumcision and Christ as the sacrificial lamb), but they, by means of contrast, were construed as nefarious, associated with Jews who had been expelled over a hundred years earlier.

The memories of these two Jewish customs that spilled blood were unseen preoccupations that needed to be awakened and then forgotten in the creation of the metaphor of Spanish blood purity. They were both evoked and portrayed as invariably

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<sup>1</sup> Although I have not found any Spanish examples, in Europe the blood basin was the stock trope of woodcuts and visual representations of the blood ritual. See, for example, the case of Simon of Trent in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (Shapiro 103).

hidden and insidious, waiting to be unearthed in order to create the notion of a uniquely Spanish blood and Catholic alliance with God.

*The Pícaro: Blood Consumption and Reordering Blood Hierarchies*

The accusation of a blood ritual targeting the Jews in seventeenth-century Spain in *El niño inocente de la Guardia* is striking particularly because no Jewish population existed in Spain. The antisemitic language of the blood libel principally formed part of the discourse that attempted to bolster the importance of blood as the principal social organizer. In the language of the picaresque novel we find language that sought to turn the tables on those who rallied to marginalize Jewish blood by associating Jews with blood rituals. As previously mentioned (Chapter 1), the *pícaro* parodied conventions that associated names with blood. Defying the institutional language that buttressed a social hierarchy based on blood, two picaresque voices in the literature of the time could be heard that mocked and rejected the importance of blood as it meant heredity. For instance, making fun of the language of blood inheritance, the *pícaro* Justina linked all her evil qualities back to eight great grandparents. Pablicos, the *pícaro* character from Quevedo's *Buscón*, denied any sort of blood inheritance: "Me niego la sangre que tenemos."

These two pícaros also inverted representations of the enemy that consumed the flesh and blood of innocents. In an attempt to erase the influence of the father and his blood and establish an independent identity, the child made the father consumable, redefining and throwing out institutional notions of blood. In the case of Justina the pícaro's father ended up in the oven: "porque ya no estuviese honradamente, estuviese hornadamente" (222, I, ch. 3). In Pablicos' case, the mutilated remains of his father ended up in a blood pie (138-139, II, ch. 4). The mocking and rejection of blood based on heredity and the suggested cannibalizing of the pícaros' father subverted the discourse that used blood legends as an ideology for a social order based on blood heredity--the child tried to erase his or her father, disparaging the system that valued blood as heredity.

The consumption of blood and the blood libel as found in works such as Lope's play *El niño inocente de la Guardia*, in contrast, formed part of the early seventeenth-century gesture that represented the substance blood in advocacy of an ideology of pure blood. Lope depicted the Jews as cannibalizing the child and, in turn, appealed to the public's belief in the power and purity of children's blood in order to construct the metaphor of the malignity and impurity of Jewish blood.

*El médico de su honra: From Bloodletting to Blood Libels*

The most well-known literary representation of bloodletting from seventeenth-century Spain can be found in Calderón's play *El médico de su honra*, a later version of Lope de Vega's work that went by the same title. In the final scene of the play, human blood is put on display like in Calderón's *El pintor de su honra*. In the description of this blood, Calderón is particularly interested in the language of Jewish medical criminality.

At the end of the play, the main character Gutierre kills his wife Mencía by letting her blood. In order to lend dramatic weight to the innocence of the victim, Mencía, and the crime of her husband, Gutierre, Calderón has Gutierre adopt the role of an evil Jewish persona. Gutierre washes Mencía's blood on the walls of the house and on the doorpost in an action that evokes a twisted, criminal version of Passover (Cruikshank, "Pongo" 49 and "The Metaphorical" 36-39).<sup>1</sup> The mark, Gutierre's bloody handprint on his door, in fact, violently echoes a practice that

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<sup>1</sup> Some sources attest to a tradition where husbands killed their wives by bloodletting (Jones' edition of *El médico* xi and also *La Regenta*). Nonetheless, in seventeenth-century Spain the most common crime associated with bloodletting was not wife-killing, but the bloodletting by doctors and bloodletting by Jews for the purposes of a blood libel.

the Sephardic Jews had practiced; one account of exiled Spanish Jews explains that they drew a figure of a hand in red upon their doors to protect themselves from evil (Valentine 42-43).

Calderón also borrows the language of the blood-hungry Jew of the blood libel, the Jew who removed the heart and consumed the blood of innocents, in order to portray the character Gutierre. Gutierre threatens to consume the heart and blood of his wife: "el corazón comiera / a bocados, la sangre me bebiera" (171, II, 2027-2028). His threat may have conjured up representations of American cannibals, but the ultimate splattering of her blood on the walls and door places the act within the context of criminal descriptions of the Jewish blood libel. One European blood libel in fact curiously parallels Gutierre's smearing of the innocent Mencía's blood. According to the myth in question, the Jews took blood from the innocent victim in recollection of Passover:

a slaughtered Christian child is a substitute for the paschal lamb, and is sacrificed as an atonement offering for the sins of the Jews; and that on Passover Jews smear Christian blood on their doorposts to ward off the angel of death. (Tractenberg 154)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See also a description of the Jewish ritual use of blood painted on door posts to keep away witches and demons (Hsia 9).

Aside from referring to Judaism through a perverted, criminal Passover, Calderón links his Gutierre to the language of Jewish criminality by associating him with medicine. While much attention has been given to the central image of medicine in the play, precious little has been commented on Gutierre's adopted role of what was considered a Jewish profession and the connotations of the use of the *sangría* itself.<sup>1</sup> The description of his crime and his taking on the meta-role of a doctor (he is not *really* a doctor) resonates with the seventeenth-century language of Jewish medical conspiracies. Just as many Jews were depicted as using the adopted profession of medicine as a mask for taking vengeance on innocent Christians, so Gutierre plays the role of a physician to take vengeance on Mencía. Gutierre, as the criminal Jew, claims his wife's innocent blood with the justification "vida por sangre con sangría."

By pretending that he is from a profession that was considered practiced by those of Jewish blood, Gutierre abandons his name and noble status. Calderón also underlines the

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<sup>1</sup> Wardropper ("Poetry") cites the central image of the play to be medicine. Heiple ("Gutierre's"), Lauer, and Thiher have written articles about Gutierre's diagnosis, Mencía's death, and the final ambiguity of the play, but none discuss the bloodletting method. For Gutierre's door and its blood see West 238.

importance of the name "Gutierre." In the earlier version of the play, Lope named the murderous husband Iacinto. Now, in the later version, Calderón gives the principal character "Gutierre," a Gothic, Old Christian noble name, further underlining the fact that Gutierre takes on a simple trade and abandons his noble name. Gutierre throws out his noble status by intentionally associating himself with a doctor. Calderón, then, calls attention to the fact that Gutierre chooses the wrong meta-role for himself. Gutierre, the pure-blooded noble, adopts a flawed persona, choosing to be the murderous doctor who bleeds his innocent victim.

Gutierre himself does not bleed Mencía, but a barber-surgeon, the bloodletter Ludovico. Even though Ludovico thinks that Gutierre's decision was criminal, Gutierre forces Ludovico to kill Mencía. Calderón's choosing of the name "Ludovico," like Gutierre, is fundamental for further understanding how Calderón criticizes the meta-role that Gutierre adopts. A few years before Calderón wrote his version of the play a German doctor, Ludovicus von Hoernigk, wrote a medical treatise in which he brought a litany of charges against Jewish doctors (Ruderman 302; Schleiner 82-83).<sup>1</sup> The name Ludovico does not

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<sup>1</sup> Ludovicus von Hoernigk's work appeared in 1631 and Calderón wrote his version of the play from 1633-1635, according to D.W. Cruickshank.

appear in Lope's earlier version of the play--the character simply goes by the name "el barbero." Calderón, on the other hand, gives the character a name and appears to borrow the non-Spanish name, Ludovico, to further connect Gutierre with Jewish medicine.<sup>1</sup> In his medical treatise, Doctor Ludovicus condemns the crimes of physicians who are not "true healers," but Jewish. In Calderón's play, the barber Ludovico disagrees with Gutierre's "medical" decision. Calderón thereby further attacks Gutierre's meta-role of the physician by selecting a character who does not pretend that he is a doctor, but is actually from the medical profession. This authentic medical voice resists the murderous Gutierre's diagnosis.

The "true" barber Ludovico contrasts with another character in the play who momentarily adopts the role of a barber. At the end of the play King Pedro arrived on the scene, approves of Gutierre's murder of Mencía, and marries him to another woman. Although we could hardly say that King Pedro adopts the role of a barber to the extent that Gutierre adopted the meta-role of a physician, there are sufficient references to the possibility of pulling teeth that make the connection. The King tells the *gracioso* Coquín "si no me hubiereis hecho / reír en término de

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<sup>1</sup> Ludovico also appears as the name of the foreign prince in Ana Caro's play *Valor, Agravio y mujer* and a foreign king in Andrés de Claramonte's *El honrado con su sangre*.

un mes, / os han de sacar los dientes" (111, I, 781-783). The moments in which the King adopts the language of a barber turn out not to be only passing references. At the end of the play, when the king sides with Gutierre he states that the proper "remedy" was *sangralla*, to bleed her. The King who has threatened to prematurely take out Coquín's healthy teeth now sanctions the premature bleeding of Mencía's healthy body. Ludovico privately tells the king that Mencía had died an innocent death, but the king shuts him up and sends him away with the gift of a diamond. Calderón, then, implicitly chides the murderous medical decision complicitly taken by "doctor" Gutierre and "barber" King Pedro, calling attention to their obstruction of Ludovico's diagnosis.

The semantics of blood in *El médico de su honra* reflected some fundamental fears about origin and identity in seventeenth-century Spain. In the description of the blood crime, Calderón has had the main character perform the fundamental healing act, bloodletting, and convert it into a crime in which that character not only kills the victim, but desires to consume her blood, uniting bloodletting to the blood libel. Calderón plays on the anxiety of the relative ease that people could lose rights to their own blood: how an innocent person could lose ownership of her blood (Mencía) and how blood types could shift from good to bad (Gutierre). These blood changes were based on hearsay and speculation, reflecting the fear and confusion over

identity in Spanish society of the time that had been in large part perpetuated by popular accusatory name books such as *El libro verde de Aragón*.

*Displaced Fears: The Jew, the Witch, and the Vampire*

The accusation of the Jewish blood libel was the projection of the fear of bloodletting gone awry: the cutting of the body not done to cure, but to kill. The popularity of the charge, particularly in light of the fact that Jewish communities had disappeared over a hundred years earlier, forces one to question whom the accusation really targeted. It formed part of an effort to perpetuate an ideology of a single, pure blood type and, ultimately, that effort backfired. A Jew, the one with the worst blood, could have potentially been anyone. The Jew lay in ambush everywhere, the potential unwanted identity of anyone. Just as Dr. Jekyll had Mr. Hyde buried in his body, so existed the fear of "el judío en el cuerpo" (Chapter 1). Language that described evil dark beings, particularly that of the witch and the vampire, further enriches an understanding of the language of antisemitism in seventeenth-century Spain. The presence of the mysterious creature, the Jew, existed everywhere and nowhere.

Aside from the indigenous American and the Jew, the witch was depicted most often in popular legends as thirsty for the

blood of the innocents. In Miguel de Cervantes's *novela ejemplar* "El coloquio de los perros" "las brujas se untan con la sangre del niño que ahogan" (341). Children's blood was typically a meal for the devil (Sabean 97) and legends about witches described that they would consume blood in a sacred challis as it was the ingredient of the Sabbath communion (Crow 255). Some Inquisitional tribunals tried witches that sucked the blood of children and performed black masses, masses that paralleled the inverted mass of the blood libel. In fact, when witches sucked children's blood, a common fear was that they pressed down on the bodies of young children and killed them by sucking blood from their genitals (Henningesen 88), an action that curiously echoed the charge made by the Christian against the Jew in *La disputa entre un cristiano y un judío*.<sup>1</sup> Quevedo in his poem "Comisión contra las viejas" made bloodsucking not only the crime of witches, but of women, specifically, of mothers and grandmothers:

dicen, y tienen razón  
de gruñir y de quejarse,,  
que vivís adredemente  
engullendo Navidades;  
que chupáis sangre de niños

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<sup>1</sup> The fear of castration seems to accompany the fear of lost blood taken by Jews and witches.

como brujas infernales;  
que ha venido sobre España  
plaga de abuelas y madres. (Obras 873)

While a tradition of witches and witchhunts existed to some degree, Habsburg Spain did not have the great witchhunts like the rest of Europe. Spain envisioned the religious enemy to be the Jew, oftentimes a feminized Jew. The Inquisition enforced its harshest punishments, not on witches or other forms of heresy, but on the Judaizer. In a 1632 *auto de fe*: "Forty-four people were sentenced for bigamy, witchcraft, pacts with the Devil, blasphemy, heresy (both Calvinist and Lutheran), and judaizing. Of all these, only the judaizers were sentenced to death" (Heiple, "Political" 220-221).

For the most part, the language of the unknown aggressor was sublimated into the Jew or Judaizer, the scapegoats for the unexplainable (Haliczzer 146). The language that described the crimes of the witch while targeting a different criminal, nonetheless provides a window that reveals the demonizing way in which the Jew was understood in the seventeenth century. Often both figures were conflated. For instance, aside from Lope's version, other versions of the blood libel in La Guardia portrayed witches who combined forces with the Jews in performing the blood libel (Haliczzer 152).

While a discourse about witches existed in Spain, no folklore about vampires existed in the early modern period.

Cervantes borrowed the language of the werewolf or wolfman in his *Persiles y Sigismunda* from folklore from northern Europe. Despite his interest in the animalized man, the language of the vampire remained engagingly absent in Spain. Nevertheless, the characterization of the early modern vampire, like the witch, opens a window into the portrayal of the Jew in the seventeenth century. The Jew had many characteristics which were simultaneously or later invested in the figure of the vampire in other parts of Europe. For example, both were semi-dead creatures and subsequently foul-smelling, they spread diseases and the plague, they both had bloody complexions, and they had a thirst for human blood. They also were difficult to locate but potentially lurking behind any corner, and sucked the life force out of the country.<sup>1</sup> While discourse about vampires was absent

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<sup>1</sup> In general, societies have believed that the dead ate the blood of the living (Roux 199), a belief alive in early modern Europe (Waite 155). With respect to legends about vampires, aside from their thirst for blood, they were were foul-smelling and linked to the plague, infection, and death (Barber 6, 8, 42, 131). Vampires were often portrayed as reddish and of a sanguinous complexion (Barber 41-2). These traits were also shared in portrayals of the Jews (Chapter 2).

In one medieval Spanish text when the Jews came to collect taxes, the collection was described in blood-drinking terms:

in Spain, medieval demonological myths were infused in the figure of the Jew.

An evil presence could appear anywhere, when one least expected it. Quevedo mocked this anxiety in his *Buscón*. One woman panicked for her well-being after saying "pío pío" to her chickens since Pablicos told her he would report her to the Inquisition for mocking the Pope (104-105, I, ch. 6). Unbeknownst to this woman, an evil creature could be found within her body. A bogeyman could potentially spring out when she least expected it. Gutierre in *El médico* thought that he had lost his honor and had impure blood because of his wife's

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"Allí vienen judíos, que están aparejados / para beber la sangre de los pobres cuitados" (López de Ayala 178). In another late medieval text (*Historia del noble Vespasiano*) the country's wealth could be found hidden in the Jewish body: "[El caballero] mandó a dos escuderos que matasen los veinte e ocho judíos,...e cuando los veinte e ocho judíos fueron muertos, fízolos abrir por el vientre, e sacaron tanto de oro e de plata que fue maravilla. E luego fue sabido por toda la hueste del emperador que los judíos estaban llenos en los sus cuerpos de oro e de plata, porque todo el tesoro de la cibdad se avían comido" (*Textos* 692). For a discussion of the vampire as part of twentieth-century antisemitic propaganda see Cone.

infidelity. His supposition, however, was chimerical: his wife was innocent. Nonetheless, only a supposition, a suspicion, was enough for Gutierre. Gutierre "se hizo mala sangre," as the expression goes, and out of his body surfaced the monster medic hungry for her blood.

Chapter 5: Accusatory Blood, Healing Blood, and Conspiratory Jews

During the seventeenth century a movement was afoot among various religious authorities to seek the canonization of Pedro Arbués, the supposed founder of the Aragonese Inquisition. Declarations appeared that attested to the curative properties of the tomb of this legendary Inquisitor. For instance, those who came and knelt and prayed at his sepulcher were cured of plague symptoms (Llorente I: 164). Perhaps the most interesting and far-reaching of the legends concerning Pedro Arbués was inserted within the pages of *El libro verde de Aragón*.

The story, found intercalated within the *Libro verde's* genealogies, lists of names, and other antisemitic prose pieces (the prologue, the letters between the Constantinople and Spanish Jews, and "La expulsión de los judíos de España"), is found under the headings "La muerte del bienaventurado Mre. Epila" and "La conjuración contra Mre. Epila." For this history, the *Libro verde's* anonymous author took advantage of his public's interest in miracles and the bodies of saints--particularly the power of human blood to accuse and the power to heal--interests that had been renewed in the wake of the Counter Reformation.<sup>1</sup> This version of the story of Pedro Arbués tells

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<sup>1</sup> Belief in the healing powers of the saints grew during

of a group of Jews who took vengeance on the Inquisition by murdering the Inquisitor. The Inquisitor's body subsequently became the site of a miracle: after two days blood began to flow out of his corpse in such a quantity that people came and collected the precious, healing fluid.

The presence in *El libro verde de Aragón* of blood miraculously flowing from a holy body was part of a political strategy made by religious and Inquisitional authorities to depict the substance blood in conjunction with representations of blood as heredity. Just as they created a standard of blood purity through the historicization of the blood crime in the case of the boy from La Guardia (the innocent Christian's pure blood) and they created a standard of impurity through the medico-Inquisitional affirmation of menstruating Jews (the Jew's impure blood), so the Inquisition and other religious authorities upheld standards of purity by the dissemination of

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this period. For example, Saint Tirso was invoked for the abdomen, Saint Bartolomé for the skin, Saint Lorenzo for back pains, and the list went on (Beaujón). Also see Gonzalez de Fauve 203. Praying to saints was not only part of popular medicine, but also the touching of bodies and relics. Philip II owned 7422 relics (bodies and body parts) that he thought had healing powers (Parker xv) and, following his example, embalmed holy bodies were displayed in many communities across Spain.

this blood miracle. The story, found in the context of *El libro verde de Aragón*, reflected the attempt to create an identity based on pure Spanish blood through a method of exclusion. The *Libro verde* listed those who had impure blood and accused them of the crime of conspiracy. The dissemination of a conspiracy crime, however, undid the identity-making process since the conspiracy sowed a universalized fear that confused a clear notion of pure blood, rather than creating one.

### *Historicizing Antisemitism*

In *El niño inocente de La Guardia* Lope de Vega portrayed a crime committed by Jews at the time of the expulsion; the supposed 1491 event was only one of many popular stories from the early seventeenth century that historicized an event targeting Jews. For instance, *El libro verde de Aragón* and a variety of other texts from the time recorded that the expulsion of the Jews occurred as a result of the decision of King Fernando to punish his corrupt Jewish doctor. Another instance of the historicization and mythification of antisemitism in the pages of *El libro verde de Aragón* is found in this conspiracy plot against Pedro Arbués, the chief Inquisitor of Zaragoza.

Aragonese conversos plotted and perpetrated the murder of Pedro Arbués (also known as Epila since he was from the parish of Epila) on the night of September 5, 1485 as he knelt in

prayer. The location of the Seo Cathedral in Zaragoza as the seat of the conspiracy is significant. We recall that the canons at this same church spread another conspiracy when they, along with the Inquisition, created the fiction of the boy from La Guardia (Chapter 4). These stories were not only disseminated in Zaragoza (Aragón), but in Castile (through Lope's play and through the *Libro verde*), making the strategy not just pro-Inquisition propaganda, but also a nationalist move that united Castile and Aragon against an imaginary Jewish enemy.

As is the case with the story from La Guardia, historians of the Pedro Arbués case have commented on the falsification of the conspiracy to murder.<sup>1</sup> These two myths originate from the same cathedral and in both cases the authorities historicized each conspiracy by strategically coupling a representation of

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent history of the event see the section entitled "The Converso Conspiracies Against the Inquisition" (Appendix K), where Benzion Netanyahu comments on three libellous alleged conspiracies, including this one. Lea (I: 255-266) also gives another history of the Arbués affair. For a modernized fictionalized version of the history (that incidentally also includes the blood miracle) see *Un complot terrorista en el siglo XV (Los comienzos de la Inquisición aragonesa)* by Gaspar Castellano y de la Peña (1927).

the bodily fluid blood with the rhetoric of pure and impure. The bodily fluid was described in the image of the Christ-like Inquisitor Epila's blood flow just as it was in the child's blood in the La Guardia story, and impurity in both cases was cast on the bloody, murderous hands of the Jews. The success of the stories is indicated by the fact that both figures gained sainthood. The church and the Inquisition combined forces in a propaganda campaign to canonize the boy and the Inquisitor and both were made saints in the seventeenth century (Llorente I: 157-166; Despina).

The charge of Jewish criminality, more than targeting Jewish individuals, brought Aragon and Castile together by ideologically uniting them against a common enemy. Another way in which the two regions were nationally united was through the creation of an international threat--the Jewish conspiracy.

#### *International Jewish Conspiracies and Spain*

In the case of "La conjuración contra Mre. Epila" from *El libro verde de Aragón*, the story focuses on the device of a blood miracle to add force to its antisemitic accusation of conspiracy. The miracle occurred as a victory over of the crime of conspiracy. As was the case with the hidden disease of the Jew, the notion of a "conspiracy," a secret crime that could not

be easily located, reflected a paranoia over identity associated with Jewishness and the Jews in seventeenth-century Spain.

Accusations of Jewish conspiracies, of course, were not new in seventeenth-century Spain. Ever since the origins of Christianity, the Jews were accused to have conspired and killed Christ. Nevertheless, the conspiracy accusation took on a unique shape in Spain in the early modern period. A conspiracy, for instance, was reported in 1560. The Venetian Ambassador Paulo Tiepolo sent a dispatch to the government stating that he had uncovered a secret Jewish conspiracy that was located in Murcia (Hoyos 20). The murder of the boy from La Guardia at the hands of conspiring Jews was, of course, another example. So, too, were the noble genealogies in books such as the *libros verdes* that indicated that Jews had infiltrated themselves in the ranks of the Spanish nobility, corrupting it from within.

The religious and Inquisitional authorities who disseminated the *libros verdes* sought to disseminate conspiracy myths. Aside from the noble genealogies and "La conjuración contra Mre. Epila," the letters that are placed within the pages of *El libro verde de Aragón* outlined the religious and medical plot that Jews had hatched to overthrow the Christians. With respect to the religious conspiracy, the letters capitalized on the fear that had already been sown in the mid-fifteenth century when New Christians were blamed for infiltrating the Church and threatening to take it over and destroy it from the inside

(Kamen, *Inquisition* 22). With respect to the medical conspiracy, the letters borrowed popular stories of medical crimes at the hands of Jewish physicians such as Lain Calvo's assertion of the murder of 30,000 Old Christians.

While the religious and medical conspiracies have precedents in the medieval period,<sup>1</sup> *El libro verde de Aragon* adds the international dimension to the conspiracy--the letters are from the Jews of Constantinople to the Jews of Spain. Conspiracies that were international in scope are typically thought of as a twentieth-century phenomena. George Johnson, in an article in the *New York Times*, states that fear in the conspirational fantasy is not irrational, but has a "shape and architecture" and the first rule in organizing the theory is precisely its international quality: "Rule No. 1: The conspirators are internationalist in their sympathies. In this century the main targets of conspiracy theories have been Jews, depicted as people whose loyalty to fellow Jews makes them endemically antipatriotic, and international Communism." Twentieth-century Spain has not been immune to this conspiratory paranoia. When Spain experienced an economic or other problem, even droughts, Franco was quick to cite the cause: "una

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<sup>1</sup> For medieval Spanish legends of Jews conspiring and spreading the plague by infecting wells Monsalvo Anton, "Mentalidad" 48 and Kriegel 180.

conspiración judío-masónica."<sup>1</sup> These scare tactics impelled some historians and critics to see themselves as called to debunk the alarmist myth of Spanish history. Although written as a historical treatment of *conversos*, and not a tract against any Jewish conspiracy theory, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz concluded his *Los judeoconversos en España y América* in 1971 with the following words: "En suma, hubo una variedad de comportamientos individuales guiados, sobre todo, por intereses personales, pero nada que, ni de cerca ni de lejos, pueda calificarse de conjuración judaica contra el imperio español" (253).

The historical falsification of the Jewish conspiracy that Domínguez Ortiz feels compelled to expose had already taken on international dimensions in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Some Spanish historiographers in Franco Spain (Mauricio Carlavilla, Juan Tusquets, Eusebio Cumín Coloner) were obsessed with the secret influences of Masonry and Judaism in Spanish society of the 1930s (Mainer 46).

<sup>2</sup> While I am interested in the fictionalizing of the conspiracy threat, one should remember the historical context in which that fictionalization occurred. Essentially, since the expulsion of the Jews, Jewish communities were scattered through Europe and America, but continued a complicated networking. Cross-boundary collusion (a web that bypassed national boundaries) in order to maintain both family and business

international Jewish Constantinople-Spanish collusion found in the letters in *El libro verde de Aragón* is an addition to conspiracy theories that thrived in medieval Spain and Europe. Constantinople, the seat of Turkish rule since 1453, was the main cause of fear by Western Christendom in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> While much of the war effort in Europe through this century was directed against stopping the advances of the Turk, like the example of the Moor, or the Amerindian, the fear of the Turk was often sublimated in the figure of the Jew. The correspondence from Turkish Constantinople advises the Jews in Spain to take over Christian churches by infiltrating them as false priests, and to kill Christians by becoming doctors.

The myth of international Jewish plots to overthrow Spain was not only found in the *Libro verde*, but germinated from other sources in the seventeenth century. Lope de Vega, for instance, portrayed an international Jewish conspiracy plot in his play *El Brasil restituido*. Further developing the theme, Francisco de Quevedo fictionalized it in his satirical *La isla de los monopantos*. In this short prose work the internationalist Jewish scare has all the characteristics of antipatriotism and

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connections thrived and became increasingly intricate in order to avoid persecution by the Inquisition.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Riquer's comments in *Don Quijote* 564, n. 2.

internationalism that are typically thought of as having taken shape in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

For the conspiracy Quevedo created a fictional race called Monopantos (Chapter 2) who team up with the Jews. A Jewish Rabbi explains the nature of their alliance with the Monopantos:

ellos y nosotros, de diferentes principios y con diversos medios, vamos a un mismo fin. Que es a destruir; los unos, la cristiandad que no quisimos; los otros, la que ya no quieren, y por esto nos hemos juntado a confederar malicia y engaños (269).

Quevedo places the heart of the conspiracy in the feared land of the Turks near Constantinople: "En Salónica, ciudad de Levante, que escondido en el último seno del golfo a que da nombre, yace en el dominio de emperador de Constantinopla, hoy llamada Estambul, convocados en aquella sinagoga los judíos de toda Europa..." (266).

The purpose of the conspiracy is to create a device to send a plague upon Spanish Christendom. The Monopantos offer the Jews a machine designed to do just that: "Y solamente os falta nuestra calificación para acabar de corromperlo todo, la cual os ofrecemos plenaria, en contagio y peste, por medio de una máquina infernal que contra los cristianos hemos fabricado los que estamos presentes" (270). Plagues, spread in the town water source or through another sort of contagion, were a favorite medieval and early modern accusation against the Jews. Quevedo,

however, makes the plague part of an international plot between the kingdom of the Turks and Spain mediated by the Jews as it was presented in the letters in *El libro verde de Aragón*.

The Jews, meeting in the Sephardic center of Thessalonica, show no national allegiance; to borrow George Johnson's words, the "endemically antipatriotic" Rabbis have representatives from Constantinople and also Rome, Venice, Amsterdam, Prague, Oran, Rouen, and Vienna. They join forces with the Monopantos who define themselves as multi-national, adopting the language, customs, and appearance of any country where they happen to be, the negative stereotype of the modern capitalist. The Monopantos have an ability to adapt all the laws and the nations of the world as their own: "Son hombres de cuadruplicada malicia, de perfecta hipocresía, de extremada disimulación, de tan equívoca apariencia, que todas las leyes y naciones los tienen por suyos" (266). Neither political boundaries nor religion mean anything to them. The Monopantos tell the Jews that no one decides their identity or names, but the country where they happen to be. The spokesman for the Monopantos tells the Jewish rabbis:

siendo, pues, tales, tenemos costumbres y semblantes que conviene con todos, y por esto no parecemos forasteros en alguna seta o nación. Nuestro pelo le admite el turco por turbante, el cristiano por sombrero, y el moro por bonete y vosotros por tocado.

No tenemos nombre de reino ni de república, ni otro que el de Monopantos: dejamos los apellidos a las repúblicas y a los reyes. (343)

Nearly identical language that described the Jew as ever-present everywhere becomes a trademark of twentieth-century antisemitism. Julia Kristeva, for example, cites parallel language in one work by Céline. She quotes the following: "The Jew, you know, they're all camouflaged, disguised, chameleonlike, they change names like they cross frontiers..." (181).

The final comment by the Monopanto, that they have no "nombre de reino ni de república" and that they leave their names up to "las repúblicas y a los reyes", recalls the general naming chaos that existed on the Peninsula. The issue of surnames is further alluded to by the Monopantos when they give the Jews a book that they can hold as hostage (*en rehenes*).<sup>1</sup> The book is the guarantee offered by the Monopantos to the Jews have that the conspiracy is complete and their that pact has been sealed. When Quevedo says that this book is bound in sheep's skin, he makes an indirect reference to *becerro* or calf-skin books, that is to say, *libros verdes*. The Monopantos relinquish the secret list of names, the Jewish black list, by

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<sup>1</sup> The Monopantos say that the book is by Machiavelli, but give no reference to its contents.

handing over a copy of a *libro verde*. The suggestion is that if the Jews have control of the secret book then the Spanish will not be able to continue persecuting them--the Jews will be able to operate without any suspicion cast on them.

We remember that their operation consists of an economic conspiracy, where money and capital, not blood and feudal hierarchies, reign (Chapter 2). It is in the light of the international collusion of negative forces against Spain (the forging of a supranational hatred and the threat of money's replacement of the blood symbolic order) that seventeenth-century Jewish conspiracies, including the intercalated story of a Jewish conspiracy plot to kill "Mister Epila" in *El libro verde de Aragón*, may be read.

*Accusatory Blood in the Libro verde*

*...este cadáver que habla  
por la boca de una herida...*

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La vida es sueño* (III, 13)

*O gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds  
Open their congeal'd mouth and bleed afresh.  
Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity;  
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood  
From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells;*

*Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,  
Provokes this deluge most unnatural.*  
William Shakespeare, *Richard III* (1,2)

We remember that the letter in *El libro verde de Aragón* from Constantinople instructed the Jews to work from within to destroy the Church. Hence, when the author of *El libro verde de Aragón* presents the crime against Pedro Arbués that takes place within the church at Seo, he suggests that it is a crime of international proportions. The author connects a secret plot influenced by an international Jewish force and a blood miracle to put the Pedro Arbués story in the context of an international Jewish conspiracy.

The story of the conspiracy against Pedro Arbués takes advantage of two popular medieval beliefs about blood: the power of blood to accuse and the power of blood to heal. Before discussing blood's healing qualities, we note how the story in *El libro verde de Aragón* capitalized on the public's belief in its power to identify criminals. After Pedro Arbués is killed by the secret Jewish conspirators, blood flows from his dead corpse. The anonymous author of *El libro verde de Aragón* writes:

Demostró Dios un milagro: que la sangre que cayó en tierra, que era harta, que ya hauia dos dias que estaua seca, y que casi no se pareçia en el suelo,

començando a abrir la fuesa para sosterrarlo en el mismo lugar donde cayó, la dicha sangre comenzó a brollar en dicho lugar como si entonces cayera de las heridas del glorioso cuerpo... (R. Amador de los Ríos 285-286)

Such a miracle was not uncommon in the medieval hagiographic tradition--the blood of many saints continued to flow after they had died. For instance, those who opened Saint Columba's chest discovered around her dry heart a stream of pure and living blood (Bynum, *Holy* 148).<sup>1</sup>

This type of miracle was particularly prominent in the cases of crimes. Literalizing the story of Cain and Abel,

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<sup>1</sup> Roux also describes the blood miracle of San Jenaro where from 1389 the dried blood of the relic of this dead martyr liquified on every first Saturday of May through the following week and on that Saint's day on September 19. The validity of the legend continued to be attested for centuries. In 1881 one Spanish source described the miracle in order to prove the existence of God (*Correo Catalán*) and in 1902 hundreds of witnesses attested to miracle that occurred within the transparent glass case that held the relic: "un líquido marrón oscuro recubre las paredes transparentes del relicario, la sangre adquiere una consistencia cremosa y aumenta de volumen" (Roux 182).

innocent blood cried out after the death of the body, pointing to the bloody hands of the murderer (Genesis 4:3-11). For example, Jean-Paul Roux cites various examples from the late 1300s of bodies of murdered victims that bled when their assassin approached. He describes one that extended into recent history: "No hace todavía mucho tiempo, en Normandía se hacía desfilar a la gente sospechosa de asesinato ante la víctima, con el convencimiento de que ésta sangraría abundantemente cuando el asesino pasara delante de ella" (172). Justice takes the shape of a supernatural outpouring of blood from a corpse that identified the killer.<sup>1</sup>

The occurrence of "la sangre acusadora" was well-known and accepted as authentic in early modern Spain. Gutierre de Centina poeticizes the event:

Cosa es cierta, señora, y muy sabida

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<sup>1</sup> This blood motif, of course, has ancient precedents. For instance, in the pre-Islamic period the *nef*, one of the human souls left the body with the spilled blood, when there was a violent death and transformed into a spirit that demanded the blood of the assassin crying: "Let me drink" (Roux 122). The Greek Erinyes or Furies were originally the image of blood in human shape that ran behind the person that had spilled it serving as disturbing remorse that tortured the assassin (Roux 144).

aunque el secreto della está encubierto,  
 que lanza de sí sangre un cuerpo muerto  
 si se pone a mirarlo el homicida. (qtd. in Avalor Arce  
 511; Marcos Marín 514)

Although it was a part of ancient Germanic law, it is found as part of legal cases in the early 1600s such as in Zaragoza in 1607. King Felipe II's physician Juan Frago also gave a medical explanation of the phenomenon in *Cirugía universal* (Madrid, 1581), using the story of Cain and Abel as one example to prove his point.

The motif of accusing blood could be found in an array of literary sources from the time.<sup>1</sup> In *Don Quijote*, when Marcela

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<sup>1</sup> Avalor Arce mentions the following examples: Diego Ramírez Pagán's *Floresta de varia poesía* (Valencia, 1562), Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas's *Floresta española* (Toledo, 1574), Juan Frago's *Cirugía universal* (Madrid, 1581), Luis Zapata's *Miscelánea* (1593), Lope de Vega's *El hijo de Reduán* (1595), *La Arcadia* (Madrid, 1598), and *Los amantes sin amor* (1601-1603), *Romancero General* (Madrid, 1604), *Guzmán de Alfarache II* (1604), Antonio Mira de Amescua's *El esclavo del demonio* (1612), Calderón de la Barca's *A secreto agravio secreta venganza* (1637), and Luis Quiñones de Benavente's *Entremés famoso del Abadejillo* (Madrid, 1645). For references from seventeenth-century England see Edgar 76-77.

arrives at the place where the corpse of Ambrosio's dead friend Anselmo lay, Ambrosio tells her: "¿Vienes a ver por ventura ¡oh fiero basilisco de estas montañas! si con tu presencia vierte sangre las heridas deste miserable..." (141, Bk. 1, Cha. 14). Ambrosio recalls the trope of the accusing bleeding cadaver, scorning Marcela by asserting that she was so presumptuous to think that her supernatural beauty would cause the blood of his dead companion Anselmo to flow again. Hernández Nieto connects this scene to similar ones in medieval hagiography: "nos recuerda las taumatúrgicas licuefacciones de sangre que se recogen en la hagiología mediterránea; en ambos casos, fuerzas supranormales, suprahumanas son las que provocan tan inusual fenómeno..." (67).

María de Zayas more directly borrows the trope for her short story "El traidor contra su sangre." In this story Don Alonso murders his sister, Doña Mencía, because of a possible threat to the family bloodlines--a base nonaristocrat, Don Enrique was courting Doña Mencía. Don Alonso declares his justification for the murder of his sister: "Yo la quité la vida porque no mezclara mi noble sangre con la de un villano" (561). In order to show the injustice of the brother's crime and demonstrate the innocence of the murdered sister, Zayas recalls the image of flowing blood of the murdered martyr for the Catholic Church. The body of the dead sister is entombed in a "una capilla con una aseada bóveda" and year after the murder

"estaban las heridas corriendo sangre como el mismo día que la mataron..." (561).

By using this trope Zayas not only emotively portrays Doña Mencía as an innocent victim, but also makes her flowing blood an icon, a religious spectacle, in a sanctification of Mencía's body and the accusation of injustice against her brother, the murderer. Aside from borrowing the trope, Zayas links the literal bleeding with the inherited meaning of blood as found in the story's title "El traidor contra su sangre." The author of *El libro verde de Aragón* likewise connects the literal bleeding with inheritance: he inserts the blood miracle within the context of a genealogical book, thereby intertwining the representation of the substance to blood the bleeding body of the Inquisitor with representations of blood as it means heredity.

The use of the motif of accusatory blood was not new in the history of antisemitism. It occurred, for instance, in the context of a blood libel in Würzburg in 1569 when a twelve-year-old's body was found. Inhabitants of the community were summoned by officials and everyone was instructed to touch the body of the boy. When two Jews touched the body it began to sweat and bleed, proving their guilt (Hsia 202). In the case of Pedro Arbués, since the story was placed alongside names and genealogies, it was used, not to point the finger at the Jews, but to lambast anyone suspected of having impure blood, any

possible descendant of the Jews. This blood miracle, in combination with the well-known, and widely-accepted phenomenon of "sangre acusadora," bolstered support for the notion of blood impurity.

The depiction of accusing blood in the Pedro Arbués legend played into the seventeenth-century effort to link religious motifs of blood with antisemitism and heredity. For the seventeenth-century author, Bartolomé de Villalba, the metaphoric meaning of blood as heredity equates with its more direct association, the literal substance. Villalba argues that those who spilled their blood in defense of the church had sacred blood that continued on in future generations. Villalba titles his work *La sangre triunfal de la iglesia* with the intention that "sangre" carried a literal and metaphoric meaning. In his gloss of the title he comments that on one hand the word *sangre* includes the blood that "gloriosos Héroes ascendientes vertieron en defensa de la Iglesia; y sirviendo a sus Reyes." He wrote that *sangre*, on the other hand, "por lo mismo puede ser en sentido acomodaticio:" "por la que hereda" (Villalba 1). In a similar manner, the writer of *El libro verde* wanted to celebrate both inherited blood and Arbués as a glorious hero who died in defense of the church.

This use of the motif of accusatory blood related to another traditional belief about blood--the "call of blood" or the *fuerza de la sangre*. For instance, Abel's blood cries out

from the ground. Typically, this belief indicated that family blood relations were so strong that even if two family members did not recognize one another, they nevertheless, through a sign or a supernatural event, would be drawn together. Cervantes, for instance, borrowed the trope for his *novela ejemplar* "La fuerza de la sangre," where a young boy is united with his family.<sup>1</sup> In the religious context of story of Arbués in the *Libro verde*, the blood miracle not only borrowed people's beliefs about accusatory blood, but also this traditional belief in the "call of the blood." While the trope of accusatory blood isolated and pointed a finger at a Jewish enemy, or, in other words, who did not form part of the Christian family, so the trope of the call of blood (the people who are brought together and are drawn to his body to collect the blood) draws the borders of a community, a Christian family.

The assumption that heroic Christians inherited *sangre triunfal* counterbalanced the blood that the Jews inherited. Francisco de Torrejoncillo in his *Centinela contra los judíos* condemns future generations: "Mal pesar veáis de vosotros y mera

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<sup>1</sup> Guillén de Castro wrote a play (1625) shortly after Cervantes in which he dramatizes Cervantes' prose version of the story. For a general history of the belief in German medieval epics see Hadyn Bell and for a general history in Europe and Golden Age Spain see Ciavarelli.

tristeza, y mancilla con todos los de vuestra casta, y generación" (121). He also directly associates this heredity with a representation of the substance blood. He criticizes the Jews for refusing to recognize the significance of the blood of Christ that they spilled:

Esto mismo piensan los Judíos ahora, que la Redención del mundo ha sido fantasía, y engaño; porque la noche obstinada del error, reina en sus corazones, sin querer reconocer, y venerar, para labrar su dureza, el valor de la Sangre que derramaron. (4)

The link between heredity, antisemitism, and the spilled blood of Christ is more directly linked in *Discurso contra los judíos*. In this case, the drops of blood spilt by Christ, like other examples of "la sangre acusadora," ask for revenge:

Valga para conocerlos y euitarlos lo sobredicho, y para que a lo menos la sangre limpissima de tantos varones ilustres no se destruya mezclandose con ellos, teniendo por cierto, que qual quier gota suya, vasta para inficionar grandes honras, pues sobre ella las muchas derramadas en la Cruz piden venganza, siendo el unico intento de Jesu Christo perdonar los que de ella se aprovecharen. (qtd. in Riandière la Roche 63)

Along with the accusation of crime against the Jews, one single drop of Christ's blood was enough to accuse the criminals and infect Jewish blood. In turn, inheriting this drop makes the

Jews continual criminals against Christianity. As Quevedo writes: "Una gota de sangre que de los judíos se deriva seduce a motines contra la de Jesucrito toda la de un cuerpo en la demás calificado" (*Execración 14*).

Interestingly, this power of a single drop of blood was in part to be borrowed from the language of the eucharistic sacrament of the time. Wine was becoming an increasingly important element of the eucharist (the cult to the chalice developed more slowly than the cult to the host). Along with the importance of blood, many religious authorities believed that the essence of Christ's holy body, after transubstantiation could be found in a single crumb of the wafer or a single drop of the wine. The divine and pure essence was found in a particle, a single part of the whole. One statement from Rome in 1610 stated that true communication with God was through Christ's blood. Joining God, the connection to the holy body, was through Christ's blood: "nostra cum Deo copulatione per Christi sanguinis communicationem" (qtd in Camporesi 63). Such eucharistic rhetoric should not be forgotten in the metaphorization of blood in the pure blood debates in Spain. In this context it was inverted and, in legal and religious discourse, it was used not for purity, but to attack the impure. In some texts, such as *Discurso contra los judíos*, a theory was propagated that if one had a single drop of impure blood, then the individual's entire body was corrupt and infected because

every precious accusing drop of Christ's blood spoke out for vengeance.

*Holy, Healing Blood in the Libro verde*

*Drink of it, all of you, for this is my blood...Matthew 26:28*

The miracle and sacrament of the eucharist obviously provided the religious force behind the Pedro Arbués story. On one hand, the story of the blood miracle is designed to point an accusing finger at the perpetrators of the crime, Jewish conspirators who sought overthrow the Inquisition. Besides the theme of blood and justice, the Arbués history adds an additional motif: the power of blood to heal. The people do not only come to identify the criminals and observe the blood miracle, but to gather up the blood "en paños y en papeles." *El libro verde de Aragón* continues documenting the miracle:

...en el mismo lugar donde cayo la dicha sangre començo a brollar en el dicho lugar como si entonces cayera de las heridas del glorioso cuerpo y crecio en tanta cantidad que la gente de la ciudad tomavan della en panos y en papeles con mucha devocion y quanto mas tomavan della mas crecia... (R. Amador de los Ríos 285-286)

The people, of course, used cloths and papers not to staunch the blood, but to absorb it. They wanted to gather signs of purity in blots of blood on cloths and in red traces on paper.

The scene might be compared to a visual representation from the time: in El Greco's *Crucifixión*, an angel collects the blood flowing from Christ's wound in its cupped hand while another collects his blood beneath in a cloth. Mary Magdalen also holds a cloth in anticipation of Christ's falling blood (Gudiol 207). Mary Magdalen was often portrayed as a model sinner cleansed by Christ's blood, standing under the cross inundated with his blood, washing away her sins (Bynum, *Holy* 166).

The desire to collect sacred blood kept in a cloth could also be found in the hagiographic tradition. The saint's blood, like his or her other body parts, was revered for its healing properties. For example, in one account of the life of Saint Filippo (*Vita di San Filippo Feri*, 1699) a woman gathered up the saint's blood in some bits of cloth.

Using one of these blood-soaked shreds of cloth a woman who burned with a merciless fever managed to recover her health. She took that piece, all bloodied as it was, and placed it in a cup, and then squirted water all over it and drank the water. At once she was well. (qtd. in Camporesi 64)

The blood-soaked cloth was believed to act as the eucharistic host in containing not only the holy person's blood, but essence

of the holy person's life. As one character in Tirso de Molina's play *La gallega Mari-Hernández* said: "reliquias en lienzos viven" (17). Absorbed blood in cloths was believed to not only contain the essence of saints, but the essence of other holy bodies. For example, in seventeenth-century England there existed accounts of how a handkerchief dipped in the King's blood had performed miraculous cures (Thomas 195). In exchanges between lovers in Spain, the practice of passing on holy, healing blood was imitated. Often, the beloved not only sent her handkerchief as a *galardón* to her lover, but soaked the cloth with blood from her bloodletting (*Deleito y Piñuela* 59).<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that this practice was borrowed in the more profane arena of erotic interchanges, since in the medieval

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<sup>1</sup> Bloodletting entered into the language of erotic discourse in other fascinating ways. In a play by Lope, one gallant was upset he had not kept the results of his bloodletting for his lover and, in fact, tells her that "las sangrías adaman a los amantes" (Lope, *Ferías* 157). The gallant also could give a gift of blood to his beloved, but did so in a more violent fashion. In another profanation of a sacred tradition, suitors who took part in penitential scourging during Holy Week would whip themselves in such a way that their blood would spurt on their beloved--supposedly the highest compliment possible (Foster, *Culture* 181).

and early modern period the receiving and consumption of holy blood represented a healing, nurturing, cleansing, and a personal bonding experience. With respect to its curative properties, John Donne describes Christ's blood as a "healing balm." For Donne, the consumption of his blood causes an alchemical transformation of the human body--the body that consumes sacred blood is "to be embalmed with Divine Nature itself, to be embalmed with eternity" and is preserved "from corruption and incineration forever" (qtd. in Waite 155). One scholar, Caroline Bynum, has underlined the feminine, nurturing nature of the blood-giving act. Blood, the manifestation of life itself coursing through Christ's veins and leaping forward from his violated side, was considered a nursing mother's milk since that milk was simply a processed form of blood.<sup>1</sup>

The experience of certain medieval saints was reexperienced and reproduced in seventeenth-century Spain. For instance, in Bartolomé Murillo's painting of San Francisco embracing the crucified Christ, San Francisco lovingly embraced the Crucifix

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the act also to the popularized story from medieval bestiaries of the pelican that was reputed to pierce its breast and feed its dead chicks in order to restore them back to life. As Quevedo commented: "para sustentar sus hijuelos se hiere el pecho para que en él beban la sangre" (qtd. in Vélez de Guevara 230, n. 25).

gazing within the dying Christ's eyes and his mouth near Christ's bleeding wound (Hayward 122). Such depiction underlines the nutritive quality ascribed of holy blood. Catherine of Siena wrote that the Lord Jesus Christ "came up to me, clasped my soul in his arms, and put my mouth to where his most sacred wound was, that is to say, the wound in his side" (qtd. in Bynum, *Holy* 173).

Pure blood was not only received from Christ, but the holy human body could be transformed into a supplier of that blood. Medieval and early modern physicians thought that the mother's blood fed the child in the womb and then transmuted into breast milk and fed the baby outside the womb as well, making blood the fundamental nutrient of human life.<sup>1</sup> One medieval saint not only fed upon Christ's blood, but needed to nurse souls in purgatory. She wrote: "I must give them my heart's blood to drink" (Bynum, *Holy* 133). One seventeenth-century Spanish nun, the peasant mystic Isabel de Jesús, followed this example when

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<sup>1</sup> Women were typically thought to have an excess of blood and breast milk was considered their blood in a purified form (*Libro de anathomia del hombre* fol. 50). While typically portrayed as gendered, some accounts existed of lactating men. One "had milked so much milk from himself that he made cheese from it" (Duden 117).

she wrote in her autobiographical *Vida de la Venerable Madre Isabel de Jesús...*:

Manifestóme el Señor un día su corazón santísimo, diciéndome que estaba cargado, y que no hallaba quien le descargase los pechos:...yo lo entendí muy bien, porque había pasado por mí cuando enfermaban mis niños, y cuando se morían daba mis pechos a los hijos ajenos, y a los mismos perros, porque no cabe la leche en los pechos, y está hirviendo por salir, y como la leche de la misericordia de Dios estaba en el encendido amor, cociendo por comunicarse; para hacernos bien.

(qtd. in Arenal, "The Convent" 155)

The discourse of passionate erotics ("hirviendo," "encendido amor," "cociendo por comunicarse"), maternal nursing, and Christ's blood form part of the interest in the power of blood that was emphasized during the Counter Reformation. In its own way, the miracle in *El libro de Aragón* participated in Isabel's intimate discourse about blood. The gathering up of the blood pouring forth from Pedro Arbués' body reflected the public's fascination with the substance while the circulation of the story itself contributed to that fascination.

The case of Pedro Arbués was used by the Inquisition as a tool of auto-propaganda. In a similar way that it made this blood fiction official history so it also institutionalized blood fictions with respect to the nutritional aspect of blood

and the medical association between milk and blood.<sup>1</sup> In certain Inquisitional cases, the supposed Judaism of the accused was substantiated by proving that the accused had nursed from the milk of a *converso* wet nurse.<sup>2</sup> The passing on of heresy and

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<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, the place that blood was drawn, such as a woman's breast, offset bleeding from the lower strata of the body. In medical texts of the time, the method to curtail diseased menstrual bleeding was to let blood from the breasts. For example we find the following examples: "para la sangre lluvia de la mujer pongale ventosas so las tetas amas" (*Tesoro de la medicina* fol. 15v15) and "assi como poner las ventosas sobre las tetas para restañir la sangre de lluvia" (*Sevillana medicina* fol. 101r14).

<sup>2</sup> Julio Caro Baroja cites many texts that explain that milk passes from the wet nurse of impure blood to the Old Christian: "les sabe la sangre a la pega de las creencias de sus antepasados" (*Formas* 490, *Los judios* II: 306, 409). In *Defensa de los estatutos y noblezas españolas* (Zaragoza, 1637), Fray Gerónimo de la Cruz tells the story of a prisoner who puzzled Inquisitors because, having no apparent Jewish ancestry, they could not account for his sinfulness until it was discovered that as an infant he had been contaminated by the milk of a wet-nurse of Jewish origin (Sicroff, "A. Castro" 8). Estebanillo González mocked such official practices by saying that he had

sins through one's milk represented another example of how the Inquisition unwittingly perpetuated a chaos of identities. Just as names and heredity were fabricated and manipulated to prove heresy, so an accusation based upon the supposed impurity of a wetnurse could be made. Such cases indicate how little the institutions seriously considered "truthful" genealogies: they could arbitrarily shift accusations of Judaizing from genetic inheritance to an inheritance from a third party (the wetnurse).

In the context of the late medieval and early modern idea of the sacred, holy blood not was only associated with breast milk--a nutrient and physical healer--but its consumption also washed away one's sin. One hagiographic account of Beatrice reported that she frequently saw visions of blood at mass and in one of these all the blood that flowed from Christ's wounds "flooded into her heart" to wash her perfectly clean (Bynum, *Holy* 164). María Marcela, a Spanish nun, had a similar vision of the cleansing power of Christ's blood "...vi al Señor como un lago de sangre con la cual bañó a mi alma la que salió de este baño como una blanca ave..." (qtd. in Arenal and Schlau 362).

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pure blood because an aunt of his had nursed the Pelayo (Chapter 1). For an Inquisitional case based on breast milk--"la leche de aquella perra judía"--see Edwards 355. For a history of choosing the wetnurse and her "bona sangre" see Bau 186-187.

The desire to cleanse or purify one's soul certainly was one reason that the people entered the Seo and collected Pedro Arbués' blood. The description of the blood miracle echoes the communion experience, an experience that was often not conceived of as symbolic or figurative. When certain devout figures had visions of consuming blood, the blood images in those visions were understood as a pure bodily fluid that satisfied them just as clear, fresh water, wholesome milk, or a satisfying meal. The experience of the eucharist was often portrayed as anthropophagic, directly associated with the bleeding Christ. Isabel de Jesús, for instance, remembers the following vision of Christ:

Yendo un día por el camino del mismo Convento de San Andrés a confesar, y comulgar, se me representó Cristo nuestro bien sobre una mesa larga, del largo de su Cuerpo Santísimo. Tenía proporción de un hombre de buena estatura; sus benditas carnes estaban todas acardenaladas y sangrientas; su Santa Cabeza tenía aquella horrible diadema, con que le suelo ver; le corría sangre de la llagas de las espinas... (qtd. in Arenal and Schlau 213)

She then sees a table:

... esta mesa era redonda, y estaba sobre ella un gran pedazo de carne desfilando sangre por una parte y por otra...Me fue dado a entender el Misterio del

Santísimo Sacramento; y aunque se gastaba aquella Santísima carne que estaba en aquella mesa, era representación de Cristo ... Conociendo en esto, que aunque le comemos, entero se queda, siempre está la mesa puesta, y depositada su preciosísima sangre.

(qtd. in Arenal and Schlau 213)

The eucharistic experience was at once quotidian--celebrated at the "mesa" upon which is set a "gran pedazo de carne"--and miraculous, since the supply of meat and holy blood is boundless. The commonplace trope of feasting combined with the extraordinary helped provide the religious valor of blood for the eucharist and other holy representations of blood such as the site of Arbués' body.

The involuntary nature of Arbués' bleeding was significant in understanding the Inquisition's perpetuation of the cult to holy blood.<sup>1</sup> When involuntary bleeding occurred from the lower strata of the body it was a sign of corruption and contamination, but when unusual bleeding from extraordinary

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<sup>1</sup> The revival of the medieval practice of scourging was institutionalized in the popular religious *cofradías* which often adopted their name inspired by holy blood (such as "Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus, Primera Sangre de Nuestro Señor Jesuscristo" or "Santo Cristo de la Sangre") (González de León). Also see Caro Baroja, *Formas* 356.

places such as from the nose, mouth, hair, ears, side, hands, or after death (as was the case with Arbués), it was considered a sign of holiness.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, on Good Friday, the day commemorating the death of Christ, the Jews supposedly menstruated, while certain saints were reputed to have bled from their sides, hands, and feet. Other medieval tropes of involuntarily spilling blood, such as stigmata, were revitalized in painting in the Spanish Counter Reformation period such as in El Greco's or Bartolomé Carducho's depiction of Saint Francis receiving the stigmata (Gudiol 109 and Angulo Iñiguez 21). The making sacred of involuntary holy bleeding could stray precariously close to forms of voluntary bloodshed such as self-inflicted stigmata and flagellation that were also considered holy manifestations. Stigmata were sometimes voluntarily produced: one saint thrust a nail through her hand, another

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<sup>1</sup> Bleedings were seen as all human exudings: menstruation, sweating, lactation, emission of semen, hemorrhoidal bleeding, nosebleeds were taken to be analagus. Nevertheless, institutions designated different semantic readings to different types. Some saints suffered violent nosebleeds during eucharistic ecstasies, and hagiographers saw the bleeding as a sign of mystical favors (Bynum, *Holy* 123). Other cases include hair that dripped with blood when cut and mouths and ears that poured out rivers of copious blood (Bynum, *Holy* 125, 162, 171).

drove the middle finger of each hand through the palm of the opposite hand, and another put herself through a pantomime of the Crucifixion (Bynum, *Holy* 210, 212). A manifestation of such bodily mortification was represented in seventeenth-century Spain in Zurbarán's depicting of the youthful Henry Suso incising the letter H on his chest with a long metal stylus (Brown 136). The most common medieval form of bodily mortification was the practice of scourging or auto-flagellation for the purpose of spilling blood. Paralleling the bloodletting practice, but in the religious context, the act was performed not only to imitate the suffering Christ, but to get the sin or the bad blood out. In fact, in the early modern period flogging was a medical procedure employed to cure melancholics, madmen, and sexual impotence (Schleiner 140-144). Since the essence of the sickness was found in the blood, so the essence of the sin could also be found there. Cervantes made fun of the practice in Chapter 35 of *El Quijote*. The doctor Juan Huarte de San Juan criticized the practice for letting out vital spirits: "La disciplina, si es dolorosa y con sangre, ¿quien no sabe que gasta y consume muchos espíritus vitales y animales y que por la efusión de la sangre pierde el hombre el pulso y el calor natural" (259).

Following this blood bivalence, in the delicate semantics of blood and bleeding the Jews consumed holy blood in cannibalistic, barbarian rituals, while the holy consumed the

blood in redemptive, life-giving Communion. While the duality was a religious one (Christian-Jewish), certain Spanish institutions like the Inquisition fabricated the duality to create specific notions of pure versus impure Spanish blood. The acts were the same--the ritual use of sacrificial blood of a scapegoat, crucifixion, and anthropophagy (the boy from La Guardia versus Christ)--but the political and religious forces determined who did and who did not properly practice them, attempting to create artificial boundaries that established the integrity and definition of a pure community or, in other words, those of impure Jewish blood versus those of pure Spanish blood.<sup>1</sup>

For instance, in the case of a different country, the eucharistic ideology, the fine line that differentiated a sanctified Communion from cannibalizing acts, could easily be reconfigured. England barbarized the Spaniards by making them Jews and also by criticizing the way in which they treated the American indigenous populations (*leyenda negra*). Likewise, in England the eucharist, the celebrated practice in Spain

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<sup>1</sup> For the general religious context we know that for some blood "both as threat to and confirmation of Christianity" (Shapiro 107). For the boundaries of the community as created by accusing those outside the boundary of the very practice on which that community is founded see Peter Hulme 85.

particularly after the Council of Trent, was turned into a barbaric ritual. Reginald Scott wrote that the Catholics

are not ashamed to swear, that with their carnal hands they tear his human substance, breaking it into small gobbets; and with their external teeth chew his flesh and bones, contrary to divine or humane nature ... Finally, in the end of their sacrifice (as they say) they eat him up raw, and swallow down into their guts every member and parcel of him. (qtd. in Shapiro 110)

In other words, one blood myth could be turned on its head with relative ease depending on the political, religious, and national situation.<sup>1</sup>

### *Jewish Conspiracies and Blood*

Miraculous bleeding in the medieval and early modern period was not limited to human bodies both alive and dead, but also included the eucharistic host, crosses, and other types of representations such as holy icons--all of which were typical objects associated with Jewish conspiracies. As was the case with Pedro Arbués, one of the key elements in medieval and early

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<sup>1</sup> For a treatment of the theme of communion "collapsing back into cannibalism" in a variety of literary contexts see Kilgour.

modern Jewish conspiracy plots is the miraculous presence of human blood.

The consecrated host in the act of transubstantiation was a physically transforming event. Camporesi has written the following concerning the common perception of the eucharist from this period: "The consecrated host, the divine flesh, was regarded as a bloody clot, a portentous liquor" from which "the divine juice might be squeezed and tapped" (63). Typically, as Isabel de Jesús' vision of Christ suggests, the eucharist was thought to be able to dissolve into bloody flesh. The Council of Trent reaffirmed the doctrine of Transubstantiation that is, that the eucharistic elements of bread and wine are changed in substance into body and blood of Christ, leaving only the appearance of bread and wine. If profaned, the host could announce its presence by a trail of blood (Bynum 60, 228) and the most common accusations of eucharistic profanation were directed against Jewish conspirators. In fact, in medieval Europe, after the blood libel, the most spectacular crime attributed to the Jews was the crime against the host.<sup>1</sup> Roux

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<sup>1</sup> Host sacrilege by Jews in Spain are relatively common, particularly with respect to the Corpus Christi church in Segovia. Emilia Pardo Bazán recounted in the nineteenth century: "La tradición afirma que los judíos buscaban las Hostias consagradas para ultrajarlas y atormentarlas, y la de Segovia

describes one example: "Es famoso el relato del profanador judío de París que la emprendió sanudamente a cuchilladas contra una de ellas y le extrajo sangre" (298). In Spain in 1406 a group of Jews were purported to have stolen and profaned the host in Segovia (Carrete Parrondo 77). The host was often tormented and tortured until it bled. Likewise, late medieval legends were spread that told of crosses that bled as a result of Jewish conspiracy and profanation (Monsalvo 73).

As was the case with accusation of the blood libel, accusations of host desecration and the mistreatment of holy images increased after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (Gitlitz, *Secrecy* 161). In one popular seventeenth-century case the conspiracy was not directed against a host or a cross, but a religious icon. One account of this episode is reported in a testimony from a child in 1629 that described a group of Jews that supposedly attacked the image of the Cristo de la Paciencia in Madrid. As in its medieval precedents, the appearance of

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fue echada a una caldera de agua hirviendo; pero al punto la Sagrada Forma se elevó por los aires, y volando salió de la sinagoga quebrantando la pared: la hendedura se enseña todavía en el coro de las monjas" (50). Shephard (174) visited the church in 1967 and on the church's entrance was a painting depicting the Jews working their sacrilege and a seven-page pamphlet was sold that explained the legend.

blood is the key sign of the proof of the crime. One source from the time described that a religious procession stopped "al lugar, para venerarle, adonde subcedió aquel sacrilegio del Santo Cristo que aquellos hebreos hicieron con su imagen que les habló y virtió sangre" (qtd. in Quevedo, *La execración* xvi).

Legends about profanation of icons and holy objects were not the only accusations of antisemitism in the early modern period in Spain. In fact, the mass production of religious icons that occurred during the Baroque period opened up a new door through which antisemitism was disseminated. Baroque artists and sculptors (such Murillo, Zurbarán, Velázquez, and Nardi and a multitude of new, anonymous religious artists) were fascinated by crucified or flagellated Christs, bleeding martyrs, and the bleeding Virgin Mary.<sup>1</sup> Through the dissemination of such icons in churches across Spain, sacred blood was spilled, displayed, mass produced, and distributed in places of worship across the country.

Accompanying this visual feast, language targeting Jews focusing on Christ's blood, could be vividly employed. In one sermon from the seventeenth-century, the priest Martín Caballero

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<sup>1</sup> One of the frequent depictions of Mary in Spanish sculptures of the late sixteenth-century was as the Mother of Sorrows with seven swords piercing her chest and blood pouring out (Weisbach 28).

de Isla looks upon a painted statue of Christ in his church and physically experiences the moment of Christ's passion:

Veo, que unos hombres fieras, unos Judíos idolatras  
 arrojándola en el suelo, la ponen a los pies de unos  
 sacrílegos: Veo, que unos hombres escorpiones,  
 escupiendo veneno sobre aquel hermoso retrato de Dios,  
 le afean, le maltratan, le hieren acerbamente: Veo  
 derramar sangre a aquella Imagen muerta, como si  
 estuviera viva: Veo; pero no: oygo, que oyes? Oigo a  
 aquel animado cadáver, oprimido de los tormentos,  
 prorrumpir en lastimosas voces: *Porque me maltratais  
 siendo vuestro Dios verdadero! Quis talia fando  
 temperet a lacrymis?* Que corazón ay, Fieles, tan de  
 diamante, que no se desate en arroyos de sangre? que  
 no se deshaga en pluvias de lágrimas, viendo que esta  
 Imagen de Dios, contra la naturaleza, resiente,  
 crudamente herida, la gravedad de los tormentos!

(Caballero de Isla, fol. 6)

Although not a recent accusation of a Jewish crime like that which had occurred in a neighborhood in Madrid like the Cristo de la Paciencia, this account attempted to be equally contemporary, recreating a living image of Christ whose blood

flowed from an artistic representation of his body under the torments of the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

*The Construction of the Notion of Spanish Blood? -or- Spanish Proto-Nationalism?*

Antisemitic associations with blood--the accusing blood from the corpse, bleeding hosts and other objects, and statues that bled--do have medieval precedents, but, during the Counter Reformation, they returned with fervor in the context of the renewed interest in Corpus Christi spectacles and as part of other eucharistic miracles. The representations of blood in Spain in the early modern period in association with Jewish conspiracy plots, however, were not simply a carbon copy of medieval Jew-baiting. Spain developed more advanced forms of antisemitism, that is to say, it modernized anti-Jewish

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<sup>1</sup> Caballero de Isla, envisioning the crimes of Judaism as present and real, does, in fact, have a sermon about the Jewish profanation in Madrid published as *Sermon a los desagruaios de la soberana imagen del santo Christo de la Paciencia...de las iniurias que en ella executo el ciego Iudaismo...* For medieval precedents to this type of anti-Semitic sermon and the pivotal role of the Dominican and Franciscan orders in their evolution see Cohen.

sensibilities by mass-producing religious imagery. Typical medieval Jew-hatred also evolved by raising the conspiracy crime to international proportions and by perpetrating a more complex racially-based hatred by including a medieval story of Jewish conspiracy in the genealogical book, *El libro verde de Aragón*. The scope of the antisemitism was pervasive (the *libros verdes* were disseminated en masse) and its strategy consisted of creating a single pure notion of Spanish blood.

For a later time (the nineteenth century) and a different place (Germany), Hannah Arendt has associated antisemitism with the rise of the nation state.<sup>1</sup> By way of conclusion to this chapter, I would propose that Arendt's association elucidates proto-nationalistic forces at work in early modern Spain. Essentially, the social institutions that perpetuated a renewed structuring based on blood were not simply repeating medieval religious legends, but using those legends in the germination of early elements of a modern nation.<sup>2</sup> These protonationalistic

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Chapter 2 of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, entitled "The Jews, the Nation-State, and the Birth of Antisemitism." For a basic introduction to the rise of the nation and theories of nationalism see *Nationalism* (Eds. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith).

<sup>2</sup> In other words, when someone such as the medieval philosopher Raymond Llull lambasted the Jews, his was an anti-

elements in Spain included the desire to create a unified sense of Spanish blood. Following Arendt's assumption, I would suggest that this single notion of Spanish blood developed out of antisemitic discourse. For example, a mythology of a pure blood race developed out of the definition of difference from the "Jew," the "inferior" races that conflated peoples from the Moors to Amerindians. Also, the Crowns of Aragon and Castile unified thanks to antisemitic discourse--such as the story of a blood libel or blood crime emanating from Aragon, but disseminated in Madrid. The definition of Spanish or national blood also formed out of making the enemy international in scope--a protean Jewish international capital force that has no national allegiances. Finally, the cultural foundation of the pure blood myth occurred through the historization and mythologization of pure blood myths that supposedly formed part of the national history such as the story of Pedro Arbués.<sup>1</sup>

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Judaic gesture that sought a unified Christendom and a Christian purity ("a universal and united Catholic world order" (Cohen 264)). In the case of seventeenth-century Spain, the medieval rhetoric against the Jews was tailored into an issue of race and national identity.

<sup>1</sup> We could add to this list certain vampiric characteristics attributed to the Jew. Vampires, like the Jews and Monopantos, moved their wealth easily through any nation.

Nevertheless, the institutions that created the myth of pure and impure blood were not "Spain" any more than the Serbian forces that sought ethnic cleansing were "Yugoslavia." The Inquisition was one voice (a voice itself that was by no means monolithic), an epiphenomenon of "Spain," and the struggle to define a single notion of pure blood failed. By circulating a conspiracy story, the Inquisition ultimately did not target an individual group, but created the possibility that the conspiracy could emanate from anywhere, even from the purest of bodies such as the Inquisition itself. The self-destructive nature of blood myths that attempted to exclude those of impure blood, as occurred with the *libros verdes* themselves, fueled the seventeenth-century identity crisis, the impossibility of determining the nature of one's blood. So while there were elements that contributed to the creation of pure Spanish blood, the very elements that attempted to forge that identity also deconstructed Spanish purity and caused it to slip into the semantics of impurity. It is out of this failure, this multi-layered, contradictory portrait, that an identity, a Spanish entity, would develop.

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Many vampires, like the Jewish-Monopanto creatures, had an ubiquitous national identity--they were not restricted to national boundaries--and served as a foil in helping forge a national myth of origins (Gelder 16-17, Glover 144-45).

## Conclusions

The *Libro verde* deserves an important place in the history of Spanish letters. The "reading" community of the *Libro verde* not only included those who read the book, but those who merely heard about its contents. Moreover, the "author" of the book might be any literate person who added a name or modified the contents of the book. Also, according to the definition of *Libro verde* from the time, the book could be simply a person's word, making any person, literate and illiterate alike, the book's author. Both its readers and creators can be defined as beyond the bounds of the small literate class of aristocrats, clergy, or other wealthy educated merchant families.

Paradoxically, even though its author had been effaced and could transmute into anyone, people judged the contents of the *Libro verde* as authoritative and authentic. Many people assumed that if a name was found in a copy of the manuscript or if they had heard that a family name existed in the book, then they possessed truthful information. Because of this chaotic situation where authority was invested in a book where no author could be named, many wanted to see the book destroyed altogether. The monarchy and religious authorities wanted to maintain firm control over the book's contents and extirpate not only every copy of the book, but its ideological implications-- that is, the very notion that aristocratic bloodlines somehow

were not founded upon heredity, or at least royally-approved nobility (since the foundation of these institutions rested upon inherited royal blood where the Christian monarch's body served as the social model).

Nonetheless, the loss of the ideology of a social hierarchy based on blood heredity was taking place, in part, due to the *Libro verde*. On one hand, mirroring the universality of its readership and author, the existence of the book promoted a fear of the universal existence in Spain of impure blood in everyone's family. By the same token, anyone could have pure blood since anyone could be an author of a genealogy or insert a name--the possibility existed that pure blood no longer needed to be attained through blood inheritance. In the context of the heat over the purity of blood debate, Gabriel Cimbrón wrote in 1618:

Y esto es tan cierto, que ya en nuestra España no hay más nobleza ni limpieza que ser un hombre bien quisto o mal quisto, o tener potencia o traça con que adquirirla o comprarla, o que sea de tan oscuro y baxo linaje, que no haya república noticia alguna de sus pasados, y por no ser conocidos son bautizados con nombre de cristianos viejos. (qtd. in Beysterveldt 181)

In Cimbrón's judgment, the determination of pure or noble blood depended on one's likeability, economic situation, or obscure

family background. The *Libro verde*, then, in part, in its own covert way (it only circulated unofficially), would anticipate the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' elimination of noble birth privileges--made most famous in the 1789 French Revolution call for an *abolition des privilèges*. For instance, the following precursors to this abolition of the noble blood birthright were percolating in seventeenth-century Spain: the universality of the importance (or illegitimacy) of any name (Chapter 1), the notion that money could be "alta sangre" and "descendiente godo" (Chapter 2), and the reconfiguration of the humoral body into one where blood circulated, paralleling the notion of circulating, not inherited, capital (Chapter 3).

While the history of the *Libro verde* illuminates some of these radically powerful social changes, it also reveals certain aspects of Spanish society's stubborn resistance to change. This resistance, in fact, was so strong that medieval blood myths were borrowed and circulated in order to maintain traditional blood hierarchies. Antisemitic language and representations of the substance blood--the menstruating Jewish body (Chapter 3), the blood libel (Chapter 4), or a hagiographic blood miracle (Chapter 5)--were employed and disseminated in order to bolster the notion of purity of blood as passed down through family genealogical inheritance.

This struggle to define blood reveals some new aspects of the seventeenth-century identity crisis in Spain. Institutions

at once tried to simplify a complex problem of a scattered Spanish identity by reducing the problem to one of Jewish versus Christian. This simplification, however, became a *reductio ad absurdum* and failed to delimit since it gave way to a rhetoric of universality, the very rhetoric that those institutions sought so hard to eliminate--the creation of the notion of a single noble name and lines that clearly demarcated difference between purity and impurity. Essentially, instead of creating sharp frontiers of differentiation between pure and impure, impurity might be a sickness found within any body (the hidden sign of menstruation), it might be lurking within any person (the blood lust of the noble man Gutierre), and it might be hidden in any corner of the land (in the form of a Jewish conspiracy).

A discussion of the substance blood in the context of antisemitism and the *Libro verde* elucidates the pure-impure dilemma of seventeenth-century Spanish identity and, in turn, provides an explanation of certain cultural-historical engines at work behind the creative forces in some of the literature production of the time. A future discussion of representations of the substance blood in such varied contexts as gender and even bullfighting would further reveal the fascinating nature of Spanish identity construction at this time. We could return to the initial question set forth in the introduction with respect to Calderón de la Barca's *El pintor de su honra*: what does it

mean to convert an artist's paint into human blood? Why is the blood of a murdered wife equated with a man's honor and why does he put it on display? An exploration of the substance blood with respect to gender would reveal new approaches to the nature of Spanish honor, such as the notion that the trace of the virgin's blood gave the proof of value to the male's property and, in turn, preserved the family honor. In such works as Cervantes' "La fuerza de la sangre," how is virgin's blood masked behind the language of family honor and the blood relationships? With respect to the notion of gender and the substance blood, we might also ask why is it that the beauty standard for the period was a bloodless, white-skinned woman?<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> One source records that blood from the maidenhead "is clear, not muddy" like menstrual blood (Lastique 60). While woman's blood is overtly associated with male honor in Calderón's *El pintor de su honra*, woman's blood is typically not on display in seventeenth-century Spanish cultural production and in the semantics of blood and honor. With respect to virginity, the preservation of the hymen and male society's witnessing of the virgin's blood at the marriage ceremony constitute a fundamental, unspoken basis of representations of blood with respect to family purity and honor. Remnants of the tradition of witnessing the virgin's blood can be found in the rite of *primae noctis* as depicted such works as *Persiles y*

With respect to bullfighting (before an occupation of outsiders and commoners, it became a national spectacle in the sixteenth century), another avenue for future research might be an exploration of the nature of blood on display in the *corrida*. What sort of national idea of Spanish blood is formed through the communal guilt and gazing upon the spilt blood of the bull, the visual consumption of the blood, during a ceremony and spectacle of piercing the bull's body and the letting its blood? What significance is the fact that the bull seen by the spectator is not any bull, but one of pure blood, a pure bred, that has been bred exclusively for the *corrida*?<sup>1</sup> These avenues of future exploration--the sacrifice of the bull or the display of gendered blood in Calderón's play--as evidenced by what I have examined here--the *Libro verde* and the rhetoric of blood

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*Sigismunda* or *droit de seigneur* (*derecho de pernada*) in Lope's *El mejor alcalde el rey*. For studies of a women's blood on display in England see Louglin's *Hymeneutics: Interpreting Virginity on the Early Modern Stage*. For Spain and the obsession with immaculacy and pollution see McKendrick.

<sup>1</sup> For the bull spectacle as a part of "collectivized belief and individual valor," see the Appendix to Castro's *The Spaniards*. For its relationship in the making of a unified Spanish Christendom and the making of a "taurean nation," see Shell. For a social history of the sport, see Mitchell.

and antisemitism--would reveal significant moments in the development of a specifically Spanish notion of identity.

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*Consultationis resolutio, grauissimorum doctorum, tam theologorum, quam iur is pontificii professorum, condemnans Auctorem libelli famosi nuncupati, el Verde: retinentes illum grauissimè obiurgans, in communicantes acerbissimè inuehens, & nomina in eo scripta reuelantes vehementissimè increpans, atque testificanstes notitiae ab eo acceptae vi innitentes, asperé incusans/ iussu illustrissimorum dipputatorum gubernacula Regni Aragoniae typis mandata...*  
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