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# New Christians and New World Fears in Seventeenth-Century Peru

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In 1639 Manuel Bautista Pérez, along with ten others, were executed by order of the Spanish Inquisition's Lima office for secretly following Jewish beliefs.<sup>1</sup> In prison for over five years, Pérez was under considerable pressure to confess to "Judaising": had he admitted to being a crypto-Jew and repented, his life would probably have been spared. Yet he refused. As a result of Pérez's "obstinacy," so the Inquisitors declared, he was condemned to die.

Spanish colonialism brought the Inquisition to the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1569<sup>2</sup>, and from the end of the sixteenth century until Peru declared independence from Spain in 1820, Spanish Inquisitors prosecuted men and women for clandestinely practicing Jewish rites. In this paper, however, I will not talk about "Jews" as such, nor try to discern who among Peru's New Christians<sup>3</sup> bore "Jewish" identities or followed Jewish practices and beliefs. Rather, using Inquisition records from the first half of the seventeenth century, and drawing heavily on the lengthy trial brought against Manuel Bautista Pérez, I want to investigate some of the ways in which the "Jew" grabbed colonial imaginations. I will be looking at accusations levied against "New Christians," the conspiracies they supposedly engaged in, the terrors they provoked, the societal dangers they embodied.

The Spanish Inquisition was one structure of many that were involved in moral regulation. It was, nevertheless, responsible for the empire's rawest displays of cultural force. In the great theater of power and religious ceremony, the *auto-de-fe*, and in smaller, daily theaters of reputation and fear, the Peruvian Inquisition, like its counterparts throughout imperial Spain, clarified cultural

This paper has benefitted from several hearings. In its roughest form it was presented at the 1995 meetings of the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Ann Arbor, Michigan, followed by a presentation at the John Carter Brown Library 1997 conference "Jews and the Expansion of Europe: 1450–1800." I owe special thanks to Fred Jaher for his advice, insight, and for arranging for me to give a lecture at the University of Illinois, under the auspices of the Sheldon and Anita Drobney Program for the Study of Jewish Culture and Society, of which Michael Shapiro is the gracious director. I want to thank Ann Wightman for her insightful commentary. I also owe much to the thorough and thoughtful reading of my colleague, Claudia Koonz. Jim Reische, the essay's fine copyeditor, has even converted me to online editing. A final word of appreciation to the Guggenheim Foundation, whose fellowship in 1994 allowed me to conduct the research on which this article is based.

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blame: presenting who, among the colony's non-Indian populace,<sup>4</sup> held beliefs or engaged in life practices that were considered threats to its ethical, spiritual, and civic well-being. These threats included a range of heretical crimes, from blasphemy, witchcraft, fornication, and the solicitation of sexual favors by priests during confession, to the capital offense of covertly observing non-Catholic religions like Islam, Lutheranism, and Judaism.

Perhaps the bloodiest episode in Lima's Inquisitorial history was the auto-de-fe of 1639. Out of the seventy-two individuals who were penanced, eleven were accused of capital offenses—all charged with crimes in some way associated with Judaising. Among the condemned were men like Manuel Bautista Pérez, rich and powerful merchants who refused to confess to heresies.<sup>5</sup> Inquisitors in Peru were asked by their superiors in Madrid to justify the broad sweep of arrests as well as the harshness of sentences.<sup>6</sup> They did so by appealing to the dangers crypto-Jews posed, not only to the ethical foundation of the colony, but to its very political security.

Accusations against Judaisers in the New World were similar to the charges levied against Jews and New Christians throughout Europe<sup>7</sup> and the Iberian Peninsula. The "Jewish problem" in seventeenth-century Peru had a centuries-long, continental pedigree, and beliefs turning Jews into societal threats—the twisted rhetoric of Peru's conspiracy theories—framed a broad climate of suspicion that pervaded much of the Old World and the Spanish realm. Yet, as I will argue, the outrage and fear provoked by Peru's New Christians were also tied to the contradictions of the early modern, Hispanic, colonial world. They were an integral part of the turbulent cultural politics generated by and shaping Spain's imperial state-making designs.<sup>8</sup>

The legacy of anti-Semitism in early modern Spain was distinguished by the activities of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, an institution that operated under the jurisdiction of the Crown and was its only structure of authority that functioned throughout the entire empire.<sup>9</sup> Established in 1483 with the specific charge to protect and defend Christianity, the Inquisition's initial task was to root out "hidden Jews." The motivating fear was that Judaisers were making inroads into Spain's growing New Christian community, and, through this process, corroding the religious foundation of Catholicism's most militant state.<sup>10</sup>

The impulse to create an institution as dramatic as the Inquisition to regulate religious belief was rooted in Spain's growing climate of hostility towards Jews and New Christians. The mid-fourteenth century was a turning point in both popular and official attitudes, as increasing numbers of Jewish districts suffered violence. By 1391, pogroms in many of the Peninsula's urban centers—Seville, Cordoba, Valencia, Barcelona—resulted in the destruction of Spain's principal Jewish quarters. Hundreds of Jews were murdered and hundreds more were compelled to accept baptism. The large number of forced conversions marked the birth of a significant New Christian population in Spain; and, from the start,

they were looked on with distrust and ambiguity—a “fifth column” inside the Church. Even though they no longer were practicing Jews, New Christians continued to bear the weight of anti-Semitism—a phenomenon we see functioning vigorously in seventeenth-century Peru.<sup>11</sup>

Accusations surrounding the “Jewish menace” were taken up and challenged in the mid-seventeenth century by Isaac Cardoso,<sup>12</sup> a New Christian who spent most of his life on the Iberian Peninsula. Born in Portugal and a much sought-after physician to Madrid’s court society, Cardoso emigrated to Italy where he denounced Christianity, began living as a Jew, and penned an eloquent defense of the “Hebraic truth” in his apologia, *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos*. Building his case around the refutation of ten *calumnias* (calumnies) of anti-Semitic belief, Cardoso’s work pinpointed common, unfounded stereotypes and will serve as a starting point to examine these hateful ideologies.<sup>13</sup>

One “calumny” with terrible consequences for Jews and New Christians was that “[Jews] desecrate images, and are sacreligious.”<sup>14</sup> Neither rituals nor sacred objects were safe, or so it was said: Jews on both sides of the Atlantic apparently defiled, with relish, statues of Jesus, the Virgin, and Crucifixes; they also debased the sacraments, particularly Holy Communion, when the Eucharist, the embodiment of Christ, was consecrated.<sup>15</sup> Cardoso profiled several episodes in which New Christians were wrongly executed for abusing holy objects and described an incident in Lisbon: “when the host was stolen from the church called ‘La Engracia.’ The crime was attributed to a New Christian named Solís, without any proof, only because he was of the Hebrew Nation.” Two years after Solís’s execution, the thief was discovered. However, Cardoso goes on to say: “But at the time so great was the emotion and outcry against the Hebrew Nation, that all were in the gravest peril.”<sup>16</sup> Such episodes also took place in the seventeenth-century Andes: the most notorious, occurring in Quito, had repercussions for New Christians living hundreds of miles away.<sup>17</sup> Not incidentally, among the many charges levied against Manuel Bautista Pérez and other conspirators were that they mocked Christianity, disparaged the miracles of saints, and believed holy icons to be exemplars of Christian idolatry—as they cynically bought magnificent sacred objects to make their devotion visible and prove their faith in Christ.<sup>18</sup>

Cardoso’s tenth “calumny against the Hebrew nation” was the claim that Jews coveted Christian blood—the infamous charge of “blood libel” or “ritual murder.”<sup>19</sup> Historically, this accusation prompted violent responses often devastating to Jews or, after the Expulsion, to New Christians. Cardoso refuted this slander with the contemporary (1670) tragedy of Raphael Levi. Levi was accused of slaughtering a Christian boy in Metz for blood to enact a Jewish ceremony. Even after evidence was found linking the boy’s death to forest animals, Levi was still found guilty and condemned to death by fire.<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps the most infamous case of blood libel in Iberia was the alleged ritual murder of “the holy child [*el niño inocente*] of La Guardia” (Toledo). Ac-

According to legend, a mixed group of Jews and New Christians, needing the requisite blood for a potion to annihilate all Christians, conspired to crucify an infant and remove his heart. Six Jews and six New Christians were convicted of murder, and all were executed in 1491. One year later, the Act of Expulsion, forcing Jews to either convert to Christianity or leave Spain, became law. According to popular and official wisdom, the case of the holy child was proof that the presence of Jews imperiled the religious integrity of Spain's New Christians, and justified the banishment of Jews from the realm. It also reinforced the prejudiced belief of many—and another of Isaac Cardoso's calumnias—that Jews actively sought to convert gentiles, an additional weapon in their arsenal to undermine Christianity.<sup>21</sup> As we will see, this concern took on added meaning in seventeenth-century Peru when the label "New Christians," or novices to the faith, could also refer to colonized *indios* and enslaved *negros*.

Rumors that Jews engaged in sacrilegious activities—seen as transparent assaults on Christ and Christianity—went hand in glove with accusations questioning the fealty of Jews to the nation state, or, in the words of Isaac Cardoso's sixth calumny, "loyalty to the Princes." Jews would always side with Muslims against a common Christian enemy, went the centuries-old axiom in medieval Spain. In his defense of the "Hebrew Nation," Cardoso took on one of the most popularized examples of Jewish treachery: Jews were said to have opened the gates of Toledo, a Christian city, to the conquering Moors in 714. For support, Cardoso turned to the work of the distinguished Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana, who argued forcefully that Christians, not Jews, were responsible for Toledo's surrender.<sup>22</sup>

Another stereotype familiar in Spain (and elsewhere) was that Jews used their facility in the world of commerce to the disadvantage and ruin of Christians. Popular hostilities against Jewish communities were often articulated in these terms: Jews—usurers and tax farmers, stealing money and other resources from the faithful—were bleeding Christians dry.<sup>23</sup> (No matter that only a minority of Spain's Jewish population ever had access to significant wealth.<sup>24</sup>) After the Expulsion, the taint of finance remained on those who were of Jewish descent. On the Peninsula, it was not uncommon for accused Judaizers to face the additional charge of usury.<sup>25</sup> Although I have not found this pattern in Peru, Lima's Inquisitors often considered statements about someone's money-making talents as indicating a Judaising bent.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, as we will see, there was a strong belief that New Christians used their monopoly over trade to the express detriment of Old Christians.

The threat of a Jewish conspiracy to destroy Christianity and its followers—through vigorous attempts at conversion (particularly of vulnerable New Christians), avid expropriation of Christian resources, and treason against Church and state—pervaded Spanish culture and stoked anti-Semitic fires.<sup>27</sup> Historians have argued that deeply rooted anti-Semitic beliefs could be called upon during periods of social conflict and political instability.<sup>28</sup> The Jew became

a target of blame. This was the climate giving rise to the Act of Expulsion, the same climate in which the Holy Office of the Inquisition was born and nurtured.<sup>29</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century, the attributes that Castilians attached to the categories of Jew and New Christian were absorbed by “Portuguese” as well. It has been estimated that after the Act of Expulsion, at least fifty thousand Jews—half of all those who left Spain—resettled in neighboring Portugal, swelling the percentage of Jews living there to one-fifth of the country’s inhabitants.<sup>30</sup> In 1497 these emigrants again had to face the order to convert or be expelled. Most converted *en masse*, giving Portugal a coherent block of New Christians, many of whom retained their belief in Judaism and secretly practiced its rites.<sup>31</sup>

One hundred years later, prompted now by the Portuguese Inquisition’s increasingly vicious attacks against Judaisers, waves of New Christians left their homes and emigrated back to Spain. This “return” migration had a significant impact on New Christian-Spanish relations on the Continent, as well as in the Viceroyalty of Peru. First, a substantial number of these emigrants to Spain—and eventually to the colonies—were involved in global trade, creating a notably Portuguese presence in commerce and finance.<sup>32</sup> Second, the mass exodus to Spain revived the Spanish Tribunal’s concerns about a Jewish peril and prompted a renewed wave of inquisitorial activity. Many of those who emigrated to Peru had at least one relative who had been condemned on the Peninsula, and as such expressed their beliefs (and hopes) that the New World tribunals would be ineffective.<sup>33</sup> Finally, the flight to Spain fed a burgeoning Iberian stereotype, found both on the continent and in the New World, that all Portuguese, like all New Christians, were Jews.<sup>34</sup>

With Portuguese added to their previous monikers of New Christian and Jew, the migrants to the Americas could not escape being judged against the backdrop of Spain’s foreign affairs, and, in particular, Castile’s often ambiguous relationship with Portugal and Holland, both on the Continent and in South America. Tensions with these two countries coalesced in the decades-long contest over territory in Northeast Brazil, to which Portugal and Holland were both party. A Portuguese colony since the fifteenth century, Brazil came under the jurisdiction of the Spanish monarchy in 1580, when Felipe II assumed the Portuguese crown. The Spanish and Portuguese union was a complicated affair, and many Portuguese, aghast at what they believed to be Felipe II’s usurpation of the throne, deeply resented being subordinated to a Spanish sovereign. Tensions between Castile and Portugal ran high: many Castilians not only questioned the loyalty of Portuguese subjects, but were disturbed by the growing involvement of Portuguese merchants in imperial commerce; many Portuguese, in addition to judging life under Spanish rule as a kind of bondage, deplored attempts made by the Crown to impose a Hispanic model of monopoly trade on more liberal, Portuguese traditions.<sup>35</sup> Further amplifying frictions was the fact

that the majority of New Christians arrested (and executed) by the Lima Inquisition—as in Spain—were either born in Portugal or had parents who were Portuguese natives. Their ancestry made them doubly suspect: as Portuguese, they were mistrusted for their fidelity to Lisbon, as New Christians, they were mistrusted for being hidden Jews. These doubts were only compounded by the Dutch victory over Spain (and Portugal) in Northeast Brazil.

The Dutch were Spain's principal enemies in European battles for control over South America, and during the first half of the seventeenth century Dutch forces were invading port towns (like Pernambuco), establishing footholds on South American soil, and generally wreaking havoc with Spanish trade.<sup>36</sup> It was a Castilian commonplace that Portuguese New Christians were secret allies of the Dutch, and Spaniards blamed seditious Portuguese for Castile's initial loss of Bahia in 1624 (recaptured in 1625), as well as for their defeat in Pernambuco six years later.<sup>37</sup> It is not surprising that Spanish officials harbored gnawing—if not truly justified<sup>38</sup>—qualms about New Christian loyalties. New Christians and crypto-Jews could escape Spain's intolerance by settling in Holland<sup>39</sup>, and, to Spain's chagrin, once the Dutch settled Northeast Brazil (1630–1654), the Jewish population—consisting of Dutch immigrants and former colonial New Christians—ballooned in size and openly observed the Jewish heresy.<sup>40</sup>

Peru's Inquisitors were well aware of the possible dangers presented by a Dutch colony—where Judaism could be freely practiced—so close to its borders. They feared that a vibrant Jewish colony in Brazil could renovate crypto-Jewish practices, facilitate Dutch political objectives, and perhaps even encourage New Christians, arriving at Brazil's ports, to migrate to the Viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>41</sup>

Resentment of New Christians was never far from center stage. A letter sent in 1634 to the Inquisition's principal office in Madrid, for example, presented a litany of treasons familiar to Spanish as well as to Peruvian ears. Merchants (also indistinguishable from New Christians, Portuguese, and Jews) were no more than spies, the letter went. New Christians were taking advantage of their vast trading networks in Holland, Lisbon, Brazil and Spain as they plotted to destroy the Spanish empire and the Christian world.<sup>42</sup> The memo's author, a ship's captain, supported his case with "evidence" that a Dutch/Portuguese Jew, Antonio Vaez Henriques, a/k/a Mosen Coen, orchestrated the enemy's capture of Pernambuco.<sup>43</sup> More evidence: another Dutch/Portuguese Jew, a ship's commander named Diego Peixotto (with the same alias, Mosen Coen), "induced the [Dutch West Indies] Company to force the crew . . . who are negros . . . to come to them to learn their language."<sup>44</sup>

The captain's anxieties were echoed in the rhetoric surrounding Peru's New Christians during the 1620s and 1630s. Like in Spain, commercial avarice and disloyalty to state and Church were building blocks of anti-Semitic discourse in Peru; unlike in Spain, however, there was a pointed concern about Jewish/New Christian abilities to manipulate language. No doubt the "Jewish problem"

in early seventeenth-century Peru had long-standing roots in Iberian history and prejudice; however, equally striking is the fact that its character was chiseled in the geo-politics of a New World empire. Here Jew (or New Christian, or Portuguese) marked a new kind of conspiracy born in the Americas—a pact with Spain's enemies to undermine Iberian sovereignty over its New World possessions. Enemies could be foreign competitors over colonial territory, or, perhaps even more treacherously, they could be "insiders," residing within the boundaries of imperial rule. New Christians were accused of cultivating subversive ties with the enemies within—indios and negros—as well as with Spain's foreign adversaries, like the Dutch.

The colony's take on the Jewish menace, then, elaborated a familiar but divergent set of charges: New Christians had usurped trade and merchandising to the detriment of Castilians; New Christians, with international ties, were not loyal to the Spanish empire; New Christians—merchants and traitors—aligned themselves with potentially subversive groups within the Colony (namely, indios and negros); and finally, New Christians were able to plot treachery with slaves and indios because of their remarkable ability to conspire in secret languages. We shall now examine the colony's anti-Semitic bombast with greater precision.

Conflicting sentiments, ideologies, and policy regarding New Christians vied for prominence in Peru in the 1620s and 1630s. The wealthiest New Christian merchants were en route to becoming colonial "aristocrats," championed in the highest places of ecclesiastical and secular government. At the same time, however, Lima's Inquisitors were stepping up their campaign against Judaizers, with New Christians the primary target. Stories began to spread of the growing number of crypto-Jews living in the Viceroyalty.<sup>45</sup> Warnings sent to the Lima office in 1636 alerted Inquisitors that many Jews, "most of them enjoying the rights of citizenship and living securely with their fellow-men" had settled in Chile alone.<sup>46</sup> Now the Inquisitors were searching to find "a cure for this plague which, so dispersed and spread out, has been thriving in many parts [of the Viceroyalty of Peru]."<sup>47</sup>

Fears concerning New Christian activity in the Peruvian economy began to mushroom, as Portuguese were reproached for monopolizing most, if not all, sectors of mercantile activity. An official report written from the Lima office to headquarters in Madrid laid out some of the Inquisitors' concerns

Since about six or eight years ago, they say many Portuguese have found a footing in the Kingdom of Peru. . . . [They] had early made themselves masters of the situation, commanding almost exclusively all the commerce of the kingdom, the thoroughfare called the "Street of Merchants" belonging to them alone. . . . [T]hey owned all the dry-goods stores, all the stalls where they sold their wares out of chests and boxes . . . ; and more besides, were all literally theirs. Thus they monopolized the retail trade and traffic; so that from gold brocade to sackcloth, and from diamond to cumin seed, and from the lowest Black slave from Guinea to the most precious pearl passes through their hands.<sup>48</sup>

In the words of another, "A Castilian of pure stock has not a ghost of a show against these Portuguese. . . ."49 And testimonies recorded during Inquisition trials are full of accusations that the Viceroyalty's New Christians/Portuguese were plotting to take over the market place.<sup>50</sup>

Juan de Mañozca, who came as an Inquisitor to Peru from Cartagena, fanned the growing undercurrent of suspicion. In Cartagena he was instrumental in bringing trials against slave women for practicing "witchcraft," and against Portuguese merchants for practicing Judaism. The Inquisitor turned to these targets again while in Peru. An aristocrat and metropolitan, Mañozca was aghast at what he perceived to be the disarray of colonial life. And the culprits? "Witches," non-native women who most dangerously incorporated native customs into their conjuring repertoire, along with crypto-Jews, who, as we will see, transgressed a range of traditional Hispanic categories of social and cultural order.<sup>51</sup>

It was under Mañozca's watch that some of Peru's premier merchants were arrested and executed. Some, like Manuel Bautista Pérez, figured among the colony's wealthiest subjects. Highly regarded by Lima's elite, they joined the ranks of New World "entrepreneur-aristocrats."<sup>52</sup> These men wore the accouterments of their social standing, dressing in velvets and sporting swords, and, befitting their status as colonial "grandees," they cultivated a retinue of clients and servants. Lima's merchant-aristocrats, also intellectuals, housed great libraries and sponsored gatherings where pressing concerns of economics, political life, national history, and astronomy were discussed. Most were active participants in Lima society and prominent members of Catholic lay organizations. Not surprisingly, they cemented their status by establishing close ties to Lima's highest officials.<sup>53</sup> After the arrest of Pérez and other principal merchants precipitated a collapse in trade and credit, Mañozca was called by the Supreme Council to account for his actions. He did so by arguing that the threat that New Christians posed to religious orthodoxy had extended into the political arena. The colony's survival was in jeopardy. Mañozca had uncovered a plot brewing in the very jail cells of the Inquisition: Judaisers were stockpiling gunpowder earmarked for a second Dutch invasion of Peru's major port city, Callao.<sup>54</sup>

As noted, anxieties that New Christians were promoting a Dutch invasion of the Pacific Coast were compounded by fears that New Christians were conspiring with slaves and indios. Viceregal authorities in general were concerned about the loyalties of African and native Peruvians. Spaniards recognized they themselves were unpopular as the colony's privileged elite; they also recognized they were vastly outnumbered. One viceroy, in a written assessment of his term in office, expressed great distrust of the "negros, *mulatos*, *mestizos*, indios and *diversos colores* [people of various colors] . . . who were so numerous in comparison with the meager number of *españoles* [in Peru]."<sup>55</sup> Another, in his 1628 account to the King and Council of the Indies, wrote of the need to keep vigilant and monitor the behavior of indios and negros. In his judgement, the threat to colonial order presented by the former paralleled the danger occasioned by the latter:

There are over twenty-two thousand negros living in Lima and its surroundings, and if they were ever to see españoles losing in [battles with the enemy] there is little to assure us of them, because generally they love liberty . . . and for similar reasons one has to be suspicious of indios, so that everywhere, in these occasions, danger grows.<sup>56</sup>

Fears that New Christians were plotting religious sabotage served to intensify Spanish suspicions. As far back as 1602, a royal decree sent to the king's representative in Buenos Aires warned of the corrupting influence

created by the presence of many foreigners, and particularly Portuguese who have entered the country . . . with slaving ships . . . [,] New Christians and people with only little certainty in our faith, Judaisers. [Vigilance must be maintained] so that no error and evil sect is sown among the indios who are barely certain and instructed in our faith and vulnerable to any novelty. . . .<sup>57</sup>

Solórzano, writing several decades later, echoed this apprehension. In his masterwork, a compilation of the laws of the Indies, he, too, warned that Portuguese might undermine the faith of Peru's "simple people," new to Catholicism.<sup>58</sup> And heresy marked the beginning of the slippery slope to treason.

Heresy and treason were as easily conflated as Portuguese, New Christian and Jew. The history of the Expulsion, of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, and of the migration of New Christians from Portugal to Spain lay behind this confusion of religion and nationality, of heresy and treason. However, the conflictive history of Spain and Portugal gave this semantic mix-up a deeper cast. As noted, most Portuguese resented being under the rule of a Spanish monarch, and Castilians, aware of their neighbors' profound discontent, had cause to be anxious about Portuguese loyalty. History has shown that Spanish distrust was well placed: Portugal fought for and won its independence in 1640. Assessing Portuguese as potential traitors and garbling their identity with those of the New Christian and the Jew, Spaniards magnified the aura of suspicion surrounding any Portuguese. Inquisitors from the metropole were party to and sustained this cultural entanglement.

The purported links between indios, negros, and New Christians exacerbated these apprehensions, as prejudices about New Christians found their match in assumptions about indios and negros. Imperial stereotyping only heightened concerns about treachery: Spanish prejudice—demeaning indios and negros as either *gente simple* (simple-minded), easily led astray, or vicious and barbarous, on the verge of rebellion—made both groups innately susceptible to Judaisers' corrupting influence.<sup>59</sup>

European theories about the origins of humanity debated the common ancestry of Jews and Indians; and for those who believed that native peoples were descended from the lost tribes, Jews and indios became natural allies. Since their first encounters, Europeans pondered the Semitic derivation of the New World's native peoples. Distinguished clerics, philosophers, and jurists engaged both sides of the dispute.<sup>60</sup> One of the more curious ties between "Israelites" and Indians was brought to the world's attention by Menasseh Ben Is-

rael in his book, *The Hope of Israel*.<sup>61</sup> The core of this treatise is an account presented to Menasseh, the chief rabbi of Amsterdam, by a Portuguese/New Christian merchant working deep in the interior of the Andes. Antonio Montezinos spoke to the Rabbi about a group of Indians who told of an encounter they had had with a strange, unusual tribe. The tribe was, without doubt in Montezino's or Menasseh Ben Israel's minds, one of the lost tribes of Israel, and Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel, lobbying Oliver Cromwell to allow Jews to return to England, made much of the connection.<sup>62</sup> Millenarian thinking was sweeping England in the mid-seventeenth century, and one of the precursors to the Messiah's advent was supposedly the discovery of Jews—the lost tribes—living dispersed throughout the world. The extraordinary reception of *The Hope of Israel* is a tribute to the depth of European sentiment about an ancestral tie between both groups.<sup>63</sup>

Closer to home, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas and Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa, two well-known chronicler-priests who spent considerable time in Peru, held the opinion that Jews and indios were of the same stock. Writing in the first half of the seventeenth century, Vásquez de Espinosa was convinced that this shared ancestry helped account for their similarity in character and physique, as well as in religious practices and beliefs: "Indians are similar in every respect to the Hebrews from whom they derive . . . in physique and temperament and in other characteristics, such as their customs, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, and idolatries."<sup>64</sup>

Buenaventura de Salinas also pointed to their likeness of temperament as evidence of common descent: "cowardly, ungrateful, lazy, superstitious, crafty liars."<sup>65</sup>

Spanish ideologies also joined Jews and Indians via a shared, magical talent. Both popular and official wisdom surmised that Jews and indios could conjure wealth, and, just as mysteriously, make it disappear, especially if "Old Christians" were involved. According to Spanish lore, Peru's indios, outraged about their treatment by Iberian colonizers, conspired to prevent españoles from getting their hands on the enormous underground wealth that was part of the Inca legacy. Awaiting the Incas' return, indios kept the whereabouts of these fabulous mines hidden, and "no amount of pleading, threats or punishment would make them reveal [these secrets] to Spaniards."<sup>66</sup> The same legal scholar who wrote about the ability of Indians to keep wealth from colonizers described a similar Jewish gift. Jews/Portuguese would rather "swallow" their fortunes than surrender them to Spaniards. Ricardo Palma, recording Peruvian oral traditions in 1863, found that this bit of popular wisdom still survived two centuries after the Inquisition's principal campaigns against crypto-Jews had ceased.<sup>67</sup>

Spaniards also coupled Jews and indios when they assessed their long-standing mission to evangelize the faith. Ever since the Expulsion, and with increased intensity in the early seventeenth century, Inquisitors were laboring to

purify the Iberian Peninsula from Jewish contaminants; similarly, in the seventeenth century, some clerics were convinced of the need to rekindle drives to extirpate the native idolatries that they believed were destroying Peru. Missionaries sent to indigenous communities perceived their efforts in light of Spain's tumultuous religious past, understanding early Church strategies to convert "pagan" gentiles—and especially later attempts to convert Moors and Jews—as rehearsals for ventures in the Americas. When *doctrineros* like Joseph Arriaga assessed their mission in Peru, they were sobered by the difficulties of previous evangelizing campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula. If the task of rooting out the hidden evil of Judaism in a country as pious as Spain was monumental and ongoing, then what would the New World have in store for keepers of the faith? In his manual for priests on indigenous religion and how to expunge it, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, he wrote:

For it has scarcely been possible to extirpate so evil a seed [Judaising] even in so clean a land [Spain], where the Gospel has been so continuously . . . and thoroughly preached and where the Most Righteous Tribunal of the Holy Office has been so diligently and solicitously vigilant.<sup>68</sup>

The "disease of the Indians," i.e., their reluctance to denounce native religions for Catholicism, was not "so deeply rooted a cancer" as that of Moors and Jews, Arriaga assured his readers.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, the "disease of the Indians," rampant in Peru, amplified concurrent anxieties over the New Christian presence.<sup>70</sup>

New Christians were said to communicate their heresies to one another and express their hatred of Christianity, as well as to turn "simple peoples" from the Faith, in the thriving mercantile spaces of colonial life. As already noted, Spaniards feared the abilities of New Christians to seduce barely-Christianized souls. Merchandising, a New Christian "trait," presumably gave the heretics the opportunity to carry out their work. In testimony after testimony, witnesses pointed to the hubs, routes, and outposts of colonial mercantilism as the places where treachery ruled: the slave markets of Portobello (Panama), the entrepôts of Angola, Guinea, and Cartagena (Colombia), peddling routes stretching from Lima deep into "Indian" territories, Calle Mercader (Lima's bustling market street), and the warehouses in Lima's Saint Lazarus parish, where slaves were quartered. Commerce gave Judaisers/traders, as agents of the big Lima merchants, the ability to spread their networks into the far reaches of the vice-royalty, where Spanish control over native peoples was most vulnerable.<sup>71</sup> Mercantile centers became places where New Christians could magically communicate political and religious subversions. Here indios, negros, and New Christians could engage in illicit conversations; moreover, they could do so secretly, for all were conversant in languages unintelligible to Old Christian ears.

One member of Lima's New Christian community, Thomé Cuaresma, was particularly renowned for his linguistic mastery. Said to be equally at ease among Judaisers and negros—he was the principal physician for both—

Cuaresma was acclaimed for curing skills that were rooted in his ability to “speak their languages.” His talents extended to a special gift, supposedly shared by many who were prosecuted in the auto-de-fe of 1639:

... they could communicate with each other [in the Laws of Moses] by means of this language and they would speak it, even though they were [standing] in front of Old Christians, without the [Old Christians] being able to understand that they were speaking about the Law of Moses.<sup>72</sup>

... [it was] a secret language, [spoken] right in front of Old Christians who just heard normal words, not that out-of-the-ordinary language, [and with] duplicity and scheming, so that the prisoner and the rest of his ancestry and kinship could converse conspiracies and heresies.<sup>73</sup>

Thus according to Inquisition sources, the ability of New Christians to speak special languages—including the languages of slaves—gave them dangerous powers in colonial Peru. These powers even reached into the bowels of the Inquisition. Since slaves performed most of the Inquisition’s custodial duties, they were in a position to illegally aid prisoners. Cognizant of the problem, Inquisitors locked up all of their slaves before the 1639 auto-de-fe was scheduled to take place. In spite of precautions, New Christian linguistic genius prevailed, as Inquisitors were unable to prevent communication between slaves and prisoners:

... even though they only employed *negros bozales* [wild, born in Africa] recently captured and transported to Peru . . . the Portuguese could understand them . . . since they brought them from Guinea, knew their languages, and this has helped [New Christians] to communicate with each other.<sup>74</sup>

Not only did Spanish conspiracy theories presume rather fantastic linguistic infiltrations, but they also made customs of indigenous or African origin into heretical Judaic rituals. The long transcript of Manuel Bautista Pérez’s trial exposed a rather extraordinary development: Pérez, head of an international trading enterprise whose agents traversed the world—from Madrid and Seville, to Guinea and Angola, to the interior of the Andes<sup>75</sup>—stood accused of practicing exotic Jewish rituals with roots in Africa and the Andes. His major accomplice was his *compadre*, Diego de Ovalle. According to one testimony, when Diego de Ovalle asked Manuel Bautista Pérez for some tobacco,

[Manuel Bautista] would say, taking it with his fingers and pressing it to his nostrils, “señor compadre, this tobacco is very good” and he would scatter it [on the ground] or blow on it.<sup>76</sup>

Then, at other times, he [Diego de Ovalle] would say to [Manuel Bautista], “isn’t there some *colilla* to drink with water?” (a root or fruit from Guinea which is brought from Cartagena and by drinking water after putting it in the mouth, it becomes sweet), and [Manuel Bautista] would order [his servants] to bring it.<sup>77</sup>

As if to reenforce the Jewish derivation of taking tobacco and drinking *colilla*, this witness added, “Ovalle and Manuel Bautista would then speak to each other in a language only understood among themselves, talking about the Law of Moses.”<sup>78</sup>

Later, when the Inquisitors compiled formal charges against Pérez, they condensed these testimonies into the following accusation,

... to continue with [accusations] that ritual offerings (*sacrificios*) were made in the prisoner's house, the prisoner was asked for tobacco and ... he scattered it and blew on it, a gesture appropriate for libation and ritual offering, as is associated with many places in ... the Old Testament.<sup>79</sup>

The accusation continues:

and other times, with the same intent, when the prisoner was with a certain person, in the presence of others ... he was asked for cola ... and drinking it, this certain person spoke with the prisoner ... in the extraordinary (*trasordinario*) language. ... [A]ll of the aforesaid was by way of treating ... the Law of Moses with this dissimulation and scheming so that the prisoner and the rest of his caste and kinsmen could speak of it [the Law of Moses] in these languages without being understood by others, even if there were Old Christians present.<sup>80</sup>

Pérez emphatically denied these allegations. He strongly objected to charges that he made ritual offerings to the God of the Old Testament, let alone with cultural artifacts from South America and Africa. Regarding the use of cola, Pérez had the following to say to the Chief Inquisitor. First he reminded Mañozca, who had come to Peru after heading the Inquisition in Cartagena, that “he should have heard of [cola] because it was so commonly used in Cartagena ... and everyone there used it.”<sup>81</sup> Regarding the use of tobacco, he explained that “whenever they came by tobacco, he pretended that he wanted to have some and he would take the tobacco pouch (*tabaquero*) and shake it and he would perform those customary artifices (*inbenciones*) that those who use tobacco do.”<sup>82</sup> Manuel Bautista Pérez might have made a pretense of taking tobacco, but in fact he did not use it. Pérez thought consuming tobacco was a silly custom, he told the Tribunal, and didn't miss the opportunity to make fun of those who partook. Then Pérez repeated his contention that drinking cola was quite a normal and accepted thing to do in the colonies. So, if anyone were to “ask for some sweet water in his house it would be possible to even toast to one's health, without anything else being implied.”<sup>83</sup>

Far from having an Old World origin and, therefore, far from being a possible component of traditional Jewish ceremony, tobacco was first cultivated in South America. The accounts of tobacco's role in “ritual offerings”—blowing on it or scattering it—describe Andean tradition much more accurately than Hebrew.<sup>84</sup> Andeans believed tobacco had sacred and curative properties and Sayri, the Quechua word for tobacco, was a name associated with Inca royalty.<sup>85</sup> Nonetheless, the presumption that Jews and Indians shared ritual practices was not novel to Mañozca's court. As we have seen, Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa, a cleric with no ties to the Inquisition, believed that the common origin of Jews and Indians explained the similarity of their “rites” and “ceremonies.”<sup>86</sup>

Neither did drinking cola resonate with Judaic ritual. A popular African plant and beverage, cola was brought to the New World with the slave trade. No doubt

it was, as Manuel Bautista Pérez claimed, well-known in Cartagena, one of the Spanish empire's principal slave depots. And, no doubt, Mañozca was well aware of its origins.

Transforming drinking cola and sniffing tobacco into heretical Jewish practices seemed as fanciful to Manuel Bautista Pérez as it does to us. However, the intellectual and emotional climate of the colonial Spanish community—where currents of anti-Semitism merged with fears of *indios* and *negros*—most likely rendered this ideological distortion into a rhetoric that fit. At the very least, the infusion of heretical Judaising with Andean and African traits fell within perceived boundaries of cultural possibility or truthfulness.<sup>87</sup>

How striking that goods associated with processes at the heart of Spain's colonial endeavor—the conquest of *indios* and the expansion of the African slave trade—were conflated with the practices of Judaism. Global commerce and cheap labor anchored Spain's colonial enterprise, and New Christians/Portuguese/Jews and *indios/negros* were key figures in this equation. At least according to stereotype, Portuguese/Jews/New Christians dominated international trade; *indios* and *negros* embodied the colony's sources of cheap labor. Both groups were needed for the success of Spain's global endeavors, and both were distrusted. New Christian merchants, slaves, and colonized Indian vassals were outside of the traditional institutions that had structured life in the Iberian peninsula before colonialism began to change the rules. In different cultural and economic ways, each signaled the novel social relations of the emerging modern world. This version of cultural finger-pointing hints at the tensions that animated the evolving modern/colonial economy, relations of political dominion, and the cultural order on which they both rested.

For many Spaniards, Peru was a land of opportunities unattainable in Europe, as the New World, distant from metropolitan vigilance, held out a promise to loosen, or turn a blind eye to, some of the constraints hobbling social mobility in the Peninsula.<sup>88</sup> In the colonies, where merchandising and commerce instigated wealth, the wealthiest individuals forged a colonial "aristocracy." Manuel Bautista Pérez, for example, took on all the behaviors and conventions of a prosperous nobleman: He was a member of Lima's most prestigious religious brotherhood; he was generous, hosting feasts and soliciting alms; he dressed in the finery of aristocrats; he was a much sought-after patron. Reciprocally, as befit one of such noble demeanor, Lima society treated Manuel Bautista Pérez like a patrician.<sup>89</sup> Luis de Lima, a merchant born in Portugal and executed with Manuel Bautista Pérez, expressed the hopes and expectations placed in colonial Peru by would-be aristocrats: "the land of Peru was for the Portuguese the promised one, finding there riches, honor and esteem."<sup>90</sup>

In Peru, transformations of social position went beyond the status that money could buy. New Christian men and women told tales of rebirth in the New World—baptized anew, as some would have it. Many called themselves Old Christians (and for good reason, once the Inquisition began to target New Chris-

tians).<sup>91</sup> Some, particularly those with family members who had been penanced by Inquisition tribunals in Spain and Portugal, changed their names. And some of these, to match their newfound colonial status, even claimed descent from Spain's most aristocratic lineages. Juan de Acosta, for example, whose father avowed descent from the Spanish nobility, claimed that "he is taken to be a noble man and his fathers and grandfathers clean of any stain of Moorish or Jewish blood."<sup>92</sup>

Manuel Bautista Pérez was inscribed by societal contradictions pitting appeals to lineage and traditional hierarchy against appeals to worthiness based on an emerging modern/colonial order built on mercantile wealth. This renowned, prosperous, and powerful merchant surely believed that aristocratic status was his due. Peru facilitated his pretensions as it facilitated the restructuring of his genealogy: Manuel Bautista Pérez was no longer a New Christian—almost. He talked about trying to live in such a way that his Portuguese/New Christian background would become a ghost: He was visibly devout; distanced himself from Portuguese who had recently arrived in Lima; spoke and wrote in Castilian and "never Portuguese"—even the illegal messages sent from his cell to inmates and family.<sup>93</sup> In his own words he said that "he . . . never let it be known, either to persons from his household or outside it, that he was a New Christian . . . because he always tried to be taken for an Old Christian."<sup>94</sup> Although Manuel Bautista believed in the legitimacy of a social hierarchy that enslaved negros and coerced Indian labor, he also believed in the right of good Christian subjects, regardless of ancestry, to be justly recognized for their contributions to empire and Church. It was in this regard that he challenged Spain's racial definition of Jewishness and its accompanying structures of social hierarchy governed by purity of blood laws and an aristocratic ethos.

Inquisitors like Juan de Mañozca, however, who presided over the 1639 auto, detested the ability of New Christians to sidestep the traditional, aristocratic hierarchy of Iberian society. For them, the colony's openness—the permeability of its social boundaries—represented a severe threat to civic and moral order. And the New Christian/Portuguese presence in colonial Peru only swelled anxieties over other vulnerable points in the colony's racialized and gendered structures of governance.<sup>95</sup>

The novel social relations made possible by conditions of colonial existence—conditions pulling New Christians, negros, and indios together in a variety of ways—only heightened the perceived dangers of all New World heresies. For some traditionalists, a trinity of obstinate New Christians/Portuguese, recalcitrant indios, and petulant negros was attacking Spain's divine mission to rule over a righteous and militant Catholic colony. Inquisitors in Lima saw themselves (or presented themselves) as the defenders of this sacred imperial trust and argued that their religious work not only impeded the spiritual damage that hidden Jews could cause in Peru, but, as Mañozca argued, the political damage as well.

During the 1630s, Peru's Inquisitors promoted a racialized ethos of culture, while intertwining stereotypes of New Christians, indios and negros as part of an etiology of fear and blame. Other etiologies offered different visions of the colonial condition. The indigenous Peruvian chronicler Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala suggested a distinctive perspective on New Christians and colonial justice in his thousand-page chronicle of protest to the Crown. A devout Catholic, yet highly critical of Spain's so-called Christian legacy in Peru, Guamán Poma argued that Indians, even pagan Indians, acted more like Christians than did Spaniards.<sup>96</sup> Pursuing the play of ironies in social categories and social justice, Guamán Poma, in a rhetorical dialogue with the Crown, asked the King to consider the fact that "the Spanish nation was [at one time] Jewish."<sup>97</sup> So, then, who, in Guamán Poma's eyes, were the colony's New (and authentic) Christians?: "los indios y negros."<sup>98</sup>

## NOTES

1. The classic study of the Inquisition in the viceroyalty of Peru is José Toribio Medina's *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima*, 2 vols. (Santiago, 1956). For a summary of the auto-de-fe where Manuel Bautista Pérez was executed, see vol. 2, 45–146. More recent studies of the Inquisition in Peru include Paulino Castañeda Delgado and Pilar Hernández Aparicio, *La Inquisición de Lima*, (Madrid, 1989); Gabriela Ramos, "La privatización del poder: Inquisición y sociedad colonial en el Perú," in H. Urbano, ed. *Violencia y Poder en los Andes*, (Lima, 1991), 75–92; Idem, Gabriella Ramos, "La fortuna del inquisidor: Inquisición y poder en el Perú (1594–1611)," *Cuadernos para la historia de la evangelización en América Latina*, (1989), n. 4, 89–122. See especially Teodoro Hampe-Martínez, "Recent Works on the Inquisition and Peruvian Colonial Society, 1570–1820," *Latin American Research Review* 31:2 (1996), 43–63, for a current and comprehensive bibliography.

Analyses centered on Peru's New Christian population include Boleslao Lewin, *El Santo Oficio en América* 1950; Alfonso Quiroz, "La expropiación inquisitorial de cristianos nuevos portugueses en Los Reyes, Cartagena y México (1635–1649)," *Historica* 10 (1986), 237–303; and Gonzalo de Reparaz, *Os Portugueses no Vice-Reinado do Peru: Seculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon, 1976). Lewin describes the Inquisitorial processes against New Christians with a focus on anti-Semitism; Reparaz presents information from various sources about the Portuguese in Peru; Quiroz relates the indictment of New Christians to the Inquisitors' need to acquire funds to support their operation.

2. Over the last two decades, scholarship on the Spanish Inquisition has grown enormously. Examples of recent, extensive overviews include Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington, IN, 1985) and the updated *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven, 1998); Jaime Contreras, *Historia de la Inquisición Española (1478–1834): herejías, delitos y representación* (Madrid, 1997); and Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, et. al, *Historia de La Inquisición en España y América* (Madrid, 1984). Studies of the Inquisition in the English language were first developed by Henry Charles Lea, who wrote, among many volumes, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, (New York, 1906–7). These studies were renewed with the publication of Cecil Roth's *The Spanish Inquisition* (London, 1932). José Toribio Medina, the great Chilean historian, pioneered works on the Inquisition in the Americas and Philippines, including the monumental *Historia del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima*. One of the important contemporary

studies of the Inquisition in Spanish America is Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México 1571–1700* (Mexico City, 1988).

Scholarship on the Inquisition's relationship with Jews and New Christians has also blossomed. Monographs include Elkan Nathan Adler, *Auto-de-Fe and Jew* (London, 1908); Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1932); Haim Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, trans. Yael Guiladi (Jerusalem, 1981); Julio Caro Baroja, *Inquisición, brujería y criptojudaismo*, (Barcelona, 1972), and *Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1986); Luis Coronas Tejada, *Conversos and Inquisition in Jaen*, (Jerusalem, 1988); Angela S. Selke, *The Conversos of Majorca: Life and Death in a Crypto-Jewish Community in XVII Century Spain*, trans. Henry J. Maxwell (Jerusalem, 1986); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconversos en la España Moderna* (Madrid, 1993); and the controversial works by Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, (New York, 1995) and *Toward the Inquisition: Essays on Jewish and Converso History in Late Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY, 1997). Seymore B. Lieberman has published several important works on the Viceroyalty of New Spain, including *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame, and the Inquisition*, (Coral Gables, FL, 1970). David M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Philadelphia, 1996), is a grand synthesis of the history and traditions of hidden Jews in Spain and the New World, drawn primarily from Inquisition records.

3. *Conversos*, or New Christians—as opposed to Old Christians—were Jews or Muslims who converted to Catholicism, or their descendants. In this paper primary reference is to the descendants of Jews. After 1492, following the Act of Expulsion, it was illegal for Jews to reside anywhere in the Spanish realm.

4. The moral behavior and customs of indigenous peoples were monitored by Church bishops. The Inquisition's jurisdiction did not extend to the colony's native populations. See Medina, *Historia del Tribunal*, Vol. 2, 27–28.

5. The first published account of the 1639 auto-de-fe was written by the cleric Fernando de Montesinos. He was asked by the Tribunal to write a summary of the auto, published that year as *Auto de Fe celebrado en Lima el 23 de enero de 1639*. Jose Toribio Medina published most of it in his history of the Lima Inquisition, *Historia del Tribunal*, vol. 2, 106–62. Montesino's *Auto de Fe* was also reprinted as an appendix in Lewin, *El Santo Oficio en América*. Both authors rely heavily on Montesino's work to describe this event.

6. Regarding the concerns expressed by the Supreme Council in Madrid, see Medina, *Historia del Tribunal*, vol. 2, 163, n. 20. Kamen argued that in comparison to other European inquisitions, the Spanish Inquisition infrequently demanded capital punishment for heretical acts. See Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 198–203. However, Kamen also emphasized that crimes entailing the secret worship of non-Catholic religions were, by far, the most commonly punished by execution (*ibid.*, 203–4). Scholars of the European witch-craze have also noted the relative restraint of the Spanish Inquisition: Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition, 1609–1614* (Reno, NV, 1980); Brian Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1987), 201–6.

7. I will be discussing Spanish anti-Semitism in greater detail in the pages that follow. Spanish anti-Semitic ideologies, however, frequently engaged and were shared by belief systems found throughout Europe. There is enormous literature on European anti-Semitism during the medieval and early modern periods. For an excellent summary of the research on this subject in the early modern period, see Frederic Cople Jaher, *A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 1–81. Also see Heiko Augustinus Oberman, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Age of Renaissance and Reform*

tion, trans. James I. Porter (Philadelphia, 1984); Jeremy Cohen, ed., *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict from Late Antiquity to the Reformation* (New York, 1991); idem, *The Friars and the Jews: the Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, NY, 1982); and Jacob Katz, *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Bernard Dov Cooperman (New York, 1993). This edition of *Tradition and Crisis* includes a current bibliography compiled by Bernard Dov Cooperman.

8. During the last twenty years, students of the processes of nation state-building, influenced by Antonio Gramsci, have been exploring the dynamics of class relations, state formation and cultural practices. Although these studies have, for the most part, investigated the roads to nation state-building and capitalist development, I believe Gramscian insights are germane to the early colonial state as it drove the making of our modern world. The literature on the cultural politics at the core of state-making has grown enormously and I will cite here only a few of those works that have influenced my analysis: Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch* (Oxford, 1985); E. P. Thompson, "Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Structure without Class?," *Social History* 3:1 (1978), 133–65; Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, 1978), 75–144; Stuart Hall, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," in *Culture, Globalization, and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, Anthony D. King, ed. (Minneapolis, 1997). Jean and John Comaroff have used Gramsci, along with Corrigan and Sayer, in their important discussions of the cultural dimensions of the English colonial state in South Africa. See John and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, CO, 1992); idem, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, 2 vols., (Chicago, 1991–1998). See the following works for a challenge to the assumption that modernity began with the Enlightenment. These authors argue that the modern world had its origins in the colonization of the New World: Enrique Dussell, "Eurocentrism and Modernity," *boundary 2* (1993), 65–75; idem. "Beyond Eurocentrism," in *The Cultures of Globalization*, Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds., (Durham, NC, 1998); Anfbal Quijano, "Colonialidad y Modernidad-Racionalidad," in *Los Conquistados: 1492 y la población indígena de las Américas*, Heraclio Bonilla, ed. (Bogotá, 1992), 437–47.

9. See Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 50, for the implications of the fact that the Inquisition was the only institution of Spanish government that traversed the entire realm.

10. As early as 1478, the Inquisition was established in Castile and tribunals were set up as autonomous courts in different Spanish cities. However, in 1483 a papal bull initiated the process that united the Inquisitions of the Crown under a single jurisdiction. See Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 18–43; Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, xiv–xvi, 18–25.

11. For more detailed discussions of this period see Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 1–65; Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 3–34; Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos*, Vol. 1, 125–64.

12. Cardoso is the subject of an extraordinary biography by Josef Hayim Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto. Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (Seattle, 1981).

13. Cardoso made each *calumnia* the focus of a book chapter: I. They adore false gods; II. They exude a bad odor; III. Jews have tails and Jewish men menstruate; IV. They pray three times daily against the gentiles; V. They persuade gentiles to accept Judaism; VI. They are unfaithful to the Princes; VII. They are wicked and cruel; VIII. They corrupt the Sacred Scriptures; IX. They desecrate images and are sacrilegious; X. They kill Christian children in order to use their blood in their rites. In Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 360.

14. See Isaac Cardoso's *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos*, in Yerushalmi, *From Span-*

*ish Court*. Regarding the calumny that Jews desecrated Christian images and ritual, see 360, 447–54.

15. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 338, 447–51. Also see Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos*, Vol. 1, 181–92. Diego López de Fonseca refers to the barbarity of Lisbon's Inquisitors, who cut off the hands of someone who was falsely accused of stealing the Eucharist and then burned him alive. Archivo Histórico de la Nación (Madrid), Sección Inquisición, hereafter AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.91v.

16. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 454.

17. In 1649 a procession was held in Lima to avenge the alleged desecration of the Eucharist by Jews in Quito. This act was of such importance that a soldier, Joseph de Mugaburu, recorded it in his diary. Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: The Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu*, ed. R. Miller (Norman, OK, 1975), 25.

18. Some of the many examples found in Lima Inquisition testimony include Manuel Henrríquez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.11, f.95v; Manuel Bautista Pérez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.29v–30v; Felippa López, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.41–41v; Joan de Vicente, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.3, f.54; Francisco Núñez de Olivera, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.46v, f.48v; Francisco Rodríguez, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.36v; Manuel Rodríguez, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.68; Antonio Leal, AHN, Inq, Libro 1030, f.127; Juan de Acevedo, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.86v.

19. For accusations of blood libel in Spain, including the case of “el niño inocente de La Guarda,” see Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos*, vol. 1, 181–92; Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 22, 68; Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 5, 23–24, 161, 190. Among other attributes, Christian blood was said to heal the monthly menstruation of Jewish men. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 130. For studies of ritual murder accusations in Europe, see Cecil Roth, ed., *The Ritual Murder Libel and the Jew, The Report by Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli [Pope Clement XIV]* (London, 1935); R. Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*, (New Haven, 1988). For an overall compendium with historical and anthropological slants, see Alan Dundes, ed., *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*, (Madison, 1991).

20. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 459. In addition, Levi was accused of magic, “saying that to this end he pronounced certain Hebrew words.”

21. Cardoso, *Excelencias*, in Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 360.

22. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 444–45. Providing an example more contemporary than eighth-century Toledo, Cardoso argued that Jews showed their commitment to the “Princes” when, in fourteenth-century Burgos (Spain), they refused to support Henry of Trastamara's insurgency against Pedro the Cruel; or when they defended Prague from Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years' War.

23. Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos*, Vol. 1, 73–90.

24. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 11–14.

25. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 255.

26. For example, Jorge de Paz, AHN, Libro 1030, f.68v; Francisco de Vita Barahona, AHN, Cartas, Rollo 7, f.111–17; Manuel Henrríquez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.11, f.61–61v, 62, 62v, 64–64v; Manuel Bautista Pérez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.53.

27. Charges of Jewish treachery against Church and state were as deeply rooted in Spanish literature as they were in popular culture. The eminent Spanish playwright of the seventeenth century, Lope de Vega, dramatized ritual murder in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*, and portrayed the treason of Jews in *El Brazil Restituído*.

28. Academic interests in anti-Semitism and the history of Jews in Spain have been flourishing, in tandem with work on the Inquisition. The bibliography is substantial, growing, and I won't be able to do it justice here. In addition to the studies cited above

on the Inquisition, one book stands out as a comprehensive and pathbreaking account: Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos* (passim, but especially Vol. 1, 23–288). Baroja writes about the role of economic and political tensions in *Los Judíos*, Vol. 1, 87–90, 125–26, 133–48, and Vol. 3, 17–32, 49–58. Also see Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 9–12.

29. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 20–21; Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 18–27; Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos*, Vol. 1, 125–64.

30. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 75. Estimates range from 50,000 to 120,000, with the lower end seeming most likely. See Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 287, for the number of Jews living in Portugal.

31. Scholars have stressed the significance of this early history of Portuguese Jews, converted as a block to Christianity, for New Christian communities. See Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 287–90; Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*, 1–51; Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos*, Vol. 1, 207–26; James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A history of colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge, 1983), 225–26.

32. The commercial interests of New Christians and Jews, along with their international ties, have been well noted. Among the many analyses see Jonathan I. Israel's several pathbreaking accounts: *Empires and Entrepôts: the Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585–1713* (London, 1990); and *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750* (Oxford, 1989). Of the sixty-two men and women who were penanced for Judaising in the 1639 auto-de-fe, forty-four had occupations associated with commerce or trade. For interesting cases against merchants brought before the Lima Inquisition, see: Francisco Núñez de Olivera, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.45v–49v; Antonio Fernández, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.57–59; Balthasar de Lucena, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.61–65; Duarte Núñez de Zea, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.65–67v; Bernabé López Serrano, AHN, Inq, Libro 1030, f.280–280v; Álvaro Méndez, AHN, Inq, Libro 1030, f.367–369; Raphael Pérez de Freitas, AHN, Inq, Libro 1030, f.418–419v; Luis de Valencia, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.12; Andres Núñez Xuárez, AHN, Inq, Libro 1029, f.53v–55v; Duarte Méndez, AHN, Inq, Libro 1028, f.339–344; Manuel Anríquez, AHN, Inq, Libro 1028, f.364–369; Diego López de Fonseca, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031 f.89–95; Juan de Acevedo, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.77–87; Manuel Álvarez, f.83; Rodrigo Baez Pereyra f.84; Juan Rodríguez de Silva, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.99; Antonio de la Vega, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.104; Bartolomé de Silva, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.136v; Matías Delgado, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.138v–139; Gonzalo de Valcazar, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.141; Sebastián Duarte, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.186–195v; Luis de Valencia, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no. 12; Manuel Henríquez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no. 11; Manuel Bautista Pérez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no. 13. Also see n. 75 below.

33. Examples from those testifying before the Lima Inquisition include Pedro de Contreras, AHN, Inq, Libro 1028, f.404, 407v; Duarte Méndez, Libro 1028, f.339v–340v; Diego López de Fonseca, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.95; Manuel Bautista Pérez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.17, f.29v, f.105v–106v, f.248, f.279v, f.342v, Manuel Despinosa f.145; Manuel Henríquez, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.11, f.59, f.66v, f.90v, f.92–92v, f.106, 119v, Antonio de Acuna f.90v; Manuel Anríquez, AHN, Inq, Libro 1028, f.365; Mencia de Luna, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.10, f.18–18v.

34. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 51–53; Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 287–90.

35. J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain* (London, 1990), 249–84, 337–49; Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 221–27, 251; Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 43–46.

36. *Colección de las Memorias o Relaciones que escribieron los Virreyes del Perú acerca del estado en que dejaban las cosas generales del reino*, Angel de Altolaquirre, ed. (Madrid, 1930), 13, 194–297; Juan Antonio Suardo, *Diario de Lima de Juan Antonio Suardo (1629–1639)* (Lima, 1936), 259–61.

37. The Spanish victory over the Dutch in Bahia was commemorated by Lope de Vega in his play, *El Brazil Restituído*.

38. Although it is difficult to determine allegiances with great accuracy, evidence suggests that Brazil's New Christian population held divided loyalties: while some, principally crypto-Jews, might have sided with Holland, many, perhaps even the majority, fought to keep Brazil under Iberian control. See the excellent study by Anita Novinsky, *Crisaos Novos na Bahia* (Sao Paolo, 1976). In a 1997 conference hosted by the John Carter Brown Library, "Jews and the Expansion of Europe: 1450–1800," Novinsky reiterated her belief that a significant proportion of New Christians remained loyal to Spain.

In a similar vein, a commonplace of the time (as well as today) held that Portuguese Jews had controlling interests in the Dutch West Indies Company. After a careful examination of Company records, Jonathan Israel concluded that Jews never dominated the Dutch West Indies Company, even though some invested in it. Israel, *Empires and Entrepôts*, 356, n. 2.

39. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 42–43, 64–65, 290, 293–94, 297–98.

40. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 61–62.

41. See AHN, Inq, Cartas, Rollo 9, f.51, letter from Inquisitors Juan de Mañozca, Andrés Gaytán, Antonio de Castro y del Castillo to Muy P. Señor, May 18, 1636; also Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 250.

42. Cyrus Adler, ed. and trans., A Contemporary Memorial Relating to Damages to Spanish Interests in America Done by Jews of Holland [1634], *American Jewish Historical Society* 17 (1909), 45–51.

43. *Ibid.*, 48.

44. *Ibid.*, 49.

45. See George Alexander Kohut, "The Trial of Francisco Maldonado de Silva," *American Jewish Historical Society* 11 (1903), 166. Jonathan Israel estimates that one quarter of the Spanish population in Buenos Aires and almost ten percent in Cartagena were Portuguese. See Israel, *Empires and Entrepôts*, 277.

46. *Ibid.*, 166.

47. AHN, Inq, Cartas, Rollo 9, f.7, letter from Don León de Alcayaga Lartaún to Muy Poderoso S., May 15, 1636.

48. Medina, *Historia del Tribunal*, Vol. 2, 45–46.

49. Kohut, "The Trial of Francisco Maldonado de Silva," 166–67.

50. For examples see Jorge de Paz, AHN, Inq, Libro 1030, f.67B; Antonio Leal; AHN, Inq, Libro 1030, f.124, Lib.1030; Diego López, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.89B; Antonio de la Vega, AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.104.

51. For Mañozca's zeal to persecute witches see Medina, *Historia del Tribunal*, Vol. 2, 18, 37, and Irene Silverblatt, "The Inca's Witches: Gender and the Cultural Work of Colonization in Seventeenth Century Peru," in *Possible Pasts*, ed. Robert St. George (Ithaca, NY, 2000).

52. This is Steve Stern's felicitous phrase. New Christians could not formally become "aristocrats," since they were denied noble standing. But that did not stop many from trying to achieve nobility through marriage or a special grant, or to just act as if they were.

53. Reparaz, *Os Portugueses*, 36–38; AHN, Inq, Libro 1047, no. 13, f.309v; AHN, Inq, Libro 1047, no.13, f.309v.

54. AHN, Inq, Lib.1031, Carta a Madrid.

55. *Colección de las Memorias*, 179.

56. *Colección de las Memorias*, 43.

57. Lewin, *El Santo Oficio en América*, 40.

58. Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana* [1647] in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vols. 252–56 (Madrid, 1972), Lib. I, tomo ii, 262.

59. Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 21–22, 31–32; Anónimo, *Descripción del Virreinato del Perú* [1610?], Boleslao Lewin, ed., (Rosario, Argentina, 1958), 40; *Colección de las Memorias*, 9. Note the similarities with stereotypes about women's susceptibility to diabolic influences. See Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, 1987), 159–96.

60. Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, 48; Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendium and Description of the West Indies*, 18–21, 24.

61. Menasseh Ben Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, trans. Moses Wall [1652], edited with introduction and notes by Henry Mechoulan and Gerard Nahon, introduction and notes translated from the French by Richenda George (Oxford, 1987).

62. Jews were expelled from England and France roughly two hundred years before the Spanish expulsion. See Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 10.

63. Menasseh Ben Israel and Montesinos were ambiguous about the “tribe’s” lineage; in fact, a careful reading of *The Hope of Israel* suggests that neither believed the tribesmen to have any genealogical relationship to Andean Indians. Menasseh Ben Israel’s life and work have been the subject of recent scholarship. See Josef Kaplan, Henry Mechoulan, and Richard Popkin eds., *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World* (Leiden, 1989) for the most comprehensive collection of articles analyzing Menasseh Ben Israel and his times.

64. Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendium*, 24.

65. Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo Piru* [1653] (Lima, 1957), 11.

66. Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana*, Lib. II, tomo xvii, 291.

67. Ricardo Palma, *Apéndice a Mis Últimas Tradiciones Peruanas* (Barcelona, 1910), 259.

68. Father Pablo José de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru* [1621], L. Clark Keating, trans. (Lexington, 1968), 9.

69. Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 6.

70. This argument about how fears of Judaizing and native religious subversions re-vegetated and augmented one another is also made in light of witchcraft persecutions in Silverblatt, “The Inca’s Witches.”

71. Some examples from testimonies made by accused Judaizers and the witnesses against them: Antonio de Espinosa was taught Judaism in Guinea, see AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.104; Luis de Valencia was taught in San Lázaro, see AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.12, f.23,38v, and communicated his faith throughout Europe, Africa, and the Americas, see AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.12, f.98v; Manuel Bautista Pérez preached Judaism in slave quarters in San Lázaro, and was accompanied by Jorge de Silva, Diego de Ovalle, Sebastián Duarte and Juan Rodríguez Duarte, see AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.93–95v; Sebastián Duarte first learned the practices of Judaism in Guinea and conspired with his brother-in-law, Manuel Bautista Pérez, and colleagues, like Rodrigo Baez Pereyra, in marketing centers along the streets of Lima where merchandise was bought and sold, in the offices of other merchants, in slave houses, and in San Lázaro, where slaves were quartered, see AHN, Inq, Libro 1031, f.192–195v; AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.153–158; Tomé Cuaresma spoke of Judaism when he was in the “slave house” attending to the sick, see AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13; Manuel Henríquez communicated his “heresies” with Rodrigo Fernández in Cusco, with Juan de Acevedo in Cartagena, and with Juan de Lima and Tomás de Lima in his store, and was accused by the prosecutor of having Judaized in many places in Portugal, in Mádrid, Valladolid, Murcia, Seville, and in New World slaving centers like Cartagena and Panama, in Andean

towns like Guancabelica and Cusco, and in Lima, see AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.11, f.51–51v, f.66v, f.67v, f.74v, f.81v–82; Don Simon Osorio was said to have learned the ritual calendar in France, see AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no. 11, f.62; Luis de Vega learned in Antwerp, AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no. 13, f.116v–119; Manuel Bautista Pérez told Antonio Gómez de Acosta that he was Jewish while walking toward the market stalls in Lima’s main plaza, and claimed he had begun to practice Judaism in the Indies, see AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.169–170v. Lewin, *El Santo Oficio en América*, 40. For complex trading relations between Spaniards and indigenous representatives of native communities see Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* [1615], John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno, eds. 3 Vols. (Mexico City, 1980), 1000.

72. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.013, f.53v.

73. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.266.

74. Fernando de Montesinos, *Auto de la Fe Celebrado en Lima a 23 de Enero de 1639*, reprinted in Lewin, *El Santo Oficio en América: Apéndice*, 160–61.

75. Reparaz, *Os Portugueses*, 82–84.

76. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.53.

77. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.53–53v. The parenthetical definition is part of the original recorded testimony.

78. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.53v.

79. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.266.

80. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.266.

81. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.278v. See note 29.

82. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.278v–279.

83. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.278v–279.

84. See Martin de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú* (Madrid, 1987), 436–37, for similar descriptions of the use of coca.

85. Father Bérnabe Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire* [1653], (Austin, TX, 1983), 179–81; Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El Primer nueva*, 441–45.

86. See n. 64.

87. Contrary to popular assumptions about the Spanish Inquisition, Inquisitors were not at will to make up testimony. Inquisitorial procedures were constrained by rules governing the legitimacy of evidence and all judgements were subject to review by superiors.

88. Anónimo, *Descripción del Virreinato del Perú*, 74.

89. Reparaz, *Os Portugueses*, 36–38; AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, ff.2–37v and passim.

90. Montesinos, *Auto de la Fe*, 183.

91. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.27v.

92. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.12, f.37, 37v.

93. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.248–249v, 260, 315v. The phrase “never Portuguese” is found in f.315v.

94. AHN, Inq, Legajo 1647, no.13, f.342v.

95. See Silverblatt, “The Inca’s Witches” for official concerns regarding the “disorder” of gender and racial structures, and Karen Spalding, *De Indio a Campesino* (Lima, 1974) for governmental apprehension about the ability of indios and mestizos to pass as españoles.

96. Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El Primer nueva corónica*, 339, 822, 863.

97. Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El Primer nueva corónica*, 882.

98. Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El Primer nueva corónica*, 533.