Introduction

A well-known urban legend in late 1500s Seville concerned an unnamed so-and-so, or in Spanish, a *fulano.* According to the version published by a former prosecutor at the jail in Seville, the breakout took place in broad daylight. The chained prisoner, a man from Cabra (Córdoba), had been placed at the altar of the infirmary, where he was to await his execution the next day. Approaching a black inmate who worked in the infirmary, the condemned man cried for help: he urgently needed to urinate, but with the chains around his ankles, he was not likely to reach the distant latrine in time. Expressing pity for the condemned man, the black man carried him on his back; however, along the way – in the blink of an eye – the *fulano* was lifted onto a partition wall. He climbed up to the ceiling and, with the aid of a drill, managed to make a small hole. Although the hole was only large enough 'to fit a mouse' ('*caber por él un ratón*'), the man was able to somehow slip through and escape.[1] Meanwhile, his black helper became stuck in the hole as he attempted to follow suit, and removing him required taking down the roof the next day. Once free, the *fulano* moved to a nearby fishing town and blended into the community unnoticed, until he was captured a year later.

The legend of the rogue who slipped away from the underworld like a mouse – or, according to another source, an eel – indulged Spaniards's paradoxical fascination and perturbation with the idea that their exclusive social spaces were being secretly infiltrated by stained or innately immoral subjects. In this book, I explore the Spanish fixation on 'passing' and 'passers' as represented in a wide range of texts produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More specifically, I examine cases – from fictional and non-fictional sources – that express the anxiety of dominant Spaniards (of assumed highborn ancestry and/or Old Christian lineages) that low-borns, Conversos (converted Spanish Jews and their descendants) and Moriscos (converted Spanish Muslims and their descendants), could and did impersonate and pass as 'pure' Christians like themselves.

According to anthropologist Mary Douglas, societies tend to define as pollution or 'dirt' the elements within their individual community that challenge the validity of the system that places structure on that particular community. For Douglas, '[t]here is no such thing as absolute dirt', for dirt is simply 'matter out of place'.[2] Whatever might be termed anomalous, ambiguous, and ambivalent within a specific social order is classified as polluted and polluting. In order to create a unity of experience and to enable the avoidance of contamination, says Douglas, ideas and rules are set up to demarcate the polluting components of the social body from the non-polluting components. Especially applicable to early modern Spanish discourses is Douglas's observation that '[i]t is only by exaggerating the difference between within and without, above and below, male and female, with and against, that a semblance of order is created'.[3] This exaggeration is, then, a means for preventing the subversion of the established social order, but it is also a way to maintain the veneer of neatness in cases in which the supposed polluter challenges their predetermined role. My study further pursues the implications of circumstances when dirt, in its personified form, refuses to be contained and crosses over into the territory of the 'clean'. How do those who are presumed to be pure respond to the threat of infiltration? And what are the specific tactics they employ in their attempts to secure their social spaces and identities?

Passing or deliberate identity concealment is a concept that Barbara Fuchs brought to the study of Miguel de Cervantes's literary production in *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity*.[4] Fuchs argues that Cervantes exposes his audience to the notion of the fluidity of individual identity by producing scenes in which characters impersonate one another's ethnicity, religion, and gender. For Fuchs, the trope of passing allowed Cervantes to obliquely challenge the Crown's attempt to exclude or alienate minorities of Moorish or Semitic lineages from the social/political centres of the body politic. More specifically, she argues that the discourses of passing in Cervantes's fiction may be viewed as the writer's response to the official rhetoric of categorising normative and marginal Spaniards by exposing the permeability of identity boundaries. Complementary to Fuchs's book, which is primarily concerned with analysing the subaltern's strategies for crossing traditional boundaries of identity, my study sheds light on how the dominant *reacts* and *responds* to those who are believed to cross traditional boundaries of identity, as well as how they repudiate the very notion of the fluidity and arbitrary constructiveness of identity. Additionally, I seek to capture the representation of human experience from a broad range of cultural expressions (which includes some works by Cervantes): prose fiction, plays, poetry, jokes, aphorisms, and other 'popular' modes as well as official discourses and court records. This approach stems from the notion that representations of social realities and perceptions may be

captured texturally from imaginative literature as well as from non-literary narratives. In selecting which texts to examine, I have placed more weight on a text's representational significance than on its aesthetic value. Inspired by Stephen Greenblatt's approach to cultural productions, I adopt the view that all types of narratives – whether technically literary or not – can be meaningful sources for the analysis of ideological discourses.[5] As argued by Greenblatt, avoiding a preconceived notion of literariness may allow the critic to become engaged with texts that might reveal unanticipated aesthetic dimensions.[6] In step with Mary Douglas, James Boon, Clifford Geertz, and other anthropologists, Greenblatt suggests that 'the facts of life are less artless than they look, that both particular cultures and the observers of these cultures are inevitably drawn to a metaphorical grasp of reality'.[7] This approach recognises that all cultural practices are shaped by the circulation of a type of social currency, a 'social energy' infused by emotions of power, anxiety, and desire.[8] This social energy is reflected in textual representations, which themselves contribute to that very same social energy.[9] I focus on one important aspect of the social currency of early modern Spain, that is, the anxiety that arose from the physical similarities between peoples of supposedly conflicting religious origins and inherited social ranks, and on how this anxiety shaped the world-view of dominant Spaniards.

Ever since Américo Castro demonstrated the pervasiveness of impersonation among converted Jews and low-borns during early modernity, studies on early modern Spain have been considerably focused on unveiling the strategies utilised by new Christian converts and alleged social inferiors to express dissenting views in the context of Counter-Reformation Spain.[10] The investigations of the literary and cultural critics Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Carroll Johnson, William Clamurro, and more recently Barbara Fuchs have reminded us that in seemingly innocuous scenes of disguise and masking, one may find glimpses of the mechanisms used by Conversos, Moriscos, and/or low-borns to survive and, in some cases, thrive in unfavourable environments.[11] The premise of this scholarship is that subaltern Spaniards camouflaged their religio-cultural roots and unorthodox ideas as a means to coexist with dominant Spaniards – that is, Old Christians (Spaniards without Jewish or Moorish ancestry) and presumed high-borns – who were intolerant of beliefs and behaviours that ran counter to conventional Christian ideology. This approach has implicitly postulated that the social energy that led to the massive marginalisation of Conversos, Moriscos, and/or low-borns from central social spaces, and the marginals's attempts to hide their true identity, had its roots in the dominant's rejection of sociocultural and genealogical heterogeneity, or 'difference'.

My book proposes that there was a parallel phenomenon at play during early modernity that might have been as resounding and influential as an

anxiety roused by the presence of those who were clearly different. It examines a cultural phenomenon that stems from the insecurity and distress generated when boundaries that differentiated and separated the dominant and the marginal of society could be breached, diminished, or even forgotten, sometimes to the point of changing the very identity and meaning of belonging to the dominant group – a phenomenon I call 'the anxiety of sameness'. I argue that while conspicuous religious and socio-cultural difference was certainly perturbing and unsettling, in some ways it was not as threatening to the dominant Spanish identity as the potential discovery of the arbitrariness that separated them from the undesirables of society – and therefore the recognition of fundamental sameness. Taking this perspective does not require one to diminish the value of the approach of the past several decades, which has emphasised the subversive discourses of alterity. Indeed, a focus on the complex narratives that underline the ideology of the dominant individual or group could be viewed as the natural counterpart to the examination of the discourses of marginality. While the dominant narratives I examine are varied and, at times, conflicting, they are comparable in that they express an invested concern with the identification of difference through visible appearance or other decipherable indicators.

The anxiety of sameness, in the way it is conceptualised here, blooms in the Spanish imagination as the result of the efforts for cultural homogenisation in the post-1492 period, after the Jew and the Muslim disappear from the body politic and at a point when all Spaniards were officially Christians. It is an anxiety that takes the form of an obsession with identity fraud and, more specifically, genealogical fraud. The texts I examine, produced largely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, express an unprecedented and heightened awareness that identities are malleable and that they could be subject to self-fashioning; that a person's self-presentation might mask his or her inherited identity. These works speak of a reaction to the culture of outward compliance, dissimulation, and identity camouflaging that followed the expulsion of the Jews (1492), the Muslims (1502–1526), and the Moriscos (1609–1614), as well as the legalisation of discriminatory practices targeting genealogical 'inferiors', namely Conversos, Moriscos, and low-borns. I agree with Georgina Dopico Black that, by the seventeenth century, the lack of 'any reliable way to identify otherness' generated 'a kind of nostalgia for the more secure legibility of bygone days'.[12] This is not to say that anxieties about religious, social, or genealogical camouflaging were completely absent prior to the period on which this book is focused.

To better appreciate the flourishing of this type of anxiety in early modern Spanish texts, it is helpful to consider the preceding events that influence the development of the genealogical fixation. Historians have noted that

the mass conversions that resulted from the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1391, and the barrage of segregation rules and economic restrictions placed on non-Christians in the early 1400s, engendered doubts about the authentic faith of the newly converted.[13] David Nirenberg points out that both Jews and Christians (old and new) were fearful of betrayals within their own groups, and grew frustrated at the inability to pin down the religion of individuals who had converted and/or apostatised. But Nirenberg clarifies that the link between religious ancestry and religious affiliation was rarely made.[14] It was in the second generation after the first mass conversions that natural or birth Christians (*cristianos de natura*) began to place a growing emphasis on religious inheritance. This development coincided with an unparalleled number of new converts gaining distinguished political positions in royal, urban, and ecclesiastical administration in Castile and Aragon and further infiltrating oligarchies by marrying into aristocratic circles. Jewish converts Fernando de Cavallería, who became the royal treasurer of Fernando I of Aragon, and Pablo de Santa María, who became Bishop of Burgos and a trusted counsellor of Enrique III, were well known among very many other Conversos whose baptisms were followed by their meteoric rise within influential institutional hierarchies.[15]

The authenticity of the conversion of Muslims in Christian Castile and Aragon, in contrast, was not a matter of contention in the high middle ages due to the mere fact that conversions were so rare among Muslims living under Christian rule. Brian Catlos has found that, save a few exceptions, Mudéjares in late Christendom tended to hold on to their religion and cultural practices, even in cases of enslavement.[16] Mark Meyerson's research confirms that 'until 1501 the complicating factor of a large number of Moriscos, Muslim converts to Christianity, did not exist … there was still no confusion between Muslim and Christian identities [*sic*]'.[17] Mudéjares were not overtly interested in Christian conversion and absorption. Ana Echevarría found in her study of Muslim converts in Castile, based on about a hundred Moorish guards of King Juan II and King Enrique IV, that most of the New Christians had conspicuously retained their native place-name or their father's name, following Islamic tradition.[18] It could be surmised, then, that Conversos were singled out as problematic while the few Moorish converts were not, mainly because the latter were not in positions that could exert fiscal authority over the general population and did not compete for political posts with Old Christians in urban oligarchies or in the royal courts.

Fiscal problems and anxieties about political competition were indeed factors that led to the earliest theorisation of the corrupted lineage of Conversos during the Toledan revolts of 1449. It is necessary to emphasise, nonetheless, that the uprisings in of themselves were not exclusively motivated by

anti-Semitism. According to Angus MacKay and Nirenberg, the revolts mani-
fested a general frustration of the Toledan population and its leaders, which was
grounded in a complex combination of the sharp rise in prices of food staples
in the mid-1400s, the decline in the economic fortunes of the petty nobility,
and political rivalries between the non-Converso Toledan elite and the govern-
ment of Juan I.[19] The revolts began as protests against a tax levied by Juan II's
constable Álvaro de Luna at a time when there was serious crisis of subsistence
in the region. Mobs, rallied by an *odrero* (leather-bottle maker) known to have
been infuriated by the two gold coins he was forced to pay by tax collectors,
burned the home of the Converso municipal treasurer Alonso Cota and slaugh-
tered a number of other Conversos who had come to the defence of their
neighbour.[20] The anti-Semitic turn of events – which resulted in the burning,
pillaging, and murder of Converso residents – came only after the *alcaide* and
royal liaison Pero Sarmiento turned against Juan II and became the primary
demagogue of the rebellions.[21] Sarmiento – resentful about a recent demotion
at Court – seized on the collective disappointment with the Crown's fiscal
policies and essentialised the issue as a Converso problem. Sarmiento asserted
that virtually all Conversos were Christians only in name, and as they were
indistinguishable from their Jewish parentage, sought to destroy the bodies and
souls of Old Christians.[22]

 The *sentencia-estatuto* – an incipient form of a *limpieza de sangre* or purity of
blood statute – formulated by Sarmiento and fellow Toledan rebels ruled that
all persons of Jewish linage should be barred from all public offices in the city
of Toledo. In subsequent versions, *limpieza* clauses also encompassed Moriscos
and heretics. It is in the *sentencia-estatuto*, Max Hering Torres points out, that
we first find the manifestation of the idea that Old Christians were *lindos*,
that is, pure.[23] Inspired by Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Antonio Dominguez
Ortiz's inference that both *lindo* and *limpio* derive from *limpidus* (clean or
clear), Hering Torres makes the perceptive observation that 'as the language
of the decree illustrates the concept of *limpieza de sangre* had not yet emerged,
but that of *lindos* had'.[24] Sarmiento essentially suggests that religious identity
and behaviour are inextricably connected to a person's lineage. Conversos
are 'descendants of the perverse lineage of the Jews, in any guise' who are
responsible for 'heresies and other wrongdoings, seditions, and crimes'.[25] He
furthermore implies that despite the fact that they identify as Christians, they
cannot be trusted. Just like their progenitors, they strive to destroy and cause
harm to Old Christian *hidalgos*, their ladies, and their estates with cunning and
deceit. In a move that anticipates the authors of Converso lineage catalogues
(*libros verdes*), Sarmiento ends his pronouncement by exposing the names of
existing officials of Converso descent, which he deems 'convenient to learn'
in order to discharge them from their posts.

The *sentencia-estatuto* was repudiated by Juan II and condemned by Pope Nicholas V, as well as Cardinal Juan de Torquemada (the grandfather of the first Grand Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada) and the Bishop of Burgos Alonso de Cartagena (son of Pablo de Santa María), among other religious high officials.[26] All opposing arguments insisted on the shared inheritance of Jews and Christians and on the spiritual sameness between baptised Jews and baptised gentiles.[27] Support for anti-Converso legislation, however, continued in some sectors, especially after the founding of the Inquisition in 1478, which was itself motivated largely by a need to distinguish the truly converted from the fraudulent ones. Statutes excluding Christians of Jewish descent were passed in the 1480s by two universities, the Colegio Mayor of San Bartolomé (Salamanca, 1482) and the Colegio Mayor of Santa Cruz (Valladolid, 1488), the military orders of Alcántara and Calatrava (1483), the Hieronymite order (1486), and the Spanish Inquisition (1483). In the first half of the 1500s, a few other important religious, educational, and military institutions passed statutes of *limpieza*, such as the Benedictine house of Montserrat (1502), the Cathedral Chapter of Bajadoz (1511), the Cathedral Chapter of Seville (1519), the Franciscan Order (1525), the military order of Santiago (1527), and the Cathedral Chapter of Córdoba (1530). Henry Kamen has alerted us about the dangers of exaggerating the impact of these statutes, as he asserts that they were not widely implemented until the second half of the sixteenth century. Kamen points out that the *limpieza* exemption decrees of the late 1400s were intermittently applied and were generally used against Conversos who had been condemned as heretics.[28]

The efforts to officially disenfranchise Conversos, the attacks they suffered during the mass revolts throughout the second half of the 1400s, and the fear of the Inquisition had an ironic and unintended outcome that became more evident a few generations later. Conversos began to contrive actions that disengaged them, at least superficially, from their religious origins. They progressively moved out of Jewish neighbourhoods, adjusted their eating practices to those of the local majority, abandoned rituals long practised by their ancestors, married into Old Christian families, and hid their Jewish lineages.[29] The priest Andrés Bernáldez wrote in his *Historia de los reyes católicos* (*History of the Catholic Monarchs*) (*c.*1488–1513) that an unacceptable number of Conversos had become 'learned men and scholars, and bishops, and canons and friars, and abbots, and accountants, and secretaries, and officers of Kings and of Grandees'.[30] Bernáldez expresses dismay at the arrogance and vainglory that Conversos displayed after having acquired wealth and prominent social positions, in his estimation, through deceitful commercial practices such as usury and by marrying their children to Old Christians of good names.[31] But what upset Bernáldez most is that immoral Conversos – in his estimation some of them secret Jews – were successfully able to pass for 'good' Christians.[32] The

camouflaging of Jewish ancestries among Conversos was not new. What is compelling, however, is that it became a common practice among Conversos, as all unbaptised Jews and Muslims (1502–1526) were expelled after the fall of Granada in 1492, and especially as statutes of *limpieza* gained momentum in the mid-sixteenth century.[33] As cultural differences between New and Old Christians were growing more ambiguous, the boundaries between wealthy commoners and the low nobility were also becoming more porous. In the texts I examine, the socially dominant could be seen as delineating the members of undesirable groups through the production of discourses that promoted myths about the heresy and the foreignness of New Christians or the uncouthness of false *hidalgos* (the lowest ranked noblemen).

This book explores the multilayered and contradictory obsession with genealogical passing – which often complemented social passing and vice versa – at its height.[34] It examines the perspective of individuals who self-identified as genealogical 'betters' – Old Christians and/or noblemen – and who found the religio-cultural sameness claimed by Conversos, Moriscos, and commoners problematic and destabilising. It seeks to reveal the discursive methods that the insecure but socially dominant subject utilises in order to imagine impure lineages and classify the other in monolithic terms. Among financially insecure Old Christians and/or members of the established nobility, in particular, we see a pervasive fear that they could be potentially mistaken for or even surpassed by others who bore a likeness in semblance but who were traditionally viewed as innately inferior to them. The divergence between the idealised depiction of the foreign Moorish nobleman of pre-Reconquest times and the problematised rendition of the Spanish Morisco illustrates the point that the clearly demarcated outsider was preferable to the Spaniard whose identity was more culturally hybrid and malleable. The Moorish knight in the *Abencerraje* (1561, 1562, 1565) commands an irreproachable dignity and virtue, something with which his Morisco successor is never endowed. There are a few examples in popular anecdotes about the wisdom of pre-Reconquest Jews, but among the texts I evaluate I have not found a single literary text published and contextualised in the post-1492 period in Spain in which a Converso is identified as an unequivocally exemplary character. And while some social reformers produced compassionate accounts about orphans and the abject poor, and proposed measures to improve their lot, they condemned the socially mobile, whom they often identified as overreaching Conversos or Jews.

The anxiety of sameness is a by-product of the anxiety of difference. This is not to say that both anxieties – of sameness and of difference – cannot coexist in the same discourse. Indeed, an anxiety of sameness cannot take root without a pre-existing fear and hostility towards difference embodied in the other. In Spain, this anxiety arises in spaces in which material markers become less

effective in classifying subjects into the dominant and the marginal. The dominant then responds to the fear of being overtaken by a passing subaltern by desperately imagining differences – real or not – that would reinforce the validity of the ruling social system. In the case of the urban legend of the runaway, both the black man and the *fulano* are seen as dangerous beings who must be confined away from legitimate society. Not nearly as threatening as the *fulano*, the black man cannot escape, and even if he succeeded, he could not blend into society. The *fulano* is aware that the black man's body is too pronounced to coalesce into the masses and purposely makes an aperture that will only allow himself to pass to the other side of the roof. While the black man's overt figure guarantees his inevitable confinement, the *fulano*'s eerily versatile body allows him to 'miraculously' escape his imprisonment and pass as an acceptable member of Spanish society. Upon hearing this story, Spaniards might have felt that they were under the imminent menace of passers whose bodies were unreadable. After all, anybody could be a *fulano* or the progeny of a *fulano*, perhaps even without being aware of it.

The question of why Iberian Hispanic blacks never posed a social or political 'problem' in the way that Moriscos and Conversos did is a subject that needs to be investigated further and falls outside the bounds of this book. In order to begin to approach this complicated question, however, it might be helpful to consider that blackness was associated with the most abject servant class in the period I examine, even if not all blacks were slaves.[35] The majority of Iberian Hispanic blacks were by and large of sub-Saharan origins, and were forcibly brought to Spain to be sold in the slave market.[36] In early modern Seville, sub-Saharan Africans and their descendants formed the largest group of slaves, followed by light-skinned North African Muslims (*berberiscos*) and Canary Islanders among others.[37] Historians of Iberian slavery of early modernity seem generally to conjecture that black slaves were in demand because they were stereotyped as being more docile and less likely to flee than *berberiscos*.[38] José Luis Cortes López argues that they were also believed to be more prone to subjugation, especially if they were *bozales* (non-natives and not speakers of a romance language), were amenable to Christian conversion, and were non-agents in competitive socio-economic spaces.[39] *Berberiscos* had the reputation of being arrogant, deceitful, false converts to Christianity, and given the chance, prone to betray their masters. It is possible that the fear of betrayal developed from the stereotype that the *berberisco* slave was a former enemy whose dormant violence had to be contained. Debra Blumenthal found in Valencian court cases of the late fifteenth century that while Muslim slaves were 'presented as feared but respected enemies, these black African *moros* seem to have been regarded as beneath fear and beneath contempt'.[40] Baltasar Fra Molinero's study of black characters in Golden Age Spanish theatre supports the view that blacks were

formulaically portrayed as either comically simple-minded or potentially dangerous to the body politic but containable because they were seen as being naturally barbaric, morally inferior, and ultimately acquiescent of their contingent existence. Like the black man in the legend of the *fulano*, the plays examined by Fra Molinero represent the body of the black man as bearing the sign of ostensible difference, which provokes anxiety but it is at the same time paradoxically represented as a mark of safety to the body politic.[41] In contrast, the anxiety of sameness provoked by the equivocal body of the *fulano*, the body that could potentially carry the Jew, the Converso, or the low-born, breeds imaginative scenes of persecution.[42]

This study identifies and explores the representations and expressions of this anxiety of sameness. It analyses scenes in which socially dominant Spaniards are beset by the breakdown of the boundaries that separate the high and the low and by the perils of hidden social stains. Not knowing who did and did not carry a stain led to the danger of infiltration, of contagion, guilt by association, and identity devaluation. This ambiguity suggested that even the noblest Spaniard who prided himself or herself on his or her pure Visigothic roots could be a passer or the unknowing descendant of one. The anxiety of sameness is, ultimately, a manifestation of the early modern individual's confrontation with his or her own subjectivity. In Part I: 'The usurpation of nobility and low-born passers' (Chapters 1 and 2), I discuss representations of the identity crisis that social mobility engendered among members of the established nobility. *Hidalguía* or nobility by birth was a privilege shared by all of the noble ranks of Spain, whether they were, in order of ascending grades, *hidalgos*, *caballeros*, *títulos*, or *grandes.* It was a condition that recognised the genealogical superiority of noblemen over common people. Noblemen were guaranteed, among other material benefits, exemption from direct taxation. But more significant than the financial advantages given to *hidalgos* was their claim to social honour. All *hidalgos*, with the exception of *hidalgos* who had purchased rather than inherited their title, expected and demanded to be publicly acknowledged as equals by fellow *hidalgos* and to be esteemed as superiors by common men. Given that it was naturally impossible for commoners to ever become birth *hidalgos*, the next best option for wealthy merchants and farmers with aspirations of breaking rank was to feign nobility. Successful false nobles would, then, go to great lengths to have their claim to *hidalguía* validated in the royal courts with a writ known as the *carta ejecutoria*.

The perception that true *hidalgos* were under the siege of low-born impersonators is conveyed in official and prescriptive discourses as well as literary works of the period. For the royal canon Pedro Fernández de Navarrete the pragmatic approach to thwarting the breeding of 'pseudonobles' was to prevent commoners from aspiring to social mobility in the first place.[43] He argued

that the children of farmers and manual labourers should learn the trades of their parents and be discouraged from pursuing professional careers. Francisco de Quevedo, famously known for his contempt of New and Old Christians with upward mobility, used satire to express his frustration at his own inability to be able to know who was a real nobleman and who was a passer. Throughout his works, Quevedo draws attention especially to the essential role that money plays in the fashioning of a fraudulent nobleman. For Quevedo, money, or *Don Dinero* as he sarcastically calls it in a poem, can deviously reverse the natural social order and transform a miserly shopkeeper into a *caballero*. In my discussion of Diego de Hermosilla's *Diálogo de la vida de los pajes de palacio* (*Dialogue about the Life of Palace Pages*) (1573), a dialogue on the subject of nobility that has received little critical attention, I argue that the writer of the treatise voices the anxiety experienced by the impoverished *hidalgo* towards socially mobile merchants, often passing for *hidalgos*, who surpassed them in wealth and rank. The impoverished *hidalgos* of Hermosilla's dialogue echo other treatise writers, who believed that passing low-borns had laid siege to the traditional nobility and 'usurped' their highborn names with the purpose of destroying their noble lineages. But, as expressed in Hermosilla's work, the *hidalgo*'s identity paradoxically depended on the commoner's longing for his title. As much as *hidalgos* insisted on having commoners comply with the expectations of their inferior status, *hidalgos* also wished them to covet their noble titles. Without the envy of others, *hidalguía* failed to be a social reality and existed as nothing more than a legal status that might have qualified a person for certain theoretical privileges.

In the imagination of the ostensible Old Christian elite, all kinds of impure types were passing into what they believed to be their exclusive domain. Just as the rogue of the legendary story of the jail of Seville could turn himself into a mouse or an eel-like creature and slip into lawful spaces, bastard foundlings were believed to be to able turn themselves into lawyers, and low-born merchants into prestigious members of government councils. The literary figure of the Spanish rogue – or *pícaro* – may be seen as embodying the prototype of contemptible low-borns. Indeed, the picaresque works I examine show that their anti-heroes' immoral activities are essentially propelled by an unquenchable envy of the *hidalgo*. The *pícaros* of Lope de Vega's *El caballero del milagro* (*The Knight by Miracle*) (1621), Francisco de Quevedo's *Historia de la vida del buscón llamado don Pablos* (*The History of the Life of the Swindler Named Don Pablos*) (1626), and Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's *La niña de los embustes*, *Teresa de Manzanares* (*The Girl of the Lies, Teresa de Manzanares*) (1632) manage to infiltrate and almost stain the lineage of unsuspecting victims. I argue that rather than representing the closure to social mobility or the 're-feudalisation of Spain', as purported by Antonio Maravall, these picaresque works could alternatively express the very

opposite point of view: that upper mobility was too accessible to undesirable subjects.

The texts I analyse express the fears of their target audiences by conjuring up the worst-case scenarios of break-ins and veiled assaults by illicit low-borns and by resolving them sensationally on behalf of the ostensible Old Christian elite. They also give the intended readers the sense that they can peek into the otherwise mysterious lives of these imagined impostors and proffer the false impression that they have an insight into the well-shielded secrets of their deceptive performances. I continue the discussion with the example of a different and unique narrative phenomenon, less satirical than the picaresque but also written for the noble circles and its sympathisers. I focus on Vicente Espinel's representation of what his public would have considered the extreme case of social demotion suffered by a virtuous *hidalgo*. The case presented in Espinel's novel *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón* (*Tales of the Life of the Squire Marcos de Obregón*) (1618) concerns its eponymous protagonist, a nobleman of the lowest rank, whose poverty forces him to live in a state of servitude to others, who often have shameful backgrounds. The story of Obregón certainly played out one of the most frightening cases for financially insecure nobles. It imagines the nightmarish scenario in which an *hidalgo* has been stripped of the external markers of his class – dress and other signs of wealth – and lives like a commoner, without the social respect that is guaranteed to his class. I end my discussion of social anxiety with an interpretation of the *hidalgo* hero in Cervantes's *Don Quijote* as a figure who initially incarnates the anxiety of sameness and eventually conquers it. The knight-errant departs on his journey with the objective to show the world that he was born for eminence, but in the second part of the book, as the dukes try to turn him into a stereotype, he places greater value on his individuality and softens the elitist social views he had promoted in the first part of the novel. His final return home, confession, and self-baptism as Alonso Quijano el Bueno is proof that he can only find absolute peace when he accepts his sameness with the rest of humanity.

Both commoners and New Christians were often described in elitist narratives as abominable people, but the label of *manchado/maculado* (stained) or *sucio* (dirty) was almost exclusively associated with the latter and, more precisely, with Conversos. Derogatory terms for Conversos connoted either uncleanliness, such as Marrano (pig),[44] or emphasised the unreliability of their religious identities and loyalties, such as *tornadizo* (turncoat, renegade) and *confeso* (one who confesses, repented renegade). The texts I examine in Part II: 'Conversos and the threat of sameness' (Chapters 3 and 4) construct and reinforce the notion of the deceitful identities of Conversos and their stained lineages. They manifest the fear by Old Christians that they were

under the constant danger of having their lineages contaminated by uniden-
tifiable Conversos who attempted, and often succeeded, at secretly melding
their stained blood with the pure blood of Old Christians. These texts implied
that if armed with knowledge of the distinguishing features of Conversos, Old
Christians could become proficient at identifying even the most sophisticated
veneer of sameness. Discursive forms of denunciating passing Conversos, fur-
thermore, were unofficial methods of propagating and reinforcing the view
that Conversos were morally and physically distinct from Old Christians.
Among these we find religious and medical treatises aimed at rendering the
Converso body as subhuman and tainted. Theologians Pedro Aznar Cardona,
Vicente da Costa Matos, Francisco de Torrejoncillo, and the medical doctor
Juan de Quiñones (Philip IV's personal physician) argued – making extensive
references to biblical, classical, and scientific sources – that Jews and Conversos
exhibited their sinfulness through physical signs, such as elongated rears and
skin eruptions, and/or suffered from periodic anal bleeding.

Cataloguing the genealogies of presumed Conversos was another method
of unmasking Old Christian impersonators. *Libros verdes* or green books were
anonymous catalogues exposing the hidden Converso taint in the ancestries
of distinguished families. They aimed at curbing the efforts of Conversos who
strove for cultural sameness. I focus on the anonymous *Libro verde de Aragón*
(*The Green Book of Aragón*) (1507) and *El tizón de la nobleza española* (*The Stain of
the Spanish Nobility*) (1560) by Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla. Both geneal-
ogies reveal a clear, albeit implied, aim: to unyoke the meanings of *hidalguía*
and *limpieza*. Green books were essential components of the machinery that
produced difference in early modern Spain. But in the end, it is hard to dispute
that oral and written genealogies heightened the anxiety of sameness instead of
curbing it, especially in high social circles.

While treatises and other elite forms of literature focused on highlight-
ing the difference embodied by the Converso through the use of (pseudo)
scientific, historical, and biblical references, popular narratives produced for
the general public were more invested in perpetuating the image of Conversos
as essentially greedy, non-pork-eating Jews. The folklore of anti-Semitic tales
and jokes has been passed on to us partly in written versions, which appear in
Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas's *Floresta española de apotegmas o sentencias*
(*A Forestal Compilation of Apothegms or Maxims*) (1574), Luis de Pinedo's *Libro
de Chistes* (*Book of Jokes*) (*c.*1550), and Luis Zapata's *Miscelánea* (*Miscellaneous
Tales*) (1592). Variants of many of the popular stories in these collections were
also incorporated in dramas, poetry, prose fiction, and in other miscellan-
eous writings. Regardless of the literary forms, the tales invariably voice the
Old Christian's resistance to acknowledging that social and cultural same-
ness between Converso and Old Christian could eventually be a reality. The

anonymous author of the *Diálogo entre Laín Calvo y Nuño Rasura* (*Dialogue between Laín Calvo and Nuño Rasura*) (1570) and Quevedo in his anti-Semitic satire similarly aim at revealing the hidden Converso body, but they are more interested in rendering Converso bodies as grotesque entities that arouse their audience's sense of utter disgust. The Old Christian anxiety of being unknowingly stained by the passing Converso through marriage is specifically addressed by Lope de Vega in his play *El galán escarmentado* (*The Reproved Gallant*) (1598). In this play, the archetypical Converso – wealthy, arrogant, and overreaching – fails miserably in his attempt to infiltrate pure Old Christian lineages. The Converso is denied sameness and Lope de Vega's presumed Old Christian audience is expected to be relieved at this happy outcome. I conclude my discussion of the fear of passing Conversos with an analysis of Cervantes's *El retablo de las maravillas* (*The Spectacle of Marvels*) (1615), a play representing the madness and disorder that ensues when *limpieza*-obsessed Old Christians find themselves incapable of tagging the impure subjects who, they believe, live amongst them. Ultimately, Cervantes alludes to the dominants's fear of confronting the unbearable truth that they might not be different from the conspicuous impure after all.

The term Morisco could be used as an insult when said in a disparaging tone and context. Nonetheless, unlike Converso – and evidently *confeso*, *tornadizo*, or Marrano – the word Morisco was less uniformly stigmatised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The term begins to be used in legal documents to denote a Christian convert of Muslim origins more uniformly in the first half of the 1500s. Prior to it, *cristiano nuevo de moro* (Moorish New Christian) and its variants were the common designations of Muslim converts.[45] In literary texts, the term Morisco was somewhat unstable. It generally carried negative overtones, but not necessarily. It could indicate a subversive subject, if he or she is portrayed as a renegade or overreaching, but it could also be used to designate a pitiful subject deserving compassion as long as he or she recognised the inferiority of his or her origins and did not try to hide his or her ancestry. Prior to the wars in the Alpujarra Mountains, the Morisco nobleman Francisco Núñez Muley wrote a memorandum to the non-Morisco leadership in Granada, requesting that Moriscos be allowed to continue practising certain key Moorish customs that he argued were non-Islamic. In the memorandum, Núñez Muley referred to himself and his peers as the *naturales del Reino de Granada* (natives of the Kingdom of Granada). The use of the common euphemism punctuated the fact that Moriscos were not foreigners, but rather long-time residents of the kingdom going through a slow process of acculturation.[46] As Bernard Vincent argues, Núñez Muley's limited use of the word Moriscos is probably reflective of the negative impressions Old Christians had of the term.[47] After the rebellion of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras, the

characterisation of a Morisco as a *natural del Reino de Granada* could be used to connote subversiveness along with ancestral longevity in Spain. As conflicting as the responses that the appellation Moriscos could prompt on non-Moorish Spaniards were the views regarding the faithfulness of Moriscos to Christianity and to the Spanish King at the end of the 1500s.

Disregarding opposing views, the Spanish Crown justified the official expulsion of more than 250,000 Moriscos between 1609 and 1614 – about 4 per cent of the Spanish population – by arguing that they were innately foreign members of the Spanish kingdoms and lacked the capability to acculturate to Old Christian society. In Part III: 'Moriscos and the reassurance of difference' (Chapters 5 and 6), I concentrate primarily on texts in which, in opposition to the Crown's view, Old Christians expressed tolerance of the cultural differences that set Moriscos apart from Old Christians. I first introduce the propagandistic discourses that justified the expulsion of the Moriscos by figuring Moriscos as the last Moors of the Reconquest, and therefore potential enemies within. I also evaluate Pedro de Valencia's *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* (*Treatise on the Moriscos of Spain*) (1606), a text that historians and literary critics have deemed to be exceptionally progressive in the context of the time when it was produced. Valencia believed that instead of expelling them, the government should double its efforts to completely and definitively convert all baptised Moriscos. For Valencia, 'true' conversion entailed the Moriscos's abandonment of all Moorish rituals, dress, and food, and their willingness to intermarry with Old Christians. Valencia believed that religio-cultural tensions could be eliminated if Moriscos achieved absolute cultural and social sameness with Old Christians. But I argue that Valencia's premise that Old Christians could only tolerate Moriscos if they mirrored them in semblance and behaviour runs counter to the sentiments expressed in some of the testimonies given by Old Christians in judicial cases.

In three specific cases that I examine from the post-expulsion period, Old Christians tolerated Moriscos as long as there were some undeniable, distinguishing traits, and as long as they did not threaten the established economic and social order. The 'good' Moriscos – those whose attempts to avoid expulsion were aided by Old Christians – were likely to have simultaneously established reputations as devout Christians and as individuals who recognised their inherent inferiority to Old Christians. In other words, Old Christians saw these Moriscos as being acculturated enough to communicate, socialise, and provide meaningful services to Old Christian society, but were comforted by the fact that their underclass status made them unlikely passers. The Moriscos's signs of difference, in this context, functioned as unassailable marks that reminded Old Christians of their superiority. In effect, a ballad composed years after the expulsion purports that the Moriscos were expelled not because they were

unable to acculturate, but on the contrary, because they began impersonating the appearance and behaviour of wealthy Old Christians.

The maurophilic trend in literature, which romanticised the Moor before he became a Morisco, might be indeed interpreted as evidence that Old Christians were more at ease in situations where the assigned inferior subjects carried visible signs of difference. In my readings of *Historia del Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa* (*History of Abencerraje and the beautiful Jarifa*) (1561, 1562, 1565) (Morisco ballads), the first part of Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (*The Civil Wars of Granada*) (1595, 1604), and Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra* (*Tuzaní from the Alpujarra*) (*c.*1633, also known as *Amar después de la muerte* (*Love After Death*)), I find that Spaniards may have been attracted to the figure of the noble Moor because he embodied the exemplary defeated enemy. His conspicuous exoticism made him desirable and ultimately domesticable by the figure of the Christian Knight. Cervantes further explores the Old Christian attraction to the figure of the exotic Christianised subject in the second part of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1615). Through the exposition of the fictionalised case of Ana Félix, a Morisca attempting to be exempted from the Morisco expulsion edict, Cervantes suggests that her capacity to survive in Spain depends on her willingness to fully repudiate her cultural heritage and at the same time accept that she will not be fully absorbed into the Old Christian population. Cervantes appears to point out through this episode that, ironically, Ana Félix, like the figure of the North African Zoraida of the first part of the novel, has a chance to be retained in Christian Spain because she can still be referred to as a *mora* (a Moor).

The anxiety of sameness arises when both the dominant class and potential social passers agree that the dominant class is more desirable and innately superior, and when the barriers for socio-cultural passing are formidable but are nevertheless somewhat permeable, allowing infiltration by the lower-class individual. The purpose of my book is to expose and study literary and non-literary narratives in which the dominant's anxiety of sameness becomes a focal point in the construction of the other. It does not argue in any way that these discourses were not fraught with self-contradictions or that they were not subject to subversive forms of opposition and resistance. But the narrative ambiguities and contradictory argumentation do not necessarily detract from the dominant's all-pervasive obsession with markers of difference in the period I examine. In the final analysis, the mere notion that there were passers who succeeded in remaining undiscovered was particularly disquieting because it implied that all subjects could be suspected as being counterfeit versions of 'true' Spaniards. My approach to the question of how early modern Spaniards responded to the realisation that their system of classification had been compromised potentially reaches beyond the field of Hispanic Studies. The anxiety

of sameness may well apply to other societies ruled by an order that allows for permeable cracks and crevices, through which the undesirable can enter and pass as a legitimate member until he or she stops passing and literally 'becomes' one.

Notes

1 Pedro de León, *Grandeza y miseria en Andalucía: testimonio de una encrucijada histórica (1578–1616)* (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1981), 383–384.

2 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002), 5.

3 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 50.

4 Barbara Fuchs, *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

5 Stephen Greenblatt first discussed at length his approach to the study of texts, which he coined 'Poetics of Culture' and which subsequently became better known as 'New Historicism', in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), and *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). More recently, he (along with Catherine Gallagher) attempted to more clearly articulate the application of the critical approach he founded in *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

6 Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, 10.

7 Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 4.

8 Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 6–11.

9 For Greenblatt, the circulation of social energy is 'partial, fragmentary, conflictual', and thus impossible to define (*Shakespearean Negotiations*, 19).

10 Influential among Américo Castro's works are *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948); *La realidad histórica de España* (México: Porrúa, 1954); *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid: Taurus, 1957); *De la edad conflictiva: El drama de la honra en España y en su literatura* (Madrid: Taurus, 1961); *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1966).

11 Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Personajes y temas del Quijote* (Madrid: Taurus, 1975) and *El problema morisco desde otras laderas* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1998); Carroll Johnson, *Cervantes and the Material World* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000); William Clamurro, *Language and Ideology in the Prose of Quevedo* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1991) and *Beneath the Fiction: The Contrary Worlds of Cervantes' Novelas Ejemplares* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997); in addition to Fuchs's *Passing for Spain*, I refer to *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

12 Georgina Dopico Black, *Perfect Wives, Other Women: Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 41.

13 See Philippe Wolf, 'The 1391 Pogrom in Spain: Social Crisis or Not?', *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 4–18; Angus MacKay, 'Popular Movements and Pogroms in Fifteenth-Century Castile', *Past and Present* 55.1 (1972): 33–67, at 59–60; Emilio Mitre Fernández, *Los judíos de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique III: El pogrom de 1391* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994); and David Nirenberg, 'Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities', *Past and Present* 174.1 (2002): 3–41, at 10.

14 Nirenberg makes the observation that Jews who chose migration over conversion were also suspected by their new Jewish neighbours of having renounced their faith, or they were treated with prejudiced for having received baptism, even if they had done so through force ('Mass Conversion', 16–20).

15 Conversos had successfully taken important roles in royal and ecclesiastical administration, and in some municipal governments, starting in the 1400s. Among highly achieved and noble Conversos were Fernán Díaz de Toledo, *relator* of Toledo and royal secretary to Juan II; Friar Alonso de Cartagena, Archbishop of Burgos and judge of the Royal Tribunal of Juan II; Alonso de Palencia, Latin secretary and chronicler of Enrique IV; Fernando del Pulgar, secretary and royal chronicler of Enrique IV and the Catholic Monarchs; Friar Hernando de Talavera, personal confessor of Isabel I and Archbishop of Granada; and Francisco de Villalobos, personal physician of Fernando of Aragón. Lope de Barrientos, in *Contra algunos zizañadores de la nación de los convertidos del pueblo de Israel* (1449) and Fernán Díaz de Toledo in *Instrucción del Relator para el obispo de Cuenca, a favor de la nación Hebrea* enumerate the names of aristocrats and royal court officials who were of Converso descent. See Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 377–378; MacKay, 'Popular Movements and Pogroms', 45–52; Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, Vol. 1 (Madrid: Istmo, 2000), 129–135; Francisco Márquez's Villanueva, 'Conversos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV', *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 63 (1957): 503–540; Nicolás López Martínez, *Los judaizantes castellanos y la Inquisición en tiempos de Isabel la Católica* (Burgos: Seminario Metropolitano, 1954), 56–58.

16 See Brian Catlos, *Muslims of Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 82–89, 262–280, and 340–346.

17 Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 12.

18 Ana Echevarría, *The Fortress of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 192–196. Although there were some areas – such as in Seville in the early 1400s – where Conversos similarly flaunted their Jewish ancestry, especially if they had descended from high nobles, Conversos were more likely not to acknowledge their origins (Rafael Sánchez Sauz, 'Sevillian Medieval Nobility: Creation, Development and Character', *Journal of Medieval History*, 24. 4 (1998): 367–380, at 376).

19 Before the uprising in Toledo, there had been attempts to single out Conversos and distinguish them legally from natural Christians in Barcelona in 1433, and to prevent them from becoming notaries in 1436, and to strip them of brokerships in Lleida in 1437.

20 Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV: Vida política* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), 33–37.

21 See Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, 38–59; Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica del Señor Rey Don Juan Segundo* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1779), 536–539; Juan de Mariana, *Historia general de España*, Vol. 12 (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Leonardo Nuñez de Vargas, 1819), 45–50.

22 Sarmiento's belief that Conversos were camouflaged Jews is first stated in a letter to the king in May 1449 (in Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, 186–190).

23 Max S. Hering Torres, 'Purity of Blood. Problems of Interpretation'. *Race and Blood in the Iberian World*. Ed. Max S. Hering Torres, María Elena Martínez, and David Nirenberg (Munster: Lit Verlag, 2012), 11–38, at 16. Sarmiento refers to Old Christians as 'lindos' twice in his document (Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, 193 and 195.)

24 Hering Torres, 'Purity of Blood', 16.

25 'Descendientes del perverso linaje de judíos, en cualquier guise que sea', 'por razón de las herejías e otros delictos, insultos, sediciones e crímenes por ellos fasta hoy cometidos y perpetrados' (in Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, 194).

26 Other distinguished religious and political leaders who were against the *sentencia-estatuto* were Bishop Lope de Barrientos, Fernán Díaz de Toledo, and Francisco de Toledo. See Robert A. Maryks in *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 4–29.

27 Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 232.

28 Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 233–236; María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 43.

29 Norman Roth and Benzion Netanyahu argue that although the forced mass conversions in the aftermath of 1391 harboured a strong crypto-Jewish movement, it substantially declined in the following three generations. By the time the Inquisition was established, they agree that most Conversos considered themselves faithful to Christianity. Old Christians were able to distinguish them well into the 1400s because they formed compact groups in urban areas and naturally held on to remnants of Jewish culture (Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995), 196–197; Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 216–270, 317–318). Yitzhak Baer and Yosef Haim Beinart contend, on the other hand, that crypto-Judaism was active all throughout the fifteenth century (Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Trans. Louis Schoffman. Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1966), 246, 278, 424; Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Trans. Jeffrey M. Green (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), 2, 19). I agree with María Elena Martínez, who takes the view that the attempt to classify a true convert v. a false convert is problematic in itself because of the impossibility of separating cultural practices from religious beliefs and practices. According to Martínez, most Conversos 'fell in between these two categories and partook in a variety of Christian and Jewish practices', depending on their knowledge of Christian/Jewish doctrine, sociopolitical contexts, and personal experiences (Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 38).

30 'Sabios, e doctos (*sic*), e Obispos e Canónigos, e Frailes, e Abades, e Sabios, e Contadores e Secretarios, e Factores de Reyes e de Grandes Señores'. (Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los reyes católicos D. Fernando y Da Isabel, Crónica inédita del siglo XV, escrita por el bachiller, Andrés Bernáldez, cura que fue de los Palacios*. Vol. 1 (Granada: D. José María Zamora, 1856), 97).

31 Bernáldez, *Historia de los reyes católicos*, 98.

32 'Algunos se mezclaron con fijos e fijas de *Caballeros* christianos viejos con sobre de riquezas que hallaron bien aventurados por ello por los casamientos y matrimonios, que ansi ficieron, que quedaron en la inquisicion por buenos cristianos (Bernáldez, *Historia de los reyes católicos*, 99).

33 Moderate estimates place the number of Conversos who stayed in Spain after the expulsion at about 750,000 (Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 332).

34 I do not mean to suggest that religious passing was substituted by genealogical passing. In most cases concerning Conversos passing for Old Christians, we see that these concepts appear conflated.

35 Douglas's point that societies at large believe that marginals 'who become too numerous and bold can threaten their patron's lineage', may partly explain why sub-Saharan Africans were not considered to be a danger to Spanish society at large, like the Conversos or Moriscos (*Purity and Danger*, 129).

36 Sub-Saharan Africans came overwhelmingly from upper Guinea, Senegambia, and Angola in the sixteenth century (José Luis Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra en la España peninsular del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), 160).

37 María del Rosario Santos Cabota found that about 75 to 80 per cent of Sevillian slaves were blacks, while Rocío Periáñez Gómez found that about 66 per cent of the slaves in Zafra, one of the largest slave markets, were black (María del Rosario Santos Cabota, 'El Mercado de Esclavos en la Sevilla de la primera mitad del siglo XVII'. *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla: etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de historia*. Ed. Isidoro Moreno Navarro (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1997), 501–509; Rocío Periáñez Gómez, 'La introducción de los negros por la frontera extremeña y sus distribución posterior'. *La esclavitud negroafricana en la historia de España. Siglos XVI y XVII*. Ed. Aurelia Martín Casares y Margarita García Barranco (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2010), 35–54). The number of black slaves increased dramatically between 1580 and 1640 due to the annexation of the Portuguese Crown to Castile and its increased access to the slave trade from Angola and Guinea (Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2003), 372). Slaves could also be Turkish Muslims, Arab Muslims, Amerindians, and Asians.

In the sixteenth century there was an increase in slaves born in Iberia and of mixed race. The captured Moriscos in the Alpujarras wars and after the expulsion of 1609–1614 were also subject to enslavement (William D. Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 14–27). Superficial classifications of slaves became complex. A slave could be called *berberisco*, *blanco*, *negro*, *mulato*, *membrillo*, *loro*, *moreno*, *moreno claro*, *membrillo cocho*, *membrillo cocho claro*, *membrillo cocho oscuro*, *trigueño*, *trigueño claro*, *trigueño oscuro*, *rubio*, *rosa*, *pelinegro*, or '*de buen color*' (Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, 74–77).

38 Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, 72–74; José Luis Cortés López, *Los orígenes de la esclavitud negra en España* (Madrid: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1986), 59; Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *Los libertos en la sociedad canaria del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983), 28. Alfonso Franco Silva's work on Andalucian slavery between 1470 and 1520 shows that the stereotype of the docile black slave was probably not accurate. His study of the records of runaway slaves reveals that out of 297 fugitive slaves, the majority (123) were identified as blacks (*La esclavitud en Andalucía 1440–1550* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), 114–121). Ruth Pike points out that a significant portion of thieves and murderers in Seville were black or mulatto slaves ('Crime and Criminals in Sixteenth-Century Seville', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 6.1 (1975): 3–18, at 15).

39 Cortés López, *Los orígenes de la esclavitud*, 133–150.

40 Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars. Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 272.

41 Fra Molinero's *La imagen de los negros en el teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 1995) focuses on *entremeses* or dramatic interludes and other forms of short plays, and four *comedias*: Lope de Vega's *El prodigio de Etiopía* (1645), *El santo negro Rosambuco de la ciudad de Palermo* (*c.*1606–1607), and *El negro del mejor amo, Antiobo de Cerdeña* (*c.1599*–1603); Diego Jiménez de Enciso's *Juan Latino* (1652); and Andrés de Claramonte's *El valiente negro en Flandes o El triunfo por las armas* (1638).

42 Although publications focused exclusively on dark-skinned Iberian Spaniards of sub-Saharan extraction are scarce, there is a rising interest in the subject and the expectation is that upcoming findings will lead to fruitful comparative approaches to understanding why blacks were seen as less of a threat than other minorities (i.e., Conversos and Moriscos). Erin Rowe's work-in-progress on sub-Saharan African saints and their popular following in early modernity might provide further guidance.

43 Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, *Conservación de monarquías y discursos políticos* (1626) (Madrid: Don Benito Cano, 1792), 99.

44 Sebastián de Covarrubias supposed that the word was introduced by Moorish inhabitants: '[l]os Moros llaman al puerco de un año marrano, y pudo ser que al nuevamente convertido, por esta razón, y por no comer la carne del puerco, le llamassen marrano' (*Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española.* (Barcelona: Editorial Alta Fulla, 1998), 791).

45 *Cristiano nuevo de moro*, *nuevo convertido de moro*, and other variants continued to be used along with Morisco (Mercedes García Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos. Los procesos del tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: Siglo veintiuno, 1978), 32). Descendants of Muslims or former Muslims from North Africa were not called Moriscos, but *berberiscos*, *gazís*, or *tunecís*. The Moorish who converted prior to 1 January 1492 and their descendants were known as *cristianos viejos de moros* (Moorish Old Christians) and had the same legal rights as the non-Morisco population (William Childers, 'Disappearing Moriscos', *Cross-Cultural History and the Domestication of Otherness*. Ed. Michal Jan Rozbicki and George O. Ndege (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 51–66, at 54–58).

46 I discuss Francisco Núñez Muley's defence of Moriscos in Chapter 5.

47 Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2011), 168.