

**(Foreign) Bodies  
Stigmatizing New Christians  
in Early Modern Spain**

Julia Gebke



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Julia Gebke

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*For Franz, Helga, Michaela & Sobeil*



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# Acknowledgments

*"Begin at the beginning," the King said gravely,  
"and go on till you come to the end: then stop."*

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*(Lewis Carroll, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865), chapter 12)*

Dear reader,

It was a long and exciting journey from the moment the idea germinated to the day the final version of this book was ready to be printed, with many people accompanying and actively supporting me along the way. I will not be able to name all of them here, but I would like to mention a few. Rainer Walz took the very first step when one day he casually said to me on the way out: "Ms. Gebke, don't you want to do something with the Conversos?" Slightly taken by surprise, I answered that question in the affirmative. No sooner said than done. After that, this engrossing topic has never let go of me and inspired me to write not only a master's thesis, but also a dissertation. I would like to thank Rainer Walz very much for not only setting this work in motion, but for helping to the end and always standing by my side in word and deed with many indispensable suggestions.

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Emmerke, December 30, 2018

# Foreword

Much too used  
to shake with anger  
at the crimes  
of the swastika times

we forget  
to be just a little thankful  
to our predecessors  
that their deeds

might still help us  
to recognise in time  
that *we* are planning  
a far greater crime today  
(Erich Fried: Debt of Gratitude)<sup>1</sup>

It may be initially shocking to associate the word thankful with the history of National Socialism and thus inevitably the history of the Holocaust when reading Erich Fried's poem (1921–1988). However, this is the only positive aspect that we can take from the atrocities of the Nazi regime, namely the hope that we will learn from them, that is, that we will recognize the warning signs in due time and do it better in the future.

To understand the mechanisms of exclusion, discrimination and persecution and to fight them soon enough, we must understand how they work. That is why it is worthwhile to take a look at history – and not just the history of the 20th century. My book should make a small contribution to our understanding of exclusion mechanisms.

One strategy seemed critical to me in the process: the excluding group's propagation of the physical otherness of the group to be excluded. Therefore, the focus of my book is on the excluding perspective of the perpetrator and especially on the distinguishing characteristics that were ascribed to the body declared to be different. I chose the ideology of blood purity, *limpieza de sangre*, in early modern Spain during the 16th and 17th century as the subject to be studied. This book will examine and analyze how to understand the concept of *limpieza de sangre* and how this ideology was implemented. The translations of the citations in this work are from the German translations

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<sup>1</sup> Erich FRIED: Love poems, trans. by Stuart HOOD, New York and London 1991, 49.

provided by the author, unless stated otherwise.

# 1 Introduction

“May his blood be on us and on our children.” (Matt. 27.25)

This verse from the Gospel of Matthew is of immense importance in the history of anti-Judaism since it is the basis for the argument in the accusation of deicide. It refers to the blood of Christ because it is the cry of the people when they support the enforcement of his execution, and the prisoner Barabbas is released in return. It follows right after the famous scene when Pontius Pilate asserts his innocence by washing his hands.

This line also became a central argument for the ideology of blood purity,<sup>2</sup> the *limpieza de sangre*, on the Iberian Peninsula. To understand its historical context, it is worth taking a short journey through time to the Iberian Peninsula in 1391. There, especially in Andalusia, severe pogroms were directed against the Jewish population and forced conversions, with the archdeacon of Seville, Ferrnando Martn de Écija, making a considerable contribution to this with his inflammatory sermons. The years and decades that followed saw large-scale waves of conversions. Today, it is only possible to guess at the motives for such a conversion. Certainly, there were very different reasons:<sup>3</sup> fear of renewed pogroms, the opportunity to improve social status, the desire for a family reunion (if a part of the family had already converted), but also religious conviction may have played a role.

Two schools have emerged in the research on the subject of the religious identity of this group of converts, also called *Judeoconversos* or simply *Conversos*. One school, among them Yitzhak Baer (1888–1980), holds the view that the majority of the *Conversos* were crypto-Jews who continued to secretly practice the Jewish faith. The other – with Benzion Netanyahu (1910–2012) to be mentioned in particular – attribute this view of the *Conversos* as crypto-Jews to the representation of them on the basis of the Inquisition records. They view the *Conversos* in a more differentiated manner.<sup>4</sup> Now, scholars largely argue that the *Conversos* were by no means a group with a uniform identity. For example, David Gitlitz presents a model where he tries to classify the identities of *Conversos* into four groups and often additional subgroups. Furthermore, he makes an effort to take account of the syncretistic tendencies of some *Conversos*.<sup>5</sup>

In my opinion, it is difficult to make statements about the religious beliefs of the *Conversos* so I would like to refrain from such an attempt. Gitlitz’s model is helpful in the sense that it shows the

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2 See chapter 1.1 *A Master Narrative* for a definition of the concept of ideology.

3 Ángel Alcalá, for example, tries to summarize them in five categories. Ángel ALCALÁ: Tres cuestiones en busca de respuesta: Invalidez del bautismo “forzado,” “conversión” de judíos, trato “cristiano” al converso, in: ID. (ed.): Judíos. Sefarditas. Conversos: Ponencias del Congreso Internacional celebrado en Nueva York en noviembre de 1992, Valladolid 1995, 523–544, here 533–535.

4 Ibidem, 532–533.

5 David M. GITLITZ: Secrecy and Deceit. The Religion of the Crypto-Jews, Albuquerque 2002, 85–90.

complexity of religious identities. At the same time, however, it is important to be aware that, when reading the sources, one can come across people who cannot be classified in any of the categories and who prove to be far more complex than could ever be represented in a model. Finally, we cannot eliminate the possibility that one's own understanding of identity may change over time. The model can provide easier access to possible identities and give us initial orientation, but we should not impose it on the historical persons under any circumstance since otherwise they would be rendered static, which is not suitable for them.

The complexity of the identity concept itself can be seen here.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, it is necessary to differentiate between individual identity and a collective identity, the "I" and "We," in regard to the question of identity. It is precisely this collective identity that is important in the attempt to understand the Conversos conceptualized as a group. Two components of identity formation should be taken into account here: definition "from outside" and simultaneously differentiation from others "from inside" – which are in conflict with each other. Definition by one's self and definition by others are in a permanent, mutual negotiation process and equally characterize the identity of a group. In regard to the 20th century and the Holocaust, Lutz Niethammer describes the formation of identity by force as follows:

"It was the definition by others on account of an enemy ethnicity's exclusive political claim to power that first reduced this diversity to a single category and pounded the the subjected group with their ethnicity as the most significant distinguishing feature [...]."<sup>7</sup>

In the case of the Conversos, their identity must be viewed in a thoroughly differentiated manner. Even before their conversion, they had a strong group identity that consisted equally of self-definition and definition by others, and was essentially religious, but also defined by ethnicity and genealogy. It would have been conceivable for the conversion to lead to assimilation or integration and thus a weakening of this group identity, but it turned out differently. In regard to the Conversos' situation, Niethammer argues that it is possible to speak of a "collective identity obligation,"<sup>8</sup> which naturally did not remain without consequences for their self-definition.<sup>9</sup>

The Conversos soon formed a kind of new urban, up-and-coming bourgeoisie that gave rise to social envy. In 1449 the situation escalated in Toledo, with the Conversos on one side and the self-proclaimed Old Christians on the other. The latter evidently felt that the Conversos were displacing

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6 In this regard, see Gernot BÖHME: Identität, in: Christoph WULF (ed.): *Vom Menschen*, Weinheim et al. 1997, 686–697; Jan ASSMANN: *Erinnern, um dazuzugehören: Kulturelles Gedächtnis, Zugehörigkeitsstruktur und normative Vergangenheit*, in: Kristin PLATT/Mihran DABAG (eds.): *Generation und Gedächtnis*, Opladen 1995, 51–75.

7 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; "Erst die Fremdzuschreibung durch den exklusiven politischen Anspruch einer feindlichen Ethnie an der Macht reduzierte diese Vielfalt auf eine einzige Kategorie und bleute den Unterworfenen ihre Ethnizität als bedeutsamstes Unterscheidungsmerkmal ein." Lutz NIETHAMMER: *Diesseits des "Floating Gap": Das kollektive Gedächtnis und die Konstruktion von Identität im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs*, in: Kristin PLATT/Mihran DABAG (eds.): *Generation und Gedächtnis*, Opladen 1995, 25–50, here 44.

8 "Verpflichtung zu kollektiver Identität," *Ibidem*, 39.

9 In regard to New Christian constructions of identity in the Ashkenazic, German-speaking countries and the connections between conversion and body, see Maria DIEMLING: "Mit Leib und Seele?": Überlegungen zum Körperbild jüdischer Konvertiten in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: *Aschkenas* 15.2 (2005), 399–418.

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them on the city council, which must have contributed greatly to defining the Old Christians' perception of themselves and their newly gained feeling of solidarity. In addition to this, the city was supposed to levy an additional tax of one thousand maravedis, a considerable sum, in 1449. John II of Castile (1405–1454) wanted to use the revenue from this tax to finance his wars. He sent Alvaro de Luna (1388/90–1453), his supreme commander and also a scion of an influential Converso family, to Toledo in order to achieve this. The Old Christian faction on the city council was against the payment of the tax because it violated the privileges granted to the city; by contrast, the Conversos, who were loyal to the king, supported it. The fronts hardened and the dispute culminated in the *Sentencia-Estatuto*<sup>10</sup> edited by Pedro Sarmiento, the leader of the Old Christian faction. Today, these statutes are considered the first purity of blood statutes – or at least the oldest ones on record. They stated in regard to the Conversos of Jewish descent:

“[...] they are to be treated as and held for – as the law treats and holds them – dishonorable, incapable, unfit and unworthy to occupy any public or private offices or honorable positions in the said city of Toledo, in its territory, within its borders or its jurisdiction where they could gain power over the Old Christians who believe in the holy Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and inflict damage or do harm to them. And [they shall] also be considered dishonorable, incapable and unfit to testify and certify as public scribes or witnesses, especially in this city.”<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the statutes denied the Conversos access to the public offices and dignities of the city by declaring them unworthy. The authors of the *Sentencia-Estatuto* traced this loss of worthiness back to the tendency of Conversos to re-“Judaize.”<sup>12</sup> They accused them of apostasy, specifically the dropping of the Christian faith and the return to Judaism, which the Old Christians considered to be heresy and a crime.<sup>13</sup> It is also possible to clearly see the fronts that had been opened between New and Old Christians in the language used by the group around Pedro Sarmiento. In defining themselves, they characterized their group as “christianos viejos *lindos*,”<sup>14</sup> i.e., translated literally, the “beautiful Old Christians.” Especially at the beginning of the ideology of blood purity in the 15th century, the designation as “beautiful Christians,” *cristianos lindos*, can be found for Old Christians,

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<sup>10</sup> See in regard to the history of the *Sentencia-Estatuto*: Eloy BENITO RUANO: Los orígenes del problema converso, Madrid, 2001, URL: [ark:/59851/bmcp624](http://ark:/59851/bmcp624) (visited on 27/02/2019); Eloy BENITO RUANO: El memorial contra los conversos del Bachiller Marcos García de Mora, in: Sefarad 17 (1957), 314–351 and Norman ROTH: Anti-Converso Riots of the Fifteenth Century, Pulgar, and the Inquisition, in: En la España Medieval 15 (1992), 367–394, URL: <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ELEM/article/view/ELEM9292110367A/23667> (visited on 27/02/2019).

<sup>11</sup> “[...] sean habidos é tenidos como el derecho los há é tiene por infames, inhábiles, incapaces é indignos para haber todo oficio é beneficio público y privado en la dicha cibdad de Toledo, y en su tierra, término y jurisdiccion, con el qual puedan tener señorío en los christianos viejos en la santa fe cathólica de nuestro Señor Jesuchristo creyentes, é facerles daños é injurias, é así mesmo ser infames, inhábiles, incapaces para dar testimonio é fê como escribanos públicos ó como testigos, y especialmente en esta cibdad [...]” ANTONIO MARTÍN GAMERO: Historia de la ciudad de Toledo, Toledo 1862, 1039.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, 1037.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, 1039.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, 1039, 1040.

with their “beauty” in this context being evidently a result of their purity.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, the New Christians were declared “*conversos del linaje de los judíos*” – that is, converts of Jewish ancestry. Furthermore, it is clearly emphasized at the end of the text that the statute indiscriminately covers past, present and future Conversos: “[...] *extendiese y extienda contra los conversos pretéritos y presentes é por venir [...]*.”<sup>16</sup>

The extension to all future generations became a particular concern of radical proponents of the ideology of blood purity such as the theologian Francisco de Torrejoncillo because their view was that the New Christian origin was a stigma that could not be eradicated. Accordingly, Torrejoncillo writes in his anti-*Converso* treatise entitled *Centinela contra judíos*,<sup>17</sup> which was first published in 1674:

“[...] as if it were an original sin to be an enemy of the Christians, of Christ and His divine Law. There is no need to be born of both a Jewish father and mother, only one is enough and it is not important if it is not the father. The mother by herself is sufficient, even if she is not herself wholly a Jew since a half, a quarter or even an eighth part is all that is required. In our times, the Holy Inquisition has uncovered judaizers even within twenty-one degrees of consanguinity. Many heretics become Catholics, many gentiles convert to our faith; but you will never, or only very rarely, see a Jew who has converted unless it is through fear of punishment.”<sup>18</sup>

This example clearly reveals the dimensions in which Torrejoncillo thought. From his point of view, a single ancestor of Jewish descent already represented a potential threat to the solidity of *Converso* descendants’ Christian faith. It is almost irrelevant how many generations lie between the ancestors and descendants. In addition, both paternal and maternal lineages are considered equally by Torrejoncillo, resulting in a large number of ancestors with potentially Jewish roots.

Such an understanding of blood purity was also reflected in the practical implementation of the statutes. Institutions such as the *Colegios Mayores*,<sup>19</sup> religious orders, orders of knights, cathedral

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15 See also the definition of *cristiano lindo* in the glossary by Hering Torres. Max Sebastián HERING TORRES: *Rassismus in der Vormoderne: Die “Reinheit des Blutes” im Spanien der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main 2006, 266.

16 MARTÍN GAMERO: *Historia de la ciudad de Toledo* (see n. 11), 1040.

17 *On Watch against the Jews*.

18 Translation by François Soyer, François SOYER: *Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire: Francisco de Torrejoncillo and the “Centinela contra Judíos” (1674)*, Leiden and Boston 2014, 157; “[...] como si fuera pecado original, à ser enemigos de Christianos, de Christo, y de su Ley Divina, no es necessario ser de padre, y madre Judios, uno solo basta: no importa que no lo sea el padre, basta la madre, y esta aun no entera, basta la mitad, y ni aun tanto, basta un quarto, y aun octavo: y la Inquisicion Santa ha descubierto en nuestros tiempos, que hasta distantes veinte y un grados se han conocido Judayzar. [...] muchos Gentiles se convierten à nuestra Fé; pero nunca, ò raro se verá un Judio convertido [...]” Francisco de TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos*, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios, Barcelona: Por Joseph Girált impressor, 1731, 62.

19 *Colegios Mayores* were boarding schools of the universities. They increasingly developed from a social institution for underprivileged students into an elite institution of the Spanish nobility. HERING TORRES: *Rassismus in der Vormoderne* (see n. 15), 65.



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chapters, city councils, guilds and the Inquisition made extensive use of the statutes.<sup>20</sup> Every candidate who wanted to become a member of one of these institutions was subjected to genealogical investigations and had to prove their Old Christian descent, for example by presenting a family tree.<sup>21</sup> The Holy Office of the Inquisition represents a special instance in the case of the statutes since genealogical investigations have certainly been handed down, but a formulation of the statutes is missing. Hering Torres even suspects that the statutes were never officially introduced.<sup>22</sup>

Although King Philip IV tried to limit the practice of the blood purity statutes in a decree, the *Pragmática* of 1623,<sup>23</sup> he did not dare to address the unlimited application of the statutes to all future generations. Thus, in the genealogical examinations when a candidate applied for an office that excluded the New Christians on account of the purity of blood statutes, the ancestors on both the paternal and maternal side were examined as far back as the investigators – the *informadores* – thought to be appropriate.

The ideology of blood purity said that the blood of the New Christians was unclean due to their Jewish heritage, whereas that of the Old Christians was characterized by a particular purity. This postulated impurity of the New Christians in contrast to the purity of the Old Christians was reflected in the statutes, which officially remained on the books until their final abolition on March 20, 1870.<sup>24</sup> The ideology was implemented practically in genealogical investigations. The ideology of blood purity, by the way, referred to New Christians – neophytes – in general. Essentially, three groups were addressed: the Conversos, i.e. Christian converts of Jewish descent and their descendants, the Moriscos, Christian converts of Muslim descent and their descendants, and lastly heretics and their descendants.

The Conversos represented the largest and most important target group for the proponents and apologists of the ideology of blood purity. The Moriscos were of secondary importance for them. By contrast, heretics were usually mentioned only in passing and frequently surfaced in the context of legal questions.<sup>25</sup>

Since I mainly study the treatises of the apologists in this book, I will analyze – according to this constellation – primarily the view held of the Conversos. I also examine the attitude toward the Moriscos, but inevitably to a lesser extent. One of the reasons for this thematic focus is the fact that the Moriscos were expelled from the Spanish Kingdom between 1609 and 1614.

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20 Ibidem, 64–81; in regard to the guilds, see Maria GHAZALI: Les métiers de Valence (Espagne): Identité collective et exclusions, in: Cahiers de la Méditerranée 66 (2003), 121–134, URL: <http://cdlm.revues.org/98> (visited on 27/02/2019), here 121–134.

21 In regard to the genealogical investigations, see HERING TORRES: Rassismus in der Vormoderne (see n. 15), 82–131.

22 Ibidem, 75.

23 More detailed information on the *Pragmática* of 1623 can be found in chapter 3.4.3 *The Special Case of Juan de Quiñones*.

24 EL MINISTERIO DE GRACIA Y JUSTICIA (ed.): Colección legislativa de España, 103,1 (1870), 366.

25 Ignacio del VILLAR MALDONADO: Sylva responsorum iuris, in duos libros divisa, Madrid 1614, 120r–135r; ESCOBAR DEL CORRO, JUAN: Tractatus bipartitus de puritate et nobilitate probanda, Genevae [Geneva]: Excudebat Philippus Gamonetus, 1664, 10–11; in regard to Escobar del Corro, see also Rainer WALZ: Die Entwicklung eines religiösen Rassismus in der Frühen Neuzeit: Die Exklusion der Conversos, in: Klaus HERBERS/Nikolas JASPERT (eds.): Integration – Segregation – Vertreibung, Berlin et al. 2011, 337–362, here 350–360.

As far as terminology is concerned, there are many different terms used, both in the sources and in contemporary research. In the literature of the time, we find, among others, the following names used to refer to the Conversos: *confeso* (confessed), *converso* (convert), *cristiano nuevo* (New Christian) and *marrano* (Marrano). The proponents of the ideology of blood purity often simply used the terms *judío* (Jew), *israelita* (Israelite) or *hebreo* (Hebrew). In this way, they could make it clear that they were by no means convinced by the conversion of the Conversos.

The word *marrano* is also a name for pigs. Yitzhak Baer refers to this association and stresses the insulting character of the term, which, according to Baer, was not used in the official language.<sup>26</sup> The etymological roots of the word are not certain, however. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz provides a detailed overview on this subject.<sup>27</sup> And even the early modern apologists of the ideology of blood purity identified various possibilities with regard to the original meaning of the word. For example, Francisco de Torrejoncillo attributed the word *marrano* initially to the Spanish term for pig, but also mentioned two alternatives found in Hebrew and in a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic. The Hebrew variant basically means “removed from the law, excommunicated and cursed” and the Hebrew-Arabic word means “our Lord will come.”<sup>28</sup>

A review of the research shows that all the names have certain problems. The adoption of historical names of groups also bears the risk of taking up their pejorative connotation. In principle, any name proves to be difficult since it is used to make reference to a group that existed in this form only from the perspective of the Old Christians, although the term Old Christians is no less problematic in this sense. While these terminological difficulties cannot be avoided, it is possible to be aware of their potential for conflict and to compensate for this to some extent by raising the topic. Consequently, I have tried to use the most neutral terms, which were first of all the most common ones adopted by critics of the ideology of blood purity, second, are found in research today, and, third, are best suited for my research perspective. I refer to the Jews who converted to Christianity and their descendants by using the term Conversos. I call the Muslims who converted to Christianity and their descendants Moriscos. When both groups are described collectively, I use the term New Christians.

Over the centuries, the focus of the arguments in the debate on blood purity has shifted time and again. Theological arguments generally formed the basis. At the end of the 15th century, both proponents and critics mainly used legal arguments to underline or refute the usefulness of the purity of blood statutes. In the 16th century, the legal debate faded into the background and was replaced by an abundant number of perspectives addressing the topic from socio-economic, genealogical or historical approaches, for example. An interesting overview of the arguments – of both critics and

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26 Yitzhak BAER: *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain II: From The Fourteenth Century to the Expulsion*, trans. by Louis SCHOFFMANN, Philadelphia 1961, 270.

27 Antonio DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ: *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna*, Granada 1991, 12.

28 Translation by François Soyer: “[...] in Hebrew *marran atba* means those who have deviated from the Law and have been placed under a ban and cursed. [...] Others [...] assert that *marran atba* means *Dominus noster veniet*: ‘our Lord will come.’ [...] which has its origin in Hebrew and Arabic [...].” SOYER: *Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire* (see n. 18), 207; “[...] en el Hebreo *marranathat*, quiere decir apartaos de la ley descomulgados y malditos. [...] Otros [...] dicen, que *marranathat* quiere decir, *Dominus noster veniet*, nuestro Señor vendrà, [...] que tiene su origen de el Hebreo, y del Arabigo [...].” TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios* (see n. 18), 127.

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proponents – can be found in the work written by the Dominican Agustín Salucio (1523–1601) around 1599. He cannot be categorized as belonging to either group. Accordingly, he criticized the practice of the blood purity statutes, but did not call for their abolition; rather, he argued that the first step should be a limitation of the genealogical investigations.<sup>29</sup> The Dominican fundamentally pursued an extremely pragmatic approach.<sup>30</sup> He justified his proposal of a limitation, among others, by stating that political changes are only possible in very small steps:

“Changing the statutes quickly did not seem reasonable since you have to progress with a lead foot to make any changes in government [...]”<sup>31</sup>

At the turn of the 16th century, it can be seen that arguments about physical otherness play a role in the texts. To this end, the authors not only draw on classical theological topoi, but also on aspects from the fields of medicine and natural philosophy.

However, not only did the arguments repeatedly change, but the intensity of the debate also fluctuated constantly. Decades would pass in which hardly any work was composed on the subject of the blood purity ideology. At other times, by contrast, the ideology of blood purity was again the subject of fierce discussion, which is also reflected in the production of apologies and critiques. At the beginning of the 17th century, for example, an immense amount of work was written on the topic.

In research, Albert Sicroff (1918–2013)<sup>32</sup> was one of the first scholars to document and analyze the *limpieza de sangre* on the basis of key texts and historic events. His study stretches from the first debate on the statutes in the second half of the 15th century to the debate in the first half of the 17th century when the critics’ discussion revolved around a possible abolition or limitation of the statutes. Against the backdrop of literary sources, whose allusions to the ideology of blood purity are hard for modern readers to understand without appropriate knowledge, Sicroff diagnosed early modern Spanish society as having a kind of obsession with the subject of blood purity and its statutes:

“The preoccupation with the *limpieza de sangre* had become so intertwined with Spanish life that we cannot exactly determine the limits of this obsession.”<sup>33</sup>

Sicroff thus ascribed an eminent role to the ideology of blood purity in early modern Spanish society, claiming that this ideology was firmly anchored in people’s minds. By contrast, Henry

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29 Agustín SALUCIO: Discurso echo por fray Agustín de Salucio. Ms. Codex 1447, [17th century], URL: [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN\\_4466961&](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_4466961&) (visited on 27/02/2019), 27v–28r.

30 See Vincent PARELLO: Entre honra y deshonra: El Discurso de fray Agustín Salucio acerca de los estatutos de limpieza de sangre (1599), in: *Criticón* 80 (2000), 139–152, here 151.

31 “El mudar muy a priesa los estatutos no ha parecido combenir porque en el gobierno para haçer qualquiera mudança se ha de yr con pie de plomo [...]” SALUCIO: Discurso echo por fray Agustín de Salucio. Ms. Codex 1447 (see n. 29), 22r.

32 Albert A. SICROFF: *Les controverses des statuts de “pureté de sang” en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1960.

33 “La préoccupation de la *limpieza de sangre* s’était si intimement mêlée à l’existence espagnole que nous ne pouvons pas savoir exactement les limites atteintes par cette obsession.” *Ibidem*, 297.

Kamen rejected Sicroff's thesis<sup>34</sup> and tried to refute it in particular by listing off the critics of the ideology of blood purity and their texts, of which there was no small number to be found between 1580 and 1640 in the Holy Office of the Inquisition itself. He sees the debate culminating between 1550 and 1570.

In addition, Kamen rejected above all the interpretation that it involved a purely "racist" debate between Conversos and non-Conversos.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, he argues that the number of institutions that had established statutes was fairly small and the statutes there were only applied to a limited extent.

It is certainly possible to dispute the degree to which the ideology of blood purity was set in writing and its practical application. Moreover, the different positions held by Sicroff and Kamen are due in part to their methods. While Sicroff focused more on the theoretical debate, Kamen concentrated on the criticism of the ideology of blood purity and the practical implementation of the statutes.

In order to resolve this dichotomy between theory and practice and to gain a better picture of the significance of the ideology of blood purity in early modern Spanish society, I would like to take a different path since the question of people's obsession with or indifference to the ideology of blood purity has proven to be of little use so far. For this purpose, I want to look at the extent to which the ideology of blood purity fulfills the criteria of a master narrative.

This approach makes it possible to specify in more detail the scope of the debate on the *limpieza de sangre* within Iberian society without necessarily making assumptions about individual forms such as obsession or lack thereof. The question is whether the debate on blood purity can be regarded as a master narrative, meaning it is not about how strongly the ideology of blood purity was accepted or rejected in Iberian society, but more generally about the extent to which it was known in its various forms as a story or, more precisely, a master narrative and was passed down through the centuries. The definition of the debate on the *limpieza de sangre* as a master narrative is of fundamental significance for me since this definition is a prerequisite for setting up my question and hypothesis.

After clarifying the extent to which it is possible to speak of a master narrative with regard to the ideology of blood purity, this book will attempt to show why the situation concerning the assumption of physical otherness actually came to a head in the blood purity debate around 1632. I start by taking a look at the historical events in the chapter entitled *1632*. In the following chapter *The Ideology of Blood Purity and Medical Biologism*, I will develop my question for this publication and present a hypothesis against the backdrop of the thematic focus of the texts on the ideology of blood purity and medicine at that time. This will be followed by the chapter *Ad fontes* where I present the sources that I consulted to examine the hypothesis and show where problems surfaced in regard to the source work. Finally, I will explain my theoretical method and my methodological approach to the sources by using the categories in the title of the chapter *Bodies, Gender, Senses and*

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<sup>34</sup> Henry KAMEN: Una crisis de conciencia en la edad de oro de España: Inquisición contra "limpieza de sangre", in: Bulletin Hispanique 88 (1986), 321–356, here 325.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, 356.

“Race.”

## 1.1 A Master Narrative?

The concept of the master narrative was originally coined by Jean François Lyotard (1924–1998) in his publication from 1979 *La condition postmoderne*. He used the term *grand récit*. According to him, an example of such a master narrative is “the emancipation of mankind,” which in turn is based on the meta-narrative of the Enlightenment.<sup>36</sup> Lyotard’s concept of a *grand récit* and meta-narrative was met with some skepticism, prompting Frank Rexroth, who tries to make the concept useful for historical and, above all, medieval research, to remark: “On the whole, the merging of the three questions about the narrative quality of historiography, the existence of master narratives and the reference to reality has done more harm than good to the history of the discussion.”<sup>37</sup> For this reason alone, I do not want to bring up these often polemically discussed questions, but rather refer to the article by Frank Rexroth.<sup>38</sup>

However, the definition of master narratives proposed by Jörn Rüsen shows that the master narrative could be an appropriate means of documenting the debate on the ideology of blood purity. In looking at the dimensions of cultural identity, he states:

“The most extensive and also deepest imprint of identity that we describe as ‘civilization’ or ‘culture’ is expressed in a very specific way: through ‘master narratives.’ Master narratives are answers to the question of cultural identity.”<sup>39</sup>

Since identity cannot be imagined without a distinction from an “other,” that is, without alterity, the creation and above all the legitimization of the cultural identity of the Old Christians that differentiates them from the New Christians is also lived out in the debate on the ideology of blood purity. This gives the ideology of blood purity a dimension that goes beyond the question of exclusion and discrimination. The exclusion of the New Christian population was intended for the self-proclaimed Old Christians to create an identity and foster inclusion. This clearly shows the problem of master narratives. To put it in the words of Jörn Rüsen: “Being different from others

<sup>36</sup> Jean-François LYOTARD: *Das postmoderne Wissen: Ein Bericht*, Graz and Vienna 1986, 13–14, 175.

<sup>37</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Aufs Ganze gesehen hat die Vermengung der drei Fragen nach der narrativen Qualität von Geschichtsschreibung, nach der Existenz von Meistererzählungen und nach dem Wirklichkeitsbezug der Historie der Diskussion mehr geschadet als genützt.” Frank REXROTH: *Meistererzählungen und die Praxis der Geschichtsschreibung*, in: ID. (ed.): *Meistererzählungen vom Mittelalter*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, supplement, Munich 2007, 1–22, here 12.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>39</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Diese weiteste und zugleich tiefste Prägung von Identität, die wir mit dem Ausdruck ‘Zivilisation’ oder eben ‘Kultur’ versehen, drückt sich in einer ganz spezifischen Weise aus: durch ‘Meistererzählungen’ (master narratives). Meistererzählungen sind Antworten auf die Frage nach kultureller Identität.” Jörn RÜSEN: *Einleitung: Für eine interkulturelle Kommunikation in der Geschichte: Die Herausforderungen des Ethnozentrismus in der Moderne und die Antworten der Kulturwissenschaften*, in: ID. (ed.): *Die Vielfalt der Kulturen*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, 12–36, here 23.

with the same claim to legitimacy and with the same inner universality has no place in these master narratives.”<sup>40</sup>

The ethnocentric logic of the master narrative therefore has negative connotations, but is still extremely effective right up to the present day, which certainly also explains the skepticism and polemics in research. In this book, therefore, the debate on the ideology of blood purity is not commended or deprecated by use of the master narrative term. Instead, a definition of the criteria that can make up a master narrative and a review of the extent to which the debate on the ideology of blood purity fulfills these criteria contribute to a better understanding of the importance of the ideology of blood purity for early modern Spain and to clarification of its scope and limits. For my analysis of the debate on the ideology of blood purity, I will therefore draw on the practically oriented and detailed definition provided by Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman in their book *Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism* and will expand and refine it by adding a few dimensions.

Before I explain this definition in more detail, however, it is necessary to fulfill an obligation owed since the beginning of the introduction: the definition of the concept of ideology. For the discussion of the *limpieza de sangre* as an ideology of blood purity, I use – as the literary scholar and philosopher Peter Tepe<sup>41</sup> puts it – a “non-essentialist” ideology concept that does not aim to understand the fundamental essence of the ideology per se. Continuing along the lines of Tepe’s recommended “complex ideology research,” where he proposes a pluralist concept of ideology terms that can, however, be connected with each other, I use the term ideology of blood purity exclusively in the sense of the “socio-political program” that ties into it and is aimed at the social exclusion of New Christians, for example, through the enactment of purity of blood statutes.

By no means am I interested in a negative judgment and thus subjective assessment of the blood purity concept through the use of the ideology concept, as frequently occurs when we speak of ideology. I must admit that I cannot personally endorse as a rule a system of ideas and values based on exclusion, discrimination and intolerance. However, the ideology concept used here is merely intended to make it clear that a) it was a socio-political program with world view components (*Weltanschauung*) and thus b) a dominant system of ideas and values at the turn of the 16th century on the Iberian Peninsula, which also aimed at creating an Old Christian identity and increasing it through mechanisms of exclusion.

Even if I limit the concept of the ideology of blood purity to the aspect of the political program inherent to it, I am aware that it is almost inevitably associated with the world view form of ideology. The use of the master narrative concept should therefore also help do justice to the currents in the debate on the *limpieza de sangre*, which took different forms in the world view ideology arising from the socio-political program.

But back to the definition of the master narrative provided by Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman: In this context, they distinguish between story, narrative and master narrative. They understand a story to be “*a particular sequence of related events that are situated in the past and recounted for rhetorical*

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<sup>40</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Anderssein von Anderen mit dem gleichen Legitimationsanspruch und mit einer gleichen inneren Universalität hat keinen Platz in diesen Meistererzählungen.” RÜSEN: Einleitung (see n. 39), 24.

<sup>41</sup> In regard to these remarks, see Peter TEPE: *Ideologie*, Berlin and Boston 2012, 13–29.

and/or ideological purposes.”<sup>42</sup>

The role that such a story could play within the ideology of blood purity can be illustrated in the story about a Jew from Córdoba and his Christian friend. According to this story, the Jew constantly warned his friend to trust neither Jews nor Conversos. He included himself in this because, according to him, Jews and Conversos always have a hostile attitude toward Christians. The proponents of the purity of blood statutes used this story to emphasize the necessity of excluding the Conversos from important offices and dignities. It was told over and over again for this reason. The story is found in *Sylva responsorum iuris*<sup>43</sup> by Ignacio del Villar Maldonado, which was published in 1614, and in *Tractatus de officialibus reipublicae*<sup>44</sup> by Antonio Fernández de Otero, which appeared in 1682.

This story is embedded in a narrative, i.e. a system of stories “that share a common rhetorical desire to resolve a conflict by establishing audience expectations according to the known trajectories of its literary and rhetorical form.”<sup>45</sup> The fact that this is a coherent system of stories can be seen in the case of the story mentioned above, for example, because in both cases the story about the letter by the Spanish Jews to the Jewish community of Constantinople is then told. In this letter, the Spanish Jews ask the Jews from Constantinople for advice at the time of the expulsion verdict.<sup>46</sup> The response by the Jewish community of Constantinople is then, according to the authors, literally reproduced. At the same time, this system of stories can be put together as desired. For example, Francisco de Torrejoncillo<sup>47</sup> also used the story on the response without telling the story of the Cordoba Jew beforehand. Despite the different combinations of the individual stories, the three authors retain their “common rhetorical desire,” namely their commitment to maintaining the purity of blood statutes. In this sense, the ideology of blood purity can be defined as a narrative. Still necessary now is to examine the extent to which the ideology of blood purity also meets the criteria of a master narrative.

Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman define the master narrative as a “a transhistorical narrative that is deeply embedded in a particular culture.”<sup>48</sup> The authors understand the term “transhistorical” to mean that the narrative was subjected to changes over the course of time. As described above, the arguments in the debate on the *limpieza de sangre* changed over time. From the 16th century onwards, legal arguments receded into the background and were replaced by socio-economic aspects, for example. As a result, the debate can be understood as a transhistorical narrative.

However, the aspect of transhistoricity (1) alone seems somewhat unsatisfactory in order to apply

42 Jeffrey R. HALVERSON/H. L. GOODALL Jr./Steven R. CORMAN: Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism, New York 2011, 13.

43 VILLAR MALDONADO: *Sylva responsorum iuris*, in duos libros divisa (see n. 25), 132r–132v.

44 ANTONIO FERNÁNDEZ DE OTERO: *Tractatus de officialibus reipublicae*, Lugduni [Lyon] 1682, 14–15.

45 HALVERSON/GOODALL/CORMAN: Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism (see n. 42), 14.

46 In regard to this story and its origin, there is new information thanks to the research by François Soyer. His findings prove that the report on the correspondence with the Jewish community of Istanbul was probably attributed to the Portuguese Jews and took place in the second half of the 16th century, probably in the 1560s. See François SOYER: The Anti-Semitic Conspiracy Theory in Sixteenth-Century Spain and Portugal and the Origins of the “Carta de los Judíos de Constantinopla”: New Evidence, in: *Sefarad* 74 (2014), 369–388.

47 TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 86.

48 HALVERSON/GOODALL/CORMAN: Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism (see n. 42), 14.

the concept of a master narrative to the ideology of blood purity. This raises the question of what other criteria need to be met. Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman repeatedly discuss coherence (2), which shall be examined now as a criterion here. The individual stories must have a coherent, narrative system to an extent that ensures their continuation.

If one considers the longevity of the discussion on the ideology of blood purity, this already suggests a certain coherence, even if the discussion had been conducted with varying degrees of intensity over the centuries. Moreover, the fact that the authors constantly referred to each other and thus viewed themselves to a certain extent as part of a shared tradition, suggests that the authors themselves also assumed a coherent system. That they felt like a group is supported above all by their perception that, on the one hand, they started from a common conflict and, on the other, they pursued a desire based on it.

This makes it possible to work with the model of the symbolic story form in Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman, which they developed based on the theories of Kenneth Burke (1897–1993) and which traces the narrative form back to the fundamental categories of conflict, the desire resulting from this, participants/actions/events and finally satisfaction of the desire. Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman use this model for their analysis of Islamic extremism and illustrate the development of the narrative in a chart<sup>49</sup> whose structure I have adopted here.

Figure 1.1: Fig. 1: Symbolic Story Form

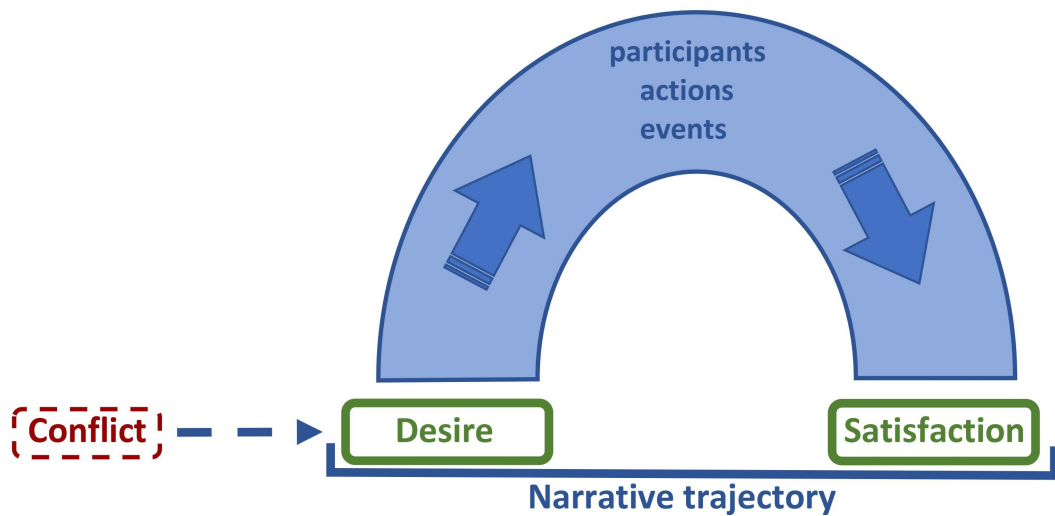


Figure 1.2: Source: Own illustration based on graphic by Halverson, Goodall Jr. and Corman

<sup>49</sup> HALVERSON/GOODALL/CORMAN: Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism (see n. 42), 20.



The model can also be applied to the ideology of blood purity. The ideologists of blood purity saw the conflict – which represents the starting point and precedes the development of the narrative – in the New Christians, the Conversos and the Moriscos, who constantly tend to apostasy and thus represent a permanent threat to Old Christian society. This perception of a threat gave rise in turn to the desire for religious homogeneity, according to the narrative. This wish was undermined by the conviction formulated by the ideologists of blood purity that one religion common to all will open up the possibility of creating a united and thus stronger Spanish kingdom. The authors hoped that this wish would be fulfilled by the work of the Inquisition, the purity of blood statutes and the related genealogical investigations. These measures thus reflect the participants, actions and events, and contribute to the satisfaction of desires. In the case of the Moriscos, this even culminated in their expulsion. The symbolic story form model allows the narrative structures to be worked out. Naturally, these do not have to be congruent with the writers' motivations hiding behind this narration, e.g. social envy or their own career expectations, which were connected with the composition of such a text. There could be a significant difference between what the blood purity ideologists explicitly formulated and what they implicitly intended by participating in such a narration.

Of course, the narrative trajectories are also not completely identical. For example, they may differ considerably in the measures that the authors believe were necessary to satisfy the desires. However, this does not prevent them from contributing to a master narrative because this master narrative can contain very different story forms.<sup>50</sup> The coherence of the narrative system is ensured above all by the similarity of the components conflict and desire, and can even be reduced to a commonly perceived conflict in an extreme case. A large portion of the critics can be understood in this respect as part of the narrative system, e.g. the Dominican and court preacher of Philip III Agustín Salucio (1523–1601).<sup>51</sup> He sharply criticized the practice of the purity of blood statutes, but simultaneously did not advocate their abolition, rather only their limitation and revision.

In addition to the criterion of coherence, however, it is worth considering other possible criteria or indications that could prove that the debate on the ideology of blood purity was a master narrative. Since the master narrative is defined as “deeply embedded in a particular culture,” it can be assumed that narrative elements of the ideology of blood purity can be found in various text genres. The debate on the ideology of blood purity can be found in legal, theological, philosophical, medical and literary works, among others, without any claim to completeness. A whole range of writings deals with or refers to the ideology of blood purity. Here, too, the range extends from approval to subtly formulated rejection. Thus, the literary omnipresence (3) of topoi from the area of the ideology of blood purity can be understood as another criterion.

Famous writers such as Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) or Lope de Vega (1562–1635) took up the topic of the Conversos and Moriscos and the ideology of blood purity in their writings. In the case of Miguel de Cervantes, scholars have discussed, for example, the extent to which his remarks in regard to the Conversos represent an anti-Jewish attitude.<sup>52</sup> At

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, 20.

<sup>51</sup> SALUCIO: Discurso echo por fray Agustín de Salucio. Ms. Codex 1447 (see n. 29).

<sup>52</sup> Manfred TIETZ: El antisemitismo en tiempos de Cervantes y su trasfondo histórico-teológico, in: Vittoria Borsò/

the same time, there is the theory that Cervantes himself came from a Converso family.<sup>53</sup>

In the case of Francisco de Quevedo, by contrast, an anti-Jewish position is clearly discernible. This was particularly evident in his *Memorial*, an exposé from 1633, which became known under the abbreviated title of *Execración de los judíos*,<sup>54</sup> although it disappeared from the 17th century until its rediscovery and publication in the 1990s.<sup>55</sup> But also in his picaresque novel, the *Buscón*,<sup>56</sup> Quevedo jokes about the Moriscos and Conversos and uses a common strategy for exposing them as New Christians. The protagonist Pablos meets an innkeeper and reveals his identity as follows:

“The owner and innkeeper was one of those who believed in God only out of politeness and pretense, Moriscos, as the folk call them, since there is still an extensive post-harvest of these people and also of those who have noses like large cucumbers, which only fail when it comes to smelling a good pork bacon.”<sup>57</sup>

Doubts about orthodoxy characterize the Morisco innkeeper. The allusion to particularly large noses and the inability to smell pork bacon also refers to the Conversos without explicitly mentioning them. In another passage, Quevedo or rather his protagonist Pablos also amuse himself about a teacher, the licentiate Cabra, who is suspected of being a Converso. In order to dispel this suspicion, the otherwise stingy Cabra enriches the menu with bacon. However, he does this so sparingly and poorly that he only confirms the suspicion.<sup>58</sup>

It seems that the reference to pork bacon was sufficient for the Iberian reader to understand such narratives within the larger frame of reference of the ideology of blood purity. Quevedo was not forced to give direct clues. The implicit allusion proved to be completely sufficient. An English-, French- or German-speaking reader, by contrast, was probably not able to understand this joke at the expense of the New Christians. This conclusion can be drawn from the translations into English in 1657 and into German and French in 1671. The picaresque novel was first translated from Spanish

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Santiago NAVARRO PASTOR (eds.): *Cervantes y las tradiciones judías*, Buenos Aires 2013, 79–98, here 80–81.

53 Jose FAUR: *Don Quichotte: Un talmudiste au passé souillé*, in: Shmuel TRIGANO (ed.): *Le juif caché*, Paris 2000, 159–168.

54 *The Execration of the Jews*.

55 Francisco de QUEVEDO: *Execración de los judíos* (Madrid 1633), *Anejos de biblioteca clásica*, Barcelona 1996, URL: [aaargh.vho.org/fran/livres7/execracion.pdf](http://aaargh.vho.org/fran/livres7/execracion.pdf) (visited on 27/02/2019).

56 An analysis of passages from the *Buscón* can be found in my article: Julia GEBKE: *Himmlische Düfte – Höllischer Gestank: Überlegungen zu einer Kulturgeschichte der Sinne am Beispiel des “foetor judaicus” im frühneuzeitlichen Spanien*, in: Lydia María ARANTES/Elisa RIEGER (eds.): *Ethnographien der Sinne*, Bielefeld 2014, 195–212.

57 Translation from Hans Carl Artmann’s German translation: Francisco de QUEVEDO: *Der abenteuerliche Buscón*, trans. by H. C. ARTMANN, Frankfurt am Main 1963, 36–37; “Era el dueño y huésped de los que creen en Dios por cortesía o sobre falso; moriscos los llaman en el pueblo, que hay muy grande cosecha desta gente, y de la que tiene sobradas narices y solo les faltan para oler tocino [...]” Francisco de QUEVEDO: *El buscón*, Madrid 2001, 63; see also in this regard Claudia LEITNER: *Das falsche Rot der Rose: Geruch und Blick in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Wolfram AICHINGER/Franz X. EDER/Claudia LEITNER (eds.): *Sinne und Erfahrung in der Geschichte*, Innsbruck et al. 2003, 111–133, here 121. The citation is also analyzed in chapter 4.3.3 *Culinary Dimensions*. A recent English translation omits this passage, see ANONYMOUS/FRANCISCO DE QUEVEDO: *Lazarillo de Tormes and The Grifter: Two Novels of the Low Life in Golden Age Spain*, trans. by David FRYE, Indianapolis 2015, 75.

58 QUEVEDO: *El buscón* (see n. 57), 52; LEITNER: *Das falsche Rot der Rose* (see n. 57), 119.

to French by Paul Scarron (1610–1660) in 1633 under the pseudonym La Geneste, as André Stoll has been able to prove. All the following translations into English and German have been based on this French translation for more than a century. Apparently, the French as well as the English translator hesitated to translate the passage cited above literally. Instead, they tried to find an explanation that failed, however:

“The Hostler was a Morisco, and a Thief at his fingers ends. Those we term Moriscos, who are descended from the Moors, though converted to the catholique Faith, and are however vilely suspected of being still Jews.”<sup>59</sup>

It is possible to see very clearly here the extent to which religious identities on the Iberian Peninsula could cause confusion abroad. Whole sentences were omitted from the translation, and the Moriscos were associated with Judaism instead of Islam. The fact that an implicit allusion was completely sufficient for the Iberian reader, while the same caused confusion for the French, English and German translations can be seen as another indicator of a master narrative. Thus, there is another criterion with the implication or the possibility of an implicit understanding (4).

The concept of *limpieza de sangre* can hardly be found otherwise in texts at that time. Even the *Pragmática* from 1623 speaks merely of purity, which was connected with the dignity of nobility, *nobleza y limpieza*, in this context. Only vague references were made to the Conversos and Moriscos in the concept of descendants, *descendientes*.<sup>60</sup> Such vague references must have been another reason why the ideology of blood purity was understood and perceived differently outside of the Iberian Peninsula. If one looks through the common lexica such as Zedler’s *Universal Lexicon* (1731–1754) or Meyer’s *Conversation Lexicon* (1839–1855), there is no explicit entry on the subject of *limpieza de sangre*. An exception to this can be found in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique Histoire*. It was produced between 1782 and 1832 and represents an extension of the *Encyclopédie* published by Denis Diderot and Jean-Baptiste d’Alembert. The following entry appears under the word *sang*:

“Blood (*Purity of*), (*Span. history*) In Spain one proves the purity of blood just as one proves noble descent in France, in order to become a Knight of the Order of Malta or of the Order of the Holy Spirit, etc. All Inquisition officials, those of the Supreme Council [*Consejo de la suprema y general inquisición*] and the other tribunals, must provide proof of their purity of blood. This means there were no Jews, Moors or heretics in their family. The knights of the military orders and some canons are also required to provide the proof that is requested of them. One releases them from the purity of blood in the proper sense of the word and

59 Francisco de QUEVEDO: *The Life and Adventures of Buscon the Witty Spaniard*. Put into English by a Person of Honour. To which is added, the Provident Knight, London 1657, 39–40; “Nostre Hoste estoit de ceux qui ne croyent en Jesus-Christ que par courtoisie: c’estoit un Morisque, on appelle ainsi ceux d’entre les Maures, qui se sont convertis à la Foy Catholique, qu’on soupçonne de tenir tousiour du Judaïsme.” Francisco de QUEVEDO: *L’aventurier Buscon / Der abentheuerliche Buscon*, Frankfurt: Herman von Sand, 1671, 92.

60 [PHILIP IV OF SPAIN]: *Capitvlos de reformacion, que su magestad se sirve de mandar guardar por esta ley, para el gouierno del Reyno*, Madrid: Por Tomas Iunti, 1623, 16r and 17v.

replaces it with a purity in the figurative sense.”<sup>61</sup>

The French author of the encyclopedia entry, whose abbreviated name I, unfortunately, cannot figure out, interprets the implicit formulations on the purity of blood to the effect that it is not literally about purity of blood, but rather this proof is to be understood metaphorically, in a figurative sense. In addition, he points out that this proof is one of many, and compares it with the nobility test in France, which the aspirants – e.g. for the Order of Malta – would have to provide. Thus, the French author seems to primarily attach symbolic value to the proof of blood purity. Although it is possible to diagnose a better understanding of the circumstances here than in the case of the Quevedo translators, it can be noted at the same time that the external perspective deviated quite a bit from the Iberian internal perspective. I would also like to identify a break at this point – albeit a minor one – between internal self-perception and external definition by others since the French author obviously could not penetrate all the levels of implicit understanding so that he had to fall back on alternative models of interpretation – the comparison with the French nobility test – in order to explain the peculiarities of Spanish history.

For the last criterion, I rely on Michel Foucault (1926–1984), specifically on the idea from his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, which was published later under the title *L'ordre du discours*.<sup>62</sup> With regard to academia and the sciences, Foucault shows that scholars are only heard if they are able to present their ideas within the framework of the prevailing discourse. Only in this way can they move within the spheres of truth recognized by the disciplines.

“It is always possible one could speak the truth in a void; one would only be in the true, however, if one obeyed the rules of some discursive ‘policy’ which would have to be reactivated every time one spoke.”<sup>63</sup>

Changes or even a revolution within the disciplines are therefore only possible if the new ideas are adapted to the prevailing discourse and expressed within its narrative frame of reference. New ideas, by contrast, which use an alternative to the prevailing discourse are not accepted by the academic community. This discursive control is not only found in the individual disciplines, but can be applied as a concept to entire societies. Here, too, it is important to move in the spheres of what can be said to make oneself heard.

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61 “SANG (*pureté de*), (*Hist. d’Espag.*) en Espagne on fait preuve de *pureté de sang*, comme on fait preuve en France de noblesse pour être chevalier de Malthe, ou du Saint-Esprit, &c. Tous les officiers de l’inquisition, ceux du conseil suprême & des autres tribunaux doivent prouver leur *pureté de sang*, c’est-à-dire qu’il n’y a jamais eu dans leur famille ni juifs, ni maures, ni hérétiques. Les chevaliers des ordres militaires, & quelques chanoines sont pareillement obligés de joindre cette preuve aux autres qu’on exige d’eux. On les dispense de la pureté de sang au propre, la figurative en tient lieu.” D.J.: s.v. SANG (*pureté de*), in: Encyclopédie Méthodique. Histoire 4 (1790), 707.

62 Orders of Discourse.

63 Translation by Rupert Swyer: Michel FOUCAULT: Orders of Discourse, in: Social Science Information 10.2 (1971), 7–30, here 17; “Il se peut toujours qu’on dise le vrai dans l’espace d’une exteriorité sauvage; mais on n’est dans le vrai qu’en obéissant aux règles d’une ‘police’ discursive qu’on doit réactiver en chacun de ses discours.” Michel FOUCAULT: L’ordre du discours: Leçon inaugurale au Collège de France prononcée le 2 décembre 1970, Paris 1971, 37.

In view of the debate on the ideology of blood purity, this conflict is particularly evident in the Inquisition records. It was essential for accused people to adopt the prevailing sociolect of the Inquisitors in order to be able to defend themselves successfully in the individual hearings, the audiences. A break with the system by alternative narrative strategies was only possible to a limited extent here.

To give just one example: in 1679 the doctor Juan Nuñez and his wife Beatriz Lopez were accused of Judaizing.<sup>64</sup> The 21 year-old Beatriz had just given birth to a child, either in jail or shortly before their arrest, which is not clear from the records. Her concern for the welfare of the newborn child is omnipresent in the records. Therefore, she soon confessed and incriminated her brothers, her cousins and her husband. At the same time, she tried to defend her husband by explaining to the Inquisitors that she had brought him to Judaism. In order to convince the Inquisitors of atonement, it was necessary to reveal other people in the Jewish network. Offering names was almost the only promising strategy for negotiating with the Inquisitors since the main goal of the Holy Office was to discover the alleged crypto-Jewish networks. Therefore, the trials were extensively used to obtain further information about potential crypto-Jews. Consequently, the young mother was able to succeed with her strategy. Although she was sentenced, she was able to leave prison after only two months of confinement.

By contrast, her 31-year-old husband constantly refused to incriminate other people. Furthermore, he tried to convince the judges that he believed in both the Jewish and Christian religions. To this end, he used his knowledge and invoked ideas that can be attributed to the disciplines of medicine and natural philosophy:

“He said that this fits together because the mind is very divisible and so he was able to divide his mind and believe in both laws.”<sup>65</sup>

The Inquisitors’ reaction to this statement was unequivocal:

“He was told that this is repugnant and contrary to nature because the mind in which he firmly believes is fixed and indivisible, and so he cannot believe in two opposites at the same time, nor allow them, just as he cannot believe in two opposite objects at the same time, and therefore he should recognize that his error was contrary to faith and therefore came from the mind. He would not have been capable of this error of which he wanted to convince [the Inquisitors] contrary to the reason of the mind and contrary to what he himself had confessed.”<sup>66</sup>

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64 AHN: Causa de fe de Juan Nuñez, 1678–1681.

65 “Dijo que esto cabe porque el entendimiento es eminentemente mucho divisible, y assi podia dividir su entendimiento y creer en ambas leyes.” Ibidem, 114v–115r.

66 “Fuele dicho que esto es repugnante y contrario porque el entendimiento en lo que cree firme, esta firme y indivisible, y assi a un mismo tiempo no puede creer dos cosas contrarias, ni admitirlas, como ni dos objetos contrarios a un mismo tiempo y que assi conozca que su horror contra la fee pues ha sido de entendimiento no pudo ser capaz de esta evasion que el quiere persuadir contra la razon de entendimiento y contra lo mismo que tiene confesado.” Ibidem, 114v–115r.

It is surprising at this point that the Inquisitors initially deviated from their pre-formulated, usual language. At the same time, it can be seen that they were also well versed in natural philosophy. However, it is evident that they regarded the mind, above all theologically, from the perspective of heresy since heresy was often defined as an error of mind.<sup>67</sup> This rather unusual departure from the usual sociolect remains an exception, however. In the ensuing discussion, the Inquisitors quickly returned to their traditional paths and rejected the young physician's attempt to justify his apostasy in his own words.

When Juan Nuñez insisted on his theory and refused to give up, the Inquisition Tribunal decided to use torture. Under these circumstances he finally confessed according to the prevailing narrative norms. His entire trial lasted almost two years. Furthermore, he was sentenced much more harshly than his wife.

Nuñez was not the only one who developed such an alternative discourse, however. In 1604 Custodio Nunes in Portugal used a similar argument in his Inquisition trial.<sup>68</sup> He also insisted on the idea that he believed in the Jewish and Christian religions simultaneously. The very similar reaction of the Portuguese Inquisitors illustrates the very consistent ideological and argumentative foundation of this institution:

“It is not possible to be both a Jew and a Christian and [Custodio Nunes] clearly contradicts himself in his confession.”<sup>69</sup>

Whether the trial took place in Évora or Toledo, whether it was 1604 or 1679, the language of the Inquisitors and their actions were strikingly similar. Custodio Nunes was also tortured after announcing his ideas on a split or double Judaeo-Christian identity. Even the verdict was identical. Both were reconciled, *reconciliado*, with the church; they were forced to wear a penitential garment, the *sanbenito*, and were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, *carcel perpetua*.<sup>70</sup> Incidentally, life-long imprisonment could mean a more mild incarceration of up to four years<sup>71</sup> and the imprisonment conditions could also be relaxed so that, for example, the prisoner was granted a certain degree of freedom of movement in the city,<sup>72</sup> but the prisoner's entire life could also actually be meant by this.<sup>73</sup>

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67 See, for example, Vicente da COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos: Traducido de lengua portuguesa en castellano por el P. Fr. Diego Gavilán Vela*, Salamanca 1631, 220–221.

68 See François SOYER: “It is not possible to be both a Jew and a Christian”: Converso Religious Identity and the Inquisitorial Trial of Custodio Nunes (1604–5), in: *Mediterranean Historical Review* 26 (2011), 81–97.

69 Translation by Soyer: *Ibidem*, 88; “[...] que não he posiuel por que se faz juntamente judeu e xpão E assi se contradis claramente em sua confissão [...]” *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT)*, Inquisição de Évora, proceso 335: Custodio Nunes, 1604–1605, 70v–70r, cited from *Ibidem*, 94–95.

70 See, in this regard, the chapter 3.4 *Male and “Jewish-male” Menstruation in the Early Modern Era*.

71 Jean-Pierre DEDIEU: *Les quatre temps de l’Inquisition*, in: Bartolomé BENNASSAR (ed.): *L’inquisition espagnole*, Paris 1979, 15–42, here 39–40.

72 Sara T. NALLE: *A Forgotten Campaign against the Conversos of Sigüenza: Pedro Cortés and the Inquisition of Cuenca*, in: Kevin INGRAM/Juan Ignacio PULIDO SERRANO (eds.): *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond III*, Leiden and Boston 2016, 6–28, here 16.

73 Carlos PUYOL BUIL: *Inquisición y política en el reinado de Felipe IV: Los procesos de Jerónimo de Villanueva y las monjas de San Plácido, 1628–1660*, Madrid 1993, 214.

It is not clear from the records how long Juan Nuñez's imprisonment lasted. In the case of Custodio Nunes, the general pardon of King Philip III, which he granted to the Conversos, thwarted the plans of the Inquisitors. Accordingly, Nunes was spared both condemnation and the official sentencing of the verdict during an *auto-da-fé* and he was released.<sup>74</sup> In regard to the described discussions in the Inquisition records, it can be seen how the impossibility of escaping from the prevailing discourse (5) is another criterion for a master narrative.

Thus, it is possible to summarize five indicators that make the debate on the ideology of blood purity consistent with a master narrative: transhistoricity (1), coherence (2), literary omnipresence (3), the implication or possibility of implicit understanding (4) and the impossibility of escaping the prevailing discourse or developing alternative discourses (5). Independently of the question of the extent to which Spanish society was or was not obsessed with the ideology of *limpieza de sangre* in its system of ideas and values, it can be seen that the debate on blood purity as a transhistorical, culturally bound, narrative system – and thus as a master narrative – played a role over the centuries that cannot be underestimated. In my opinion, the Iberian Peninsula in the Early Modern Era cannot be understood without including the pros and cons of discussions on the ideology of blood purity as an essential part of the political, cultural and social life. In this way, the definition of the debate on the *limpieza de sangre* as a master narrative offers an appropriate approach for grasping and exploring the extent of the debate.

Today's research also widely acknowledges that the ideology of blood purity and the discussions on the Conversos and the Moriscos had a considerable influence on early modern thinking across the Iberian Peninsula. The abundance of recent work on the subject testifies to this. This can also be seen in the current textbooks. Accordingly, the debate on the *limpieza de sangre* in Mariano Delgado's textbook on the "Spanish century" naturally has its own chapter, even though he notes at the same time that there is still no consensus on the broad impact of the debate on blood purity in research, especially on account of still outstanding individual studies.<sup>75</sup> The PhD thesis by Max Sebastián Hering Torres should be mentioned in particular with regard to the subject matter.<sup>76</sup> He provides an extremely useful overview of the theoretical dimensions of the ideology of blood purity as well as its practical functioning as a system of exclusion. The series called *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*<sup>77</sup> published by Kevin Ingram offers a good introduction to the topic, as does the volume published by Ángel Alcalá,<sup>78</sup> which appeared on the 400th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews from the Spanish kingdom. The latter systematically addresses the Conversos, while the second volume by Ingram focuses on the Moriscos. There is also work that extends beyond the Iberian Peninsula and takes account of the adaptation and expansion of the blood

74 SOYER: "It is not possible to be both a Jew and a Christian" (see n. 68), 89–90.

75 MARIANO DELGADO: *Das Spanische Jahrhundert (1492–1659)*, Geschichte kompakt, Darmstadt 2016, 43.

76 HERING TORRES: *Rassismus in der Vormoderne* (see n. 15).

77 KEVIN INGRAM (ed.): *Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond I: Departures and Change*, Leiden and Boston 2009; KEVIN INGRAM (ed.): *Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond II: The Morisco Issue*, Leiden and Boston 2012; KEVIN INGRAM/JUAN IGNACIO PULIDO SERRANO (eds.): *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond III: Displaced Persons*, Leiden and Boston 2016.

78 ÁNGEL ALCALÁ (ed.): *Judíos. Sefarditas. Conversos: La expulsión de 1492 y sus consecuencias: Ponencias del Congreso Internacional celebrado en Nueva York en noviembre de 1992*, Valladolid 1995.

purity ideology in Latin America. In this connection, it is necessary to mention, above all, the 1979 work by Henry Méchoulan<sup>79</sup> and the 2011 anthology by Nikolaus Böttcher, Bernd Hausberger and Max Sebastián Hering Torres.<sup>80</sup>

## 1.2 1632

Henry Kamen identifies the climax of the debate on blood purity as being between 1550 and 1570, as already discussed, but it can also be seen that the situation was aggravated at the beginning of the 17th century. Therefore, I will provide a brief outline of the social circumstances and political events that encouraged the intensification of the discussion on the ideology of blood purity. The years 1632 and 1633 represent the culmination. During this time, particularly radical texts were published and especially the Portuguese Conversos were stereotyped as the image of the enemy. In 1632, for example, an auto-da-fé was held in Madrid where all but one of the defendants were of Portuguese descent. Some reports on this auto-da-fé have been preserved,<sup>81</sup> and were published, among others, in the genre of event reports, *relaciones de sucesos*. Furthermore, there is also a handwritten report in the National Historical Archives in Madrid,<sup>82</sup> which primarily describes the ceremonial aspects of the auto-da-fé.

The climax of the events was the public show trial, which took place on Sunday, July 4, 1632, at the *plaza mayor* in Madrid. Moreover, the case of Miguel Rodriguez and his co-defendants attracted special attention. On the basis of testimony provided by their children, they were accused of defiling a statue of Christ, which is said to have shed blood and spoken to them.

The fact that the atmosphere in general was very tense, can be seen clearly in the circumstances of the investigation. Accordingly, the supposedly defiled statue of Christ was never found. The most important witnesses for the Inquisitors who delivered the charges were the children of the family. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi (1932–2009), who refers to the case in his PhD thesis, sees, above all, the Holy Office's desire to act in the affair, as it wanted to make an impression by exposing a network of Judaizing New Christians and sentencing them:

“The more one delves into the case, the stronger the impression is that the 1632 auto-da-fé was first and foremost a great boast of strength by the Inquisition, which was alarmed by the recent flood of New Christians from Portugal. The affair surrounding the flagellated Christ, which probably arose from the uninhibited fantasies of some children, was used to unleash the passions in Madrid and turn an ordinary case of Judaizing into a scandalous *cause célèbre*.”<sup>83</sup>

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79 Henry MÉCHOULAN: *Le sang de l'autre ou l'honneur de dieu: Indiens, juifs et morisques au siècle d'or*, Paris 1979.

80 Nikolaus BÖTTCHER/Bernd HAUSBERGER/Max Sebastián HERING TORRES (eds.): *El peso de la sangre: Limpios, mestizos y nobles en el mundo hispánico*, México 2011.

81 Among others, AHN: *Relación del auto de la fee que se celebró en la villa de Madrid Corte de su Magestad domingo quatro de Jullio de mill y seiscientos y treinta y dos años, s.a. [1632?]*; Juan de GÓMEZ MORA: *Auto de la Fé celebrado en Madrid esta año de MDCXXXII. Al Rey Don Philipe IIII. N.S. Madrid: Por Francisco Martinez, 1632.*

82 BNE: *Relación del auto de la fe que se celebró en Madrid Domingo a quatro de julio de MDCXXXII.*

83 “Cuanto más se profundiza en el caso, tanto mayor es la impresión de que el *auto* de 1632 fue, por encima de todo,



The writings that appeared in the context of the auto-da-fé in 1632 and bore extremely radical features testify to how well this strategy of the Inquisitors worked. The text discussed above, *The Curse of the Jews* (1633)<sup>84</sup> by Quevedo was aimed very consistently at the Portuguese Conversos and was defined by the events. A fairly unknown author, Juan de Quiñones de Benavente († around 1646),<sup>85</sup> used the auto-da-fé as an opportunity to compose an exposé dedicated to the General Inquisitor Antonio de Sotomayor. However, he did not focus on Miguel Rodríguez's group, but rather on the rumors surrounding Francisco de Andrada, who was said to suffer from monthly blood flow similar to female menstruation. Quiñones took up this assertion and speculated on the question of the extent to which the male Jews and especially the Conversos secretly practicing Judaism suffer in general from such blood flow as divine punishment.

The force of the arguments by these two authors may have also been largely based on the *Converso*-friendly policy of the royal government of Philip IV under the leadership of Minister Gaspar de Gúzman, Count of Olivares (1587–1645). This policy was primarily guided by very practical financial aspects. The fiscal budget was not in good shape and cooperation with bankers was necessary. Both the Genoese and the Portuguese Conversos offered possible help in this regard. The latter were prepared to make their money available to the Royal Treasury at more favorable conditions, but demanded social benefits in return. For example, travel restrictions were lifted, which increased the migration of Portuguese Conversos<sup>86</sup> to the Spanish kingdom. This had begun with the Iberian Union of 1580 between the Portuguese and Spanish kingdoms under Philip II, even though he had initially imposed an emigration ban on the Portuguese Conversos.

The Portuguese and predominantly Spanish Jews who fled the Spanish kingdom and migrated to Portugal in 1492 were confronted with a corresponding expulsion order from the Portuguese king in 1497. They were largely prevented from leaving the kingdom, which led to a massive wave of forced baptisms. After that, however, the compulsorily converted Jewish population was initially allowed to practice their faith relatively unhindered. But in 1536 the Inquisition was also established

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un gran alarde de fuerza por parte de la Inquisición, alarmada por la reciente avalancha de cristianos nuevos desde Portugal. El asunto del Cristo flagelado, probablemente originado en las fantasías desenfadadas de unos niños, fue aprovechado como medio de desatar las pasiones en Madrid y de transformar un caso ordinario de judaizantes en una escandalosa *cause célèbre*." Yosef Hayin YERUSHALMI: De la corte española al gueto italiano: Marranismo y judaísmo en la España del XVII: el caso Isaac Cardoso, Madrid 1989, 74.

84 QUEVEDO: *Execración de los judíos* (Madrid 1633) (see n. 55); see also Santiago FERNÁNDEZ MOSQUERA: Situación y contexto de la *Execración contra los judíos* de Quevedo, in: GRUPO DE INVESTIGACIÓN SIGLO DE ORO UNIVERSIDAD DE NAVARRA/Ignacio ARELLANO (eds.): *Studia Aurea. Actas del III Congreso de la AISO* (Toulouse, 1993), Pamplona 1996, 169–176.

85 Juan de QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General: Sobre el caso de Francisco de Andrada, sospechoso de pertenecer a la raza judía, discutiendo sobre los medios de conocer y perseguir a ella*, s.l. s.a. [c. 1632]; The Auto-da-fé and the text by Juan de Quiñones will be addressed in detail in chapter 3.4.3 *The Special Case of Juan de Quiñones*.

86 In regard to the history of the Portuguese Jews and Conversos, see Markus SCHREIBER: *Marranen in Madrid 1600–1670*, Stuttgart 1994, 21–57; FERNÁNDEZ MOSQUERA: Situación y contexto de la *Execración contra los judíos* de Quevedo (see n. 84), 169–176; Anita NOVINSKY: Consideraciones sobre los criptojudíos hispano-portugueses: El caso de Brasil, in: Ángel ALCALÁ (ed.): *Judíos. Sefarditas. Conversos: Ponencias del Congreso Internacional celebrado en Nueva York en noviembre de 1995*, Valladolid 1995, 513–522.

in Portugal, which at that time acted much more harshly than the Spanish Inquisition, so that many of the Portuguese Conversos, who had often come to Portugal in 1492, now tried to return to their old homeland, the Spanish kingdom. However, the arrival of the Portuguese Conversos led to a resurgence of the Spanish Inquisition, which could now identify the Conversos more easily due to their foreign background.

Some of the early modern political experts, the so-called *arbitristas*,<sup>87</sup> who tried to provide practical political advice to the king and his government in their writing, also pleaded for a *Converso*-friendly policy in order to strengthen the economy of the country. The practice of the purity of blood statutes was also questioned in the process. Furthermore, another admission of Jews to the Spanish kingdom was also discussed.

### 1.3 Ideology of Blood Purity and Medical Biologism

In reaction to the criticism of the ideology of blood purity, which was essentially shaped by pragmatic and economic interests, the apologists of the statutes composed texts based on new argumentative focal points. In his exposé, Juan de Quiñones focused on the strategy of supporting classical theological arguments with ones based on natural philosophy and medicine.

Diego Gracia Guillén, a scholar in the fields of the history of medicine, medicinal anthropology and bioethics, divided this new Old Christian strategy of argumentation into three steps. Step 1 is the determination of the bad morality of the New Christians, who according to the Old Christians pursue immoral habits and often deny the truth of the Christian faith. Step 2 consists of the view that this inferior morality is not due to the environment and education, but rather primarily to physical preconditions, i.e. above all their complexion, meaning the composition of the four bodily fluids. Finally, in early modern medicine, Galen's dominant Humoralism, with the four fluids (blood, mucus, black and yellow bile) or, to put it more precisely, their interaction, determined the health or illness of the body. Depraved morality is determined here by biological traits, that is, physical preconditions. In this context, Gracia Guillén also speaks of the "race" or the "racial characteristics" attributed to the Conversos. Step 3 ends with the conviction of the Old Christians that this physically conditioned depravity is hereditary and is thus passed down from generation to generation.<sup>88</sup> The biological direction of this strategy of argumentation is clearly demonstrated in these three steps introduced by Gracia Guillén.

This three-step argumentation can be exemplified by a story from Torrejoncillo's work about an orphan of unknown origin. This narrative can be defined as symptomatic of the mindset of the ideologists of blood purity:

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87 In regard to the *arbitristas* see Anne DUBET: Los arbitristas entre discurso y acción política: Propuestas para un análisis de la negociación política, in: *Tiempos Modernos* 9 (2003), 1–14, URL: <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/viewarticle.php?id=36>. (visited on 27/02/2019); Javier MÁRQUEZ: Un mercantilista español: Pedro Fernández Navarrete, in: *Investigación económica* 1,3 (1941), 341–376.

88 Diego GRACIA GUILLÉN: Judaísmo, Medicina y "Mentalidad Inquisitorial" en la España del siglo XVI, in: Ángel AL-CALÁ (ed.): *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial: Ponencias del Simposio Internacional sobre Inquisición*, Nueva York, abril de 1983, Barcelona 1984, 328–352, here 334.

“I have heard some persons worthy of credit say that in Moron, a town in Portugal, they abandoned a new-born girl at the doorstep of the house of a distinguished man named Pedro de Mendoza. Although it was never possible to determine whose daughter she was, he looked after her and raised her in his house and she became very beautiful. A page in his household took a fancy to her and, one night, secretly entered the house. He hid in the bedchamber of the girl with the evil intention of having his way with her. When the girl went to sleep, the page witnessed that the first thing that she did was to take an image of Holy Christ from a chest and whip it. The boy, bewildered and astounded, exited with the same secrecy and caution with which he had entered. He proceeded to tell his master what he had seen, confessing both his evil intention and the wicked deed of the girl, to which she was inclined because of her bloodline and nature.”<sup>89</sup>

Interestingly, Torrejoncillo never mentions in the course of the story that the girl, by his logic, had to be of Jewish descent or a daughter of Conversos. He left this conclusion to his readers. Here, once again, we see the element of an implicit ability to understand, which is a criterion for a master narrative, as already discussed above. Another significant factor is the intention of the story since Torrejoncillo clearly shows that even education in an important Old Christian household without any contact to Jewish roots cannot do anything against the heredity, the blood and the temper, as Torrejoncillo refers to it. In addition, a fascinating hierarchy of moral values is seen here: The rape planned by the page is implicitly classified as less reprehensible than the desecration of the statue of Christ by the young girl. The trivializing vocabulary that Torrejoncillo uses with regard to the page's intentions is proof of this.

Now, the focus below will be on the question of the extent to which this biological tendency in the debate on blood purity was also shaped by a corresponding biological tendency in natural philosophy and medicine at that time. Gracia Guillén sees a clear connection here:

“The general conclusion in this first part is that there is a close interaction between the physical and moral traits in 16th century Spain, and they are said to be inherited. [...] We can see here how medicine provides powerful arguments for the Inquisition mentality and how Spanish medicine in the 16th century becomes more of a collaborator than a victim of the Inquisition with a view to the task of disciplining the habits of civil society.”<sup>90</sup>

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89 Translation by Soyer: SOYER: *Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire* (see n. 18), 255; “En Moron, Villa de Portugal, he oído decir à personas fidedignas, que echaron una niña recién nacida à la puerta de un hombre principal, llamado Pedro de Mendoza; criòla, y creció en su casa, y fue muy hermosa, y nunca se pudo saber cuya hija era. Un page de casa se aficionó de ella, y una noche se entró de secreto, y se escondió en el aposento de la moza con malos intentos de gozarla; y quando la moza se fue à acostar, vió el page, que lo primero que hizo, fue sacar de un cofre un Santo Christo, y azotarle. El mozo confuso, y admirado, con el secreto, y cautela, que entró se bolvió à salir, y dió cuenta a su amo, assi de su mal proposito, como del mal hecho de la moza, que su sangre, y natural le inclinava à aquello.” TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios* (see n. 18), 192.

90 “La conclusión general de esta primera parte es que en la España del siglo XVI se establece una estrecha correlación entre cualidades físicas y morales y se llega a afirmar que éstas se transmiten hereditariamente. [...] Vemos, pues,

As examples of such a biological tendency in medicine with a focus more on the heredity of physical traits and character traits than on their shaping by the environment and education, Gracia Guillén names three Converso doctors: Juan Huarte de San Juan (c. 1529–c. 1588), Enrique Jorge Enríquez (c. the 2nd half of the 16th century) and Rodrigo de Castro (c. 1555–1630). Especially in the case of Huarte de San Juan, it can be seen clearly in his upbringing guide *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575)<sup>91</sup> what a role heredity played. For the genesis of clever minds that are suited for the sciences, the correct procreation is more important than any later educational measure, in his opinion.<sup>92</sup>

The writings of Enrique Jorge Enríquez and Rodrigo de Castro, to which Gracia Guillén refers, addressed the issues of medical ethics and the role of the trained doctor in society, however. They belong to the *medicus politicus* literature that was heavily defined by the Iberian region.<sup>93</sup> Their texts also illustrate the assumed close interaction between physical and character traits.

David B. Ruderman, who examines the theses of Gracia Guillén and Maravall, among others, and takes up their theories that Iberian *medicus politicus* literature was essentially based on the ideas of the Inquisition and Baroque culture, comes to the conclusion that the literature of the Converso doctors was influenced more by another concern:

“But, I suggest, the Converso physician’s attempt to stake out a political and moral role for the medical profession is not the result of these general forces [Inquisition and Baroque culture] alone. It is more directly linked to his quest for cultural identity, his attempt to define his Jewishness by integrating it with the most important factor that made him both unique and critical to Jewish and Christian society alike: his medical acumen.”<sup>94</sup>

The assumed interplay between the physical and mental plays a relatively subordinate role in the texts of Enríquez and Castro. However, the idea that the physical constitution essentially determines character was generally widespread in the medical texts of the time. This may also be due to the Galenic treatise *Quod animi mores*, which, according to Luis García Ballester, decisively defined Western medicine and its understanding of body and soul.<sup>95</sup> Here, Galen (129–216 CE) shows the extent to which character is determined by complexion.

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cómo la medicina ofrece argumentos de gran peso a la mentalidad inquisitorial, y cómo, en consecuencia, la medicina española del siglo XVI se convierte, más que en víctima, en colaboradora de la Inquisición en la tarea de disciplinar las costumbres de la sociedad civil.” GRACIA GUILLÉN: *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial* (see n. 88), 339.

91 Juan HUARTE: *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*, Madrid 1977 (first edition Baeza 1575).

92 In this regard, see chapter 2.3.1 *Juan Huarte de San Juan*.

93 Winfried SCHLEINER: *Medical Ethics in the Renaissance*, Washington 1995; Jon ARRIZABALAGA: *Medical Ideals in the Sephardic Diaspora: Rodrigo de Castro’s Portrait of the Perfect Physician in early Seventeenth-Century Hamburg*, in: *Medical History*, Supplement 29 (2009), 107–124, URL: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2836222/pdf/medhissuppl-29-107.pdf?tool=pmcentrez> (visited on 27/02/2019), here 107–124.

94 David B. RUDERMAN: *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*, Detroit 2001, 294–295.

95 Luis GARCÍA BALLESTER: *Alma y enfermedad en la obra de Galeno: Traducción y comentario del escrito “Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur”*, Valencia and Granada 1972, 17; in regard to the treatise, also see chapter 2.1.1 *Discussion: Wet nurse’s Milk or Mother’s Milk*.

The two components, the emphasis on heredity as in Juan Huarte and the assumption of a correlation between body and mind, as in Castro and Enríquez, collectively led to ethnic theories in medicine that went beyond the classical climate theories of the Middle Ages. Accordingly, the Portuguese-born Converso doctors, Amato Lusitano and Isaac Cardoso, who like many others officially converted to the Jewish faith after their emigration, discussed in their texts the extent to which Jews would suffer from or be spared from certain diseases.<sup>96</sup> In my opinion, David Ruderman's interpretive approach could also be extended to this case since the Converso doctors' discussion of specifically Jewish diseases and thus a specifically Jewish complexion was primarily about a search for cultural identity, even if both were certainly shaped by their experiences on the Iberian Peninsula. Consequently, there is also the question of the extent to which the proponents of the ideology of blood purity took up the discussion of the Converso doctors about a specifically Jewish complexion and instrumentalized it accordingly for their purposes.

Taken together, two different developments can thus be observed at the turn of the 17th century: on the one hand, the New Christian body becomes the focus of the debate on the ideology of blood purity, and, on the other, there is an increase in biological tendencies in medicine. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to assume that the new biological argumentation found strong support in the debate on blood purity in the new medical trend and drew on it. This hypothesis will be examined in the book.

## 1.4 Physical Distinguishing Features

The physical characteristics of apostasy and heresy, attributed by the apologists of the ideology of blood purity to the bodies of the Conversos and in part also to the Moriscos, are suitable for such an examination. Three physical markers prove to be central here.

First, it is necessary to mention the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation, which was transferred to the Converso body. The Moriscos were excluded from this discussion. The proponents of the ideology of blood purity – such as Juan de Quiñones, Vicente da Costa Matos and Francisco de Torrejoncillo – put forward the theory that male Conversos would suffer from periodic blood flow comparable to female menstruation. Quiñones even went so far as to suggest that such male menstruation could serve as an indicator of apostasy and heresy for the Inquisitors in the case of accused men.<sup>97</sup>

This idea of Conversos' “male” menstruation was then coupled with the attribution of a bad body odor, which can be traced back to the anti-Jewish topos of the *foetor judaicus*, which was already common in the Middle Ages. In this case, too, the ideologists of blood purity focused primarily on the Conversos. The Moriscos, however, are not entirely exempt from this stigma of smell because a bad odor was also ascribed to Muslims in the argumentative tradition that refers to the stories

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<sup>96</sup> In this regard, see chapter 3.4 *Male and “Jewish Male” Menstruation in the Early Modern Era* and chapter 4.3 *The New Christian Stigma of Smell*.

<sup>97</sup> QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 21r.

about the holy spring of Matarieh.<sup>98</sup> The Inquisition files bear witness, above all, to the fact that this stain was also ascribed to the Moriscos. For this reason, I deliberately decided to speak of a New Christian stigma of smell and not of a Converso stigma of smell, even if the texts generally focused far less on the Moriscos.

The last physical marker relates to female *Conversas* and *Moriscas*. The apologists in the statutes, for example, repeatedly cite a ban that was laid down for the royal house and stated that New Christian wet nurses should not be employed in the royal household to nurse and raise infants. The reason given for this ban is the danger that the child could be contaminated by the heretical wet nurse's milk and convert to Judaism. Accordingly, the position of the royal wet nurse would be the only office in which women, who were otherwise fundamentally exempted from all offices and dignities, were also affected by the purity of blood statutes.

Since the discussion about the royal ban on wet nurses is a special case in this respect, because *Conversas* and *Moriscas* are equally in focus and because the topic has received very little attention in research so far, I will begin with this physical marker in chapter two. Chapter three will focus on the "Jewish male" menstruation of *Conversos*, as this physical marker was discussed the most in the texts. I will then examine the New Christian stigma of smell in chapter four and thus consider the argumentative structure in the sources since the topics of "Jewish male" menstruation and bad body odor were usually linked. Furthermore, the ideologists of blood purity were less concerned with the stigma of smell than "Jewish male" menstruation.

I do not examine the body-centered argumentation exclusively in the reference system of the ideology of blood purity or the master narrative, but rather use them only as a starting point. I deliberately go beyond these references in order to clarify the context in which, for example, "Jewish male" menstruation could be discussed in all its various meanings. In this way, it can be shown, on the one hand, that there were also dissenting voices or other opinions that deviated in part. On the other hand, it becomes apparent that not all levels of discussion that existed on the complex of topics were included in the narrow corset of the ideology of blood purity or in the debate as a master narrative.

## 1.5 Ad Fontes

After this thematic overview of the main part of the book, attention will shift to the sources and their problems. Basically, the main focus is on the old prints of the 16th and 17th centuries in Latin and Spanish, which are relevant for early modern medicine in the Iberian region and for strengthening the ideology of blood purity. However, since I assume that the ideology of blood purity is a master narrative and one criterion is literary omnipresence, I also include legal, theological and literary texts, for example. In order to get to the bottom of the various facets of the reasoning in the ideology of blood purity, I do not limit myself to a certain text genre or a firmly defined body of sources. Instead, it is necessary to look at the widest possible range of texts in all their diversity and to bundle similar arguments into thematic complexes.

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<sup>98</sup> In this regard, see chapter 4.2.3 *A Special Case: The Holy Spring of Matarieh*.

The selection of the texts is thus primarily determined by the main topics of the book, the three physical markers. I also orient myself on the referential networks found in the writings. The central theme is therefore the explicit reference to other authors, who are often found in the glosses of the publications, but also to argumentative traditions that are implicit and must be traced. However, the consequence of this approach – both in the thematic focal points and in the referential networks – is that the bodies of sources can be very different from chapter to chapter.

In the chapter on New Christian wet nurse's breast milk, for example, both legislative texts and late medieval employment contracts serve as sources. However, it is precisely the legislative texts that primarily provide information about the norms and ideals and less about the actually prevailing customs. Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to make substantiated statements about the practice of hiring wet nurses in the royal household. The sources in the Royal Palace Archive of Madrid on wet nurses<sup>99</sup> do not provide any information, for example, about the exact criteria according to which wet nurses were selected. However, it is repeatedly mentioned in a potential hiring that initially "information" is to be obtained, *hacer las informaciones*.<sup>100</sup> Here, the same terminology is used as in the practice of the purity of blood statutes and the genealogical investigations associated with this. Often, however, the focus of the sources on the royal wet nurses is more on their payment or on the doctors who were responsible for proposing and selecting the wet nurses.

The theme of "Jewish male" menstruation is based on a multitude of very different literary and exegetical motifs, of which Willis Johnson<sup>101</sup> has provided a good summary. Consequently, I have confined myself primarily to the motifs discussed in the debate on the ideology of blood purity in the Iberian region. It would have been interesting to draw on Francisco de Andrada's Inquisition file for a comparison, as the text by Juan de Quiñones is based on the course of that trial and the disorder of monthly blood flow was evidently claimed. However, it seems that the file is no longer preserved, and there is no mention of menstrual disorder in the case of the accused person, even in the various reports on the auto-da-fé of 1632 where the accused people are listed. The only information we receive about the accused person is his place of birth, his age, the reason for the accusation and the ruling. This is what is said in one report:

"Francisco de Andrada, Portuguese, from Alcobaça, archdiocese of Lisbon, 28 years old, was dragged out with sanbenito for practicing Judaism, was sentenced to wear the sanbenito and be eternally imprisoned, and distanced himself from it *de vehementi*."<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> The work of Luis Cortés Echanóve is largely based on this body of sources and therefore offers an interesting overview: Luis CORTÉS ECHANÓVE: *Nacimiento y crianza de personas reales en la corte de España 1566–1886*, Madrid 1958.

<sup>100</sup> AGP: Amas de lactancia. Felipe IV. Relaciones de amas de pecho y respuesto con sueldos y gajes durante todo el reinado, 1651–1655.

<sup>101</sup> Willis JOHNSON: The Myth of Jewish Male Menses, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998), 273–295, URL: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181\(98\)00009-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181(98)00009-8) (visited on 27/02/2019), Table 282.

<sup>102</sup> "Francisco de Andrada, Portuguès, natural de Alcobaz, Arçobispado de Lisboa, de edad de veinte y ocho años, fue sacado con sambenito por Iudaicante, fue condenado à habito, y carcel perpetua, y jurò de vehementi." AHN: Relación del auto de la fee que se celebrou en la villa de Madrid Corte de su Magestad domingo quatro de Jullio de mill y seiscientos y treinta y dos años, s.a. [1632?] (see n. 81), 13v; in regard to the importance of the ruling, also see chapter 3.4.3 *The Special Case of Juan de Quiñones*.

In other reports, the description is even more sparse. In a handwritten report, Andrada is listed as Accused Person No. 23, with only the following stated: “Francisco de Andrada, Portuguese, resident of Madrid, [accused] of observance of Mosaic law: sanbenito and eternal imprisonment”<sup>103</sup>. In another report he is listed as Accused Person No. 14 and it is stated that he was also accused of sorcery, “por hechicero, y Judio.”<sup>104</sup> Whether the alleged blood flow disorder in the case of Francisco de Andrada was actually discussed and interpreted accordingly, as Juan de Quiñones claims in his exposé, cannot be examined as a result.

In general, the discussion about physical markers of New Christians is hardly found in the Inquisition files that I examined randomly. I focused my review on the Inquisition trials of accused Converso physicians, as I suspected that their medical knowledge would cause them to be more likely to deal with the idea of physical markers. My assumption was confirmed to the extent that the physicians used their knowledge to assert themselves in the hearings before the Inquisition court. This can be seen, for example, in the previously mentioned case of Juan Nuñez.<sup>105</sup> An allusion to the alleged physical markers was found only indirectly in the file of Phelipe de Najara.

In the case of the physician Najara, his cell mate Julio de Toledo testified against him several times and put words in his mouth. Julio de Toledo, himself a physician and, according to his own statements, 25 years old and a descendant of an early converted Morisco family,<sup>106</sup> evidently tried to obtain better conditions for his own hearing by denouncing Phelipe de Najara. He repeatedly asked for an audience in the Inquisition court to testify against his cell mate. In one of these conversations, he talks about the subject of breast milk:

“He [Julio de Toledo] also said that he had heard the mentioned licentiate Najara say that the Portuguese imbibe Judaism from breast milk [...].”<sup>107</sup>

Here, the idea of passing on religious convictions through breast milk and thus one of the physical markers is adopted. Whether Phelipe de Najara really made this claim or whether it originated from Julio de Toledo’s imagination must remain open at this point. The passage at least shows that the breast milk argument was also common among the New Christians. Julio de Toledo evidently relied on the fact that he could defame his cell mate by putting such words in his mouth. That he was also familiar with the particular skepticism and conspiracy theories surrounding Portuguese Converso merchants living in Madrid can be seen in his subsequent statements, which he in turn claims to have heard from Najara. Allegedly, Najara said that the Portuguese Conversos only came to Madrid and other regions of the Spanish kingdom to make quick and big profits, and then leave for France out of fear of the Inquisition. This passage also reveals that Julio de Toledo was familiar with the

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103 “Francisco de andrada portugues vecino de Madrid por obserbante de la ley de moysen. havito y carcel perpetua” BNE: Relación del auto de la fe que se celebró en Madrid Domingo a quatro de julio de MDCXXXII (see n. 82).

104 BNE: Papeles Varios. 7. Autos generales y particulares celebrados por la Inquisición en los años 1555–1721, 60r, former pagination 42r.

105 AHN: Causa de fe de Juan Nuñez, 1678–1681 (see n. 64).

106 AHN: Causa de fe Phelipe de Najara, 1605–1610, 172r–172v.

107 “Iten dixo que este le a oido decir al dicho licenciado de Naxara que los portugueses maman en la leche el ser Judios [...]” Ibidem, 173v–174r.



classical arguments against the Portuguese Conversos. Apart from this short passage, which was not discussed any more during the course of the trial and which was already known in research due to Julio Caro Baroja (1914–1995),<sup>108</sup> I did not find any further discussion, at least in my random samples, of the alleged physical markers of the Conversos in the Inquisition records.

Body topics are certainly discussed, and this is also done in light of medical aspects. For example, the physician Najara argued that the reason he does not eat bacon has nothing to do with the fact that he avoids pork for religious reasons, but is due to the fact that he suffers from gout.<sup>109</sup> However, the question of the physical markers of the Conversos was apparently not addressed by the accused physicians and perhaps even deliberately avoided since they may have been aware that, for example, the attempt at rebuttal as an argumentation strategy in court was by no means promising and that they would thus generally move into uncertain territory.

With regard to the chapter on the New Christian stigma of smell, literary sources also become central, as could already be shown above in the passage from Quevedo’s *Buscón*. Consequently, this last chapter contains a genre of text that did not play a role in the other two chapters. Especially the literature of the Spanish Golden Age, the *Siglo de Oro*, provides a good indicator, however, of how well known and widespread the idea of a New Christian stigma of smell was on the Iberian Peninsula since allusions were usually sufficient for the readership.

Thus, different source texts as well as different approaches are used for the individual physical markers that the Conversos and in part the Moriscos allegedly had. These different texts and approaches are due to the various traditions that these physical attributions can be traced back to. The theoretical discussions are the focus of the book, but it is also possible to shed light on practical everyday experiences through wet nurse contracts, Inquisition records and patient reports published by physicians such as the *Centuriae* by Amato Lusitano (1510/11–1568).

## 1.6 Body, Gender, Senses and “Race”

In order to analyze the three physical attributions in the sources and to check for possible biologization, it seems sensible to clarify in advance how the body is understood in the texts. The history of the body proves to be a helpful approach because it assumes a historicity of the body. This means that both conceptions of the body and experiences of the body change throughout history, confronting us with a multitude of competing models – both during a specific period of time and over the course of time in general. Maren Lorenz puts it in a nutshell drastically when she says:

“‘Mankind,’ statically as man, at best as neuter, historically mostly conceived of as an anonymous mass, never existed as such except as a fictional stereotype. Even within a society at a certain time, there is an infinite variance of ‘forms,’ which are distinguished from each other in appearance alone, e.g. roughly by gender, skin color, age, social class or degree of physical integrity.”<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Julio CARO BAROJA: *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, vol. 2, Madrid 1962, 201.

<sup>109</sup> AHN: Causa de fe Phelipe de Najara, 1605–1610 (see n. 106), 173v–174r.

<sup>110</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “‘Der Mensch’, statisch als Mann, bestenfalls als Neutrum, historisch

With regard to the question of physical attributions, it is even possible to speak of a double fiction since it is not the New Christian body itself that is considered, but the conceptions and ideas that were rumored to exist in the New Christian body and differentiate such a body from the Old Christian bodies, according to the ideologists of blood purity. Simultaneously, these fictitious body images were documented and attributed to really existing bodies “in the flesh,” so to say, as could be seen in the example of Francisco Andrada.

Barbara Duden proposed to differentiate between the concepts of flesh and body, i.e. between the really existing body and the culturally constructed body. To this end, she refers to a fierce debate over the history of the body at the end of the 1990s, which moved between the extreme positions of essentialism and constructivism. That many researchers find access to the body (Körper) as a socio-cultural construction easier than to the flesh (Leib) of matter and blood is, according to her, also due to the fact that our current understanding of the body strongly promotes this perspective.<sup>111</sup> Such positions show, above all, the concern that the flesh-body could be negated and the body could be perceived exclusively as constructed linguistically and culturally.

Similar objections can also be found with regard to the subject of gender, which is closely tied to the body just as the history of the body is closely tied to the history of gender. According to Judith Butler, gender can also be distinguished here between the biological *sex* and the culturally constructed *gender*. In her book *Bodies that Matter*, Butler uses the concept of materiality, however, to refer to the permanent interaction between *sex* and *gender*, which makes a strict separation between the two areas impossible:

“[...] there will be no way to understand ‘gender’ as a cultural construct which is imposed upon the surface of matter, understood either as ‘the body’ or its given sex. Rather, once ‘sex’ itself is understood in its normativity, the materiality of the body will not be thinkable apart from the materialization of that regulatory norm. ‘Sex’ is, thus, not simply what one has, or a static description of what one is: it will be one of the norms by which the ‘one’ becomes viable at all, that which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility.”<sup>112</sup>

Just as *sex* cannot simply be defined as the tangible really existing biological form of gender, on which the cultural construction has been superimposed in the form of the *gender* concept, the flesh (Leib) cannot be defined as preceding the body (Körper). Both body and gender prove to be far less understandable for analytical purposes than one would initially assume. However, this does not mean that the idea of linguistic and cultural constructions will fundamentally negate the material

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meist als anonyme Masse gedacht, hat außer als fiktives Stereotyp so nie existiert. Selbst innerhalb einer Gesellschaft zu einer bestimmten Zeit gibt es eine unendliche Varianz von ‘Formen’, die von den jeweils anderen schon allein äußerlich, z. B. grob nach Geschlecht, Hautfarbe, Alter, sozialer Klasse oder Grad an körperlicher Unversehrtheit unterschieden werden.” Maren LORENZ: *Leibhaftige Vergangenheit: Einführung in die Körpergeschichte*, Tübingen 2000, 15.

111 Barbara DUDEN: Das “System” unter der Haut: Anmerkungen zum körpergeschichtlichen Bruch der 1990er Jahre, in: *österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 8 (1997), 260–273, here 262, 272.

112 Judith BUTLER: *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”*, London and New York (first edition 1993) 2011, xii.

reality and truthfulness of flesh (Leib) and *sex* or wants to deprive biologists and physicians of their core business, as Ferdinand Knauß<sup>113</sup> fears. Instead, it is simply a matter of becoming aware of our own limitations imposed on us by our own socialization and by the medium of language. In light of the interplay between language and body, Judith Butler states:

“To claim that discourse is formative is not to claim that it originates, causes, or exhaustively composes that which it concedes; rather, it is to claim that there is no reference to a pure body which is not at the same time a further formation of that body.”<sup>114</sup>

The medium of language and one's own socialization and cultural influence cannot be denied in an analysis of body and gender. This also applies to the realm of the senses, which has recently come into focus through anthropology and cultural history of the senses.<sup>115</sup> In contrast to the history of the body and gender, however, no attempt was made here to distinguish between the purely physiological and the culturally defined sensory perceptions by introducing corresponding concepts. For olfactory perception, which is analyzed in more detail in the chapter on the New Christian stigma of smell, such a differentiation can be found in the concept of hedonics, however in the medical field. This is what Hannes Hatt's introduction to sensory physiology says:

“The ability to smell is influenced by various physical factors such as temperature and humidity as well as by physiological parameters, e.g. hormones. The subjective assessment of a fragrance as pleasant or unpleasant is called hedonics. This assessment is not genetically determined, but shaped by educational and cultural influences over the course of life.”<sup>116</sup>

Since all three categories – body, gender and senses – are highly influenced by culture, these peculiarities must be taken into account through socialization because they are precisely the ones that are subject to historical changes. At the same time, it is not possible to distinguish precisely between flesh and body, *sex* and *gender* or the physiological sensory perceptions and their hedonic assessment since they are closely interrelated with each other. However, one should be aware of these interrelationships during an examination.

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113 Ferdinand KNAUSS: Das Tabu der Gender-Theorie: Geisteswissenschaftliche Geschlechterforschung und die Biologie, in: Helmut FINK/Rainer ROSENZWEIG (eds.): Mann, Frau, Gehirn, Paderborn 2011, 115–131.

114 BUTLER: Bodies that Matter (see n. 112), xix.

115 See Wolfram AICHINGER: Sinne und Sinneserfahrung in der Geschichte: Forschungsfragen und Forschungsansätze, in: Wolfram AICHINGER/Franz X. EDER/Claudia LEITNER (eds.): Sinne und Erfahrung in der Geschichte, Innsbruck et al. 2003, 9–28; Constance CLASSEN: The Senses, in: Peter STEARNS (ed.): Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000, New York 2001, 355–364.

116 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Das Riechvermögen wird von verschiedenen physikalischen Faktoren, wie Temperatur und Luftfeuchtigkeit, ebenso wie von physiologischen Parametern, z. B. Hormonen, beeinflusst. Die subjektive Bewertung eines Duftes als angenehm oder unangenehm wird als Hedonik bezeichnet. Diese Bewertung ist nicht genetisch bedingt, sondern wird durch erzieherische und kulturelle Einflüsse im Lauf des Lebens geprägt.” Hannes HATT: Kapitel 19. Geschmack und Geruch, in: R. F. SCHMIDT/F. LANG/M. HECKMANN (eds.): Physiologie des Menschen mit Pathophysiologie, Heidelberg 2007, 422–436, here 436.

In regard to the question of how we approach historical bodies, gender definitions and sensory perceptions, we must first overcome our own disgust.<sup>117</sup> In the case of the explanations given by the ideologists of blood purity, it is even possible to speak of a double disgust factor: on the one hand, it is the disconcerting definitions of the body; on the other, the clearly racist component of the definitions that prompt a defensive reaction. However, if I want to grasp not only the strategies, but also the way these self-proclaimed Old Christians thought and the convictions behind them, I must not devalue their statements as mere fantasies, but rather admit that they were valid in their time. Only in this way can I understand how the body-centered exclusion mechanisms of the ideology of blood purity functioned.

If disgust, though perhaps not overcome, is at least kept in check, it is followed by the question of how to deal with historical bodies, definitions of gender and sensory perceptions against the background of one's own body, one's own definitions of gender and one's own sensory perceptions. Barbara Duden emphasizes that with her body she could not establish a connection to the historical female bodies she studied.<sup>118</sup> And David Howes, who can be described as one of the founders of the anthropology of the senses, formulates the following premise for dealing with the sensory perceptions of others:

“The first step when undertaking an anthropology or a history of the senses is to set aside one's own sensory model, to the extent possible, and to attend to the sensory dynamics of the culture under study.”<sup>119</sup>

Howes as well as Constance Classen<sup>120</sup> warn against applying one's own sensory model to the subject matter being studied. Instead, they call on scholars to block out their own senses. However, I see a problem here: Because a large portion of our sensory perceptions and judgments are unconscious, it appears impossible for me to leave them out consciously. Instead, I would suggest consciously reflecting on one's own body, one's own definition of gender, one's own sensory perceptions, if this is possible, and making them fruitful for analysis as a contrast foil. In this way, today's models of body, gender and senses can also be questioned on the basis of the differences.<sup>121</sup> Such a claim can also be found in Barbara Duden when she writes:

“I am looking for methods by which the modern experience of the ‘incorporeal’ subject can be grasped through the contrast with the past.”<sup>122</sup>

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117 See in this regard DUDEN: *Das “System” unter der Haut* (see n. 111), 261–262.

118 Barbara DUDEN: *Geschichte unter der Haut: Ein Eisenacher Arzt und seine Patientinnen um 1730*, Stuttgart 1991 (first edition 1987), 13; DUDEN: *Das “System” unter der Haut* (see n. 111), 262.

119 David HOWES: *Can these Dry Bones live? An Anthropological Approach to the History of the Senses*, in: *The Journal of American History* 95 (2008), 442–451, here 445.

120 CLASSEN: *The Senses* (see n. 115), 358.

121 Also see related remarks in my article: GEBKE: *Himmlische Düfte – Höllischer Gestank* (see n. 56).

122 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Ich suche nach Methoden, mit denen sich durch den Kontrast mit Vergangenenem das moderne Erlebnis des ‘körperlosen’ Subjektes fassen läßt.” DUDEN: *Das “System” unter der Haut* (see n. 111), 262.

These two steps – keeping disgust at bay and reflecting on my own body, gender and sensory models and using them as a contrast foil – establish my approach to the physical markers imputed to the New Christians.

It is still necessary to examine what approach is suitable for the Jewish and Muslim ancestry of the New Christians who were defined by the ideologists of blood purity as a *raza*, i.e. “race.” In early modern Spain, the concept of *raza* was still far removed from its current meaning and can be roughly equated with the concept of *linaje*, which, with a view to nobility, meant the line of descent, the ancestral line in a positive sense. In regard to the New Christians, the concept in the negative sense referred to the supposedly “stained” lineage.<sup>123</sup>

The ideology of blood purity and its tendencies towards biologization raise the question of the extent to which one can speak of racism here. The Belgian anthropologist Christiane Stallaert compares the Spain of the *limpieza de sangre* and the Spanish National Inquisition with National Socialist Germany and the Nuremberg Race Laws and claims to find some similarities in the language and the efforts to determine pure blood. However, she emphasizes that the comparison is not about fundamental equivalence, and describes her intention as follows:

“Remembering that comparing is not equating, we distance ourselves in this paper from those who advocate the absolute uniqueness of the Holocaust in human history and hence its incomparability.”<sup>124</sup>

Since Stallaert makes comparisons primarily at the linguistic level and largely ignores historical circumstances, her study is not conducive to a historical classification. The analogy between early modern Spain and National Socialist Germany had already been established in 1940 by Cecil Roth (1899–1970),<sup>125</sup> which David Nirenberg<sup>126</sup> points out.

In a private letter to Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, the already mentioned Albert Sicroff introduced the concept of “religious racism.”<sup>127</sup> Max Sebastián Hering Torres, in turn, proposes the oxymoron “racist anti-Judaism.”<sup>128</sup> Joan Pere i Tous and Heike Nottebaum note that the idea of blood purity

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123 BÖTTCHER/HAUSBERGER/HERING TORRES (eds.): *El peso de la sangre* (see n. 80), 10.

124 “Recordando que comparar no equivale a equiparar, nos distanciamos en este trabajo de los que defienden la unicidad absoluta del Holocausto en la historia de la humanidad y de allí su incomparabilidad.” Christiane STALLAERT: *Ni una gota de sangre impura: La España inquisitorial y la Alemania nazi cara a cara*, Barcelona 2006, 19.

125 Cecil ROTH: *Marranos and Racial Antisemitism: A Study in Parallels*, in: *Jewish Social Studies* 2 (1940), 239–248, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4464346> (visited on 27/02/2019).

126 David NIRENBERG: *Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of “Jewish” Blood in Late Medieval Spain*, in: Miriam ELLAV-FELDON/Benjamin ISAAC/Joseph ZIEGLER (eds.): *The Origins of Racism in the West*, Cambridge 2009, 232–264, here 239.

127 Miguel Ángel GARCÍA OLMO: *Las razones de la Inquisición Española: Una respuesta a la leyenda negra*, Córdoba 2009, 232–233.

128 Max Sebastián HERING TORRES: “Limpieza de sangre”: ¿Racismo en la edad moderna?, in: *Tiempos Modernos* 9 (2003), 1–16, URL: <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/viewarticle.php?id=34> (visited on 27/02/2019), 16(pdf); Max Sebastián HERING TORRES: *Limpieza de sangre en España: Un modelo de interpretación*, in: Nikolaus BÖTTCHER/Bernd HAUSBERGER/Max Sebastián HERING TORRES (eds.): *El peso de la sangre*, México 2011, 29–62, here 60.

triggered a rhetoric in which “a biological isotopy of racism” could emerge.<sup>129</sup> This chain of examples quickly shows how difficult the definition is.

The problems that arise are found, on the one hand, in the attempt to draw a line between modern and premodern racism, and, on the other, in assessing the religious components of premodern racism and their relationship to the first biological approaches aimed at distinguishing between individual ethnic groups. As far as the border between modern and premodern racism is concerned, Karin Priester, for example, sees the ideology of blood purity as the starting point of modern racism:

“For the first time in European history, a figure of argumentation appeared here in which one referred to the racial-biological otherness that could not be influenced by individual choice.”<sup>130</sup>

In the course of this book, it will still be necessary to clarify what role biological and theological approaches play in the argumentation of the physical markers. Rainer Walz sees in the early modern racism of the ideology of blood purity a form of racism that differs from both gentile racism (which generally propagates the ethnic otherness of a group and can be based on diverse – for example religious or economic – motivations) and modern racism and its race biology, which was often closely linked to social Darwinism.<sup>131</sup> He finds that genealogy takes precedence in early modern racism, which is why he argues in favor of the concept of genealogical racism and the adoption of a multi-phase growth model.<sup>132</sup>

The definition of the ideology of blood purity as genealogical racism was also adopted and taken up by authors like Max Sebastián Hering Torres<sup>133</sup> and David Nirenberg<sup>134</sup>. However, both also criticize Walz's theses. In the proposed multi-phase growth model, for example, Hering Torres is bothered by the fact that the individual stages appear too strongly separated.<sup>135</sup> Walz, by contrast, emphasizes in his article that hybrid forms of gentile and genealogical racism were possible in the Early Modern Era.<sup>136</sup> The initially strict definitional separation does not by any means rule out the possibility that the various forms of racism can be perceived as interacting with each other. Nirenberg's work points in a similar direction when he criticizes Walz for drawing too strict a dividing line between modern and premodern racism.<sup>137</sup> Again, this criticism does not seem entirely correct to me because the

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129 Pere JOAN TOUS/Heike NOTTEBAUM (eds.): *El olivo y la espada: Estudios sobre el antisemitismo en España (siglos XVI–XX)*, Tübingen 2003, XX.

130 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Erstmalig in der europäischen Geschichte trat hier eine Argumentationsfigur auf, bei der man sich auf die rassenbiologische, durch individuelle Wahl nicht beeinflussbare Andersartigkeit berief.” Karin PRIESTER: *Rassismus: Eine Sozialgeschichte*, Leipzig 2003, 32.

131 Rainer WALZ: *Der vormoderne Antisemitismus: Religiöser Fanatismus oder Rassenwahn?*, in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 260 (1995), 719–748, here 722–723.

132 *Ibidem*, 724, 746.

133 HERING TORRES: *Rassismus in der Vormoderne* (see n. 15), 249.

134 NIRENBERG: *Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of “Jewish” Blood in Late Medieval Spain* (see n. 126), 234–235.

135 HERING TORRES: *Rassismus in der Vormoderne* (see n. 15), 249.

136 WALZ: *Der vormoderne Antisemitismus* (see n. 131), 743.

137 NIRENBERG: *Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of “Jewish” Blood in Late Medieval Spain* (see n. 126), 234–235.

development and transformation of racism and the various forms of racism are taken into account in Walz's proposal to adopt a multi-phase growth model. He writes:

"A multi-phase growth model that cannot be reduced to an almost universal-historical dyad (e.g. before 1870/after 1870) has more historical likelihood than a polemical explanation boiling down to one cause."<sup>138</sup>

Walz specifically rejects a strict separation between modern and premodern racism. For the following study, I have decided to adopt the model of genealogical racism for the Early Modern Era and in particular for the ideology of blood purity. With a view to the assumed hybrid forms, I would like to study exactly how strongly the religious argumentation and the argumentation based on natural philosophy and medicine were represented and how they interacted with each other. I am well aware that the two argumentative areas cannot be strictly separated, but must be considered in connection with each other. With regard to these connections and the general heterogeneity and complexity encountered when dealing with forms of racism and their history, I would like to take Nirenberg's warning to heart:

"The history of this idea is not the history of a train of thought, whose wagons can be ordered by class and whose itinerary may be mapped across time and space, but that of a principle of locomotion so general that any account of its origins, applications, and transmission will always be constrained by our ignorance (or to put it more charitably, by what we recognize as significant). We cannot solve this difficulty by cutting ('race did not exist before modernity'), by stitching ('race has always already existed') or by refusing to talk about what cannot be clearly defined ('race does not exist, and race does not have a history')."<sup>139</sup>

As far as the causes of racism are concerned, I believe that our ignorance is all too clear. It seems to us that xenophobia has shifted from premodernity to modernity in Western Europe, from a focus on religious difference to a focus on ethnic difference. At the same time, in both cases, as Günther Schlee<sup>140</sup> demonstrates in the emergence of enemy images, we do not see the actual causes of the conflicts with the categories of religion and ethnicity, but rather above all elements of their ongoing trajectories.

In the following, religion and ethnicity will be taken into consideration in their role as elements in the trajectory of conflicts – the ideology of blood purity in this case. It is therefore primarily not a question of from where and why, but of how.

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<sup>138</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; "Ein mehrphasiges Wachstumsmodell, das nicht in die Form einer fast universalgeschichtlichen Dyade (z. B. vor 1870/nach 1870) gebracht werden kann, hat mehr historische Wahrscheinlichkeit als eine Zuspitzung der Erklärung auf eine Ursache." WALZ: *Der vormoderne Antisemitismus* (see n. 131), 746.

<sup>139</sup> NIRENBERG: *Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of "Jewish" Blood in Late Medieval Spain* (see n. 126), 261–262.

<sup>140</sup> Günther SCHLEE: *Wie Feindbilder entstehen: Eine Theorie religiöser und ethnischer Konflikte*, Munich 2006, 7–22.





## 2 The Impure Blood of New Christian Wet Nurses

In this chapter I will analyze the accusation spread on the Iberian Peninsula in the Early Modern Age that New Christian wet nurses contaminated Old Christian children with their impure blood by giving them their breast milk. However, the ideologists of blood purity did not just warn against the hiring of New Christian wet nurses, they also report of a ban on New Christian wet nurses for infants in the Spanish royal house. In order to get to the bottom of this accusation and the associated ban, the first step is to examine the importance of wet nurse's breast milk and mother's breast milk in early modern medicine. The second step involves an analysis of medieval legislation as the *status quo ante* for the early modern *status quo*, with the question revolving around the extent to which there were bans on Jewish wet nurses in Christian households and vice versa in both Christian and Jewish legislation. In the third step, both the accusation in general and the ban specifically are discussed, and their backgrounds are explained.

In regard to the latest research,<sup>141</sup> it is necessary to say that most research on the Iberian region to date has centered on wet nurses in orphanages, the *inclusas*<sup>142</sup> and royal wet nurses.<sup>143</sup> Particular attention has been paid to aspects such as the support of wet nurses. Studies like those presented by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber<sup>144</sup> on wet nursing practice in the city of Florence are still lacking for the Iberian Peninsula. However, it is necessary to remember in this context that the source material from Klapisch-Zuber – the *ricordanze*, the Florentine household diaries – offers very good information on wet nursing practice. Whether similar material can also be found for the Iberian Peninsula must be left open at this point.

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<sup>141</sup> In this respect, see Emilie L. BERGMANN: *Milking the Poor: Wet-nursing and the Sexual Economy of Early Modern Spain*, in: Eugene LAKARRA LANZ (ed.): *Marriage and Sexuality in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, New York 2002, 90–114, here 105; Emilie L. BERGMANN: *Language and “Mother’s Milk”: Maternal Roles and the Nurturing Body in Early Modern Spanish Texts*, in: Naomi J. MILLER/Naomi YAVNEH (eds.): *Maternal Measures*, Aldershot et al. 2000, 105–120, here 112–113.

<sup>142</sup> Claude LARQUIÉ: *Les milieux nourriciers des enfants madrilènes au XVIIe siècle*, in: *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 19 (1983), 221–242; Joan SHERWOOD: *Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Women and Children of the Inclusa*, Toronto and Buffalo 1988.

<sup>143</sup> Eduardo MONTAGUT: *Criadas y nodrizas en la casa real: Sus recompensas: varas de alguaciles de casa y corte*, in: *Torre de los Lujanes. Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* 20 (1992), 73–92; María del Carmen SIMÓN PALMER: *La cocina de Palacio 1561–1931*, Madrid 1997, 17–20; Miguel Ángel GACHO SANTAMARÍA: *Médicos y nodrizas de la Corte española (1625–1830)*, in: *Reales sitios. Revista del Patrimonio Nacional* 124 (1995), 57–63; CORTÉS ECHÁNOVE: *Nacimiento y crianza de personas reales en la corte de España 1566–1886* (see n. 99).

<sup>144</sup> Christiane KLAPISCH-ZUBER: *Blood Parents and Milk Parents: Wet Nursing in Florence, 1300–1530*, in: *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago et al. 1985, 132–162.

The importance of wet nurses in early modern Spanish literature has been analyzed, among others, by Carolyn A. Nadeau<sup>145</sup> and Emilie L. Bergmann.<sup>146</sup> The connections between the ideology of blood purity and the idea of contaminated New Christian breast milk<sup>147</sup> are repeatedly mentioned in the literature, but have not been studied closely yet. I have therefore decided to start by focusing on the sources in detail.

## 2.1 Wet Nurse's Milk and Mother's Milk in Early Modern Medicine

In the 16th and 17th century, the discussion of topics related to gynecology and pediatrics intensified, with works specifically dedicated to these topics and written mostly in Spanish. An initial overview of these publications is provided by the series of historical studies on nursing in Spain, *Estudio histórico de la enfermería en España*. Ana Martínez Molina published this series of early modern volumes on gynecology and pediatrics, with each preceded by short summaries. The fifth volume is a comparative study of the presented works, which, however, turns out to be quite short.<sup>148</sup>

Essentially, early modern medicine, especially in the 16th and 17th century, was still based on the four humors doctrine, Galen's Humoralism. Although a whole range of new body models were developed in medicine at the time,<sup>149</sup> it will be seen that they did not play a role for the three bodily traits attributed to the Conversos and in part to the Moriscos. With regard to Galen's four humors doctrine, it should be emphasized that the early modern physicians not only took up the medical theories of Antiquity, but also thoroughly reinterpreted them. In addition, the focus shifted due to the biologicistic change in Iberian medicine over the course of the 16th century, which is discussed in more detail in chapter 2.3 *The Early Modern Ban on New Christian Wet Nurses*. Apart from this, it is difficult to speak of early modern medicine in general, as quite different theories were propagated and discussed by the physicians. This can be seen in the following chapter with regard to the early modern debate over whether wet nurse's milk or mother's milk is preferable for the health of a child.

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<sup>145</sup> Carolyn A. NADEAU: Blood Mother/Milk Mother: Breastfeeding, the Family, and the State in Antonio de Guevara's "Relox de Príncipes" (Dial of Princes), in: *Hispanic Review* 69 (2001), 153–174.

<sup>146</sup> BERGMANN: Milking the Poor (see n. 141); BERGMANN: Language and "Mother's Milk" (see n. 141).

<sup>147</sup> Max Sebastián HERING TORRES: Saberes médicos – saberes teológicos: De mujeres y hombres anómalos, in: ID. (ed.): *Cuerpos anómalos*, Bogotá 2008, 101–130, here 112–119; Mariló VIGIL: *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 (revised edition), Madrid 1994, 126–139.

<sup>148</sup> Ana MARTÍNEZ MOLINA: *La profesión de la matrona según el tratado de Damià Carbó (Siglo XVI)*, Estudio histórico de la enfermería en España I, Valencia 1994; Ana MARTÍNEZ MOLINA: *La profesión de la matrona según el tratado de Luis de Lobera de Ávila (Siglo XVI)*, Estudio histórico de la enfermería en España II, Valencia 1994; Ana MARTÍNEZ MOLINA: *Los cuidados pediátricos según los tratados materno-infantiles del siglo XVI*, Estudio histórico de la enfermería en España V, Valencia 1995; Ana MARTÍNEZ MOLINA: *La profesión de la matrona según el tratado de Francisco Núñez de Coria (Siglo XVI)*, Estudio histórico de la enfermería en España III, Valencia 1995; Ana MARTÍNEZ MOLINA: *La profesión de la matrona según el tratado de Juan Alonso Ruyzes de Fontecha (Siglo XVII)*, Estudio histórico de la enfermería en España IV, Valencia 1995.

<sup>149</sup> See Silvia de RENZI: *Old and New Models of the Body*, in: Peter ELMER (ed.): *The Healing Arts*, Manchester 2004, 166–195.

### 2.1.1 Discussion: Wet Nurse's Milk or Mother's Milk

The question of whether early modern mothers should nurse their children themselves or employ a wet nurse for this task reveals a clear divergence between social practice and medical theory. While it was common practice for the middle and upper classes in society on the Iberian Peninsula to hire a wet nurse to care for an infant, the physicians of the time never tired of stressing that nursing by the biological mother was always preferable to nursing by a wet nurse. The physician Juan Alonso y de los Ruyzes de Fontecha (1560–1620) adopts a clear position in his publication *Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas*.<sup>150</sup>

Born in Daimiel, a village in the La Mancha region, Fontecha first studied medicine in Alcalá de Henares. There he also held the Chair of Medicine before he was appointed to the University of Bologna. His work on the ten privileges for pregnant women is dedicated to his patron, Doña Juana de Velasco y Aragón, Duchess of Gandía, Marquise of Lombay and Countess of Oliva.<sup>151</sup> Unlike many of his colleagues, Ruyzes de Fontecha conveys an extremely positive image of women and is not afraid to question an authority from Antiquity such as Aristotle.

This can be seen above all in his conception of procreation where the physician ascribes an active role to women contrary to the common Aristotelian-influenced views. Furthermore, he categorically rejects Aristotle's assumption of the natural imperfection of the female sex, the woman as imperfect man.

In his conception of procreation, Aristotle objected to the two-semen theory, which assumed a female and a male sperm that would combine with each other during conception. Galen advocated such a theory on the basis of Hippocrates. Aristotle, by contrast, sees the male sperm and the female menstrual blood as responsible for procreation. He defines the sperm as actively shaping (form), while the menstrual blood passively delivers the substance (matter). The sperm plays the decisive role in the formation of the embryo. Aristotle also saw this in the general difference between man and woman, as postulated by him, since he assumed that woman was given a smaller share of innate warmth than man. For perfect procreation, the child would have to be male and exactly like the father. In the case of variations, which Aristotle already interprets as malformations, the strength of the sperm is weakened by the menstrual blood. Thus, woman, according to Aristotle, can be defined as a malformation, which, however, is indispensable for the survival of mankind.<sup>152</sup>

Interestingly, Ruyzes de Fontecha refutes Aristotle on the basis of Aristotle by comparing different texts of the philosopher. Specifically, he cites chapters 10 and 11 of the *Metaphysics* in order to take ideas from *De generatione animalium* and reduce them ad absurdum. In this context, it should be emphasized that the Aristotelian conception of procreation in *De generatione animalium* still belonged to the canon of common doctrines at the time of Ruyzes de Fontecha. It is precisely

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<sup>150</sup> Ten Privileges for Pregnant Women.

<sup>151</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to exactly reconstruct her date of birth and death, but she made a statement on the question of elevating Teresa of Ávila to a saint in 1609. Teresa of ÁVILA: *Escritos de Santa Teresa II*, Biblioteca de autores españoles 55, Madrid: 1879, Número 10, 380–381.

<sup>152</sup> Erna LESKY: Die Zeugungs- und Vererbungslehren der Antike und ihr Nachwirken, *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jahrgang 1950*, no. 19, Wiesbaden 1951, in regard to Aristotle, see 1349–1383, in regard to Galen, see 1402–1403.

this circumstance that may have prompted the Spanish physician to pursue his strategy of a self-refutation of Aristotle. Accordingly, he states the following:

“It shows that the relationship of the mother to the child must be based on active potency: that the mother is the point of reference for the child is also found in Aristotelian doctrine, in books 10 and 11 of *Metaphysics*. What can be clearly concluded is that since there is only one specific relationship in a child and this relationship cannot have more than two endpoints, the mother actively contributes to the procreation, through active potency, like the father. And so she remains a perfect principle otherwise in nature and for procreation and not faulty and imperfect.”<sup>153</sup>

Fontecha uses the specific relationship of the mother to the child developing in her womb as the main argument. By pointing out that a relationship strictly cannot comprise more than two endpoints, the author emphasizes that the man at this point is completely excluded from the relationship. Consequently, according to Fontecha, he can no longer appear as an active part in this context. However, in accordance with this theory, since there must be activity – after all, this can be clearly observed during the course of the pregnancy due to the swelling of the abdomen, the external and thus evident sign of a developing fetus – only the woman herself remains for active potency. By conceding such an autonomous, independent power, the physician can subsequently define the female sex as a perfect principle of nature and thus also a perfect principle of procreation.

Ruyzes de Fontecha deviates considerably from the Aristotelian approach. In her dissertation on ancient doctrines of procreation and heredity, Erna Lesky, unlike her predecessors, was able to show that in Aristotle himself, even in his main work on the theory of procreation, *De generatione animalium*,<sup>154</sup> there are passages in which he deviates from his strict juxtaposition of form and matter and grants an active power of movement to the female menstrual blood,<sup>155</sup> but by no means to the extent that Ruyzes de Fontecha presents it in his remarks.

Not only with regard to procreation, but also in terms of the usefulness of a wet nurse, the mother-child relationship is at the center of the physician's argumentation. In this regard, Ruyzes de Fontecha refers to a passage from the book *De hominis generatione* by the famous French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1509?–1590). This says that the wet nurse's milk gives the child not only the necessary nutrition, but also its *mores*, that is, character or customs.

Since Antiquity it had been assumed in natural philosophical and medical circles that the character of a person was mainly dependent on the physical constellation, but also on the external

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153 “Queda que la relacion, que dize la madre al hijo, se ha de fundar en la potencia activa: que la madre sea referida al hijo, tiene fundamento tambien en la doctrina de Aristoteles, en el 10. y. 11. de la Methaphysica. De donde se sigue claramente, que como en el hijo no aya mas de una relacion especifica, y esta no pueda tener dos terminos en rigor, que la madre concurre a la generacion activamente, mediante potencia activa, como el padre, y assi queda, como principio perfecto, y no como defectuoso, é imperfecto en la naturaleza, y para la generacion.” Juan Alonso y de los RUYZES DE FONTECHA: *Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas*, Alcalá de Henares: Por Luys Martynez Grande, 1606, 18r–18v.

154 *Generation of Animals*.

155 LESKY: *Die Zeugungs- und Vererbungslehren der Antike und ihr Nachwirken* (see n. 152), 1376–1377.

circumstances, above all nutrition and climatic conditions. According to those circles, heredity as well as the environment and education therefore play an important role in a person's character. The fact that these areas were closely connected with each other is impressively demonstrated by the theory of character influence by wet nurse's milk.

The physician Galen (129–216 CE), whose ancient writings significantly influenced early modern medicine, even wrote his own treatise titled *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*<sup>156</sup> on the problem of the relationship between character and bodily humors. The medical historian Luis García Ballester commented and translated Galen's treatise into Spanish. He believes that Galen binds the character of man and thus his moral qualities to the constitution of the body, i.e. above all to the constellation of humors, which forms the basis of Galen's Humoralism:

“He [Galen] made the moral life and all mental manifestations of man dependent on the constitution of the body, viewed from the physiological conceptions of the humoral doctrine. This is the thesis that he tries to present and prove throughout the treatise *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*.”<sup>157</sup>

According to Galen's theory, character is determined by complexion, the composition of the four body humors. Galen speaks of the fact that “[...] the actions and affects of the soul are a consequence of the temperaments of the body.”<sup>158</sup> Complexion, in turn, is congenital on the one hand, but also considerably influenced by the environment on the other:

“Unless it is assumed, for example, that the soul of man can become better or worse through the winds and warmth and cold of the air surrounding them, as well as through the properties of water and nutrition, the aforementioned circumstances would not cause good and bad qualities of the soul on the way through the bodily temperaments, since these too are a consequence of the prudence of men. But we know exactly that every food is first swallowed down into the stomach, pre-digested in it and then absorbed by the vessels leading from the liver to it and forms the humors of the body through which all other parts are nourished and thus also the brain, heart and liver. In the course of this nourishment process, however, they become warmer, colder or moister than usual by adapting to the essence of the humors that predominate. Therefore, those who do not want to accept that nutrition can make some more prudent, others more unrestrained, some more controlled, others more uncontrolled, should accept the reasoning now that nutrition can produce boldness and cowardice, gentleness and

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<sup>156</sup> That the qualities of the mind depend on the temperament of the body.

<sup>157</sup> “Hizo depender [Galen] la vida moral y todas las manifestaciones psíquicas del hombre del estado del cuerpo, visto este desde los esquemas fisiológicos de la doctrina humoral. Esta es la tesis que intentara exponer y demostrar a todo lo largo del tratado *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*.” GARCÍA BALLESTER: *Alma y enfermedad* en la obra de Galeno (see n. 95), 101.

<sup>158</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder from German translation by Erika Hauke: GALEN: *Daß die Vermögen der Seele eine Folge der Mischungen des Körpers sind*, trans. by Erika HAUKE, reprint Nendeln, Liechtenstein 1977 (first edition Berlin 1937), 18; “[...] funciones animi et affectus corporis imitari temperamentum [...]” GALENUS: *Opera omnia*, vol. 4, Hildesheim 1964, 787.

mildness, bellicosity and jealousy, and they should come to me to learn what they must eat and what they must drink.”<sup>159</sup>

Galen thus vehemently rejects the theory that the environment has a direct influence on the human soul. Using nutrition as an example, he explains that this alone determines complexion. In his reasoning, nutrition is processed and then actively influences the composition of the four bodily humors. The humors, in turn, influence the character. In Galen’s theory, physical complexion assumes a mediating position between environment and character.

The fact that the early modern physicians were quite familiar with Galen’s writings can be proven by the example of the physician Juan Gutiérrez de Godoy (1579–1656), who writes in his treatise published in 1629 and titled *Tres discursos para provar que estan obligadas a criar sus hijos a sus pechos todas las madres*.<sup>160</sup>

“I would like to prove that the inclinations and good or bad customs gain access [to the child] through the milk. [...] To extract this truth from its roots and foundations, it is necessary to assume as Galen that the inclinations and good or bad customs are accounted for by the temperance of the body. Thus, he proves it in detail with Aristotle and Plato in a book that he wrote only to provide this proof, and the title is: *Quod animi mores temperaturam [sic] sequuntur*.”<sup>161</sup>

Galen’s writing apparently had a strong influence on Gutiérrez de Godoy. Accordingly, he quotes the title of the work right in the body of his text and not only in a gloss – as he usually does – addressing chapter seven of the work in particular and treating it at length.

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159 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder from the German translation by Hauke: GALEN: Daß die Vermögen der Seele eine Folge der Mischungen des Körpers sind (see n. 158), 30; “Jam vero sunt qui negent, propter ventos, aëris ambientis caliditatem frigiditatemque et aquarum ac alimenti naturam homines praestantiorum atque pejorem animum acquirere posse; ab his vero ipsis, non intervenientibus corporis temperamentis, bona et mala in animo effici; haec namque virorum prudentiam consequuntur. Verum illud nos clare novimus, scilicet alimentum quodque primo in ventriculum quidem demitti ac in eo prius confici, postea vero per venas ex hepate ad ipsum pertinentes attractum humores in corpore creare, ex quibus reliqua membra et una cum ipsu cerebrum, cor et jecur nutriuntur. At inter alendum calidiores quam prius evadunt, frigidiores et humidiores, dum facultati humorum praepollentium assimilantur. Saltem nunc ad mentem redeant, qui difficulter admittunt, nutrimentum efficere posse hos temperantiores, illos dissolutos magis, alios incontinentes, nonnullos frugales, confidentes, meticulosos, mansuetos, modestos et contentionis ac rixae studiosos, veniantque ad me audituri, quae ipsos edere, quae item potare conveniat.” GALENUS: Opera omnia (see n. 158), 807–808.

160 Three Discourses to prove that All Mothers must nurse their Children themselves.

161 “Quiero pues provar que las inclinaciones, y costumbres buenas o malas se introduzen con la leche. [...] Para sacar en limpio esta verdad de sus rayzes, y fundamentos, es necessario suponer con Galenos, que las inclinaciones, y costumbres buenas ò malas, sigun la templança del cuerpo: assi lo prueba largamente con Aristoteles, y con Platon en un libro que hizo, solo para provar este intento, y es su titulo. *Quod animi mores corporis temperaturam [sic] sequuntur*.” Juan de GUTIÉRREZ DE GODOY: *Tres discursos para provar que estan obligadas a criar sus hijos a sus pechos todas las madres quando tienen buena salud, fuerças, y buen temperamento, buena leche, y suficiente para alimentarlos*, Jaen: Por Pedro de la Cuesta, 1629, 91v–92r.

Antiquity's idea of a transfer of character through wet nurse's milk illustrates the close connection between the factors of environment, complexion and character. "The wet nurse must be well-mannered at the same time."<sup>162</sup> Paré puts it briefly and succinctly in a gloss of his book *De hominis generatione*<sup>163</sup> and states further in the accompanying text: "She has to be well-mannered because the customs of the wet nurses are transferred to the infants together with the milk."<sup>164</sup> In the first edition of this book, which is written in French, the wet nurse's influence is emphasized even more clearly in the corresponding chapter when Paré stresses:

"She [the wet nurse] should be well-behaved and well-mannered because the child has received so much character, after his father and mother, from their wet nurse on account of the milk that they drank. [...]."<sup>165</sup>

Since, according to Paré, the wet nurse has the greatest influence on the child after the parents, it is not surprising that her personality was given a high priority when assessing her suitability. The Majorcan physician Damián Carbón († 1554) even goes a little further with this idea by stressing that the wet nurse's influence on the child's personality, the child's *costumbres*, should be valued more highly than that of their parents. Therefore, the author of a midwife handbook relies on the authority of Avicenna (980–1037) and explains as follows:

"And therefore the text says that it was forbidden for a foolish woman to nurse. And it also says that a child gets more from the wet nurse's customs than from the father's or mother's. And so it is necessary to be careful that the wet nurse is well-mannered and discreet."<sup>166</sup>

Compared to Paré's point of view, the wet nurse is thus given a much higher priority than the parents with regard to influencing the child's character. Carbón finds prominent company with this idea. The Hispanist Carolyn Nadeau shows that the Mirror for Princes *Relox de Príncipes* (1529)<sup>167</sup> by Antonio de Guevara (1481–1545), which was popular at that time, classified the influence of the wet nurse as higher than that of the mother. Nadeau sums up her findings by stating:

"This conclusion reiterates one of Guevara's major points in his introductory remarks on breastfeeding, that the impact of nurturance outweighs the effects of nature."<sup>168</sup>

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162 "Qualiter moratam nutricem debeat." Ambroise PARÉ: *Opera Ambrosii Parei Regis Primarii et Parisiensis Chirurgi*, Paris, 1582, URL: [ark:/12148/cb37251411q](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63062-p0111-9) (visited on 27/02/2019), 690.

163 On the Procreation of Mankind.

164 "Bene morata sit, quia nutricum mores unà cum lacte in natos abeunt." PARÉ: *Opera Ambrosii Parei Regis Primarii et Parisiensis Chirurgi* (see n. 162), 690.

165 "Semblablement qu'elle [la nourrice] soit sage, & bien morigeree, car l'enfant ne tire tant du naturel à personne, apres le pere & la mere, que de sa nourrice, à raison du lait qui tette [...]." Ambroise PARÉ: *Deux livres de chirurgie, de la génération de l'homme, & manière d'extraire les enfans hors du ventre de la mère*, Paris, 1573, URL: [ark:/12148/bpt6k53958h](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63062-p0111-9) (visited on 27/02/2019), 110–111.

166 "Y por esso dize el texto. Fue prohibida la estolida no dicesse a mamar y mas dize que mas trae las costumbres el niño de la ama que del padre ni de la madre / y por esso es de mucho mirar que sea bien morigerada y discreta." Damián CARBÓN: *Libro del arte de las Comadres o madrinas y del regimiento de las preñadas y paridas y de los niños*, Valencia 2000 (first edition Mallorca 1541), LV1r.

167 Dial of Princes.

168 NADEAU: *Blood Mother/Milk Mother* (see n. 145), 167.

This greater importance placed on nursing as compared to the influence of procreation and birth leads Carbón to conclude that the wet nurse's character should also be taken into consideration all the more carefully. Interestingly, the authors use the adjective *morigeree* or *morigerada* derived from the Latin *morigerari*, that is, *morem gerere*, a word that is hardly used in writings otherwise, to describe the wet nurse's ideal character. With this choice of words, which already literally contains the *mores*, the customs, and the corresponding addition *bien*, that is, good, they refer unmistakably to the conceptions of medical character study.

Examples from the animal world are then cited by Paré as proof of a transfer of the temper through the wet nurse's milk. In fact, he argued that young puppies raised by wolves, for example, are wilder, and the fur of goats fed by sheep is harder, while in reverse the wool of lambs is softened by a goat as wet nurse. Drawing on the animal world for argumentative support is an approach found, among others, in the theologian and physician Blas Álvarez Miravall, who cites the breeding of dogs in his work *The Preservation of Health*, with reference to the late-antique Roman author Columella († c. 70 CE):

“There are many statements by influential authors regarding the great energy and effectiveness that the good milk of one's own mother has to raise her children and make them intelligent and well-mannered. Accordingly, we discover that it [the mother's milk] has the same power in all other animals as Columella teaches in book seven, *De re rustica*, in chapter twelve, where he says: We do not allow the dogs that we want to be of good temper and generous manners to be left to other mothers for rearing because the milk and vigor of the mother provide the greatest sagacity and the best physical disposition.”<sup>169</sup>

According to Álvarez Miravall, who draws on the statements of Columella, mother's milk makes such a contribution to the character and mental development of the puppies that the rearing of the young by other females in dog breeding is out of the question. This leads him to conclude that the same also applies to humans. Nursing by one's own mother is therefore indispensable so that the children can thrive with the best possible character and intelligence.

Here it is possible to clearly see another aspect that was already echoed in the quotation from Damián Carbón's midwife handbook. In addition to character traits, these authors also find that mother's or wet nurse's milk transfers intellectual abilities, i.e., in the worst case, foolishness, which is why according to Carbón – in reference to Avicenna – a foolish woman is not allowed to nurse, and, in the best case, intellect and sagacity, *ingenio* and *sagacidad*, as Álvarez Miravall says. In order to remove any doubts about the importance of mother's milk for the development of the child, he even draws a comparison to sperm fluid:

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169 “Son muchos los testimonios de graves autores, de la grande energia y eficacia que tiene la buena leche de la propia madre, para criar sus hijos, y para que tengan buen ingenio y buenas costumbres: pues vemos que en todos los demas animales tiene la misma fuerça, como lo enseña Columela, en el libro septimo, de re rustica, en el capitulo doze, adonde dize, no consentiremos que los perros que deseamos que sean de buen natural y generosas costumbres, se den a criar a otras madres, porque siempre la leche y el vigor de la madre da mayor sagacidad, y mejor dispusicion [sic] de cuerpo.” Blas ÁLVAREZ MIRAVALL: *La conservación de la salud*, Salamanca: En casa de Andres Renaut, 1601, 34v–35r.



“Therefore, it is not for nothing that many have thought that just as the power and nature of the sperm is of great virtue and effect for predetermining the similarity of the mind and body, so too does milk have no less effect on the intellect and qualities of a child.”<sup>170</sup>

While the physical and mental similarity between father and child is essentially due to the active power of sperm fluid, the mother shapes the intellect and qualities of the child through milk. Thus, Álvarez Miravall regards mother's milk as a counterpart to the male sperm fluid, and its effect on the child should not be underestimated by any means.

While the argument of the transfer of intellectual abilities can only be found sporadically in early modern medical literature, the conviction that the mother is to be preferred to the wet nurse in every case meets with broad consensus. Ruyzes de Fontecha adopts an even more polemical position. He uses the text passage with Paré's examples from the animal world and concludes that the wet nurse's milk can never achieve the quality of the mother's milk, even if the mother is not as healthy as the wet nurse, because the mother's qualities, *las condiciones*, cannot be possessed by the wet nurse under any circumstances.

“It could be that someone, due to this sentence [it refers to the previous quotation from Ambroise Paré's text], and rightly so, says that it is therefore clear that the mother's milk is to be valued more highly than the wet nurse's, even if the wet nurse possesses the best qualities that one can imagine; the wet nurse one has been looking for can never be of such constitution, sort and talent, the qualities gained through the wet nurse's milk will never match those of the mother, not even with regard to health, even if the mother may not appear as healthy as the wet nurse.”<sup>171</sup>

According to Ruyzes de Fontecha, the best possible character qualities and physical constitution for the child are possessed solely by his own mother. This does not mean, of course, that all mothers automatically match the ideal conceptions that serve as the basis for the selection of a wet nurse. Mothers may have a number of shortcomings in this respect, but they remain the ideal choice for the child despite such weaknesses. By contrast, the previously mentioned ideal conceptions of, primarily, character are only helpful guidelines for doctors and parents to select the wet nurse if the ideal choice, the child's own mother, is not available.

### 2.1.2 Qualities of a Good Wet Nurse

Damián Carbón, Luis Lobera de Ávila, Juan Alonso y de los Ruyzes de Fontecha and Luis Mercado, among others, address the question of what qualities a potential wet nurse should have in order to

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170 “Porlo qual no en balde muchos han pensado, que de la misma manera que la fuerça y naturaleza de la simiente es de mucha virtud y effecto para fingir la semejança del animo y del cuerpo: assi ni mas ni menos la leche haze mucho al caso para el ingenio y propiedades del infante.” *Ibidem*, 35v, inaccurate pagination.

171 “Podra ser diga alguno, y con razon, desta sentencia, bien claro consta, que importa mas la leche de la madre, que no de la Ama, aunque tenga las condiciones que mejores se puedan pintar: porque si nunca es de tales prendas, suerte, ni talento, el Ama que se busco, no llegaran las condiciones que mama en la leche del Ama, a las de la madre, ni aun a la disposicion de la salud, aunque no parezca tan bien sana la madre, como el Ama.” RUYZES DE FONTECHA: *Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas* (see n. 153), 166v.

live up to the prevailing ideal conceptions. Luis Mercado (1520–1606) has a special place in this group of medical authors, as he was the only one in this group to write his work on gynecology in Latin, therefore also focusing more on a scholarly audience. In addition, his writings were regarded as reference works for many physicians of his time, and the greatest deviations from the other three authors can be found in his work. In a certain way, his work serves more as a kind of contrast foil to the three Spanish language works.

A comparison of the various works by the authors reveals that five qualities, i.e. conditions or *condiciones*, as it says in the texts, are mentioned by all four physicians. A clear overview is provided in chapter 34 of the midwife handbook by Damián Carbón,<sup>172</sup> which deals with the selection of the wet nurse based on her signs, *por sus señales*. The five qualities that play a role in the choice of the ideal wet nurse are listed in order. 1) First, the best possible age is determined. Accordingly, the wet nurse should be middle-aged, preferably between 25 and 36 years old. Here, Carbón differs from his colleagues, who set the maximum age at 35. 2) Second, attention is paid to the figure and skin color, especially the wet nurse's face color, although the definitions of a good figure and good skin color differ. 3) Third, good customs, *buenas costumbres*, are mentioned in Carbón. What exactly the authors understand by this concept is again subject to slight variations. 4) Fourth, the shape of the breasts and their corresponding quality are mentioned. 5) Finally, the suitability of the wet nurse's milk itself is discussed, i.e. what properties it must have in order to guarantee the best possible quality for the child and what methods can be used to test it.

Not quite as well ordered as it is in Carbón, but defined more concisely, Ruyzes de Fontecha formulates the ideal qualities of a wet nurse based on the African physician Moschion,<sup>173</sup> whom Luis Mercado<sup>174</sup> uses for orientation incidentally:

“She must be pretty, and the body must have a good coloring (one shouldn't just rely on the color of the face because there are inventive and artificial, even very well applied things that sometimes make it look natural). She should have given birth twice (so that the milk is at least from the second birth). Her chest should be wide, but she should have neither large breasts, nor falling, nor wrinkled, nor very small or hard ones. The nipples should be neither rough nor porous. She should be cheerful, lively, loving, soft and gentle in nature, pleasant, clean, healthy, modest and moderate in her eating and drinking habits, so that she avoids satiety and drunkenness.”<sup>175</sup>

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172 See CARBÓN: *Libro del arte de las Comadres o madrinas y del regimiento de las preñadas y paridas y de los niños* (see n. 166), LVV–LVIV.

173 Ruyzes de Fontecha calls him Moschion, but the African doctor is Mustio (Muscio), who lived in the 6th century CE and wrote a kind of midwife textbook in Latin based on the Greek work *Gynecology* by Soranus of Ephesus. In this regard, see: Diethard NICKEL: *Text und Bild im antiken medizinischen Schrifttum*, in: *Akademie-Journal* 1 (2005), 16–20, here 20.

174 Luis de MERCADO: *De mulierum affectionibus, libri quatuor*, Madrid: Apud Thomam Iuntam, 1594, 529.

175 “Que ha de ser moça de buen color del cuerpo, (no devio de querer se fiase de solo el del rostro, por lo que suele aver de imbencion, y artificio, tambien assentado, que algunas vezes parece natural), que aya parido dos vezes (desuerte que sea la leche por lo menos, de segundo parto) ancha de pecho, no tenga las tetas muy grandes, caydas ni arrugadas, ni tampoco muy pequeñas, ni duras, ni de peçones asperos, ni hoyosos, alegre, animosa, amorosa, blanda, suave

While Ruyzes de Fontecha mentions the aspects of face color and makeup in detail to warn his readers against possible fraudulent maneuvers – and in particular against a pretense of health – Luis Mercado also sees other dangers in makeup. He fears that above all the lead white used for makeup could harm and disfigure the child.<sup>176</sup>

The lists by Carbón und Ruyzes de Fontecha show that suitability criteria take very different aspects into account. The right coloring seems to be just as important as a certain mood. Character and physical traits are connected with each other without any recognizable hierarchy. The fact that the authors do not separate the different argumentative fields may have something to do with their orientation on the models of Antiquity, but they also take account of the overall picture more strongly and see components such as psyche and physique as inseparably connected with each other. Finally, the emotional state and character traits were evaluated as a consequence of the complexion and, thus, nose bleeding was as much a part of the remit of the early modern physician as melancholy and lovesickness. Nevertheless, there is generally a clear emphasis on primarily physical handicaps in medical work.

Against this background, it is initially surprising that Ruyzes de Fontecha – unlike his early modern colleagues – takes a second step and distinguishes between physique and psyche, which the modern reader – in contrast to the premodern one – almost expects. However, if one looks at the corresponding passage in the context, it becomes clear that Ruyzes de Fontecha uses this categorization to define his own field of work. Accordingly, he writes:

“The other qualities [cheerful, lively, loving, soft and gentle in nature, pleasant, clean, healthy, modest] except for the last two [moderate in her eating and drinking habits] prove, as one can clearly see, the morality and thus belong to it, and its ‘why’ is also completely clear as a result.”<sup>177</sup>

Ruyzes de Fontecha assigns emotional states and character traits, including cleanliness and health, to morality. These do not need any further explanation for him since the character requirements would result from the fact that the customs and therefore also the morality of the wet nurses would be transferred to the child by the breast milk. The fundamental concern for the wet nurse's moral aptitude is therefore obvious to him.

Previously, Ruyzes de Fontecha concentrated on the physical aspects in his writings and explained them in detail, that is, the correct skin color, two births, appearance and shape of the breasts and nipples, as well as the moderation of the nursing woman's eating and drinking behavior. Ruyzes de Fontecha uses the new arrangement of the various conditions for a brief explanation of why he does not have to deal in as much detail with the aspects he assigned to morality as he already did with the physical aspects. However, he does not intend to establish a hierarchy. For his time, therefore,

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de condicion, agradable, y limpia, sana, modesta, y moderada en comer, y beber: desuerte que huyga hartazgas, y embriaguezes.” RUYZES DE FONTECHA: Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas (see n. 153), 164v.

<sup>176</sup> MERCADO: De mulierum affectionibus, libri quatuor (see n. 174), 530.

<sup>177</sup> “Las demas condiciones [alegre, animosa, amorosa, blanda, suave de condicion, agradable, y limpia, sana, modesta], hasta las dos ultimas [moderada en comer y beber], bien se ve, pruevan, y pertenecen a lo moral, y assi su porque, esta bien claro.” RUYZES DE FONTECHA: Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas (see n. 153), 166r.

Ruyzes de Fontecha and his catalog of criteria, is more the rule than the exception, apart from his categorization. Gerónimo Soriano, a contemporary physician and author of a specialized text on children's illnesses and diseases, for example, provides a very similar description of the ideal wet nursing woman:

“Make sure that the woman who is to nurse is neither too fat nor too pale and lean, that she does not work too hard nor is too idle; that she is gentle, cheerful and has good customs and is not wanton [...].”<sup>178</sup>

Here, too, the equating of physical and moral criteria of suitability is evident. The aspect of cheerfulness seems to play a role that should not be underestimated because Soriano explicitly mentions this quality once again in the chapter on healing tetanus in infants: “The nurse should be cheerful, enjoy herself and be happy; she should avoid sadness and also not feel fear [...].”<sup>179</sup> According to Soriano, the cheerfulness of the wet nurse should be ensured by amusements, but fear and sadness should be avoided under all circumstances. On the one hand, this is an all too understandable concern because it can be assumed that a wet nurse who is good-humored, cautious and therefore balanced in complexion can look after the welfare of the infant better than an anxious, sad or even angry one. Finally, very negative emotions such as anger, sadness and fear in the sense of Galen's Humoralism point to an imbalance in the constellation of humors and thus to illness. The aspect of moderation, a “healthy middle ground,” so to say, therefore played a major role for the early modern physicians and also determined their therapeutic measures. On the other hand, the immense importance attached to breast milk, from either the mother or wet nurse, particularly in medicine, becomes clear in this context because under no circumstances should it be imbalanced or corrupted due to the idea of transfer, as the sources say.

### 2.1.3 The *corrupción* of the Wet Nurse's Milk

Like Carbón, Luis Lobera de Ávila, personal physician of Emperor Charles V, puts the *buenas costumbres* in third place on his list of ideal qualities of a wet nurse and writes in this regard:

“The third condition is that she [the wet nurse] possesses good qualities and customs, is healthy and does not get angry about every little thing, is not sad, nor fearful, nor attracted to gluttony, nor sinful since these things all corrupt the milk and damage the body. And if the child adopts the same quality or inclination as the wet nurse who raises him, the people say when someone wants to blame or praise his mother who raised him or his nurse, they say

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<sup>178</sup> “Procuren, pues, que la que ha de dar el pecho sea mujer no muy gruesa ni muy macilenta y flaca, que no trabaje mucho, ni se esté ociosa; que sea avisada, alegre y de buenas costumbres, no lujuriosa [...].” Gerónimo SORIANO: *Método y orden de curar las enfermedades de los niños*, vol. 8, Biblioteca clásica de la medicina española, Madrid 1929 (first edition Zaragoza 1600), 247–248.

<sup>179</sup> “Alégrese la nodriza, tome placer y huélguese; huya de tristeza, ni tenga temor [...].” *Ibidem*, 95.

that he took up that virtue or that vice with the milk. And that is why you choose nurses with good blood [...].”<sup>180</sup>

The good character required of the nurse here and defined by corresponding negative examples is intended to prevent the “corrupting” of milk. The medically competent authors wanted to refer to the process of corruption by using the terms *corromper* and *corrupción*. Since the Spanish variant refers more to the process than the state, I will use the gerund form corrupting in this sense below to come close to the ideas intended by the authors.

In contrast to his colleagues, Luis Mercado does not use the term corrupting. He points out that scholars in Antiquity such as Aristotles and Hippocrates spoke of a corrupting of milk and meant by this its cooking.<sup>181</sup> Mercado himself prefers to speak of the deficiency of milk, *de lactis defectu*, and uses these words for an entire chapter in his work on gynecology.<sup>182</sup> He also begins with this in his description of illnesses and diseases that may be connected with breast milk. At the beginning of the chapter on the deficiency of milk, he states that nursing women would suffer most frequently from exactly this:

“Of all the illnesses and diseases for which women who have just given birth and are nurses tend to be treated, the deficiency of milk is certainly the most frequent one [...].”<sup>183</sup>

This deficiency can have very different causes. Luis Mercado does not focus on character in this context. However, he mentions the danger of *imbecillitas*, feeble-mindedness, which can be transferred from the mother to the child.<sup>184</sup> As we have seen, Carbón und Álvarez Miravall also mentioned this danger.

By contrast, Lobera de Ávila focuses on morality and character when he writes about the corrupting of milk. He is of the opinion that bad customs harm the body and thus also the milk. In his reasoning, both vice and virtue will be passed from the wet nurse or mother to the child. In this case, the good blood mentioned by the physician means blood that is characterized by its humoral pathological balance. Lobera de Ávila therefore regards good blood as a guarantee for good milk.

At the same time, however, it cannot be ruled out that Lobera de Ávila would also like to refer to the Old Christian blood as good blood, especially since he first mentions virtue and vice beforehand. Accordingly, a moral component was also included in the ideology of blood purity, and the “sinful”

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180 “La tercera condición es que sea de buenas condiciones y costumbres, sana y no se enoje de cada cosa, ni sea triste, ni medrosa, ni muy comedora y viciosa, porque estas cosas todas corrompen la leche y dañan el cuerpo, y aun el niño toma la misma condición o inclinación de la ama que le cría, el vulgo dice cuando alguno quiere vituperar o loar su madre que lo crió o de su ama, dicen que aquella virtud o vicio que mamó en la leche, y por eso se escogen las amas de buena sangre [...]” Luis LOBERA DE ÁVILA: Libro del régimen de la salud, y de la esterilidad de los hombres y mujeres, y de las enfermedades de los niños, y otras cosas utilísimas, Biblioteca clásica de la medicina española 5, Madrid 1923, 266–267.

181 MERCADO: De mulierum affectionibus, libri quatuor (see n. 174), 532.

182 Ibidem, 532–536.

183 “Inter alia vitia, quibus mulieres, quæ pepererunt, & nutrices sunt, affici solent, potissimum profectò est lactis defectu [...]” Ibidem, 532.

184 Ibidem, 533.

New Christians are compared with the “virtuous” Old Christians. The phrase *de buena sangre*, from good blood, is also a classic equivalent for noble lineage, and blood purity was interpreted as a form of Old Christian nobility.<sup>185</sup>

However, the author is not exclusively concerned with the quality of the milk when he demands a well-mannered character for the wet nurse. Adequate care and the satisfaction of the child are also ensured through this:

“Accordingly, it is recommended that the wet nurse have good customs and a good temper because [beyond?] what we have said, if it is not so, she will not take the care that must be provided to nurse the child, nor will she spoil him and keep him happy.”<sup>186</sup>

Lobera de Ávila explicitly mentions two aspects that he pursues with regard to his demand for character and which, taken together, are aimed at spiritual and physical well-being. On the one hand, the good character of the nurse is indispensable so that the child is well-mannered and has a strong character via the path of the milk itself. On the other hand, he ensures that the wet nurse gives the child the necessary attention. How closely these two components are linked to each other can be illustrated by the following thought experiment. If the child is indeed well-disposed and virtuous, it is in retrospect impossible to understand the origin that is the cause of the child’s good character according to Lobera de Ávila’s remarks. Whether the cautious upbringing and care or the milk that transfers character is responsible for this cannot be determined with any certainty. This question is completely irrelevant for the result, but it shows the close, even inseparable conflation of the two aspects of care and milk.

However, not every physician addresses both aspects. Damián Carbón, for example, whose remarks on the ideal nurse have already served as a model, concentrates on the argument of milk quality and writes the following in regard to customs:

“She [the wet nurse] should not be quarrelsome: she should be benign / jocund / diligent / clean / and chaste / and she should be neither sad / nor anxious. And this is what Avicenna says in the passage above when he states: Attention should be paid to their customs. This is what the glosses say. Illnesses or diseases spoil it [the milk] and change the nurses because the complexion remains in the milk: and at random the child would spurn the breast. [...] And that is why one must be very careful that she is well-mannered and discreet.”<sup>187</sup>

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185 In regard to the interplay between the concept of nobility and the ideology of blood purity, see Marie-Claude GERBET/Janine FAYARD: *Fermeture de la noblesse et pureté de sang dans les concejos de Castille au XVème siècle, à travers les procès d’hidalgua*, in: Emilio SÁEZ/Cristina SEGURA GRAÍÑO/Margarita CANTERA MONTENEGRO (eds.): *La ciudad hispánica durante los siglos XIII al XVI: Actas del Coloquio celebrado en La Rábida y Sevilla del 14 al 19 de septiembre de 1981*, Madrid 1985, 443–474.

186 “Así que conviene que la ama sea dotada de buenas costumbres y de buen natural, porque hallede [allende?] que hemos dicho, si no es tal, no tendrá el cuidado que se ha de tener de dar la leche al niño, ni regalarle y tenerle contento.” LOBERA DE ÁVILA: *Libro del régimen de la salud, y de la esterilidad de los hombres y mujeres, y de las enfermedades de los niños, y otras cosas utilísimas* (see n. 180), 267.

187 “No sea riñosa: sea benigna / jocunda / sea diligente / limpia / y casta / y no sea triste / ni tímida. Y esto dize el

This passage shows that a bad character is actually equated with illness or disease. Carbón, citing Avicenna, speaks of the *passiones*, i.e. the diseases or illnesses that would corrupt the nurse's milk. If one combines this quotation with the previously mentioned, undesired character traits, it becomes clear what the author understands under the term *passiones*, namely aggressiveness, melancholy and fear. If the illnesses or diseases got out of hand, this could even, in extreme cases, lead to the infant refusing the wet nurse's milk. Here, Carbón introduces an idea that neither Ruyzes de Fontecha nor Lobera de Ávila mention.

In general, it is seen that the topic of *buenas costumbres* is analyzed very briefly in the medical treatises as compared to the physical qualities of the wet nurse, although the authors consistently acknowledge and emphasize their immense importance. Blas Álvarez Miravall, by contrast, devotes almost a whole chapter to the question of *costumbres* in his work *The Preservation of Health*:

“Chapter IX, which addresses how very important it is for the preservation of health, for good customs and for the good intellect of children that respectable and noble mothers nurse and raise their children.”<sup>188</sup>

As a theologian and physician, Álvarez Miravall seems to be interested in the interface between these two disciplines. He intensively addresses the relationship between morality and health. Since he categorically rejects the breastfeeding of children by a wet nurse, he has no list of the ideal qualities of a wet nurse. However, the topic of transferring character to a child is handled in detail when he explains to the reader in chapter 9 why it is so important that mothers nurse their children themselves.

In this context, he goes into detail on the importance of mother's milk, especially its value for the child's customs and intellect. Taking this as a starting point, he concludes:

“It can be induced from this that it is a great evil to corrupt the body and mind and nobility of the newborn infant with foreign milk and not give him his own mother's milk, especially if the one who is breastfeeding is a servant or slave or has bad customs, as often happens. And so we usually wonder why many children of noble and virtuous mothers are not like their parents in body and mind.”<sup>189</sup>

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Avicenna en el lugar de suso dicho diziendo. Secundum mores suos consideretur. Dizen las glosas. Passiones hec corrupunt & alterant nutrices: porque la complexion sigue la leche: y por ventura el niño aborreceria la teta. [...] y por esso es de mucho mirar que sea bien morigerada y discreta.” CARBÓN: Libro del arte de las Comadres o madrinas y del regimiento de las preñadas y paridas y de los niños (see n. 166), LVIr.

188 “Capitulo IX. en el qual se trata como conviene mucho, para la conservacion de la salud, para las buenas costumbres, y para el buen ingenio de los hijos, que las madres honradas, y nobles den leche y crien a sus hijos.” ÁLVAREZ MIRAVALL: La conservación de la salud (see n. 169), 32r.

189 “De adonde se infiere que es grande maldad corromper el cuerpo y el animo y la nobleza del recién nacido infante con leche estraña y no de su propia madre, principalmente si la que da la leche es sierva o esclava, o de malas costumbres, como muchas vezes suele acontecer. Y esto es de lo que ordinariamente nos solemos maravillar, que muchos hijos de nobles y virtuosas mugeres no se parezcan ni quanto a los cuerpos, ni quanto a los animos a sus padres.” Ibidem, 35v–34r, inaccurate pagination.

Like Lobera de Ávila and Carbón, Álvarez Miravall uses the term corrupting, but applies it on another level. While the former think that bad character traits would corrupt the wet nurse's milk, the latter refers to the child whose body and mind are corrupted by the foreignness of the wet nurse's milk. The perspective shifts from the wet nurse to the infant. In addition, Álvarez Miravall has a concept of nobility that is closely linked to virtue, good customs and intellect. By contrast, he associates servants with bad customs. The immense influence attributed to milk by the theologian and physician can be seen in the last sentence of the quotation when he says that noble children who were breastfed and raised by wet nurses do not resemble their parents either physically or mentally. According to Álvarez Miravall, nursing changes the infant's mind and body so much that qualities given to him by his parents in procreation completely fade into the background.

In the case of Blas Álvarez Miravall, the problem of corrupting turns out to be the main argument against hiring a wet nurse. Referring to Galen, he explains:

“Galen confirms this truth in the first book of the preservation of health when he says that the best milk of all for the children is that of the mother since this milk is not corrupted. Because it is clear that while we were walking in the stomach, we sustained ourselves with blood that later turns into milk through a certain processing in the breasts. Therefore, Galen again adds that children who are brought up with their mother's milk use not only customary and time-honored nutrition for them, but also their own natural nutrition.”<sup>190</sup>

Relying on Galen, Álvarez Miravall concluded that corrupting is mainly caused by the foreignness of the wet nurse's milk, whereas in the case of mother's milk it can be excluded since just as before with the blood that nurtured the embryo in the mother's womb, it is optimally suited to the needs of the child, not only because the child has grown accustomed to it in the mother's womb, but also because of underlying nature. If this train of thought was continued, then, unlike mother's milk, wet nurse's milk would be contrary to the nature of the child. The wet nurse could therefore meet all the physicians' ideal conceptions, both physically and in terms of character, but her milk would remain corrupted for the child despite everything. On this point, the authors Blas Álvarez Miravall and Juan Alonso y de los Ruyzes de Fontecha agree because the latter himself had classified a mother in poor health as more suitable for the child than a very healthy wet nurse. While Ruyzes de Fontecha, however, satisfies actual practice and the social conditions associated with it by also taking into account the case of employing a wet nurse in his medical work and describing the selection criteria to be observed, Álvarez Miravall insists on the categorical rejection of the wet nurse.

Taken together, for the importance of the wet nurse's good character, it can be seen that two objectives are pursued with this demand, according to Lobera de Ávila. The author aims to ensure both the quality of the milk for the child and the satisfaction of the child through appropriately

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190 “Confirma esta verdad Galeno en el libro primero de la conservacion de la sanidad diziendo, que la mejor leche de todas para los niños, es la de las madres, con tal que carezca de corrupcion. Pues es claro que mientras anduvimos en el vientre, nos sustentamos con sangre la qual despues con cierta elaboracion en los pechos se convierte en leche. Por lo qual añade el mismo Galeno, los niños que se crian con la leche de sus madres, no solo usan de mantenimiento comun y acostumbrado, sino de muy propio y natural.” ÁLVAREZ MIRAVALL: *La conservación de la salud* (see n. 169), 35v–36r.



tender care of the wet nurse. Both aspects should therefore be guaranteed by the good customs of the wet nurse and are inseparably linked. Bad customs, by contrast, corrupt the milk, and Carbón, citing Avicenna, even describes them as diseases *passiones*. The point of view in Blas Álvarez Miravall shifts so that he speaks of the foreignness of the nurse's milk, which corrupts the child regardless of the wet nurse's customs. According to the theologian and physician, strangeness is enough, but bad customs and an inferior lineage, which, according to his view of nobility, are in some ways conditional, can considerably increase the degree of corrupting. Álvarez Miravall's concept of nobility also explains his different argumentation as compared to Lobera de Ávila. The latter assumes that both the mother's milk and the wet nurse's milk could be spoiled by bad customs, while Álvarez Miravall refers exclusively to the wet nurse's milk of the servants and slaves in this respect. This, however, has to do with the fact that he addresses without exception the noble and therefore also virtuous mother and can thus exclude a mother with bad customs. The idea that a good character counteracts the corrupting of milk and improves its quality is common to all the authors on the whole.

#### 2.1.4 Mother's Milk as the Cause of Illness and Disease or as a Cure

The corrupted milk is often described with the term *vitium lactis*<sup>191</sup> in Latin or *el vizio de la leche*<sup>192</sup> in Spanish. *Vitium* and *virtus*, vice and virtue, are not only a well-known and popular pair of opposites in medicine, but also gained enormous significance, primarily in the context of Christian conceptions of morality. This raises the question of the extent to which the Christian background has to be considered in the medical context. After all, *vitium* and *virtus* were already used as important terms in antique medicine. Basically, I tend to assume that the Christian framework in medicine during the Early Modern Age cannot be ignored and must be included and taken into consideration as a result. In my opinion, a strict separation of religion and medicine is not feasible, but sometimes the respective priorities can be identified. The question of the extent to which an author argues more theologically or medically at a certain point will certainly be considered if it is expedient.

The corrupting of breast milk and vices in it can lead to a whole series of illnesses or diseases in a child, according to the opinion of the early modern physicians. Whether and to what extent the breast milk caused an illness or disease, can be diagnosed, according to Rodrigo de Castro (1555–1630), a highly respected Hamburg physician with a Portuguese-Sephardic background,<sup>193</sup> on the

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191 Rodrigo de CASTRO: *De universa muliebrium morborum medicina: Pars secunda, sive Praxis*, Hamburg: Ex Bibliopolio Frobeniano, 1617, 532.

192 RUYZES DE FONTECHA: *Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas* (see n. 153), 171v.

193 Rodrigo de Castro came from a well-known Portuguese medical family. He studied primarily medicine and philosophy in Evora and Salamanca. In Northern Europe he was one of the first, if not the first, gynecologist to perform a cesarean section on living women. For a long time, the cesarean section was only used on deceased women in order to save the child or at least have the child baptized before its death. Castro wrote, among others, a two-volume work on gynecology entitled *De universa muliebrium morborum medicina* (1599) and a text on the place and significance of the physician *Medicus politicus* (1614). For more information: Sabine KRUSE/Bernt ENGELMANN (eds.): "Mein Vater war portugiesischer Jude...": Die sefardische Einwanderung nach Norddeutschland um 1600 und ihre Auswirkungen auf unsere Kultur, Göttingen 1992, 72–78.

basis of the breast milk, the child or the wet nurse.<sup>194</sup>

Ruyzes de Fontecha also names the breast milk, the child and the wet nurse (exactly in this order) and refers to the teachings of *Aetio*,<sup>195</sup> before he describes the properties that can be used to determine the poorness of the breast milk. According to the physician, in the case of an examination of the breast milk, these properties can be determined by its appearance, smell and taste. In the case of a child, the corrupting can be seen in the lack of bowel movements, weight loss, excessive crying and poor sleep. In the wet nurse or mother it will appear in a yellowish, greenish and blackish skin color combined with a general pallor, in easily provoked outbursts of rage and in a too pronounced libido.<sup>196</sup> According to Ruyzes de Fontecha, these are the main signs for discovering where the milk is deficient, “en que peca la leche,”<sup>197</sup> as the author says. The verb *pecar* is, similar to *vizio*, ambiguous and can on the one hand simply express that something deviates from the norm due to an error or excess, or, on the other, it can mean to sin in a religious context.

In general, there are other terms that physicians use to describe the corrupting of milk. Gerónimo Soriano, for example, talks about the deficiency, the malignity and the impurity of milk: *el daño, la malicia y la impuridad de la leche*.<sup>198</sup> Soriano mentions the malignity and impurity of milk as a frequent cause of insomnia in children. In the course of his explanatory remarks on mouth blisters in children, he talks about deficiency. In this context, like Ruyzes de Fontecha, he uses the verb *pecar*:

“Therefore, it is recommended above all, since these pustules and blisters usually occur because of the milk, that one pays attention to the wet nurse. It is good to give the creature [the child] to someone who has good milk. If such a woman is not found, be careful that the one who gives him [the creature] the breast eats things that produce good milk, and also that she eats moderately and drinks little [alcohol]. Furthermore, it is necessary to ensure that she empties herself of excess [pecare] fluid, which damages the milk, because blisters, ulcers and pustules of the tongue and mouth of children are caused by the acrimony and mordacity of the milk.”<sup>199</sup>

As already mentioned at the beginning, it cannot be determined with certainty the extent and scope of the resonance that the religious and moral component of words such as *vizio* and *pecar* had for the authors and their readers. However, the close intertwining of medicine and religion was found on many levels. Prayers or advice from the clergy were just as effective as a proven means of

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194 CASTRO: *De universa muliebrium morborum medicina* (see n. 191), 532.

195 Probably Aëtius of Amida (502–575), court physician of Justinian I in the Byzantine Empire.

196 RUYZES DE FONTECHA: *Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas* (see n. 153), 171r–171v.

197 *Ibidem*, 171r.

198 See SORIANO: *Método y orden de curar las enfermedades de los niños* (see n. 178), 114, 182, 185.

199 “Por lo cual, conviene mucho, pues estas pústulas y vejiguillas más ordinariamente vienen por causa de la leche, que se tenga cuidado de la nodriza. Haráse bien dando la criatura a otra que tenga buena leche; si tal no se hallase, tened cuidado con que la que le da el pecho lo que comiere sea cosa de que se engendre buena leche. Mas que coma moderadamente y beba poco. Allende desto, hacer [haced?] que se evacue conforme al humor que en ella pecare, y del cual recibe el daño la leche, porque las vejiguillas, úlceras y pústulas de la lengua y boca de los niños nacen de la acrimonia y mordacidad de la leche.” *Ibidem*, 114.

healing a patient as doctors' prescriptions. Sins and illnesses were often related to each other. In the work *Nueva filosofía* by Oliva de Sabuco Nantes y Barrera (1562–1622) or by her father Miguel de Sabuco (1529–1588),<sup>200</sup> idleness is called the inventor of vices and sins, whose fair punishment takes the form of gout.<sup>201</sup>

In the same work, there is also the worst effect that corrupted milk can have on an infant: death. Affects such as anger and regret are extremely dangerous, especially with pregnant women, and could lead to their death. These affects would also endanger children, as it says in the text: “[...] and the children who die when their mothers give them milk, this also happens because of mothers' small annoyances and affliction.”<sup>202</sup> The immense extent of the responsibility attributed to mothers and wet nurses for the well-being and health of children, especially in their first phase of life, becomes all too clear here. However, this statement should be regarded as an exception as well as an extreme case, because there is no such train of thought in the other medical works analyzed.

Almost all the children's illnesses or diseases Soriano addresses in his book have one and the same origin: the malignity of the breast milk, *la malicia de la leche*. By contrast, he has no theory that babies would die from breast milk if it were corrupted by the psychological stress of mothers. However, he considers mother's and wet nurse's milk to be the cause of colic, cramps of all kinds, mouth blisters, smallpox, sleeping disorders, hiccups, vomiting, consumption and cradle cap, among others. This covers most of the children's illnesses or diseases that Soriano addresses in his work. However, the author weights them differently. While in the case of smallpox, the third possible cause is the poor quality of mother's or wet nurse's milk; it moves up to first place in the case of sleeping disorders and is considered by Soriano to be the main reason for them. Chapter XIII on fever is a particularly good example of the possible cures that Soriano outlines in general for childhood illnesses and diseases, whether or not they are caused by poor milk. According to the pediatrician, the medication must be administered exclusively to the mother or wet nurse and not to the child because the child only feeds on the mother's and nurse's milk in its first phase of life, so the medication must be provided in this way.<sup>203</sup>

If one wanted to treat the child's illness or disease, this usually only worked through the correct nutrition and correct behavior of the mother or wet nurse. Since great importance was attached to the correct nutrition and the effects of the food on the complexion in Galenic humoral pathology, this is not surprising. In regard to fever, Soriano writes:

“If the children suffer from fever and excessive hot flushes beyond what is normal, which the Latin call *febris* and we in vulgar Spanish call *calentura*, the first thing to do is to give the wet

200 The author is not certain. The work was probably written by the daughter, but the father may well have participated in its composition. With respect to the controversial authorship and the reception history of the work, see Marlen BIDWELL-STEINER: *Große Welt – kleine Welt – verkehrte Welt: Die philogyne Naturphilosophie der Renaissance-Denkerin Oliva Sabuco de Nantes y Barrera*, Innsbruck, Vienna and Bozen 2009, 57–72.

201 Oliva de SABUCO NANTES Y BARRERA/Miguel de SABUCO: *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre y otros escritos*, Madrid 1981, 118.

202 “[...] y los niños, que mueren cuando les dan sus madres leche, también es de pequeños ojos [enojos?] y pesares de las madres.” Ibidem, 88.

203 SORIANO: *Método y orden de curar las enfermedades de los niños* (see n. 178), 137–138.

nurse things to eat that refresh and liquefy.”<sup>204</sup>

The first step in the healing process was therefore the change in the mother’s or wet nurse’s diet. The range of healing options available to the physician and the order in which they could be used can be seen in connection with the already mentioned sleeping disorders of the child. In this case, the author advises that the wet nurse be replaced, if possible, in the event that the milk is the cause of the child’s sleeping disorders:

“Other times the malignity of the milk is the reason that they [the children] cannot sleep. In this case, the author’s advice is very good: Replace the child’s wet nurse, and if there is no opportunity to do so, make sure that she is purged and given food that produces good blood and thus good milk.”<sup>205</sup>

Change of wet nurse, purgation and alteration of diet for the wet nurse – the preferred method of healing could vary and depended on the respective illness or disease. If the child suffered from mouth blisters, sleeping disorders or cradle cap, a change of wet nurse or a replacement of the mother<sup>206</sup> was recommended. In cases of fever, Soriano suggested a change in the diet of the nursing woman. Purgation is recommended as a second option after the change of wet nurse in the case of sleeping disorders and cradle cap, among others.

The treatment for suffering from epilepsy shows that mother’s and wet nurse’s milk could be perceived as an indispensable remedy, not only as a possible cause of illness or disease. Soriano points to two possible causes that can lead to epilepsy in children: On the one hand, it can be caused internally by the complexion of the child himself, and, on the other, externally by exogenous substances, in this case vapors, *vapores*, which rise from the stomach or other parts of the body into the brain.<sup>207</sup> The idea of *vapores* and pathogens was widespread in early modern medicine. Michael Stolberg assumes that exogenous substances, but also the body’s own rotten substances, as we have seen with corrupted wet nurse’s and mother’s milk, played a more important role as the cause of illness or disease in early modern medicine than the idea of dyscrasia, i.e. the idea of an imbalance of bodily fluids.<sup>208</sup>

In the case of childhood epilepsy, Soriano notes that good blood and therefore good milk, supported by an adequate diet for the wet nurse, will significantly improve the child’s state of health. Poor milk, by contrast, puts the child at great risk. The following quotation illustrates the extent

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204 “Si los niños padecieren calores y encendimientos demasiados, y fuera del orden de naturaleza, que los latinos dicen febris y nosotros, en vulgar, calentura, lo primero que se ha de hacer es que la nodriza coma cosas que refresquen y humedezcan.” SORIANO: Método y orden de curar las enfermedades de los niños (see n. 178), 136 [emphasis by the author].

205 “Otras veces, la malicia de la leche es la causa que no los deja dormir. Para este caso, el consejo del autor es muy bueno; harás mudándole nodriza, y si ocasión no hubiere, haciéndole que se purgue, y dándole de comer cosas de que se haya de engendrar buena sangre, y della buena leche.” Ibidem, 186.

206 For example, the mother is specifically mentioned for the treatment of cradle cap. See Ibidem, 275.

207 See Ibidem, 244–245.

208 Michael STOLBERG: Die Harnschau: Eine Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2009, 67.

to which the various criteria and behavioral guidelines for a good wet nurse and the question of the right medication are intertwined in the case of epilepsy:

“Make sure, therefore, that the one who gives the breast is a woman who is neither too fat nor too thin or skinny, that she does not work too much, nor is lazy, that she is gentle, cheerful and has good manners and is by no means wanton – that she keeps away from sexual intercourse during nursing and distances herself from it – and if she does any physical exercise, then it should be done in moderation. If the milk that she produces is watery and liquid and runs fast, it should be corrected by foods that thicken and dry it; if the milk is too thick, [it should be corrected] by relieving medicine and food. She shall avoid food that moisturizes and dilutes milk like the plague. She should usually chew a little cardamom and put some of it in the child's mouth every now and then if she wants to give him the breast, as it not only heals, but also cures and reverses an attack because cardamom drunk with water cures the epilepsy we call *gota coral* according to Dioscorides.”<sup>209</sup>

In regard to the nursing woman, Soriano explicitly addresses the correct physique, the necessary character traits and the rules of conduct to be observed, on the one hand, and he describes the illness- or disease-relieving and healing diet they have to follow, on the other. Finally, he refers to the Greek doctor Dioscorides (1st century CE), who proposed cardamom as a drug against epilepsy. In the instructions for use, it is noticeable that Soriano deviates from the usual method – medication exclusively indirectly through the milk and thus through the nursing woman – and also recommends direct administration of cardamom for the child.

The far-reaching importance of breast milk as medication becomes apparent as soon as the perspective is expanded and not limited just to children's illnesses or diseases. The late medieval, anonymous treatise on pathology titled *Tratado de patología* and probably heavily influenced by Arabic medicine<sup>210</sup> calls breast milk a cure for patients with melancholy.

“The cure is, if it involves the natural melancholy that prevails in the brain [...] to give him [the patient] milk from a woman or donkey milk or sheep milk on his head, and make it warm as ordered and do so several times a day, and give him, through his nostrils, milk from a woman mixed with lukewarm water [...].”<sup>211</sup>

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209 “Procuren, pues, que la que ha de dar el pecho sea mujer no muy gruesa ni muy macilenta y flaca, que no trabaje mucho, ni se [que?] esté ociosa; que sea avisada, alegre y de buenas costumbres, no lujuriosa; que, entretanto que criare, huya y se aparte del acto venéreo; si hiciere algún ejercicio, sea moderado; si la leche que diere fuere algo acuosa, fluxil y corrediza se la corregirán con mantenimientos que enjuguen y desequen; si fuere gruesa, con medicamentos y alimentos atenuantes; huya como de peste de comer cosas que humedezcan la leche y la hagan acuosa; masque de ordinario la nodriza un poco de cardamomo y échele dello al niño algunas veces dentro de la boquilla cuando le quisiere dar el pecho, porque no sólo cura, pero cura y levanta del paroxismo; porque según Dioscórides, el cardamomo bebido con agua cura la epilepsia, que decimos *gota coral*.” SORIANO: Método y orden de curar las enfermedades de los niños (see n. 178), 247–248 [emphasis by the author].

210 See María de la Concepción VÁZQUEZ DE BENITO: Influencia de la medicina árabe en la medieval castellana, in: Azafes 1 (1985), 369–375, URL: <http://revistas.usal.es/index.php/0213-3563/article/view/3604> (visited on 27/02/2019).

211 “E la cura, quando fuere de malenconja natural que regna en el meollo [...] e ponle por la cabeça leche de muger

Human breast milk or donkey or sheep milk should be administered as nasal rinsing and presumably as a head rinse. The latter remains somewhat unclear due to the formulation that the milk should be absorbed through or by means of the head, *por la cabeça*. It can also be assumed that milk should be used as a medicinal drink. If the sequence of human breast milk, donkey milk and sheep milk also expresses a priority here, it becomes clear that human breast milk is listed as the preferred medicine in this context.

The *Compendio de la humana salud*,<sup>212</sup> a compendium of human health, published initially in Venice in 1491 in Latin under the title *Fasciculus medicinae* and allegedly written by Johannes von Ketham, also refers to the healing power of breast milk. The work is a collection of medical texts from the Middle Ages. There were already some handwritten versions of this work in the 13th century. The printed version is probably based on one of these manuscripts. Ketham, perhaps the Italian printers' malaprop of the former owner of the manuscript, Johannes von Kirchheim, is therefore not the author. Johannes von Kirchheim taught medicine in Vienna around 1460 and was born in Swabia. The work was published in 13 further editions between 1491 and 1523. The second edition in Italian from 1493 contains essential changes and both textual and pictorial additions.<sup>213</sup> Carter and Muir judge the importance of this second edition as follows:

“The typography and artistic qualities of this edition of *Fasciculus* generate interest far beyond the medical world. It was the first printed medical handbook to be illustrated with a series of lifelike images, including a Zodiac Man, a bloodletter, a Planet Man, a urine examination, a pregnant woman and above all an anatomical dissection scene, which was one of the first and best depictions of this operation ever to appear in a book, and also one of the first three known examples of color printing where four colors were applied by stencil.”<sup>214</sup>

This compendium mentions that mother's milk, in the event of a miscarriage, will help pregnant women give birth to their dead child:

“This [assistance with the birth of a dead child in the mother's womb] is caused by the milk of another woman when she [the pregnant woman] drinks it with oil. The same virtue is produced by the jasper stone, the milk of a female dog mixed with wine or strong myrrh

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o leche de asna o leche de oueja caliente ordenada; muchas vezes al dia; e ponle por las narizes leche de muger con agua tibia [...]” *Tratado de patología*, Madrid 1997, 115–116.

<sup>212</sup> Johannes de KETHAM: *Compendio de la humana salud*, Madrid 1990.

<sup>213</sup> Also see in this regard John CARTER/Percy H. MUIR (eds.): *Bücher, die die Welt verändern*, Munich 1968, 100–102.

<sup>214</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Die Typographie und die künstlerischen Qualitäten dieser Ausgabe des *Fasciculus* erregen weit über die medizinische Welt hinaus Interesse. Es war das erste gedruckte medizinische Handbuch, das mit einer Folge wirklichkeitsgetreuer Bilder illustriert war, darunter ein Tierkreis-Mensch, ein Aderlasser, eine Harnuntersuchung, eine schwangere Frau und vor allem eine anatomische Sezierszene, die einer der ersten und besten Darstellungen dieser Operation ist, die überhaupt in einem Buch erschien, und außerdem eines der drei ersten bekannten Beispiele des Farbdrucks, bei dem vier Farben mittels Schablone aufgetragen wurden.” *Ibidem*, 101.

mixed with wine, when she drinks it after it has become a little less cold [?], as Avicenna writes.”<sup>215</sup>

The order seems to play no role at this point because otherwise the text would not speak of *la misma virtud*, that is, the same virtue, with regard to the jasper, the milk of female dogs and myrrh.

With regard to the milk as the cause of illness or disease, it should be mentioned that not all illnesses or diseases were fundamentally attributed to mother’s milk or wet nurse’s milk as the sole source of all ills; instead, several possible causes of illness or disease were generally considered in a differentiated manner. Soriano views, for example, external environmental influences or the child’s own humoral constellation as other causes for illness or disease. In spite of everything, the healing usually took place primarily through the mother’s or wet nurse’s milk because the treatment of the child with appropriate medication worked almost exclusively through the nutrition of the mother or wet nurse according to the medical theories of the time.

It should be noted that early modern pediatrics in the Iberian region assumed that poor, i.e. corrupted vitious milk could lead to infant illness or disease and, in extreme cases, as in the work of Oliva de Sabuco Nantes y Barrera, to death. Many children’s illnesses and diseases were attributed to vitious milk. Gerónimo Soriano shows that the influence of milk was judged differently. An immensely wide range of importance was attached to it. Corrupted milk could be either the main or secondary cause, aggravate an existing illness or disease or even play no role whatsoever in it. Soriano’s advice on childhood epilepsy proves that wet nurse’s or mother’s milk were not only regarded as a cause of illness and disease, but also as a remedy. Breast milk was also recommended as medication not only for childhood illnesses or diseases, but also for adult suffering, for example in the case of melancholy or for inducing the birth of a dead fetus.

## 2.2 The Medieval Ban on Jewish Wet Nurses

### 2.2.1 Christian Legislation

Before we look at New Christian wet nurses, it is necessary to provide an overview of medieval bans, e.g. on Jewish and Muslim wet nurses in Christian households and Christian wet nurses in Jewish and Muslim households as an introduction to the topic. The main purpose of such bans was to prevent Jews and Christians or Muslims and Christians from coexisting on the private level. Behind this was the fear of a possible conversion of Christians to Judaism or Islam. On the pope’s side, the third Lateran Council of 1179, under the direction of Alexander III, adopted such a ban in Canon “XXVI. Ne Christiani habitent cum Judæis vel Saracenis”:<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> “Eso mismo hace la leche de otra mujer, si la bebe con aceite. La misma virtud tienen la piedra jasper, la leche de la perra mezclada con vino, o la mirra bien picada, mezclada con vino, bebiéndola después de que haya perdido un poquito el frío, según escribe Avicena.” KETHAM: Compendio de la humana salud (see n. 212), 112.

<sup>216</sup> “That Christians should not live together with Jews or Saracens” Joannes Dominicus MANSI (ed.): *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 22, Graz 1961 (reprint of the edition Paris 1903), 231.

“Jews and Saracens [Muslims] are not allowed to have Christian servants in their homes, neither to raise children, nor to serve, nor for any other reason. Those who dare to live with them [the Jews and the Saracens] should also be excommunicated.”<sup>217</sup>

Ultimately, therefore, the coexistence of Jews or Muslims and Christians should generally be avoided. However, the case of the Christian nurse, who worked and lived in a Jewish or Muslim household, was highlighted. Explanations as to why this should be prevented can be found in another passage on the third Lateran Council:

“Even for all Christian midwives it is forbidden to heal, and for the wet nurses it is forbidden that they dare to breastfeed the Jewish children in their homes [of the Jews] because the customs of Jews and ours do not coincide in any way and the same [Jews], driven by the enemy of mankind [the devil], can easily incite the simple souls to their superstition and their infidelity by frequent contact and constant familiarity.”<sup>218</sup>

The bishops of the Council therefore assumed that too familiar contact with Jews – Muslims are no longer mentioned here – could seduce simple, gullible Christians to convert to Judaism. They also considered the cultural differences of Jews and Christians, rooted in their respective customs and practices, to be insurmountable. For the Catholic Church it was therefore necessary to propagate a spatial distancing of Christians from Jews on a private level and to ban any kind of association, in the form of Christians and Jews coexisting, and to punish it by means of excommunication.

On the Iberian Peninsula, more precisely in the Leonese-Castilian Kingdom, the wet nurse question was discussed at a whole series of estates assemblies, that is, the meetings of the *Cortes*, as well as at some provincial synods, and corresponding bans were adopted. The following laws should be mentioned with regard to the wet nurse bans adopted by the *Cortes*: Sevilla 1252, Valladolid 1258 (Act 38), Sevilla 1261 (Act 29), Jerez 1268 (Acts 30 & 31), Palencia 1313 (Acts 29 & 42), Valladolid 1322 (Act 54), Valladolid 1351 (Act 30), Soria 1380 (Act 11) and Valladolid 1385 (Act 3).<sup>219</sup>

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217 “Judæi sive Saraceni nec sub alendorum puerorum obtentu, nec pro servitio, nec alia qualibet causa, Christiana mancipia in domibus suis permittantur habere. Excommunicentur autem, qui cum eis præsumperint habitare.” MANSI (ed.): *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (see n. 216), 231.

218 “Obstetricibus etiam & nutricibus Christianis omnibus prohibere curetis, ne infantes Judæorum in domibus eorum nutrire præsumant: quia Judæorum mores & nostri in nullo concordant, & ipsi de facili ob frequentem conversationem & assiduam familiaritatem, instigante humani generis inimico, ad suam superstitionem & perfidiam, simplicium animos inclinarent.” *Ibidem*, 357.

219 In this regard, see Pilar LEÓN TELLO: *Legislación sobre judíos en las Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, in: WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDIES (ed.): *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Papers*, Jerusalem 1968, 55–63, here 56; Enrique CANTERA MONTENEGRO: *La mujer judía en la España medieval*, in: *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Historia Medieval* 2 (1989), 37–63, here 53. For the exact wording of the bans: Antonio BALLESTEROS: *Las Cortes de 1252*, in: *Anales de la Junta para amplexión de estudios é investigaciones científicas* 3 (1911), 113–143, here 141; REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA (ed.): *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla I*, vol. 1, Madrid 1861, 62, 77, 227, 244, 280, 352; REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA (ed.): *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla II*, vol. 2, Madrid 1863, 18, 305, 322; Manuel GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ: *Cortes de Sevilla de 1261*, in: *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 25 (1998), 295–311, URL: <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=634136> (visited on 27/02/2019), here 304.



In reviewing the laws, it becomes apparent not only that they differ in content sometimes – as regards the determination of punishment – but that greater attention was also paid to Christian wet nurses, while Jewish and Muslim ones were also considered in the previous bans adopted by the *Cortes*. The first ban by the *Cortes* of Seville from 1252 said:

“Furthermore, I order that no Christian woman shall nurse either the son or daughter of a Jewish woman or a Moor, nor shall a Jew nurse a Christian [child]. And those who violate this [order] shall pay a fine of ten Maravedis for every day she had the child with her.”<sup>220</sup>

Even though not all variations have been mentioned linguistically, the effort to cover all possible combinations of nurse and child is evident with this formulation. It involved the separation of Christians from Jews on the one hand and Muslims on the other. A Muslim nurse for a Jewish child and vice versa played no role for the law. The focus of the bans is clearly discernible. It was about the protection of members of the Christian religion from Jewish or Muslim influence. This also explains why the Christian nurse as an endangered factor that could be influenced and her not-to-be-tolerated presence in a Jewish or Muslim household increasingly became the focus of the texts.

In contrast to this, the last talk of a ban on Muslim and Jewish nurses in Christian households is in Act 31 of the *Cortes* of Jerez in 1268. While this aspect no longer seems to play a role in the laws after 1268, it becomes apparent at the same time that the texts gained details and elaborate explanations, which are not to be found before 1268. In both the law of the *Cortes* of Soria in 1380 and in the *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1385, not only the decreed laws themselves, but also the petitions the estates brought to the king at the assemblies were explained in detail with the reasons on which they were based. That is what was said in 1380 in Soria:

“In addition to what they [the estates] graciously asked us, [namely] that we forbid by order that any Christian woman should nurse a boy or a girl of a Jewish man or woman or a Moorish man or woman or that Christian men and women live together with the aforesaid Jewish men and women or Moorish men and women, since this is a great disobedience to God and a violation of the law. We reply that we think it is good, and it is our will that no Christian woman shall nurse a boy or a girl of a Jewish man or woman or a Moorish man or woman, and whoever does so should pay a penalty of six hundred Maravedis to our treasury. But they [the Christians] may live with them [the Jews and Moors] since some work on their property and accompany them from one place to another since otherwise many would dare to kill or dishonor them [the Jews and Moors].”<sup>221</sup>

220 “Otrossi mando que nenguna Christiana non crie fijo nin fija de Judia nin de Moro nin Judia non crie Christiano nenguno. Et la questo pasare que peche en coto cada dia X mr quantos dias lo touiere.” BALLESTEROS: *Las Cortes de 1252* (see n. 219), 141.

221 “Otrosoy alo que nos pidieron por merçet que mandasemos defender que christiana alguna non crie fijo nin fija de judio nin de judia, nin de moro nin de mora alguna, ninlos christianos nin christianas non biuan conlos dichos judios e judias nin moros nin moras, por que es grand deseruiçio de Dios e traspasamiento dela ley. A esto rrespondemos que nos tenemos por bien e es nuestra merçed que ninguna christiana non crie fijo nin fija de judio nin de judia nin

It turns out that the king, John I of Castile, satisfied only half of the petition of the estates. Although he banned Christian wet nurses in Jewish and Muslim households and imposed a fine of 600 Maravedis in the event of a violation of the ban, he did not put a stop to Christians coexisting with Jews and Moors. Christians were able to work without any obstacles as managers of Jews' and Moors' property as well as their travel companions, which made coexistence indispensable. He justified the travel accompaniment in particular with the high need for protection of religious minorities, who might otherwise be killed or dishonored. The estates, in turn, based their petition on a secular legal and a theological explanation. Thus, the coexistence of Christians with Jews or Moors is a violation of the law and a "grand deservicio de Dios," i.e. a great offense committed against God, since one does not duly fulfill the service to which one is obligated with respect to him. Apparently, the estates already saw the piety of Christians as threatened by contact to Jews and Muslims on a private, domestic level. At the assembly in Valladolid in 1385, the estates repeated their petition for a ban on coexistence between Christians, Jews and Moors and reinforced their argumentation by stating:

"[...] this [coexistence already described] showed disregard for the church and was a great sin and dishonor for Christians since even if they [the Christians in Jewish or Muslim households] became ill, they could not confess nor be given communion [...] and this [the coexistence] was a great disobedience to God and us."<sup>222</sup>

This argumentation now moves religious motives increasingly to the fore. Accordingly, the estates pointed out in their petition that Christians who coexisted with Jews or Moors came into conflict with the Church so that they were denied the sacraments of confession and the Eucharist in the case of illness or disease. Coexistence was seen as an affront to the Church, as a sin and dishonor for Christians and as a great disobedience to God and the worldly powers. The king reacted accordingly by tightening the laws. Christian women were banned from not only nursing Jewish and Muslim children, but also any coexistence with Jews and Muslims. Those who violated this ban were to be publicly flogged and driven out of the villages and cities. In addition, the local courts, the *justicias delos dichos lugares*, were ordered to initiate investigations, regardless of whether or not there was an accusation.<sup>223</sup> Yet there was no longer a fine, or at least it is not mentioned in the law. However, contrary to the estates' petition, the king still tolerated the coexistence of male Christians and Jews or Muslims.

In summary, it turns out that nursing was not the decisive factor motivating the bans. Rather, the main concern was domestic coexistence, which was apparently implicitly thought of in the wet

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de moro nin de mora, e qual quier quello fiziere, que peche seysçientos mr. para la nuestra camara; pero que puedan biuir conellos, por que ayan quien les labre sus heredades e quien vaya conellos de vna parte aotra, por que de otra guisa muchos se atreuerian aellos por los matar e desonrrar." REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA (ed.): Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla II (see n. 219), 305.

222 "[...] lo qual era en menospreçio dela Iglesia e en gran pecado e desonrra delos christianos e christianas, por lo qual ahun si adolesçian non les yuan confesar nin les dan el cuerpo de Dios [...] e que esto era gran deservicio de Dios e nuestro." Ibidem, 322.

223 Ibidem, 322.

nurse's work. Furthermore, the perspective shifted so that the texts from 1313 onward concentrated solely on Christian wet nurses, while previously Jewish and Muslim wet nurses were also addressed in Christian households. Finally, the penalties imposed in the event of a violation of the law are quite diverse. Possible measures included the payment of fines, the amount of which could vary greatly, but also physical punishment of the wet nurse or her being retained as a slave of the king.

The frequent repetition of the bans cause Cantera Montenegro<sup>224</sup> to assume that neither was the punishment carried out as rigorously as required by the law, nor did the bans have a significant impact on day-to-day practice. Although it may not be possible to make concrete statements about the effectiveness of the bans on wet nurses, there is no doubt that coexistence between Christians and Jews or Muslims was perceived as problematic and worthy of regulation.

### 2.2.2 The *Siete Partidas*

Apparently, it was similar with the most well-known code of laws in the Iberian Middle Ages, the *Siete Partidas* enacted by the Castilian-Leonesian king Alfonso X (1221–1284), called the Wise, *el Sabio*. Accordingly, Yitzhak Baer assumes that the collection of laws, although established in the 13th century – the king ordered it in 1256 – was not applied until the middle of the 14th century, and his laws regarding Jews were hardly observed.<sup>225</sup> Despite this lack of practical implementation, the *Siete Partidas* proved to be an important reference in the theoretical disputes of scholars far beyond the Middle Ages and beyond the borders of the Iberian Peninsula. Even the slave legislation in the Spanish colonies was still under the influence of the *Siete Partidas*.<sup>226</sup>

Two passages with regard to the perception of Judeo-Christian relations should be emphasized in particular: One is the ban on servants (SP 7.24.8), which was intended to prevent Christian servants – and thus also wet nurses – from working for Jewish households and the other is the requirement of full recognition of New Christians as Christians because they should be entitled to the same privileges and offices as Old Christians (SP 7.24.6). For the Jewish population, by contrast, there was a strict ban on office and honor (SP 7.24.3). Thus, a clear distinction was made between Jews and New Christians, and the New Christians were fully recognized as Christians. It can be assumed from the wording in the text of the law itself that this recognition did not necessarily correspond to the everyday reality of life. This is what the law says about cases of conversion:

“Furthermore, we order that after some Jews became Christians, everybody in areas under our rule should honor them and nobody shall dare to use their Jewish past to insult them or their descendants. And that they may be able to share their goods with their brothers and may inherit from their parents or other relatives as if they were Jews. And that they shall obtain all offices and dignities just like the other Christians.”<sup>227</sup>

224 See CANTERA MONTENEGRO: *La mujer judía en la España medieval* (see n. 219), 54.

225 YITZHAK BAER: *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. by LOUIS SCHOFFMANN, Philadelphia 1961, 116.

226 ALEJANDRO DE LA FUENTE/Ariela J. GROSS: *Comparative Studies of Law, Slavery and Race in the Americas*, in: *University of Southern California Legal Studies Working Paper 56* (2010), 1–40, here 3.

227 “Otrossi mandamos que despues que algunos judios se tornaren cristianos que todos los de nuestro sennorio los

If, therefore, the defamation and indignities of New Christians regarding their Jewish origin were explicitly forbidden, it seems reasonable to assume that they were not uncommon in everyday life. The problem that the converts remained Jews for many Old Christians and were not perceived as belonging to them afterwards was already found in essence in the Middle Ages.

In turn, the relations between Jews and Christians on a private level are viewed in the code of laws ideally as two parallels without any contact with each other. Only in the public sector is the occasional overlapping of the two lines regulated. In the *Siete Partidas*, this situation is described as follows:

“Law VIII ‘No Christian man or woman may live in a Jewish household’: We decree that no Jew shall dare to take a Christian man or woman into his house to be served by them. They [the Jews] may hire them to manage and organize their farms at other locations or to be escorted by them when they have to go to a dubious place. We also decree that no Christian man or woman will invite a Jewish man or woman or accept an invitation from them to eat and drink together or to drink the wine made by the Jews themselves. We also order that no Jew shall dare to visit the baths together with Christians. We also decree that no Christian will receive medication or laxatives made by Jewish hands, but he can get them through the advice of a trained Jew, although only if they were prepared by a Christian who knows and understands the ingredients.”<sup>228</sup>

In the area of the private home, therefore, any contact should be avoided. Christians and Jews were forbidden from eating and drinking or bathing together. Private areas of life were not supposed to overlap. A document issued by King James I of Aragon (1208–1276) in Valencia on August 25, 1273 shows that they really conceived of this spatially. This document was addressed to the Majorcan Jewish quarter, the *aljama*, and confirmed the privileges and acquired houses of the Jews living there. Furthermore, the Aragonese king allowed them to buy more houses from Christians, but subject to the restriction that they would not be allowed to share either the front door or the entrance portal with Christians, i.e. to live with them under one roof.<sup>229</sup>

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onrren e ninguno non sea osado de retraer a ellos nin a su linaje de como fueron judios en manera denuesto. E que ayan sus bienes e sus cosas partiendo con sus hermanos e heredando a sus padres e a los otros sus parientes bien assi como si fuessen judios. E que puedan auer todos los oficios e las onrras que an los otros cristianos.” Dwayne E. CARPENTER: Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on *Siete Partidas* 7.24 “De los judíos”, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1986, 33–34.

228 “Ley viij ‘Como ningund cristiano nin cristiana non deue fazer uida en casa de judio’ Defendemos que ningund judio non sea osado de tener en su casa cristiano nin cristiana pora seruirse dellos, como quier que los puedan auer por labrar e enderesçar sus heredades de fuera o pora guiarlos en camino quando ouiesen a ir por algund logar dubdoso. Otrossi defendemos que ningund cristiano nin cristiana non combide a judio nin judia nin resciba otrossi combite dellos pora comer nin beuer en uno nin beua del uino que es fecho por mano dellos. E aun mandamos que ningund judio non sea osado de bannarse en banno en uno con los cristianos. Otrossi defendemos que ningund cristiano non resciba melezinamiento [medicinamiento] nin purga que sea fecha por mano de judio, pero bien la puede rescebir por consejo de algund judio sabidor solamiente que sea fecha por mano de cristiano que connosca e entienda las cosas que son en ella.” *Ibidem*, 34–35.

229 Jean RÉGNÉ: *History of the Jews in Aragon: Regesta and Documents 1213–1327*, *Hispania Judaica* 1, Jerusalem 1978, 96.

This strict separation of areas of life is explained – according to the logic of the *Siete Partidas* – on the one hand by the constant effort to avoid any conflict and, on the other hand, by the idea of the eternal servitude of the Jews. First, the conflict avoidance strategy: that Jews and Christians could only live side by side, but not together, is a widespread assumption in the Middle Ages. This argument was also used in papal letters. For example, Benedict XII, who resided in Avignon as Pope from 1334 to 1342, wrote in a letter to the nobles of Aragon, Valencia and Barcelona on January 8, 1340, in which he exhorted them and reminded them of the ban on Christians living together with Jews and Muslims.<sup>230</sup> On January 9, a letter to the Aragonese king followed, explaining in more detail the reasons for the ban on Jews living together with Christians and Muslims.<sup>231</sup> The Alfonso code of laws contains the argument of conflict avoidance explicitly in the eleventh law (SP 7.24.11), which required the Jews to wear a distinguishing sign identifying them, such as a yellow ring on their clothing, which was often used as a sign in the Middle Ages. This law was justified as follows:

“Many mistakes and inappropriate things happen between Christians and Jews because they live and reside together in cities and they all dress alike. And in order to avoid such mistakes and damage that can arise for this reason, we consider it good and order all Jews living under our rule to bear a sign above their heads so that people can clearly recognize who is Jewish.”<sup>232</sup>

Dwayne E. Carpenter sees this concluding law as the leitmotif of the entire section on Jewish legislation in his study on the laws governing Jews in the *Siete Partidas*: “The concluding law ‘De los judíos’ might have served quite properly as the initial statute of *Siete Partidas* 7.24, since the purpose of this legislation is to distinguish, and ultimately to separate, Jews from Christians.”<sup>233</sup> Special attention should be paid to two points. On the one hand, the law aimed, above all, to prevent the forbidden (SP 7.24.9) sexual relations between Jews and Christians, i.e. the same clothing that made it difficult to recognize the religious and cultural Other was perceived above all as a danger with regard to intimate ties. On the other hand, these ties were seen as the element triggering the conflict, which could lead to “mistakes and inappropriate acts.”

The fact that sexual relations and private domestic coexistence were not desired is, of course, not solely due to this strategy of conflict prevention, but is also related to the general position of the Jewish minority in the Christian majority. Accordingly, it was assumed that Jews were in eternal servitude as a punishment and in admonishing memory of the committed deicide that they were accused of. The *Siete Partidas* (SP 7.24.1) states in this regard:

<sup>230</sup> ASV: Benedict XII, Avignon, 01/08/1340.

<sup>231</sup> ASV: Benedict XII, Avignon, 01/09/1340.

<sup>232</sup> “Ley xj ‘Como los judios deuen andar sennalados por que sean connoscidos’ Muchos yerros e cosas desaguisadas acaescen entre los cristianos e las judias e las cristianas e los judios porque biuen e moran de so uno en las uillas e andan uestidos los unos assi como los otros. E por desuiar los yerros e los males que podrien acaescer por esta razon, tenemos por bien e mandamos que todos quantos judios e judias biuieren en nuestro sennorio que trayan alguna sennal cierta sobre sus cabeças, e que sea atal por que connoscan las gentes manifestamente qual es judio o judia.” CARPENTER: Alfonso X and the Jews (see n. 227), 36–37.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibidem*, 99.

“And the reason why the Church and the emperors and kings and the other princes tolerate the Jews living among Christians is this: because they should live in eternal captivity and they should be a constant reminder to the people that they come from those who crucified our Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>234</sup>

This view reflects the prevailing theological opinion of the time, and Alfonso X thus placed himself in a “well-established theological tradition,”<sup>235</sup> which Dwayne E. Carpenter refers to. Punishment and remembrance were the primary motives of the Christian rulers.

### 2.2.3 Jewish Legislation

These laws are very one-dimensional overall. They just show the Christian perspective. Thanks to the dissertation by Elisheva Baumgarten,<sup>236</sup> it is possible to see the Jewish view as well. Baumgarten has traced Jewish family life through the various stages of the infant’s life such as birth, circumcision and nursing. Instead of conveying an internal perspective of Jewish family and community life, she has placed the emphasis on Judeo-Christian relations and thus provides interesting insights into the everyday coexistence of Jews and Christians. However, it should be noted that the author studied the Ashkenazic situation in Germany and northern France, with a focus on the High Middle Ages. A comparison with the situation of the Sepharad on the Iberian Peninsula can therefore only be made to a limited extent. Nevertheless, I think such a study is worthwhile because, on the one hand, Baumgarten’s work concentrates in particular on the Halachic Responsa literature, which was also adopted by the Sephardi Jews, while, on the other, there is still no correspondingly detailed study on the Sephardic situation. According to Baumgarten, Christian wet nurses were part of everyday life in the Jewish household. In part, scholars found the non-Kosher diet of the Christian wet nurse or the Christian lullabies that the wet nurse sang to be problematic. In this context, however, Baumgarten raises the following objection:

“It is noteworthy that despite their objections [those of the rabbis] – whether it be fear for the soul and future Jewish character of the child, or concern for the parent’s educational authority, none of the sources state outright that Jews should not employ Christian wet nurses.”<sup>237</sup>

By contrast, some rabbinical scholars explicitly forbade the practice of placing the child in the household of a Christian wet nurse and thus in a Christian household.<sup>238</sup> The background of the prohibitions and restrictions was, on the one hand, the fear that the Christian wet nurse could kill

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<sup>234</sup> “E la razon por que la iglesia e los emperadores e los reyes e los otros principes sofrieron a los judios beuir entre los cristianos es esta: por que ellos biuiesen como en catiuero pora siempre e fuesse remembrança a los omnes que ellos uienen del linaje daquellos que crucificaron a Nuestro Sennor Jhesu Christo.” CARPENTER: Alfonso X and the Jews (see n. 227), 28.

<sup>235</sup> Ibidem, 59.

<sup>236</sup> Elisheva BAUMGARTEN: *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe*, Princeton 2007.

<sup>237</sup> Ibidem, 138.

<sup>238</sup> Ibidem, 140.

the child in the absence of supervision, and, on the other, from a Jewish point of view, the ritual-impure and non-Kosher lifestyle of the Christian household, which could negatively influence the child.

In this context, it is striking that several of the scholars quoted by Baumgarten speak of Christians being suspected of shedding blood.<sup>239</sup> If one considers the significance of blood as important, if not the most important impurity factor both within Tahara, ritual purity, and Kashrut, food laws, it is not surprising that the spilling of blood was regarded as particularly delicate and dangerous.

In everyday practice, however, Baumgarten can prove for the northern French region that Jewish parents certainly gave their children to the Christian households of the wet nurses. Since hiring a wet nurse in one's own household was generally associated with considerably higher costs than giving the child to the wet nurse's household, as Christiane Klapisch-Zuber could prove from the Florentine household diaries, the *ricordanze*, for the transition from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Age, it can be assumed that there was, above all, a financial motivation.<sup>240</sup> Elisheva Baumgarten considers the economic aspect of choosing the wet nurse to be critical.<sup>241</sup>

It remains unclear to what extent these findings can also be applied to the Iberian Peninsula. The legal basis in the Late Middle Ages, the *Taqqanot* by the rabbi Abraham Benveniste, generally forbade a Christian from living in a Jewish household. Meyer Kayserling, who translated, annotated and published the *Taqqanot* under the title of *Das Castilianische Gemeindestatut*<sup>242</sup> in German, describes the influential position of Benveniste, who was not only appointed Court Rabbi, *Rab de la Corte*, in 1432, but also Chief Justice, *Juez mayor*, over all Sephardic communities in the Castilian Kingdom. In the same year, the *Taqqanot* were enacted in Valladolid.<sup>243</sup> There it says:

“Further, we order that no Jew shall keep a Christian to serve nor may a Jew live permanently with a Christian in his house, either for pay or free of charge, because great tribulations may arise and will arise out of it, and in earlier times, when the communities enjoyed more peace and quiet, this arrangement was made by them.”<sup>244</sup>

This shows a clear ban and, moreover, the argument of conflict avoidance is used, as in the Christian legal texts of the Iberian Peninsula. In addition, reference is made to the tradition of such a ban.

Now it is necessary to address the question of which sources provide insight into the practical

<sup>239</sup> Ibidem, 140.

<sup>240</sup> KLAPISCH-ZUBER: Blood Parents and Milk Parents (see n. 144), 136.

<sup>241</sup> BAUMGARTEN: Mothers and Children (see n. 236), 143.

<sup>242</sup> The Castilian Community Statute.

<sup>243</sup> MEYER KAYSERLING: Das Castilianische Gemeindestatut: Zugleich ein Beitrag zu den Rechts-, Rabbinats- und Gemeindeverhältnissen der Juden in Spanien, in: Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums 4 (1869), 263–334, here 267, 291.

<sup>244</sup> Translation of Meyer Kayserling's German translation; “Otroisi ordonamos que ningun Judio non pueda tener pora que le sierva ó more con el dentro en su casa בקביות כריסטאנה אלגונה ול בשבר ל בשבר ל por cuanto pueden nacer, y nascen grandes תקנות; y en los קדמונים קדמונים que tenían mas שלוח והשקט los יציוו קהלות, habia esta תקנה entre ellos.” Ibidem, 319.

everyday life of a wet nurse on the Iberian Peninsula. José María Madurell Marimón<sup>245</sup> published a total of 107 documents on late medieval employment contracts of Jews and New Christians in Barcelona from 1349 to 1416 in the journal *Sefarad*. Among them are six wet nurse contracts, documents 21, 41, 47, 49, 50 and 53.

Jewish wet nurses were employed for Jewish children in all cases. Christians are mentioned in the contracts only as witnesses or composers. The contracts were concluded between the child's father and the husband of the wet nurse in ideal cases. However, there are already two exceptions among the six contracts. In one case, the child's mother concluded the contract with the wet nurse's husband (Doc. 41). In another case, the parties signing the contract were the father of the child's mother and the wet nurse (Doc. 53), but with the permission of her husband, as explicitly stated in the text. The child's father also confirmed the contract, but he did not appear as one of the main parties to the contract. In the mirror for princes by Antonio de Guevara, which Carolyn Nadeau studied, Guevara also claims that the mother selects the wet nurse and the father solely makes the decision as to whether or not a wet nurse should be employed at all.<sup>246</sup> Such a practice cannot be seen in the late medieval wet nurse contracts from Barcelona.

In regard to the exact arrangements, the payments were quite different, and, in one case, no mention is made of the household in which the wet nurse breastfed the child (Doc. 53). All the wet nurses, more precisely the couple themselves, received monthly payments. However, additional one-off payments (Doc. 21 & 49) were made in some cases and should not be left out of consideration in a comparison. Furthermore, it is necessary to remember that food and lodging were provided by the employer when the wet nurse came into the household, but there are exceptions here too. For example, Juceffus (Doc. 21), whose wife Cici was to work as a wet nurse for the employer Abomario Isaachi in his household, promised that he would provide his wife with all the necessities during this time:

“I, the aforesaid Juceffus, promise you, under the aforesaid penalty [10 Barcelonesian pounds] and, by virtue of the signed oath, that I will provide you [Abomario Isaachi] with the food and everything needed by my wife during the indicated period of eight months.”<sup>247</sup>

In this case, the employer only paid for the wet nurse's accommodation, but not for her meals. On the other hand, if the wet nurse had the child in her own household, it can also be found that the employer paid a residence allowance, *logerium*,<sup>248</sup> (Doc. 21 & 47) for the child.

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245 José María MADURELL MARIMÓN: La contratación laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349–1416) I: Documentos para su estudio, in: *Sefarad* 16 (1956), 33–71; José María MADURELL MARIMÓN: La contratación laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349–1416) II: Documentos para su estudio (Continuación), in: *Sefarad* 16 (1956), 369–398; José María MADURELL MARIMÓN: La contratación laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349–1416) III: Documentos para su estudio (Conclusión), in: *Sefarad* 17 (1957), 73–102.

246 NADEAU: Blood Mother/Milk Mother (see n. 145), 166.

247 “Insuper ego dictus Juceffus, promito vobis, sub dicta pena [X librarum barchinonensium] et virtute juramenti subscripti, quod infra dictum tempus octo mensium providebo te uxore mee, in comestione et aliis sibi necessariis.” MADURELL MARIMÓN: La contratación laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349–1416) I (see n. 245), 66.

248 *Ibidem*, 66.



However, two documents offer us a very direct comparison since they involve the same employer, Asquia de Millan, who tried to hire a wet nurse for his daughter Benadominam (Doc. 49)<sup>249</sup> or Benadonam (Doc. 50).<sup>250</sup> Despite the different spelling of the daughter's name, it can be assumed, due to the proximity and sequence of the contracts, that this was the same infant since Document 49 was issued on February 14, 1387, with the contract being terminated by one party on March 1, and Document 50 was issued on March 11.

The first contract stipulated that Benadominam should be nursed with half the milk in the household of wet nurse Joyam and her husband Centou Guebbay, a die maker, "cum media lacte,"<sup>251</sup> whereby the wet nurse was also supposed to spend a few nights with the child in the household of the employer. For this service, the couple was to receive 20 Barcelonesian shillings per month and a one-off payment of 44 shillings on the celebration of Passover.

The second contract, by contrast, laid out that Benadonam would remain in the house of her father and be nursed by wet nurse Aster from there. For this, the wet nurse and her husband, the shoemaker Salamonus Issach, were to receive 26 shillings per month. The higher monthly salary could be due not only to residency in the employer's household, but also to the fact that the infant was apparently nursed exclusively in the second case. A clear additional financial expenditure, as Klapisch-Zuber noted for Florence, cannot therefore be proven by the six documents from late medieval Barcelona for nursing in the employer's household. Another reason could be that when the wet nurses had the child in their own household for nursing, they were in Barcelona, in the immediate urban environment and within easy reach of their employers. Klapisch-Zuber, however, compares, above all, the different payment of the wet nurses in the employer's household with those who were in the greater Florentine area (within a radius of fifteen kilometers and beyond).<sup>252</sup> This example shows that these comparisons require caution and regional differences should not be underestimated. Such a comparison must sometimes be dared due to the extremely scarce sources.

The Jewish legal texts to date have exclusively dealt with the Christian wet nurse in a Jewish household. As for the reverse case, that of a Jewish wet nurse for a Christian child, the Talmudic treatise *Avodah Zara* strictly forbade this. Medieval Halachic literature paid little attention to this phenomenon and only reflected the Talmudic position without further remarks or commentary. Baumgarten could not find a single reference to such a case in everyday practice and comes to the conclusion:

"Jewish women were forbidden to serve as wet nurses for non-Jewish children under any circumstances. The reason for their absolute and complete denial of permission was theological – a Jewish woman who nursed the son of a gentile idol worshiper was helping to raise a future idol worshiper, a practice no Jew should abet. Finding such cases in medieval sources is difficult. Considering all the practical problems that might arise from such a situation, it is hard to imagine a situation in which Jewish women would work in Christian homes. One

249 MADURELL MARIMÓN: La contratación laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349–1416) II (see n. 245), 383–384.

250 Ibidem, 384.

251 Ibidem, 383.

252 KLAPISCH-ZUBER: Blood Parents and Milk Parents (see n. 144), 137.

can assume that such women, if they existed, were on the margins of Jewish society.”<sup>253</sup>

This ban was apparently also known in early modern Christian circles. Accordingly, the Italian Dominican Giovanni Ludovici Vivaldi († 1540)<sup>254</sup> reports of the atrocities that would be committed against the Christians according to the Jewish Talmud, and writes: “Because the Jewish woman commits a great sin when she nurses the son of Christians.”<sup>255</sup>

But if there were no Jewish wet nurses for Christian children, why did the *Cortes*, the Provincial Synods and the Papacy repeatedly impose such bans? Was the legislation perhaps not based on everyday practice at all, but simply aimed at preventing any possibility of private contact between Jews and Christians, even hypothetical cases? Or were there regional differences? Should Sephardic wet nurses for Christian children have possibly been customary on the Iberian Peninsula, while the care of Christian children was unthinkable for Ashkenazic wet nurses in Germany and northern France?

The six wet nurse contracts of late medieval Barcelona do not contain such a case; not even New Christian employers appear here. Overall, only one can be found in the 107 employment contracts, a case where a Jewish goldsmith worked for a Christian employer (Doc. 5).<sup>256</sup> Christian witnesses, also in the wet nurse contracts, are not uncommon, by contrast. They can even be clergy, for example, with Document 47 naming the parish priest of the Church of Beata Maria of Mollet<sup>257</sup> from the diocese Elne<sup>258</sup> Poncio de Conomines, “rectore ecclesie beate Marie de Molleto, elnensis diocesis,”<sup>259</sup> as witness.

That there were at least New Christian employers, however, is proven by an Inquisition trial, studied by Hering Torres, in the Aragonese kingdom, more precisely in Teruel, which was sought at the end of the 15th century against the merchant Luís Santángel and his wife Brianda Besante. They were accused of secretly practicing the Jewish faith. For Brianda Besante, however, the fact that she had hired a Jewish wet nurse for her daughter became fatal.<sup>260</sup> This trial will be addressed in more detail later. In this context, it is initially only intended to serve as proof that there were at least Jewish wet nurses for New Christian children.

Furthermore, there is also evidence of a Christian wet nurse for a New Christian child in a regional

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253 BAUMGARTEN: *Mothers and Children* (see n. 236), 143.

254 In regard to Giovanni Ludovici Vivaldi, see also chapter 3.4.3 *The Special Case of Juan de Quiñones*, since Quiñones cites him as one of his theological references.

255 “Etiam quia mulier iudea committit magnum peccatum in lactando filio christiani.” Johannes Ludovicus VIVALDUS: *Opus regale*, Lyon: Stephano Gueynard, 1508, 181v.

256 See MADURELL MARIMÓN: *La contratación laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349–1416) I* (see n. 245), 43, 52–53.

257 This is presumably the place we know of as Mollet de Peralada today. The church no longer exists.

258 Elne is located in the Oriental Pyrenees and belongs to the French region of Languedoc-Roussillon today.

259 MADURELL MARIMÓN: *La contratación laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349–1416) II* (see n. 245), 382.

260 Max Sebastián HERING TORRES (ed.): *Cuerpos anómalos*, Bogotá 2008, 116; Max Sebastián HERING TORRES: *Cuerpo, Misoginia y Raza. España y América en los siglos XVI–XVII*, in: Yolanda AIXELÀ CABRÉ et al. (ed.): *Desvelando el cuerpo*, Madrid 2010, 145–156, here 151; Manuel SÁNCHEZ MOYA/Jasone MONASTERIO ASPIRI: *Los judaizantes turolenses en el siglo XV. Continuación*, in: *Sefarad* 32 (1972), 307–340, here 335.

study by Sara T. Nalle<sup>261</sup> on the Conversos of Sigüenza. The infant is Juan de Torres, an up-and-coming Converso in the highest service, who was persecuted by the Inquisition. Before it came to this, however, his father made every effort to enable his son to integrate as completely as possible – one could probably also speak of assimilation here – into Old Christian society. Accordingly, he sent his child to the countryside, to one of the villages near Sigüenza, and had an Old Christian wet nurse raise him there. Nalle also sees in this act a break with social taboos,<sup>262</sup> which shows even more strongly the Torres family's desire to ensure the smooth inclusion of the child in Old Christian society if they were prepared to ignore social taboos. And the remarkable rise that Juan Torres initially enjoyed in his career seems to suggest that the family was right on this point. However, it cannot be ruled out that financial considerations did not play an additional role in the decision to send the child to a wet nurse in the countryside since the wet nurse in the countryside – whether a New or Old Christian – was probably the cheaper alternative to a wet nurse in the city.

## 2.3 The Early Modern Ban on New Christian Wet Nurses

After the Alhambra edict of 1492 and the rigorous expulsion of the Jews from the Spanish kingdom and, as of 1497, from the Portuguese kingdom, the problem of the Jewish wet nurse in a Christian household should have been irrelevant. Instead, however, the warnings were transferred to the group of New Christians.

The ideologists of blood purity referred primarily to a regulation that allowed only Old Christian wet nurses to raise *infantes* in the royal household. In the files on the royal wet nurses in the Palace Archive, there are also repeated references to the practice of genealogical investigations.<sup>263</sup> However, I could not find an official ban on New Christian wet nurses for the royal family. In his study, Eduardo Montagut also refers to a general legal gap for the wet nurse system in early modern Spain. The topic of wet nurses in orphanages alone was subject to legal regulations in 1796.<sup>264</sup> Montagut attributes the legal gap to the fact that wet nurses belonged to the domestic sphere, which did not play a central role for the royal administration.<sup>265</sup>

This raises the question of what ban the ideologists of blood purity were referring to. Finally, among them, there were also lawyers who we can assume were familiar with the legal situation. It can be supposed that a law from the *Siete Partidas* (SP 7.2.3) served as the basis for the selection criteria of wet nurses in the royal household. This dealt with the question of how the royal children should be looked after, *en que manera deuen ser guardados los hijos de los reyes*. It was emphasized that the selection of the right wet nurse by the royal couple was one of the first and most important tasks to ensure the welfare of the child. The explanatory remarks were very detailed:

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261 NALLE: A Forgotten Campaign against the Conversos of Sigüenza (see n. 72).

262 Ibidem, 13.

263 AGP: Amas de lactancia, 1631; AGP: Amas de lactancia. Felipe IV. Relaciones de amas de pecho y respuesto con sueldos y gajes durante todo el reinado, 1651–1655 (see n. 100).

264 [CHARLES IV OF SPAIN] (ed.): *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España*, vol. 3, Madrid 1805–1829, 411–415, Lib. VII, Tit. 37, Ley V.

265 MONTAGUT: *Criadas y nodrizas en la casa real* (see n. 143), 80.

“And those who are to handle this care first must be the king and queen. And this [care] consists in giving them [the *infantes*] healthy and well-mannered wet nurses because the child is guided and raised by the wet nurse from the moment she gives him the breast until weaning. And since the time of this rearing lasts longer than that of the mother: therefore, it cannot be that the child does not receive much from the wet nurse’s demeanor and customs. That is why the ancient scholars who talked about these things in a natural way said that the children of kings should have wet nurses who had enough milk and were well-mannered, healthy, beautiful, of good descent and good customs.”<sup>266</sup>

Some aspects of these explanatory remarks are reminiscent of the ideal of wet nurses, conveyed in the writings of early modern physicians. The ideas of good customs and the transfer of character can also be found here. However, the emphasis in the *Siete Partidas* was not so much on breast milk, but on the time the wet nurse spent with the child. That the relationship between the wet nurse and child was given the greatest importance is also seen in the further argumentation of the text. It is explained that the wet nurse should be beautiful and decent so that the child can love and enjoy her more. Emilie L. Bergmann points out that the text of the law was based on Avicenna’s version of Soranus of Ephesus.<sup>267</sup>

That the wet nurse should also be of good descent seems to have been the central argument for the ideologists of blood purity who associated the *buen linaje* with Old Christian descent. That they actually fell back on this passage from the *Siete Partidas* becomes especially clear with Antonio Fernández de Otero because he apparently quotes, almost literally, from the *Siete Partidas*, as we will see in chapter 2.3.4 *Warnings against New Christian Wet Nurses*.

If New Christian wet nurses are rejected, the assumption of moral repute cannot be questioned. Here, the biologicistic features of early modern medicine can be clearly seen. According to Gracia Guillén, the idea conveyed in Antiquity and primarily by Galen that the bodily humors – above all blood – influence morality contradicts Catholic ideas of free will and was therefore more likely to be rejected in the Middle Ages.<sup>268</sup> It can certainly be seen that greater importance was attached to the environment and education. This is also mentioned in the law of the *Siete Partidas* since the aspect of character transfer via breast milk was far less important in the text than the social bond between the wet nurse and child. The extent to which this is connected with the doctrine of free will, which came under fire in the Early Modern Age through the Protestant teachings, but also through Jansenism within the Roman Catholic Church, must be left open at this point. However, it can be assumed that many more influential factors are to be considered here. During the 16th century,

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<sup>266</sup> “E los que primeramente deuen fazer esta guarda ha de ser el rey y la reyna. Y esto es en darles amas sanas y bien acostumbradas. Ca bien asi commo el niño se gouierña y se cria del ama desde que el da la teta fasta que gela tuelle. E por que el tiempo desta criança es ma luengo que el de la madre : porende no puede ser que non resçiba mucho del contenente y de las costumbres del ama. Onde los sabios antiguos que fablaron en estas cosas naturalmente dixieron que los fijos de los reyes deuen auer a tales amas que ayan leche assaz y sean bien acostumbradas y sanas y fermosas y de buen linaie y de buenas costumbres.” ALFONSO X EL SABIO: *Las siete partidas: Con glosas en castellano de Alonso Díaz de Montalvo*, Valladolid 1988 (facsimile Sevilla 1491), Vol. I, Partida II, Titulo VII, s.p.

<sup>267</sup> BERGMANN: *Milking the Poor* (see n. 141), 105.

<sup>268</sup> GRACIA GUILLÉN: *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial* (see n. 88), 331.

however, the idea of a transfer of character reemerged in the Iberian region, reinforced by a new biologism, *biologicismo*.<sup>269</sup> The question of heredity and above all the determination or conditioning of character by the constellation of inherited bodily humors became increasingly important in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, while the environment and education were often assigned only a secondary role.

### 2.3.1 Juan Huarte de San Juan

The work titled *The Examination of Men's Wits* by the physician Juan Huarte de San Juan is an example of this. In his book of advice on raising children, he suggested educating and encouraging children according to their talents since he assumed that the inclination and ability to pursue a certain science was already inherent in the child's nature and also could not be shifted or removed. He discusses this at length in his first chapter, which, not without reason, bears the following title in the first English translation from 1594<sup>270</sup>:

“Chapter I. He prooueth by an example, that if a Child haue not the disposition and abilitie, which is requisit for that science wherunto he will addict himselfe, it is a superfluous labour to be instructed therein by good schoolemaisters, to have store of bookes, and continually to studie it.”<sup>271</sup>

The physician finds that the right upbringing plays an important role, but without the child having natural talent for a science, all the efforts will be in vain, in his opinion. Therefore, children should be encouraged to follow their natural intellectual abilities, that is, act according to *ingenio y habilidad*. Later in this first chapter, Huarte adds an explanation. In this case I will cite the sole German translation by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781):

“At least it is not possible to deny what I have said, namely that there are heads that were born for a science, but are quite untalented at all others. So before the boy begins to study, one must explore the powers of his soul, see which science suits him and let him learn only this science and no others.”<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> See *Ibidem*, 331.

<sup>270</sup> This first translation by Richard Carew was based on the Italian translation of Camillo Camilli. For more details about the translations and reception history of Huarte's book, see the introduction of Rocío G. Sumillera: Juan HUARTE: *The Examination of Men's Wits*, trans. by Richard CAREW, vol. 17, *Modern Humanities Research Association Tudor & Stuart Translations*, London 2014, 23–30.

<sup>271</sup> Juan HUARTE: *Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of Men's Wits*, trans. by Richard CAREW/Camillo CAMILLI, London: Printed by Adam Islip, for Thomas Man, 1594, 1. The Spanish original here reads: “Capitulo I donde se prueba por un ejemplo que si el muchacho no tiene el ingenio y habilidad que pide la ciencia que quiere estudiar, por demás es oír de buenos maestros, tener muchos libros, ni trabajar en ellos toda la vida.” HUARTE: *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (see n. 91), 69.

<sup>272</sup> “Wenigstens ist das was ich gesagt habe nicht zu leugnen, daß es nemlich Koepfe giebt welche zu einer Wissenschaft durchaus gebohren, zu jeder andern aber durchaus ungeschickt sind. Ehe also der Knabe zu studiren anfaengt, muß man seine Seelenkraefte erforschen, sehen welche Wissenschaft mit seiner ueberein koemmt und ihm nur diese und

It can be seen here that there is a slight shift in meaning between the original text by Huarte de San Juan and the German translation by Lessing because while Huarte de San Juan speaks of the children being destined for a science, that is, *determinados para una ciencia*, Lessing assumes that they must have been born for this. Simultaneously, he also refers to the cause of the destiny, i.e. the child, more precisely the powers of his soul, *la manera de su ingenio*, are consequently determined by birth. That Lessing does justice to Huarte's concern with this specification, can be seen in another chapter in the book of advice on raising children, namely in "Part fifteen. What is without a doubt the most important aspect, because one sees in this, how fathers should produce wise sons capable of the sciences."<sup>273</sup> The emphasis here lies quite consciously on the fathers and sons because Huarte based his work as a physician on the conventional theories in Antiquity to the extent that women and men were only different since the genitalia in the case of a woman were turned inward. According to these theories, the woman was nothing other than a man imperfectly formed by nature.<sup>274</sup> So if it was a matter of producing a perfect human who would be highly capable of the sciences, then this advice had to be addressed to the male sex. Huarte writes in this regard:

"Those parents who seeke the comfort of hauing wise children, and such as are towards for learning, must endeouour that they may be borne male: for the female, through the cold and moist of their sex, cannot be endowed with any profound iudgment."<sup>275</sup>

Moisture and cold were thus regarded as the naturally predominant qualities of a woman's humoral constellation. According to humoralism, these qualities radiate from the uterus primarily to the brain, which is also prone to moisture and cold by nature. However, this increase in moisture and cold impairs the brain, while by contrast dryness and heat, the naturally predominant qualities of the

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keine andere lernen lassen." Juan HUARTE: *Prüfung der Köpfe zu den Wissenschaften*, trans. by Gotthold Ephraim LESSING, Munich 1968 (reprint of the edition Zerbst 1752), 7. The English translation from 1594 reads: "It cannot be denied, but that (as I haue sayd) there are wits found capable of one science, which are vntoward for another: and therefore it behooues, before the child be set to studie, to discouer the manner of his wit, and to see what science agreeth with his capacitie, and then to prouide that he may applie the same." HUARTE: *Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of Men's Wits* (see n. 271), 6. The Spanish original says: "Esto que tengo dicho, a lo menos, no se puede negar, sino que hay ingenios determinados para una ciencia, los cuales para otra son disparatos. Y, por tanto, conviene, antes que el muchacho se ponga a estudiar, descubrirle la manera de su ingenio y ver cuál de las ciencias viene bien con su habilidad, y hacerle que le aprenda." HUARTE: *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (see n. 91), 73.

273 "Fünfzehentes Hauptstück. Welches ohne Zweifel das wichtigste seyn wird, weil man darinne zeigt, wie die Vaeter weise und zu den Wissenschaften faehige Soehne erzeugen sollen." HUARTE: *Prüfung der Köpfe zu den Wissenschaften* (see n. 272), 359. The Spanish original reads: "Capitulo XV donde se trae la manera cómo los padres han de engendrar los hijos sabios y del ingenio que requieren las letras. Es capítulo notable." HUARTE: *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (see n. 91), 310. The English translation from 1594 just contains the following: "Chap. XV. In what maner Parents may beget wise children, and of a wit fit for learning." HUARTE: *Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of Men's Wits* (see n. 271), 6.

274 See HUARTE: *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (see n. 91), 315 or HUARTE: *Prüfung der Köpfe zu den Wissenschaften* (see n. 272), 367.

275 HUARTE: *Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of Men's Wits* (see n. 271), 286. The Spanish original says: "Los padres que quisieren gozar de hijos sabios y que tengan habilidad para letras, han de procurar que nazcan varones; porque las hembras, por razón de la frialdad y humedad de su sexo, no pueden alcanzar ingenio profundo." HUARTE: *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (see n. 91), 331.

humoral constellation in men, create the necessary balance in the brain to perfect it.<sup>276</sup> In order to beget suitable male descendants for the sciences and thus for the benefit of the state,<sup>277</sup> intelligent men should heed the following points according to Huarte's medical advice:

"I say then, that if parents will attaine the end of their desire in this behalfe, they are to obserue 6 points. One of which is, to eat meats hot and drie. The second, to procure that they make good digestion in the stomacke. The third, to vse much exercise. The fourth, not to apply themselues vnto the act of generation, vntill their seed be well ripened and seasoned. The fifth, to companie with the wife foure or fiue daies before her naturall course is to runne. The sixth, to procure, that the seed fall in the right side of the womb. which being obserued (as we shall prescribe) it will grow impossible, that a female should be engendred."<sup>278</sup>

Apart from the temporal and spatial conditions – i.e. the fourth, fifth and sixth measures – Huarte apparently attached the greatest importance to the diet and physical strengthening in particular for the optimal preparation of the male body with regard to the procreation of intelligent sons. The physician Huarte de San Juan finds that conditioning and determining the character thus proves to be the primary concern of his book on advice for raising children, which was directed purely at men. This clearly reveals the early modern medical biologism of the 16th and 17th century.

### 2.3.2 The New Christian Wet Nurse Issue and its Context

A passage from the 1631 text *Discurso contra judíos*<sup>279</sup> by Diego Gavilán Vela, who translated from Portuguese into Spanish a work that was originally composed by Vicente da Costa Matos<sup>280</sup> can serve as an example for the New Christian wet nurse problem:

"[...] and in the royal houses and those of the princes the first measure in the selection of wet nurses is to find out (no matter how capable they may be for this task) whether they are New or Old Christians, because it is not rightful for the royal children to be raised by the

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276 See HUARTE: Prüfung der Köpfe zu den Wissenschaften (see n. 272), 373 or HUARTE: Examen de ingenios para las ciencias (see n. 91), 319.

277 See HUARTE: Prüfung der Köpfe zu den Wissenschaften (see n. 272), 360 or HUARTE: Examen de ingenios para las ciencias (see n. 91), 310.

278 HUARTE: Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of Men's Wits (see n. 271), 289. The Spanish original reads: "Y, así, digo que se han de hacer seis diligencias con mucho cuidado si los padres quieren conseguir este fin. Una de las cuales es comer alimentos calientes y secos; la segunda, procurar que se cuezgan bien en el estómago; la tercera, hacer mucho ejercicio; la cuarta, no llegarse al acto de la generación hasta que la simiente esté cocida y bien sazónada; la quinta, tener cuenta con su mujer cuatro o cinco días antes que le venga la regla; la sexta, procurar que la simiente caiga en el lado derecho del útero. Las cuales guardadas como diremos, es imposible engendrarse mujer." HUARTE: Examen de ingenios para las ciencias (see n. 91), 333–334.

279 Discourse against the Jews.

280 Since I am focusing on the reception of the *limpieza de sangre* debate in the Spanish region and the translation by Gavilán Vela was evidently more widely read than the Portuguese original, I will use the Spanish translation by Gavilán Vela. That this makes sense can already be seen by the fact that a later author, Francisco de Torrejoncillo, evidently refers to the Spanish translation.

Jewish vileness since it is impossible for that milk, as with people who are inclined to every evil, to produce anything other than bad inclinations that come from the milk. As I have said, [it is a matter of] inclinations and customs, as evidenced by the story of an old, highly trustworthy Neapolitan soldier who said that he had seen a Judaizing Neapolitan nobleman who was punished for this and handed over to secular justice. Yet he was of the purest descent, and all this was only because a wet nurse who raised him had been Jewish. And since one knows this truth, one generally says if someone does not do what they should: You imbibed it with your mother's milk."<sup>281</sup>

The story of the Neapolitan nobleman is of particular importance here because the author uses it to a large extent for his argumentation. According to Vicente da Costa Matos, the nobleman therefore did not convert to the Jewish faith of his own free will. It was the blood of the Jewish wet nurse that was transmitted through the breast milk and led him to heresy. Such an idea has far-reaching consequences. If one continues logically along these lines, it means that the inclination to commit apostasy and heresy is passed on from generation to generation by any blood, i.e. on the one hand by blood that plays a role in conception and birth, but on the other – to no small extent – by the menstrual blood cooked into the breast milk, which serves the nutrition of the child.

Interestingly, the excerpt of the text cited above is found in part in the exact same wording in the work by Francisco de Torrejoncillo published 43 years later. However, the story about the nobleman from Naples is omitted. This is surprising initially since this part would have fit very well into Torrejoncillo's usual line of argumentation. For this reason, one could assume that the author is already so convinced by the biologicistic ideas that it is unnecessary for him to cite further evidence in this regard. This is also suggested by the minimal, but therefore all the more conspicuous change in words. Unlike Gavilán Vela, Torrejoncillo no longer speaks in his translation of *personas inclinadas a todo mal*,<sup>282</sup> but rather instead of *personas infectas*,<sup>283</sup> that is, of infected people. The inclinations resulting from the New Christian breast milk are also no longer simply bad, but rather perverse, more precisely *perversas inclinaciones*.<sup>284</sup> As already mentioned, these changes in words are minimal, but it is precisely because the author has otherwise literally copied the text of the translator Gavilán Vela that his changes are all the more significant. And although Francisco de Torrejoncillo usually mentions the authors he quotes, he does not mention Gavilán Vela at this point.

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281 “[...] y en las casas Reales, y de los Príncipes, la primera diligencia que se haze con las personas que escogen para amas, es saver (por mas dispuestas que esten para tal menester) si son Christianas nuevas, o viejas, ansi porque los hijos de los Reyes, no es justo que sean criados por la vileza Iudayca, como porque aquella leche, como de personas inclinadas a todo mal, es imposible que engendre salvo malas inclinaciones que provienen de la leche, como tengo dicho las inclinaciones, y las costumbres, lo que manifestamente se prueba con lo que un soldado viejo de Napoles muy fidedigno contò, el qual dixo: que avia visto Iudayzar un noble Napolitano, castigado, y entregado a la justicia secular por esto, siendo de limpissima generacion, solo porque una ama que lo crio era Iudia, y de el conocimiento de esta verdad se dize comunmente quando uno no haze lo que deve, con la leche lo mamaste.” COSTA MATOS: Discurso contra los judíos (see n. 67), 149.

282 Ibidem, 149.

283 TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 215.

284 Ibidem, 215.



The writing of the Portuguese Vicente da Costa Matos<sup>285</sup> and that of his translator Diego Gavilán Vela<sup>286</sup> shall be studied more closely here in order to better embed in its context the aforementioned statement, which is mentioned in many anti-*Converso* and anti-*Morisco* writings of the time. On the one hand, it can be seen that a general picture of drinking is conveyed in *Discurso contra judíos*, which can be seamlessly linked to the statements about the New Christian wet nurses. On the other hand, the image of women drawn in the script is also important here. The strong influence of the Jewish faith and its practices, especially on the *Converso* physicians, who then depart from the Christian faith and Judaize, is described as follows:

“[...] if one considers above all the confessions of the majority of them [*Converso* physicians before the Inquisition Tribunal], whereby one, since his fifth year of life (according to his own statements he confessed that he had started to Judaize at this time) drank all the hatred he lived out afterwards until he was captured after more than forty years [...]”<sup>287</sup>

The texts generally assume an innate hatred *odio innato*<sup>288</sup> of Jews and thus also of the *Conversos* towards the Christians, which is passed on from generation to generation. This hatred repeatedly conjured up in the *limpieza de sangre* tracts that made the *Conversos*, as descendants of the Jews, the greatest enemies of the Christians – *los mayores enemigos de Dios, y de sus Fieles*<sup>289</sup> – is associated with the verb drinking in this context and equated with Judaizing. From his Christian perspective, Judaizing meant for the author and his translator simply solidifying the hatred already inherent at birth by drinking. If one thinks back on the statements made by Damián Carbón in the previous chapter 2.1.1 *Discussion: Wet Nurse's Milk or Mother's Milk* in which he emphasizes that wet nurse's milk often has a greater influence on the character of the child than what is inherited from the parents by procreation, it becomes clear that here too great importance was attached to the ongoing upbringing. The image of breast milk, through which the child is suckled and reared, resonates without having to be explicitly mentioned. But not only hatred is drunk. The inclination to commit idolatry is also inherited through the milk according to the *Discurso contra judíos*. Therefore, it was said in reference to the biblical passage on the destruction of the golden calf by Moses (Ex 32, 19–

285 Vicente da Costa Matos wrote the work *Breve Discurso contra a Herética Perfídia do Judaísmo, Continuada nos Presentes Apóstatas de Nossa Santa Fé, com o Que Convém à Expulsão dos Delinquentes Nela nos Reinos de Sua Majestade, com Suas Mulheres e Filhos [...]* (1622). In translation, the title is *Brief Discourse against the Heretical Perfidy of Judaism, which has continued in the present Apostates of our Holy Faith, and how and that the Expulsion of those Delinquents with their Wives and Children is befitting in these, the Kingdoms of his Majesty*. He published a second part in 1625. His date of birth and death as well as other information is not known. See ANONYMOUS: s.v. Matos, Vicente da Costa, in: *Dicionário Cronológico de Autores Portugueses 1* (1985), access via database WBIS, 44.

286 According to his own account, Gavilán Vela was a regular canon of the Premonstratensians and belonged to the Monastery of Santa Maria de la Charidad in Ciudad-Rodrigo. COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), Title page.

287 “[...] viendo sobre todo las cofessiones [sic] de los mas [los médicos], en que alguno de hedad de cinco años (en que por su boca confessò que avia empaçado [sic] a Iudayzar) bebio todo el odio executado despues hasta mas de quarenta años en que fue preso [...]” *Ibidem*, 86.

288 *Ibidem*, 220.

289 *Ibidem*, 85–86.

20), who burned it, then ground it into powder, scattered it on the water and made the idolaters drink it:

“[...] Moses cursed the idolaters and the abomination they had committed. He took the golden calf that they worshiped, dissolved it and gave it to them to drink. And he who drank so much idolatry in gold, it is not very surprising that it is preserved to this day, in those [idolatries], which their parents gave them through the milk inherited from this [the drink of the golden calf] [...].”<sup>290</sup>

Theological and medical knowledge are interwoven here so that there was now also an Old Testament justification based on the Bible for the heredity of bad customs, especially the idolatries in this case. According to this tale, the first milk saturated by idolatry was the golden calf dissolved in water, which Moses gave to the Israelites as punishment. And this was so powerful that even the author’s Jewish contemporaries would be consumed and influenced by this. The double character of heredity, on the one hand through procreation and on the other through breast milk, is also clearly evident at this point.

As for the assessment of women, the text *Discurso contra los judíos* assumes that the Conversas are more susceptible to heresy and apostasy, as they have less intelligence and would follow their husbands in faith. As evidence, the author cites the Inquisition trials where the women were more likely to be faithful to Judaism and thus more of them were handed over to secular jurisdiction for execution. In his work, therefore, when Vicente da Costa Matos propagated his plan to expel the Conversos altogether from Portugal, he writes on women:

“With regard to women, there is no doubt that it is beneficial and necessary to expel them with their apostatizing husbands. This is because they are of the same nation, so it would be impossible for them not to follow the law of their husbands. And because Jewish superstitions are substantially more prominent in them and more examples have been seen to confirm this, since a larger number of women than men die on account of their pertinacity [in error]. And it is due to the mind, since the crime of heresy is an error of the mind and by nature they have weaker minds, so they are more susceptible to heresies in general and above all to those heresies of Judaism, which consist of superstitious practices and ceremonies to which they are inclined.”<sup>291</sup>

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290 “[...] maldiciendo Moyses a los idolatras, y a la obominacion [sic] que hazian, tomò el Becerro de oro que adoravan, y desecho se lo dio a beber, y quien a tanto que bebio idolatrias en oro, no es mucho que de presente se conserve en las que sus padres les dieron en leche heredadas de este [...]” COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), 32.

291 “En lo que toca a las mugeres, no ay duda ser provechoso, y necessario desterrarlas con los maridos Apostatas, ansi porque siendo de la mesma nacion, seria imposible no seguyr la ley de sus maridos, como porque en ellas particularmente son mas notables las supersticiones Iudaycas, y se han visto mas exemplos, que lo confirman, muriendo en su pertinacia mas numero, que de los hombres, y es la razon, que como el crimen de Heregia es yerro de entendimiento, y ellas naturalmente tengan menos, son mucho mas suxetas a Heregias, principalmente a estas de el Iudaysmo, que consisten en supersticiones, y ceremonias, a que son muy inclinadas.” *Ibidem*, 220–221.

The author regarded women as more at risk of heresy on the one hand because of their natural, weaker minds as imperfect men, which led them more easily to stray in terms of reason. And heresy is primarily defined as exactly such a straying. On the other hand, however, they are more drawn to heresy because of their loyalty and duty to be obedient in their marriage since they must also follow their husbands in faith. Thus the women in Costa Matos and Gavilán Vela were classified not only as more endangered, but also as more dangerous since their susceptibility to heresies in general – and Judaism in particular – would make them more responsible for the persistence of these heresies and the spreading of them. Costa Matos refers to the latter directly after the quotation above when he attributes less discretion and greater talkativeness to women, which would lead them to pass on and teach heresy more quickly.<sup>292</sup>

In the image of taking in heresy through the act of drinking combined with the image of women who are more susceptible to heresy and thus also more dangerous in Judaizing, the warning against New Christian nurses can thus be seamlessly added. This shows that the postulated advice not to employ New Christian wet nurses in Old Christian households is to be placed in a larger intellectual context, which is echoed again and again in the entire text.

### 2.3.3 The Heredity of the Milk

But the milk could carry not only hatred and idolatry. There seemed to be almost no limits imposed on the authors in this regard. This applies both to those who are committed to compliance with the purity of blood statutes (e.g. Juan Martínez Siíceo and Diego Velázquez/Diego de Simancas)<sup>293</sup> or even the expulsion of the Conversos (e.g. Vicente da Costa Matos and his translator Diego Gavilán Vela), as well as to those who were concerned with advocating and justifying the expulsions of the Moriscos between 1609 and 1614 (e.g. Damian Fonseca and Pedro Aznar Cardona).

The *Papeles referentes al estatuto de limpieza de sangre*,<sup>294</sup> which have been preserved as a manuscript and in which Juan Martínez Silíceo (1486–1557), Archbishop of Toledo, who defends and justifies the prevailing purity of blood statutes for his cathedral chapter, contain the following remarks, for example:

“[...] the best we will give to these people who descend from the dark lineage, and, yes, they also retain the milk – still fresh furthermore – from the parents with their depravity.”<sup>295</sup>

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292 Ibidem, 221.

293 In regard to the writings of Juan Martínez Silíceo and Diego de Simancas, judge, bishop, and inquisitor, who published his work under the pseudonym Diego Velázquez, see Robert Aleksander MARYKS: *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus*, Studies in medieval and Reformation traditions, Leiden and Berlin 2010, 29–39.

294 Papers on the Purity of Blood Statutes.

295 “[...] de optimo dabimus eos homines qui generis sunt obscuri, quippe à Parentibus recens adhuc suae pravitatis retinent lac.” BNE: Silíceo (archbishop of Toledo) et al.: *Papeles referentes al estatuto de limpieza de sangre de la Iglesia de Toledo*, 134v.

The milk that is transferred to the children via the parents is described here as flawed, as depraved. This depravity, *pravitas*, was considered to be still fresh since the conversions to Christianity, from the archbishop's point of view, had taken place only recently. Thus, residues were to be expected that would be retained in the children, which is emphasized by the verb *retinent*.

When reviewing the texts defending and justifying the expulsion of the Moriscos, it can be seen that the ingredients of milk have been defined somewhat differently here. In his apology *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España*,<sup>296</sup> the Dominican Damian Fonseca (1573–1627) discusses not hatred, but rather a learned grudge against Christians:

“They raised their children with a strange grudge against Christians, and when they wanted to scare them, they used to tell them in Arabic: Watch out, a Christian! As a result, the children hid, cried or fled when they heard this or saw us. And since they imbibed this milk, they always kept this aversion.”<sup>297</sup>

The image of feeding with breast milk, *mamar la leche*, serves in this case to describe in more detail how the aversion and also fear of Christians was instilled in the children of Morisco families. How deeply this antipathy in the children remained even as adults, or how it was anchored in the body was supposed to be demonstrated to the reader with the help of the breast milk metaphor. But the author went one step further and also tried to explain the Morisco uprisings in this way:

“[...] all in all it seems that they learn [the breaches of trust] through their caste and that they imbibe this rebellion and low loyalty to their kings with the milk.”<sup>298</sup>

In regard to the image of breast milk and caste, *la casta*,<sup>299</sup> as Fonseca suggested that the Moriscos had a natural, inherited tendency to be disloyal and rebel. This attribution served the strategy of his argumentation since if the tendency to resist was anchored naturally and thus unchangeably in the Moriscos, only the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain would remain as an effective means of securing the kingdom. To look at it again from the flip side: If there were the possibility of re-educating the Moriscos to become loyal and devoted subjects, the expulsion of the Moriscos could no longer be presented as justified.

Another sentence in his apology also suggests that Damian Fonseca deliberately wanted to use the metaphor of breast milk to tie in with generally known medical knowledge:

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296 Just Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.

297 “Criavan sus hijos con una estraña ogeriza contra los Christianos, y quando los querian espantar, les solian dezir en su Algaravia; *guarda Christiano*, por lo qual oyrnos nombrar, ò en vernos, se escondian, lloravan, y huian, y como mamavan esta leche, siempre conservavan aquella antipatia.” Damian FONSECA: *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España: Con la instrucción, apostasia, y trayción dellos. Y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia*, Rom: Por Iacomo Mascardo, 1612, 127.

298 “[...] con todo parece que les venia de casta, y que con la leche mamavan esta rebelion, y poca fidelidad a sus Reyes [...]” Ibidem, 152.

299 The word is used as an equivalent for concepts such as *linaje* and *raza*, thereby referring to descent. In research, Américo Castro (1885–1972), who spoke of a caste system in light of Spanish premodern society, took up the concept, which led to some misunderstandings.

“Such children had to be born from such parents – traitors like them, who used to imbibe with the milk the good and bad customs of their progenitors.”<sup>300</sup>

The transmission of character through breast milk, as described in the medical treatises, serves here once again to confirm the naturally inherent, treacherous character of the Moriscos in general. If one continues this thought, it means that the descendants of the Moriscos are classified by the author as guiltlessly guilty, as traitors against their will, condemned to this behavior by their inherited nature. The author also used this classification to absolve himself and his motives from any self-harbored grudge since he would not be driven by hatred himself, but solely by the realization that the Moriscos could never be loyal subjects due to their natural heredity and thus would have to be represented as a danger for the kingdom and be expelled.

It should be noted at this point that various ingredients could be added to the milk. Hatred, grudge, idolatry, depravity, infidelity and rebellion can be found in the texts. It is also important to remember that the focus is always on the transmission or heredity of these character weaknesses and emotions through the vehicle of the breast milk. If one goes a step further, it is necessary to examine how this illustrated issue of heredity, which one could not escape, led to warnings against New Christian wet nurses.

#### 2.3.4 Warnings against New Christian Wet Nurses

Now it is necessary to address the following questions: In what form were the warnings against New Christian wet nurses made in various texts of the time and how were they justified? In the *Tractatus de officialibus reipublicae* by Antonio Fernández de Otero, he starts by citing the statement that no New Christian wet nurses “or descending from unclean blood”<sup>301</sup> were permitted for royal children. Here, too, there is a strong similarity to Vicente da Costa Matos’ remarks in the translation by Diego Gavilán Vela. Following this statement, however, he cites as confirmation great physicians such as Avicenna and Luis Lobera de Ávila as well as the lawyer Ignacio del Villar Maldonado. Fernández de Otero at this point leaves out the fact that Luis Lobera de Ávila, like Avicenna, generally talks about the importance of the character of the wet nurse or mother for the child and by no means about New Christian wet nurses. The text by the lawyer Villar Maldonado will be discussed in more detail below. Fernández de Otero connects his passage about the ban on New Christian wet nurses for the royal descendants, *fliorum Regis*, with a more detailed explanation in Castilian, which was written in italics in the treatise and probably represents an almost literal quotation from the *Siete Partidas*:

“[...] this means giving them intelligent, well-mannered wet nurses of good descent. Just as the child is instructed and raised in the mother’s body until it is born, so it is instructed and raised by the wet nurse from the moment it receives the breast until the time it is weaned.

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<sup>300</sup> “De tales padres, tales hijos avian de nacer, traydores como ellos, que de ordinario suelen estos con la leche mamar las buenas, y malas costumbres de sus progenitores.” FONSECA: *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España: Con la instrucción, apostasia, y trayción dellos. Y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia* (see n. 297), 153.

<sup>301</sup> “[V]el immundo sanguine procedentem”; FERNÁNDEZ DE OTERO: *Tractatus de officialibus reipublicae* (see n. 44), 17.

And since the time of this rearing lasts longer than that of the mother: therefore, it cannot be that the child does not receive much from the wet nurse's temperament and character. That is why the ancient scholars who talked about these things in a natural way said that the children of kings should have wet nurses who had enough milk and were well-mannered, healthy, beautiful, of good lineage and good customs."<sup>302</sup>

Although this excerpt resembles the legal text to an almost astonishing degree, some changes in meaning can be seen nonetheless. On the one hand, Fernández de Otero gives a prominent place to "good lineage," *buen linaje*, and connects it with the question of blood purity, thereby reinterpreting it consciously. On the other, he reinforces the idea of character transmission through milk with the concept of temperament, *temperamento*, instead of demeanor, *contenente*.

That the question of descent was not limited to women, however, follows from the text *Sylva responsorum iuris* by the already mentioned lawyer Villar Maldonado. His date of birth and death are not known. It can be said on the basis of his work that his *Forest of Legal Answers* appeared in Madrid in 1614, and Villar Maldonado completed a work begun by his father. In the twelfth answer in which the legal status of both the neophytes<sup>303</sup> and the children of heretics are treated, the ban on New Christian wet nurse's in the royal house is also addressed. The lawyer continues:

"[...] each of the spouses is thoroughly examined and questioned and if, in any way, one of the two spouses descends from a family of Jewish origin, she may under no circumstances be admitted to this office [...]."<sup>304</sup>

According to Villar Maldonado, not only the wife and potential wet nurse should be examined and questioned, but also her husband. If one of the two spouses, be it the wife or husband, had Jewish ancestors in their family tree, the wife was unsuitable for the office of wet nurse for the *infantes* in the royal house.

This raises the question of why the lawyer took both spouses into consideration. One might assume that the greater importance of the legal component is seen here, as it was already mentioned in the medieval code of laws in the *Siete Partidas*, i.e., the desire to strictly separate the Jewish and Christian worlds. Perhaps, however, the statements already go beyond this level and involve the fact that if the husband had Jewish ancestors, the potential wet nurse would have born and possibly

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302 "[...] esto es en darles amas savias y bien acostumbradas y de buen linaje. Bien ansi como el niño se gobierna y se cria en el cuerpo de la madre asta que nace otro si se gobierna y cria de la ama desde que le da la teta asta destetarle y porque el tiempo de esta crianza es mas largo que el de la madre por ende no puede ser que no reciva mucho del tenperamento [sic] y de las costumbres del ama. Onde los savios antiguos que ablaron en estas cosas naturalmente dixeron que los hijos de los Reies deven tener a tales amas que tengan leche asat y sean vien acostumbradas y sanas y hermosas y de buen linaje, y de buenas costumbres." FERNÁNDEZ DE OTERO: *Tractatus de officialibus reipublicae* (see n. 44), 17.

303 Villar Maldonado included the Conversos under the neophytes, i.e., the freshly baptized.

304 "[...] utriusque coniugis exactissima fit examinatio, & inquisitio: & si fortè quovis modo alteruter coniux à genere Iudæorum originem trahat, neutiquam in id munus admitti solet [...]." VILLAR MALDONADO: *Sylva responsorum iuris*, in duos libros divisa (see n. 25), 131r.

nursed a child with partially Jewish roots. This would mean that the medical ideas of the time also played an increasing role in the legal texts.

Against the backdrop of the image of women, which Vicente da Costa Matos draws in his text to justify the expulsion of Conversos from Portugal,<sup>305</sup> and his statement that women are at more risk and more susceptible to heresy, among other things because they have to follow their husbands in religion, one could assume that Villar Maldonado might have thought of this potential danger. From this perspective, her marriage vow would have harmed the wet nurse's customs and made her unsuitable for the rearing of the *infantes*.

Which of these three assumptions is more correct or whether it is even a mixture of several or all, must be left open since Villar Maldonado does not explain the reasons for this. Instead, he discusses afterwards why such a wet nurse should not be permitted, and cites Avicenna and Luis Lobera de Ávila, who are already familiar authorities, at this point. The latter could lead to the conclusion that the second assumption is indeed most likely to be true so that medicine also played a role in this aspect that both spouses are taken into consideration.

How popular this topic of New Christian wet nurses also was in a more general context can be seen in the *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana*<sup>306</sup> by Juan de Pineda. He wanted to give his readers the broadest possible knowledge of Christian life through entertaining conversations. Accordingly, in dialog XV, chapter XXI, Filótimo and Policronio talk about a Christian upbringing and New Christian wet nurses:

“Filótimo. – It is a worthy matter that those who rule the state should be concerned that neither a Morisca nor a woman of Jewish blood raise the children of Old Christians since their blood still tastes of and is tainted with the sticky beliefs of their ancestors. And without any guilt of their own, the children could gain an aftertaste of it, which would be bad for them later as adults. And often I heard a man, equipped with a good mind and rhetorical skills, say that half the quarter he got from his Jewish side never stopped scaring him that he would turn back into a Jew.

Policronio. – This is similar to what my Moriscos say when I correct some mutterings that smell stagnant of Moorish heresy, *natura revertura* – nature returns.”<sup>307</sup>

What is striking about this conversation is the demand addressed to government officials to extend the ban on New Christian wet nurses to Old Christian households in general instead of imposing

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<sup>305</sup> See chapter 2.3.2 *The New Christian Wet Nurse Issue and its Context*.

<sup>306</sup> Familiar Dialogues about Christian Agriculture.

<sup>307</sup> “Filótimo. – Cosa es muy digna de ser provista por los que gobiernan las repúblicas, que mujer morisca ni de sangre de judíos criase a hijos de cristianos viejos, porque aún les sabe la sangre a la pega de las creencias de sus antepasados, y sin culpa suya podrían los niños cobrar algún resabio que para después de hombres les supiese mal; y muchas veces oí decir a un hombre de buen seso y conversación, que medio cuarto, que tenía de judío, nunca dejaba de le importunar, que se tornase judío.

Policronio. – Eso me parece lo que dicen mis moriscos, cuando los reprehendo de algunos sonsonetes que oliscan a moraizar, *natura revertura*.”

Juan de PINEDA: *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana* III, vol. 163, Biblioteca de autores españoles, Madrid 1963, 103.

this ban only on the royal house as before. Interestingly, in Filótimo's speech, the author uses the image of taste or aftertaste, *resabio*, and stickiness, *pegar*, to illustrate how heresy influences the blood and thus both the wet nurse and – in a second step – the child to be nursed. The sinful, heretical character of the ancestors does not only remain attached to the New Christians like a stain, but at this point it is symbolized by a bad aftertaste that a reasonable, rhetorically confident man fears.

The second speaker, Policronio, also mentions another sensory experience – smell. According to him, some of the Moriscos' utterances “smell stagnant,” *oliscar*, of heresy and apostasy, that is, of leaving Christianity and returning to Islam. Accordingly, it is the sensory perceptions of taste and smell that are supposed to allegorically reveal the heresy attached to the Conversos and Moriscos. In addition, both speakers underline the inevitability of the attachment of this stain by having it confirmed by those affected. Filótimo cites the man who is one-eighth Jewish and who feels that he cannot escape this eighth. In Policronio, it is “his Moriscos” who, according to their own statements, would always revert to their nature.

The last statement about reverting to their nature, *natura revertura*, could refer to a proverb: “Natura revertura, el gato á la asadura.”<sup>308</sup> In terms of the structure of the reasoning, there are strong similarities to the passage in Vicente da Costa Matos, as translated into Spanish by Gavilán Vela, which Francisco de Torrejoncillo also replicated almost literally because here, too, the argumentation ended with a proverb. And at least in Costa Matos, the story of the Neapolitan nobleman was mentioned before, which is not dissimilar to the fears of the one-eighth Converso in Pineda.

One can assume that a hierarchy lies behind this structure of reasoning, which can often be found with minor changes. After a general statement of the facts, the scholars are cited first in the argumentation, then this is frequently followed by an exemplary narrative in which everyday experiences are preferably related orally by the affected people, and the whole reasoning culminates in a well-known proverb, which is to reaffirm the general truth of the previously cited arguments. Viewed in this way, the proverb is considered to be the final irrefutable proof since it usually has the function of proclaiming a social truth that is already universally acknowledged and has been solidified through diverse experiences. If one considers the importance of rhetoric for the Early Modern Age,<sup>309</sup> it seems plausible that even if there were no rules, certain practices had also established themselves for the structure of reasoning, the *dispositio*.

For the previously mentioned dialog in the work by Juan de Pineda – apart from the structure of reasoning – three special features can be noted: the demand for an extension of the ban on New Christian wet nurses, the visualization of the stain via the senses of taste and smell attached to the New Christians, and the inevitability of this naturally given stain, which was supposed to be underpinned by the self-statements of the affected New Christians. There is, therefore, hardly any medical argument here, let alone reference to appropriately trained physicians, as was the case with Fernández de Otero. Instead, an attempt is made to make the bad blood physically visible – through

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308 Translation from Singer: “Nature returns, the cat to the bowels.”; “Die Natur kehrt zurück, die Katze zu den Eingeweiden.” KURATORIUM SINGER DER SCHWEIZERISCHEN AKADEMIE FÜR GEISTES- UND SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTEN BEGR. V. SAMUEL SINGER (ed.): *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi = Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, vol. 8, Berlin and New York 1999, 429.

309 See in this regard Andreas KELLER: *Frühe Neuzeit: Das rhetorische Zeitalter*, Berlin 2008.



the path of sensory impressions.

## 2.4 Conclusion

It should be noted that the topic of New Christian wet nurses can be found in very different text genres: in the tracts of the proponents of the *limpieza de sangre* like Francisco de Torrejoncillo or Vicente da Costa Matos; in works by the apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos like Damian Fonseca; in legal circles, as with Antonio Fernández de Otero or Ignacio del Villar Maldonado, and in more general texts on Christian life addressed to a broad public as with Juan de Pineda. If one compares the statements in the various texts, it becomes apparent that only the lawyers referred to medical authorities – namely Avicenna and Luis Lobera de Ávila – even if this was done wrongly. In the other genres, by contrast, the value of experience seems to play a major role, as we see, for example, in the repeatedly referenced story about the Neapolitan nobleman or the statements made by confessing Conversos about themselves, as reported in Inquisition cases. This may be connected above all with the diversity of genres, with the authors' intentions associated with these genres, as well as with the respective target readership.

However, it could also be shown that there was a biological shift in the ban on wet nurses from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Age. While the authors of the medieval bans argued for a strict separation of the Jewish and Christian spheres of life, above all on the basis of religion and social policy, the early modern authors, in the context of Conversos and Moriscos, primarily addressed the fear of passing on a heretical heritage attributed to the New Christians by means of wet nurse's milk.

In the writings of the early modern physicians, the idea of bequeathing character through a wet nurse's milk is found in the question of the ideal wet nurse, and some bad qualities are mentioned, such as excessive sadness in the wet nurse, which should be avoided, but heresy as a bad characteristic or custom is completely absent. This transfer of the world of ideas in medicine initially to theologically and legally justified bans on wet nurses is left to the self-appointed guardians of Old Christian society.

Thus the Inquisition case of Brianda Besante already mentioned in chapter 2.2 *The Medieval Ban on Jewish Wet Nurses* may serve as a fascinating description of a turning point, which also illustrates the interchangeability of the groups of Jews, Muslims and New Christians. Brianda Besante, like her husband and nephew Luis Santáγγελ, had been accused of Judaizing by the Inquisition and was finally handed over to the secular jurisdiction in an auto-da-fé on March 17, 1486, and consequently executed. The New Christian Brianda was accused, among other things, of close contact with Jewish women. It was reported that she had her daughter nursed by the Jewish wet nurse Bienvenida. The allegation is presented in a dialog between Brianda Besante and a witness Jaime Palomos, who accused her of hiring a Jewish wet nurse with the following words:

“Why are you giving your daughter the milk of that Jewish dog?”  
‘She is not a dog.’

‘Yes, she is, because the Jews killed our Lord.’  
‘If they killed him, then he wanted it that way.’<sup>310</sup>

This short dialog contains the direct bodily component because it mentions the breast milk. On the other hand, however, there is also the religious aspect in that the accusation of deicide is raised. Since the wet nurse was addressed in the context of Jewish women who seemed to enter and leave the household of the accused, the social aspect of the separation of the Jewish and (New) Christian world comes into play. In addition, we are dealing here with a New Christian whose child was apparently regarded as endangered by contact with the Jewish wet nurse. Just as after the expulsion in 1492, the New Christian wet nurse was considered a potential danger. The New Christian replaced the Jewish woman in this image of the bad, even heretical wet nurse.

Ultimately, it should be noted that a mixture of the various aspects – biological, religious and social – can generally be assumed. However, a shift in the focus can be seen. While the religious aspect was of more or less constant importance, the biological aspect gained in importance relative to the social one and was more strongly emphasized if it was mentioned at all before. This change in perspective was particularly evident in the texts written in the first half of the 17th century. If one considers that such a development in the direction of a stronger emphasis on biologism had already taken place in medicine at the end of the 16th century in the writings of Juan Huarte de San Juan, it seems obvious that this biological reasoning was also taken up slightly later by the self-appointed guardians of Old Christian society in various contexts.

Moreover, the social reasoning, that is, the call for a strict separation of social worlds, could no longer be reconciled with the social reality in the Early Modern Age and the political aspiration for a uniform Christian – Roman-Catholic in the case of the Iberian Peninsula – society. In this sense, the demand for a separation of the New Christian and Old Christian social worlds, for example, that is, a common coexistence without mixing, would be unthinkable and hardly desirable politically. Instead, it became apparent at the time that the feasible options for generating a uniform Christian society were the means of the Inquisition or, as a more extreme measure, expulsion. The latter was finally applied not only with regard to those of different faith, but, from 1609 to 1614, also to parts of New Christian society, i.e. the Moriscos. Another group whose expulsion was discussed at the beginning of the 17th century in the course of the banishment of the Moriscos was the *gitanos*,<sup>311</sup> the “Gypsies.” However, advocates of expulsion were not able to impose their will. Perhaps this vacuum, which arose as social reasoning ceased to be applied, as well as the biological turn in medicine explain the preference of this bodily, partly biological, reasoning in the writings of the advocates of a “pure” Old Christian society.

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310 “¿Para qué le das a tu hija de la leche de aquella perra judía?”

‘Non es perra.’

‘Sí es, que los judíos mataron a nuestro Señor.’

‘Si lo mataron, él se lo quiso.’”

SÁNCHEZ MOYA/MONASTERIO ASPIRI: Los judaizantes turolenses en el siglo XV. Continuación (see n. 260), 335.

311 See in this regard, for example: Juan de QUIÑONES: Discurso contra los Gitanos, Madrid: Con Licencia en Madrid por Iuan González, 1631.

## 3 “Jewish Male” Menstruation

In this chapter I will deal with the second physical marker that the Old Christians attributed to the Conversos: male menstruation. After a brief introduction showing the connections between blood and milk for the ideologists of blood purity, the current state of research and research problems will be discussed.

In order to understand the background against which the idea of both male and “Jewish male” menstruation was debated, the next step is to give an overview of the ideas of menstruation in Antiquity, examining the extent to which the idea of male menstruation had already been conceived in the ancient mindset. Furthermore, I will show how the idea of “Jewish male” blood flow in the course of the Middle Ages changed to the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation, with both continuities and breaks in this development being pointed out here. This will be accompanied by a discussion of the theological implications on the one hand and the medical ones on the other.

The focus will then turn to the dimensions of “Jewish male” and male menstruation in the Early Modern Age. The medical as well as the theological backgrounds are taken into consideration, and it is shown how they were intertwined in the ideology of blood purity, with the *Memorial* by Juan de Quiñones and the network of references addressed in it serving as a guide. Finally, the critical voices opposing the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation will be discussed, where I will analyze in particular the reply by Quiñones’s personal opponent Isaac Cardoso.

### 3.1 Menstrual Blood between Femininity and Masculinity

#### 3.1.1 From Milk to Blood

After the detailed examination of the wet nurse’s milk and its implications in the previous chapter, I will now study the blood itself – this time not in its boiled form, but as menstrual blood. A passage from the apology by Damian Fonseca (1537–1627), who continues to expand his mother’s milk metaphors already described in the previous chapter, illustrates how easily the transition from milk to blood was in the debate on *limpieza de sangre*. By citing a biblical passage from Ezekiel 16, Fonseca tries to reinforce his statement that Morisco children inevitably turn into traitors, as the parents already were, since such children draw out the good and bad qualities of their begetters through the milk.<sup>312</sup>

This biblical reference describes the city of Jerusalem and its disloyalty, emphasizing that the female child Jerusalem has descended from a Hittite and an Amorite, that is, parents who were

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<sup>312</sup> FONSECA: Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España: Con la instrucción, apostasia, y trayción dellos. Y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia (see n. 297), 153.

considered “Israel’s early mythical rivals,”<sup>313</sup> as Elizabeth W. Goldstein emphasizes in her study on the depiction of female blood in Leviticus and Ezekiel. Despite this “disgraceful ancestry,” to which it is added that the child Jerusalem lay naked in her blood and on the field with her unsevered umbilical cord, God took pity on the child. God’s adopted daughter Jerusalem proves to be ungrateful and disloyal in the future course of the story, however, and is described as a child murderer and whore, among other things, and punished by God. At this point we also find the proverb “Like mother, like daughter” (Ez 16.44), which the *limpieza de sangre* authors took satisfaction in using. This now raises the question of how to make the connection between milk and the discussed passage from Ezekiel. Damian Fonseca chooses the umbilical cord as the connection point and interprets Ezekiel as follows:

*“Your father, says he [Ezekiel], is an Amorite and your mother a Hittite, and your umbilical cord, which fed you as a child, has still not been cut. [The child] feeds on poisonous blood that is communicated through the path or canal called the umbilical cord while inside his mother. And at birth one separates them because the food, from that time on, has to be completely different. That is what God told his people. Your roots and your lineage are of idolatrous people, Canaanites, Amorites and Hittites, and they have not yet cut your umbilical cord, so you are still feeding on the bad habits of your parents, as a child feeds on corrupted blood when he is in his mother’s belly. And you cling so insistently to bad habits that no one can rip them out of you.”*<sup>314</sup>

Damian Fonseca traces the path from milk to the umbilical cord blood by using the passage from Ezekiel, focusing his interpretation on the aspects of ancestry and the uncut umbilical cord. The bad ancestry – idolatrous, as Fonseca says – helps the apologist establish a parallel to the Moriscos with their, in his eyes, bad Moorish roots. The umbilical cord, which is not severed, prompts Fonseca to plastically express on a very bodily level his conviction that children cannot escape their roots. Just as with breast milk, the umbilical cord blood and the unsevered umbilical cord become a metaphor for him. The medical knowledge of his time is strongly alluded to in his explanation of the function of the umbilical cord as a channel for the child’s consumption of food in the womb. Fonseca shows, for example, how inseparably the medical and religious areas were interwoven.

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<sup>313</sup> “Born in Canaan, the female child is the daughter of a Hittite mother and an Amorite father, parents depicted as Israel’s early mythic rivals [...]” Elizabeth W. GOLDSTEIN: “By the blood that you shed you are guilty”: Perspectives on Female Blood in Leviticus and Ezekiel, in: Mitchell Bryan HART (ed.): *Jewish Blood*, Milton Park et al. 2009, 57–69, here 61.

<sup>314</sup> “*Tu padre, dice, Amorrheo y tu madre Cethea, aun no tienes cortada la vid de que te sustentavas quando niño, el qual mientras esta en las entrañas de su madre, se alimenta de una sangre ponçoñosa, que le comunica por una vía, ò canal que se llama la vid, y en naciendo, luego se la cortan, porque ya de ay adelante à de ser su manjar muy diferente; fue dezir Dios à su pueblo. Tu raiz, y generacion es de gente idolatra, Cananea, Amorrhea, y Cethea, y no te cortaron aun la vid, pues de aquellas malas costumbres de tu padres te sustentas toda via, como el niño, en quanto està en el vientre de la madre, de su sangre corrompida, y està tan asido à sus malas costumbres, que no à avido quien te las pueda quitar.*” FONSECA: *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España: Con la instrucción, apostasia, y trayción dellos. Y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia* (see n. 297), 153.

The argumental transition from milk to blood – or the umbilical cord blood – has now been successful, but the connection to menstrual blood, as in the title to the chapter, has not been established yet. It is worth taking a look at the research literature in this regard to start with. In the article briefly mentioned above, “*By the blood that you shed you are guilty.*” *Perspectives on female blood in Leviticus and Ezekiel*, Elizabeth W. Goldstein uses the Hebrew text to show to what extent Ezekiel’s depiction of female blood has shifted relative to Leviticus. Goldstein identifies three strategies that are used to connect female blood to corruption and immorality in the Ezekiel text. The third strategy, which according to Goldstein consists of linking the image of the bloody city of Jerusalem with the image of the bleeding woman in the Ezekiel text,<sup>315</sup> can serve as a starting point here.

The sentence “And I will judge you as women who commit adultery and shed blood are judged, and bring upon you the blood of wrath and jealousy” (Ezek. 16.38)<sup>316</sup> becomes particularly important here. Goldstein sees in this – the linking of murder/bloodshed, which is symbolized by menstrual blood, to idolatry, which is symbolized by adultery – a transgression of both moral and ritual law:

“Or, we could say that the combination of bloodshed, symbolized as menstrual blood, and idolatry, symbolized as adultery, represents the violations of ritual law and moral law, both of which Ezekiel is criticizing.”<sup>317</sup>

This interpretation, which may have actually been made by the readers of the Hebrew text, cannot, of course, be easily conveyed to the early modern Christian readers who mainly read the Vulgate. However, it seems interesting that Fonseca quotes a chapter from Ezekiel in which blood, in this case female blood, plays a central role. Furthermore, it can be assumed that Fonseca was more aware of these bodily metaphors than today’s German-speaking Bible reader, who does not find them with this frequency or intensity in either the Luther edition or the standard translation. In this context, it should also be emphasized that the aspect of femininity seems to have hardly played a role for Fonseca with respect to the question of blood – in contrast to the interpretation in Goldstein – since although he speaks of both the mother and the close connection between mother and child through the umbilical cord, he calls the parents *padres* or progenitors *progenitores* in his interpretation, by which he means man and woman together. This is further proof of the fact that milk and the umbilical cord blood, i.e. the character transmission paths from the mother to the child as mentioned here, actually serve as metaphors for Fonseca, since otherwise he would have to speak of the fact that the bad qualities of the mothers are transferred to the children.

### 3.1.2 Barriers

Here we encounter one of the basic problems in this chapter and a subject that must be treated cautiously. The idea of menstruation and menstrual blood is quickly – sometimes too quickly – at-

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<sup>315</sup> See GOLDSTEIN: “By the blood that you shed you are guilty” (see n. 313), 59.

<sup>316</sup> English Standard Version (ESV); Vulgate (VUL): “et iudicabo te iudicii adulterarum et effundentium sanguinem et dabo te in sanguinem furoris et zeli” (Ezek. 16.38).

<sup>317</sup> GOLDSTEIN: “By the blood that you shed you are guilty” (see n. 313), 65.

tributed to a negative feminization. When menstruating men are mentioned, it is generally assumed that the menstruation will make them look weak and effeminate. However, some researchers such as Gianna Pomata and Willis Johnson have come to divergent conclusions on this point in their work.

Accordingly, in her article *Menstruating Men. Similarity and Difference of the Sexes in Early Modern Medicine*,<sup>318</sup> Gianna Pomata shows that a majority of early modern physicians saw male menstruation in a positive light and regarded the female body as the ideal in this context:

“Thus, notwithstanding the asserted superiority of the male, it was in fact the female that was exemplary from a therapeutic point of view. The arrow of the analogy between the sexes moved in this case from the female standard.”<sup>319</sup>

According to Pomata, the female, normally menstruating body served as a model for the male body in this regard. Willis Johnson also emphasizes that the idea of Jewish male blood flow, combined with conscious feminization through the image of menstruation, only emerges at the beginning of the Early Modern Age and that the idea of Jewish male blood flow itself goes back to literary and exegetic motifs that were not connected with the topic of menstruation.<sup>320</sup> When exactly the line connecting Jewish bleeding to female menstruation was drawn is difficult to determine, but Johnson calls a passage from the *Acta Sanctorum* a “locus classicus.” He concludes on the basis of this – also against the backdrop of the references to Jewish male menstruation in English and German early modern sources, which were collected by Sander Gilman – that the idea of Jewish male menstruation was a common idea and widespread in the mid-17th century.<sup>321</sup>

A glance at the table in which Willis Johnson has compiled the sources and corresponding evidence on Jewish male blood flow for better clarity quickly reveals that the sources are primarily theological and historical works. In the course of this chapter, it is therefore necessary to examine the extent to which these theses can be upheld when medieval sources in the medical context are consulted on the question of Jewish male blood flow. This is because the extent to which medieval physicians also argued predominantly religiously with regard to this subject remains a question. Peter Biller, to whom Willis Johnson also refers in his essay, finds with regard to the Middle Ages in the context of his study on the *quodlibet* discussions<sup>322</sup> at the Sorbonne that the reasoning could

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318 GIANNA POMATA: *Menstruating Men: Similarity and Difference of the Sexes in Early Modern Medicine*, in: Valeria FINUCCI/Kevin BROWNLEE (eds.): *Generation and Degeneration*, Durham and London 2001, 109–152; see also in this regard GIANNA POMATA/Thomas BURG: *Wieso menstruieren Männer? Ein Gespräch zwischen Gianna Pomata und Thomas Burg*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 7 (1996), 269–281.

319 POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 138.

320 JOHNSON: *The Myth of Jewish Male Menses* (see n. 101), 274.

321 *Ibidem*, 293.

322 According to Peter Biller, the *quodlibet* discussions were very popular in the departments of the Paris Sorbonne from 1230 until 1330. These were special gatherings for Advent or Easter Lent where a number of questions were raised and then answered orally at another gathering. The question-and-answer structure shows the classical scholastic division into four parts, as can be found in the *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas, for example. However, this was not a controversial issue, but rather as Peter Biller aptly puts it: “Unlike a ‘disputed question’ it was quodlibetic, ‘what you will.’ This meant that it was *de quolibet*, about any theme, and raised a *quolibet*, by anyone in the audience:”

differ greatly with regard to Jews. Accordingly, he juxtaposes different *quodlibet* discussions held at the Faculty of Arts and at the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne in Paris and reveals that a “scientific” view – that is, a natural-philosophical-medical view consistent with the times – prevailed at the Faculty of Arts as opposed to the religious view at the Faculty of Theology.<sup>323</sup> Whether this tendency also applies to the Iberian region will be shown in this chapter.

Consequently, these two questions in particular should be constantly reviewed from scratch and considered: On the one hand, whether and to what extent the gender aspect played a role for the Jewish male blood flow in the sources, and on the other, whether theological or medical reasoning predominated in the discussion of the Jewish male blood flow. It is particularly important not to lose sight of the source context in order to clarify the second question.

Another problem is the complexity of the reasoning itself. As Willis Johnson impressively pointed out in his essay, a whole series of literary and exegetical motifs can be found, to which the idea of Jewish male bleeding can be traced or with which it is interwoven. Aspects such as the death of the heretic Arius, which dates back to Judas, corresponding Bible passages – in the Gospel of Matthew, Matt. 27.25, or the Psalms, Ps. 78.66 – or accusations of ritual murder, but also melancholy and hemorrhoids play a role here, without these being all the motifs. A whole range of aspects could be added to the list. However, the aim of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive overview of the history of ideas regarding the emergence of the early modern idea of Jewish male menstruation. Rather, the aim is to discover the extent to which the idea of Jewish male menstruation and the associated accusations in the *limpieza de sangre* debate are linked to the medical ideas of menstruation and hemorrhoids. In this way, it should be possible to see the extent to which these approaches were taken up by the ideologists of blood purity – also against the backdrop of the biologicistic shift – and thus found their way into the *limpieza de sangre* debate, which was largely dominated by theology until then. Corresponding other motifs and their emergence are therefore considered, but only to the extent that they are relevant for the perspective just outlined.

### 3.1.3 Menstruating Men

Menstruating men were already known in Antiquity and therefore not only a medieval or early modern phenomenon. In his essay *Contradictions of Masculinity*,<sup>324</sup> Dale B. Martin provides a useful overview of the ideas of male menstruation in Greek-Roman Antiquity and also a thesis regarding their meaning. In his essay, Martin examines the role played by contradictions in the image of masculinity in Greek-Roman Antiquity. First, he reveals two contradictions: on the one hand, the question of sex versus asceticism with regard to the image of masculinity, and second, the question of menstruation, which women defined as such in Antiquity, but which could also occur in men

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medieval academics ‘Question-time.’” Peter BILLER: Views of Jews from Paris around 1300: Christian or “scientific”?, in: Diana WOOD (ed.): Christianity and Judaism, Oxford et al. 1992, 187–207, here 188.

<sup>323</sup> Ibidem, 188.

<sup>324</sup> Dale B. MARTIN: Contradictions of Masculinity: Ascetic Inseminators and Menstruating Men in Greco-Roman Culture, in: Valeria FINUCCI/Kevin BROWNLEE (eds.): Generation and Degeneration, Durham and London 2001, 81–108.

at the same time. Martin concludes that the contradictions uncovered in these areas strengthened rather than weakened the image of masculinity and enabled the guardians of this masculinity, the physicians of the higher social classes in Antiquity, to have a certain control and authority over the image of masculinity. According to the ancient medical view, menstruation does not occur in the ideal body, Martin argues, since the doctrines of ancient medicine state that the monthly bleeding involves a crisis that nature provokes in order to restore balance:

“Menstruation is one of nature’s way of creating a crisis by means of which the body’s balance is restored. [...] In the best of all possible bodies, menstruation would not be necessary.”<sup>325</sup>

This means that the best possible, ideal body in the medicine of Antiquity managed or had to manage without crises, including, for example, healing nosebleeds, and thus also without menstruation. As a result, women could not have an ideal body, which was reserved exclusively for men. Efficiency and masculinity excluded menstruation in an ideally healthy male body. Martin writes in this regard: “Efficiency is masculine; masculinity is efficient. So men don’t menstruate. But they do.”<sup>326</sup>

Consequently, not every male body automatically corresponded to the male ideal of health and some had to resort to the strategy of natural crises attributed to femininity in order to keep their body in balance. This raises the question of whether these men were regarded as effeminate and ridiculed as a result. Dale B. Martin asks himself this question and comes to the following conclusion:

“Were these men thereby stigmatized as effeminate? [...] Unfortunately, we have no explicit information from the ancient world that could answer these questions. I know of no case in which bleeding men are explicitly labeled as feminized and overtly shamed by the flow. Then again, we might imagine that such public labeling and discussion would have raised the contradictions of masculinity to such a level of explicitness that the result would have been uncomfortable or even intolerable for the men constructing the examinations and writing our texts. [...] Thus men who experienced nosebleeds, hemorrhoids, anal bleeding, or expectoration of blood were thereby susceptible to at least implicit, if not explicit, suspicion of femininity.”<sup>327</sup>

An important point is raised here because the absence of explicit stigmatization does not automatically mean that this did not occur, at least implicitly. However, it is necessary to ask whether such an implicit stigmatization can be proven. Dale B. Martin must restrict his explanatory remarks here to the appropriate assumptions. Yet the context of the text could also provide an indication. Consequently, the motivation and intention of the texts to be analyzed should not be lost sight of.

The fact that femininity was in part deliberately ignored when the discussion involved men suffering from bleeding – in part regularly – is seen in a passage from *Historia naturalis* by Pliny the

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<sup>325</sup> MARTIN: *Contradictions of Masculinity* (see n. 324), 101.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibidem*, 102.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibidem*, 103.



Elder. This passage is cited in both Dale B. Martin<sup>328</sup> and Gianna Pomata.<sup>329</sup> The former mentions it as a precursor for vicarious menstruation, which became known under this name in the Early Modern and Modern Age and in regard to which physicians assumed that menstrual blood sought another way out and therefore there were such alternative monthly bleedings (e.g. monthly nose-bleeds). In the Modern Age, the theory of vicarious menstruation offered a kind of back door to soften the strict separation of the sexes and ascribe female attributes to certain groups of men and thus deliberately effeminize them. Klaus Hödl, who dealt with the pathologization of the Jewish body during the Fin de Siècle, describes the situation as follows:

“The conflict that arose through the gap between the gender-identical and interest-based view of doctors on the one hand and the new empirical findings on the other was supposed to be bridged by the fact that the ‘Menstruatio-vicaria’ hypothesis became a way to establish a ‘rational’ foundation for social prejudices against ‘men with female characteristics.’ [...] In this sense, homosexuals, Jews and even vagabonds, who were also ‘feminized,’ ‘suffered’ [...] from the substitute menstruation.”<sup>330</sup>

Thus, the male menstruation at the turn of the century regained popularity through the substitute menses despite the clear distinction between man and woman.

In regard to the ancient theories on vicarious menses, I find that such an idea of alternative bleeding surfaces more in the medical work *De medicina*, book IV, by Celsus than in Pliny the Elder, namely when the former states: “Often women, in whom the blood is not being given out through the menses, expectorate blood” (II.2).<sup>331</sup> With regard to the Pliny passage, Gianna Pomata points out, above all, that this was read in the 18th century as a sign of longevity due to periodically occurring bleeding. Since this passage therefore played an important role not only for Antiquity, but also for the Early Modern Age, it will be reproduced here in its entirety:

“In the human race alone a flux of blood occurs in the males, in some cases at one of the nostrils, in others at both, with some people through the lower organs, with many through the mouth; it may occur at a fixed period, as recently with a man of praetorian rank named Macrinus Viscus, and every year with the City Prefect Volusius Saturninus, who actually lived to be over 90” (XI.90(38).223).<sup>332</sup>

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328 Ibidem, 103.

329 POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 115.

330 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Der Zwiespalt, der durch die Kluft von geschlechtsidentitärer und interessenbedingter Ansicht der Ärzte auf der einen Seite und neuen, empirischen Erkenntnissen auf der anderen Seite bestand, sollte dadurch überbrückt werden, daß die ‘Menstruatio-vicaria’-Hypothese zu einer Schiene für eine ‘rationale’ Fundierung der gesellschaftlichen Vorurteile gegen ‘Männer mit weiblichen Charakteristika’ wurde. [...] In diesem Sinn ‘litten’ Homosexuelle, Juden und auch Vagabunden, die ebenfalls als ‘verweiblicht’ galten [...], an der Ersatzmenstruation.” Klaus HÖDL: *Die Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers: Antisemitismus, Geschlecht und Medizin im Fin de Siècle*, Vienna 1997, 216.

331 “Saepe feminae, quibus sanguis per menstrua non respondit, hunc expuunt.” CELSUS: *On Medicine II*, trans. by W. G. SPENCER, vol. 292, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1935, 392–393.

332 “[P]rofluvium eius uni fit in maribus homini, aliis nare alterutra vel utraque, quibusdam per inferna, multis per

The quote can be found in book 11, which deals with zoology. Initially, it discusses animals and then the human being is cited for comparison in this regard. Female human beings are not mentioned specifically and, in my opinion, were not supposed to be mentioned either. The point is that of all male creatures only the human being/man, *homo*, knows bleeding. This animal-human comparison is deliberately not linked to female menstruation by Pliny the Elder in my eyes, even though later authors in the 18th century established this connection.

In Pliny’s natural history, female menstruation is treated in detail in various places so that silence in this regard can certainly make you wonder. The fact that he does not establish the link to women and female bleeding therefore suggests a deliberate strategy. Instead, the bleeding, *profluvium*, in Pliny is a unique aspect of the human being in this context and shows a difference (superiority?) in relation to animals. Only a human being has the possibility – as a human being/man – to regulate and cleanse his body by bleeding from different orifices, the nose, the abdomen and the mouth. For Pliny, examples of male menstruation seem to be better suited for this differentiation than female menstruation because the former are apparently easier for him to put into a positive light. Both men cited as examples are mentioned by name and hold high positions. One is a praetorian, a particularly male and warlike model of man; the other a prefect of the city, an equally prestigious office. In addition, the city prefect is cited for his old age, which the reader is evidently supposed to attribute to bodily self-regulation, the annual bleeding. The longevity can therefore be seen as a further indication of the positive connotations in male bleeding.

### 3.2 Menstruation Ideas in Antiquity

Male bleeding is not necessarily associated directly with female menstruation, although physical concepts of masculinity and femininity could range very widely in Antiquity. A prime example in this context is a passage from the table talk in Plutarch’s *Moralia* in which Apollonides, Athryütus and Florus discuss the question of whether women are warmer or colder than men in their temperament, their constellation of fluids. The doctor, ἰατρὸς, Athryütus of Thasos introduces the discussion and argues that women have a warmer constitution than men and gives five arguments for this. These are refuted in a second step by Florus. For example, Athryütus cited the female menstruation as proof of the warmer constitution since this indicates too much blood, which in turn is caused by strong bodily heat. Florus, by contrast, sees menstruation as proof not of a larger amount of blood and thus more heat from the body, but rather of qualitatively bad damaged blood from which the body must be cleansed:

“And the monthly menstruation is indicative not of a quantity of blood, but of corrupt and diseased blood; for blood’s unassimilated and excrementitious part has no position and no structure in the body and so is eliminated by its lack of vitality, its faint heat causing it to be completely dull and murky. The fact that women are apt to be seized with chills and shivering

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ora stato tempore, ut nuper Macrino Visco praetorio viro et omnibus annis Volusio Saturnino urbis praefecto, qui nonagensimum etiam excessit annum.” Pliny the ELDER: *Natural History III*, trans. by H. RACKHAM, vol. 353, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1938, 572–573.

during their menstrual periods shows that the blood which has been set in motion and is now being eliminated from the body is cold and unassimilated” (651D–651E).<sup>333</sup>

Florus defines menstrual blood as corrupt, diseased, dull and murky because it contains too many excrementitious and unassimilated substances. These would be excreted from the body due to their lack of vitality. In contrast to Athryītus, Florus even assumes that menstrual blood is particularly cold because women would often suffer from shivering and chills during their period. Even though Florus does not have the attribute of a physician, he clearly defends the *opinio communis* in this chapter, although it can be seen in the initially presented assumptions of Athryītus that other, greatly deviating conceptions of the body were conceivable and discussed. The medical ideas of Antiquity as well as those of later ages are therefore hard to compress into a rigid structure since they are characterized by their dynamism and their different doctrines and schools, which were repeatedly marked by change and discussion. Different doctrines and associated medical ideas could therefore exist simultaneously without provoking conflicts.

That is why there is also no need to develop a general theory about ideas of menstruation in Antiquity, but rather it is better to take up the various ideas and consider the questions that were specifically discussed in this context. In the following, I will trace the aspects of menstruation that were debated by the authors of Antiquity, especially against the backdrop of an attempt at a definition. In this context, the question of the cause of female menstruation should probably be asked first. In the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, four characteristics are mentioned, with the emphasis being placed on the difference between women and men. In his essay *Menses in the “Corpus Hippocraticum”*, Luigi Arata<sup>334</sup> correctly pointed out that the *Corpus Hippocraticum* is not a uniform work representing the school of Hippocrates (c. 460–380 BCE), but rather a number of authors whose medical opinions could be quite different. Three authors who, according to the study by Hermann Grensemann,<sup>335</sup> are referred to as A, B and C, address the subject of female menses. According to Arata, the older authors A and B were mainly concerned with describing the symptoms and appropriate forms of therapy. The youngest author C, by contrast, concentrated primarily on the definition of female physiology and developed his own system:

“Conscious of having founded a new science in the treatment of ‘disorders’ specific to the uterus, he demonstrated a depth of thought that can be recognized in few other Hippocratic scientists.”<sup>336</sup>

333 PLUTARCH: *Moralia VIII: Table-talk. Books 1–6*, trans. by P. A. CLEMENT/H. B. HOFFLEIT, vol. 424, Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge 1986, 235.

334 LUIGI ARATA: *Menses in the Corpus Hippocraticum*, in: Andrew SHAIL/Gillian HOWIE (eds.): *Menstruation*, Basingstoke et al. 2005, 13–24, here 13.

335 HERMANN GRENSEMANN: *Hippokratische Gynäkologie: Die gynäkologischen Texte des Autors C nach den pseudo-hippokratischen Schriften De Muliebribus I, II und De Sterilibus*, Wiesbaden 1982.

336 ARATA: *Menses in the Corpus Hippocraticum* (see n. 334), 14.

### 3.2.1 Causes

When reference is made below to the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, it involves views that the Hippocratic author C defended. According to him, the differences between woman and man, against the backdrop of which the causes of female menstruation are discussed, can be caused physically, but also culturally. In the introduction to the first book on female diseases, *De muliebris C 1 (I 1)*, he initially speaks of the fact that women have more permeable, “porous flesh” and are more tender, but also warmer than men due to their constitution. When Athryitus refers to the warmer constitution of woman in Plutarch’s table talk, he is probably referencing this Hippocratic doctrine. According to author C, women’s tenderness and permeability caused them to absorb more moisture than men whose flesh is more solid. To illustrate this assumption, he draws a comparison with the moisture absorption of different fabric structures, in this case wool in contrast to a solid cloth:

“Thus, if someone sets both some clean flocks of wool and a clean densely woven carpet of exactly the same weight as the flocks over water or a moist location for two days and two nights, on removing them he will discover, on weighing them, that the flocks have become much heavier than the carpet. This happens because (sc. moisture) always moves up away from water present in a wide-necked vessel, and flocks, being porous and soft, take up a greater quantity of what is moving away, while a carpet, being compact and densely woven, becomes saturated without accepting much of what is moving toward it. In the same way, a woman, being more porous, will draw into her body more of what is being exhaled from her cavity, and more quickly, than a man does. Also, because a woman’s flesh is softer, when her body fills up with blood, unless the blood is then discharged from her body, the filling and warming of her tissues that ensue will provoke pain: for a woman has hotter blood, and for this reason she herself is hotter than a man [...].”<sup>337</sup>

Permeability, tenderness and greater warmth thus characterize the constitution of a woman in contrast to a man in Hippocratic author C and lead, according to him, to the fact that this constitution is dependent on the monthly bleeding so that too much blood will not accumulate in her abdominal cavity. Through the analogy of the different tissue structures and observation of their moisture absorption, he tries to support his position and make it clear to the reader in a visual form. Men, by contrast, would not need such bleeding, as their more solid constitution would reduce their absorption of blood or they would only absorb as much as their body could also consume again. This is where the final, culturally determined distinction between man and woman comes into play: “A great amount of this is also due in a man to his exerting himself physically more than a woman, which consumes a part of the exhalation (sc. rising from his food).”<sup>338</sup> Not only the physical constitution but also the different levels of physical activity assumed for men and women

<sup>337</sup> HIPPOCRATES OF COS: Diseases of Women I-II, trans. by Paul POTTER, vol. 538, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 2018, 11–12; see also the Greek original and translation in: GRENSEMANN: Hippokratische Gynäkologie (see n. 335), 88–89.

<sup>338</sup> HIPPOCRATES OF COS: Diseases of Women I-II (see n. 337), 13; see also the Greek original text and the German translation in GRENSEMANN: Hippokratische Gynäkologie (see n. 335), 90–91.

provide an explanation for female menstruation. In a certain way, if one continues to follow this line of thought, the possibility of male bleeding remains open, although it is not explicitly mentioned. This is because if a man does not work hard enough and consequently does not consume enough blood, it will also collect in his body, although, according to Hippocratic author C, he will suffer less from such blood accumulation due to his firmer constitution.

Aristotle, by contrast, has a different opinion on the causes of menstruation in his work *Generation of Animals*, *De generatione animalium* (738a). Although he also assumes that the blood is congested, he does not attribute this to the excessive absorption of moisture, but rather to excess in the consumption of food, which the female body cannot process properly due to its natural cold quality:

“When these [blood-vessels that flow into the uterus] are overfull of nourishment (which owing to its own coldness the female system is unable to concoct), it passes through these extremely fine blood-vessels into the uterus; but owing to their being so narrow they cannot hold the excessive quantity of it, and so a sort of haemorrhage takes place” (738a).<sup>339</sup>

Aristotle compares this to a disease, suffering from hemorrhoids, in order to describe female menstruation. This also fits another passage in *History of Animals*, *Historia Animalium* (582b), when he speaks of the fact that all women would generally suffer from physical weakness during the monthly bleeding.<sup>340</sup> Furthermore, he localizes the menstruation more precisely by describing the uterus and its veins in detail rather than speaking of the abdomen in general terms like Hippocratic author C. The main cause for Aristotle is clearly the colder constitution of the woman because excess food reaches the uterus since the female body has not converted it into blood in time due to the lack of heat. In Plutarch’s table talk, this opinion of the greater coldness of women relative to men is defended by Florus. Despite these differences between the Aristotelian and Hippocratic position, they do agree in their conclusions when they assume that menstruation is about excreting surpluses (be it moisture or food) in the form of blood from the body.

### 3.2.2 The Cycle

Another topic that preoccupied doctors in Antiquity was the question of the menstruation cycle, where it can be seen that efforts were made to establish certain standards. At the same time, however, effort is made not to define them too rigidly. In the aforesaid passage (738a), for example, Aristotle considers the extent to which female menstruation is associated with the lunar month cycle. He concludes that there is a tendency for menstruation to take place at the end of the month (always in reference to the lunar months) because the disappearance of the moon meant there is greater cold, which also affects the bodies of all living beings. In his work *History of Animals* (582a–b), he repeats this argument but adds a qualifier:

<sup>339</sup> ARISTOTLE: *Generation of Animals*, trans. by A. L. PECK, vol. 366, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1942, 181.

<sup>340</sup> ARISTOTLE: *History of Animals III*, trans. by A. L. PECK, vol. 439, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1965, 427.

“The onset of the menses [κάθαρσις] develops during the wane of the month; hence the sophistic riddle – the moon too is female because the women’s menstruation [κάθαρσιν] and the moon’s waning occur together, and after the menstruation and the waning both are made full [πλήρωσις]. In some women the menses [καταμήνια] come regularly each month for a few days, but in the majority every third month.”<sup>341</sup>

The explanatory remarks in Pliny’s natural history show that great importance has generally been attached to the influence of the moon on living beings. He writes:

“This is the source of the true conjecture that the moon is rightly believed to be the star of the breath, and that it is this star that saturates the earth and fills bodies by its approach and empties them by its departure; and that consequently shells increase in size as the moon waxes, and that its breath is specially felt by bloodless creatures, but also the blood even of human beings increases and diminishes with its light; and that also leaves and herbage (as will be stated in the proper place) are sensitive to it, the same force penetrating into all things” (II.102(99).221).<sup>342</sup>

Accordingly, creatures filled with blood are less affected by the influence of the moon than bloodless animals like the conchylias, but the forces of the moon affect above all the former’s blood capacity, which is congruent with the increase and decrease in the moonlight. The moon, its penetrating force, *penetrante vi*, or its star of the breath or stellar source of life, *spiritus sidus*, is considered to be of great importance for both the earth, especially the movement of the seas, and for living beings – that is plants, animals and humans. The idea that the moon had an effect above all on female menstruation can therefore be read as a logical consequence of this theory.

Further assumptions regarding the average menstrual cycle, e.g. with regard to the amount of blood to be excreted during the menses can be found in Soranus of Ephesus (2 CE), a follower of the Methodist school.<sup>343</sup> In his text on gynecology, Γυναικεῖα, (I 20; 22–23 according to Ilberg), Galen’s reasoning is similar to Aristotle’s in his moon theory, when he first defines a tendency and states that an average value for the quantity of menstrual blood is two cotyledons (measure of capacity in Antiquity, roughly 0.274 l)<sup>344</sup> (I 20), but he differs clearly in a second step. Accordingly, he writes:

<sup>341</sup> ARISTOTLE: History of Animals III (see n. 340), 424–425.

<sup>342</sup> “Quo vera coniectatio existit, haud frustra spiritus sidus lunam existimari; hoc esse quod terras saturet accedensque corpora impleat, abscedens inaniat. ideo cum incremento eius augeri conchyliia et maxime spiritum sentire quibus sanguis non sit. sed et sanguinem, hominum etiam, cum lumine eius augeri ac minui, frondes quoque et pabula, – ut suo loco dicetur – sentire, in omnia eadem penetrante vi.” Pliny the ELDER: Natural History I, trans. by H. RACKHAM, vol. 330, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1938, 348–349.

<sup>343</sup> The Methodists, influenced by atomistic ideas, developed the theory of the three basic disease states to which all diseases could be attributed. Accordingly, only a few remedies were needed and theoretical knowledge, for example in the area of anatomy, was superfluous. Galen was extremely skeptical about them.

<sup>344</sup> This quantity is found in the sixth chapter of the book on female diseases by the Hippocratic author C. See GRENSEMANN: Hippokratische Gynäkologie (see n. 335), 100–101.

“But the amount of menstrual flow in women varies according to their nature as well as with age, season, physique, habits and mode of life and with certain other similar variants” (I 22).<sup>345</sup>

This list already shows how difficult the attempts were at establishing certain standards with regard to an “average” menstrual cycle because the list of internal (age, physique) and external circumstances (season) that influence or can influence monthly bleeding is long. The same applies to the question of the age at which a woman’s menstruation begins or ends. Soranus (I 20)<sup>346</sup> identifies roughly the fourteenth year of life as the starting point, while Aristotle, in his *Historia animalium* (581b),<sup>347</sup> refers to the fact that menstruation usually starts when the breasts have already grown by two fingers. In regard to the end of menstruation, Soranus (I 20)<sup>348</sup> finds that there is a period of almost 20 years, namely between the age of 40 and 60.

### 3.2.3 Logic and Purpose

The logic and purpose of menstruation was also discussed as was the question of whether menstruation contributes to a woman’s health or is more harmful for her. The Hippocratic author C and Galen see menstruation as a considerable benefit in stabilizing female health. In his first book of gynecological diseases, for example, the former deals intensively with menstruation and the harmful effects of its absence. According to author C, a larger proportion of women’s diseases and illnesses are caused by irregular menstruation, e.g.: “Now when, in a woman who has not given birth, the menses fail to appear and cannot find their way out, a disease arises [...]”.<sup>349</sup> Charlotte Schubert and Ulrich Huttner summarize the Hippocratic gynecology as follows: “Menstruation, sexual intercourse and pregnancy are the defining constituents of the image of woman in Hippocratic medicine.”<sup>350</sup> Author C finds sexual intercourse and pregnancy to serve above all as health prophylaxis, especially with regard to properly functioning menstruation. In his work *On the Nature and Powers of Simple Medications*, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* (V 22),<sup>351</sup> Galen makes reference to the fact that when menstruation stops and when there is little bleeding, the cleansing flow of menstruation should be stimulated or encouraged through medication. Irregularities in the menses are therefore regarded as a symptom of an illness or disease that must be cured immediately with medication.

In his work *Venesection against Erasistratus*, *De Venae Sectione adversus Erasistratum*, Galen simultaneously describes menstruation as a necessity and medication organized by nature to protect women from a myriad of illnesses and diseases:

<sup>345</sup> SORANUS OF EPHESES: Soranus’ Gynecology, trans. by Owsei TEMKIN, Baltimore 1956, 18–19.

<sup>346</sup> Ibidem, 17.

<sup>347</sup> ARISTOTLE: History of Animals III (see n. 340), 416–419.

<sup>348</sup> SORANUS OF EPHESES: Soranus’ Gynecology (see n. 345), 17.

<sup>349</sup> HIPPOCRATES OF COS: Diseases of Women I–II (see n. 337), 13; see also the Greek original text and the translation in GRENSEMANN: Hippokratische Gynäkologie (see n. 335), 90–91.

<sup>350</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Menstruation, Geschlechtsverkehr und Schwangerschaft sind die prägenden Konstituenten des Frauenbildes der hippokratischen Medizin.” Charlotte SCHUBERT/ULRICH HUTTNER (eds.): Frauenmedizin in der Antike, Düsseldorf and Zürich 1999, 470.

<sup>351</sup> Ibidem, 177.

“It is necessary, in my opinion, that the female sex, who stay indoors, neither engaging in strenuous labour nor exposing themselves to direct sunlight – both factors conducive to the development of *plethos* [concept of *plethora*] – should have a natural remedy by which it is evacuated. This is one of the ways in which nature operates in these conditions [...]” (K 164, according to Kühn).<sup>352</sup>

Firstly, it is striking that at this point – presumably assuming the biological causes as known – Galen mentions only two cultural factors for the necessity of female menstruation, whereby the lack of sunlight should be added here as a new factor to the already known causes of physical inertia. Both cultural factors are caused by the same circumstance: the woman being bound to the house. The consequence is that the accumulated blood in women cannot be reduced to the same extent as in men, who are exposed to physical work and direct sunlight, and virtually work off the excess blood. This results in excess, *plethos* or *πληθός*, which, according to Galen, can be broken down, by the precaution of nature, through menstruation. Galen then mentions other arrangements of nature in the female body. He also includes postpartum bleeding and the flow of milk during nursing as natural measures to free women from *plethos* (K 164). In addition, Galen mentions a multitude of diseases, from arthritis to epilepsy to melancholy, from which a woman is protected during her menses, always provided that they occur according to the standards, that is, “if she is properly cleansed” (K 165). When he switches from women to men, Galen states:

“But enough of women for the present; come now to consider the men, and learn how those who eliminate the excess through a hemorrhoid all pass their lives unaffected by diseases, while those in whom the evacuations have been restrained have fallen into gravest illnesses” (K 166).<sup>353</sup>

As Aristotle (738a)<sup>354</sup> had already referred to the suffering of hemorrhoid bleeding for comparison to describe female menstruation, Galen also draws this comparison, but now in the reverse order: Hemorrhoid bleeding is measured against female menstruation! Male menstruation cannot be spoken of in the case of Galen’s description of hemorrhoid bleeding in men, but the implicit link at this point should not be underestimated. Even if Galen declares the women’s topic to be sufficiently treated and completed, the reader still remembers it immediately and Galen’s explicit conclusion – “[b]ut enough of women for the present” – reinforces rather than weakens this impression. Consequently, the reader tends to compare the evacuation possibilities of the female body (menstruation, postpartum bleeding and the flow of milk) with those of the male body (hemorrhoid bleeding) and to identify certain equivalences.

The fact that Galen himself likes to produce such equivalences in reference to masculinity and femininity, e.g. when he equates menstrual blood and sperm, also contributes to this impression.

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<sup>352</sup> Peter BRAIN: *Galen on Bloodletting: A Study of the Origins, Development, and Validity of his Opinions, with a Translation of the three Works*, Cambridge and New York 1986, 26.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibidem*, 27.

<sup>354</sup> ARISTOTLE: *Generation of Animals* (see n. 339), 180–181.



In general, however, the male body is considered to be the irrefutable ideal. In this case, however, the signs seem to be reversed because the female body is mentioned first and in much more detail in order to prove the extent to which nature takes precautions to cleanse the body of unwanted excesses. It is obvious, however, that this exception is due to the fact that Galen is softening his masculinity-femininity values a little for the benefit of his argument. After all, his work is primarily concerned with a justification of bloodletting. The fact that nature already provides for bloodletting, so to say, in the form of menstruation or hemorrhoidal bleeding in the female and male bodies, is regarded by him here as proof of the correctness and necessity of the practice of bloodletting. It seems to be of secondary importance for him that women are a better example for the strength of his theory than men here and that he must therefore downplay his ideal of masculinity in part. This assumption is supported by the fact that Galen places the male and female case study on equal footing in the ongoing course of his reasoning when he describes the negative consequences of a lack of male hemorrhoidal bleeding or female menstruation (K 166–167). Galen’s text passage thus places female and male bleeding, as natural evacuations, into a common frame of reference and might have provided an impetus for later, early modern interpretations of male menstruation. This still needs to be examined with regard to the early modern theories of male menstruation.

But first I will present and analyze other views physicians in Antiquity held on the question of the meaning and purpose of menstruation. In his *Gynecology* (I 27–29),<sup>355</sup> Soranus of Ephesos addresses the subject of menstruation in a separate chapter titled *Whether Catharsis of the Menses Fulfills a Healthful Purpose*. He also discusses the doctrines of Herophilus here (1st half of 3rd century BCE) and Mnaseas (2nd half of 1st century BCE), who had different approaches, but both assumed that menstruation was harmful for some women and beneficial for others, since it promoted health. Consequently, both of them belong to the group of physicians who assigned a dual function to menstruation and assumed that it was useful for both female health and childbearing. Another medical practitioner, Themison (of Laodicea, 1st century BCE),<sup>356</sup> “and the majority of our people” (of Methodists), Soranus writes, were convinced that menstruation solely had a reproductive function. A third group of physicians whom Soranus describes as important, but does not mention by name, denies any benefit to menstruation, both in regard to female health and reproduction. Soranus himself concludes his explanatory remarks with the comment:

“And both against him [Mnaseas] and Herophilus one must say that in regard to health menstruation [κάθαρσις] is harmful for all although it affects delicate persons more whereas its harmfulness is entirely hidden in those who possess a resistant body. Now we observe that the majority of those not menstruating [καθαίρεσθαι] are rather robust like mannish and sterile women” (I 29).<sup>357</sup>

Soranus’s strongest argument here is that women without menstrual bleeding would not expe-

<sup>355</sup> SORANUS OF EPHEOS: Soranus’ *Gynecology* (see n. 345), 23–27.

<sup>356</sup> According to Manuela Tecusan, Themison may justifiably be called the first Methodist. Manuela TECUSAN: *The Fragments of the Methodists*, Leiden and Boston 2004, 13.

<sup>357</sup> SORANUS OF EPHEOS: Soranus’ *Gynecology* (see n. 345), 26; SCHUBERT/HUTTNER (eds.): *Frauenmedizin in der Antike* (see n. 350), 174.

rience any pain. He has already mentioned these observations before (I 22–23) and names here, among others, female athletes, more precisely women who “undergo vocal exercises in preparation for a competition.”<sup>358</sup> Furthermore, even minor bleeding, which Galen considers already necessary to cure, is harmless for Soranus. For example, he does not feel that light menstruation is unusual in women who are exercising – here he names female singing teachers – or traveling women, but rather attributes this to greater physical exercise, while he assumes stronger menstruation in less active women who do not exercise. According to him, a lack of menses is even a natural phenomenon: “That it is at times natural for menstruation not to take place one should generally infer from the fact that no bad effects follow” (I 23).<sup>359</sup> In the case of Hippocratic author C, by contrast, the repeated absence of menses can even be an indication of an incurable disease and is often accompanied by severe pain.<sup>360</sup> While menstruation plays an important role for health and thus primarily for eucrasia, the balanced interaction of the fluids in Hippocratic medicine, of which Galen can also be considered a representative, is described as a threat to female health in the Methodist school, and here, above all, for Soranus. Schubert and Huttner aptly summarize Soranus’s gynecological system:

“Soranus rejects both the view that the uterus is a vital organ in the woman’s body as well as the view that menstruation and pregnancy or birth are essential for female health. Rather, he believes that both pose a potential threat to a woman’s health.”<sup>361</sup>

Thus Soranus’s position is clearly the opposite of the one in the Hippocratic gynecology, in which menstruation, sexual intercourse and pregnancy were regarded as essential guarantors, while the absence of menstruation or possible deviations from the norm were seen as potential sources of danger for female health. As far as the Greek terms used to describe menses are concerned, we find ones referring to the month *katamēnia* or *καταμήνια*, the cyclical period, *periodos* or *περίοδος*, and the cleansing function, *catharsis* or *κάθαρσις*. In general, however, caution is required in the perception and interpretation of the terms. This is clearly demonstrated by the latter. Soranus often uses the term *catharsis*, but without wanting to emphasize the cleansing function of the menses because he denies them precisely this function, the positive effect on health. Arata also warns against overusing the term for Hippocratic authors:

“The importance attributed by Hippocratic physicians to purification was the result not of the association of femaleness with pollution but demonstrative of a concern about the irregularity

358 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; Frauen, die sich “zur Vorbereitung auf einen Wettkampf Stimmübungen unterziehen.” SCHUBERT/HUTTNER (eds.): Frauenmedizin in der Antike (see n. 350), 166–167; Temkin speaks of “women engaged in singing contests.” SORANUS OF EPHESOS: Soranus’ Gynecology (see n. 345), 19.

359 Ibidem, 20.

360 HIPPOCRATES OF COS: Diseases of Women I-II (see n. 337), 13; see also the Greek original and the translation in GRENSEMANN: Hippokratische Gynäkologie (see n. 335), 92–95.

361 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Soran lehnt sowohl die Ansicht ab, daß der Uterus ein lebenswichtiges Organ im Körper der Frau sei, als auch die Auffassung, daß Menstruation und Schwangerschaft bzw. Geburt essentiell für die weibliche Gesundheit seien. Vielmehr ist er der Ansicht, daß beides eine potentielle Gefährdung für die Gesundheit einer Frau darstelle.” SCHUBERT/HUTTNER (eds.): Frauenmedizin in der Antike (see n. 350), 470.

of regular phenomena and how this irregularity might indicate an underlying problem with the mechanisms of the organism.”<sup>362</sup>

The focus is on cleansing and evacuation as a regular physical phenomenon for women, which was therefore beneficial to their health. A general pollution of the female body through menstruation was not conceived of.

### 3.2.4 Effects

Apart from the purely medical consideration, a wide range of other ideas about the effects of menstrual blood circulated in Antiquity. In Book 28 of his *Historia naturalis*, Pliny the Elder addresses the remedies that can be obtained by and from living creatures and writes about the remedies of women, mentioning breast milk, saliva and menstrual blood. The latter takes up the largest amount of space in the passage, with Pliny stressing at the beginning and in the conclusion that he wanted to limit or did limit himself to those things that he could speak about with a clear conscience, “with honor”:

“This is all the information it would be right for me to repeat, most of which also needs an apology [actually: was said with honor] from me. As the rest of it is detestable and unspeakable, let me hasten to leave the subject of remedies from man [humans]” (XXVIII.23(7).87).<sup>363</sup>

In Pliny’s description, menstrual blood is characterized by its extremely ambivalent effects. It is considered a remedy – even for epilepsy – a defense against storms and thunderstorms and in agriculture as a means of pest control, but also as a potential source of danger. For example, a pregnant woman who comes into contact with menstrual blood can suffer a miscarriage; seeds can wither, plants spoil and die, mirrors become dull and knives blunt, to name but a few negative effects. Thus, the impact of menstrual blood is considered extremely strong and effective in both the positive and negative sense. Accordingly, Pliny also describes menstruation with the adjective *monstrificus*,<sup>364</sup> which can be translated roughly as miraculous, mysterious, strange or magical. As a study from Columbia shows, where passages from Pliny were used as the basis for asking women from Bucaramanga about magical ideas related to menstruation and menstrual blood, menstruation and menstrual blood are still considered to have tremendous effectiveness.<sup>365</sup>

Ultimately, it can be said that opinions on menstruation in Antiquity diverged widely. There was no consensus on the sense and purpose or the exact course or causes of menstruation. For the most

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362 ARATA: Menses in the Corpus Hippocraticum (see n. 334), 18.

363 “Haec sunt, quae rettulisse fas sit, ac pleraque ex his non nisi honore dicto; reliqua intestabilia, infanda, ut festinet oratio ab homine fugere.” Pliny the ELDER: *Natural History VIII*, trans. by W. H. S. JONES, vol. 418, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1963, 62–63.

364 Ibidem, 54–55.

365 In this regard, see Miguel Ángel ALARCÓN-NIVIA/Miguel Ángel ALARCÓN-AMAYA/Lizzeth BLANCO-FUENTES: Creencias, actitudes y vivencias mágicas alrededor de la menstruación entre las mujeres de Bucaramanga (Colombia), in: *Revista Colombiana de Obstetricia y Ginecología* 57 (2006), 19–26, URL: <http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/rcog/v57n1/v57n1a03.pdf> (visited on 27/02/2019).

part, an attempt was made to place the aspects of menstruation in relation to female health/illness by using the three aforementioned topical complexes. Concepts of masculinity played a considerable role here as a frame of reference. On the one hand, man was used by physicians in Antiquity to study the causes of female menstruation, with him serving as a foil in terms of constitution and lifestyle. The usually assumed warmer constitution of the man and, in the case of Hippocratic author C, his firmer and less moisture-absorbing flesh ensure the absence of menstruation in him. In terms of lifestyle, it is his non-domestic activity, that is, harder work, often combined with direct sunlight, which results in excess blood being completely consumed in his body. On the other hand, Galen juxtaposes female menstruation and male hemorrhoidal bleeding, emphasizes their commonality, and demonstrates how the natural evacuation of excesses works, providing another perspective where masculinity does not serve as a contrast, but rather femininity and masculinity are placed in a common positive frame of reference and equivalence.

### 3.3 “Jewish Male” Blood Flow in the Middle Ages

The writings of Albertus Magnus (1193–1280) are an example of how and what menstruation concepts were addressed, reinterpreted and expanded in the Middle Ages. In his text *Quaestiones super de animalibus*, he discusses issues related to menstruation in Aristotle’s work, especially *De historia animalium*, *De generatione animalium* and *De partibus animalium*. He first answers each question asked, then refers to Aristotle’s position and finally subjects it to a critical examination. Albertus Magnus also handles the dull mirror, which was already mentioned in Pliny, in connection with the question of *whether this blood flow [menstruation] will cause an eye infection*.<sup>366</sup> First, he clearly rejects this idea by arguing that menstruation is meant for cleansing and not for infecting the body. He then gives Aristotle’s contrary opinion and his own medical explanation for the phenomenon. According to Albertus Magnus, Aristotle assumes that the eyes, as they represent a very passive part of the body, are influenced by menstruation and infected virtually through the air. Albertus Magnus closes the passage with the words:

“[...] this eye [that of the menstruating woman] infects the air, and this air infects the surrounding air, and this surrounding air does likewise all the way to the mirror. Therefore, it is necessary to say that although menstrual flow and its excretion can cleanse the woman, it infects all the limbs and, most of all, the eyes and thus what is before [them] as long as it remains in the body.”<sup>367</sup>

The ambivalence of menstruation, which constantly moves between the poles of cleansing and infection, becomes clear here. In its dynamic state as a cleansing flow, menstruation is considered

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<sup>366</sup> Albertus Magnus: *Quaestiones super de animalibus*, Lib. IX, *Quaestio* 9.

<sup>367</sup> “[...] iste oculus inficit aërem et iste aër inficit alium aërem et iste alium usque ad speculum. Unde ad praesens dicendum, quod etsi fluxus menstrui et eius expulsio mundificet mulierem, dum tamen est in corpore, inficit omnia membra et maxime oculos et similiter obiectum.” ALBERTUS MAGNUS: *Quaestiones super de animalibus*, Opera omnia 12, Aschendorff 1955, 207.

positive and salutary, but in its static state, as it were, the menstrual blood remaining in the body, it is considered negative and even endangering because it is contagious. As to the question of whether the woman alone menstruates, *Utrum sola mulier patiatur menstruum*,<sup>368</sup> Albertus Magnus denies this at first because menstruation is simply an excess of blood that occurs both in women and men. According to this definition, the possibility of menstruating men cannot be ruled out. After his critical examination of Aristotle, however, Albertus Magnus finally adds a reservation:

“[...] there are two reasons why the man does not menstruate, namely because of the abundance and excellence of the consuming heat and because of the low degree of humidity.”<sup>369</sup>

So it remains the case that especially the warmer constitution of the man saves him from menstruation. While the possibility of male menstruation was only implicit in the ancient menstrual concepts of Galen, Aristotle and Hippocratic author C, Albertus Magnus now discusses it explicitly.

In question 7, the author also discusses whether the moon has a dominant influence on the menstrual flow, *Utrum luna habeat dominium super fluxum menstrui*. In contrast to Aristotle, Albertus Magnus rejects this idea initially, among other things because he mainly attributes a power of luminosity to the moon – as to all celestial bodies: “Furthermore, like any celestial body, the moon acts by the virtue of light.”<sup>370</sup> In this context, Albertus Magnus speaks about other body fluids such as sperm, urine, but also hemorrhoidal blood. He explains the cause for the latter by an excess of coarse blood, *ex superfluitate sanguinis grossi*. This excess is deposited downwards and tears one or two veins in order to flow out of the body. Subsequently, Albertus Magnus writes in the synthesis of his own position and Aristotle’s:

“Therefore, that [the hemorrhoid disease] concerns above all those who live on coarse and salty food, like Jews, [and this happens] in a natural way. And since this blood is coarse and of earthly nature, therefore the moon does not rule over its blood flow as [it does] over menstruation.”<sup>371</sup>

Here, too, hemorrhoids and menstruation are again placed in a common context. However, different characteristics are attributed to them. Hemorrhoidal bleeding is coarse and earthly, whereas menstrual blood has a liquid and watery consistency, as Albertus Magnus explained a paragraph above. These differences in consistency would therefore mean that the blood of hemorrhoids in contrast to the menstrual blood would not be under the influence of the moon. Albertus Magnus finally admits to the influence of the moon on menstrual blood, however.

Furthermore, hemorrhoidal bleeding is now attributed to a certain group, Jews. However, the reason for this is a natural one, as Albertus Magnus explicitly emphasizes with the addition *per*

<sup>368</sup> Albertus Magnus: *Quaestiones super de animalibus*, Lib. IX, *Quaestio* 6.

<sup>369</sup> “[...] quod viro non accidit fluxus menstrui propter duas rationes, scilicet propter abundantiam et excellentiam calidi consumentis et paucitatem humidi.” ALBERTUS MAGNUS: *Quaestiones super de animalibus* (see n. 367), 205.

<sup>370</sup> “Praeterea, luna et omne corpus caeleste agit per virtutem luminis.” *Ibidem*, 206.

<sup>371</sup> “Unde illud maxime accidit viventibus ex nutrimento grosso et salso, sicut Iudaeis, per naturam, et quia iste sanguis est grossus et naturae terrestres, ideo super fluxum eius non dominatur luna sicut super menstruum.” *Ibidem*, 206.

*naturam*. Peter Biller also points this out: “Albertus introduces, into the topic of the characteristics of the Jews, science that is rooted in humoral medicine: the dominance in their bodies of *melancholia*.”<sup>372</sup> Accordingly, Albertus Magnus clearly differentiates himself from possible supernatural, i.e. metaphysical-theological explanations. Suffering from hemorrhoids, which is attributed increasingly – but not exclusively – to Jews, is culturally conditioned. As a result, Albertus Magnus primarily assumes a coarse and salty diet for Jews, which in turn leads to an excess of coarse blood that seeks its way out of the body via hemorrhoidal bleeding. To what extent Albertus Magnus differs from purely theological or medical-theological arguments precisely through this medical argumentation is to be discussed in the following. Peter Biller sees in this passage “a crucial development, the transposition of the myth to the context of natural-philosophical and medical academic learning.”<sup>373</sup> The myth Biller alludes to is that of Jewish blood flow.

### 3.3.1 Accusation of Deicide and Blood Libel Legend

Jacob of Vitry (c. 1160–1240) wrote a three part history of Jerusalem, of which he could only complete the first two books, the *Historia orientalis* and the *Historia occidentalis*. The first book, the *Historia orientalis*, deals with the Holy Land and here Jacob of Vitry describes the people living there. In chapter 82 he addresses Jewish groups: the Essenes, the Sadducees, the Samaritans and other Jews, *aliisque Iudeis*, as he writes. The latter is said to be:

“Furthermore, [there are] other Jews whose forefathers cried out: ‘May his blood be on us, and on our children!’ Almost all over the world and scattered to the four winds, they are slaves everywhere, tributaries everywhere. Their strength, as the prophet Isaiah confirms, has turned to ashes. They have become unwarlike and weak like women. Therefore, they suffer from blood flow every month [lunar month], as one says. For God smote them in the hinder parts and put them to a perpetual reproach. After they killed their brother, the true Abel, they became wanderers and fugitives like the cursed Cain, so they have a trembling head, which means an anxious heart, and fear for their lives day and night.”<sup>374</sup>

372 Peter BILLER: Proto-racial Thought in Medieval Science, in: Miriam ELIAV-FELDON/Benjamin ISAAC/Joseph ZIEGLER (eds.): *The Origins of Racism in the West*, Cambridge 2009, 157–180, here 174.

373 BILLER: *Views of Jews from Paris around 1300* (see n. 322), 196–197.

374 “Alii autem Iudei de quibus patres eorum clamaverunt: ‘Sanguis eius super nos et super filios nostros’ per universum fere mundum et in omnem ventum dispersi, ubique sunt servi, ubique tributarii, *fortitudo eorum*, ut ait Isaias propheta, *conversa est in favillam*. Imbelles enim et imbecilles facti sunt quasi mulieres. Unde singulis lunationibus, ut dicitur, fluxum sanguinis patiuntur. Percussit enim eos Deus in posteriora et opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis. Postquam enim fratrem suum, verum Abel, occiderunt, facti sunt vagi et profugi super terram sicut maledictus Caim, habentes caput tremulum, id est cor pavidum, die ac nocte timentes et vite sue non credentes.” Jacques de VITRY: *Histoire orientale. Historia orientalis*, Turnhout 2008, 328; Jean Donnadiou’s translation: “Enfin il y a les autres Juifs, les descendants de ceux qui ont crié: ‘Que son sang soit sur nous et sur nos enfants!’ Dispersés à tous vents dans le monde entier ou presque, ils sont partout esclaves, partout tributaires, et leur puissance, comme le dit le prophète Isaïe, ‘est tombée en poussière.’ Ils ont perdu le goût du combat, sont devenus faibles comme des femmes. Ainsi à chaque nouvelle lune, dit-on, ils sont affligés de pertes de sang. Car Dieu les a frappés dans leur postérité, les a voués à un éternel opprobre. Après qu’ils eurent tué leur frère, le véritable Abel, ils sont devenus vagabonds et fugitifs

This passage<sup>375</sup> contains two bible references that should be considered to start with. On the one hand, the cited cry “May his blood be on us, and on our children!” from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 27.25), but also the passage on the striking God (Ps. 78.66),<sup>376</sup> which is deliberately reinterpreted here by the author to support his argumentation. In the English Standard Version (ESV), the verse from Psalms is translated as follows: “And he put his adversaries to rout; he put them to everlasting shame.” I have consciously adopted the translation from the King James Version (KJV): “And he smote his enemies in the hinder parts” in order to show the kind of reading that prevailed in the context of the idea of “Jewish-male” blood flow. Both passages from the Bible, especially Matt. 27.25, often served as the theological justification for “Jewish male” blood flow and later “Jewish male” menstruation. Accordingly, these Bible verses were also used by the proponents of the *limpieza de sangre* in the Early Modern Era. Jacob of Vitry uses the accusation of deicide as a central element to justify the “Jewish male” blood flow. Menstruation is not yet explicitly mentioned. Those Jews who basically cursed themselves and their descendants at the crucifixion of Christ would be punished by God for Christ’s murder by a monthly blood flow. As an allegory, Jacob of Vitry also uses the fratricide of Cain on Abel at this point, with Cain standing for the Jews and “the true” Abel for Christ.

It is interesting, on the one hand, that Jacob of Vitry limits menstrual suffering to a certain group of Jews and their descendants, namely those who were present at the crucifixion and involved in cursing themselves. On the other hand, the comparison with women and the attributes ascribed to them and thus also to menstruating men are unwarlike, *imbelles*, and weak, *imbecilles*, although the similar sounding words of Jacob of Vitry were certainly used consciously as a pun. The comparison with the female sex also serves the author as a transition to the divine punishment of the monthly blood flow, whereby the connection with menstruation here is implicitly established by the specified time *singulis lunationibus*. The accusation of deicide and the resulting punishment in the form of blood flow is also enriched by traditional topoi such as the diaspora state and perpetual servitude. Irven M. Resnick interprets an abbreviated version of the quoted passage with regard to the question of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation as follows:

“This popular work provides two of the important elements we have found in Christian iconographic depictions of Jewish males: they are ‘womanish,’ and they suffer a monthly flux of blood as divine punishment from ‘their hinder parts.’ Their flow of blood is a punishment linked to the blood they spilled, namely the blood of Abel who is understood typologically to represent Jesus. This excerpt also delineates the psychological and physiological effects of this flow – a trembling head, a quaking heart, and a perpetual anxiety and fearfulness – all

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sur la terre, comme Caïn le maudit, la tête troublée et le cœur palpitant, dans la peur jour et nuit, sans espoir de lendemain.” Ibidem, 329.

375 For an analysis of this passage, see Irven M. RESNICK: Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses, in: The Harvard Theological Review 93 (2000), 241–263, URL: <http://jstor.org/stable/1510030> (visited on 27/02/2019), here 258–260; Christoph CLUSE: Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden, Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden. Abteilung A: Abhandlungen 10, Hannover 2000, 330–331.

376 In the case of the medieval and early modern authors, it is cited as Ps. 77.66.

signs of melancholia.”<sup>377</sup>

The first two sentences of Resnick’s analysis are certainly to be agreed with. However, it is unclear to what extent melancholy was conceived in the description of the trembling head, the fearful heart and life in permanent fear. Finally, precisely in regard to the last passage, with the exception of the trembling head, there is another Bible reference, namely Deut. 28.65–66, to which Jean Donnadiu<sup>378</sup> refers in his critical edition of the *Historia Orientalis*. However, an implicit reference to melancholy by Jacob of Vitry cannot be completely ruled out either since he consciously chooses the theme of fear, which in turn the reader could associate with the “Jewish male” blood flow described above.

The extent to which the accusation of deicide no longer had to be explicitly mentioned in order to allude to the “Jewish male” blood flow can be seen in an excerpt<sup>379</sup> from a text by the scholar Cecco d’Ascoli (1257/69–1327), who made a name for himself above all as an astronomer, astrologer and physician. His theories were not everywhere well received. His commentary, probably written shortly before 1324, on the treatise *De sphaera mundi* by Johannes de Sacrobosco was the subject of fierce criticism. His adversaries initiated an inquisition trial. D’Ascoli was accused of attributing too much power to astrology. In all likelihood he had to revoke some of his theses and make corrections in his text. He went to Florence and became the personal physician and court astrologer of the Duke of Calabria. Again, he was accused by the Inquisition and burned at the stake in 1327 as a heretic.

In his commentary on *De sphaera mundi*, he addressed the thesis that Christ was made of the substance of heaven. Besides the four earthly elements, the premodern natural philosophical theories also had the idea of a fifth material, the *quinta essentia*. This was only assigned to the celestial sphere and the question of its influence on earthly creatures repeatedly led to discussions.<sup>380</sup> D’Ascoli vehemently rejected the assumption that Christ came from the material of the aether: “And that he [Christ] is truly the Son of God and not made by the nature of heavenly bodies [...], is evident from many things.”<sup>381</sup> As confirmation of the divine nature of Christ, Cecco d’Ascoli also lists the group of Jews and states in this context:

“And yet another sign is that the Jews never look up to heaven because of [their] sin and that after the death of Christ all Jewish men and women suffered from menstruation; since that death in this world, they have neither been able to obtain grace from God nor do they possess their own homes.”<sup>382</sup>

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377 RESNICK: Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses (see n. 375), 259.

378 VITRY: Histoire orientale. *Historia orientalis* (see n. 374), 328.

379 For analyses of this passage, see also RESNICK: Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses (see n. 375), 244; BILLER: Views of Jews from Paris around 1300 (see n. 322), 199.

380 See Rainer WALZ: Das Zurückweichen des Himmels, in: Rubin Wissenschaftsmagazin 2004, 22–28, here 23.

381 “Et quod vere sit filius dei et non factus a natura celestium [...], apparet nobis per multa.” Lynn THORNDIKE (ed.): *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and its Commentators*, Chicago 1949, 408.

382 “Adhuc est aliud signum quod Iudei propter peccatum numquam celum aspiciunt et post mortem Christi omnes homines Iudei ut mulieres menstrua patiuntur nec a deo a morte illa citra potuerunt aliquam gratiam obtinere nec habent mansiones.” *Ibidem*, 409.



The accusation of deicide is implicitly referred to by allusion to the sin attributed to the Jews and by the temporal fixation, after the death of Christ. Moreover, the refusal of divine grace and, as already mentioned by Jacob of Vitry, the state of the diaspora, in this case homelessness, are expressed in the absence of one’s own home. Cecco d’Ascoli also compares Jewish men directly with women by adding *ut mulieres*, although he does not attach other negative attributes. In contrast to Jacob of Vitry, the astrologer and physician describes the “Jewish male” blood flow as a suffering that, on the one hand, affects all Jews and, on the other, explicitly takes the form of menstruation. The step from the still rather unspecific “Jewish male” blood flow to the “Jewish male” menstruation has been completed. Irven M. Resnick<sup>383</sup> emphasizes that nowhere at that time is the “Jewish male” menstruation mentioned as explicitly as in the commentary by Cecco d’Ascoli, and Peter Biller also points out that Cecco d’Ascoli expresses himself “with complete clarity.”<sup>384</sup>

But the theological justification for “Jewish male” menstruation cannot be based solely on the accusation of deicide. The blood libel legends that emerged in the Middle Ages also contributed to this. According to Willis Johnson, this topos first appeared with the Benedictine monk Thomas of Monmouth and his account of the ritual murder of William of Norwich. The manuscript *De vita et passione sancti Willelmi martyris Norwicensis*, which is no longer preserved today, was probably written by Thomas of Monmouth around 1172–73. William’s death is dated 1144. At the end of the second book, in chapter 15, the Benedictine monk speaks of the case of Sheriff John, who was identified by Jessopp and James as John de Cheyney. According to the author, he had taken bribes (book 1, chapter 8) from Jews accused of ritual murder and initially managed to save them from the trial demanded at the synod and protect them (book 1, chapter 16). In chapter 15 *Qualiter divine ultionis iuditium circa Iohannem vicecomitem iudeorum defensorem apparuerit*, Thomas of Monmouth therefore addresses the divine punishment that the sheriff has received for defending Jews:

“[...] from the moment he openly turned against Christian law by defending Jews, the blood began to flow from his rear end drop by drop. Divine vengeance was so clear in his case that he too could also truly say with the Jews: «The innocent blood be on us and on our children». So blood flowed from his bottom many times over two years, and the loss of blood affected his physical health; he became pale in the face, and although he felt the wrath of God clearly in himself, he remained completely hardened and still did not want to show any remorse.”<sup>385</sup>

Thomas of Monmouth also makes use of the central Bible verse from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 27.25) and transfers the curse to the Christian sheriff. Since he protected Jews, *iudeis patrocinando*, and openly opposed Christian law, *legi [...] christiane patenter adversari cepit*, drops of blood

383 RESNICK: *Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses* (see n. 375), 244.

384 BILLER: *Views of Jews from Paris around 1300* (see n. 322), 199.

385 Translation from the German translation by Cluse: CLUSE: *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden* (see n. 375), 328; “[...] puncto temporis quo iudeis patrocinando legi sicut predictum est christiane patenter aduersari cepit, per posteriora eius sanguis guttatim profluere inchoauit. Adeoque diuina circa eum claruit ultio, ut reuera cum iudeis dicere et ipse possit: *Sanguis innocens super nos et super filios nostros*. Per duos igitur annos sanguine uicibus crebris per ima profluente uirtutem corporis sanguinis defectus imminuit, uultui pallorem induxit, et quamuis iram dei super se manifestam sentiret, totus tamen induratus necdum penitere uoluit.” Thomas of MONMOUTH: *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, Cambridge 1896, 111.

now flow from his rear end, *per posteriora eius sanguis guttatim profluere inchoavit*. What is striking here is the very detailed, medical-seeming representation of the phenomenon, which continues like this as Thomas of Monmouth describes the sheriff’s pale face due to constant bleeding. Willis Johnson therefore judges the sheriff chapter as follows:

“The condition suffered by the sheriff was described as a medical problem. Although its onset was described in strikingly supernatural terms and the problem itself was interpreted morally, this *fluxus sanguinis* had the symptoms of a real illness. The sheriff bled for years, became pale, weakened, and eventually died. Thomas’s text is especially interesting as it is the earliest expression of what became a progressively more important and more fully-articulated stereotype about Jewish men.”<sup>386</sup>

The passage is therefore characterized by both a medical description of the phenomenon and a theological justification, as well as an accompanying moral interpretation. This clearly shows how closely moral-theological and medical discourse could be linked. As far as the description of physical suffering as divine punishment is concerned, both Christoph Cluse and Willis Johnson emphasize the “Jewish” frame of reference, so to speak. Accordingly, Cluse states that Thomas of Monmouth is apparently interested in “a particularly ‘Jewish’ disease,”<sup>387</sup> and Johnson sees “a vivid example of the discursive construction of the Jewish body, a body whose true Jewishness is irrespective of parentage.”<sup>388</sup>

According to the logic of the Benedictine monk Thomas of Monmouth, this means: The sheriff himself becomes a Jew by defending and supporting Jews. Consequently, he receives the same divine punishment otherwise reserved for Jews. Through his support, he participates in the blood curse evoked by Matt. 27.25. Moreover, his help and protection of Jews is not only seen as a turn, but at the same time as apostasy, as a rejection of Christianity. Like Jews, Thomas of Monmouth now regards him as an opponent of Christianity. It should therefore be noted that even if the description of the symptoms of the disease is reminiscent of a medical representation, the causes and background of the suffering remain strictly within the supernatural, theological framework.

How the connection between the accusation of deicide, blood libel legend and the accusation of “Jewish male” menstruation was reinforced can be seen in a passage from the *Book of Bees*, *Bonum universale de apibus* by the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré (1201–c. 1270). The work was probably written between 1259–62, to which a dedication to the Master of the Order at that time, Humbert of Romans, refers. Apparently, the book was expanded later, however, because two blood libels, to which the author refers, only occurred after 1262.<sup>389</sup> In terms of the blood libels, Thomas of Cantimpré, in his *Book of Bees*, makes an attempt to illuminate the causes of ritual murder attributed to Jews. Here he departs from the assumption, which he himself defines as an irrefutable fact, that

<sup>386</sup> JOHNSON: *The Myth of Jewish Male Menses* (see n. 101), 286.

<sup>387</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “eine speziell ‘jüdische’ Krankheit” CLUSE: *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden* (see n. 375), 328.

<sup>388</sup> JOHNSON: *The Myth of Jewish Male Menses* (see n. 101), 286.

<sup>389</sup> In this regard, see CLUSE: *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden* (see n. 375), 321.

Jews would shed Christian blood habitually, *secundum consuetudinem*, in every province. He explains the background to this bloodshed as follows:

“From the Holy Gospel, it is known that the godless Jews, when Pilate washed his hands and said, I am pure in the blood of this righteous man, cried out: May his blood be on us and on our children. The blessed Augustine seems to allude to this in a sermon which begins with the words ‘In the Cross,’ (when he says) that from the blasphemy of the fathers until now the criminal disposition passes to the children, namely through the blemish of blood, so that through its impetuous flow the godless progeny is tormented without the possibility of atonement until they recognize themselves in repentance as guilty of Christ’s blood and are healed. I have also heard a very learned Jew, who in our times converted to the faith, say that a man who held the standing of a prophet prophesied to the Jews at the end of his life: Be completely sure, he said, that you can only be healed from the shameful torment with which you are punished by Christian blood alone. This word was taken up by the ever-blind and godless Jews and caused the circumstance that every year, in every province, Christian blood had to be shed in order to recover through such blood. And he added: Poorly, he said, have they understood the word by referring it to the blood of any Christian: but only that blood is meant which is shed daily on the altar for the remission of sins: every one of us who receives it after conversion to faith in Christ, as is proper, will soon be healed from the curse inherited from our fathers.”<sup>390</sup>

In the Latin quotation I have indicated in brackets the comments of the glosses in the printed edition of 1627, which can be consulted in the Spanish National Library, because they give us information about how the passage was received in the Early Modern Era. First of all, it can be seen that the Bible reference from the Gospel of Matthew was recognized as such and the corresponding information was included in the gloss. Moreover, with reference to the Augustinian sermon mentioned

390 English translation from the German translation by Eder without glosses, but based on the same edition of 1627: Manfred EDER: Die “Deggendorfer Gnad”: Entstehung und Entwicklung einer Hostienwallfahrt im Kontext von Theologie und Geschichte, Deggendorf 1992, 66–67; “Constat quidem ex sancto Euangelio, quòd Pilato lauante manus, & dicente: Mundus ego sum à sanguine iusti huius Iudaei impijssimi clamauerunt: Sanguis [sic] eius super nos, & super filios nostros [gloss, comment by editor: Matt. 27]. Super quo beatissimus Augustinus in sermone quodam, qui incipit: In cruce, innuere videtur, quòd ex maledictione parentum currat adhuc in filios vena facinoris, per maculam sanguinis [gloss: Nullus adhuc extat in operibus Augu. sermo hoc initio]: vt per hanc importunè fluidam proles impia inexpiabiliter crucietur, quousque se ream sanguinis Christi recognoscat poenitens, & sanetur. Praeterea audiui quemdam litteratissimum Iudaeorum nostris temporibus conuersum ad fidem, dixisse: quemdam quasi prophetam eorum in extremo vitae prophetasse Iudaeis, dicentem: Certissimè vos, inquit, scitote nullo modo sanari vos posse ab illo, quo punimini verecundissimo cruciatu, nisi solo sanguine Christiano. Quod verbum caeci semper Iudaei & impij rapiantes, induxerunt omni anno in omni prouincia fundendum sanguinem Christianum, vt tali sanguine conualescant. Et addidit: Malè, inquit, intellexerunt verbum, sanguinem intelligentes Christiani cuiuslibet: sed prorsus illum sanguinem, qui in salutem peccaminum quotidie funditur in altari: quem, quicumque nostrum conuersus ad fidem Christi, sumpserit vt decuerit, mox sanatur ab illa maledictione paterna” (II. 19. 23). Thomas de CANTIMPRÉ: Bonum universale de apibus: Omni hominum statui, tam praelatis, quam subditis utilissimum, Dvaci [Douai] 1627, 304–305.

by Thomas of Cantimpré, the commenting editor points out that he could not find it in Augustine’s work. This is particularly interesting since the Augustinian sermon, which supposedly began with the words *In cruce*, was quoted exactly with this wording by many proponents of the *limpieza de sangre* and used as evidence of the existence of “Jewish male” menstruation. Since they usually quote Thomas of Cantimpré in the same breath, it seems reasonable to assume that they took the information from the *Book of Bees* or copied it from an early modern colleague. Moreover, there is a question as to whether this sermon really exists, and this can be affirmed because Christoph Cluse was able to locate the cited sermon among the pseudo-Augustinian sermons in his research, even though the initium *In cruce* does not match. After a review of the handwritten tradition, Cluse came to the conclusion that confusion regarding the pages in the manuscripts had apparently led Thomas of Cantimpré to cite a Good Friday sermon *Evangelicae series lectionis* with the incorrect initium.<sup>391</sup> Since the terms *vena facinoris* and *macula sanguinis* also appear in this pseudo-Augustinian sermon, such a confusion can certainly be assumed. At the same time, the gloss of the early modern printing proves that in the 17th century, although not even the wrong sermon with the initium *In cruce* could be found by the commenting editor, the sermon was still eagerly quoted as proof anyway. As an example, Pedro Aznar Cardona and his text on the justification of the expulsion of the Moriscos, *Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos*, can be cited here since he also refers to Jews, the accusation of deicide and the blood libels:

“They [Jews or Jewish New Christians] and their descendants inherited this hatred of Christ, as Saint Augustine says, because of the curse of their forefathers. It is obvious that because of the curse of their fathers, the vein of the crime flows in the sons, through the blemish of the blood, until they recognize their guilt in repentance of the blood of Christ and are healed.”<sup>392</sup>

At this point, it becomes clear, on the one hand, that Aznar Cardona uses the quotation to justify in this way the idea of an inherited hatred of Christians, which, according to him, is inherent in Jews and Jewish New Christians. The idea of “Jewish male” menstruation does not play a role for him. On the other hand, it can be seen that Aznar Cardona knows the quotation only in a fragmentary and incorrect manner. He also ascribes it to Augustine alone, without mentioning Thomas of Cantimpré. Collectively, this indicates that Aznar Cardona was not familiar with the quote in its original context and probably quoted it from memory or from the work of an early modern colleague.

Apart from this brief exploration of quotations, which provides fascinating insight into scholarly work both in the Early Modern Era and in the present day, the quotation from Thomas of Cantimpré is also of great importance in terms of content. The genesis of a cursed Jewish body is supported by appropriate allusions. Accordingly, a vein of the crime due to blemished blood flows through descendants, *currat adhuc in filios vena facinoris, per macula sanguinis*. This stained and cursed blood

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391 In this regard, see CLUSE: Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden (see n. 375), 334–335.

392 “Eredaron este odio, contra Christo, y los suyos, como dize san Agustin por maldicion de sus padres. Videtur quod ex maledictione parentum, currat adhuc in filios vena facinoris, per maculam sanguinis quousque, se reos sanguinis Christi recognoscant penitentes & sanentur.” Pedro AZNAR CARDONA: *Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos*, Huesca: Pedro Cabarte, 1612, 186v.

of the Jews and their descendants is then juxtaposed to the salutary blood of Christ. The blood of Christ, which promises healing from suffering, in turn becomes the blood of Christians, *sanguinem intelligentes Christiani cuiuslibet*, due to the Jewish misinterpretation, and thus, according to the interpretation of Thomas of Cantimpré, the cause of the ritual murders. For the last step, the Dominican cites as a witness Augustine and an "extremely learned," *litteratissimus*, Jew of this time who had converted to Christianity.

In comparison to the sheriff's passage from Thomas of Monmouth, it can be seen that Thomas of Cantimpré completely refrains from medical references and detailed physical descriptions. At first his vocabulary remains very vague with terms such as vein of the crime and stained blood. Only with reference to the (blood) flow does Thomas of Cantimpré explicitly refer to actual suffering since the blood flow can no longer be interpreted purely metaphorically. Moreover, through the verb *crucietur*, he makes a direct connection between Jewish suffering as divine punishment and the crucifixion of Christ. Just as Christ was crucified or because Christ was crucified, Jewish descendants have to endure the cross of the blood flow, according to Cantimpré's train of thought. The mentioned healing through the blood of Christ, which is, according to the Dominican, literally understood by Jews and is considered to be the cause of the shedding of real Christian blood instead of conversion, aims again not to leave the mentioned suffering on a purely metaphorical level. Accordingly, Jews would temporarily recover through the blood of the annual ritual murders, *ut tali sanguine conualescant*. Moreover, the learned Jewish converts confirm that they themselves were soon completely healed of the blood flow by their conversion, as Cantimpré states. Willis Johnson writes that Thomas of Cantimpré describes annual bleeding on Good Friday "and in his text the flux of blood was clearly symbolic and not gendered in any way."<sup>393</sup> In my opinion, the passage in the text does not suggest that the blood flow only takes place annually on Good Friday because the Dominican solely talks about the ritual murders taking place annually. The symbolic level is very present in the quote, but Thomas of Cantimpré does not concentrate on this. However, I agree with the last statement that the text passage in no way works with gender assignments. Any connection to femininity and menstruation is missing at this point, and the blood flow remains unspecified except for the descriptive adverb *importune*, an inconvenient way.

It should be noted that all of the quotes mentioned above always focus on the accusation of deicide, which acts as a trigger for the flow of Jewish blood as divine punishment. The explanations of the blood libels take the Bible verse from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 27.25) as a basis, and Thomas of Cantimpré also justifies the ritual murders by the blood cursedness and the resulting Jewish blood flow. Both Jacob of Vitry and Cecco d'Ascoli also find approaches to feminization through the flow of blood. Thomas of Monmouth and Thomas of Cantimpré, by contrast, have no such references to femininity. The sheriff's passage from Thomas of Monmouth is in a way a special case, since the sheriff is a Christian who suffers the divine punishment of the Jewish blood flow due to his support of Jews.

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393 JOHNSON: The Myth of Jewish Male Menses (see n. 101), 288.

### 3.3.2 Hemorrhoids and Melancholy

How the Jewish blood flow was handled in the medical context and what role theological aspects played there will be examined in the following chapter. The gynecological work *De secretis mulierum*,<sup>394</sup> falsely attributed to Albertus Magnus, which is why the author is called Pseudo-Albertus Magnus, was apparently compiled by a pupil of Albert toward the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. The work was still widely used in the 16th century, with more than 70 editions in print at this time and over 50 already printed in the 15th century. The contents of the different editions vary greatly. For example, there are two different commentaries on the work, which are differentiated as commentary A and B. Commentator B alone deals with the Jewish blood flow in the context of the Pseudo-Albertus menstruation chapter. Pseudo-Albertus Magnus and Commentator A make no reference to this. Commentator B expands on Pseudo-Albertus’s definition of menstruation by listing three different types of menstruation:

“Note that according to some, menses is understood in three ways. The first way is natural menses, such as the menstrual periods of women. The second is supernatural, as the Jews experience. The third way is against nature, for example certain Christians of melancholy disposition bleed through the anus and not through the penis.”<sup>395</sup>

In addition to female menstruation, two other forms of menstruation are thus brought into play and distinguished from each other. The category of nature is intended to define the different forms. Female menstruation is considered natural; Jewish menstruation supernatural, and melancholic menstruation unnatural. The attribution as supernatural locates the Jewish blood flow in a theological-metaphysical context and therefore requires no further explanation since it is outside of the medical framework. The melancholic menstruation of some Christians, by contrast, is assigned the attribute of unnatural and categorized in the area of diseases, transferring responsibility to the medical practitioners. Furthermore, the addition that the bleeding takes place via the anus establishes the link to suffering from hemorrhoids. Here again, as in the ancient sources, the close intertwining of menstruation and hemorrhoids becomes apparent. Willis Johnson sums it up as follows: “It must be emphasized that medical theorists, from Galen (130–199) to Arnold of Villanova (1240–1311), described menstrual and hemorrhoidal bleeding as interchangeable.”<sup>396</sup> After Commentator B based his definition of menstrual forms on exactly this interchangeability, he differentiates between menstrual and hemorrhoidal bleeding in the further course of the text, firstly with regard to its cause, melancholy, and secondly with regard to its localization:

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394 In this regard, see Helen Rodnite LEMAY: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus’s “De Secretis Mulierum” with Commentaries, New York 1992, I.

395 Ibidem, 71; “Item nota quod secundum aliquos menstruum dicitur esse in trina differentia. Primo modo menstruum naturale sicut menstruum mulierum. Secundo modo supernaturale sicut in iudeis. Tercio modo contra naturam sicut in quibusdam christianis melancolicis per anum et non per virgam.” ALBERTUS MAGNUS: De secretis mulierum cum commento, Vienna: Johann Winterburg, [c. 1504], URL: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00005715-8 (visited on 27/02/2019), Capitulum tertium, s.p.

396 JOHNSON: The Myth of Jewish Male Menses (see n. 101), 288.

“Melancholic males generate a good deal of black bile which is directed to the spleen, and then to the spine. From there it descends to other veins located around the last intestine which are called hemorrhoids. After these veins are filled they are purged of the bile by this flow, which, if it is moderate, is very beneficial. This is found in Jews more than in others, for their natures are more melancholic, although it is said that they have this flow because of a miracle of God, and there is no doubt that this is true.”<sup>397</sup>

While Commentator B, referencing other opinions, *secundum aliquos*, attributed Jewish menstruation in the first quotation solely to the metaphysical level, he classifies it under the third form of menstruation in the second quotation. First, he explains in detail how hemorrhoids occur in melancholic men or what path the blood takes, which is caused by excess of black bile fluid. In this context, the commentator emphasizes the benefits of this bleeding as long as it is moderate, and speaks of cleansing, *purgant per talem fluxum*. These two aspects, cleansing and benefits in moderation, link hemorrhoidal bleeding to menstruation again. Finally, Commentator B adds that Jews would naturally, *ad naturam*, tend to melancholy and consequently hemorrhoids. He does not give a reason, instead he refers, again referencing others, *dicatur*, to the supernatural dimension of blood flow as a divine miracle, *miraculum dei*. He also stresses that the truth of this statement is beyond doubt.

As soon as Commentator B alludes to the Jewish blood flow, he cites references, even if he does not name them further. Since the Jewish blood flow in both cases has a theological-metaphysical origin that removes it from the medical sphere for which the commentator feels responsible, this could be the cause of his references to others through reformulations such as *secundum aliquos* and *dicatur*. The contradictory attribution of Jewish blood flow – initially defined solely as a supernatural phenomenon and later linked to the third aspect, melancholy – also suggests that two explanatory models of Jewish blood flow, theological and medical, collide at this point and cannot be fully reconciled. This leads to a dual character in the phenomenon of “Jewish” menstruation, which was medically defined as hemorrhoidal bleeding caused by a melancholic nature, and theologically as a divine miracle.

The treatise *Omnes homines*, probably written at the beginning of the 14th century and named after its introductory words,<sup>398</sup> is brought into connection with the medical school of Salerno,<sup>399</sup> also referring to both theological and detailed medical reasoning to explain Jewish blood flow. The treatise is one of the *Problems*, which were falsely attributed to Aristotle and in which, based on

397 LEMAY: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus’s “De Secretis Mulierum” with Commentaries (see n. 394), 74; “Item nota quod in viris melancolicis generatur multum de ipsa melanconia quae [quod?] dirigitur ad splen et de splene ad spinas dorsi a quibus descendit ad alias venas existentes circa ultimum intestinum quae vene vocantur emoroides quodque tales vene replentur tunc ipsi melanconici purgantur per talem fluxum et ille fluxus multum prodest eis si est temperatus. Et ille idem fluxus reperitur in iudeis ad naturam magis quam in aliis quia plurimum melanconicam declinat licet tamen coiter dicatur quod habent per miraculum dei de quo non est dubitandum quin sit verum.” ALBERTUS MAGNUS: De secretis mulierum cum commento (see n. 395), Capitulum tertium, s.p.

398 See BILLER: Proto-racial Thought in Medieval Science (see n. 372), 172.

399 Suzanne Conklin AKBARI: Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450, Ithaca 2009, 148.

a question-answer scheme, different areas of knowledge are dealt with. The set of questions summarized under the initium *Omnes homines* mainly deals with natural philosophical and medical problems. The work was also published again and again in the 16th and 17th centuries and translated into German and English early on. Robert Levi Lind, the editor of a commented edition of the *Omnes homines* treatise, mentions 25 independent editions in the two centuries<sup>400</sup> and emphasizes the importance of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* for the early anatomists prior to the era of Andreas Vesalius:

“Since the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* were edited and translated by a series of fifteenth and sixteenth century scholars from Pietro d’Albano (1482) to Giorgio Valla and Theodorus Gaza (1505) the activity thus represented falls within the pre-Vesalian period and must be taken into account as part of the material upon which the anatomists of that period could draw.”<sup>401</sup>

The question of Jewish blood flow is asked in the context of the question<sup>402</sup> regarding whether in general all men suffer from hemorrhoidal bleeding. The treatise denies this assumption and limits the disease to men who tend to melancholy. Hemorrhoids are linked to female menstruation with reference to the monthly occurrence of bleeding, but without adding effeminating associations. Hemorrhoidal bleeding is even viewed positively as protection against diseases such as leprosy. This first question is followed by a second regarding whether Jews suffer indiscriminately from this blood flow: “Quare Judei patiuntur indifferenter hunc fluxum?”<sup>403</sup> To start with, the theological arguments are cited when the author quotes the two classical Bible passages, Matt. 27.25 and Ps. 78.66. Subsequently, however, he concentrates on two, as he emphasizes, natural causes that could lead to hemorrhoidal bleeding. Firstly, he cites Jewish eating habits and explains:

“Differently and more naturally, it is answered that the Jews feed on phlegmatic and cold food because many good kinds of meat are forbidden to them by their law; the kinds of meat [which they may eat] cause melancholic blood, which is expurged by the hemorrhoidal flow.”<sup>404</sup>

Like Albertus Magnus, who referred to coarse and salty food, the author of the *Omnes homines* treatise also attributes the excessively melancholic blood and the resulting hemorrhoids to a poor diet, but this time to phlegmatic and cold food. The author also shows that these unhealthy eating habits are by no means self-inflicted, but religiously conditioned. Suzanne Conklin Akbari examines the text passage in the context of medieval climate theories and asks herself how the Jewish body, postulated as unchanged, can be reconciled with the idea of the bodies influenced by the climate zones:

<sup>400</sup> *Problemata Varia Anatomica*: MS 1165: The University of Bologna, Lawrence 1968, 1.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibidem*, 2.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibidem*, 38.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibidem*, 38.

<sup>404</sup> “Aliter respondetur et magis naturaliter quia Judei uestuntur cibariis flegmaticis et frigidis quia multe carnes bone in lege eorum sunt prohibite eis ex quibus carnibus generatur sanguis melanconicus qui per fluxum emoroidarum expurgatur” (16v). *Ibidem*, 39.



“The case of the Jews is the logical extension of this relationship between climate and food: [...] the Jews maintain their habitual diet. By doing so, they set themselves apart from those who are native to the lands that the Jews enter into, not just in a social or cultural sense, but physiologically as well. What they eat makes them what they are.”<sup>405</sup>

The idea of a *diasporic body*,<sup>406</sup> which preserves its original climate through food, plays an additional role in this context. Secondly, the reason given for the assumed Jewish blood flow is a certain pattern of behavior that also contributes to the production of melancholic blood:

“But since they neither work nor move nor interact with people and because they are in great fear that we may take revenge for the suffering of Christ, our Redeemer. All this causes cold and prevents digestion. Therefore, a lot of melancholic blood develops in them, which is expelled or expurgated by them every month.”<sup>407</sup>

Indirectly, the author refers to the precarious social status of Jews when he ascribes to them a withdrawn life – life without human contact, i.e. primarily without Christian contact – and the permanent fear of Christian vengeance. The special pattern of behavior that causes melancholy and thus hemorrhoids is consequently conditioned by the special social position of Jews. Here, too, the idea of a Jewish body in the diaspora is important.

Furthermore, it is worth recalling the *quodlibet* discussion<sup>408</sup> at the Faculty of Arts of the Sorbonne in Paris, which was mentioned at the beginning, and which Peter Billers analyzed in his essay *Views of Jews from Paris around 1300* and edited in the original Latin. In this discussion, which was held at the Sorbonne around 1300, there is also the question of whether Jews in general suffer from blood flow: “Consequenter queritur utrum iudei paciuntur fluxum.”<sup>409</sup> Initially, this assumption is denied and the principle is held that Christians and some Jews have the same complexion. Then, however, the value of experience is played off against this assumption, and is supposed to suggest the opposite, namely that the majority of Jews referred to as *illi leccatores*, those lechers, have a blood flow. In the next paragraph, the blood flow is then defined more precisely as hemorrhoidal bleeding and the medical reasons for this are given. First, the bleeding is attributed to melancholy and, as with the two preceding works, *De secretis mulierum* and *Omnes homines*, this is justified by an incorrect diet:

“I prove this, because they use roast foods and not boiled or cooked [cooked here means in a way other than roasting or frying PB], and these are difficult to digest [...]. Item, they have

405 AKBARI: *Idols in the East* (see n. 399), 150.

406 Ibidem, 140. In the third chapter of her book, the section *Climate and the Diasporic Body*, 140–154.

407 “Sed quia non sunt in labore neque in motu neque in conuersatione hominum et etiam quia sunt in magno timore quia nos ulciscantur [ulciscamur] passionem Christi redemptoris nostri, hec omnia faciunt frigiditatem et impediunt digestionem. Ideo in eis generatur multus sanguis melanconicus qui in ipsis tempore menstruali expellitur seu expurgatur” (Fol. 17r). *Problemata Varia Anatomica* (see n. 400), 39.

408 In this regard, see chapter 3.1.2 *Barriers*.

409 BILLER: *Views of Jews from Paris around 1300* (see n. 322), 205.

roast fat, such as oil, etc [...]. Another cause is that digestion with wine... [here a blank in the manuscript PB] – therefore those who do not drink wine have many superfluous not digested humours.”<sup>410</sup>

In this case, it is less the food itself or the seasoning than the wrong preparation, the frying and the use of oil that are criticized. Furthermore, not only food, but also drinks are mentioned here. Accordingly, Jews’ lack of wine consumption leads to excess, undigested body fluids, which are known to promote melancholy. In addition, the text lists three other symptoms that, according to Hippocrates, can be attributed to melancholy:

“[They are melancholics PB] because the melancholic shuns dwelling and assembling others and likes cut off or solitary places. However, Jews naturally withdraw themselves from society and from being connected with others, as is patent, therefore they are melancholics. Item, they are pallid, therefore they are of melancholic complexion. Item they are naturally timid, and these three are the contingent properties of melancholics, as Hippocrates says.”<sup>411</sup>

In addition to the two symptoms already described in the *Omnes homines* treatise, withdrawal and anxiety, a third is added: pallor. The strict separation of the social spheres imposed on Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages by bans, as described in chapter 2.2 *The Medieval Ban on Jewish Wet Nurses*, is physically attributed to Jews. Life on the sidelines of society is not regarded as a prescribed norm, but rather as Jewish “nature.” The attribute *naturaliter* illustrates this strikingly. The body in the diaspora is declared to be a “naturally” melancholic body. At this point, the emphasis on naturalness is fundamentally connected with the attempt to distinguish it from the theological sphere. Remarkably, the *quodlibet* discussion on Jewish blood flow does not refer to theological explanations, but exclusively to natural philosophical and medical arguments. This clearly separated the Faculty of Arts from the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne in Paris and defined its area. The attribution “naturaliter” must therefore be regarded as divine punishment in the context and against the background of the accusation of Jewish blood flow. “Natural” is used here as an exclusion criterion for the metaphysical explanation. This is already found in the *Omnes homines* treatise, which, after citing the Bible passages, aims to address the more natural explanations – *aliter respondetur et magis naturaliter*. Peter Biller comes to the following conclusion when comparing the two text passages:

<sup>410</sup> Translation by Peter Biller: BILLER: Views of Jews from Paris around 1300 (see n. 322), 192–193; “Probo [the melancholic inclination of Jews] quia utuntur alimentis assatis et non elixatis non coctis, et hec sunt difficile digestibilia [...]. Item, utuntur assarem [recte assatam; comment by Biller: PB] pinguedinem scilicet in oleo etc. [...]. Alia causa huius est quia digestio per vinum [per vinum with erasure line in MS PB] quod [blank in MS PB], ergo illi qui non habent bibere vinum habent multos f [sic PB] superfluos humores indigestos.” Ibidem, 206.

<sup>411</sup> Translation by Peter Biller: Ibidem, 192; “Quia melancholicus fugit cohabitationem et congregacionem et diligit loca secretaria vel solitaria; sed iudei naturaliter retrahunt se a societate et coniuncti [possibly recte coniungi PB] cum aliis ut patet, ergo sunt melancholici. Item, pallidi sunt, ergo sunt melancholice complexionis. Item, timidi sunt naturaliter et hec tria sunt [supra ? MS PB] accidentia propria melancholicorum, ut dicit Ipcocras.” Ibidem, 206.

“Though the precise interrelationship of these texts may remain unclear, one aspect of their authors’ view is clear: sharp awareness of seeing Jews ‘according to nature.’ While the Parisian master does this by excluding theology and insisting on explanations ‘according to nature,’ the author of *Omnes homines* proceeds differently, including theology, but stating that one must answer both, and separately, ‘theologically’ and ‘according to nature.’”<sup>412</sup>

Despite all the emphasis on nature, however, this does not describe an unalterable situation. That the attributes – isolation, anxiety and pallor – assigned to the Jewish body by nature were actually perceived as relative ascriptions can be seen in the fact that the text describes these three attributes as accidents, *accidencia*, which are characteristic of melancholy. Accordingly, the author refers to the philosophical contrasting pair of substance and accident.<sup>413</sup> While the substance defines what invariably belongs to the being or what essentially constitutes the being, the accident characterizes what is randomly added. Thus, isolation, anxiety and pallor as accidents are merely additional attributes and can therefore be changed.

The texts, which are oriented on natural philosophy and medicine, therefore have in common that they too assume a Jewish blood flow, but diagnose it as a hemorrhoid disease on the one hand and consequently assign it to melancholy on the other. As a result, the symptoms of melancholy also increasingly move into the foreground since only they can confirm the diagnosis of a natural cause, namely a melancholic core state of Jews. That this argumentation was also used in the Early Modern Period by proponents of the *limpieza de sangre* ideology can be seen in the text *Lilium medicinae* of the physician Bernard de Gordon († c. 1320), who taught at the University of Montpellier around 1300. A Spanish edition of the medical treatise was published as early as 1495, and the authors of the apologies on the *limpieza de sangre* liked to refer to it when they presented the argument of “Jewish male” menstruation with regard to the Conversos. The passage from Bernard de Gordon’s medical work does not provide any new arguments, but certainly a new perspective. Since it was an important basis for the apologists of the *limpieza de sangre*, it will be quoted here in its entirety and in the Spanish version:

“Sixth, Jews generally suffer from hemorrhoids for three reasons: first, because they are always in a state of otiosity, and this causes melancholic blood in them; second, because they are constantly in fear and anxiety, which causes melancholic blood to accumulate in them. Hippocrates says: ‘Fear and pusillanimity, which persist for a long time, make the humoral complexion melancholic’; third, this is because of the divine saying that goes: ‘and he smote them in the hinder parts and put them to a perpetual reproach.’”<sup>414</sup>

412 Ibidem, 200.

413 In this regard, see J. HALFWASSEN U.A.: s.v. Substanz/Akzidenz, in: Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie 10 (1998), 495–554.

414 “Sexto, los judíos generalmente padecen almorranas por tres cosas: la primera porque siempre están en ociosidad y por eso se engendra en ellos sangre melancólica; en segundo lugar, porque continuamente están en temor y angustias por lo que se acumula en ellos sangre melancólica. Sobre esto dice Hipócrates: ‘El temor y pusilanidad que mucho tiempo duran, melancólico hacen el humor’; en tercer lugar, esto sucede por la exaltación divina que dice ‘e hiriólos en lo postrero del espinazo y maldición perpetua les dio.’” Bernard de GORDON: Lilio de medicina, vol. 1, Fuentes de la medicina española, Madrid 1993, 1227.

On the one hand, it is striking that in comparison to the passage from *Omnes homines*, the theological reason is not cited first, but rather included at the end. On the other hand, no contrast is observed; instead, medical justifications based on natural philosophy and theological justifications are of equal value and form an argumentative whole. In addition, the Bible quotation is adapted to medical terminology by identifying the place of punishment, which was otherwise vaguely located in the rear or hinder parts, now anatomically exactly at the back of the spine, *en lo postrero del espinazo*. The consequences of this argumentative whole of medical and theological explanations for the debate on “Jewish male” menstruation in the Early Modern Era will be discussed below.

### 3.4 Male and “Jewish Male” Menstruation in the Early Modern Era

As already mentioned at the beginning, Gianna Pomata addresses the topic of male menstruation in the Early Modern Era in her article *Menstruating Men. Similarity and Difference of the Sexes in Early Modern Medicine*<sup>415</sup> and in an interview,<sup>416</sup> which Thomas Burg conducted with her. She deliberately places the emphasis on positively perceived male menstruation, but at the same time also takes into account the case of negatively connoted “Jewish male” menstruation. Two theses in her paper should be highlighted in particular: The first is that the image of positively connoted male menstruation predominated in early modern medicine;<sup>417</sup> the second is the already mentioned thesis that the female was elevated to the starting point and standard in the case of male menstruation.<sup>418</sup> Gianna Pomata also tries to prove the complexity of early modern medicine via the topic of male menstruation:

“Present-day historians are wrong when they say that in early modern European medicine the male was invariably held as the standard of bodily processes. In empirical observation, in therapeutic practice, things looked to many doctors more complex than that. The stories of menstruating men were an attempt to record this multifaceted perception.”<sup>419</sup>

Michael Stolberg criticizes the second thesis of the female as the standard for the concept of male menstruation in his essay *Menstruation and Sexual Difference in Early Modern Medicine*.<sup>420</sup> Stolberg’s main focus is to study the relationship between menstrual theories and the theories of *sexual difference*. In regard to menstruation theories, he starts by presenting three early modern menstrual models: the cathartic, the plethoric and the iatrochemical. In a second step, he examines the question of male menstruation to determine the extent to which theories of sexual otherness

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415 POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318).

416 POMATA/BURG: *Wieso menstruieren Männer? Ein Gespräch zwischen Gianna Pomata und Thomas Burg* (see n. 318).

417 POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 143.

418 *Ibidem*, 138.

419 *Ibidem*, 152.

420 See Michael STOLBERG: *Menstruation and Sexual Difference in Early Modern Medicine*, in: Andrew SHAIL/Gillian HOWIE (eds.): *Menstruation*, Basingstoke et al. 2005, 90–101.

are compatible with the models or not, because he assumes that around 1600 there was a change in scholarly Latin medicine that led away from the idea of female inferiority and toward complementary otherness. Despite this change, Stolberg does not see the female body as the ideal model for male menstruation:

“However, for various reasons, reports about ‘male menstruation’ cannot be taken to imply that female menstruation was the standard. [...] Indeed, if we look at the various theories, one could argue as well that female menstruation derived its medical meanings from comparison with the male body as the implicit standard and norm of human biology.”<sup>421</sup>

The chapter *Ideas of menstruation in Antiquity* shows how important a comparison of the female body with the male body was for a determination of female menstruation, as ancient physicians tried to find a definition and repeatedly drew on the male body and also male suffering from hemorrhoids for comparison. It turned out that the male body could not only serve as a foil for the female menstruating body, but that masculinity and femininity in Galen were placed in a common positive frame of equivalence when comparing menstruation and hemorrhoids. Whether the female body was able to become a model for male menstruation in the Early Modern Era and to what extent “Jewish male” menstruation in the negative sense relied on an attribution of femininity is to be examined in the following.

### 3.4.1 The Medical Point of View

Three reports of menstruating men, which were already used in Gianna Pomata’s essay as examples of the spread of male menstruation in the early modern medical discourse complex, will serve as an introduction. The medical practitioner Johann Ludwig Hannemann (1640–1724) reports of a Bremen cleric who suffered from hemorrhoids and “if they did not flow at a certain time, he used to suffer from the symptoms that women also suffer from in the case of suppressed menstruation.”<sup>422</sup> The link to female menstruation is therefore explicitly established in this quote by pointing out that the cleric suffers from the same symptoms as women suffering from suppressed menstruation. But then there is also an implicit reference since hemorrhoidal bleeding must occur at a certain time, “*stato tempore*,” so that the idea of regularity, which is also assumed to be an essential feature of female menstruation, is echoed. The analogy between hemorrhoids and menstruation, which was already mentioned in Antiquity and expanded in the Middle Ages, is again taken up and continued in this early modern quotation. It is also striking that although there is a comparison to femininity, this is done in a neutral way so that neither a positive nor a negative connotation prevails.

The other two cases described by Johann Baptist Wenck, a town physician from Graz, do not involve hemorrhoidal bleeding, but rather periodic menstrual bleeding from the genitals of men, which Wenck calls microcosmic phenomena:

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<sup>421</sup> Ibidem, 97.

<sup>422</sup> “[S]i non fluerent *stato tempore*, ea symptomata pati solebat, quæ patiuntur mulieres in mensium suppressione.” Johann Ludwig HANNEMANN: XVIII. De haemorrhagia & haemorrhoidibus. 22. Oktober 1674, in: *Acta Medica et Philosophica Hafniensia* 3 (1674), 30; see also POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 124.

“Among the various and almost countless microcosmic phenomena, nature has assigned to some men a phenomenon that does not rank at the bottom: a periodically occurring monthly blood [flow] for expurgation through the genitals, which is common only to the female gender.”<sup>423</sup>

Wenck states at this point that menstruation, the periodically occurring blood flow, is an unusual phenomenon for men – as a human microcosm – because menstruation is usually reserved for women. The two cases,<sup>424</sup> a man from Eggenberg and another from Leoben, both benefited from their male menstruation, according to Wenck. The man from Eggenberg became 105 years old and was able to enjoy a large flock of children. The man from Leoben also produced offspring. However, when his bleeding stopped, his procreative powers also ended, illnesses began to plague him and he passed away. Wenck therefore regards male menstruation as a guarantee for a long life and procreative power for these two Styrians, and its absence is considered a serious threat to their health and life. According to the report on these two cases, the physician points out that male menstruation has so far been a research desideratum, and he presents his initial thoughts in this respect:

“Regarding the periodically occurring monthly blood flow in women, there is largely agreement among all, but why and in what way this occurs, in men must still be investigated. It is certain that nature sought to remove such an excess of blood through the genitals as a way out, similar to what happens in many others through the hemorrhoidal veins and in women through the vagina of the abdomen and sometimes through other emunctories [ways out]. But it is extremely difficult to grasp where that excess blood in men comes from and how that evacuation takes place [...]”<sup>425</sup>

The physician from Graz admits that forms of male blood flow would occur more frequently than hemorrhoidal bleeding. The substitute menstrual bleeding is mentioned when Wenck points out that blood secretion sometimes also occurs in other ways – emunctories.<sup>426</sup> In all these forms of blood flow, he blames nature for attempting to secrete excess blood. In comparison to ancient ideas about the causes and effects of menstruation, Wenck thus represents a quite common thesis.

423 “Inter varia & ferè innumera microcosmi phænomena, non postremum locum occupat illud, quod natura Viris quibusdam periodicam menstrualem sanguinis per penem concesserit expurgationem, quæ soli muliebri sexui communis est.” Johann Baptist WENCK: *Observatio CXXXVI: De duobus viris styriacis fluxum menstrualem sanguinis per penem patientibus*, in: *Miscellanea curiosa sive Ephemeridum medico-physicarum Germanicarum Dec. III. Annus IX & X (1706)*, 258–261, here 258–259; see also POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 109.

424 WENCK: *Observatio CXXXVI* (see n. 423), 259.

425 “Inprimis, quid periodicus menstrualis fluxus in mulieribus sit, omnibus constat, cur autem, aut quomodo in viris fiat, investigandum restat. Certum est, naturam hanc superabundantis sanguinis copiæ per penem evacuationis viam, sicut in pluribus aliis per hæmorrhoidales venas, & in mulieribus per uteri vaginam, & aliquando per alia emunctoria quæsiisse. Unde autem illa sanguinis exuberantia in Viris proveniat, & quomodo illius evacuatio fiat, difficilioris indaginis est [...]” *Ibidem*, 259.

426 In regard to the early modern medical term emunctoria, see also August Friedrich HECKER/Heinrich August ERHARD (eds.): *Lexicon medicum theoretico-practicum reale oder allgemeines Wörterbuch der gesammten theoretischen und praktischen Heilkunde*, vol. 3,1, Erfurt and Gotha 1820, 178–179.

However, while he declares it to be extensively researched for the female body, a precise examination in regard to the male body is missing, especially with regard to the origin of the menstrual blood and the course of the bleeding itself. In the entire report on his observations titled *Observatio CXXXVI*, Wenck shows that he repeatedly consults the female body to explain the male menstruation and sees it – in contrast to the male body – as predestined for menstruation. With regard to Wenck, it is therefore clear that Gianna Pomata’s thesis is to be agreed with when she says that the female body is elevated to the standard within this framework.

The analogy between hemorrhoidal bleeding and female menstruation can also be found in the important anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) in his work on human anatomy, *De humani corporis fabrica*, which was first published in Basel in 1543. For example, in the third book, he writes that he is convinced that the excremental blood “at certain fixed intervals is excreted through the anus just as women must have monthly bleeding for cleansing.”<sup>427</sup> This analogy is even more important when Vesalius dissects a male body suffering from hemorrhoids to gain answers regarding the accumulation and flow of menstrual blood in female bodies.

Vesalius asks the question of whether the menstrual blood accumulates in the cavity of the uterus or in the veins of the cervix and later drains away. Vesalius doubts the first option and, drawing on his dissection experience on the male body suffering from hemorrhoids, supports the second.<sup>428</sup> However, he must admit that he has not yet been able to prove this phenomenon on the female body itself: “Although I induce in the same way what happens in women, I have never observed this in a dissection.”<sup>429</sup> Vesalius legitimizes his approach by assuming a natural correspondence between female and male bodies.<sup>430</sup> According to him, female bodies only differ from male ones by their greater cold and moisture.<sup>431</sup> Consequently, Vesalius combines new anatomical findings on the basis of his own dissection experience with the adoption of ancient findings such as the ones from Galen and Aristotle. Anatomical studies together with traditional knowledge generate the new knowledge base.

The early modern physicians Vesalius, Jean Fernel and Silvius – probably Jacobus Sylvius or Jacques Dubois, a teacher of Vesalius, – are again referred to by the often quoted Spanish physician Luis Mercado (1506–1620), who taught at the University of Valladolid and was the personal physician of both Philip II and Philip III. His gynecological work *De Mulierum affectionibus* focuses, however, on discussing medical theories of ancient physicians, particularly Galen. In the “Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon” (General Scholars Lexicon), which was published by Christian Gottlieb Jöcher in 1750/1751 in four volumes, he is described as a “great admirer of Galen.”<sup>432</sup> In ad-

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427 “[C]ertis quibusdam intervallis, uti mulierum menstruae purgationes solent, per anum excerni.” Andreas VESALIUS: *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, Basel 1555, URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-7521> (visited on 26/02/2019), 659.

428 See POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), III–II2.

429 “Caeterum etsi perinde in mulieribus fieri colligo, id tamen sectione nunquam observavi [...]” VESALIUS: *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (see n. 427), 663; see also POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), II2.

430 VESALIUS: *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (see n. 427), 659.

431 *Ibidem*, 662.

432 “[G]rosser Verehrer des Galeni,” ANONYM: s.v. Mercado, Ludovicus, in: *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* 3 (1751), Abruf über Datenbank WBIS, 449–450, here 449.

dition, the Spanish physician also wrote a work on pulse diagnosis, *De pulsibus*, which was regarded in Galen’s humoral pathology as an important instrument for the recognition of diseases. However, Mercado’s gynecological writing is particularly impressive due to the enormous range of his knowledge of ancient works and scholars. Mercado not only quotes Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle, but also includes references to Pliny the Elder, Democritus, Aelianus, Solinus and Columella.<sup>433</sup>

In order to approach the subject of menstruation, Mercado initially concentrates on the open questions that have existed on this subject since Antiquity: “[...] it is unclear what the reason for menstruation and its nature is, what the principle of its purgation and nature’s decision to effect it [the expulsion] is.”<sup>434</sup> I find myself in good company with my approach in chapter on 3.2 *Menstruation Ideas in Antiquity* when describing the conceptions of menstruation on the basis of their potential for discussion. In the ongoing course of his chapter, Mercado groups the questions into four points:

“[...] it is necessary to clarify: first, at what time it must flow according to the law of nature; second, what the properties of this blood are; third, the time and cause of periodic [blood] congestion and expulsion; fourth and last, where [the blood] accumulates and where it is secreted.”<sup>435</sup>

In the further course of his text, he addresses the points individually, referencing the positions in Antiquity and explaining his own. Regarding the second question about the nature of menstrual blood, Mercado rejects the idea that it could be a dangerous and harmful substance, as Pliny reports. Instead, he refers to the function of menstrual blood, which serves procreation:

“However, it is certain that semen and menstrual blood form the basis of procreation, so it is credible that they are of the most perfect nature.”<sup>436</sup>

The same high quality is also then found in the substance of breast milk, as this is obtained from the menstrual blood. Even if Mercado cites Galen in the following, he deviates from the Galenic position here because Galen differentiates between semen fluid and menstrual blood and defines the former as a higher quality distillation. Mercado, by contrast, does not mention such gradations in quality between semen, menstrual blood and breast milk and presents all three as extremely perfect substances. The idea that menstrual blood is regarded by some as harmful is explained by Mercado, incidentally, on account of its ability to spoil and corrupt – *eo dum putrescit & corrumpitur*<sup>437</sup> – which, in turn, leads to diseases.

433 MERCADO: *De mulierum affectionibus, libri quatuor* (see n. 174), 17.

434 “[...] obscurum esse qualis sit menstruorum ratio, & natura, & quale fuerit eius purgationis principium, & naturæ decretum in eadem excitanda.” *Ibidem*, 15.

435 “[...] primum, quo tempore profluere ex naturæ lege teneatur: secundum, qualis sit eius sanguinis substantia: tertium, tempus & rationem congestionis & expulsionis periodicæ: quartum verò & vltimum, qualis sit locus in quo aggregatur, & per quem secernitur, explicare.” *Ibidem*, 15.

436 “At generationis principia, constat esse semen & sanguinem menstruum, ergo esse naturæ perfectissimæ credibile erit.” *Ibidem*, 18.

437 *Ibidem*, 19.



In the context of his chapter on female menstruation, Luis Mercado also discusses the *uteri hæmorrhoydes* or the *marisci*,<sup>438</sup> the mother hemorrhoids. In a handbook for surgery from 1832, the occurrence of mother hemorrhoids is primarily found in the uterus and cervix. The author refers to the antique doctor Aëtius here.<sup>439</sup> In his chapter about women who do not menstruate at all,<sup>440</sup> Mercado mentions that the discharge of blood in the case of mother hemorrhoids comes from the veins ending at the cervix. The inner uterine veins, however, are responsible for the menstrual blood.<sup>441</sup> If the blood does not flow out as menstruation, but through hemorrhoidal bleeding, the medical practitioner can make use of it for a cure.<sup>442</sup> In principle, he regards this substitute, misguided bleeding as positive since it would be beneficial for pregnancy:

“When nature now drains through the hemorrhoids or through the urine of menstruation, it [nature] appears to be less faulty in terms of health since it [the menstrual blood] otherwise stands in the way of conception.”<sup>443</sup>

In the case of Mercado, it can be stated that although he also draws a comparison between menstruation and hemorrhoids, he simultaneously views the two phenomena in a differentiated manner. Accordingly, he does not talk about hemorrhoids in general, but specifically about mother hemorrhoids, whose blood flow is located in the cervical veins. At the same time, he sees advantages in the faulty blood flow, as the monthly accumulation of excess blood finds a way out of the body and no longer stands in the way of conception and thus pregnancy. Consequently, mother hemorrhoids and menstruation appear to be almost equal, apart from their different locations.

Johann Schenck von Grafenberg (1530/31–1598), a town physician in Freiburg im Breisgau, also differentiates between hemorrhoids and menstruation. In his work *Observationum medicarum rariorum*,<sup>444</sup> the physician collected not only his own case descriptions, but also those of other colleagues, who in some cases are still well-known and in others less well-known today. He begins his chapter on hemorrhoids with the note that the tendency to suffer from hemorrhoids may well lie in the family because “hemorrhoids are common in certain families [...]”<sup>445</sup>. Here he refers to the French physician Jacques Houllier († 1562) and Jakob Mock (end of 16th–beginning of 17th century), a medical professor in Freiburg im Breisgau. Furthermore, Johann Schenck makes a connection between hemorrhoids and menstruation, in part on the basis of Vesalius. To support this reference, he refers to a case description by the Italian physician Marco Antonio Zimara (1470–1537) and a case description on Johann Baptist Propola, documented by the Portuguese Converso physician

438 Ibidem, 37.

439 KESSLER: s.v. *Haemorrhoides Uteri*, in: Joh. Nep. RUST (ed.): *Theoretisch-praktisches Handbuch der Chirurgie*, Berlin and Vienna 1832, 118–121, here 118.

440 *Cap. V: De fæminis, quibus menses nunquam fluxerunt.*

441 MERCADO: *De mulierum affectionibus, libri quatuor* (see n. 174), 37.

442 Ibidem, 35.

443 “Quòdsi per hæmorrhoydes, aut per vrinam natura menstruum purget, minùs sanè vitiosum existit, cæterum conceptui obstat.” Ibidem, 34.

444 Johannes SCHENCK VON GRAFENBERG: *Observationum medicarum rariorum, libri VII*, s.l. s.a. [probably first half of 17th century].

445 “[Q]uibusdam familiis consuetæ sunt hæmorrhoides [...]” Ibidem, 391.

Amato Lusitano (1510/1511–1568), whose cases will be analyzed in more detail below. Marco Antonio Zimara reports that he knew a man who suffered from monthly hemorrhoids and was 80 years old.<sup>446</sup> Here again we see the connection between monthly hemorrhoids and old age, which the Graz physician Wenck also mentions in his Eggenberg patient.

Furthermore, Schenck also included the report of the German physician Jakob Oætheus (16th century) in his collection. It was he who had heard of substitute hemorrhoidal bleeding from a patient spitting blood. The man, who usually suffered from monthly hemorrhoidal bleeding, had spat blood in its absence, according to Schenck.<sup>447</sup> Another connection to menstruation is thus established by the assumption of alternative bleeding. Of course, according to the early modern medical theories ascribed to by Schenck, hemorrhoidal bleeding itself can also occur as substitute menses in women, mainly in virgins and pregnant women.<sup>448</sup> In terms of pregnant women, Schenck refers to a case description by Jacques Houllier, which deals with two noble, pregnant women who suffered from hemorrhoids during pregnancy.<sup>449</sup> Interestingly, this case in Schenck is assigned to the chapter on hemorrhoids and not to the one on menstruation, although he deals in detail with the various cases of substitute menses in the latter. In the menstrual chapter, however, another case is described, which comes from the physician Johannes Kentmann (1518–1568). This involves a woman who suffered from daily bleeding for four years, with hemorrhoids and menstruation alternating by moon phase. That means, from new moon to full moon she suffered from menstrual bleeding and from full moon to new moon from hemorrhoidal bleeding.<sup>450</sup> Schenck’s categorization suggests to the reader that he apparently regards this case primarily as hypercatharsis in the form of excessive bleeding and not as substitute menses. Finally, Schenck also includes in his collection a newer method of treating hemorrhoids, reported by the Italian physician Victor Trincavella (1476–1558) and based on ancient sources. This relates to the use of leeches, *hirudines*.<sup>451</sup>

In regard to the collection of case descriptions, *Observationes*, which Schenck compiled, it must be noted that he assigns the cases of menstruating men to his chapter on hemorrhoids, but distinguishes between general hemorrhoidal bleeding and periodically occurring hemorrhoids, often with the addition “like female menstruation.”<sup>452</sup> Apart from this addition, however, no feminization can be found in Schenck. The chapter on menstruation is all about female menstruation, and Schenck’s interest is focused mainly on the substitute menses,<sup>453</sup> for which he collected a series of case descriptions and which he partly categorized by the place of bleeding. For example, he begins his explanatory remarks with the report on bleeding from the eyes and ears, followed by nose and mouth. The mother hemorrhoids, which are mentioned in Mercado, play no role in Schenck’s remarks.

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446 SCHENCK VON GRAFENBERG: *Observationum medicarum rariorum, libri VII* (see n. 444), 392.

447 *Ibidem*, 392.

448 *Ibidem*, 695.

449 *Ibidem*, 392.

450 *Ibidem*, 701.

451 *Ibidem*, 393.

452 “[U]t mulieres menstruis,” *Ibidem*, 391.

453 *Ibidem*, 698–701.

Now, as remarked above, the case descriptions provided by the physician Amato Lusitano in his work *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem*<sup>454</sup> will be examined. The descriptions have become known as the *Seven Centuries*. The physician called it this because he documented a hundred case descriptions in each century. Amato Lusitano came from a Converso family and was first known under his *Converso* name Juan Rodrigo del Castel Branco. Castel Branco near Beira was his birthplace. In a case description that he wrote, according to his own statements, in Ancona in May 1550, he mentions his full name and describes himself as “Amato Doctor medicus Castellii albi Lusitano.”<sup>455</sup> He combined the new name Amato, a Latinization of his crypto-Jewish name Chabib, the beloved, with his birthplace, and he also referred to his Portuguese origin with Lusitano. He studied medicine at the University of Salamanca and first practiced in Lisbon. Later, he went to Antwerp and, via France and the Holy Roman Empire, to Italy. He lived in Venice, among other places, and around 1546 he was in Ferrara; then he went to Ancona, from which he had to flee in 1555 due to the new Pope Paul IV’s repressions directed at the Portuguese New Christians. In 1558 he went to Salonica (now Thessaloniki), which was under Ottoman rule. There he publicly confessed to Judaism and became a member of the learned, Portuguese Jewish society of Conversos,<sup>456</sup> which is also documented on the basis of his case descriptions, the *Seven Centuries*. But he had already belonged to this circle before. For example, he was acquainted with Azzarias Mantuanus Hebræus (Cent. IV, Cur. 42),<sup>457</sup> whom Meyer Kayserling (1829–1905)<sup>458</sup> identified as Azaria dei Rossi (1511–1578), an Italian-Jewish humanist. In Thessaloniki, the physician died of the plague in 1568.

In the case of Amato Lusitano’s work, it is worth widening the search radius and looking again not only at hemorrhoids and menstruation, but also melancholy, which had already been connected with the idea of Jewish male menstruation in the Middle Ages. The cases of melancholy that Amato Lusitano describes in his work have already been studied by Eleazar Gutwirth.<sup>459</sup> However, he did not consider their possible connection to menstruation and hemorrhoids.

In the case of Azaria dei Rossi, whom Amato Lusitano describes, among others, as “extremely well-versed in Hebrew and Latin work,”<sup>460</sup> the physician discusses the extent to which one could assume that Jews have a natural tendency to melancholy. First, Amato Lusitano describes the symptoms. Thus the melancholy in the humanist is expressed, among other things, in “dog-like” hunger, melancholic insomnia and melancholic thoughts, to take up only points 6 and 7, as examples, from the list.<sup>461</sup> These symptoms can already be found among ancient physicians as a sign of melancholy.

454 Amatus LUSITANUS: *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem*, Barcinonae [Barcelona]: Sumptibus Sebastiani & Jacobi Mathevat, 1628.

455 Ibidem, 296–297.

456 In this regard, see also Eleazar GUTWIRTH: *Jewish Bodies and Renaissance Melancholy: Culture and the City in Italy and the Ottoman Empire*, in: Maria DIEMLING/Guiseppa VELTRI (eds.): *The Jewish Body*, Leiden and Boston 2009, 57–92.

457 Centuria IV, Curatio 42, LUSITANUS: *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem* (see n. 454), 715–729.

458 Meyer KAYSERLING: *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig 1876, 269.

459 GUTWIRTH: *Jewish Bodies and Renaissance Melancholy* (see n. 456).

460 “Hebraicis & Latinis literis apprime instructus,” LUSITANUS: *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem* (see n. 454), 715.

461 “Sextò, plerunque in famen is incurrit caninam, tam nocte quam diu. Septimò, huius in somnia melancholica sunt,

As far as the causes of melancholy are concerned, the Portuguese medical practitioner argues on three levels. First, as a Jew, Azaria dei Rossi naturally tends to melancholy:

“Jews are almost always black-biled by nature; therefore I suspect primarily that many reasons come together. First of all because they are prisoners, which makes them fearful and distressed and thus black-biled [...].”<sup>462</sup>

Therefore, the medical practitioner regards imprisonment as the first origin of Jew’s natural melancholy. Through it, fear and sorrow follow as a permanent state, which in turn results in melancholy, i.e. their black-biled nature. Second, Amato Lusitano also sees eating habits as a cause of melancholy. According to him, this is especially true for Italian Jews:

“[...] also because Jews have the habit of eating dishes producing black bile, especially the Italians who consume geese, smoked beef, duck, legumes and a lot of salted cheese: no less meat pâtés, that is, a meat pie, meat in a crust, chickpeas and soft boiled legumes, lentils, olives, salted meat, and many other black-bile producing dishes: therefore, it is well-known that all Jews are black-biled.”<sup>463</sup>

The cultural factor inherent in nutrition can be clearly seen when Amato Lusitano holds the eating habits of Italian Jews to be the cause of evoking melancholic tendencies. He was convinced that the Italian-Jewish eating culture led to Jews’ melancholic disposition. It is interesting that questions of heredity can be ignored in both cases because the state of imprisonment or rather perpetual servitude and eating habits can be regarded as socio-cultural factors, which, however, are passed down from generation to generation.

Third, the physician sees a cause for the melancholy in the intellectual activity of Azaria dei Rossi on the one hand and in his physical condition on the other. Accordingly, the humanist possesses a lean body, weak veins and a narrow rib cage,<sup>464</sup> all indications of a melancholic temperament. Melancholy can therefore be caused by individual physical disposition and intellectual activity, but also by the first two socio-cultural factors attributed to Judaism, the effects of imprisonment and eating habits. In the case of Azaria dei Rossi, according to Amato Lusitano, these three causes now meet.

With regard to Jews’ inclination to melancholy due to their eating habits, Eleazar Gutwirth emphasizes the naturalistic direction of the argumentation.

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& cogitationes melancholicae.” LUSITANUS: *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem* (see n. 454), 716.

462 “Hebræi natura sua omnes ferè atrabiliarj sunt, quod potissimum evenire multis de causis auguror. Prima quia captivi, unde timidi & moesti fiunt & consequenter atrabiliarj [...].” *Ibidem*, 717.

463 “[...] tum quia Hebræi edulij atrabiliosis vesci consuescunt: præsertim Itali, qui anseribus, bobula [sic] exiccata fumo, anatibus, leguminibus, & multo salito caseo vescuntur: non minus artocrea, id est, carne mazza, incrustata carne, ciceribus & leguminibus discocta, lentibus, olivis, carne salita, & alijs varijs & multis atram bilem gignentibus: proinde omnes Hebræos atrabiliarios esse, in confesso est.” *Ibidem*, 717. On the term *artocrea*, see also Susanne FRITSCH: *Das Refektorium im Jahreskreis: Norm und Praxis des Essens in Klöstern des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 2008, 87.

464 “[...] corporis gracilitas, venarum exilitas, thoracis strictura: quæ omnia temperamentum atrabiliarum attestantur [...].” LUSITANUS: *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem* (see n. 454), 717.

“That is to say that we are offered a naturalist, rather than a supernatural explanation of supposedly Jewish characteristics. The attempts to explain supposed Jewish character of history by appealing to naturalistic factors has been found by research on Jewish texts that were read in those years as well. For example, the critique of Christian/Jewish diet is also present in Hebrew texts such as the *Shevet Yehudah*.”<sup>465</sup>

Natural philosophical and medical reasoning takes precedence over metaphysical explanatory patterns. In the work mentioned by Eleazar Gutwirth and titled *Shevet Yehudah*,<sup>466</sup> the author, Salomon Ibn Verga (1460–1554), a physician, poet and historian, describes the persecution that the Jewish people suffered, and examines the causes of Jewish decline. In this context, the importance of nutrition is also examined. For example, we learn in a dialog between the Spanish king and a medieval scholastic named Thomas the Wise that pork is good for the fluids constellation<sup>467</sup> and that Christians, because of their naturally excellent fluid constellation, do not have to regard the Old Testament dietary rules.<sup>468</sup> In the case of Salomon Ibn Verga, it is clear that he also made use of his medical knowledge of Galen’s humoral pathology for his historical argumentation.

Eleazar Gutwirth’s commentary on Amato Lusitano, however, does not refer here to the case of Azaria dei Rossi, but to the eight-year-old daughter of Leo Hebræus or Leon Hebreo (Cent. II, Cur. 20). Gutwirth identifies him as the author of the well-known love dialogs, *Dialoghi di amore, composti per Leone medico, di natione hebreo*, which were published in 1541 in Venice, as well as at other times and in other places. However, this is doubtful because on the one hand the case description of the eight-year-old daughter is dated May 1550 in Ancona. Leon Hebreo of the love dialogs, however, died before 1535, that is, before the publication of his work. On the other hand, he is named as a physician in the dialogs. Amato Lusitano, however, introduces his Leon Hebreo as a teacher, *pedagogus*, “since he taught many in the Holy Language.”<sup>469</sup> Meyer Kayserling also does not identify this Leon Hebreo as the author of the love dialogs.<sup>470</sup>

But now to the actual case, which, for once, is not Amato Lusitano’s own case: Leon Hebreo’s eight-year-old daughter suffered from severe colic. A physician with the last name of Calaphurra was called in. In enema therapy, the girl died and the physician was taken to court by the parents. Amato himself makes a diagnosis and rehabilitates the doctor and condemns the court action in his case description. The medical practitioner Calaphurra had prescribed the enema because he had identified the cause of colic being Jews’ tendency to melancholy and flatulence due to their eating habits:

465 GUTWIRTH: Jewish Bodies and Renaissance Melancholy (see n. 456), 77.

466 In the dedication of the Spanish version, *shevet* is translated as *vara*, stick, and *ceptro* as scepter, that is, the stick or scepter of Judah. It is also explained that it could be punishment by the stick as well as glory of the scepter. In this regard, see *Dedicatoria*, Salomo IBN VERGA: La vara de Juda, Amsterdam 1744.

467 “[...] y el puerco es muy conveniente para el temperamiento del hombre [...]” Ibidem, 18.

468 Ibidem, 32; in this regard, see also Eleazar GUTWIRTH: Gender, History and the Judeo-Christian Polemic, in: Ora LIMOR/Guy G. STROUMSA (eds.): *Contra Iudaeos*, Tübingen 1996, 257–278, here 268.

469 “[Q]uum multos sanctam linguam doceret,” LUSITANUS: *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem* (see n. 454), 291

470 KAYSERLING: *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (see n. 458), 269.

“[...] because the Jews feed on really cold food that causes melancholy and flatulence, which results in cold and flatulent body fluid and in turn mostly produces colic [affection of the gall bladder], which proves that the Jews often get into a bile-like state because of this accumulated bodily fluid. According to this consideration, the physician prescribed an enema against this condition in a learned manner [...]”<sup>471</sup>

Here Amato Lusitano initially does not describe his own considerations, as it sounds in Eleazar Gutwirth’s essay, but refers to those of the physician Calaphurra. That he basically has a positive view of these conclusions, however, can be seen in the nature of his presentation. For example, he adds in the last sentence of the passage quoted that the physician proceeded in a scholarly learned manner, *doctè*. The two case reports on the patients Azaria dei Rossi and Leon Hebreo’s daughter show that the conception of Jews as generally tending to suffer from melancholy because of their diet was quite a common conception.

Looking at the medical precursors, Eleazar Gutwirth notes that “Amatus’ particular narrative and representation of diet has no exact precedent in these ancient and medieval traditions.”<sup>472</sup> I have to disagree with this assumption because, as shown in chapter on 3.3 “Jewish Male” Blood Flow in the Middle Ages, there are thoroughly medieval literary traditions that Amato Lusitano could fall back on and build upon. It should be remembered that the texts from the medieval *quodlibet* discussion rounds, which Peter Biller analyzed, will not have been too familiar. Bernard de Gordon’s book titled *Lilium medicinae*,<sup>473</sup> by contrast, was quite popular in the Spanish-speaking region. His theories of why Jews in general would suffer from hemorrhoids contains important elements of the argument that can also be found in Amato Lusitano. According to him, it was, among other things, fear and timidity that led to excessive melancholic blood, which in turn explained the hemorrhoids. Fear as a motive also appears in the treatise on *Omnes homines*,<sup>474</sup> and both this treatise and the passage cited above from Albertus Magnus<sup>475</sup> refer to nutrition as the cause of melancholy. Consequently, a literary tradition can be reconstructed.

There are other forms of melancholy mentioned in Amato Lusitano’s patient reports. Accordingly, melancholy often occurs in women during pregnancy and childbirth, which is why the physician suspects a connection.<sup>476</sup> He reports of the tailor’s wife, who works as a seller on the market and who suffered from melancholy and irregular menstruation after birth (Cent. II, Cur. 52).<sup>477</sup> Furthermore, the physician points out that Dona Luna, the wife of Leo Abravanel, incorrectly assumed that she

471 “[...] quia Hebræi melancholicis & flatuosis, ac actu frigidis vescuuntur cibarijs, a quibus humor gignitur quidam frigidus flatuolus, cholicas affectiones plerunque producere natus, quæ res indicio est, quòd Hebræi ob hunc aggestum humorem in cholicum affectum sæpe incidunt. Hoc igitur ratiocinio usus, doctè medicus contra hanc affectionem hunc descripsit clysterem [...]” LUSITANUS: Curationum medicinalium centurie septem (see n. 454), 293.

472 GUTWIRTH: Jewish Bodies and Renaissance Melancholy (see n. 456), 86.

473 GORDON: Lilio de medicina (see n. 414), 1227.

474 Problemata Varia Anatomica (see n. 400), 38–39.

475 ALBERTUS MAGNUS: Quaestiones super de animalibus (see n. 367), 206.

476 “Cuius affectionis causa, humor melancholicus commotus parturitionis tempore esse videtur.” LUSITANUS: Curationum medicinalium centurie septem (see n. 454), 361.

477 Ibidem, 361.

was pregnant. However, her menstruation had been suppressed for months, which had caused the melancholy (Cent. V, Cur. 86). He also describes the case of a woman from Pesaro who fell ill with melancholy during pregnancy due to the absence of menstruation (Cent. V, Cur. 87).<sup>478</sup> In the case of Dona Luna, we can assume that she belonged to Jewish society. There is no information on whether the other two patients have a Christian or Jewish background. In all three cases, melancholy is explained by the suppression or absence of menstruation. The context of pregnancy is also present in everyone, even if Dona Luna’s case was evidently a kind of false pregnancy. Eleazar Gutwirth emphasizes that in the case of Dona Luna there is no explanation of the melancholy on the basis of the idea that Jews generally tend to melancholy, as was the case with Leon Hebreo’s daughter.<sup>479</sup> This could indicate that for Amato Lusitano the factors of menstruation, pregnancy and birth take priority for female melancholy.

The relationship between menstruation and pregnancy often also led to the substitute menses, the alternative bleeding, according to the case descriptions. This is how it turned out in the case of the pregnant wife of a German (Cur. II, Cent. 17) who lived in an inn and suffered from severe headaches. Amato Lusitano used cupping as the first therapy. Afterwards, the woman gave birth to a boy, got a high fever, and the post-birth vaginal discharge did not occur. After bloodletting, there were strong substitute menses from her mouth and nose. Her symptoms eased, but the infant died.<sup>480</sup> Then there was a noble lady who nursed her child herself (Cent. II, Cur. 21). She suffered from substitute menses from her nipples. The undergone therapy consisted of bloodletting on the leg vein, the *vena saphena*.<sup>481</sup> A third, similar case is included in the book index under the heading of *De Monstro & monstruosis succesibus*.<sup>482</sup> The woman, who had just given birth to her child, suffered from substitute menses on her foot and right nipple (Cent. VII, Cur. 48). In spite of this, the first breast milk, the colostrum, flowed from her left nipple.<sup>483</sup> In all three cases, there seems to be a need, despite pregnancy, for the blood accumulating in the absence of menstruation to drain away, so that the body is cleansed. The forms of therapy, which aimed at a cleansing effect and which Amato Lusitano used, also suggest this.

Finally, Amato Lusitano’s approach to male menstruation should be explained. One case involves the patient Angelus de Piato, whom the doctor gives the addition of “righteous and excellent in the scholarly disciplines”<sup>484</sup> (Cent. II, Cur. 13). He suffered from heavy hemorrhoidal bleeding as a matter of habit: “By hemorrhoids, [...] Angelus Piato was able to secrete plenty of blood.”<sup>485</sup> However, there is no talk of a periodic occurrence and no comparison to female menstruation. But the bleeding stopped and Angelus de Piato spat blood. This blood spitting could certainly be understood as a form of substitute menses. A treatment with leeches finally helped him heal, that

478 Ibidem, 970.

479 GUTWIRTH: Jewish Bodies and Renaissance Melancholy (see n. 456), 77.

480 LUSITANUS: Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem (see n. 454), 288.

481 Ibidem, 297.

482 *Monster and Monstrous Events*.

483 LUSITANUS: Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem (see n. 454), 1310–1311.

484 “[P]robis & singularis doctrinae,” Ibidem, 280.

485 “Per hæmorrhoides [...] Angelus de Piato sanguinem copiosum emittere solebat.” Ibidem, 280.

is, more precisely, helped the bleeding return to its usual exit via the hemorrhoids, because Amato Lusitano explicitly emphasizes that the patient was healed in therapy by emptying blood from his chest. This shows that Amato Lusitano apparently put into practice the newer method of healing with leeches, which Schenck von Grafenberg mentions in reference to the Italian physician Victor Trincavella. It also becomes clear that hemorrhoidal bleeding was not regarded as the disease to be treated, but only its absence and the blood spitting caused by it. Gianna Pomata also emphasizes this fact in reference to the case of Johann Baptist Propola, which will be examined in the following:

“The notion of hemorrhoids as *morbus salutaris* dictated what was for many centuries the canonical treatment for this condition in European medicine: therapy was supposed to avoid a total suppression of the flow, because this suppression (like the arrest of menstruation in women) would lead to more serious diseases.”<sup>486</sup>

The concept of salutary disease, *morbus salutaris*, which Gianna Pomata cites in this case, sums it up. In a sense, hemorrhoids are viewed as the lesser evil that – similar to female menstruation – cleanse the body of superfluous blood. This is also true for Johann Baptist Propola. Gianna Pomata mentions in her article that his story belongs to a “nucleus of stories” that were repeatedly cited in the 17th and early 18th centuries.<sup>487</sup> As already discussed, the case description is also in the collection of Johann Schenck von Grafenberg. Amato Lusitano writes about the 45-year-old Propola (Cent. V, Cur. 3), saying that he suffers from monthly hemorrhoidal bleeding “as menstruation occurs in women.”<sup>488</sup> It started after he got syphilis. When the usual bleeding stopped and the patient spat blood instead, he asked Amato Lusitano for advice. In this case, too, the medical practitioner used the leech treatment, which was successful. Blood spitting was eliminated and the monthly hemorrhoidal bleeding was restored. However, despite the good results of the healing methods, the patient suddenly died of a stroke, as he took up excessive drinking and feasting with his companions, according to Lusitano.<sup>489</sup>

Although the cases of Angelus de Piatto and Johann Baptist Propola are very similar, only the latter has become famous. One reason for this may be found in the title: “About the Man who had Monthly Cleansing Bleeding as a Result of Hemorrhoids like Women Bleeding through the Uterus.”<sup>490</sup> As noted earlier, this was only considered to be *morbus salutaris* and the actual disease to be cured in this case was the blood spitting caused by the lack of hemorrhoidal bleeding. However, the title is silent about this. Angelus de Piatto, by contrast, has no references to female menstruation either in the title or in the text. It can therefore be assumed that these comparisons and the underlying subliminal idea of male menstruation in them made the story about Propola more attractive and

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486 POMATA: Menstruating Men (see n. 318), 125.

487 Ibidem, 115.

488 “[V]t mulieribus menstrua contingunt,” LUSITANUS: Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem (see n. 454), 827.

489 Ibidem, 827–829.

490 “De Viro singulis mensibus, per hæmorrhoides, sanguinis purgationem habente, ut mulieres per uterum,” Ibidem, 827.



fascinated the reader. Gianna Pomata, who refers to the studies by Lorraine Daston<sup>491</sup> here, also identifies this sense for the miraculous as one of the causes for the increasing case descriptions of menstruating men:

“The increasing attention to cases of menstruating men or of the menses ‘unusual pathways,’ that is so evident in the learned journals of this period, was certainly part of the penchant for the preternatural, the bizarre, the marvelous, that played such a key role in seventeenth-century investigation of nature [...]”<sup>492</sup>

However, as could be shown, the *Seven Centuries* by Amato Lusitano – in addition to the case of male menstruation in Johann Baptist Propola – provide many other building blocks that could have contributed to an argument with regard to specifically “Jewish male” menstruation, which Amato Lusitano himself was certainly not interested in. Even if the symptom of hemorrhoids did not appear in the melancholy patient Azaria dei Rossi, so that the last connection between melancholy, hemorrhoids and menstruation was not drawn, the individual elements and argumentation structures are entirely present in Amato Lusitano. It could be assumed that Amato Lusitano, against the backdrop of the theologically embellished theories of “Jewish male” menstruation, deliberately did not draw this last line of connection. It should also be emphasized that his focus is always on the natural philosophical, medical perspective and that no morally negative connotations are added. Even though Angelus de Piato, for example, habitually suffered from hemorrhoids, this did not prevent him from being a righteous man. And despite his melancholy, the humanist Azaria dei Rossi is also highly praised as a scholar. Neither does a negative feminization of the patient due to his male menstruation take place with regard to Johann Baptist Propola.

In the case description of the next Portuguese Converso physician, Abraham Zacuto Lusitano (1576–1642), however, there is a strong tendency to feminize the patient. Like Amato Lusitano, Abraham Zacuto studied medicine at the University of Salamanca, but also in Coimbra. He practiced as a doctor in Lisbon. At the age of 50, he moved with his family to Amsterdam, where he publicly converted to Judaism. His work entitled *Praxis medica admiranda, in qua exempla monstrosa, rara, nova, mirabilia* involved a collection of his *Observationes* and appeared there in 1634 for the first time. As the title already suggests, the element of the miraculous seems to have a certain influence on the selection of his cases. In his *Observatio CII*, Abraham Zacuto reports his case of male menstruation under the title “A Man who Suffered from Menstruation like a Woman.”<sup>493</sup>

“I met him beardless and without hair on any part of his body, feminized like a woman or an eunuch. From the age of 20 to 45, he had monthly cleansing through his genitals. Every month for a period of four or five days, they flowed out in abundance, and when they did not flow strongly and correctly, he suffered from pain in the lumbar region. Draining blood

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491 Lorraine DASTON: *Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe*, in: *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991), 93–124.

492 POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 136.

493 “Vir patiens menstrua mulieris instar,” Abraham ZACUTUS LUSITANUS: *Praxis medica admiranda, in qua exempla monstrosa, rara, nova, mirabilia*, 2nd ed., Lugduni [Lyon] 1637, 285.

from his heel was a cure. He never married, and died of pleurisy caused by retained menstrual blood.”<sup>494</sup>

In this patient description, there are many allusions to the feminine: the missing beard, the lack of body hair, the direct comparison with women or eunuchs up to the point that the patient was never married. Each of these elements seriously questions the masculinity of the patient. However, the feminine or eunuch-like is merely determined and does not receive any additional analysis. Interestingly, Abraham Zacuto describes no periodic hemorrhoidal bleeding that is then compared with female menstruation, as in Amato Lusitano. Instead, the physician uses the term menstruation directly. In addition, this male menstruation is in turn interpreted as a salutary disease, *morbus salutaris*, which requires no cure. Only their absence required medical intervention. The importance of male menstruation for the patient is shown at the end of the case description because the patient died of pleurisy caused by congested menstrual blood, according to Zacuto.

The Spanish Converso physician Andrés Laguna (1490–1560) from Segovia, a former friend of Amato Lusitano, goes one step further. The two studied together in Salamanca, but later did not seem to have had a completely smooth relationship with each other, which may have also been connected with Amato Lusitano’s public conversion to Judaism.<sup>495</sup> Laguna was the personal physician to the popes, Paul III and Julius III, and the physician at the Spanish royal court. In his work titled *Methodus cognoscendi*,<sup>496</sup> he explains that excess blood is usually excreted in the man through urine. In the following, he refers to an exception known to him:

“[...] especially since we have seen in Lorraine and Germany some people who suffered from female [monthly] cleansing in orderly alternation and also produced milk in the breasts. The men are certainly brought up in the highest and most complete idleness and effeminacy, feminized because of their diet and lack of exercise.”<sup>497</sup>

The men from Lorraine and Germany, about whom Laguna reports here, are not only considered to have male menstruation, but rather also another female characteristic, the production of milk in the breasts. The Spanish physician identifies idleness and effeminacy, which in turn have their origins in nutrition and lack of exercise, as causes that can be assumed with certainty. This explanation

494 “Imberbem, & toto corpore depilem cognoui, effœminatum, mulieris aut spadonis instar, cui à 20. vsque ad 45. annum menstruæ purgationes per pudendum, statis quibusque mensibus, quatuor aut quinque dierum spatium in non parua copiâ emanabant, & si fortè non rectè fluebant, superueniente cum torminibus lumborum dolore, vena secta in talo illi remedio erat. Hic nunquam nupsit, immò ex pleuritide occubuit, ex retento menstruo subortâ.” ZACUTUS LUSITANUS: Praxis medica admiranda, in qua exempla monstrosa, rara, nova, mirabilia (see n. 493), 285; see also POMATA: Menstruating Men (see n. 318), 119.

495 More information on this can be found in: M.á. GONZÁLEZ MANJARRÉS/M. J. PÉREZ IBÁÑEZ: Andrés Laguna y Amato Lusitano: El desencuentro de dos humanistas médicos, in: Ferran GRAU CODINA ET AL. (ed.): La Universitat de València i l’Humanisme, Valencia 2003, 689–712.

496 “The method of recognizing/examining”; the text addresses the treatment of urethral narrowing.

497 “[...] præsertim quum in Lotharingia et Germania nonnulli sint visi à nobis, qui purgationes muliebres ordinata vicissitudine paterentur, ac lac in mamillis gignerent, uiri certè in otio et mollitie alti, totâque uictus et exercitii ratione prorsus effœminati.” Andrés LAGUNA: Methodus cognoscendi, extirpandique excrescentes in vesicæ collo carunculas, Rom 1551, 71; see also POMATA: Menstruating Men (see n. 318), 113.

of the lack of physical activity strongly recalls the ancient reasons for why women menstruate as opposed to men. For Laguna, therefore, an inadequate lifestyle can lead to feminization of the male body. However, as Gianna Pomata already noted in regard to these two feminizing tendencies in Zacuto and Laguna in her article titled *Menstruating Men*, they are more exceptions than the rule.<sup>498</sup> But it seems interesting to me that they both come from the Iberian region.

It should be noted that in early modern medicine, male menstruation is partly described directly as such and partly as periodically occurring hemorrhoidal bleeding. A feminization of the male menstruating remains the exception. More often, we find a usually neutral reference to women and female menstruation. This suggests that women and men should again be placed within a common framework of equivalence. Cathy McClive<sup>499</sup> comes to a similar conclusion. She has analyzed medical, legal, and theological sources from early modern France in order to trace the ideas of menstruation and procreation and their underlying connections. In her chapter dealing with “male” menstruation and the significance of menstruation for hermaphrodites, she emphasizes the complexity, ambivalence, and diversity of menstruation(s), menstruating bodies, and ideas about menstruation.<sup>500</sup> Based on her source material, McClive can illustrate that menstruation and femininity were not necessarily perceived as conditional for one another:

“However, since the connection between menstruation and womanhood was not straightforward, this did not mean that ‘menstruating men’ were interpreted as imitating an exclusively ‘female’ phenomenon, but rather that their bodies exhibited similar rhythms and evacuations as a result of a shared humoral temperament.”<sup>501</sup>

The emphasis put on the common framework of equivalence, which women and men alike shared with each other or the endeavor of “stressing the physiological homology of the humoral pathology,”<sup>502</sup> evidently played a far more important role than a specific connection between menstruation and the female sex. Based on the fact that physicians were not able to restrict phenomena of menstruation to female bodies, it follows that a general effemination of menstruating men remained an exception. If not the rule, so at least a guiding principle in early modern discussions about phenomena of menstruation seems to set, to observe, and to examine male and female bodies in a common framework of equivalence.

In Vesalius, we found the motif of the basic similarity of male and female bodies, which also enabled their interchangeability, so that a male body suffering from hemorrhoids could be used in a dissection to examine the location of the accumulation of female menstrual blood and its flow. Only the Graz physician Johann Baptist Wenck considers female menstruation to be the standard by which he judges male menstruation. Mostly, the male menstruation or the periodically occurring hemorrhoidal bleeding is perceived by the medical practitioners as *morbis salutaris*, which is indicated, on the one hand, by the fact that the menstruating men often reached an old age. Wenck also

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498 Ibidem, 119.

499 Cathy McClive: *Menstruation and Procreation in Early Modern France*, Farnham and Burlington 2015.

500 Ibidem, 207, 228.

501 Ibidem, 200.

502 Ibidem, 203.

mentions greater procreation power. On the other hand, this is also reflected in the negative consequences of a lack of male menstruation. If this did not take place, there could be forms of substitute menses or even death. In the patient reports, the focus for both female and male menstruation as a whole was on the substitute menses because these needed to be healed. For male patients, therefore, it was considered necessary to treat the forms of substitute bleeding, and to restore the regular genital or hemorrhoidal bleeding that were usual for them. The discussion as to whether Jews generally tend to hemorrhoids, as can be proven for the Middle Ages, can only be found to some extent in Amatus Lusitanus, as he discovers a general tendency of Jews to melancholy. Accordingly, male menstruation in early modern medicine is largely value-neutral and a positive *morbus salutaris*, which was not to be prevented.

### 3.4.2 The View in the Ideology of Blood Purity

Jewish male menstruation was a special case that was discussed in the Early Modern Era in the debate on the *limpieza de sangre*, but also in theological and medical writings in general. The boundaries were fluid here. The connection between the ideology of the *limpieza de sangre* and theology is particularly evident, which can be explained, among other things, by the fact that many of the discussants in the ideology of blood purity were originally theologians. To demonstrate the complexity and referential network of the writings and authors, a passage from *De incantationibus* by the Portuguese Manuel Valle de Moura († 1650) will serve as a starting point. This is particularly suitable because his extremely detailed list of references was often adopted in parts by later authors, for example, by Juan de Quiñones<sup>503</sup> (1600–1650) or Francisco de Torrejoncillo.<sup>504</sup>

In his work, Valle de Moura, who worked since 1620 as an inquisitor in Evora, mainly deals with the use of incantations, talismans and prayer formulas for healing. His approach is characterized by a skeptical and rationalistic attitude that, according to Euan Cameron, he could afford due to his position and environment:

“Manuel do Vale de Moura, as a Portuguese inquisitor little troubled by the events of the Reformation, could afford the luxury of taking a single-minded rationalistic approach to ‘superstitious’ cults. He was quite unusual, as his own work demonstrated.”<sup>505</sup>

In line with his rather unorthodox attitude, he also endeavors to accurately reflect the various positions by indicating his references. To get to the bottom of the effectiveness of healing formulas, Valle de Moura examines topics such as the healing powers of kings, but also the “Jewish male” menstruation or, more generally, signs, *signa*, which were attributed to Jews. He himself calls these into question and therefore also introduces two opposing positions, but admits at the same time: “[...] they were born with miraculous signs marking their punishment [...] and since there are so

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503 QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 2–3.

504 TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 169.

505 Euan CAMERON: *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion 1250–1750*, Oxford 2010, 228.

many rumors about them, everything cannot be false.”<sup>506</sup> The Portuguese inquisitor does not seek complete rebuttal, but raises serious questions about the topic of signs of marking Jews as divine punishment and simultaneously tries to exclude Conversos from this discussion. According to him, only the blood of Christ can heal Jews from the flow of blood. To support this argument, Valle de Moura quotes from Alonso de Espina<sup>507</sup> (1412–1460) and cites Rodrigo de Yepes<sup>508</sup> (16th century) as a reference. Both fittingly refer to a blood libel from the Holy Roman Empire, the passage from the already analyzed *Book of Bees* by Thomas of Cantimpré.<sup>509</sup> Valle de Moura now adds as an explanation that the blood of Christ is, of course, what is contained in the sacraments. From this he concludes:

“[...] consequently, by being baptized, they are freed from the aforementioned flow of blood [...].”<sup>510</sup>

By referring to the strength of the baptismal sacrament, Valle de Moura can thus break the connection between Jews and New Christians. The Portuguese inquisitor certainly knew all too well due to his work that this link was often made and was probably also aware of the associated potential danger for the Conversos. Many other authors, particularly among the apologists of the *limpieza de sangre*, accepted this connection, however. So it should come as no surprise that the medieval anti-Jewish theological lines of argumentation on “Jewish male” menstruation were also employed for the Conversos. Even though, for example, the title of Alonso de Espina’s work mentions the *Fortress of Faith against Jews and Saracens, the Enemies of the Christian faith*,<sup>511</sup> it quickly becomes clear that he had the New Christians in mind. Consequently, authors such as Alonso de Espina and Rodrigo de Yepes are not afraid to take up the accusation of ritual murder for their own purposes and connect it, as medieval forerunners had already done, to the blood curse from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 27.25). Alonso de Espina also bases his argument on the pseudo-Augustinian sermon, which was already examined in the previous chapter on 3.3.1 *Accusation of Deicide and Blood Libel Legend*. Valle de Moura also mentions the sermon, names the incipit *In crucis munere* and notes in this regard “which I cannot find nonetheless.”<sup>512</sup> As already mentioned, the commenting editor of the early modern copy of the *Book of Bees*<sup>513</sup> also had to admit the futile search for the sermon.

In addition to the passage from the Gospel of Matthew, however, other Bible verses are used for argumentation. First, there was the already known Psalm 78.66 (verse 77.66 according to the

506 “[...] mirandis signis adnotati nascuntur, [...] vt tam multorum fama est, quod vniuersim falsum esse non posse.” Manuel do VALLE DE MOURA: *De incantationibus*, Evora: Typis Laurentij Crasbeck, 1620, 249.

507 Alonso de ESPINA:  *Fortalitium fidei contra Iudaeos, Saracenos aliosque Christianae fidei inimicos*, Nürnberg 1485, URL: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00040792-4 (visited on 27/02/2019), 86v.

508 Rodrigo de YEPES: *Historia de la muerte y glorioso martyrio del Sancto Innocente, que llaman de la Guardia, natural de la ciudad de Toledo: Con las cosas procuradas antes por ciertos Iudios, hasta que al Sancto Innocente crucificaron: y lo sucedido despues*, Madrid: Por Iuan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1583, 58r–58v.

509 CANTIMPRÉ: *Bonum universale de apibus* (see n. 390), 304–305.

510 “[...] consequenter eos per baptismi susceptionem liberari à prædicto sanguinis fluxu [...].” VALLE DE MOURA: *De incantationibus* (see n. 506), 250.

511 *Fortalitium fidei contra Iudæos, Saracenos aliosque Christianæ fidei inimicos*.

512 “[Q]uem tamen non inuenio,” VALLE DE MOURA: *De incantationibus* (see n. 506), 250.

513 CANTIMPRÉ: *Bonum universale de apibus* (see n. 390), 304–305.

medieval and early modern count), which was used by Jacques de Vitry. Valle de Moura and Juan de Quiñones instead name the medieval French theologian and Dominican Hugo of Saint-Cher (c. 1200–1263), who interprets the Bible verse as divine punishment of Jews in his work:

“He held them up to eternal shame. It was eternal shame because the disease was of the most vile kind. And it is said that Jews bear this shame because they suffer from a blood flow as punishment for the sufferings of the Lord. And that is why they are so pale.”<sup>514</sup>

One argument is particularly striking in this passage. Hugo of Saint-Cher cites pallor as a sign of blood flow. Until then, this had been discussed in a medical context rather than as a sign of melancholy and was done in the *quodlibet* discussion at the Sorbonne around 1300, that is, only after the death of Saint-Cher.

In the early modern discussion, Aznar Cardona, an apologist of the expulsion of the Moriscos, used the Bible verse for his purposes. He first refers to the blood curse from the Gospel of Matthew and then proceeds to the suffering resulting from it. The excerpt from Psalms is appended to the whole argumentation for further explanation:

“On the other hand, their successors became heirs to many painful, violent deaths, various diseases and infamous body defects. Many of them were born with lizard tails and suffered from menstruation or monthly cleansing like women, and they suffered (other hardships and ailments left aside) degradation and restless-making hemorrhoids, as the prophet literally confirms: *Percusit [sic] inimicos suos in posteriora, et opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis*. He [God] hurt, he [the prophet] says, his enemies in the rear and in hidden places, for the purpose of their shameful place as witnesses and their eternal ignominy and confusion.”<sup>515</sup>

The motif of lizard tails or extensions of the spine in general is not uncommon and is part of the anti-Jewish legends of divine punishment, which were often embellished in great detail. For example, Torrejuncillo mentions 12 curses that infect the various Jewish tribes that were present at the crucifixion of Christ.<sup>516</sup> Torrejuncillo bases this on the report of an Italian convert, Antonio Carrafa, who is said to have worked for thirty years as a rabbi in Milan and then converted, with his family, to Christianity. However, there is some uncertainty about him and his writing.<sup>517</sup> A similar

<sup>514</sup> “Opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis. Opprobrium sempiternum fuit: quia vilissima fuit huiusmodi infirmitas. Et dicunt quidam quod hoc opprobrium sustinent iudaei: quia in vindictam dominicae passionis patiuntur fluxum sanguinis: et ideo sunt ita pallidi.” Hugo CARDINALIS: Repertorium apostillarum utriusque testamenti Hugo Cardinalis, vol. 2, Basel: Ioannes Amerbachius, Ioannes petri & Ioannes froben, 1504, 187v.

<sup>515</sup> “Por otra, de mil dolorosas muertes violentas, y de diversas enfermedades, y defectos infames, de que fueron herederos sus successores, naciendo muchos dellos, con colas de lagartos, y haziendo cursos de menstros, o purgacion de cada mes, como las mugeres, y padeciendo (dexando otros axes y males) ignominiosas, è inquietas almorranas, como a la letra lo afirma el Propheta, *Percusit [sic] inimicos suos in posteriora, et opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis*. Hirio [Dios], dize, a sus enemigos, en las nalgas y partes secretas, para testigo vergonçoso, y perpetua ignominia y confusion.” AZNAR CARDONA: Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos (see n. 392), 180v–181r.

<sup>516</sup> TORREJUNCILLO: Centinela contra judios, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 174.

<sup>517</sup> See comment 23 in SOYER: Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire (see n. 18), 242.

report, evidently also oriented on Carrafa’s template, can be found in a pamphlet in German-speaking countries.<sup>518</sup> Jaime Pérez de Valencia (1408–1490) appears, by contrast, to use a different legend as the basis since he speaks of 24 curses,<sup>519</sup> which are not distributed among the tribes this time, however. The divine curse is classically derived from the accusation of deicide in the aforementioned work. Furthermore, Aznar Cardona’s quotation contains both male menstruation and hemorrhoids as separate ailments, the latter being confirmed by the quoted Bible verse. The place as witnesses mentioned in the last sentence recalls the Augustinian argument of the place of Jews as witnesses regarding the truth of the Christian Gospel as *testes in omnibus gentibus*.<sup>520</sup>

Later in his writing, Aznar Cardona makes use of the curses for the group of Moriscos by, among other things, transferring the accusation of deicide to the accusation of desecration of hosts on the grounds that the host represents the mystical body of Christ:

“When their eternal damnation and these tides of torment befell the Jews and they comprehended them – this and so many other curses; accordingly, the stubborn Mahometans [the Moriscos] will [also?] be afflicted by them to a lesser extent since they are convinced of the same crime, of the infidelity and rebelliousness by persecuting and killing Christ in the form of his mystical body [...].”<sup>521</sup>

At this point it becomes apparent in what way the anti-Jewish topoi were also employed for the apologies regarding the expulsion of the Moriscos and how strongly the accusations against the New Christians – both against the Conversos of Jewish descent and against the Moriscos – resembled each other. Interestingly, with the exception of this very vague transfer of curses to the Moriscos, however, there is generally no explicit transfer of “Jewish male” menstruation to this group.

Yet another Bible passage was used to explain the “Jewish male” menstruation in the *limpieza de sangre* debate, and this was Deut. 28.46: “and they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.”<sup>522</sup> This passage had not yet been cited for medieval argumentation, but in the early modern debate it is found, among others, in Valle de Moura,<sup>523</sup> Torrejoncillo<sup>524</sup> and Gavilán Vela<sup>525</sup> – in his translation of the work by Vicente da Costa Matos. The latter will be used for illustrative purposes here:

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518 Chrysostomus DUDULAEUS: Bericht von einem Juden mit Namen Ahasverus ... Hierbey ist auch ein Bericht von den 12 Judischen Stammen, s.l. s.a. [c. 1700].

519 Jaime PÉREZ DE VALENCIA: Iacobus de Valentia in Psal. Davidicos, Lugduni [Lyon] 1540, 279v–281r.

520 Witnesses among all peoples, Aurelius AUGUSTINUS: De civitate dei, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina XLVII/XIV, 1 and 2, Turnhout 1955, Lib. XVIII, Cap. 46.

521 “Si a los Iudios por estar temosos en no querer ni oyr, ni recibir a Christo, les han sucedido, su sempiterna perdicion, y estos diluvios de tormentos, y los han comprendido, tales y tantas maldiciones; a los pertinazes Mohametanos que [?] menos les sucedera, estando conuencidos del mismo delicto, de infidelidad y rebeldia, persiguiendo y matando a Christo en su cuerpo mystico [...]” AZNAR CARDONA: Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos (see n. 392), 181r.

522 KJV; VUL: “Et erunt in te signa atque prodigia, et in semine tuo usque in sempiternum” (Deut. 28.46).

523 VALLE DE MOURA: De incantationibus (see n. 506), 249.

524 TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 168.

525 COSTA MATOS: Discurso contra los judíos (see n. 67), 167.

“[...] so it seems that the Lord, respecting his eternal vengeance, had previously expressed this when he says, speaking to all: There will be miracles and eternal signs among you and your descendants, one of which is particularly striking, which is passed down to the direct descendants of those who, at the death of Jesus Christ, the true Messiah, took upon themselves and their children the blood he [Christ] shed for the healing of all on the cross. There is no doubt that they suffer from blood flow, purgation and menstruation, as some saints and many important authors testify.”<sup>526</sup>

At the beginning of the chapter from Vicente da Costa Matos on the miraculous signs that the Jews suffer from, they are described as monsters of nature, *monstruos suyos, partos informes de su perfeccion*.<sup>527</sup> This is followed by the signs attributed to Jews on the basis of the Bible passage from the book of Deuteronomy. Blood flow, purgation and menstruation, which are mentioned here as a list and not as synonyms for each other as usual, occupy first place here, whereby this phenomenon does not apply to all Jews, but rather only to the direct descendants of the blood curse from the Gospel of Matthew. For all Jewish women and men – *todos los Iudios, y Iudias* – it is assumed, however, that they would suffer from blood flow on Good Friday, which would explain their pallor. The pallor reminds us of the passage in the work by Hugo of Saint-Cher. In the following, the whole picture is rounded out by the accusation of ritual murder.

In addition to the Bible verses mentioned (Matt. 27.25; Ps. 78.66; Deut. 28.46), the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation was theologically also based on the anti-Jewish legends of divine punishment, as defended, for example, by the aforementioned Jaime Pérez de Valencia. In the context of Psalm 108.1–5 in the Vulgate (Ps. 109.1–5 in the subsequent translations of the Bible), the Augustinian and university professor in Valencia speaks of 24 curses, *maledictiones*, which God has inflicted on Jews as punishment. In the 22nd *maledictio*, he addresses the subject of “Jewish male” menstruation:

“The twenty-second [curse] is that this curse and plague is not only external and physical, but also internal and spiritual, so that they suffer not only torment and shame by the Christians and Saracens, but also the worst and most unimaginable diseases internally. This is because some, like women, suffer from menstruation and some cannot look up to heaven, nor count the stars, nor spit into the air, and they are, as it were, those who spat in Christ’s face and mocked him on the cross. And these are not only despised by us, but also by the other Jews, as is generally known through credible people.”<sup>528</sup>

<sup>526</sup> “[...] lo que parece que respectando el Señor su eterna vengança, lo auia dicho ansi antes, quando hablando con todos les dize: Abra entre vosotros, y vuestra posteridad prodigios y señales perpetuas: de las quales es bien notable vna que la tradicion auerigua en los descendientes por linea recta, de los que en la muerte de Iesu Christo Messias verdadero tomaron la sangre que para remedio de todos se derramo en la Cruz, sobre si, y sobre sus hijos, los quales no ay duda que padecen fluxo de sangre, purgacion y menstuo, como algunos sanctos lo testifican, y muchos Autores graves [...]” COSTA MATOS: Discurso contra los judíos (see n. 67), 167.

<sup>527</sup> “[I]ts monsters, bulky outcasts of its perfection [“its” referring to nature],” Ibidem, 166.

<sup>528</sup> “Vigesimasecunda est. quia ista maledictio et vexatio iudeorum non solum est ad extra corporaliter sed etiam ab intra et spiritualiter: quia non solum patiuntur tormenta et opprobria a christianis et sarracenis: sed etiam patiuntur



Here, the repressions and pogroms against the Jews under Christian and Muslim rule are presented as part of the curses and thus of divine punishment. Jaime Pérez de Valencia divides the punishment into the opposing pairs outside/inside, physical/mental. He considers the repressions to be physical and external. The illnesses and diseases attributed to the Jews who participated in the crucifixion of Christ are classified as being of spiritual, that is, transcendental-divine nature and working from inside. “Jewish male” menstruation is attributed to these illnesses and diseases. The Augustinian reinforces the degradation of this group of Jews by arguing that even the remaining Jews themselves would mock those involved in and punished due to the crucifixion. The last curse refers again to the Psalms and to the verse: “Let it [the curse] be unto him as the garment which covereth him, and for a girdle wherewith he is girded continually” (Ps. 109.19).<sup>529</sup> In this last curse, Pérez de Valencia also emphasizes the permanence of the listed curses by concluding the passage as follows:

“This is the 24th curse since many suffer some evils for a time, but the Jews suffer the aforementioned curses constantly and always, just as they cannot be without garments. Consequently, the aforementioned defects are in every respect always a covering, a garment, like a girdle or belt, which girds them at all times. And this is not only physically, but also mentally, inside and outside, and now and in the future, with which they are always covered.”<sup>530</sup>

This last curse, which is based on verse 19 of Psalm 108 (VUL) or 109 (KJV) and can be applied to all the previous ones, allows Pérez de Valencia to give his remarks a topicality and omnipresence that had never existed before. In this way, motifs such as “Jewish male” menstruation or the lack of salvation can be applied for the *limpieza de sangre* discussion.

In the work of Rodrigo de Yepes (16th century), who addresses the Iberian ritual murder case of the Niño de la Guardia, there is even talk of 30 curses, based on the biblical story about the 30 silver coins that Judas Ischariot received for his betrayal. In contrast to Pérez de Valencia, Rodrigo de Yepes does not discuss the various curses in more detail, but rather refers to a passage from the Old Testament (Deut. 28). Furthermore, he divides the punishments into eternal and temporal, that is, otherworldly and worldly. The latter, for him, also includes “the disease of the blood they ordered for themselves and their children.”<sup>531</sup>

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ab intra pessimas et enormes egritudines. nam quidam patiuntur menstruum sanguinis sicut mulieres: et quidam non valent suspicere celum nec numerare stellas nec spueri in altum: sicut sunt illi qui spuerunt in faciem Christi: et qui impropere ei in cruce. et isti non solum contemnuntur a nostris: sed etiam a ceteris Judeis: ut compertum est a fidedignis.” PÉREZ DE VALENCIA: Iacobus de Valentia in Psal. Davidicos (see n. 519), 281r.

529 KJV; VUL: “Fiat [refers to the maledictio/curse] ei sicut vestimentum quo operitur, et sicut zona qua semper præcingitur” (Ps. 108.19).

530 “[H]ec est. xxiiii. maledictio. nam multi patiuntur aliquod malum ad tempus: sed Judei patiuntur prædictas maledictiones iugiter et semper / sicut non possunt esse sine cooperimento. Sunt ergo omnia prædicta damna eis semper in cooperimento: et sicut zona qua semper præcinguntur: et non solum corporaliter: sed etiam spiritualiter et intrinsecus et extrinsecus: et hic et in futurum: qua semper circundantur.” PÉREZ DE VALENCIA: Iacobus de Valentia in Psal. Davidicos (see n. 519), 281r.

531 “[L]a enfermedad de la sangre que pidieron sobre si y sus hijos,” YEPES: Historia de la muerte y glorioso martirio del Sancto Innocente, que llaman de la Guardia, natural de la ciudad de Toledo (see n. 508), 37r.

An anti-Jewish legend frequently used by the apologists of the *limpieza de sangre* comes from the Dominican and Catholic Saint Vicente Ferrer (1350–1419), who was a wandering penitential preacher and made it his task to convert Jews and Muslims to the Christian faith, and was able to report some success at this. In his Good Friday sermon, which took aim at the descendants of those Jews who had brought the curse upon themselves, he invoked the following picture:

“And also what a gruesome testimony these stupid people have made. That will continue namely to this day, since it is a sign of this punishment that the male Jews of this lineage, who once cried out in that way, are born with their right hand full of blood and resting on their head.”<sup>532</sup>

The apologists of the *limpieza de sangre* enjoyed evoking the picture of children born with a bloody right hand on their head as a result of the blood curse in connection with the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation. Accordingly, the picture drawn by Vicente Ferrer appears in this context with Vicente da Costa Matos or his Spanish translator Diego Gavilán Vela, Manuel Valle de Moura and Francisco de Torrejoncillo, among others.<sup>533</sup> The latter attributes the picture to Thomas of Cantimpré and quotes Vicente Ferrer very sweepingly as a reference for the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation, which is not mentioned by Ferrer, however.

One of the first Jesuits and co-founders of the order, Alfonso Salmerón (1515–1585), and a Jesuit of the next generation, Jean Lorin (1559–1634), also mention the image of Vicente Ferrer in their Bible commentary. Salmerón elaborates on the various theories of “Jewish male” menstruation and refers to the already analyzed Bible verse Ps. 78.66. Salmerón takes the latter as an opportunity to critically question the truthfulness of the motif and comes to the following conclusion:

“But since these are not confirmed by reliable testimonies of historians, we do not dare to seriously claim what should be left to the faith of prudent readers to decide.”<sup>534</sup>

Accordingly, the theologian proves to be a serious critic of the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation, but fundamentally retains the idea of divine punishment of the Jewish people.

Jean Lorin takes up Salmerón’s criticism in his Bible commentary on the Book of Psalms and extends it to include medical arguments. In his commentary on Ps. 78.66, he first refers to the interpretation of the Bible verse by the Benedictine abbot and monastic reformer Rupert of Deutz<sup>535</sup>

532 “Quoque horrendum testamentum fecit hic populus stultus. Manet enim hoc testamentum usque in hodiernum diem. Nam in signum huius vindicte quando masculi iudeorum de hoc genere qui sic clamabant nascuntur habent manum dextram plenam sanguine capiti innixam.” VICENTE FERRER: *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, Köln: Heinrich Quentell, 1485, URL: urn:nbn:de:tuda-tudigit-23463 (visited on 27/02/2019), 259v, count entered subsequently by pencil.

533 COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), 167; VALLE DE MOURA: *De incantationibus* (see n. 506), 250; TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios* (see n. 18), 168.

534 “Sed quoniam hæc solidis historicorum testimonijs non firmantur, asseuerare non audemus, eorum fidem prudentium lectorum arbitrio relinquentes.” ALFONSO SALMERÓN (SJ): *Commentarii in Evangelicam historiam*, vol. 10, Madriti [Madrid]: Apud Ludouicum Sanchez, 1601, 346.

535 Rupert von DEUTZ <TUITENSIS>: *Opera quotquot hactenus haberi potuerunt...* Vol. 1, Mainz 1631, 390.

(1076–1129). He also bases his comments on Alonso Tostado or Alonso de Madrigal (c. 1400–1455), who was confirmed as Bishop of Ávila by Pope Nicholas V in 1449. He interprets the curse of God from the Psalms as suffering from hemorrhoids, but stresses that the curse was not directed against Jews, but against Philistines, who, according to the biblical narrative, had stolen the Ark of the Covenant. The bishop explains:

“Some, by contrast, understand that verse with regard to the modern Hebrews whose buttocks are wounded, which means that the blood flows through the anus as punishment because they themselves said about the savior: May his blood be on us, and on our children. But no mention is made of whether it is true that this suffering befalls the modern Hebrews. It is clear, however, that this verse cannot be understood except as the wounding of the Philistines, as is evident from the wording of the text in that Psalm.”<sup>536</sup>

While Alonso Tostado does not want to make more comments on the sufferings of modern Jews and the interpretation of the passage from the Gospel of Matthew, he strictly rejects an interpretation of the Psalm verse as proof of “Jewish male” menstruation, pointing out the context and identifying the Philistines as the group that the curse should affect. Jean Lorin also takes up this interpretation. Furthermore, Lorin also questions whether the suffering described in the Psalms is really related to hemorrhoids and presents additional interpretations. Accordingly, he depicted suffering as dysentery and evoked the image of mice gnawing at the bowels of Philistines.<sup>537</sup> Lorin also draws on the critical remarks of Salmerón and Alonso Tostado with respect to the various theories about “Jewish male” menstruation and Vicente Ferrer’s argument, but adds:

“Our Salmerón has thought about this and rightly warned that no seriously confirmed testimonies of historians can be found. The man from Avila [Alonso Tostado] says that what is present is to be judged as false. Although men of some rank may add to this that there is nevertheless the opportunity of error, since the Hebrews are strongly affected by the disease of hemorrhoids that arises when the veins ending at the anus swell and fill with coarse blood humor, which occurs through the digestion of unsalted and poorly digestible meat dishes, which the Hebrews eat more often than all others, as in Rome buffalo meat [is eaten].”<sup>538</sup>

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536 “Aliqui autem intelligunt versum illum de Hebræis modernis, quod sint percussi in posterioribus, id est, quòd fluat sanguis per secessum eorum in poenam, quia ipsi dixerunt de Salvatore: Sanguis eius super nos, & super filios nostros, sed an verum sit, quod ista passio accidat Hebræis modernis, omittatur; constat tamen, quod versus ille non intelligitur, nisi de percussione Philistinorum, vt patet ex consecutione literæ per illum Psalmum.” Alonso TOSTADO ABULENSIS: *Commentaria in Primam Partem I. Regum*, Venice 1615, 106.

537 Jean LORIN (SJ): *Commentariorum in librum Psalmorum*, vol. 2, Lugduni [Lyon]: Sumpt. Jacobi Cardon & Petri Cauellat, 1623, 626.

538 “De his meminit Salmeron noster, rectè admonens non videri solidis firmata testimoniis historiarum. Abulensis ait existimare se hoc esse falsum; quamvis viri alicuius auctoritatis hoc afferant: occasionem autem erroris esse, quod Hebræi sint magis obnoxij morbo hæmorrhoidum, qui est, quando capita venarum ad os ani terminatarum intumescunt, ac replentur humore crasso sanguineo qui existit ex indigestione carniarum insulsarum, & malè digestibilium; quibus videlicet Hebræi, præ cæteris vescuntur sæpius, vt Romæ bubalorum.” *Ibidem*, 627.

It can be seen that Jean Lorin agrees with Salmerón’s and Tostado’s critical attitude, but does not want to rule out the argument that Jews are more prone to hemorrhoids. However, it remains uncertain who the men of some rank are, the *virī alicuius auctoritatis*. Furthermore, his description of hemorrhoids and their causes shows a high degree of familiarity with medical vocabulary and expertise, which could already be guessed, since he quotes the physicians Celsus and Jean Fernel on the previous page. It is striking that in his explanation the cause of Jews’ greater tendency to hemorrhoids is solely attributed to their eating habits, and religious arguments are omitted. The passage strongly recalls the medieval discussion about a general tendency of Jews to melancholy and hemorrhoids. Here, too, nutrition played an important role, although Albertus Magnus saw the cause in the coarse and salty food and not in unsalted meat. It should be noted that similar discussions apparently also played a role in the Early Modern Era, as was already shown in the case of the physician Amato Lusitano. Here, it can now be found in a theological text.

The passages from the Bible commentary by Salmerón and Lorin are taken up by several authors such as Manuel Valle de Moura, Francisco de Torrejoncillo and Vicente da Costa or his Spanish translator Gavilán Vela. Valle de Moura consequently classifies the two Jesuits as critics of the theory of “Jewish male” menstruation: “[...] although Salmerón and Lorin may not agree with the aforementioned, they would reject the credibility of these authors instead.”<sup>539</sup> In the translation by Gavilán Vela<sup>540</sup> and in Torrejoncillo, the two Jesuits are mentioned as references, but their critical position is omitted. In this context, Torrejoncillo presents various theories on the annual bleeding and the argument of pallor from Hugo of Saint-Cher, attributing this argument to Alonso de Espina, Salmerón and Lorin, whom he cites as Lorico:

“Others assert and state that, on Good Friday, all the Jews and Jewesses menstruate. Still more authors maintain that this occurs to them on the twenty-fifth of March and that, because of this, nearly all of them are pallid (see *Fortalitiū Fidei*, book 3, fol. 87; Lorin’s commentary on Psalm 66 and Salmerón, tome 2, tract. 32).”<sup>541</sup>

Interestingly, Torrejoncillo explicitly mentions Jewish women who did not play a role in the other texts. March 25, the Annunciation, also appears in Torrejoncillo as a new date, which is not found in the texts he references. At this point, it becomes clear that his knowledge of Latin leaves much to be desired and that he probably copied the reference list from another text without actually knowing the original authors or texts. Through these misinterpretations and inaccuracies in the texts by Vicente da Costa Matos, his translator Diego Gávilan Vela and Francisco de Torrejoncillo, the critics of the theory of “Jewish male” menstruation are cited as proponents and supporters.

<sup>539</sup> “[...] quamuis Salmeron, & Lorin. prædictis non acquiescant; sed fidem in eorum autores rejiciant.” VALLE DE MOURA: *De incantationibus* (see n. 506), 250.

<sup>540</sup> COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), 167.

<sup>541</sup> Translation by Soyer: SOYER: *Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire* (see n. 18), 238; “Otros afirman, y dicen, que el Viernes de la Passion todos los Judios, y Judias tienen fluxo de sangre. Aunque otros dicen, que les sucede esto el dia veinte y cinco de Marzo, y que por este respeto son casi todos palidos: *Fortalitiū Fides [Fortalitiū Fidei]*, lib. 3. fol. 27. *Lorico Psalm. 66. Salm. tom. 2. tract. 32.*” TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios* (see n. 18), 169.

### 3.4.3 The Special Case of Juan de Quiñones

In his writing on “Jewish male” menstruation, Juan de Quiñones de Benavente († c. 1646)<sup>542</sup> also based his position on numerous other references and the passages from the Bible commentary by Lorin and Salmerón. Little is known about Quiñones himself today, even though he was well respected at his time. He was born in Chinchón. In 1614 he was appointed *Alcalde Mayor* by King Philip III. In the glossary of his dissertation, Max Sebastián Hering Torres sums up exactly what this means:

“An office that combined the functions of mayor, judge and lawyer. Furthermore, the holder of the office had the task of enforcing the royal interests on the local level.”<sup>543</sup>

In 1625 Quiñones was then appointed *Alcalde de la Casa y Corte*, that is, a kind of royal court judge, but also here the functions of the office go beyond legal matters. According to Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, the task of these court judges in the royal administration was, for example, the prosecution of criminals. Other duties also had to be handled here in the service of the king. The wide range of duties can be seen, for example, by another text, the *Discurso contra gitanos*,<sup>544</sup> which Juan de Quiñones published in 1631.<sup>545</sup> The author was sent by the king to *tierra de Sepulveda* in the vicinity of Segovia to investigate a mail robbery. The *gitanos*, “gypsies,” there had stolen some letters and taken the contents, especially jewelry. The author then punished five of them with death by hanging and had their corpses dismembered and exhibited along the Royal Path, the *camino Real*, to deter others. Other *gitanos* were flogged and then sent to the galleys, and some of the women were flogged and then forced to leave the country. Quiñones took this situation as an opportunity to talk about the “problem” of the *gitanos* and to present his proposal for a rigorous expulsion.

His advocacy of expulsion is certainly connected to the fact that the expulsion of Moriscos was still well anchored in the collective memory. Accordingly, the author also repeatedly draws a comparison between Moriscos and *gitanos* and even evaluates the former more positively: “I consider them [the “gypsies”] worse than the Moriscos because the latter have been practicing their sect. However, the gypsies have none and practice all [sects or sectarian customs].”<sup>546</sup> Consequently, Quiñones uses this as an argument to clarify the urgency of expulsion, which had already taken place with the – following the author’s train of thought – more harmless Moriscos. This is what his proposal was:

“And since nothing has been helpful nor proven fruitful in regard to what has been done with them [the “gypsies”], it seems appropriate for the service of Your Majesty, these kingdoms

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<sup>542</sup> The biographical information was collected by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi. In this regard, see YERUSHALMI: *De la corte española al gueto italiano* (see n. 83), 75–81, 276–279.

<sup>543</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Amt, welches die Funktionen des Oberbürgermeisters, des Richters und des Rechtsgelehrten vereinte. Zudem hatte der Träger des Amtes die Aufgabe, die königlichen Interessen auf lokaler Ebene durchzusetzen.” HERING TORRES: *Rassismus in der Vormoderne* (see n. 15), 265.

<sup>544</sup> Discourse against the Gypsies.

<sup>545</sup> QUIÑONES: *Discurso contra los Gitanos* (see n. 311).

<sup>546</sup> “Tengolos [los gitanos] por peores que a los Moriscos: porque aquellos professavan su secta. Estos no tienen ninguna y se aplican a todas.” *Ibidem*, 13r–13v.

and their subordinates and vassals, that all who have a right of residence, and those who have none, leave these kingdoms – like the Moriscos – they and their families, since there are only a few of them and they are of no use. The royal judicial authorities should be ordered to expel them in the localities and their neighborhoods in which they move around, even if they are property owners. One should not be held up by the appearance that it is a shame to expel women and children since the Moriscos were not worse and they all left, as the royal decree said, when their expulsion was ordered.”<sup>547</sup>

This text and the approach propagated for the “gypsy problem” are significant for Juan de Quiñones and his views. He also worked closely with the Inquisition due to his work as royal court judge. Accordingly, when the Catalan Franciscan monk Benito Ferrer was accused by the Inquisition of being the son of a Jewish woman, having turned to Lutheranism and Calvinism, and committing a desecration of the Host, he was handed over to the secular jurisdiction. This consisted of Quiñones and another judge who sentenced the accused to death at the stake as usual.<sup>548</sup> In his memoir, the *Memorial*, which Quiñones addressed to General Inquisitor and Royal Confessor Antonio de Sotomayor (1574–1648) and which will be analyzed in the following, the court judge prides himself on having delivered to the Inquisition three men at the royal court who had been circumcised:

“I arrested three at this court because they were circumcised, and I informed the very important seigneur Don Andres Pacheco and handed them over to the Holy Inquisition to be judged there.”<sup>549</sup>

Such remarks, his texts in general and the biographical data are the reason why the American historian Yerushalmi identifies him as an avid civil servant and child of his time:

“He is a conscientious civil servant, a bibliophile, an antiquarian, an art amateur. [...] He is an honorable fellow in the community, an ardent patriot, a man who is convinced of the justice of his deeds and the rewards his many services deserve. His prejudices are largely those of the Spain of his time. The fact that his country is superior to the others, that the convicted heretics must be burned, are guiding principles for him that he would never question.”<sup>550</sup>

<sup>547</sup> “Y pues no ha aprovechado, ni tenido fruto lo que con ellos se ha hecho, parece serà conveniente al servicio de V. Magestad, bien destos Reynos, y de los subditos y vassallos, que todos los que tuvieren vezindad, y los que no la tuvieren, salgan destos Reynos, como los Moriscos, ellos y sus familias: y pues son pocos, y inutiles, se dè comision a las justicias Realengas, para que cada una en sus lugares, y en los convezinos donde anduvieren, aunqe sean de señorio, los expelan, sin que impida parecer es lastima desterrar las mujeres y niños, pues no eran peores los Moriscos, y salieron todos, como se dixo en el Real vando, quando se mandaron expeler, con estas palabras.” QUIÑONES: Discurso contra los Gitanos (see n. 311), 21r–21v.

<sup>548</sup> YERUSHALMI: De la corte española al gueto italiano (see n. 83), 76, 277.

<sup>549</sup> “Yo prendi tres en esta Corte, porque estauan cicuncidados, y dando cuenta al Ilustrissimo señor don Andres Pacheco, los remiti a la santa Inquisicion, para que alli se conociesse contra ellos.” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 21r.

<sup>550</sup> “Es un concienzudo servidor del Estado, und bibliófilo, un anticuario, un diletante del arte. [...] Es un honorable

Yerushalmi’s analysis is certainly correct on many points. To what extent Quiñones’s prejudices and rigorous principles were prevalent in Spain at that time, however, must be questioned. There is no doubt that the royal court judge can be classified as a particularly extreme representative of the Spanish policy of exclusion and expulsion. The apologetic writings on the expulsion of Moriscos during this period also testify in part to the desire to expel New Christians with Jewish roots from the Spanish kingdom and speak for the radicalization of this political direction. The decree of King Philip IV, the *Pragmática* of 1623,<sup>551</sup> by contrast, adopts a different language and represents an attempt to curb the excesses of the blood purity statutes:

“And since the hatred, malice and other recommendations and special incidents have taken up so much space in the means of judging the nobility and purity and the acts they require, with so little credibility and comfort to the nation, with so much restlessness and discord in the republic, with so much cost in terms of possessions and life and danger to the conscience, the government considers this cause of damage worthy of improvement, both as a remedy of such great inconveniences which cause so much harm to the kingdom in general and in specific cases, and so that the sacred statutes and the useful and laudable aims of public gain, for which they were adopted and whose proper use has been experienced, are preserved in their original quality and institution, and since they are so appropriate in essence, they should not be put into a disadvantageous position by incidents during the process [...]”<sup>552</sup>

The evaluation and verification of blood purity and nobility are basically defended by the king and considered by him to be a praiseworthy institution. However, he criticizes their implementation and sees room for improvement there. For example, unsigned submissions that call into question a candidate’s blood purity or nobility would no longer be accepted. In addition, three positive decisions are to suffice for the nobility tests and blood purity tests. However, they had to be issued by credible institutions, which are listed individually. Finally, the *libros verdes*, the green books, were banned. These were often kept by private individuals and listed mostly noble families that were suspected of having a New Christian background. The owners of these books were ordered to burn them and were threatened with a fine of 500 ducats and a two-year ban.

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miembro de la comunidad, un celoso patriota, un hombre convencido de la justicia de sus actos y del premio que merecían sus muchos servicios. Sus prejuicios son en gran parte los de la España de su época. Que su país es superior a los demás, que los herejes convictos deben ser quemados, son para él axiomas que nunca pensará en cuestionar.” YERUSHALMI: De la corte española al gueto italiano (see n. 83), 77.

551 [PHILIP IV OF SPAIN]: Capítvlos de refoimacion, qve su magestad se sirve de mandar guardar por esta ley, para el gouierno del Reyno (see n. 60), 16r–18v.

552 “Y porque el odio, malicia y otros respetos y accidentes particulares, se han hecho tanto lugar en el modo de la calificacion de la nobleza, y limpieza en los actos que se requieren, con tan poco credito y consuelo de la nacion, con tanta inquietud y discordia en la Republica, con tanta costa de las haziendas y vidas, y peligro en las conciencias que se juzga en el gouierno por la causa mas digna de reparo, assi por el remedio de inconuinientes tan grandes, y de los quales tanto daño resulta al Reyno en comun, y particular, como, porque se coseruen en su primitiua calidad, y institucion los santos estatutos, y los vtiles y loables fines de el beneficio comun a que se encaminaron, y que de su buen vso se han experimentado; y que siendo tan conuiniente en la sustancia, no se pongan en estado de perjuizio por los accidentes en el modo [...]” Ibidem, 16r–16v.

However, these measures had little success. To question the effectiveness of the decree, it is sufficient to point to the fact that a large number of *libros verdes* are still preserved today. In addition, King Philip IV was forced in 1638 to repeat his father’s *Pragmática* from 1623 because they were not being observed by institutions.<sup>553</sup>

Political headwind for the representatives of anti-Converso politics, however, were found in the highest ranks of the government. Accordingly, a leading minister of Philip IV, Olivares (1587–1645), tried to establish a pro-Converso climate until he was deposed and forced into exile in 1643. He had wanted to use the economic power of the Portuguese Converso businessmen for his own purposes.<sup>554</sup> The fact that Quiñones so vehemently voiced his principles could therefore also be attributed to these more Converso-friendly policies in royal politics and be an indication that his views during this period were far from as dominant as he wants us to believe.

The reason for his writing on “Jewish male” menstruation, his *Memorial* for the General Inquisitor, was the auto-da-fé of Madrid in 1632. The place and year of its composition are not known, but his motivation for writing it suggests that the *Memorial* itself can also be dated to about the year 1632. Although his memoir was never published on a large scale, Yerushalmi<sup>555</sup> suspects that the manuscript circulated at his time and achieved a certain degree of popularity. The auto-da-fé itself was celebrated, *que se celebros*, at the *plaza mayor* on July 4, 1632, in Madrid, as it says in a handwritten report composed on this occasion<sup>556</sup> and which is now kept in the Historical National Archive of Madrid. More precisely, the event lasted for four days, according to the report. It began on Saturday, July 3, with the solemn procession that ended on the main square, the *plaza mayor*, with stands of various religious and knightly orders being set up. On Sunday, the public show trial was celebrated, with the sentences of the accused being announced. On Monday, 33 of the convicts who escaped execution, including nine women (with 44 trials in total), were punished according to their sentences. One third of them were flogged; then all of them were handed down their appropriate punishments, that is, imprisonment, galley service or exile. The Holy Office used Tuesday to tear down the houses of Miguel Rodriguez, who was condemned to death.

The case of Miguel Rodriguez<sup>557</sup> and his co-defendants gained special significance. All were sentenced to death, 6<sup>558</sup> in executions and 4 in effigy or *en estatua* (that is, as a resembling image in the absence of the person). Miguel Rodriguez’s daughter Beatriz, for example, managed to escape and thus avoid execution. All of them were accused, based on statements by children, of secretly

553 BNE: Felipe IV: Cédula sobre probanzas de limpieza de sangre y nobleza. Vuestra Magestad manda guardar la lei y Prematica de reformation promulgada en onze de Febrero de mil y seiscientos y veinte y tres, Madrid 1638.

554 See SCHREIBER: Marranen in Madrid 1600–1670 (see n. 86), 21–57; FERNÁNDEZ MOSQUERA: Situación y contexto de la Execración contra los judíos de Quevedo (see n. 84), 169–176; WALZ: Die Entwicklung eines religiösen Rassismus in der Frühen Neuzeit (see n. 25), 340; also see chapter 1.2 1632.

555 YERUSHALMI: De la corte española al gueto italiano (see n. 83), 77.

556 BNE: Relación del auto de la fe que se celebró en Madrid Domingo a quatro de julio de MDCXXXII (see n. 82).

557 In this regard, see also David GRAIZBORD: Converso Children under the Inquisitorial Microscope: What may the Sources tell us about their Lives?, in: Albrecht CLASSEN (ed.): Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Berlin 2005, 373–387 and YERUSHALMI: De la corte española al gueto italiano (see n. 83), 66–75.

558 There was a total of 7 executions, the seventh being an Italian monk who was not involved in the Miguel Rodriguez case.



practicing the Jewish faith in the house of the New Christian Miguel Rodriguez and defiling a statue of Christ that is said to have shed blood and spoken to the heretics. According to a report from 1654,<sup>559</sup> the royal couple, Philip IV and Elisabeth of France, later founded a Convent of the Capuchins at this very place in memory of this miraculous statue.

A review of the 44 accused people reveals that all but one sentenced to death or imprisonment for practicing Judaism were of Portuguese origin. As a rule, the following order is observed in the presentation of the convicted. Initially, the name, then the origin and the person’s place of residency are indicated. This is followed by a description of the offense and then the sentence. Another report on the auto-da-fé, which is available in the Spanish National Library in Madrid, says the following in regard to the accused Francisco de Andrada, who was involuntarily to become the protagonist of Quiñones’s *Memorial*:

“Francisco de Andrada, Portuguese, from Alcobaça, archdiocese of Lisbon, 28 years old, was dragged out with sanbenito for practicing Judaism, was sentenced to wear the sanbenito and be eternally imprisoned, and abjured *de vehementi*.”<sup>560</sup>

Another report, which can also be found in manuscript form in the National Library, states in regard to Andrada:

“The 14th was Francisco de Andrade, from Madrid, as a sorcerer and Jew, sanbenito and eternal imprisonment.”<sup>561</sup>

This shows that the author of the second report was apparently not as well informed because, unlike the others, he claims that Andrada comes from Madrid. He also writes his last name differently. To what extent Andrada was accused of sorcery in addition to practicing Judaism must remain open since the Inquisition file on Francisco de Andrada is no longer preserved.<sup>562</sup>

The Portuguese ancestry of the convicted Conversos is by no means unusual for the time since, after the annexation of Portugal in 1580, quite a few Portuguese Conversos came to Madrid.<sup>563</sup> The abjuration *de vehementi* from the first report suggests that the defendant was strongly suspect of heresy. The sanbenito,<sup>564</sup> in which the accused person appeared during the reading of the sentences

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559 Relación de los malos tratamientos que vnos jvdios vezinos de la Villa de Madrid, hizieron a vn Crucifixo milagroso en la Calle de las infantas, y como vertio Sangre y les hablo su Diuina Magestad. Y otras cosas que han ocurrido despues de aquel successo, Sevilla: Juan Gómez de Blas, 1654, URL: <https://www.bidiso.es/CBDRS/ediciones/BDRS0000711/3683/ejemplar/2082> (visited on 27/02/2019).

560 “Francisco de Andrada, Portuguès, natural de Alcobaz, Arçobispado de Lisboa, de edad de veinte y ocho años, fue sacado con sambenito por Iudaicante, fue condenado à habito, y carcel perpetua, y jurò de vehementi.” AHN: Relación del auto de la fee que se celebrou en la villa de Madrid Corte de su Magestad domingo quatro de Jullio de mill y seiscientos y treinta y dos años, s.a. [1632?] (see n. 81), 13v.

561 “El catorceno fue Francisco de Andrade natural de Madrid, por hechicero, y Judio, san venito y carcel perpetua.” BNE: Papeles Varios. 7. Autos generales y particulares celebrados por la Inquisición en los años 1555–1721 (see n. 104), 60r, old count 42r.

562 At least that is what I found in my research.

563 On the life of Portuguese Conversos in Madrid, see SCHREIBER: Marranen in Madrid 1600–1670 (see n. 86).

564 Presumably this name is a corruption of the terms *saco bendito*, which can be roughly translated as blessed sack.

before the tribunal, was the penitential garment. De Andrada is also sentenced to wear the penitential garment for a certain period of time. Often the *sanbenitos* were permanently hung afterwards in the churches with the names of the accused people where those condemned by the Inquisition were located so that their names and those of their families were effectively anchored in collective memory. Furthermore, there were different symbols on the *sanbenitos*, which referred to the offenses committed.<sup>565</sup> In addition, there is the punishment of *carcel perpetua*, eternal imprisonment, which was distinguished, by this name, from the secret imprisonment, the *carcel secreta*, in which the accused people were held until their sentencing. The actual duration of detention is considered controversial in research. Jean Pierre Dedieu speaks of a maximum of four years in prison:

“Very quickly, however, the Holy Office hesitates to kill. In the majority of the serious cases, the normal punishment is reconciliation with a confiscation of goods – the latter was not always put into practice – and eternal imprisonment. But beware, in Inquisition terminology, eternal means four years at the most [...]”<sup>566</sup>

Sara T. Nalle can also prove from her Inquisition files on the Sigüenza Conversos that the prisoners’ freedom of movement during their prison sentence defined as *carcel perpetua* could well extend beyond the prison itself and include urban space. According to her, eternal imprisonment could mean that prisoners were under close observation of the Inquisition, but could move relatively freely within a restricted area.<sup>567</sup>

However, Carlos Puyol Buil was able to prove for a case he studied under the reign of Philip IV that imprisonment could indicate life in prison for the accused person.<sup>568</sup> And also the executions in the case of the alleged desecration of statues in the house of Miguel Rodriguez speaks a different language. It is therefore difficult to generalize about the duration and severity of the punishments. It is not known how long the imprisonment in the case of Francisco de Andrada lasted.

Juan de Quiñones, however, is interested in neither the origin nor the sentence of the accused Andrada. His focus is on a rumor that apparently spread at the royal court in regard to the young Portuguese man:

“When the auto-da-fé was celebrated at this court on the fourth of July 1632 with majestic splendor, great solemnity and gravest authority, there was, among other accused people who appeared here, Francisco de Andrada, of whom it was said that he suffered monthly from blood flow that nature gave to women and which is called menstruation [...]”<sup>569</sup>

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<sup>565</sup> Denise Helena MONTEIRO DE BARROS CAROLLO: Auto-Da-Fé: A Ceremony more than Just Words, in: Revista de la Inquisición 8 (1999), 113–120, here 119.

<sup>566</sup> “Assez vite donc le Saint-Office hésite à tuer. Dans la majorité des cas graves la peine normale est la réconciliation avec confiscation des biens, cette dernière d’ailleurs pas toujours appliquée dans la pratique, et la prison perpétuelle. Mais attention, en langage inquisitorial, perpétuel veut dire quatre ans maximum [...]” DEDIEU: Les quatre temps de l’Inquisition (see n. 71), 39–40.

<sup>567</sup> NALLE: A Forgotten Campaign against the Conversos of Sigüenza (see n. 72), 16.

<sup>568</sup> PUYOL BUIL: Inquisición y política en el reinado de Felipe IV (see n. 73), 214.

<sup>569</sup> “Quando con Magestuoso aparato, grande solemnidad y autoridad gravissima, se celebrò en esta Corte el Auto de

In the various reports that analyzed the auto-da-fé according to different points of view, I could only identify one passage in the texts that could suggest such a rumor of “Jewish male” menstruation. That manuscript, in which Francisco de Andrada is also said to have been condemned for sorcery, states in view of the dietary practices that some of the accused people followed:

“[...] and, above all, they did not eat rays because, they explained, this was an impure animal and that it drained off [blood] monthly like a woman.”<sup>570</sup>

This is about the menstruation imputed to the ray, but the passage in the text could have been misinterpreted by an inattentive reader. The idea that the female ray menstruates has persisted in some regions. The indigenous fishermen in the province of Puntarenas in Costa Rica still hold this view today. Moreover, they do not eat fish without scales.<sup>571</sup> Since many Converso families emigrated to South America in the early modern period, this raises the question of whether the traditions of the indigenous population may have been influenced by Jewish theories, since only fish with scales and fins are kosher according to Kashrut.

The idea of a Converso apostate suffering from male menstruation is therefore the starting point of Juan de Quiñones’s reflections. In terms of his motivation to compose such a text, he lists off several reasons:

“Some doubted whether this was true, either because it seemed to them a strange thing that was little seen, or because they had never read or learned about it. And to satisfy them and so that they would know what was written about it, I thought that I should briefly reflect on and speak about what I have documented on this matter, even if it was curiosity on my part. This is because it involves a matter that one could just as well avoid talking about. I think that this piece will be useful on some occasion and will be handed over on this holiday so that Your Most Illustrious Lordship may pass time for a while.”<sup>572</sup>

Three different motives come together here, categorized by the different people or groups of people addressed by Quiñones. First of all, the text is aimed at the doubters at court, whom the

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la Fè, en quatro dias de Julio de 632. años, entre otros reos, que salieron en el, fue Francisco de Andrada, de quien se dixo, que padecia todos los meses el fluxo de sangre, que naturaleza dio a las mugeres, que llaman, Menstruo [...]” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 1r–1v.

570 “[...] y particularmente no comian rraya [sic] diciendo que era animal inmundo y que le bajaba cada mes como muger [...]” BNE: Papeles Varios. 7. Autos generales y particulares celebrados por la Inquisición en los años 1555–1721 (see n. 104), 56r.

571 Franz Xaver FAUST: Anmerkungen zur Stellung des Meeres in der Kultur der Küstenbevölkerung der Provinz Puntarenas/Costa Rica, in: *Indiana* 14 (1996), 157–168, here 161.

572 “Algunos dudaron, si era cierto, ò por parecerles cosa rara, y vista pocas vezes, ò por no auerlo leído, ni alcançado a saber, y para satisfazerlos, y que sepan lo que ay escrito en esto, me ha parecido discurrir breuemente, y dezir lo que he notado en esta materia, aunque lo sea yo de curiosidad: pues si bien es cosa, que pudiera escusar dezirla, entiendo que seruirà en alguna ocasion este papel, y la darà en estos dias feriados, para que se entretenga vn rato en leerle V.S. [Vuestra Señoría] Illustrissima.” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 1v.

author wants to enlighten by teaching them about the subject through his text. Second, Quiñones addresses his own motivation, which is based on his curiosity and thirst for knowledge. Third, the text is addressed to the General Inquisitor, who was to use it for entertainment during the holiday. Especially the last two motives show that Quiñones does not want his treatise to be taken too seriously. Luis Guillermo Bejarano comes to this conclusion in his analysis of the *Memorial* by Quiñones:

“Despite its implications for propaganda, the text by Quiñones does not necessarily aim to convince a large and uninformed audience by warning them of the Jewish Conversos. Instead, it is supposed to morbidly manipulate the anti-Semitic tradition in order to impress, entertain and recommend procedures to its interlocutor, the Inquisitor.”<sup>573</sup>

Bejarano sees the General Inquisitor as the main addressee and thus the main motivation being his entertainment. It should also be borne in mind that Quiñones himself, through his various contacts and motivations and the implied lack of seriousness, also granted himself a certain literary freedom and consequently had to face only limited exposure to a critical discussion of his ideas.

What contradicts this self-staged lightness and the assertion that one could have avoided the topic is the later detailed listing of his references. Even the very complex and detailed presentation of Valle de Moura is surpassed by Quiñones. For the central theme of “Jewish male” menstruation alone, the royal court judge provides us with 27 references, including Gavilán Vela, the translator of Costa Matos. His list is also quite conscientious since he does not conceal the critical positions of Salmerón and Lorin and adds to them as an explanation “although these two do not confirm it.”<sup>574</sup> In later references to the two Jesuits, however, he does not mention this again. He also admits in regard to the Augustine reference that he could not prove this position in spite of eager searches: “[...] although I searched for it [the passage in the text] diligently in his works, I did not find it [...]”<sup>575</sup>

It is precisely this accuracy that already points to one of the two strategies that Yerushalmi could identify as a fundamental characteristic of Quiñones’s text: the calm and learned tone. This creates “an atmosphere of scholarly and erudite trustworthiness.”<sup>576</sup> The other strategy is revealed in the presentation and juxtaposition of the various positions, which suggest to the reader a certain value neutrality of the author and, according to Yerushalmi, create the impression that the reader can form their own opinion.<sup>577</sup> In contrast to the intentions of Valle de Moura, however, it seems to be only a

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573 “A pesar de su implicación propagandística, el discurso de Quiñones no está dirigido a persuadir necesariamente a una audiencia masiva y desprevenida alertándola sobre el peligro de los judíos conversos, sino que más bien manipular mórbidamente la tradición antisemita medieval para impresionar, entretener y recomendar procedimientos a su interlocutor el Inquisidor.” Luis G. BEJARANO: *Retórica y antisemitismo español en el siglo XVII: D. Juan de Quiñones y el problema de la sangre*, in: *Crítica Hispánica* 24 (2002), 59–80, here 66.

574 “[A]unque estos dos no lo afirman,” QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General* (see n. 85), 3v.

575 “[...] aunque le he buscado con diligencia en sus obras, no le he hallado [...]” *Ibidem*, 3r.

576 “[U]n ambiente de fiabilidad científica y erudita,” YERUSHALMI: *De la corte española al gueto italiano* (see n. 83), 78.

577 *Ibidem*, 78.

suggestion, because the royal court judge refers, as seen, to critical voices, but does not describe their positions in more detail. In my opinion, Quiñones pursues scholarly credibility through another strategy that distinguishes him from other authors in the *limpieza de sangre* debate: He does not only rely on theological authors, but explicitly refers to physicians. Seven of the 27 references were written by medical authors. Bernard de Gordon, Johannes Schenck von Grafenberg, Jacques Houllier and Marco Antonio Zimara are already familiar to us, with the last two also being quoted in the work of Schenck von Grafenberg. They are joined by the royal palace physician of Philip IV, Gerónimo de Huerta (1579–1649),<sup>578</sup> the Italian physician Marcello Donato (1538–1602),<sup>579</sup> and Miguel Juan Pascual (1505–1561),<sup>580</sup> the Spanish physician teaching at the University of Valencia.

Donato himself makes no mention of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation. He can be counted among the physicians like Amato Lusitano who can certainly take something positive out of the idea of male menstruation; that is, the cleansing bleeding in both men and women, from his point of view, can be regarded as something that promotes health and healing. By contrast, he perceives the suppression of such bleeding as harmful for the body:

“Nature uses certain expurgations to cleanse the bodies of both women and men, and the suppression of this will cause an astonishing number of evils.”<sup>581</sup>

What is new with him is the idea that body excretions used for cleansing are inherent in the nature of not only women, but also men. By stating this, he certainly sets himself apart from the positions of other physicians of his time and from the premise of Antiquity that men in general are not dependent on additional cleansing due to their perfectly ordered fluid constellation. Quiñones completely ignores Donato’s argumentation and limits himself to the following statement:

“Marcello Donato says, based on others, that there are some men who have hemorrhoidal bleeding every month like women’s menstruation.”<sup>582</sup>

Miguel Juan Pascual, whose healing methods have been handed down by Pedro Paulo Pereda, also takes a more differentiated look at the subject. He writes on the topic of hemorrhoidal bleeding:

[...] although Galen attaches importance in Chapter 2 of Book 6 ‘On the causes of the symptoms’ to the fact that all blood flow of any kind is pathological except that which flows from

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578 Gerónimo de HUERTA: *Problemas filosóficos*, Madrid: Por Iuan Gonçalez, 1628, 14r–15r.

579 Marcello DONATO: *De Medica Historia Mirabili Libri Sex*, Mantua 1586, 230v–233r.

580 Pedro Paulo PEREDA: In Michaelis Ioannis Paschalij methodum curandi Scholia, exercentibus medicinam maximè vtilia, Lyon 1587, 145r–145v.

581 “Consuevit natura tum mulierum, tum virorum corpora per quasdam expurgationes emundare, quæ si supprimi contingat mirum dictu quot mala excitare soleant.” DONATO: *De Medica Historia Mirabili Libri Sex* (see n. 579), 230v.

582 “Marcelo Donato, refiriendo a otros, dize, que ay algunos hombres, a quien todos los meses viene fluxo de almorranas, como a las mugeres del menstuo.” QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General* (see n. 85), 4r.

the uterus in women, hemorrhoids are also a flow which, if regulated and not immoderate, cure the disease of melancholy and the affections of the kidneys [...].”<sup>583</sup>

Thus, he also considers male menstruation in its manifestation as regular hemorrhoidal bleeding under certain conditions, for example in cases of melancholy or kidney disease, to be quite beneficial to health. At the same time, however, the case of “Jewish male” menstruation is also mentioned:

“Some believe that a few of the Hebrew lineage are affected by blood flow on a monthly basis due to divine punishment. Others believe that their black [that is, black-biled] blood is excessive because of their perpetual anxiety and that they therefore need to drain the blood.”<sup>584</sup>

It is clear that different opinions on the possible cause of potential “Jewish male” menstruation are referenced here. Both the religious argument of divine punishment and the socio-cultural argument of permanent anxiety, which in turn could be derived religiously from the idea of a forced life in the diaspora and in perpetual servitude, are discussed here. It is not possible to say exactly what Pascual or Pereda, who passed down Pascual’s ideas, thought. What becomes clear in the text, however, is the distance created by consistently referring to other people to whom one evidently does not belong personally. Moreover, these people or groups are only vaguely indicated with terms such as some or others, *quidam* or *alij*, without providing specific names. This is particularly striking since the rest of the text refers clearly and specifically to physicians and their theoretical positions. Claiming that Miguel Juan Pascual and Bernard de Gordon are medical representatives of the theory of “Jewish male” menstruation, which is what Quiñones does in his Memorial, goes too far in any case. It can be assumed that Quiñones was quite aware of this discrepancy and willingly accepted it in order to strengthen his argumentation. This is indicated, above all, by the accuracy of his references, which suggest that he himself had read the referenced texts.

Finally, Gerónimo de Huerta was a physician, but his comments on the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation are primarily theological in nature, although the title of his book *Problemas filosóficos, Philosophical Problems*, suggests a different approach. Henry Méchoulan speaks of a *regard clinique*,<sup>585</sup> a clinical view, of the physician. However, the passage he quotes for support comes from the Spanish Dominican Thomas Malvenda (1566–1628),<sup>586</sup> as he himself documents in the footnote. John Beusterien<sup>587</sup> also names Huerta in one breath with Quiñones and sees his explanations as influenced by his medical profession, but bases this, among others, on the quotation in Méchoulan falsely attributed to Huerta.

583 “[...] quamuis Gal. lib. 6. de symptomatum causis, cap. 2. velit omnem sanguinis fluorem præter naturam toto genere esse, excepto eo, qui mulieribus ab vtero defluit: hæmorrhoidem tamen fluor, si ordinem seruet, & non sit immodicus, melancholicum morbum, affectionésque renum curat [...].” PEREDA: In Michaelis Ioannis Paschalij methodum curandi Scholia, exercentibus medicinam maximè vtilia (see n. 580), 145r.

584 “Quidam putant aliquos ex genere Hebræorum hoc sanguinis fluore esse singulis mensibus affectos diuina vltione: alij credunt ob perpetuum timorem ipsos sanguine atro abundare, & ideo hoc sanguinis defluxu indigere.” Ibidem, 145r–145v.

585 MÉCHOULAN: *Le sang de l’autre ou l’honneur de dieu* (see n. 79), 158.

586 THOMAS MALVENDA: *De Antichristo*, vol. 2, Lyon 1647, 175.

587 JOHN BEUSTERIEN: *Jewish Male Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, in: *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 73 (1999), 447–456, here 448, 455.

In one chapter of his book, Huerta addresses the question of the bad odor of Jews,<sup>588</sup> which he declares as a known fact. These explanatory remarks are analyzed in detail in the following chapter on the idea of *foetor judaicus*. In this context, however, Huerta also refers to “Jewish male” menstruation. This theory is linked classically by him – among others on the basis of Thomas of Cantimpré and the pseudo-Augustinian sermon – to the accusation of ritual murder. He also refers to the writings of Rodrigo de Yepes and mentions the Jewish blood curse from the Gospel of Matthew and Psalm 78.66. Quiñones did not assign him to the medical representatives, but names him in a series with Diego Gavilán Vela and Pedro Aznar Cardona.

He quotes the theologian Alonso Tostado, by contrast, with regard to the medical reasoning since, as already discussed above, he also addresses the eating habits of Jews as a possible cause of generally suffering from hemorrhoids in his text. This shows that Quiñones was aware of the different lines of closely intertwined reasoning and wanted to make use of them. His main strategy, as already indicated above, is precisely to give both theological and medical arguments to convince the reader by affirming the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation on the basis of various disciplines. He seems to advocate the motto that if such a theory is to be found not only among the theologians, but also among the physicians, its validity must increase.

In addition to the references already known to us, Juan de Quiñones refers to three theologian authors not yet mentioned: the Italian Dominicans Giovanni Ludovici Vivaldi († 1540) and Serafino Capponi della Porretta (1536–1612/14) and the theology professor Jodok Lorich (1540–1612/13), who taught in Freiburg im Breisgau. The excerpt from Vivaldi is characterized by classical anti-Jewish reasoning. This includes the Diaspora argument, the idea of perpetual servitude of Jews and the accusations of ritual murder, well poisoning and usury. The postulated blood flow of Jews is explained by the blood curse in the Gospel of Matthew, with the Dominican adding here: “They demanded blood and are tormented by the effusion of blood.”<sup>589</sup> Capponi and Lorich<sup>590</sup> mention the blood flow in the context of the divine punishments, although their view takes a turn that had not yet been seen. They do not say that male Jews suffer from bleeding like women, but they emphasize that both sexes have an outflow of blood. Only in the case of Francisco de Torrejoncillo has this idea already been mentioned, but he wrote later. I will quote here the passage from Capponi as an example since Lorich refers to it in his text. Capponi first describes Jews as the sellers of Christ and then continues:

“This is because by this sale they actually became slaves through antonomasia & first in the soul & second in the body: & in their children; & in person & and in their possessions, & in honor or reputation; & with regard to worldly people (to whom they are more or less subject), & regarding the diseases that also continue in the body (since both Hebrew sexes are punished with the bloody plague on their rear ends and additionally, perhaps, worms approach around their mouth while they sleep. We’ve heard that they have these diseases

<sup>588</sup> HUERTA: Problemas filosóficos (see n. 578), 11r–18v.

<sup>589</sup> “Sanguinem postularunt et sanguinis effusione torquentur.” VIVALDUS: Opus regale (see n. 255), 180v.

<sup>590</sup> JODOCUS LORICHIUS: Thesaurus novus vtriusque theologiae theoreticae et practicae, Freiburg im Breisgau: Martinus Böckler, 1609, 1228.

and maybe others we haven't heard of); & with regard to the inner anxiety that befalls them [...].”<sup>591</sup>

Capponi here alters the accusation of “Jewish male” menstruation and claims instead that Jewish men and women are punished with hemorrhoids, the blood flow in the rear end. In addition, there is the image of worms crawling around their mouths in their sleep. This picture is found fairly often in literature when physical infirmities caused by divine punishment are listed off. For example, it is also found in Francisco de Torrejoncillo.<sup>592</sup> Interesting is also Capponi's addition that he heard that suffering from hemorrhoids was a particularly common disease among Jews. This could indicate that such topics were discussed in his environment.

After Quiñones has listed his theological and medical references, he concludes with the argument of paleness from Hugo of Saint-Cher, referring to the writings of Salmerón, Lorin and Valle de Moura without mentioning their critical and skeptical position on this subject:

“Salmerón, Lorin and Valle de Moura say that all Jews descending from them [the Jews of the blood curse] suffer from blood flow on Good Friday and therefore walk around pale, yellowish and discolored.”<sup>593</sup>

Here another stylistic feature of the royal court judge is revealed, his penchant for embellishments. Whereas only the word *pallidi*,<sup>594</sup> pale, is to be found in Jean Lorin, based on Hugo of Saint-Cher, the authors Salmerón and Valle de Moura speak of *non bene coloratos*,<sup>595</sup> of no good color. In Juan de Quiñones's translation, Jews who suffer from blood flow on Good Friday, according to him, are then given the attributes of pale, yellowish and discolored. This stylistic feature is also seen in the subsequent ritual murder reports, which Juan de Quiñones describes at length and with all the gruesome details at his disposal. Only after this insertion does he come to an interim conclusion with regard to “Jewish male” menstruation:

591 “Nam per istam emptionem fuerunt facti servi anthonomaticè & in anima primum & in corpore secundò: & in suis filijs; & in persona & in rebus, & in honore seu reputatione; & respectu hominum temporalium (cum ipsis plus, minus, subiecti sint), & respectu infirmitatum in corpore continuarum vel quasi (cum sanguinea plaga in posterioribus puniantur vtriusque sexus hebraei; ac forsan vermibus circa illorum ora in dormitione aduenientibus. Has infirmitates audiimus illos habere ac alias fortè, quas nondum audiimus, habent); & respectu timoris interioris incursi [...]” Serafino CAPPONI DELLA PORRETTA: *Veritates aureae super totam legem veterem*, Venice: Apud Marcum Antonium Zalterium, 1590, 144. As a rhetorical stylistic device, antonomasia can mean the replacement of a proper name by an attribute. However, the Greek word ἀντονομασία also stands for the opposite designation. In this case, the seller becomes the slave.

592 TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios* (see n. 18), 170–171.

593 “Salmeron, Lorino, y Valle de Moura, dicen, que en el dia del Viernes santo todos los Iudios y Iudias, descendientes destos, padecen fluxo de sangre, y que por esto andan tan palidos, amarillos, y descoloridos.” QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General* (see n. 85), 4v.

594 LORIN: *Commentariorum in librum Psalmorum* (see n. 537), 627.

595 SALMERÓN: *Commentarii in Evangelicam historiam* (see n. 534), 346; VALLE DE MOURA: *De incantationibus* (see n. 506), 250.



“Whether the outflow of blood suffered by this hostile people is due to natural origin or a divine curse, although it must be thought and talked about, I will confine myself to what I have referred to and what I will say to confirm it in order to prove my attempt.”<sup>596</sup>

The main question for Quiñones is not whether one can or cannot assume Jewish blood flow. He takes this for granted. Instead, he wants to investigate the causes of the Jewish blood flow and the extent to which it is of natural or divine origin. For this purpose, after discussing further physical infirmities such as the *foetor judaicus* in a brief digression, he addresses, on the one hand, the question of the meaning and purpose of signs and marks in general and, on the other, specifically with regard to Jews and New Christians. This places him in an already familiar tradition since “Jewish male” menstruation, as seen, was analyzed by numerous authors within the framework of the main theme of divine signs.

“One can consider these markers attached to Jews so that one may recognize them because of the guilt of the heinous sin of their ancestors [the deicide], since one recognizes the severity of the guilt by the sign of the punishment.”<sup>597</sup>

Here Quiñones first discusses the divine component of such a marker, whereby the addition that the severity of the guilt is indicated by the sign of punishment also makes one think of the practices in the Spanish inquisition. Accordingly, as already mentioned above, there were usually signs of the punishment on the sanbenitos, the penitential garments. The headgear, the pointed hats, which some accused people had to wear, also served this purpose and were given appropriate symbols.<sup>598</sup> Furthermore, the purpose that Quiñones sees in such a marker should be emphasized. In his opinion, it is intended primarily as a sign for others “so one can recognize them.”<sup>599</sup> In this context, he refers to the biblical story about Lot’s wife. She disobeyed the angels’ order and looked back to Sodom, which caused her to freeze into a pillar of salt. Quiñones interprets this episode equally as a sign and punishment, whereby with reference to Tertullian he can report additional signs as well:

“And he [Tertullian] identifies a strange thing, namely that it [the salt pillar] spilled blood every month as women are accustomed to doing.”<sup>600</sup>

Circuitously, Quiñones thus returns to his initial motive. The royal court judge discusses in detail the miracle that Lot’s wife turned into a pillar of salt and concludes by arguing that these

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596 “Si la efusion de sangre, que padece esta enemiga gente, es de causa natural, ò maldicion diuina, aunque ay que pensar, y dezir, me contento con lo referido, para en prueua de mi intento, y con lo que en su confirmacion dirè.”

QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 7v.

597 “Bien se pueden considerar estas notas puestas en los Iudios, por la culpa del abominable pecado de sus passados, para que se conozcan, pues por la señal de la pena se conoce la grauedad de la culpa.” Ibidem, 11v.

598 In this regard, see MONTEIRO DE BARROS CAROLLO: Auto-Da-Fé (see n. 565), 116–119.

599 “[P]ara que se conozcan,” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 14r.

600 “Y dize vna cosa rara, que todos los meses vertia sangre, como las mugeres acostumbran.” Ibidem, 12r.

signs should also serve to remain in eternal memory, *en perpetua memoria*. He mentions other divine motives with regard to the flow of blood:

“[...] so it should come as no surprise that he [God] allows Jews to be born with the blemish and the reported marker of blood flow since he does this so that his miracles are revealed and his enemies are known with such signs. The Kings of Castile, since they could not apply signs to their bodies, ordered them to wear them on their clothing so that those who lived among the Christians would be known.”<sup>601</sup>

Quiñones wants the physical sign of the blood flow to be understood as the marking of enemies and as an expression of divine miraculousness. He understands the identification of Jews with yellow rings, which were enacted in the Middle Ages by the Castilian kings,<sup>602</sup> as an earthly parallel. While God marks the bodies, the kings, as earthly rulers, would have to limit themselves to clothing. The motive – identification by signs – appears to be the same for the author, however. He takes the marking of Jews with yellow rings and then puts it on the same level as the identification of condemned New Christians by wearing the *sanbenitos*.

Furthermore, he distinguishes between natural and therefore necessary and non-natural, consequently not-necessary signs. As examples of natural signs, he cites the clouds that announce the rain or the smoke that indicates the fire. Examples of non-natural signs for him are cut-off ears of thieves and markers on the faces of slaves.<sup>603</sup> He classifies the sign of Jewish blood flow as follows:

“This sign of the monthly blood flow in Jews, when one considers its origin, if one cannot call it natural, can be considered almost natural because naturally all descendants are born of those who cried: May his blood, etc. [Matt. 27.25] And since the sign is judgment and proof, as Rebuffi [Pierre Rebuffi (1487–1557), French legal scholar] said, and that thereby one recognizes the identity of a person, [...] and that when the recognition is difficult due to the appearance of the face, one must resort to seeing the hidden signs that are present on the body, as Bartolo [Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1303/13–1359), Italian legal scholar] said. It seems to me that it will be enough to examine and initiate a trial against them, as against those who are circumcised, since circumcision means compliance with Jewish law and it is presumed that the one who bears the sign obeys this [the law].”<sup>604</sup>

601 “[...] no cause admiracion que permita nazcan los Iudios con la macula y nota de fluxo de sangre referida, pues lo haze para que se manifesten sus marauillas, y sean conocidos sus enemigos con semejantes señales. Los señores Reyes de Castilla, ya que no les pudieron poner señales en los cuerpos, mandaron ponerlas en los vestidos, para que fuesen conocidos los que habitauan entre Christianos.” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 13v–14r.

602 In this regard, see also chapter 2.2.2 *The Siete Partidas*.

603 QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 20r.

604 “Esta señal del fluxo de sangre cada mes en los Iudios, atendiendo a su principio, si no se puede llamar natural, puedese dezir casi natural, pues naturalmente nacen con ella todos los descendientes de los que clamaron, y dixeron: Su sangre, &c. Y siendo como es la señal vn juyzio y demonstracion, como dixo Rebufo, y que por ella se conoce la identidad de la persona, [...] y que quando el reconocimiento es difcil por el aspecto del rostro, se ha de recurrir a

Quiñones is therefore more inclined to classify the blood flow, with limitations, as a natural sign, which suits him for his subsequent reasoning. In addition to his theological and medical references, he now also relies on legal ones. Against the backdrop of early modern sign theories, this may hardly come as a surprise because discussions about signs and their meaning and about different signs can also be found in legal, medical, natural-philosophical and rhetorical circles, whereby disciplinary boundaries often hardly played a role at this time and against the background of popular universal scholarship so that it is possible to discern a lively exchange between different approaches with regard to sign theories.<sup>605</sup> Here Quiñones seems to orient – somewhat rudimentarily – on basic ideas found in Aristotle, Galen and Augustine. Apparently, however, he acquired them mainly through legal texts.

The quotation cited reveals his real concern and his interest in the theory of signs. The blood flow as a sign is intended to make it easier for the Inquisition to identify Jews, as was already common practice with regard to circumcision. Accordingly, it was customary for those the Inquisition accused of practicing Judaism to be examined by a medical practitioner and a surgeon for signs of circumcision. Since this was also known among the Conversos, there was initially a significant decline in circumcisions. A resurgence in circumcision can be observed from the beginning of the 17th century. José Pardo Tomás attributes this to the Portuguese Conversos, who immigrated to Castile after the annexation of Portugal and among whom the practice of circumcision was in part still common, and to the Conversos, who decided to return to Spain after a stay in a Sephardic community (e.g. Hamburg, Bordeaux, Venice, Amsterdam).<sup>606</sup> For Mexico, David Gitlitz was able to prove that Conversos used a symbolic cut as a circumcision ritual to obey Mosaic law and at the same time escape the Inquisition.<sup>607</sup> Such a practice can also be assumed in the Spanish Inquisition case of Juan Nuñez already mentioned in the introduction. In the case of Nuñez, the physicians, according to their own statements, were not able to find any clear circumcision, but did discover a scar.<sup>608</sup> Overall, however, caution is generally called for with these speculations because circumcision as a sign of Judaism was firmly anchored in collective memory so that fluid boundaries between imagination and reality are to be assumed. Pardo Tomás aptly sums up this situation with a view to the 16th century in which circumcision was hardly practiced any more:

“Nonetheless, ritual circumcision remained rooted in the collective memory of all. In the memory of Old Christians because they were repeatedly encouraged to visualize the way a crypto-Jew, hidden among them, could be distinguished; and in the memory of New Christians, either voluntary or forced ones, because the presence of their foreskin was for some of them a serious breach of the faith of their elders, whom they had to hold buried (and

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ver las señales ocultas que ay en el cuerpo, como dixo Bartulo; me parece que bastará para inquirir, y formar processo contra ellos, como contra los que se hallassen circuncidados, pues es obseruacion de la ley Iudayca la circuncision, y se presume la guarda quien tiene la nota.” Ibidem, 20v.

605 See Ian MACLEAN: *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance*, Cambridge 2002, 148–167.

606 José PARDO TOMÁS: *El médico en la palestra: Diego Mateo Zapata (1664–1745) y la ciencia moderna en España*, Valladolid 2004, 45.

607 GITLITZ: *Secrecy and Deceit* (see n. 5), 206.

608 AHN: *Causa de fe de Juan Nuñez, 1678–1681* (see n. 64), 55v.

impoverished bit by bit), and because any problem on their genitals, which consisted of a loss of skin or some other apparent injury, posed a threat to all of them.”<sup>609</sup>

Just as circumcision or indications of circumcision were judged by the Inquisition as evidence of secret involvement in Jewish practices, Quiñones believed that knowledge of Jewish blood flow should also be made available to the Inquisition. His plan was as follows:

“If one finds those who suffer from blood flow, one should hand them over to the Holy Inquisition since they cannot refrain from being Jews or apostates because, if they have it [the blood flow], they are not baptized since they are freed from it with baptism. And if they are baptized and receive it monthly, they are apostates since this is a sure sign, as one has seen. This is because when you baptize them, you remove the blood [its blemish], and when they return to their errors, this disgraceful blemish that they suffer returns to them.”<sup>610</sup>

The blood flow thus becomes a blemish that can be eradicated by baptism and conversion to Christianity. In apostasy, the departure from Christianity and return to Judaism, the blemish returns and, as Quiñones proposes, can thus become a physical indicator for the Inquisitors and make it easier for them to check whether someone is a believing Christian or a Judaizing apostate. That the blemish disappears through baptism also explains once again the dual status assigned to it by Quiñones as an “almost natural” sign of divine punishment.

Bejarano refers in particular to this passage to denounce the disregard Quiñones shows for the principles of classical rhetoric:

“The abundant rhetorical language, filled with subjectivity and inconsistencies, and the use of metaphorical tropes and caricatured images thus reveal the author’s carelessness in regard to the ethical principles of classical rhetoric, although through his pen it takes on a single dimension in which the defense of faith is not only the center but the only justification of his antisemitism.”<sup>611</sup>

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609 “Sin embargo, la circuncisión ritual continuó arraigada en el imaginario colectivo de todos. De los cristianos viejos, porque continuamente eran incitados a recordar cómo y de qué manera se podía distinguir un criptojudío escondido entre ellos; también de los cristianos nuevos, voluntarios o forzados, porque para unos la presencia de su prepucio era una falta grave a la fe de sus mayores que ahora debían mantener enterrada (y, poco a poco, empobrecida) y porque para todos cualquier problema en sus genitales que comportara una pérdida de piel u otra lesión reconocible de visu constituía una amenaza.” PARDO TOMÁS: *El médico en la palestra* (see n. 606), 41.

610 “Si hallara algunos, que padecieran este fluxo de sangre, los remitiera a la santa Inquisicion, pues no pueden dexar de ser Iudios, ò Apostatas, porque si le tienen no estan bautizados, pues con el Bautismo se les quita: y si estan bautizados, y les viene cada mes, son Apostatas, pues es señal cierta, como se ha visto, que bautizandose se les quita la sangre: y si bueluen a reincidir en sus errores, les buelue de nuevo esta infame macula que padecen.” QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General* (see n. 85), 21r–21v.

611 “El abundante lenguaje retórico plagado de subjetividad e inconsistencias y el uso de tropos metafóricos e imágenes caricaturescas revelan entonces la desatención del autor a los principios éticos de la retórica clásica, aunque ésta adquiere en su pluma una sola dimensión en la cual la defensa de la fe no es sólo el centro sino la única justificación a su antisemitismo.” BEJARANO: *Retórica y antisemitismo español en el siglo XVII* (see n. 573), 77.

It is not surprising to me that Quiñones does not adhere to the principles of rhetoric because an effort to do so is generally not recognizable with him. It is precisely his various motivations and addressees mentioned above, which – as already analyzed – also indicate a certain lack of seriousness, offer him the possibility of shaping his writing very freely, and let him avoid a scholarly critical discussion. At the same time, however, the last quotation and his detailed examination and citation of theological, medical and legal work shows that he does not want his writing to be understood only as a literary amuse-gueule for the General Inquisitor on holidays.

It should be noted, that in the discussion about “Jewish male” menstruation, the Memorial by Quiñones and its consistent and explicit interweaving of theological, medical and legal references (fortunately) remains an exception in the Early Modern Era. Although there are theologians who argue medically, as in the case of Jean Lorin, as well as physicians such as Bernard de Gordon, who cite religious arguments in their treatises, the Memorial is the only text that consciously and explicitly – naming the corresponding references – combines both fields of argumentation and finally even incorporates the legal perspective with regard to the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation. At the same time, however, I believe that the Memorial provides an indication of what was possible and conceivable in the discussion on “Jewish male” menstruation. Even if only Quiñones makes the combination of medical and theological discourses explicit, this can also be implicitly proven in many other authors.

#### 3.4.4 Critics of “Jewish Male” Menstruation

Defenders of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation faced criticism from not only theologians, but also physicians, however. Georg Franck von Franckenau (1643–1704)<sup>612</sup> voiced his skepticism in the journal *Miscellanea curiosa*. Incidentally, the first person he names as a defender of this thesis is Michael Scotus, the court astrologer of the Staufen Emperor Frederick II. In Scotus’s work on physiognomy titled *Liber physionomie*, which was also commonly known under the name of *De secretis naturae* and cannot, by the way, be assigned to him with certainty, he wrote:

“And it should be known that Jews naturally suffer from blood flow through the genitals, in some drops, according to the cycle of the moon, like women.”<sup>613</sup>

This remark can be found in a chapter on questions related to birth and follows the warning that a man should not have sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman since a resulting child would be harmed by it. The sentence seems strangely detached in this passage and Joseph Ziegler,<sup>614</sup> who examined the text on physiognomy, emphasizes that Scotus neither delves deeper into the subject nor embeds his own remarks in a larger anti-Jewish polemic. Apart from this passage, according to Ziegler, Scotus also does not seem to have made any negative remarks on other ethnic groups,

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612 In this regards, see also POMATA: Menstruating Men (see n. 318), 122–123.

613 “Et sciendum, quod Iudæi naturaliter patiuntur fluxum sanguinis, per virgam, secundum lunam quibusdam guttis, vt mulieres.” Michael SCOTUS: *De secretis naturae*, Frankfurt 1615, 45.

614 Joseph ZIEGLER: *The Beginning of Medieval Physiognomy: The Case of Michael Scotus*, in: Gundula GREBNER (ed.): *Kulturtransfer und Hofgesellschaft im Mittelalter*, Berlin 2008, 299–319, here 315.

but his disrespect is directed against people with disabilities, whom he classifies as dangerous.<sup>615</sup> What seems interesting about his remarks is, on the one hand, his emphasis that “Jewish male” menstruation is a natural process, and, on the other hand, his specification of a location – as was done previously only by the Graz town physician Wenck – namely of bleeding from the genitals.

Georg Franck argues, by contrast, that this assertion is both against reason and experience, and adds that Jews who converted to Christianity would confirm this. He also emphasizes that the menstruation of Jewish women is particularly precise and exact due to the cleanliness and rigor of Mosaic laws, by which he probably means purity laws.<sup>616</sup> It makes it seem like he wants to counter the negative statements with something positive. In the following, he lists four theologians who are also critical of the theory of “Jewish male” menstruation. Besides the already known trio of Alonso Tostado, Alfonso Salmerón and Jean Lorin, Franck also names the Dutch reformed theologian Gisbert Voetius (1589–1676). He then adds various other reports on male menstruation in general, which also represent the positive view. He mentions both that brave young men would also menstruate and that men in Lorraine and Germany would suffer from regular monthly bleeding and produce milk in their breasts. Franck, however, omits the negative additions such as their imputed effeminacy, which Andrés Laguna adds to his remarks. He ends with a reference to a seventy-year-old medical colleague from Heidelberg, who told the following story about male menstruation to the members of the Faculty Council:

“[...] that he once saw a butcher in his hometown of Sion [Sedunum] who excreted menstrual blood through the urethra every month. Since this spread quickly among the people, they abhorred the man, and nobody wanted to buy meat from his butcher’s shop as a result.”<sup>617</sup>

This conclusion also indicates a certain contempt for the common people, the *vulgus*, who exclude the butcher because of his suffering. Gianna Pomata argues that this shows Georg Franck’s enlightened attitude, which defines his description.<sup>618</sup>

The physician Isaac Cardoso (1603/04–c. 1683) is primarily concerned with dispelling the well-known prejudices against Jews and refuting them in a substantiated manner. Toward the end of his life, he wrote a text that appeared in Spanish in Amsterdam under the title of *On the Excellence of Hebrews*<sup>619</sup> in 1679 for this purpose. Cardoso himself was born in Portugal and came from a Converso family. His baptismal name was Fernando Cardoso. After studying philosophy and medicine in Salamanca, he worked in Madrid and Valladolid and finally became a royal palace physician, *médico de cámara*, under Philip IV. In 1645 he emigrated to Venice, where he officially converted to Judaism and adopted the name Isaac. In the years that followed, he settled in Verona.

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<sup>615</sup> ZIEGLER: The Beginning of Medieval Physiognomy (see n. 614), 316.

<sup>616</sup> Georg FRANCK: Observatio LXXXIII. Vir Menstruus, in: Miscellanea curiosa sive Ephemeridum medico-physicarum Germanicarum Dec. II. Annus VI. (1687), 174–175, here 174.

<sup>617</sup> “[...] se scilicet vidisse olim Seduni in patria lanionem, qui singulis mensibus per urethram sanguinem redderet menstruum. Quod cum in vulgus emanaret, abhorruit à Viro, nemoque deinceps carnes ex ejus macello coêmere voluit.” Ibidem, 175; see also POMATA: Menstruating Men (see n. 318), 123.

<sup>618</sup> Ibidem, 123.

<sup>619</sup> Isaac CARDOSO: Las Excelencias de los Hebreos, Amsterdam: En casa de David de Castro Tartas, 1679.

He dedicated his best-known work titled *Philosophia libera*, which he published in 1673, to the Republic of Venice with the following explanation: “A free philosophy befits a free republic [...]”<sup>620</sup> In the sixth book, with this idea in mind, he deals with the human being and also speaks about female menstruation and its functions.<sup>621</sup> In this chapter, he takes up the ancient questions and problems of menstruation, reports, by drawing on Schenck von Grafenberg, among others, on unusual cases – such as menstruation in very young girls – and mentions cases of substitute menses in women. As far as his sources are concerned, Cardoso uses both the writings of ancient physicians and those of his early modern colleagues. In addition, by recalling Averroës, he also brings Arabic medicine into play and quotes the Book of Leviticus in the Old Testament with regard to the question of impurity and the dangers of menstrual blood.

Cases of male menstruation or a comparison of menses with hemorrhoids are largely omitted. The only exception is Vesalius’s dissection report on a patient suffering from hemorrhoids during his lifetime and his comparison of this to menstruation.<sup>622</sup> Cardoso even goes into Abraham Zacuto Lusitano’s work without, however, including his case of male menstruation and its effeminization of the patient. On the one hand, this may be because Cardoso’s chapter on female menstruation is discussed in the context of the main theme of ideas on conception. On the other hand, Cardoso also seems to differentiate between the natural course of menstruation, substitute menses and other forms of blood flow. Accordingly, he initially defines female menstruation as the only truly natural bleeding, *secundum naturam*. Other blood flows such as nosebleeds are *contra naturam*, that is, unnatural and thus pathological, even if they can contribute to the improvement of the patients’ state of health, as will be shown later on the basis of the substitute menses.<sup>623</sup>

His criticism of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation is discussed in a chapter of his text *On the Excellence of the Hebrews*. This is where he speaks of the slandering of Jews and works his way through each calumny point by point. For example, he cites the bad odor, which will be studied at greater length in the following chapter, as a second slander. He then mentions “Jewish male” menstruation as the third slander:

“The malicious ones do not stop with the previous bad odor, but also claim that Hebrews have a tail and a monthly blood flow, as women have menstruation, and that is why they are almost all pale [...]”<sup>624</sup>

Here Cardoso refers to the combined accusation of spinal extension and menstruation in male Jews as described by Pedro Aznar Cardona and Francisco de Torrejoncillo, for example. The authors and texts that he mentions in this context, however, only introduce the idea of “Jewish male”

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620 “Liberam Rempubicam Libera decet Sapientia [...]” Isaac CARDOSO: *Philosophia libera in septem libros distribvta*, Venice: Bertanorum Sumptibus, 1673, in the dedication.

621 Liber VI. De homine. Quaestio IV. De sanguine menstuo, Ibidem, 418–423.

622 Ibidem, 423; see also POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 122.

623 CARDOSO: *Philosophia libera in septem libros distribvta* (see n. 620), 418.

624 “Al mal olor precendente juntan los mal intencionados à los Hebreos, que tienen cola, y les viene todos los meses sangre como à las mugeres su menstuo, y que por esso son quasi todos palidos [...]” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 345.

menstruation or, in the case of Vicente Ferrer’s sermon, they do not even do that. Accordingly, he names Vicente Ferrer, Thomas of Cantimpré, Alonso de Espina, Jean Lorin and Alfonso Salmerón, although acknowledging the critical attitude of the latter two to such statements. Furthermore, Cardoso tries to explain on what biblical basis such a calumny could have come about. Here he refers to the already known chapter 28 in the Book of Deuteronomy, which also played a role in Rodrigo de Yepes’ reasoning. However, he also quotes passages that were not mentioned by the defenders of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation, such as verse 13.27 and 43–44.<sup>625</sup> He apparently consulted the Sephardic Ferrara Bible, which had already appeared in 1553 and been translated from Hebrew into Spanish by Abraham Usque (c. 1520–1560?). Usque tried to translate it as literally as possible, *palabra por palabra*, as the title of the Bible says. Interestingly, the ulcers, *ulcere*, which are mentioned in the Vulgate, are translated directly with the term hemorrhoids, *almorranas*. The other central passage, Ps. 77.66, which Cardoso cites and which was actually used by authors such as Petro Aznar Cardona, is as vague in the Spanish translation as in the Vulgate. This is how it reads here:

“And he smote his anguishers on the hinder parts: he put them to an everlasting reproach.”<sup>626</sup>

The only blatant difference between the verse in the Vulgate and the Ferrara Bible is the designation of the victims of the divine curse not as enemies, but as anguishers. Like Christian theologians, Issac Cardoso also interprets this smoting on the rear end as suffering from hemorrhoids, but attributes it – like Jean Lorin, for example – to the Philistines, to whom he refers by the Hebrew name *Pelistim*. He also draws on the first book of Samuel (1 Sam. 5 and 6) in which the inhabitants of Aschdod sent the Ark of the Covenant back to the Israelites together with an offering – five golden tumors and five golden rats. According to Cardoso, these were five golden hemorrhoids, *cinco almorranas de Oro*,<sup>627</sup> which were supposed to represent the ulcers with which the Philistines were beaten by God.

In regard to the chapter from Deuteronomy, Cardoso discusses Deut. 28.13 and 43–44 by referring to the metaphorical level, which is supposed to be meant there. Verse 27, in turn, is not intended for the Hebrews in particular, but concerns all people equally:

“And the word that he [the Lord] will strike you with the scabies of Egypt, with hemorrhoids, with the itch, and with the mange – with consumption, fever, tertian fever, jaundice, dropsy also being named – and these diseases are one and the same in that they are common to all and are used by him as punishment. As the scholars say (there is no punishment without sin, no death without crime), this is not specific to the Hebrews, but is common to all and universal.”<sup>628</sup>

625 CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 345; see also ABRAHAM USQUE (TRANSL.): *Biblia en lengua Espanola traduzida palabra por palabra dela verdad Hebrayca... Ferrara 1611* (first edition 1553), 68r–68v.

626 “Y hirió à sus angustiadores por detraz, repudio de siempre dió à ellos.” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 345; see also USQUE (TRANSL.): *Biblia en lengua Espanola traduzida palabra por palabra dela verdad Hebrayca...* (see n. 625), 214v.

627 CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 348.

628 “Y el dizir que los herirá con la sarna de Egipto, almorranas, comezon, y roña, tambien pone la tísica, la fiebre, la



Diseases are thus generally interpreted as divine punishment and plague all people. Jews are by no means exempt from this, but they are also not to be understood as the only target of divine wrath. Instead, Cardoso cites the principle of universality and general applicability. However, he also admits that in biblical times there was also a supernatural disease that God imposed on Jews:

“Leprosy was once a supernatural evil among the Hebrews, with God sending it as punishment for sins and because of failure to observe the Law of the Lord. It was not as malignant as the leprosy of these times, which is observed in the hospitals of the Order of Lazarus and which physicians treat, although one can hardly be healed of it and it is considered to be incurable.”<sup>629</sup>

This treats leprosy as divine punishment, which was imposed on Jews in biblical times and differs substantially from the force of contemporary leprosy. Cardoso disputes for his time that Johann Buxtorf the Younger (1599–1664),<sup>630</sup> a Swiss reformed theologian and Hebraist, noted that Jews are less affected by leprosy than others because of their eating habits:

“Buxtorf says that it is the opinion of many that the Hebrews live longer and healthier than other nations and that they suffer fewer diseases due to the choices and differences they make with regard to their food. This is also the case if he limits this only to leprosy, which they do not suffer from or which affects them less because of the renunciation they make of many foods that can cause this disease, such as pork. Although he later says that many also die in their youth, as is the case for other peoples, and that they also suffer from erysipelas and epilepsy, which is often found among them, as well as infection or plague.”<sup>631</sup>

This shows the accuracy with which Cardoso expresses the opinion of the Swiss Hebraist. He also mentions topics that are not useful for his argumentation in order to do justice to his reference. Later in the text, he proves that he is more inclined to adopt the opinion cited by Johann Buxtorf the Younger at the beginning when he points out that some Christians, or rather, in his terminology, “some other nations,” buy their meat in the public butcheries of the Jewish ghettos since they

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terciana, la ictericia, la hidropesia, que unas y otros son enfermedades generales à todos, y que las suele embiar por castigo, que como dizen los Sabios, (no ay castigo sin pecado, ni muerte sin delito,) con que no tienen que hazer proprio de los Hebreos aquello, que es comun, y universal à todos.” Ibidem, 348.

629 “La lepra en los Hebreos era antiguamente un mal sobre natural, que Dios mandava por castigo de pecados y de no observar la Ley del Señor, no era tan maligna, ni perversa, como la lepra destes tiempos, que se observa en los hospitales de Lazaro, y la tratan los Medicos, que desta apenas se sana y se tiene por incurable.” Ibidem, 347.

630 Cardoso speaks of “El Bustroffio.” I suspect that there is a typo here and that he meant “Bustorfio,” as Johann Buxtorf the Younger was also called in other, e.g. Italian, sources.

631 “El Bustroffio [sic] dize que es opinion de muchos ser los Hebreos de mas larga vida, y que viven mas sanos que las otras Naciones, y padecen menos enfermedades por la eleccion, y diferencia que hazen de los cibos, aunque el lo restringe solo à la lepra, que no padecen, ò son menos sugetos à ella por la abstinencia que hazen de muchos alimentos, que pueden engendrar essa enfermedad, como es la carne porcina, aunque dize luego, que tambien se mueren juvenes, como las otras gentes, y que tambien padecen erisipelas, y mal caduco, el qual es frequente entre ellos, como tambien el contagio o peste.” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 346–347.

consider it healthier. He also contradicts Buxtorf the Younger with regard to epilepsy and claims that only one in a thousand Jews suffers from gout and paroxysms. According to him, the plague strikes everyone fundamentally, but here, too, Jews are safer “because they are very moderate and have limited diversity with regard to their food”<sup>632</sup> and because they are more cautious. Cardoso finds that the observance of Mosaic law thus provides the basis for a healthier way of life for Jews. Eating habits that promote health and a way of life aimed at moderation are therefore the result of religious practice for him. Accordingly, religion and medicine are perfectly combined for the Jewish physician.

Otherwise, Cardoso only knows one disease that he wants to call specific to Jews under certain circumstances and that was already mentioned in Amato Lusitano’s patient reports: melancholy.

“If any disease could be more attributed to Hebrews, it would be melancholy because of the sadness and fear they have acquired through the insults and oppression of imprisonment, but abstinence and moderation serve as an antidote to this [melancholy].”<sup>633</sup>

The motif of fear and sorrow due to the situation of imprisonment was found both in Amato Lusitano and in the medieval texts of Christian provenance such as the analyzed *quodlibet* discussion at the Sorbonne around 1300. While, however, the deliberate seclusion of the Jewish population was identified as the cause of such moods there, Cardoso clearly points to the marginalizing forces of insult and oppression. Accordingly, Jewish melancholy proves to be a disease that is due to their social situation among Christians, but which can be kept in check by appropriate therapeutic measures – abstinence and moderation.

Cardoso, by contrast, does not attribute suffering from hemorrhoids explicitly to Jews, but emphasizes that all people suffer equally from them:

“This imputation has no other basis than that one sees that some Hebrews have hemorrhoids just as other nations also have them. And these sometimes grow to such a size as figs or berries and cause tumors and swelling in those parts of the body that resemble tails. And they tend to secrete the coarse and melancholic blood, which, as Hippocrates says, liberates them from many diseases, epilepsy, melancholy, quartan fever, delirium. And they tend to be a useful remedy for malignant fever and long tertian fever by draining away the melancholic and rough blood.”<sup>634</sup>

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632 “[P]or su mayor templança, y menos variedad de comidas,” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 347.

633 “Si alguna enfermedad podia ser mas propria de los Hebreos era la melancolia por la tristeza, y temor contrahida de las injurias, y opresiones de la captividad, mas aun à essa le sirve de antidoto la abstinencia , y sobriedad.” *Ibidem*, 347.

634 “Esta imputacion no tiene otro fundamento, sino el ver que algunos Hebreos tienen almorranas como tienen las otras Naciones, y estas algunas vezes crecen tan grandes, como moras ò higos, y hazen tumores, y inchaciones en aquellas partes, que tienen semejança de colas, y suelen echar una sangre gruessa, y malencolica [sic], que como dize Hipocrates libran de muchas enfermedades, epilepsias, melancolias, quartanas, delirios, y suelen ser remedio util en las fiebres malignas, y largas tercianas por evacuar la sangre melancolica, y adusta.” *Ibidem*, 346.

Cardoso emphasizes, above all, the positive effects of hemorrhoids as a form of self-healing here, which was common in the discussion on them. At the same time, he tries to find a medical explanation for the claims that Jews would have a kind of tail or a form of spine extension by painting a picture of hemorrhoids swollen to the size of figs. To what extent the term fig could already be used as a synonym for hemorrhoids in the Middle Ages and what implications could possibly still be intended with this term – e.g. Judas and his hanging on a fig tree – is examined by Willis Johnson<sup>635</sup> in his essay on the myth of “Jewish male” menstruation.

In addition to the medical interpretation, however, Cardoso also refers to linguistic practices. In Portugal there is the name of the tailed Jew, *Judio rabudo*<sup>636</sup> – while in Castile they talk about the tailed Portuguese. Cardoso explains the latter by the long coats that they usually wear. By contrast, he sees the former as an erroneous derivation of the term rabbi. The denomination of the Conversos as the Portuguese and not as the Jews in Castile can be explained by the fact that, after the annexation of Portugal by the Spanish Kingdom and the subsequent entry of Portuguese Conversos into Castile, they were identified by the Inquisition as a crypto-Jewish group and new primary target, so that a Portuguese became a synonym for a crypto-Jew. Julio Caro Baroja<sup>637</sup> also refers to this circumstance in his three volume work on the history of Jews in Spain. That Cardoso is absolutely correct with this assumption of a misguided combination of the terms *rabudo* and *Rabi* can be seen in Francisco de Torrejoncillo, who even goes one step further and makes the claim that the tailed Jews are direct descendants of those Rabbis who were involved in the crucifixion of Christ.<sup>638</sup>

All in all, Cardoso concludes that alleged suffering like “Jewish male” menstruation lacks any medical foundation and is mainly based on theological or linguistic misinterpretations. The motive or motivation for such erroneous interpretations is obvious to him:

“Amazing are the defects and imperfections attributed to Hebrews by their opponents, without any motive other than the hatred and bad predisposition that they have with regard to their needs [those of the Hebrews], to hold them in contempt and put them to shame among peoples, although experience and true examination teaches them that everything is falsehood and deceit that malice invented.”<sup>639</sup>

According to Cardoso, true examination and experience expose the allegations as false. However, he continues, since the Jews’ opponents are driven by their hatred, they deliberately ignore this knowledge that can be gained from examination and experience. The real cause is therefore, following Cardoso’s reasoning, the motivation of the opponents, who are driven by hatred and dislike.

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635 JOHNSON: *The Myth of Jewish Male Menses* (see n. 101), 283–285.

636 CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 345.

637 JULIO CARO BAROJA: *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, Madrid 1978, 361.

638 TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios* (see n. 18), 169–170.

639 “Es de admirar los defetos, y imperfecciones [sic], que los adversarios de los Hebreos les atribuyen, sin otro motivo mas que el odio, y mal afecto con que miran sus cosas, para ponerles en desestimacion, y vileza entre las gentes, aunque la experiencia, y el verdadero examen les enseñe ser todo falsedad, y engaño, que inventó la malicia.” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 346.

Isaac Cardoso personally knows one of these opponents, the already discussed royal court judge Juan de Quiñones. Cardoso was at the court of Philip IV (1605–1665), under his Converso name of Fernando Cardoso, as royal palace physician, at the same time as Quiñones. Both also took the eruption of Vesuvius on December 16, 1631, the strongest since the sinking of Pompeii, as an occasion to write a text on this subject. Overall, they were in good company because Yerushalmi found out that between 1631 and 1634 probably 140 reports on the eruption of Vesuvius were written all over Europe, among others in Italian, French, German, Dutch, Latin and one report in Polish.<sup>640</sup> Cardoso and Quiñones were thus in direct literary competition at the Spanish royal court. In addition, they both experienced the 1632 auto-da-fé in Madrid, which Quiñones used as an occasion to write his Memorial. However, Cardoso as a Converso of Portuguese origin, who also probably even lived in the same street, Calle de las Infantas, in which Miguel Rodríguez’s house stood and in which the desecration of a Christ statue is said to have taken place,<sup>641</sup> had a very different view of the events. He himself describes the events that led to the 1632 auto-da-fé and the execution of six Portuguese Conversos, three men and three women, as follows:

“But to see what the inexorable hatred against a humble nation can do and how uncertain the evidence gained from confession in torture is – we affirm this with the unfortunate events that took place in Madrid in 1632. Some Portuguese Jews came from Portugal to the court with their wives and small children. And when they sent them to schools and they talked to the other boys, these boys gave them candy and sweets and asked them if they were Jews and if their parents abused or whipped a [statue of] Christ at home. The children denied this at first, but were persuaded by the sweets they were given, and by a teacher, who had little affection for this nation and who was more of a hypocrite than a real and pious man; and without knowing what they said, they confessed what was imputed to them. And although they were minors, five or six years old – when witness testimonies are still invalid and void – the parents were arrested on the basis of these statements made as a result of persuasion and counseling when they were ill in bed with tertian fever caused by the summer heat and the difficulties of the journey. They tortured the elderly, poor and sick, and demanded that they confess and mercy would be shown. Since they could not bear the pain, they confessed to what they were charged with, and six or seven people were burned. The sentences were first read out in a public act in which they reported that they whipped a Christ and then burned him. And between the lashes they gave him, he said to them: Why are you abusing me? But the [medical] practitioner who treated them, and the surgeon who bled them, clearly recognized that they had no statue or any image made of wood, metal or paper in their house. Their house was demolished by the judiciary and a commemorative plaque was erected on it in Calle de las Infantas, describing the event of a Christ being flogged and burned. But since it [the plaque] later seemed offensive, it was removed, and a Capuchin convent was founded in that very place. False witness testimonies and rigorous torture can achieve so much that

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640 YERUSHALMI: *De la corte española al gueto italiano* (see n. 83), 64.

641 *Ibidem*, 69.

many would rather die than suffer such unbearable pain.”<sup>642</sup>

In this context, Yerushalmi emphasizes that eight Inquisition transcripts on the case of the desecration of the crucifix, the *Cristo de la Paciencia*, are available in the archives to confirm Cardoso’s report.<sup>643</sup> In this regard, I would also like to refer to the article by David Graizbord,<sup>644</sup> who studied the transcripts in view of the participation of the children in the trial. For Cardoso, the case is testimony to unfair justice based on dubious reports from the torture of parents and confirmed by underage children, who were not allowed to be interrogated and were strongly influenced. He views the motive behind it as being the opponents’ hatred of Jews. It also seems interesting that the voice of reason in Cardoso’s portrayal came from the two physicians, the medical practitioner and the surgeon, even though it was obviously not listened to.

But Quiñones’s text on the auto-da-fé was also well-known to Cardoso. In his chapter on the refutation of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation, he cannot help but relate a little anecdote on the royal court judge:

“But a funny story that took place in Madrid just over thirty years ago should not be concealed here. There was a court judge named Don Juan de Quinoñes [sic], a strange legal scholar in various fields and [owner] of a large library. He wrote some treatises and particular books such as ones about Gypsies, about the Velilla bell, about Vesuvius, and among other things he wrote one [a treatise] about this matter here, where he proved that Jews have a tail and they bleed monthly like women as punishment for the grave sin they committed, and he also quotes some authors. And he gave me one of those [treatises]. Within a few days, he was overwhelmed by such long and extensive hemorrhoids in those areas, with blood and pain,

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642 “Mas por que se vea quanto puede el odio implacable contra una Nacion humilde, y quan inciertas son las pruebas que se toman de la propria confession en los tormentos, sellemos estos successos infelizes con el que succediò en Madrid el año de mil seyscientos treinta y dos, vinieron de Portugal unos Judios Portugueses à la Corte con sus mugeres y hijos pequeños, que embiandolos à las escuelas, y conversando con los otros muchachos, estos les davan confites, y golosinas, y los iban inquiriendo si eran Judios, y si sus padres en casa maltratavan, ò açotavan un Xpo. negavan ellos a principio, mas persuadidos de las golosinas que les davan, y del maestro poco affecto à esta Nacion, que tenia mas de finguido santeron, que de entero, y piadoso, sin saber lo que dizian vinieron à confessar lo que les imputavan, y aunque eran de menor edad de cinco ò seys años, quando son invalidos, y nulos los testimonios, por estos dichos persuadidos y aconsejados prenden los padres, que estavan enfermos en la cama de tercianas ocasionadas del ardor del Estio, y del trabajo del viage, ponenles à tormento viejos, pobres, y enfermos, y exortandolos à que confesassen, y se uzaria con ellos de piedad no pudiendo sufrir los dolores, confessaron quanto los acusavan, y quemaron seys ò siete personas, leyendoles primero las sentencias en un acto publico, que relatavan que açotavan à un Xpo. que despues quemaron, y que entre los açotes que le davan les dizia, porque me maltratais, pero el Medico que les curava, y el cirujano que les sangrava vieron claramente, que en su casa no tenian figura, ni imagen alguna de leño, de metal, ni de papel. Derribaronles la casa por justicia, y pusieron en ella un padron por memoria en la calle de de [sic] las infantas, que referia el successo de haver açotado, un Xpo. y quemadole, mas pareciendo despues indecente le quitaron, y fundaron en aquel mismo sitio un Convento de Frayles Capuchinos, tanto pueden los testimonios falsos, y los tormentos rigurosos, que muchos quieren antes passar una muerte, que sufrir dolores intolerables.” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 405–406.

643 YERUSHALMI: *De la corte española al gueto italiano* (see n. 83), 70.

644 GRAIZBORD: *Converso Children under the Inquisitorial Microscope* (see n. 557), 373–387.

that they actually looked like a tail. So I told him, accompanied by a surgeon: ‘Your grace must also be punished for the sin of that death [the death of Christ, referring to the accusation of deicide] since we see the same evil in you.’ And since he wrote that Jews would have a tail and menstruation, he now had the same. And while the conversation continued with jokes, he laughed and said that he did not belong [to the Conversos], that he had certainly been accredited as an Old Christian and nobleman from La Mancha. The conversation ended and he retained the blemish he had imputed to the Jews.”<sup>645</sup>

Yerushalmi shows that Cardoso departs from his usual paths of sober scholarship and brings in personal matters that are otherwise unusual for his writing.<sup>646</sup> This suggests that he has bitter memories of Quiñones’ assumptions in regard to the Portuguese Conversos to whom he himself belonged. The report on the auto-da-fé of 1632 can also be interpreted as such an exceptional story. Gianna Pomata adds another identity, that of the physician, to this identity of the Portuguese Converso who later officially converted to Judaism, which is emphasized by Yerushalmi:

“Undoubtedly, as Yerushalmi has argued in his excellent biography of Cardoso, the Jewish scholar’s biting reply to the Christian literatus [Quiñones] was rooted in Cardoso’s passionate return to the Jewish faith and culture after his experience as marrano. But I would like to point out that Cardoso was countering the anti-Jewish legend not just as a Jew but also as a physician.”<sup>647</sup>

To what extent medical and religious reasoning merged into one in the case of Cardoso could already be shown beforehand on the basis of the argumentative combination of religious observance, the eating habits and a resulting healthier way of life among Jews. Cardoso’s chapter on the refutation of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation can also be read as a conscious reply that the Jewish physician makes to the treatise by Juan de Quiñones. Cardoso takes a completely different approach in his argumentation. While Quiñones tried to convey a serious and credible impression through his extensive scholarship, as Cardoso calls it, and adorns his texts with long glosses and the corresponding references, Cardoso relies on independent review and experience. In addition to

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645 “Pero no es de callar una graciosa historia, que succedió en Madrid, avrá treinta años, poco mas. Era un Alcalde de Corte llamado Don Juan de Quinoñes [sic], Letrado curioso, de varia erudicion, y de copiosa libreria, escribió algunos tratados y libros particulares como de los Gitanos, de la Campaña de Velilla, del Vesuvio, y entre otros hizo uno desta materia que tratamos provando, que los Judios tienen cola, y les vienen sus meses, y sangre, como en las mugeres en pena del grave pecado, que cometieron citando algunos Autores, y mediò [sic] uno dellos, dentro de pocos dias le sobrevinieron unas almorranas tan largas, y grandes en aquellas partes con sangre, y dolores, que propiamente parecian cola, dixele entonces yó, en compañía de un Cirujano, Vuessa merced tambien devia de incurrir en el pecado de aquella muerte, pues le vemos el mismo mal, y que como escrivia que los Judios tenian cola, y sangre, téniedo el lo mismo, y passando el coloquio entre burlas, el se rió, y dixo que no se entendia con el, que el estava bien acreditado de Christiano viejo, y Hidalgo de la Mancha, passó el discurso, y el se quedó con el defecto que imputava à los Judios.” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 346; see also POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 121.

646 YERUSHALMI: *De la corte española al gueto italiano* (see n. 83), 76.

647 POMATA: *Menstruating Men* (see n. 318), 122.

the biblical references, Cardoso names Vicente Ferrer, Thomas of Cantimpré, Alonso de Espina and his text titled *Fortalitiū fidei*, Jean Lorin and Alfonso Salmerón, later Juan de Quiñones, Johann Buxtorf the Younger and, towards the end, Simone Majoli (1520–1597), but without mentioning more precise details like title or page numbers. It cannot be said in general that Cardoso quotes only vaguely because he provides quite detailed information about his references in *Philosophia libera*. In this case, the absence of detailed references can therefore also be interpreted as a strategy to question the seriousness of such an assertion of “Jewish male” menstruation in general and to emphasize its absurdity.

### 3.5 Conclusion

As we have seen, the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation and the underlying lines of argumentation are an extremely complex subject area. The thesis of effemination is now to be put to the test once again. An explicit effemination, in which reference is made to the fact that Jewish men menstruate like women, but also that weakness and a lack of warlike strength are attributed to men as female or feminine qualities, was found only in Jacob of Vitry. Although tendencies towards effemination can be found in Andrés Laguna and Abraham Zacuto Lusitano, they do not appear in the context of “Jewish male” menstruation.

Therefore, this raises the question of whether there is an implicit stigmatization as a result of the comparison with the female menses. As already shown by Gianna Pomata, the “male” menstruation could be evaluated quite positively in the medical framework. The use of female menstruation served as a more precise explanation of the phenomenon and thus referred above all to the cyclicity of the male bleeding that occurred. Effemination was intended only in exceptional cases, with the positive view outweighing it. For the writings that propagated “Jewish male” menstruation, on the contrary, a very clear effort to stigmatize can also be seen in the reference to female menstruation. The justification of menstruation as divine punishment may predominate in the reasoning, but if the defenders of the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation had only been concerned with ascribing physical infirmity as divine punishment, they could have restricted themselves to the topic of hemorrhoidal bleeding or blood flow. Instead, however, the authors repeatedly emphasize that Jewish men menstruate like women. So they thoroughly intended a conscious effemination. In addition, specifying a location for the monthly blood flow in the genital area served as further defamation and conscious stigmatization.

As for the problem raised by Pomata and Stolberg, whether the female or male body was chosen as the standard for menstruation, I am inclined – especially in view of the repeated comparison between menstruation and hemorrhoids – to think that in this case there was a predominant effort among physicians to place the female and male bodies in a common positive frame of reference and equivalence. This can be seen not only in Antiquity, but also in the Early Modern Era because the definitions and transitions between menstruation and hemorrhoids remain fluid here as well. In addition, the cases in early modern France studied by Cathy McClive<sup>648</sup> – especially those fervently

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648 McClive: Menstruation and Procreation in Early Modern France (see n. 499).

discussed cases of hermaphroditism favored by physicians – likewise indicate that menstruation did not function as undeniable gender marker.

However, a differentiation must be made: Male menstruation, which was usually described as periodically occurring hemorrhoidal bleeding,<sup>649</sup> was considered by the early modern physicians primarily as *morbus salutaris*. Thus, although male menstruation counted as a disease, it was a positive one, which was not to be cured and which provided the body with the possibility of natural self-regulation for the fluid constellation. Menstruation, by contrast, was considered, as seen in Cardoso, to be the only truly natural bleeding of the body, which could not be attributed to the area of diseases. In the texts analyzed, the focus in terms of the subject of menstruation was on two main themes: the unusual cases and, above all, the cases of substitute menses.

But the central question I wanted to explore in this chapter was the extent to which the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation and the associated accusations were linked to the medical ideas of menstruation and hemorrhoids in the debate on blood purity. The role of menstruation was already addressed in the course of effemination. Even more relevant to the reasoning, however, seems to have been the discussion about melancholy and hemorrhoids. As early as the Middle Ages, it was found that a melancholic basic condition and consequently the suffering from hemorrhoids associated with it could be assigned and attributed to the Jewish body here. Melancholy and hemorrhoids were regarded as diseases that were generally inherent to Jews. However, it should also be noted that these were relative attributes, to which the term accidents referred. Thus there was always the possibility of leaving this underlying initial physical state by changing one’s way of life.

In the Early Modern Era, it can be seen that melancholy, as a state inherent to the Jewish body, could also function as self-attribution, as was the case with Amato Lusitano and also, to some extent, with Isaac Cardoso. It should be emphasized that the self-attribution developed by Amato Lusitano on the basis of natural philosophy and medicine is completely free of negative connotations. This is particularly evident since his patients suffering from melancholy are described as learned and extraordinary men, for example. Cardoso also views Jewish melancholy as being based on social factors such as exclusion and discrimination. Accordingly, he moves Jews’ permanent state of fear to the circumstances established by Christians, while in the Middle Ages this fear was interpreted as a product of Jewish misconduct and the resulting divine punishment.

It is still necessary to look at the relationship between medical and theological reasoning with regard to the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation. Overall, the predominant reasoning is the theological approach that interprets the menstruation of Jewish men primarily as a divine sign and punishment for the deicide. The connection to the accusation of ritual murder should not by any means be underestimated here either. Even a physician like Gerónimo de Huerta relies primarily on religious arguments when dealing with the subject. By contrast, there are theologians like Jean Lorin who also try to refute the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation by drawing on medical arguments. Both theological reasoning in medical arguments and medical reasoning in theological texts could be found in the analysis and thus does not seem to have been unusual for the Early

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649 A special case can be found in the patient reports of the Graz town physician Wenck, who speaks of male menstruation from the genitals.



Modern Era. Against this backdrop, Juan de Quiñones's text can be read as a demonstration of the potential possibilities in the debate. He impressively demonstrates the options for combining medical, theological and legal arguments with regard to the idea of "Jewish male" menstruation. In his reply to Quiñones, Cardoso, in turn, works with the linking of theological and medical arguments. However, he pursues a completely different approach. Instead of using a large referential network to demonstrate scholarship and thus academic credibility, as Quiñones intends, Cardoso emphasizes the values of independent investigation and experience and skillfully contrasts them to Quiñones's Memorial.



## 4 The New Christian Smell

This chapter<sup>650</sup> addresses the third physical marker that the ideologists of blood purity attributed to the Conversos and, to a lesser extent, the Moriscos: the New Christian stigma of smell, which was essentially based on the anti-Jewish motif of the *foetor judaicus*.

In general, the Cultural History of the Senses still has some catching up to do when it comes to studying the sense of smell. Jan-Friedrich Missfelder affirms this: “After the hegemony of the *iconic/pictorial/visual turn* that has now lasted for decades, an almost critical quantity of substantive research on the history of sound and hearing with appropriate methodical reflection is at any rate available. By contrast, it still largely seems like the historical research on the so-called near senses of tactility and olfaction is cautiously feeling in the dark of historical material.”<sup>651</sup>

This chapter is therefore intended both as a partial contribution to this critical mass and as an attempt to shed a little more light on the subject. I will therefore start by exploring the limits of the worlds of smell. To start with, it is necessary to find out which aspects of smell and the sense of smell can be dealt with in a historical study and which omitted. For this purpose, I will attempt to provide a definition of the sense of smell and its various dimensions. This is followed by an introduction to the dimensions of early modern worlds of smell.

The second step consists of an analysis of the ancient and medieval precursors of the New Christian stigma of smell. When tracing the development of the *foetor judaicus* with regard to the New Christian stigma of smell, it is important to show both the breaks and continuities, as in the previous chapter on “Jewish male” menstruation. Furthermore, there is a special case, the Christian legends surrounding the Holy Spring of Matarieh, since they are relevant to the question of the extent to which the ideologists of blood purity could also subject the Moriscos to a stigma of smell.

The third step focuses on the various levels of reasoning that the discussion on the New Christian stigma of smell adopted in the Early Modern Era. First and foremost, I analyze the medical and theological arguments. In addition, the topic can also be extended to culinary dimensions and above

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650 Some passages in this chapter have already been published as an article. See GEBKE: Himmlische Düfte – Höllischer Gestank (see n. 56), 195–212.

651 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Nach einer nunmehr schon Jahrzehnte andauernden Hegemonie des *iconic/pictorial/visual turn* sind allenfalls substantielle Forschungen zur Klang- und Hörgeschichte in annähernd kritischer Masse und angemessener methodischer Reflexion greifbar. Dagegen nehmen sich die historischen Forschungen zu den sog. Nahsinnen Taktilität und Olfaktorik noch weitgehend als ein vorsichtiges Tasten im Dunkel des historischen Materials aus.” Jan-Friedrich MISSFELDER: Ganzkörpergeschichte: Sinne, Sinn und Sinnlichkeit für eine Historische Anthropologie, in: Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur IASL 39 (2014), 457–475, here 467–468. Missfelder also provides a very good overview of the state of research related to the history of the senses and reflects on central questions regarding its further development and establishment.

all to kitchen smells. These are dealt with in the Inquisition files as well as in late medieval and early modern literature such as the *cancioneros*. Moreover, a special literary tradition can be proven, the story about the dogs of Alba, for the New Christian stigma of smell. Its background will also be briefly discussed. After this overview of the different levels of reasoning, the discussion in the texts by the ideologists of blood purity is finally analyzed.

## 4.1 The Dimensions of Smell

### 4.1.1 Experiences with Smell

When it comes to smell, it is important to start by differentiating between smells and perceptions of smell. Bettina Beer also refers to this in her essay *Geruch und Differenz (Smell and Difference)*: “‘Smell’ means two things: on the one hand, fragrances that emanate from a body, substance or object, and, on the other, the sense of smell.”<sup>652</sup>

Therefore, the different dimensions of the sense of smell will now be discussed. Smells are particularly suitable for evoking memories. This often happens unconsciously, but can also be controlled consciously. Since Marcel Proust (1871–1922) skillfully describes the interplay of nostalgic memory and the experience of taste and smell in his novel *In Search of Lost Time* – for example, in the famous Madeleine scene –, it seems all too understandable that this process in science is known as the Proust effect.<sup>653</sup> In his introductory text on the sense of smell and taste, the physician and biologist Hanns Hatt also points out that olfactory information directly interacts, through the so-called olfactory brain, with various parts of the brain, such as the thalamus, the neocortex, the limbic system of the amygdala and hippocampus as well as the vegetative nuclei of the hypothalamus.<sup>654</sup> It is precisely these direct connections in the brain that make it understandable why scents have such a strong influence on our emotions and memories.

Medical and biochemical research on smell is increasingly concerned with the topic of pheromones, which have a significant effect on the sexual and reproductive behavior of men and women. This leads to a reciprocal influencing of women and men, but also to same-sex phenomena such as the synchronization of menstrual cycles in women who live closely together and above all spend time together. Martha McClintock studied this phenomenon by interviewing 135 female subjects aged 17 to 22 who lived together in a girls’ dormitory. The aspect of social interaction in the sense of close friendships seemed to have the most significance for the synchronization of menstrual cycles, followed by the aspect of room vicinity. By contrast, randomly compared women within the

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652 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “‘Geruch’ bezeichnet zweierlei: zum einen Duftstoffe, die von einem Körper, Stoff oder Gegenstand ausgehen und zum anderen den Geruchssinn.” Bettina BEER: *Geruch und Differenz: Körpergeruch als Kennzeichen konstruierter “rassischer” Grenzen*, in: *Paideuma* 46 (2000), 207–230, here 210.

653 In this regard, see Elisabeth OBERZAUCHER/Anna Maria KERBER: *Immer der Nase nach... Wie Gerüche unser Denken beeinflussen*, in: Helmut FINK/Rainer ROSENZWEIG (eds.): *Mann, Frau, Gehirn*, Paderborn 2011, 5–62, here 53.

654 HATT: Kapitel 19. *Geschmack und Geruch* (see n. 116), 430.

dormitory, who were neither friends nor shared a room, provided no evidence of synchronization.<sup>655</sup> However, the theory of a synchronization of cycles is still controversial today, as a further essay by McClintock shows, which she published 27 years later and in which she tries to clear up the myths that have arisen in recent decades and to defend her own original research.<sup>656</sup> Even this small excerpt from the topic shows how great the need for discussion and research in the field of pheromones still is. The general fascination with them not only in scientific circles, but also among a non-scientific audience currently seems to be far greater than the confirmed findings.

Studies on pheromones thus underscore the aspect of an unconscious perception of smell which no one can escape and which is accompanied by a certain inevitability and directness. However, this emphasis on the unconscious can quickly lead to the assumption of a naturalness/an instinctive moment in the perception of smell. Following Hubert Tellenbach and Diane Ackerman, Waltraud Naumann-Beyer speaks of authenticity, which she understands as the immediacy of the sense of smell managing without a mediating language. With this concept she tries to explain the poverty of language that can be seen in descriptions of smell.<sup>657</sup>

If, however, the aspects of immediacy and unconsciousness come too much to the fore, there is a danger that another significant aspect will be neglected: the importance of socialization and cultural conditioning for the perception of smells. The diagnosed poverty of language in the vocabulary for smell could also be explained by socio-cultural processes because other cultures can certainly draw on a rich vocabulary for smell. For example, linguists Ewelina Wnuk and Asifa Majid found that the Maniq, a nomadic hunter-gatherer population living in southern Thailand, have a particularly sophisticated and diverse vocabulary for smell with fifteen different terms.<sup>658</sup>

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was already aware of the double dimension of the perception of smell, on the one hand, of natural perception and, on the other, of culturally defined judgment and their interplay. In a letter dated December 15, 1763 to Ludwig Eugen von Württemberg, who apparently kept Rousseau informed about the development of his daughter and was astonished by the character of her sensual abilities, Rousseau therefore wrote:

“Children distinguish between different smells, strong and weak, but not good and bad, early on. The sensation comes from nature, but preference or aversion do not. This observation, which I have made particularly for the olfaction, cannot be applied to the other senses; so the judgment which the little one makes in this respect is already something acquired.”<sup>659</sup>

655 Martha K. McCLINTOCK: Menstrual Synchrony and Suppression, in: *Nature* 229 (1971), 244–245; in this regard, see also OBERZAUCHER/KERBER: Immer der Nase nach... Wie Gerüche unser Denken beeinflussen (see n. 653), 56.

656 Martha K. McCLINTOCK: Whither Menstrual Synchrony?, in: *Annual Review of Sex Research* 9 (1998), 77–95.

657 Waltraud NAUMANN-BEYER: Anatomie der Sinne im Spiegel von Philosophie, ästhetik, Literatur, Cologne 2003, 181.

658 Ewelina WNUK/Asifa MAJID: Revisiting the Limits of Language: The Odor Lexicon of Maniq, in: *Cognition* 131 (2014), 125–138, URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2013.12.008> (visited on 27/02/2019).

659 Translation from the German translation by Henning Ritter: Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU: Ich sah eine andere Welt: Philosophische Briefe, Munich 2012, 185; “Les enfants distinguent de bonne heure les odeurs comme différentes, comme faibles ou fortes, mais non pas comme bonnes ou mauvaises; la sensation vient de la nature; la préférence ou l’aversion n’en vient pas. Cette observation, que j’ai faite en particulier sur l’odorat n’est pas applicable aux autres sens; ainsi le jugement que la petite porte sur cet article est déjà une chose acquise.” Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU:

The often declared thesis in philosophy that the senses do not deceive man, which was defended by Kant and Goethe, among others, aims at the first component – natural perception. The second, the culturally acquired judgment, by contrast, proves to be much more deceptive. In medicine, this is referred to as hedonics, which means “the subjective evaluation of a fragrance as pleasant or unpleasant.”<sup>660</sup> While medicine is understandably more interested in genetically determined experiences with smell and the influence of pheromones, hedonics predominates as a subject matter of study for historical science because it is the culturally influenced judgments on smell that are subject to historical changes. Thus, historical descriptions of smells must also always be viewed against the background of the individual and cultural perception of the smelling contemporary witnesses. The environment experienced in this way and its reality of smell therefore inevitably fades into the background and can only be analyzed to a limited extent. Accordingly, medieval and early modern worlds of smell remain largely hidden, while narratives on smell can provide information about the socialization as well as the personal experiences and memories of the smellers.

Access via cultural systems and social relationships is therefore a suitable approach for studying the motif of the New Christian stigma of smell. Specific attributions of smell can be found as a criterion of exclusion with regard to social classes or ethnic groups in the course of history. Classen, Howes and Synnott describe these olfactory policies as follows:

“Different odours are often ascribed to different social classes and ethnic groups in the West. Variations in group odours may be caused by such things as differences of diet, hygiene and perfume. [...] Often, however, a given ethnic or class odour is considered not just to be due to the consumption of particular foods or to perfume practices, but to be somehow intrinsic to the group, a characteristic trait as inalterable as skin colour. Such ‘ethnic’ or ‘racial odours’ are commonly portrayed as both distinctive and disagreeable by those people who make an issue of them. The same people normally invoke such odours to justify avoidance behaviour.”<sup>661</sup>

On the one hand, different dietary, hygiene and perfumery practices are used for exclusion, and on the other, a smell that is assumed to be characteristic of the relevant group is often attributed to them. As will be shown in the New Christian stigma of smell, these two strategies of exclusion can also be interwoven with each other, so that an unambiguous classification is sometimes impossible or considerably more difficult. In addition, it is also possible to expand the perspective with regard to the group excluded by these strategies in the case of policies of smell. According to Classen, the reactions to the stigma of smell imposed on them can range from acceptance and adoption of the smell imposed on them to the development of a smell model under reversed signs:

“The sensory values propagated by the dominant social group are often internalized by all groups within society. For example, members of the working classes will come to believe that,

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Lettres philosophiques, Vrin 1974, 123; see also Annick LE GUÉRER: Le déclin de l’olfactif, mythe ou réalité?, in: *Anthropologie et sociétés* 14 (1990), 25–45, here 28.

660 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “die subjektive Bewertung eines Duftes als angenehm oder unangenehm,” HATT: Kapitel 19. Geschmack und Geruch (see n. 116), 434.

661 Constance CLASSEN/David HOWES/Anthony SYNNOTT: *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell*, London and New York 1994, 165.

no matter how they wash or what perfumes they use, they are somehow not as clean or as fragrant as members of the upper classes. Members of marginalized groups may also challenge such sensory values, however, and propose alternative schemes whereby ‘clean-living’ workers are contrasted with ‘filthy’ rich.”<sup>662</sup>

Thus, it is also necessary to look at the New Christian reactions to the stigma of smell imposed on them and to examine whether and in what way they dealt with them. In addition, the criticism of the stigma of smell, as formulated by Isaac Cardoso, for example, will also be taken into account in this chapter. First, however, the accusation of the New Christian stigma of smell will be examined in the formulation itself, and its potential precursors will be worked out. In order to understand the general conditions in which this accusation appeared in the Early Modern Era, brief insight into central, early modern dimensions of smell is provided below.

#### 4.1.2 Early Modern Worlds of Smell

In the Early Modern Era, the sense of smell played an important role in the perception of both the divine and the demonic. According to Classen, Howes and Synnott, this applies to Western Premodern Times in general.<sup>663</sup> Classen, who studied the phenomenon at length in her book *The Color of Angels*, states in summary:

“Prior to the modern, post-Enlightenment, era, however, smell was taken *very* seriously in the West. Nowhere is this more evident than in the importance assigned to things olfactory by the Church. The concept of the odor of sanctity, which we moderns tend to dismiss as a marginal (and suspect) phenomenon of an outmoded religious life, pre-modern society located at the center of a complex olfactory and spiritual network which encompassed the entire cosmos.”<sup>664</sup>

Consequently, the sense of smell played an essential role in the recognition of sacred or demonic processes. A pleasant smell was considered a sign of divine presence. Medieval and early modern garden allegories in pictures and texts are the basis for Barbara Baert, for example, when she demonstrates the significance of taste and scent. The metaphor of garden allegories elevated scent and taste to the preferred possibilities for access to the divine.<sup>665</sup>

A stench, by contrast, hinted at a demonic presence and was therefore also discussed in trials against witches and wizards. For example, the *Hammer of Witches*, a central document in the history of European witch hunts, reports the arrest of a suspected wizard where bailiffs were inhibited by physical and olfactory obstacles:

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662 CLASSEN: *The Senses* (see n. 115), 356.

663 CLASSEN/HOWES/SYNNOTT: *Aroma* (see n. 661), 54.

664 CONSTANCE CLASSEN: *The Color of Angels: Cosmology, Gender, and the Aesthetic Imagination*, London and New York 1998, 36.

665 BARBARA BAERT: “An Odour. A Taste. A Touch. Impossible to Describe”: *Noli me tangere and the Senses*, in: WIETSE DE BOER/CHRISTINE GÖTTLER (eds.): *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden and Boston 2013, 111–151, here 145.

“So when a judge named Peter, who was already mentioned above, wanted to have a wizard named *Stadlin* captured by his bailiffs, their hands trembled so much, and such an awful stench penetrated their noses that they almost despaired [of] whether they should dare to detain the wizard.”<sup>666</sup>

The stench, which the bailiffs smelled according to the description in the *Hammer of Witches*, was thus regarded by them as a warning. They took the terrifying smell so seriously as a threat that they considered not arresting him. Only after the judge encouraged them, assuring them that the suspect would lose his magical powers in the hands of the judiciary, did they arrest him. Of course, it should be kept in mind here that this is a narrative that served specific purposes. However, it can be assumed that this narrative topos must have seemed plausible to the reading public, otherwise it probably would not have been used.

The French case of the possessed nuns of Loudun, which shall conclude the short introduction into the early modern worlds of smell, shows the whole range of olfactory possibilities in the spiritual area. Jeanne des Anges (1606–1665), a nun and later abbess of the Ursuline Convent of Loudun, describes her development from a possessed person to a saint in her memoirs (1642). She associates the presence of demons again and again with a stench. By contrast, the later miracles – a few drops of miraculous oil on her shirt and the letters of the names Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, which appeared on her hand and regularly reappeared after fading – are connected with a pleasant smell. The miraculous reappearance of the names is described by her as follows:

“Sometimes, when the letters reappear, very pleasant scents waft through the air, not only in the choir of the church, but sometimes throughout the building. The letters themselves are perfumed and pour out an odor similar to that which comes from the unction; which instills much reverence in the persons who perceive the smell and convinces them that this reappearance is produced by divine power.”<sup>667</sup>

It is the pleasant smell that convinces those present that the reappearance of the letters is a divine miracle. The sense of smell was thus an important indication of a divine or demonic presence for early modern Christians. The *foetor judaicus* can also be included in this view of smell. It is not for

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666 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Als daher ein Richter mit Namen Petrus, der auch schon oben erwähnt worden ist, einen Zauberer mit Namen *Stadlin*, durch seine Diener gefangennehmen lassen wollte, befel ihre Hände ein so starkes Zittern, und in die Nasen drang ein so übler Gestank, daß sie beinahe [daran] verzweifelt wären, ob sie es wagen sollten, auf den Zauberer loszugehen.” Heinrich KRAMER (INSTITORIS): *Der Hexenhammer: Malleus Maleficarum: Kommentierte Neuübersetzung*, 9th ed., Munich 2011, 351.

667 Translation from the German translation by Helmut Werner: Jeanne des ANGES: *Ich war die Teufelin von Loudun: Die Memoiren einer Besessenen*, Vienna 2008, 213; “Il arrive quelques fois que, du renouvellement de ces caractères, il se répand des odeurs très-suaves qui se répandent dans le chœur de notre église et quelques fois dans toute la maison. [...] Ces mesmes caractères sont parfumés et jettent une odeur très-suave semblable à celle qui sort de l’unction, ce qui cause beaucoup de dévotion aux personnes qui ressentent cette odeur, ce qui les persuade que ce renouvellement se fait par une vertu divine.” Jeanne des ANGES: *Autobiographie d’une hystérique possédée*, Paris 1886, URL: [ark:/13960/t7dr3mz3m](http://ark:/13960/t7dr3mz3m) (visited on 27/02/2019), 206.



nothing that Joshua Trachtenberg also sees the association of Jews with the devil in the accusation of the *foetor judaicus*.<sup>668</sup>

However, it should also be noted here that the scope for interpreting religious dimensions of smell was far more complex. In the spirit of a Christian critique of luxury and decadence and the idea of asceticism, dirt and stench could be interpreted in hagiographic texts as expressions of humility and compassion, while a perfumed pleasant smell could be interpreted, by contrast, as an indication of sinful luxury.<sup>669</sup> The pleasant smell and stench cannot therefore be unambiguously assigned, but are used in different ways depending on the context. In general, however, smell seems to have been regarded as an essential indicator for the clash of the earthly and divine – and thus also demonic – spheres.<sup>670</sup>

Smell also played a considerable role in the medical field. Three aspects in particular need to be emphasized here. In the therapeutic field, smells were deliberately used for healing, whereby it was partly assumed that the fragrances would have to be varied and adapted depending on the fluid constellation present.<sup>671</sup> At the same time, smells were considered to be the cause of disease, as can be clearly seen in the miasma theory developed in the Early Modern Era. And smell could be involved in medical diagnostics as a symptom of disease or in the form of a test. For diagnostic purposes, Michael McVaugh<sup>672</sup> was able to demonstrate that, at the turn of the 13th to 14th century, surgeons teaching and writing in France consciously described the perception of smell as a means of distinguishing between a simple ulcer and cancer. Jennifer Evans<sup>673</sup> showed in turn that certain fragrances were used to check female fertility. Below, the theological and medical arguments employed for the motif of the *foetor judaicus* will be analyzed.

## 4.2 The *foetor judaicus* and the “Pagan Stench”

### 4.2.1 Antique Precursors

Juan de Quiñones, whose *Memorial* was already discussed at length in the chapter on “Jewish male” menstruation, links the accusation of menstruation to the motif of the *foetor judaicus* as follows:

“Very prominent authors say that the body of many Jews smells to a great extent, perhaps because of the disgusting source [Quiñones is probably alluding here to the blood flow he

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668 Joshua TRACHTENBERG: *The Devil and the Jews*, Philadelphia and Jerusalem 1993 (first edition 1943), 48.

669 In this regard, see also Jonathan REINARZ: *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives and Smell*, Urbana 2014, 45–49.

670 *Ibidem*, 19.

671 See Richard PALMER: *In Bad Odour: Smell and its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, in: William F. BYNUM/Roy PORTER (eds.): *Medicine and the Five Senses: Based on a Symposium on Medicine and the Five Senses*, held at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine on 11–12 June 1987, Cambridge 1993, 61–68, here 63.

672 Michael R. McVAUGH: *Smells and the Medieval Surgeon*, in: *I cinque sensi/The Five Senses*, *Micrologus* X (2002), 113–132, here 115.

673 Jennifer EVANS: *Female Barrenness, Bodily Access and Aromatic Treatments in Seventeenth-Century England*, in: *Historical Research* 87 (2014), 423–443, here 431.

analyzed beforehand]. Although there are also ones who say that those who brought about the death of Christ bear the stench, and those who called out ‘May his blood be on us, etc.’ bear the blood; and so Martial and Marcellinus said they were stinky and had a bad smell [...].”<sup>674</sup>

For Quiñones, the assumed stench could thus be a consequence of “Jewish male” menstruation. Here, he explicitly brings into play the factor of disgust, which Alexandra Cuffel also identifies as an essential characteristic for the religious polemics in the three revealed religions during the Middle Ages. According to her, certain themes, which are additionally linked to the female body, have been in the foreground since Antiquity:

“The stench, excrement, generative fluids (especially menstruation), matter, poison, disfiguring disease, lack of emotional control, and decay were all intertwined in late antique scientific and religious literature and closely connected to the woman’s body.”<sup>675</sup>

With the motifs of menstruation and stench, Quiñones thus taps into a long tradition of religious polemics, although he pursues the approach of transferring these to the New Christian body, especially to the Converso body. In addition to his assumption that the stench is a consequence of menstruation, he also refers to a second theory in which the stigmata of stench and menstruation are each assigned to different groups involved in the crucifixion of Christ. Accordingly, the blood flow is the characteristic feature of those who accepted the blood curse (Matt. 27.25), as already discussed at length in the previous chapter. But the stench is assigned to those who promoted the condemnation of Christ. These attributions can thus be classified in the tradition of the anti-Jewish legends of curses to which the various Jewish tribes who witnessed the crucifixion of Christ were to fall victim. They are mentioned by Francisco de Torejoncillo and Jaime Pérez de Valencia, among others, whereby the former also refers to the motif of the *foetor judaicus* in this context.<sup>676</sup>

The two ancient sources, passages from Martial (40–104 CE) and from Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–c. 395), which Quiñones also cites, are classic quotations that have been repeatedly used in the debate about the *foetor judaicus*, so it is worth taking a closer look at them.

One is an epigram (IV.4) by the Roman poet Martial, who wants to describe the stench of a woman named Bassa by listing various bad smells to conclude the poem with the comment that he would rather stink than smell like her. A Bassa also appears in another epigram by Martial (I.90), in which he criticizes her sexuality and accuses her of adultery with women and raises this accusation as a question.

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674 “Autores muy graues dizen, que à muchos Iudios les hiede el cuerpo en grande extremo, acaso deste manantial asqueroso, si bien ay quien diga, que el hedor le tienen los que procuraron la muerte a Christo: y la sangre los que clamaron, su sangre sobre nosotros, &c. y assi los llamaron hediondos, y de mal olor Marcial, y Marcelino [...]” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 7v–8r.

675 Alexandra CUFFEL: Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic, *Notre Dame* 2007, 32.

676 TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 169; PÉREZ DE VALENCIA: Iacobus de Valentia in Psal. Davidicos (see n. 519), 279v–281r.

In research, there are two theories on Bassa’s sexuality. On the one hand, it is assumed that Martial accuses Bassa because of her lesbian tendencies.<sup>677</sup> On the other, it is assumed that Martial alludes to Bassa’s intersexuality in his epigram.<sup>678</sup> If both of Martial’s epigrams are directed at the same Bassa, it can be presumed that the stench the poet ascribed to her is used to discredit her sexuality, a bad smell, so to speak, as an expression of a false sexuality. Rosario Moreno Soldevila’s interpretation also tends in this direction, when she refers, in her commentary on the fourth book, to the link between oral sex and bad breath in Martial: “Bassa is a *fellatrix*. Halitosis, especially as a result of oral sex, is a common theme in Martial’s epigrams.”<sup>679</sup> Incidentally, other body odors are also attributed to a Bassa. Accordingly, epigram IV.87<sup>680</sup> involves Bassa’s flatulence.

Among the bad smells that Martial includes, he also lists the smell of fasting Jews, a “quod ieiunia sabbatariorum [...] oles,”<sup>681</sup> in his epigram that is composed in the context of the *foetor judaicus* motif. Today’s source editions, by contrast, speak of the smell of fasting Jewish women, that is, “quod ieiunia sabbatariarum.”<sup>682</sup> Moreno Soldevila suspects that Martial originally used the female form because the entire epigram is characterized by a misogynistic tone. She also refers to Menahem Stern, who suspects women’s special attraction to Judaism as a background for the use of the feminine.<sup>683</sup> Here it appears questionable what the basis was for women’s greater attraction to Judaism in Antiquity or what sources could be used to prove such an attraction. The idea that women were more drawn to Judaism than men could certainly have been widespread in Antiquity, however. Since it was a common idea in the Early Modern Period that women cling more strongly to Judaism than men, one could consider whether such thoughts were already circulating in Antiquity. The passage in *Discurso contra los judíos*, for example, states that Judaism exerts a special fascination on women precisely because of its ceremonies.<sup>684</sup> It would also be conceivable that Martial explicitly speaks of Jewish women since bad breath probably represented a greater taboo for women. Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), for example, provides an indication of the correctness of this assumption in his educational poem titled *Ars amatoria*, in which he gives women tips on how to hide their external blemishes from men and recommends the following with regard to bad breath:

“She whose breath is tainted should never speak before eating, and she should always stand

677 Judith P. HALLETT: Female Homoeroticism and the Denial of Roman Reality in Latin Literature, in: Judith P. HALLETT/Marilyn B. SKINNER (eds.): *Roman Sexualities*, Princeton 1997, 255–273, here 262–263.

678 Diana M. SWANCUTT: Still before Sexuality: “Greek” Androgyny, the Roman Imperial Politics of Masculinity and the Roman Invention of the Tribas, in: Todd PENNER/Caroline VANDER STICHELE (eds.): *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses*, Leiden 2007, 11–61, here 43–44.

679 Rosario MORENO SOLDEVILA: *Martial, Book IV: A commentary*, Leiden and Boston 2006.

680 Marcus Valerius MARTIALIS: *Epigramme: Lateinisch–Deutsch*, Düsseldorf and Zürich 1999, 318–319.

681 Marcus Valerius MARTIALIS: *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammatum libri XV: Laurentii Ramirez de Prado hispani, novis commentariis illustrati*, Paris: Apud Michaelem Sonnum, 1607, 92; Marcus Valerius MARTIALIS: *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammaton Libri XII*, Dilinga [Dillingen] 1660, 104.

682 MARTIALIS: *Epigramme* (see n. 680), 254.

683 “The reading *sabbatariarum*, implying women fasting on the Shabbat, seems justified in view of the special attraction that the Jewish religion had for women [...]” Menahem STERN: *Greek and Latin Authors of Jews and Judaism I: From Herodotus to Plutarch*, Jerusalem 1976, 524.

684 COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), 221.

at a distance from her lover's face.”<sup>685</sup>

The connection to fasting or the sober stomach can also be found in this Roman poet, which inspired Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado († 1658), an early modern commentator on Martial, to explicitly refer to this Ovid quotation. The female form *sabbatariarum* does not play a role for him. Here we find the term *sabbatariorum*, by which the male Jews, i.e. *Iudæi*, are understood.<sup>686</sup> Bassa could also appear as a man in the Early Modern Era. This is how Isaac Cardoso talks about the man Basso, who Martial made fun of because of his “dirty sin”: “Martial scorns a man named Basso in his epigrams because of his dirty and awkward sin [...]”<sup>687</sup> By dirty and awkward sin, *pecado sucio y torpe*, Cardoso generally refers to a violation of sexual morality. With regard to the common interpretation of the passage, it can be assumed that he is referring to adultery.

Another point of discussion in today's interpretation was not relevant for the early modern commentators on Martial: the connection between fasting and the Shabbat in the verse. Since the Shabbat is not a day of fasting, this connection in today's research is interpreted as an expression of ignorance or as a misinterpretation of Jewish religious practice.<sup>688</sup> Besides, one tries to find explanations, such as, for example, that the alleged fasting on the Shabbat refers to the abstention from work.<sup>689</sup> Since Martial connects fasting and smell in particular with each other here, this explanation seems less sensible. Moreover, in my opinion, Martial makes no statement that Jews fast on the Shabbat. He uses the Shabbat celebration to describe Jews, and it has no direct connection with fasting. This is also what Ramirez de Prado writes in his commentary: “The term Shabbaters is understood to mean Jews who followed fasting more piously than other peoples, and because they observe the Shabbat, they are called Shabbaters.”<sup>690</sup>

In contrast to discussions in today's research on the question of the feminine and the connection between fasting and the Shabbat, the early modern commentator concentrated on the motif of the *foetor iudaicus*, which he sees as the subject here: “And the Ancients were convinced that Jews smelled bad by nature, so they were called stinky.”<sup>691</sup> To support his assertion, he relies on passages from Ammianus Marcellinus and Venantius Fortunatus (before 540–c. 600). So here the statement that Jews smell bad by nature is interpreted as a statement already known in Antiquity. In the case of Martial's verse, however, this assertion must be viewed critically since the smell he mentions is not a genuinely Jewish phenomenon. The cause of the smell can be found in the practice of fasting,

685 “Cui gravis oris odor numquam ieiunia loquatur

Et semper spatio distet ab ore viri” (III.277–278).

OVID: *Ars Amatoria*, trans. by J. H. MOZLEY/G. P. GOOLD, vol. 232, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1929, 136–137.

686 MARTIALIS: *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammatum libri XV* (see n. 681), 298.

687 “Martial en sus agudos Epigramas pica à un hombre llamado Basso del pecado sucio, y torpe [...]” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 339.

688 See STERN: *Greek and Latin Authors of Jews and Judaism I* (see n. 683), 521 and MORENO SOLDEVILA: *Martial, Book IV* (see n. 679), 118.

689 *Ibidem*, 118.

690 “*Sabbatariorum* nomine, Iudæos intelligit, qui religiosius quàm reliquæ gentes ieiunia observabant, & quod Sabbathum colerent Sabbatarij dicti sunt.” MARTIALIS: *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammatum libri XV* (see n. 681), 298.

691 “Eratque persuasum antiquis Iudæos sua natura malè olere, ideò foetentes appellabantur.” *Ibidem*, 298.

which leads to bad breath.<sup>692</sup> Martial, in turn, assigns fasting to Jews since he apparently sees in this a practice typical for the Jewish faith.

In Ammianus Marcellinus, by contrast, it can be seen that he wants Marcus Aurelius to be considered hostile towards Jews in his Roman history. The Roman historiographer starts by describing Emperor Julian’s tactics in negotiations with Christians. The latter, who went down in history with the epithet the Apostate, had at first converted to Christianity, but then returned to the pagan faith and strongly criticized Christians. By contrast, he was positively disposed towards Judaism, while Christians were soon regarded as lost dissidents of the Jewish faith. Ammianus Marcellinus describes, in the 22nd book, how Julian preached freedom of religion and mutual tolerance to Christians in order to make sure that there were disagreements among Christians so that he did not have to fear the unanimity of the whole population, “non timeret unanimitatem postea plebem.”<sup>693</sup> In his address to the Christians, he often quoted his role model Marcus Aurelius. Ammianus now argues that the words of Marcus Aurelius are not necessarily compatible with Julian’s religious beliefs and politics. He probably aims at Julian’s Jew-friendly attitude. To prove this incompatibility, he cites another statement by Marcus Aurelius, in which Aurelius denounces the rebellious underlying attitude of Jews:

“[...] thinking that in this he was imitating a saying of the earlier emperor Marcus. But he did not observe that the two cases were very different. For Marcus, as he was passing through Palestine on his way to Egypt, being often disgusted with the malodorous and rebellious Jews, is reported to have cried: ‘O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatians, at last I have found a people more unruly than you’” (XXII.5,5).<sup>694</sup>

Causing unrest or the noisy behavior which Jews were accused of seems to be closely linked to the motif of the stench, although Wolfgang Seyfarth refrains from including the motif of the stench in the German translation.<sup>695</sup> However, it is also not certain whether the text of the original was actually speaking of *foetentium* or rather of *petentium*, i.e. the soliciting Jews. But this question is irrelevant for the further history of reception because the medieval and early modern commentators used the quotation as an argument for the *foetor judaicus*. Although Ammianus Marcellinus uses the statement by Marcus Aurelius to denounce his anti-Semitic attitude and to contrast it with Julian’s, the quotation, removed from its original context, was used instead in reception as evidence that the motif of the *foetor judaicus* was already common in Antiquity.

Cornelius Mutschmann, who addresses the religious policy of Marcus Aurelius in his dissertation, emphasizes that the statement about the “malodorous and rebellious Jews” does not appear in direct

692 In this regard, see also Cornelius MOTSCHMANN: Die Religionspolitik Marc Aurels, Stuttgart 2002, 209.

693 AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS: Römische Geschichte: Lateinisch-Deutsch, trans. by Wolfgang SEYFARTH, vol. 3, Berlin 1970, 16.

694 “[...] imitari putans Marci principis ueteris dictum. sed parum aduertit hoc ab eo nimium discrepare. ille enim cum Palaestinam transiret / Aegyptum petens, Iudaeorum fetentium et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus dolenter dicitur exclamasse: ‘O Marcomanni, o Quadi, o Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni’” (XXII.5,5). Ammianus MARCELLINUS: History II, vol. 315, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge 1939, 204–205.

695 AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS: Römische Geschichte (see n. 693), 16–17.

discourse. He concludes that this passage is to be attributed more to the author Ammianus than to Marcus Aurelius.<sup>696</sup> From the perspective of content, however, this seems less plausible. Ammianus wants to highlight the contrast between Julian and Marcus Aurelius here and discredit the latter with his anti-Semitic attitude. If he himself were to approve of a defamation of Jews, his criticism of Marcus Aurelius and his juxtaposing him to Julian would be moot. It seems more likely to me that Ammianus, when he speaks of “malodorous and rebellious Jews,” wants to reflect the perspective of Marcus Aurelius in this way. It is difficult to make a statement about Marcus Aurelius’s actual attitude towards Jews on the basis of this passage because Ammianus merely uses Marcus Aurelius as a contrast foil for Julian’s position and politics. That Marcus Aurelius might have considered Jews to be rebellious, as Motschmann argues, could, however, be traced back to his memories of the Bar Kokhba revolt, which he experienced at the age of fourteen, and his experiences gained from Cassius’s uprising.<sup>697</sup> Against this background, Marcus Aurelius’s critical view of Jews would be quite conceivable.

How the motif was interpreted on the Christian side can be seen in the third, often quoted passage, which comes from the pen of Venantius Fortunatus, the Bishop of Poitiers (before 540–c. 600). His poem is based on the event of the forced conversion of over 500 Jews in the Auvergne by Bishop Avitus of Clermont in 576. In solemn commemoration of this incident, Gregory of Tours commissioned Venantius Fortunatus to write the poem.<sup>698</sup> The Bishop of Poitiers describes the effectiveness of the sacrament of baptism in the poem as follows:

“The Jewish smell is washed away by divine baptism  
and a new lineage emerges from the water.  
The victorious smell exudes ambrosial scents in a lovely spiritual breath,  
when the Chrism is poured over one’s head.”<sup>699</sup>

Here it is possible to clearly see the motif of *foetor judaicus*, which is set in contrast to baptism and ointment oil. Thus the power and meaning of the sacrament of baptism is skillfully staged by the author through its ability to eradicate the “Jewish smell.” The 1603 edition shows that the attention of the Jesuit editor Christopher Brouwer (1559–1617)<sup>700</sup> concentrated on this contrast since he considered this passage worthy of a gloss and used the term *foetor judaicus* in it. Thus, the motif, in all its meaning and according to its Christian interpretation, can be found for the first time on the threshold from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages.

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696 MOTSCHMANN: Die Religionspolitik Marc Aurels (see n. 692), 208.

697 Ibidem, 205, 210–212.

698 See Isabel MOREIRA: Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul, Ithaca 2000, 101.

699 “[A]bluitur Iudaeus odor baptisate divo  
et nova progenies reddita surgit aquis.  
vincens ambrosios suavi spiramine rores  
vertice perfuso chrismatis efflat odor.”

Venantius FORTUNATUS: Opera Poetica. MGH Auct. ant. 4.1, Berlin 1881, III.

700 Venantius FORTUNATUS: Venantii Honorii Clementiani Fortunati... Carminum, epistolarum & expositionum: Libri XI, Moguntiae [Mainz]: Balthasarus Lippius, 1603, 125.

Juan de Quiñones also refers to this passage from Fortunatus and emphasizes the importance of the sacrament of baptism as an eradicating force for the stigma of smell. However, he points out afterwards: “And when they return to the vomit like dogs, it [the smell] accompanies them again and appears as it did before.”<sup>701</sup> It is not the power of baptism itself that is called into question, but the firmness of faith in the person to be baptized, whose risk of relapse is not very flatteringly illustrated by the comparison with a dog. The picture of the return to vomit is, by the way, already found in the canons<sup>702</sup> of the Visigoth Synod of Agde (506), which took place under the leadership of Caesarius of Arles.<sup>703</sup> Canon 34 stipulated that Jews who wanted to convert to Christianity should first go through an eight-month catechumenate before being admitted for baptism. Exceptions should only be granted in the case of serious illness. The reason given for the duration of the preparation period, which was longer than in the case of pagans, was the great risk of a relapse into the old faith. Accordingly, the canon begins with the words: “Jews, whose perfidiousness often leads them back to vomit when they consider joining the Catholic faith [...]”<sup>704</sup> Here the image of vomit is already put forth, with the disloyalty attributed to Jews, their *perfidia*, playing an essential role. By the way, this legal regulation hardly found any echo in everyday life. This is due, on the one hand, to the rigid anti-Jewish politics of the time, which, among other things, operated with forced conversions, and, on the other, to the fact that only very few Jews in the Early Middle Ages were interested in conversion to Christianity.<sup>705</sup>

In addition to the passage from Venantius Fortunatus that Quiñones took up, Israel Lévi (1856–1939), French Grand Rabbi and founder of the journal *Revue des études juives*, points to another passage in it, which deals with the “Jewish smell” and precedes the one quoted first in the poem.<sup>706</sup> Lévi, by the way, clearly understands the Venantius Fortunatus passages, in their original version, as metaphors, which were only reinterpreted later, among others by the Trier Jesuit Brouwer, as a *foetor judaicus* motif:

“The population of Auvergne was torn apart by the divisive turmoil.  
They lived together in one city, but they were not one in faith.  
The Christians recoiled from the sharp Jewish smell.  
and an impious pile confronted the pious, the saints.”<sup>707</sup>

701 “Y si como perros bueluen al vomito, les acompaña y repite como antes [...]” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 8v.

702 The word canon originally comes from the Greek κανών and stands, among other things, for a measuring rod or guideline. Before the emergence of canon law in the 12th century, the decisions of the various synods were summarized in canons and compared with each other.

703 See Israel LÉVI: Le juif de la légende, in: *Revue des études juives* 20 (1890), 249–252, here 250.

704 “Judæi quorum perfidia frequenter ad vomitum redit, si ad legem catholicam venire voluerint [...]” Joannes Dominicus MANSI (ed.): *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 8, Graz 1960 (reprint of the edition Paris 1901), 329.

705 See Peter BROWE: *Die Judenmission im Mittelalter und die Päpste*, Rom 1973, 140–142.

706 LÉVI: *Le juif de la légende* (see n. 703), 249–252.

707 “[P]lebs Arverna etenim, bifido discissa tumultu, urbe manens una, non erat una fide.

Christicolis Iudæus odor resilibat amarus

Lévi sees this multiple recurrence on the motif of smell as an indication that, for the poet Fortunatus, it primarily served the purpose of a stylistic device. There is no certainty as to how the two passages are to be interpreted. There is no question, however, that in the early modern interpretation they were by no means understood as pure metaphors, but as reality, and contributed significantly to the topos of the *foetor judaicus*.

#### 4.2.2 Medieval Precursors

In the Middle Ages, the contrast between the motifs of the sacrament of baptism and the *foetor judaicus* expanded even further. A classic reference is a story from the miracle reports, the *Dialogus miraculorum*, of Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–c. 1240).<sup>708</sup> In the *Dialogus*, the Cistercian reports of a Jewish girl who converted to Christianity and hid from her parents behind the walls of the convent of Vrouwenpark (Parc-les-Dames). The miracle report says:

“But when the Jew, accompanied by his friends and relatives reached the convent, the maiden, who was established there, though she knew nothing of his coming, began to perceive a very evil odour, so that she said openly: ‘I do not know whence it comes, but an odour as of Jews is troubling me.’ Meanwhile the Jews were knocking at the window; and the abbess, as I believe, said to the girl: ‘Daughter Catharine,’ for so she had been named at her baptism, ‘your parents wish to see you!’ She replied, ‘That explains the odour I perceived!; I will not see them’; and she refused to leave the house” (II.25).<sup>709</sup>

Strictly speaking, this report contains two miracles at once, even if only one is explicitly mentioned and described in detail by the author. On the one hand, the young girl was washed so clean by receiving the sacrament of baptism that even she – as a new Christian convert – is able to perceive the “Jewish smell.” In the text she even uses the term *foetor judaicus* herself. On the other hand, however, this again implicitly refers to the miracle of baptism, which is so powerful that it completely eradicates the same smell of the young convert. Finally, the ability to sense the *foetor judaicus* – “foetor quem sensi,” as Catharine says – presupposes the eradication of such in the baptized person. The power of baptism is underlined by the fact that this sacrament not only eradicates the smell of unbelief in the truest sense of the word, but also then enables a former non-believer to perceive this smell on others.

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obstabatque piis impia turba sacris.”

FORTUNATUS: *Opera Poetica*. MGH Auct. ant. 4.1 (see n. 699), 108.

708 In this regard, also see CLUSE: *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden* (see n. 375), 318–320.

709 English translation from the German translation by Nikolaus Nösges/Horst Schneider: Caesarius von HEISTERBACH: *Dialogus Miraculorum: Dialog über die Wunder I*, trans. by Nikolaus NÖSGES/Horst SCHNEIDER, vol. 86,1, *Fontes Christiani*, Turnhout 2009, 107–108; “Veniente vero Judaeo ad iam fatum ceonobium cum amicis et cognatis suis, virgo infra constituta, cum de illorum adventu prorsus nil sciret, sentire coepit foetorem magnum, ita ut palam diceret: ‘Nescio unde sit, foetor Judaicus me gravat.’ Interim Judaeis pulsantibus ad fenestram, cum puellae diceret Abbatissa, ut puto: ‘Filia Katherina’, sic enim vocata fuit in baptismo, ‘parentes tui volunt te videre’; respondit illa: ‘Ecce iste est foetor quem sensi. Non videbo illos.’ Et non acquievit exire” (II.25). *Ibidem*, 107–108.



In another miracle report from the 14th century,<sup>710</sup> which has been preserved in manuscript form at the French National Library, it is furthermore reported that in turn the smell of a converted child could also be perceived by Jewish parents as a stench. While herding sheep, a Jewish boy is questioned by Christians and led to be baptized. In the evening he returns home and his parents react as follows:

“And when he returned in the evening, the Hebrew [the converted boy] sat at home with his parents, who were engulfed by an immense smell. And since they did not know where such a smell came from, they closed everything, thinking that it came from Christians [...].”<sup>711</sup>

The parents determine the cause of the Christian smell or stench, *foetor*, in the course of the narrative to be their own son who confesses to them that he was baptized. They then bribe the bath attendant and have the boy thrown into the oven of the bathhouse. When the bishop comes to bathe, he finds the water extremely cold. The bath attendant claims to have used more wood than usual. In the end, he admits what happened to the bishop and when they open the oven, they find the boy safe and sound. He reports a female figure in purple who extinguished the flames, “qui dicebat se formam mulieris purpurate vidisse que flammam extinguebat,”<sup>712</sup> and was identified as the Virgin Mary.

The scent of baptism, which is usually described as a pleasant smell in the Christian context, is perceived as strange and stinky by the Jewish parents in this variant of the miracle report. Thus, the unknown author of this version seems to refer to the cultural roots of sensual perceptions. At the same time, this episode serves him primarily to explain how Jewish parents could become aware of their child’s conversion. The baptism manifests itself physically, so to speak, in the form of a smell from the Jewish boy.

Basically, the combination of a pleasant smell and baptism or stench and unbelief seems to be central in the religious argumentation for the motif of the *foetor judaicus* in the Middle Ages. The metaphors are now, at the latest, attributed a historical reality for illustration purposes, to which Cluse already refers in his work when he discusses the genre of medieval sermon collections: “An essential characteristic of the genre is at the same time that its authors (and the preachers who used them) published the story as historical facts. It is no coincidence that in the late Middle Ages the boundaries between edifying and historiographical text types were mixed up [...].”<sup>713</sup> This integration into a biographical story assumed to be real enables the metaphor of the *foetor judaicus* to leave the sphere of the purely fictitious.

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710 In this regard, see Adolfo MUSSAFIA: Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden, vol. 3, Vienna 1889, 25.

711 “Et tunc reversus cetera hora vespertina hebreus domi sedebat cum parentibus suis qui immenso odore sunt repleti et nescientes unde tantus odor procederet clausurunt omnia cogitantes quod ii christianis procederent [...].” BNF: [Miracula b. Marie et exempla varia] (ab Fol. 200), URL: [ark:/12148/btv1b90667378](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63862-p0111-9) (visited on 27/02/2019), 209r.

712 Ibidem, 209r.

713 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Ein wesentliches Kennzeichen der Gattung ist zugleich, daß ihre Autoren (und die sie benutzenden Prediger) das Erzählte als historische Fakten ausgaben. Nicht zufällig werden daher im Spätmittelalter die Grenzen zwischen erbaulichen und historiographischen Textsorten vermischt [...].” CLUSE: Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in den mittelalterlichen Niederlanden (see n. 375), 317–318.

But the motif of the *foetor judaicus* is not only found in the context of baptism and conversion. It is also associated with the accusation of ritual murder, e.g. in the report on Simon of Trent by Johannes Matthias Tiberinus († c. 1482), which is also mentioned in the treatise by Quiñones. Tiberinus says:

“[...] all [the Jews present] understood in silence that he [Samuel] spoke of the sacrificed Christian whom they slaughter atrociously in contempt of our Lord Jesus Christ, and when they feed on the drained blood in their unleavened bread, they protect themselves, through Christian blood, from the stench of which they stink terribly. They call this their *ioel*, which means celebration.”<sup>714</sup>

The drinking of Christian blood is said to eradicate the *foetor judaicus*. In their interpretation of the passage cited, Gerónimo de Huerta and Quiñones, who copies this part word-for-word from Huerta, describe the blood therefore as a kind of medication to cure the stench: “[...] since that bloody liqueur is a medication for it [the strong smell][...]”<sup>715</sup> The blood libel legends also have a connection to baptism because the ritual murder, according to Thomas of Cantimpré, is based on a Jewish misinterpretation: They should be redeemed from their suffering through Christ’s blood, that is, the blood of Christ, in the form of baptism, but they misunderstood this as the blood of Christians.<sup>716</sup>

The quoted passage from Tiberinus is, by the way, wrongly attributed by Huerta and then Quiñones to the Cistercian bishop Otto of Freising (c. 1114–1158). The corresponding reference, which they cite in the text or, in the case of Quiñones, in the gloss, refers to another story, in which smell and baptism are closely linked, but not in connection with the motif of the *foetor judaicus*. In his chronicle, Otto of Freising mentions a legation of the Armenian bishops who turned to the Pope and affirmed their interest in the Roman rite. One of their bishops noticed a miraculous appearance during a Eucharist and therefore felt strengthened in his decision to conform to the Roman rite. At the end of this story, it is stated:

“The mentioned bishop [the one who saw the miracle] also reported that there were some peoples in the vicinity of Armenia where the newborn stink; they would be brought immediately to the Armenian waters for bathing; the Armenians removed their innate bad smell by washing them with the water of baptism; but as soon as they were sent home, they returned

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714 “[...] taciti omnes intellexerunt quod de immolando chistiano loquebatur quem in contemptum domini nostri Iesu Christi mactant atrociter & exhausto sanguine uescentes in azimis suis a foetore quo grauiter olent christiano se cruore præsruant. hunc quod suum appellant ioel id est iubileum.” Johannes Matthias TIBERINUS: *Passio beati Simonis gewidmet Raphael Zovenzonius*, Trient 04.04. [1475], [Venice] [after 1475], URL: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00058112-0 (visited on 27/02/2019), s.p.

715 “[...] siendo medicamento para el aquel cruento licor [...]” HUERTA: *Problemas filosóficos* (see n. 578), 13v-14r; QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General* (see n. 85), 8v.

716 CANTIMPRÉ: *Bonum universale de apibus* (see n. 390), 304–305; German translation in: EDER: *Die “Deggendorfer Gnad”* (see n. 390), 66–67; in this regard, see also chapter 3.3 “*Jewish Male*” *Blood Flow in the Middle Ages*.

again to the customs and impurity of paganism. They now also asked the Roman Church if this could continue to happen.”<sup>717</sup>

Pagan rites and practices are blamed here for the innate smell of the children of nearby peoples. Baptismal water, by contrast, is capable of eradicating this smell without baptism. However, it is also made clear that this purifying power of baptismal water is not permanent without a conversion to Christianity and in a return to paganism. A bad smell can also become an indication of apostasy. A special case in this context can be found in the miracle legends about the holy spring in the garden of Matarieh near Cairo, which are therefore worth examining in more detail.

### 4.2.3 A Special Case: The Holy Spring of Matarieh

The garden of Matarieh, which became famous because of its miraculous spring and because of its balsam tree plants and its mulberry fig tree, was a popular theme in early modern travel literature.<sup>718</sup> But the spring was already known before because Burchardus de Monte Sion, a German Dominican monk, who probably traveled the Holy Land between 1271 and 1285, also reported on this place in his work titled *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. The Virgin Mary, on her journey through Egypt as she fled from Herod, is said to have cleaned both the baby Jesus and his clothes several times in the spring water. Burchard asserts that the garden is venerated by Christians and Muslims alike.<sup>719</sup>

His image of the Muslims, whom he calls Saracens, as was customary at the time, is quite positive. He emphasizes that they recognize Jesus as a prophet and Mary as his mother. He even claims that they accept Jesus as the Son of God, but deny his suffering and death. However, he describes the Muslims – both women and men – as libidinalists. Since he regards this supposed sexual freedom as a vice, he considers the Muslims to be impure.<sup>720</sup> Against the background of the Crusades, the themes of sexual freedom as well as excessive violence emerged as the usual topoi of Christian polemics with regard to Muslims. And also the Muslim polemics against the Christian crusaders aimed at the areas of sexual misconduct and violence.<sup>721</sup> Burchard’s reference, which can hardly be reconciled with the rest of his description, is thus probably owed to this literary tradition of Christian polemics. Furthermore, he describes Muslims as very hospitable, polite, charitable, fair and keeping their promises.<sup>722</sup> As for the spring, Burchard points out that it is not only revered by

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<sup>717</sup> English translation from the German translation by Adolf Schmidt: Otto von FREISING: *Chronik oder die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*, Darmstadt 1961, 556–557; “Retulit etiam prefatus episcopus, quod in confinio Armeniae quaedam gentes essent, quae fetus suos fetentes generarent eosque statim ad aquas Armeniorum lavandos transmitterent; quos illo baptismatis unda tingentes innatum eis fetorem propellerent, mox tamen remissi paganismi ritum et spurciciam redirent. Quod utrum faciendum esset, item Romanam ecclesiam consuluerunt.” Ibidem, 556–557.

<sup>718</sup> In this regard, see Jean-Pierre ALBERT: *Odeurs de sainteté: La mythologie chrétienne des aromates*, Paris 1990, 131–155.

<sup>719</sup> Burchardus de MONTE SION: *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, et regionum finitimarum, Magdeburgi [Magdeburg]*: Kirchner, 1587, URL: [urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10985617-1](http://nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10985617-1) (visited on 27/02/2019), Pars 2, Cap. III, s.p.

<sup>720</sup> Ibidem, Pars 2, Cap. II, § 3.

<sup>721</sup> CUFFEL: *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (see n. 675), 145–149.

<sup>722</sup> “[...] sunt tamen hospitales multum, & curiales & benefici, iusti & in promissis fideles.” MONTE SION: *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, et regionum finitimarum* (see n. 719), Pars 2, Cap. II, § 3.

both religious communities, but is also actively used:

“Saracens and Christians wash themselves equally [in the spring]. The Saracens, who have the worst stench from which they can purify themselves only if they are baptized, and especially in that spring; therefore, they baptize themselves and their children, not to obtain the power of the sacrament, but to eliminate the stench.”<sup>723</sup>

Burchard certainly describes the washing of Muslims as baptism, but at the same time emphasizes that it is not based on religious conviction, but solely on the desire to eliminate their innate bad smell. Despite the lack of faith, this method seems to be of lasting success. In any case, there is no mention of a return of the smell. It should be assumed that this constellation in Burchard is derived from the special quality of the spring water. Otherwise, the attribution of an innate bad smell in the case of Muslims resembles, in a fatal manner, the motif of the *foetor judaicus*.

Tommaso Bozio (1548–1610), an Italian Franciscan priest, took up Burchard’s account and interpreted, in his own way, the miracle report in his work *De signis ecclesiae dei*.<sup>724</sup> He discusses the subject in the context of baptism, with the title of the corresponding section *Of the Medical and Innocent Power added to Water by Divine Providence after Baptism*<sup>725</sup> already giving a first indication of the direction of his reasoning. Bozio modifies the report to the extent that he speaks of Muslims washing themselves in the spring, but without explicitly defining this washing as baptism. He ties the following considerations and questions to this passage:

“So the spring will be able to extract the bad smell from human flesh, won’t it be able [to extract] bad inclinations by divine power? Will it not be able to cause us to enjoy the good smell of Christ by exorcising the innate smell [...]? That spring water did not arouse and establish the good smell in the bodies of the Saracens, but by expelling the bad [smell] through their bathing, [the spring water] caused the habitual [smell] to be there.”<sup>726</sup>

According to Bozio’s interpretation, the bad smell is thus expelled. A good smell is not established in the bodies; instead the normal one appears. In the body, in the human flesh, there is a change, the soul remains untouched by it. Clearly there are also no approaches to the Christian faith and thus – in Bozio’s eyes – no moral improvement. The miracle is attributed solely to the unusual nature of the water – *natura insolita aquarum* – as the gloss in Bozio’s text shows. This process seems far

723 “Sarraceni pariter se lauant & Christiani. Sarraceni quendam deterrimum foetorem habent, à quo non possunt mundari, nisi baptizentur, & praecipue in fonte illo. Vnde pueros suos ac seipsos baptizant, non vt Sacramenti virtutem consequantur, sed vt foetorem abolere valeant.” MONTE SION: Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, et regionum finitimarum (see n. 719), Pars 2, Cap. III.

724 On the Signs of the Church of God.

725 *De vi medica et innocua diuinitus addita aquis post baptismum*, Tommaso BOZIO: *De signis ecclesiae dei*, vol. 1, Romae [Rome]: Tornerius, 1591, URL: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10142485-3 (visited on 27/02/2019), 40.

726 “Poterit itaque è carnibus humanis educere malum odorem fons, non poterit diuina ope malas propensiones? non poterit facere vt Christi bonus odor simus, non excitando insitum odorem [...]? non enim lympa illa excitabat è Sarracenorum corporibus, & educebat odorem bonum; sed expellens malum per se aspersione sua, vt solitus adesset, efficiebat.” Ibidem, 40–41.

removed from a baptism. Afterwards, Bozio draws a parallel to Otto of Freising’s miracle story. The comparison works, however, only to a limited extent since the history of the peoples near Armenia says that the bad smell is restored by the return to paganism, of which there is no talk in the case of the Muslims with regard to the Holy Spring of Matarieh. However, Bozio does not mention this difference.

Juan de Quiñones, presumably relying in turn on Gerónimo de Huerta, also incorporates the miracle report into his Memorial and names Burchardus de Monte Sion and Tommaso Bozio as his references. In contrast to Gerónimo de Huerta, Quiñones gives more precise information on Bozio. His version is based on Bozio’s report because his account only contains talk of Muslims washing themselves in the spring. However, he mentions the miracle – similar to Bozio – in the context of baptism and conversion. On the one hand, he emphasizes the effectiveness of baptism; on the other, his conversion stories are intended to present the Jews as “stubborn.” While pagans convert and it is even sufficient for Muslims to wash themselves in the holy spring in order to eradicate the bad smell, such measures would fail with Jews because of their “despicableness.” Accordingly, he mentions the story of a sick Jew who was baptized by the Bishop of Constantinople and then recovered. In the following, it says:

“Many pagans converted to the faith, while the Jews who were present at the miracle persisted obstinately in their perfidy, as they always do, though they may see many miracles, like the image of Christ speaking to them and shedding blood in their presence.”<sup>727</sup>

The stubbornness of Jews is so great that all miracles do not help here, Quiñones summarizes. The stories about Muslims and pagans are intended primarily as a contrast foil in order to better emphasize the alleged “perfidy”<sup>728</sup> of Jews by comparison. From the description of the holy spring and its effectiveness for the smell of Muslims, it could be concluded that Quiñones ascribes the smell motif in New Christians only to the Conversos and not to the Moriscos. However, this equating of Muslims and Moriscos does not necessarily have to be correct. The rather positive image of Muslims, who can eradicate the stench attributed to them, is probably more due to the fact that the Muslims should be contrasted with the Jews. Quiñones’s attention was focused on the intention of presenting Jews as the most unteachable “people.” For this purpose, other groups such as Muslims and pagans could be assessed more positively than usual. For the early modern discussion, it must initially remain open to what extent a bad smell could also be attributed to Moriscos.

Fundamentally, it was thoroughly possible in Christian polemics to find Muslims described as stinky. Alexandra Cuffel, for example, refers in this context to a passage in Fidentius of Padua (c. 1226–1294).<sup>729</sup> It is worth taking a closer look at this. At the Second Council of Lyon (1274), Pope

<sup>727</sup> “Conuirtieronse muchos Gentiles a la Fè, y los Iudios que se hallaron presentes al milagro quedaron proteruos en su perfidia, como siempre lo acostumbran, aunque mas milagros vean, que la imagen de Christo hable con ellos, y derrame sangre en su presencia.” QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 9v.

<sup>728</sup> The question of Jewish “perfidy” or “impenitence” forms one segment of the classical theological model of anti-Jewish topoi, as also shown by Maria Diemling in the German-speaking countries during the 16th and 17th centuries. DIEMLING: “Mit Leib und Seele?” (see n. 9), 418.

<sup>729</sup> CUFFEL: Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic (see n. 675), 136.

Gregory X commissioned the Franciscan to write a text on the situation in the Holy Land. In his *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*, he made a suggestion for reconquering the Holy Land.<sup>730</sup> In the section where he addresses the bad qualities of Muslims, which were clearly intended to justify the Christians' fight against them, he speaks of their penchant for sexual debauchery, their *luxuria*. This is closely linked to the idea of stench. This is also the title of the chapter: *That the Saracens are foul-smelling due to sexual debauchery*.<sup>731</sup> In his introductory lines, he explains this statement in detail:

“The stench of sexual debauchery is so powerful in the Saracens that it can hardly be explained in words. This is because they have sunk, from the sole of their feet to the crown of their heads, deep into the filth, and there is no health in them.”<sup>732</sup>

At this point, it becomes clear once again how strongly the lifestyle also affected the image of the body. A lifestyle declared as bad, such as *luxuria*, was thus directly imprinted on the body, which was subsequently described as ill or without any health. Inside and outside are in harmony with each other, so that an inner impurity, *immunditia*, inevitably causes an outer impurity.

To support his assertion of a Muslim stench, Fidentius of Padua cites various arguments as evidence for *luxuria*. Thus, he reports that the Prophet Muhammad strengthens his followers in the *luxuria*. In doing so, he first addresses Muslim men's supposedly debauched treatment of the female sex. Among other things, he gives the example that a Muslim can have four wives. He tries to prove his accusations with quotations from the Koran. In his last point, he accuses the Muslims of sodomy, by which one understood same-sex sex. These forms of *luxuria* are alone sufficient to fight the Muslims and to purify the earth of them,<sup>733</sup> – that is his conclusion.

In the second part of the chapter, he describes the Muslim ideas of paradise, which he also sees as defined by *luxuria*. He refers to a dialog between Muhammad and a group of Jews, which, according to him, was recorded in a document, *libellus*. In 2008 Jacques Paviot, who edited and critically addressed the writing of Fidentius of Padua on the basis of other sources from the context of the Crusades, could not locate this document to which the Franciscan refers here. The dialog itself, reproduced by Fidentius of Padua, focuses on the question of the bodily qualities of the inhabitants of paradise. The Jewish group, having heard of Muhammad's description of paradise as a land of milk and honey, asks whether the paradisiacal body also knows excretions, because what flows in must inevitably flow out again. Muhammad responds with the image of the fetus in the mother's uterus: The fetus takes in food but does not excrete it. The excreting body is thus, according to Muhammad's description, subject to the law of mortality, which is also evident in the fetus that

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730 See Jacques PAVIOT (ed.): *Projets de croisade* (v. 1290–v. 1330), Paris 2008, 9–10.

731 *Quod Sarraceni sunt luxuria fetidi*. Fidence de PADOUE: *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte* ([1274] 1290–1291), in: Jacques PAVIOT (ed.): *Projets de croisade* (v. 1290–v. 1330), Paris 2008, 53–169, here 81. *Luxuria* basically means waste or wastefulness. However, in the context of the chapter, it quickly becomes apparent that Fidentius of Padua here primarily wants to denounce inappropriate sexuality.

732 “Feditas luxurie tanta est in Sarracenis quod vix posset sermonibus explicari. Nam a planta pedis usque ad verticem submersi sunt in limo profundi, et non est in eis sanitas.” *Ibidem*, 81.

733 “Et si non esset alia causa nisi ista, deberent Christiani pugnare contra eos et mundare terram.” *Ibidem*, 82.

only attains this body at birth. If, however, paradisiacal bodies would feel the need for excretion after all, this would be done by musk-scented sweat.<sup>734</sup> The description of paradise ends with a reference to smell, and Fidentius of Padua closes this chapter with the words: “See, you’ve heard what a paradise the Saracens are hoping for.”<sup>735</sup> An interesting element is also the picture drawn here of sweat as the most noble form of excretion and thus most likely to be attributed to the inhabitants of paradise. This positive evaluation is underlined by the indication that sweat smells like musk, *fragrans*, which means that sweat is granted an almost perfume-like status.

With regard to Fidentius of Padua, however, it should be noted that his association of Muslims with dirt and stench is the exception rather than the rule. Almut Höfert,<sup>736</sup> when reviewing travel reports on the Ottoman Empire from the 15th and 16th centuries, was able to show that European travelers overwhelmingly described the Turks as having a particularly clean lifestyle. However, since this cleanliness attested to the Turks was difficult to reconcile with the travelers’ basic assumption that non-believers were generally unclean, they found ways and means to question this cleanliness or to turn it into its opposite. Accordingly, external cleanliness could be very efficiently opposed to internal uncleanliness or impurity. Bartholomäus Georgejevic (c. 1507–c. 1566), who spent thirteen years as a slave in Ottoman captivity until he finally managed to escape in his fourth attempt in 1535, writes for example:

“Oh you gods, [who could explain or describe the sorrows and hardships of the captive Christians living under the tributarian rule of the Turks, or] who could enumerate the cruelty and the exceedingly shameful abuses both in secular things and in the ceremonies of the Muhamadian faith, as you, my readers, have now learned of their cleaning and cleanliness, in which they [alone] believe to find the hope of their salvation when they practice it, while they are teeming inwardly with every impurity [uncleanliness] of iniquity with the assistance of their deluded leader Mehemet, and anger the immortal God.”<sup>737</sup>

Georgejevic contrasts the observed ritual cleanliness, *munditia*, with uncleanliness, *spurcitia*, which he attaches to Muslims’ inability to recognize the truth of the Christian faith. He presents Muhammad as deluded and thus also the Muslims who follow him, so to speak, down his false path. In Georgejevic’s eyes, compliance with the cleanliness or purity laws is therefore useless.

734 “Que et illos si egerent, neccessitas [sic] sequeretur. Si quid inde superfluit, id (est) per sudorem [sudorem], exit odorem musci frag[r]antem. Ibidem, 83.

735 “Ecce audisti qualem paradisum Sarraceni expectant.” Ibidem, 83.

736 Almut HÖFERT: Ist das Böse schmutzig? Das Osmanische Reich in den Augen europäischer Reisender des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, in: *Historische Anthropologie* 11 (2003), 176–192, here 189–192.

737 English translation from the German translation by Almut Höfert with insertions by the author: Ibidem, 191; “Dij boni, quis posset explicare aut describere afflictiones & calamitates captiuorum, & sub tributo Turcarum habitantium Christianorum: aut quis posset enarrare crudelitatem & turpissimos abusus tam in rebus secularibus, quam fidei Mehemmetice cæremonijs, prout legentes intellexistis de lotione & munditia eorum, in qua sola sperantes salutem suæ ipsorum animæ existimant se consequuturos, cum intus repleti omni spurcitia scelerum Mehemmeto cæco duce, Deum irritant immortalem.” Bartholomäus GEORGEJEVIC: *De Turcarum ritu et cæremoniis*, Antverpiæ [Antwerp]: Apud Gregorium Bontium, 1544, s.p., pdf 38.

Benedikt Curipeschitz (1490–after 1531) also expressed similar views.<sup>738</sup> In his capacity as a translator, he was part of a diplomatic trip to the court of the Turkish Sultan, wrote the final report on this in Latin, kept a travel diary and in the years 1530/31 wrote a small dialog in which he had two stable boys report on their travel experiences. After the older of the two explains the washing of the Muslims to the younger one as a kind of confession practice, he summarizes: “It doesn’t help at all because they don’t believe in Christ, the only son of God.”<sup>739</sup> Here, too, the cleanliness and washing practice of the Muslims, described in thoroughly positive tones, is relativized by the “false” faith.

### 4.3 The New Christian Stigma of Smell

#### 4.3.1 Theological Arguments

In the Early Modern Era, the theological argumentation proved to be the dominant reasoning with regard to the New Christian stigma of smell. A line in the tradition was drawn from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, and many of the references already discussed became part of this classical canon. The discussion on the *foetor judaicus* played a central role, but the inclusion of the story on the neighboring peoples of the Armenians from the chronicle of the Cistercian Bishop Otto of Freising caused other groups to also move into focus. The Spanish Dominican Tomás Malvenda (1566–1628) can be taken as an example of this early modern canonization of smell references. He cites the various references in his text on *De Antichristo* in the following order: Ammianus Marcellinus, Venantius Fortunatus, Johannes Matthias Tiberinus, Otto of Freising and finally Theodoros Balsamon.<sup>740</sup> Except for the latter, all the others have already been discussed. In the further course of the chapter, which deals with the condition of Jews in the diaspora after the second destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, Malvenda ties the accusation of stench directly to “Jewish male” menstruation or suffering from hemorrhoids. Here, once again, it is possible to see the close intertwining of the two motifs, which mostly appeared together. The argumentative focus of the Dominican with regard to the *foetor judaicus* is clearly on the interface of smell and baptism, as was already evident in the medieval sources. However, he broadens the perspective and also looks at all those who have not been baptized, especially Muslims: “It [seems] truly miraculous that Jews, but also Muslims and other unbaptized peoples stink and that they are cleansed of the stench by holy baptism.”<sup>741</sup>

Theodor Balsamon († after 1195), who is cited by Malvenda and can be considered one of the canonists of the Byzantine Middle Ages, also speaks of the stench of Muslims in his commentary<sup>742</sup>

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738 In regard to Curipeschitz, see also Mark FEUERLE/Jan Ulrich BÜTTNER: *Von Wien nach Konstantinopel 1530: Deutsch-türkische Diplomatie am Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover 2010.

739 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Es hilft alles nicht, denn sie glauben nicht an Christum, den einigen (=einigen) Sohn Gottes.” Benedikt KURIPESIČ: *Ein Disputation oder Gespräch zwayer Stalbuben*, Klagenfurt 1998 (facsimile 1532), 41, [comments in round brackets by Neweklowsky].

740 MALVENDA: *De Antichristo* (see n. 586), 174–175.

741 “Mirum sanè dum Iudæos, sed & Agarenos, aliasque gentes non baptizatas foetere, foetoremque illis Baptismate sacro abstergi.” *Ibidem*, 174.

742 Theodorus BALSAMON: *Theodoru tu Balsamon patriarchu theupoleos megales Antiocheias ta heuriskomena panta*



on Canon 84 of the Synod of Trullo (691/692). The 84th Canon determined that children, for whom there were doubts as to whether they had really been baptized at a young age or there were no credible witnesses for their baptism, should be baptized again. This was to avert the danger that the children would later be denied entry into the kingdom of heaven due to the absence of baptism. Balsamon attributes this controversy over the christening of children to the children of Scythians and Arabs – *Scythi et Agareni* – who were sold as prisoners of war to the Romans. These children raised the question of whether it was necessary to baptize them. At another synod, Arab Christians attending had also declared that it was customary in their region to baptize Muslim children. To explain this in more detail, the Arab envoys are quoted as follows:

“And when asked how [this happened], they replied that it was customary for all Muslim children to have been baptized by Catholic priests. However, they were not admitted. They [the clergy] had namely heard that the baptism which the non-believers requested of the Christians was not requested out of good faith and with a good intention, but as a physical remedy. Muslims are convinced that they, like their children, will be haunted by a demon and will smell bad like dogs if they do not receive a Christian baptism. Therefore, they do not demand baptism as a cleanser of all the filth of the soul and as deliverance of divine light and sanctification, but as a potion and a spell, so to speak.”<sup>743</sup>

Here, Muslims are explicitly assigned a bad smell, which they themselves perceive as such. The smell is also tied to a demonic presence. Moreover, Balsamon’s criticism is that baptism is only a means to an end for Muslims and that the religious conviction and motivation which he regards as a prerequisite for the sacrament of baptism are completely lacking. However, he does not conclude that baptismal water as a remedy for body odor loses its effectiveness due to the lack of piety. His answer to the question of the allowed baptizing of children is ultimately that it is always permissible to baptize children because even if they have already been baptized, one cannot be sure that this was also done in the spirit of the necessary religious conviction. Both the Dominican Malvenda and the Jesuit Jakob Gretser (1562–1625)<sup>744</sup> use Balsamon as evidence of a Muslim stigma of smell, which, however, can be eliminated by baptismal water.

In Malvenda, another difference to the medieval precursors stands out. He discusses the stench in the context of baptism and generally attributes it to a lack of baptism. While the thematic focus had previously been on conversion, Malvenda concentrates on describing Jewish misery in the diaspora, which, according to him, will continue until the arrival of the Antichrist and is also justified: “But

canonica, juridica, dogmatica I, vol. 137, Patrologiae graecae, Paris 1865, 793–798.

<sup>743</sup> “Et interrogati quomodo responderunt, esse consuetudinem ut omnes Agarenorum infantes ab orthodoxis sacerdotibus baptizarentur: non tamen admissi fuerunt. Audierant enim, quod baptismus, quem infideles a Christianis petunt, non bona affectione et orthodoxo proposito petitur; sed propter corporalem medicinam. Persuasim est enim Agarenis, fore ut sui liberi a dæmone vexentur, et tanquam canes male oleant, nisi baptismum Christianum assequantur. Quamobrem, non ut omnium animæ sordidum mundatorem, divinæque lucis et sanctificationis præbitorem, baptismum postulant; sed tanquam veneficium et incantationem.” Ibidem, 795–796.

<sup>744</sup> Jakob GRETSER: *De cruce Christi*, vol. 1, Ingolstadt: Sartorius, 1600, 306.

I fear that this [e.g. ‘Jewish male’ menstruation] cannot be imputed to them, even if the people deserve every ignominy.”<sup>745</sup>

In a certain way, Malvenda joins the Italian cardinal and church historian Cesare Baronio (1538–1607), who speaks of the *foetor judaicus* in the context of the Jewish rebellion and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in his work titled *Annales Ecclesiastici*.<sup>746</sup> He dates this event to the year 72 CE in the reign of Roman Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus. That the texts of Malvenda and Baronio are similar is by no means a coincidence since Malvenda, as a young professor, wrote a critique of Baronio’s church history, which in turn prompted him to invite Malvenda to Rome and, among other things, to commission him to correct his church history writings.

Baronio describes the Jewish diaspora condition in detail. While other defeated peoples became Romans, Jews retained the signs of being Jews. One of these numerous signs – *alia innumera signa* – is the *foetor judaicus*: “[...] the mark of eternal infamy is burned into them, so that a strong odor remains stuck to their bodies. That is why they received the name ‘stinkers,’ as Ammianus Marcellinus called them.”<sup>747</sup> For Baronio, the smell serves, in the truest sense of the word, as a stigma, i.e. as a kind of branded mark. This serves, according to Baronio, as a marker and, together with the diaspora condition and other signs, is an expression of divine wrath.

The Catholic theologian Matthew Tympe († after 1615) is of a similar opinion. In his work titled *Mensae Theolophilosophicae*, he asks where the Jewish stench comes from: “Vnde prouenit foetor Iudæorum?”<sup>748</sup> Right in the first sentence, he defines this as an eternal and congenital blemish of divine origin. In terms of the wording, content and argumentation structure, Tympe is heavily influenced by Simone Majoli (c. 1520–after 1597). The Inquisitor of Evora, Manuel Valle de Moura († 1650),<sup>749</sup> also mainly relies on Majoli. The Inquisitor, who argues very meticulously with regard to “Jewish male” menstruation, addresses the subject of the *foetor judaicus* surprisingly quickly, without citing any opposing positions. Simone Majoli serves as his main reference. However, he reduces Majoli’s position down to two reasons for the *foetor judaicus*: Jewish eating habits and the motif of divine punishment.

Majoli himself treats the subject much more extensively and diversely. The Italian canonist and Bishop of Volturara, from 1572 on, addressed the subject of Jewish perfidy, *de perfidia Iudæorum*, in the third volume of his conversations, which also bear the title of *Canicular Days*.<sup>750</sup> In dialog form, Majoli collects the anti-Jewish accusations typical of his time and also refers to the *foetor judaicus*.

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745 “Sed vereor ne id eis affingatur, genti tametsi cuiusuis ignominiae merenti.” MALVENDA: *De Antichristo* (see n. 586), 175.

746 Cesare BARONIO: *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Moguntiae [Mainz]: Hierat, 1623, URL: urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-17031 (visited on 27/02/2019), 121–123.

747 “[...] perpetuae illis infamiae nota est inusta, ut grauis corporibus foetor inhæserit; ex quo & nomen *Fœtentium* sunt assecuti, prout eos Ammianus Marcellinus appellauit.” Ibidem, 123.

748 Matthäus TYMPIUS: *Mensae Theolophilosophicae*, pars prima, Münster [Monasteri Westphaliae]: Dale, 1623, URL: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10135441-1 (visited on 27/02/2019), 284.

749 VALLE DE MOURA: *De incantationibus* (see n. 506), 250–251.

750 Simone MAJOLI: *Simonis Maioli Episcopi Vulturariensis Colloquiorum, Sive Dierum Canicularium*, Helenopoli [Frankfurt am Main]: Joh. Theo. Schönwetter poelo [sic] Richteriano, 1610.

Majoli defines the smell as an innate, eternal blemish<sup>751</sup> and simultaneously of devilish origin. Four reasons for the smell are explained in more detail by the three dialog partners. The usury practice, eating habits, bad smelling diseases, and the motif of the *Judensau* (Jews' sow) are mentioned. The motif of usury is generally associated with dirt and stench. This is what it says:

“At the same time, Jews are generally swinish, smelly and dirty as a result of the money business. They are constantly attacked by diseases. They greatly value the buildings and places where they can act in a usurious manner and thus satisfy their greed. And where they do business with the Christians, who need their wealth and support, they are very sharp and so much anger they do not fret and fume. They correctly value the good smell of profit in any thing and do not disdain any profit no matter how dirty it is [...].”<sup>752</sup>

The activity of Jews as usurers is thus partly held responsible for the uncleanliness and bad smell. Medical backgrounds are also provided beforehand in this context. Accordingly, life as a Jewish money changer is presented as a lifestyle full of leisure and sedentary activity. Following the medical theories of his time, Majoli states that the lack of physical exercise, however, leads to a bad handling of the fluids, which in turn causes a bad smell. He even argues that experience also shows that those who carry out sweat-inducing work smell better:

“I readily admit that the stinky smell of a he-goat is characteristic of these people, which increases due to idleness and sedentary activity, and thus by deficient humors, as experience testifies that those who work up a sweat smell better.”<sup>753</sup>

Majoli bases this declaration on a letter dated April 9, 1441 from the Italian humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) to the legal scholar Catone Sacco. The latter had apparently asked Filelfo about various phenomena to which he now knew how to respond. The German-Jewish literary historian and theater scholar Max Herrmann (1865–1942), who was forced to retire from Berlin University in 1933 and was murdered in 1942 in the Theresienstadt concentration camp, summarized this letter as follows in his 1893 habilitation thesis on Albrecht von Eyb:

“[...] then comes a letter with very whimsical questions: whether all Jews smell bad, why man's appetite is greatest in autumn, whether dying swans can really sing, how to protect yourself against getting drunk too quickly.”<sup>754</sup>

<sup>751</sup> Majoli uses the terms of *innatus* and *connascere*. Ibidem, 14.

<sup>752</sup> “Eadem omnino ratione Iudæi spurci sunt, olidi & sordidi, morbis continue infestantur, ædes & loca in quibus vsuras exercere, suamque adeo auaritiam explere possunt, studiose obseruant, atque vbi cum Christianis, qui ipsorum ope atque subsidio indigent, ipsis negotium est, sunt acerrimi & tantum non rabiem ore spumant, odorem lucri ex re qualibet bonum iudicant, nec vllum quantumuis sordidum lucrum respuunt [...]” Ibidem, 22.

<sup>753</sup> “Facile autem concessero, hircosum illum odorem huic genti familiarem, ex otio & sedentaria vita atque vitiosis humoribus augeri, cum experientia testetur, eos, qui vsque ad sudorem laborant, melius olere.” Ibidem, 15.

<sup>754</sup> Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “[...] dann kommt einmal ein Brief mit ganz schnurrigen Fragen: ob alle Juden übel röchen, warum der Appetit des Menschen im Herbst am größten sei, ob sterbende Schwäne wirklich singen könnten, wie man sich gegen das allzu schnelle Trunkenwerden schütze.” Max HERMANN: Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus, Berlin 1893, 166.

As Herrmann further reports, Filelfo can later inspire his friend to ask more philosophical questions – for example, about the place of the soul. But first he concedes these questions to him because he classifies them as popular and according to him they are “by no means inappropriate for an urban person.”<sup>755</sup> In addition, Filelfo diagnoses in Sacco that he is in a state of complete leisure in his study of civil law precisely because of the semester break, *constitutæ uacationes*.

However, Filelfo rejects Sacco’s first assertion that all Jews smell bad and emphasizes that he cannot fundamentally confirm this phenomenon for all Jews from his own experience. He attributes the bad smell mainly to the qualities and nature of garlic, which is excreted by the body through the skin and above all through sweat. With a view to Jews, he concludes:

“But there is no more offense with Hebrews than with all those who live excessively, either because of the immoderateness of the food and drink, or otherwise. Yet perhaps it is more through this lifestyle of Hebrews, which comes from the lending business, because the majority of all money changers practice usury and thus do not do any laborious work. So it happens that they become slack by excessive idleness and rest; the fact that they exude an abominable odor is thus inevitable.”<sup>756</sup>

According to Filelfo, the causes of a strong smell, both among Jews and among all people in general, are therefore to be found at the medical level. This body odor is due, on the one hand, to the nutrition, like garlic as a type of food that is hard for the body to handle, and also a lack of moderation in nutrition itself, and, on the other, to the absence of physical exercise, as is the case for money changers. As a counterexample, the humanist scholar cites the Persians, who would eagerly engage in equestrian sports, taking walks and other noble occupations, so that they would smell particularly good due to their sports activities. In addition, Filelfo also alludes, with a view to the Persians, to the climate theories common at that time. According to Filelfo, the peoples of Persia and Arabia benefit from the warmth that provides them with a fluid constellation defined by heat and thus a good body odor, in contrast to the Nordic peoples and their fluid constellation defined by cold. To prove this theory, he adds that finally the fragrant spices and resins like wild cinnamon, cinnamon and incense – *cassiae*, *ē cinnama*, *ē thus* – grow only in warm regions.<sup>757</sup> Climate, nutrition and lifestyle are therefore the central factors influencing human body odor for Filelfo. Ethnicity, by contrast, plays no role for him.

Majoli’s philosopher among the dialog partners partly adopts the medically defined reasoning of Filelfo. He also mentions nutrition, especially the consumption of onions and garlic, and a lack of physical exercise as causes of a bad odor.<sup>758</sup> The fact that these, however, by no means apply to Jews

<sup>755</sup> “[...] iis quæstionibus obtuleris, quæ & iucundæ sunt, & homine urbano minime indignæ” Franciscus PHILELPHUS: *Epistolæ familiares*, Venetiis [Venice]: Ex aedibus Ioannis & Gregorii de gregoriis fratres, 1502, URL: [www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/autoren/philelphus\\_itali.html](http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/autoren/philelphus_itali.html) (visited on 27/02/2019), 30r.

<sup>756</sup> “Nec in hæbreis id offensionis magis accidit: quam in omnibus, qui uiuunt incontinenter, siue cybi ac potus incontinentia: siue etiam aliter: sed fortasse eo magis in hæbreorum genere, id usu uenit, quod plærique omnes mensarii sunt foeneratoriam exercentes: & ita nullis exercitati laboribus. Quod fit, ut nimio ocio quieteque marcescentes, tetrum de se odorem emittant: sit necesse.” *Ibidem*, 30r.

<sup>757</sup> *Ibidem*, 30r.

<sup>758</sup> MAJOLI: *Simonis Maioli Episcopi Vulturariensis Colloquiorum, Sive Dierum Canicvlarium* (see n. 750), 14–15.

alone, as Filelfo clearly points out, is deliberately concealed in Majoli's text. Instead, two further clinical pictures are mentioned elsewhere, which are ascribed specifically to Jews and presented as promoting a bad smell:

“And because they are plagued by ongoing blood flows, and because they hold their head – which has been determined by experience – curved as they walk, which is why they are dirty and tormented by constant illnesses that even smell bad to them.”<sup>759</sup>

The Jewish blood flow and the stooped walking are quite popular contemporary symptoms of disease, which Christian polemicists assigned to Jews and partly Conversos. The present passage differs from other similar arguments in how explicitly and closely these symptoms are linked to the motifs of uncleanness and bad smell. The importance of the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation in the Early Modern Era could already be shown in the previous chapter. With regard to the stooped walking, primarily the history of a Portuguese Converso courtier circulated in the Iberian sources<sup>760</sup> and is probably due to a passage from the text by Vicente da Costa Matos. In the Spanish translation by Diego Gávilan Vela, it says with a view to the punishments that children have to bear for the guilt of their fathers:

“And finally a great courtier spoke of these lessons and other things. He had been born in this kingdom and lives in Madrid, a great defender and protector of Judaism. [...] [he said] that many New-Christian Hebrews who live there to sell linen on the streets [walk] with bales on their backs, which often seem incompatible with human powers, and are stooped because of the great weight, so I say that it is impossible, unless they descend from those laying the cross on the shoulders of the Redeemer, who imposed that punishment on them as torment for the crime of their ancestors.”<sup>761</sup>

The stooped walking and also the carrying of heavy loads is interpreted as divine punishment for the descendants of those who laid the cross on Christ at the crucifixion. A Bible passage from the Book of Psalms, which speaks of stooped people, is often mentioned as a supporting reference. So the Vulgate says in a Psalm of David, which is also taken up again in the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. 11.10): “Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back always”

759 “Et quia continuis sanguinis fluxibus vexantur, caputque, que experientia constat, obliquum in incessu gerunt, proinde continuis etiam iisque; olidis morbis sordescunt ac diuexantur.” Ibidem, 22.

760 In this regard, see, among others, HUERTA: Problemas filosóficos (see n. 578), 16r–16v; QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 10v; TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 172.

761 “Y de las lecciones de estas, y otras cosas vino a dezir vn gran Cortesano nacido en este Reyuo [sic, Reyno], y que viue en Madrid, gran defensor, y amparo del Iudaysmo [...] que muchos Christianos nuevos Hebreos, que viuen alli vendiendo por las calles lienços con fardos a las espaldas, muchas vezes que parecen incompatibles las fueras de ningun hombre, y inclinados siempre por el gran peso que digo, era imposible que fuessen saluo de aquellos que pusieron la Cruz en los hombros de el Salvador, lo qual en pena de el delicto de sus passados le daua aquel castigo.” COSTA MATOS: Discurso contra los judíos (see n. 67), 172.

(KJV).<sup>762</sup> Gerónimo de Huerta warns, however, against perceiving all the bearers of burdens as being punished by God:

“But for this reason one should not think that all who go out laden with heavy bales are of this despicable rabble and would follow their wrong path since there are many very good ones and the work that imposes the neediness on them can be commendable for them and God may use them for this [work] to demonstrate his greatness.”<sup>763</sup>

Even though, according to Huerta, there are some bearers of burdens who do not do their work as punishment, but instead for God’s glory and greatness, the royal palace physician then insists on his opinion that, in the case of the renunciation of Christianity and the turning to Judaism, the stooped backs as well as the bad smell can serve as an indication of the apostasy and a sign of the guilt of their forefathers.

With regard to the round table discussion in Majoli’s text and its addressing of the causes for the *foetor judaicus*, there is still one last level of connection to be mentioned which, however, is not in any medical context: the motif of the *Judensau* (Jews’ sow). From the 13th to about the 16th century, pictures of the *Judensau* are common mainly in German-speaking countries and usually show a large sow with people wearing a Jewish hat sucking on its teats. The exact background for this motif is still unclear to this day. However, it is obvious that the sculptures and reliefs mostly attached to churches are to be interpreted as a form of caricature and pictorial anti-Jewish polemic. The Israeli historian Isaiah Shachar (1935–1977), who addressed in detail the *Judensau* motif in his dissertation published in 1974, emphasizes that this motif is primarily concerned with denying Jews their humanity:

“The Jews are, by this association with the animal, implicitly but clearly labelled as not being human ‘like us’ [...]. [...] The appeal of the *Judensau* lay in its obscenity; its effect was to help in fixing the idea of Jews being absolutely not ‘of us.’”<sup>764</sup>

Assigning Jews to an animal and furthermore to a sow, which is considered unclean in the Jewish dietary laws, the Kashrut, certainly played a significant role for the *Judensau* motif. Shachar also explains that, on the one hand, the *Judensau* motif is more of a figurative than a literary phenomenon and, on the other, it is an exclusively German phenomenon.<sup>765</sup> In view of the text by Simone Majoli and other texts that readily take up his remarks on the *Judensau* motif, this statement must be revised in part.

In general, it can be said that the *Judensau* motif in Christian polemics experienced a new heyday both with the beginning of the Reformation and with the emergence of pamphlets. Luther himself

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762 “Obscurentur oculi eorum, ne videant; et dorsum eorum semper incurva.” (VUL, Ps. 68.24).

763 “Pero no por esto se ha de entender, que todos los que andan cargados con los pesados fardos acuestas sean de esta peruersa canalla, ni sigan su desatino, que muchos aura muy buenos, y aquel trabajo en que su necesidad los pone les puede ser meritorio, y ponerlos Dios en el para fines de su gloria.” HUERTA: *Problemas filosóficos* (see n. 578), 16r–16v.

764 Isaiah SHACHAR: *The “Judensau”: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History*, London 1974, 3.

765 *Ibidem*, 2.

also discussed the subject several times, for example in his text printed in 1543,<sup>766</sup> in which he describes the relief of the *Judensau* that had been attached to the Wittenberg parish church since the High Middle Ages. An early modern single page leaflet from Wittenberg in 1596<sup>767</sup> also deals with this motif. A detailed illustration is followed by a short descriptive text where it is emphasized that Jews would feed on pig excrement and milk and thus pay homage to the devil through abundant sacrifice:

“That they finally, nourished by the feces and the milk of the pig, became the fat sacrifice for the god of Tartarus.”<sup>768</sup>

Simone Majoli consults the work of the Hebraist Lorenz Fabricius (1554–1629) for his explanatory remarks on the sculptures of the *Judensau* and does everything to avoid mentioning Luther, who certainly appears in Fabricius.<sup>769</sup> Fabricius was a professor of the Hebrew language in Wittenberg and wrote the work *De schemhamphorasch usu, et abusu, apud Iudeos*, which was published in 1596 – in the same year as the single page leaflet – in Wittenberg.

The term Schemhamphorasch, which can be roughly translated as the special name, is regarded as an extremely powerful designation of God – as the highest divine name so to speak – and plays an important role in Kabbalah. The inscription “Rabini Schem ha Mephoras,” which is emblazoned above the high medieval relief of the *Judensau* at the Wittenberg parish church, facilitated the connection between the highest name of God and the motif of the *Judensau*. Dissemination in literature did the rest. The description of the Wittenberg *Judensau* in Fabricius even became the standard model for such descriptions, as David Kaufmann (1852–1899), Professor of History, Philosophy of Religion and Homiletics at the then newly founded Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, already noted at the end of the 19th century:

“The description by Fabricius achieved such an almost canonical reputation that even the images of sows in other cities were described with his words, similar to medieval chroniclers in their descriptions of the sieges of their day by using the expressions of Josephus.”<sup>770</sup>

Majoli’s embellishments are more of a stylistic nature in this case, and he also adopts Fabricius’s argumentative framework: “What Majolus adds of his own accord, in order to present the pig as a

766 Martin LUTHER: Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi 1453, in: Weimarer Ausgabe 53 (1920), 573–648.

767 Effigies monvmenti in reproborum rabinorvm... Wittenberg: Wolfgang Meissner, 1596.

768 “Vt tandem pasti merdis et lacte suillo  
Tartareo fiant hostia opima DEO”  
Ibidem.

769 See David KAUFMANN: Gesammelte Schriften, Frankfurt am Main 1908, 164.

770 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Die Beschreibung des Fabricius gelangte so sehr zu fast kanonischem Ansehen, daß selbst die Saubilder anderer Städte mit seinen Worten beschrieben wurden, ähnlich, wie mittelalterliche Chronisten Belagerungen ihrer Tage mit den Ausdrücken des Josephus schildern.” Ibidem, 164. Originally the article appeared in the *Allgemeinen Zeitung des Judentums* (General Newspaper of Judaism) in 1890.

true image and symbol of Jews [...], does not rise above the level of foul rambling.”<sup>771</sup> In Majoli, it is particularly striking how much the image of the pig serves to illustrate Jewish impurity. He makes the *Judensau* the illustration of the piggish, dirty life of Jews par excellence: “These here seek all their mysteries in the piggy Talmud, those there suck all the impurity out of the pig’s teats.”<sup>772</sup> Kaufmann’s hypothesis that the sow should primarily serve as the animal embodiment of the synagogue in Christian polemics<sup>773</sup> seems to be confirmed here.

Otherwise, Majoli, following Fabricius Zerbst, identifies Magdeburg and Salzburg as other places where images of the *Judensau* can be found and reports that such images are attached to public inns such as Berlin brothels, for example. Two motives for such a practice are identified: On the one hand, the pictures are meant to revile and mock Jews; on the other, they are meant to serve as a deterrent and prevent Jews from entering the places with images of the *Judensau*. The first example cited is Emperor Hadrian (76–138 CE), who, according to Majoli, expelled the Jews from the city of Jerusalem in roughly 139,<sup>774</sup> denied them entry and had a marbled pig attached to the Bethlehem Gate of Jerusalem.<sup>775</sup> The ban on Jews entering Jerusalem was imposed as punishment by Emperor Hadrian after the suppression of the Jewish Bar Kokhba revolt (132–136 CE). David Kaufmann points out, however, that the pig was also the symbol of the Legio X Fretensis (Tenth Legion of the Strait), which Hadrian had commissioned in Jerusalem to guard the city, so the marble pig did not necessarily have to be directed at Jews.<sup>776</sup> By the way, a new document was found in October 2014 which could provide additional information on the Bar Kokhba revolt. Archaeologists from the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem under the direction of Rina Avner discovered an inscription for Emperor Hadrian, which the Legio X Fretensis evidently dedicated to him in honor of his visit to Jerusalem in 129/30 CE.<sup>777</sup> Cesare Baronio also expressed doubts regarding the interpretation of the marbled pig as a mockery and deterrent for Jews in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* and furthermore provided an indication that the gate could have led to an Adonis temple, of which the pig was also a symbol.<sup>778</sup> Matthew Tympe, however, was not aware of such concerns. He adopts Majoli’s points mentioned above and, like him, ties the image of the *Judensau* to the *foetor judaicus*.<sup>779</sup>

Even though Majoli, for example, includes many passages by Fabricius in his work, his text is characterized by the fact that he interweaves the motif of the *foetor judaicus* with other anti-Jewish topoi, and does so in detail with the theme of misguided Jewish eating habits, the accusation of

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771 Translation by Henry Whittlesey Schroeder; “Was Majolus aus Eigenem hinzutat, um das Schwein als zutreffendes Bild und Symbol der Juden hinzustellen [...], erhebt sich nicht über das Niveau unflätiger Schimpfereien.” KAUFMANN: Gesammelte Schriften (see n. 769), 164.

772 “Quærent hi omnia sua mysteria in Thalmud porcino, sugunt illi omnem impuritatem ex mammillis porcinis.” MAJOLI: Simonis Maioli Episcopi Vulturariensis Colloqviorum, Sive Dierum Canicvlarium (see n. 750), 18.

773 KAUFMANN: Gesammelte Schriften (see n. 769), 166.

774 The date is not correct.

775 MAJOLI: Simonis Maioli Episcopi Vulturariensis Colloqviorum, Sive Dierum Canicvlarium (see n. 750), 19.

776 KAUFMANN: Gesammelte Schriften (see n. 769), 166.

777 See ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY: A Rare 2,000 Year Old Commemorative Inscription Dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian was Uncovered in Jerusalem (October 2014), 2014, URL: [http://www.antiquities.org.il/Article\\_eng.aspx?sec\\_id=25&subj\\_id=240&id=4086](http://www.antiquities.org.il/Article_eng.aspx?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=4086) (visited on 27/02/2019).

778 BARONIO: *Annales Ecclesiastici* (see n. 746), 153.

779 TYMPIUS: *Mensae Theolophilosophicae*, pars prima (see n. 748), 285–286.



usury, the idea of “Jewish male” menstruation, and the motif of the Jewish pig. A comparison with Malvenda’s comments on the *foetor judaicus* now shows how far away theological work was able to move from the classical representation. Thus, the context of baptism, which played a central role in the discussion about the *foetor judaicus* in Malvenda and in the medieval references, is no longer mentioned at all in Simone Majoli. Instead, the latter tries to establish new contexts and thus consolidate the anti-Jewish polemic even further. For this purpose, he uses additional medical arguments, which were also taken up by Matthew Tympe. Therefore, the medical dimensions of the early modern discussion on the *foetor judaicus* and the New Christian stigma of smell will be examined below.

### 4.3.2 Medical Arguments

On the medical side, the nutritional habits of Jews in particular are discussed with a view to the *foetor judaicus*. The topic is addressed in very different contexts. The French physician Jean Hucher († 1603),<sup>780</sup> who had taught at the University of Montpellier since 1567 and held various high-ranking positions – first as professor, then as dean, and finally as chancellor –, dealt with the topic of smell, for example, in his text on infertility.<sup>781</sup> In the first part of his text, Hucher concentrates on the various causes of infertility in both men and women. The second part is dedicated to pediatrics. Right at the beginning, he comes to talk about the bad body odor and various remedies since he sees in the bad smell – in the *foetor* – a major obstacle for couples: “[...] none of all this is able to separate the souls of the lovers more strongly and greatly; it is horrible poison.”<sup>782</sup> Following this statement, Hucher discusses in detail the various causes of a bad smell and various medications and healing methods.

Accordingly, in the clinical picture of a bad smell, he first distinguishes between non-natural and counter-natural causes, *non naturales*<sup>783</sup> and *praeter naturam*. The former can be traced back, for example, to incorrect food and the latter to pathological phenomena such as an inflamed ulcer. In addition, he states generally that every stench is a bad sign and an indication of internal processes of putrefaction.<sup>784</sup> Then he deals with various phenomena such as mouth or armpit odor. Finally, he analyzes the bad smell emanating from the whole body and refers to the *foetor judaicus* in this context:

“This [bad smell] is inherent to certain nations, such as those circumcised, because they do

780 For a detailed biographical and bibliographical overview, see Louis DULIEU: Le chancelier Jean Hucher, in: Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance 33 (1971), 167–176, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20674842> (visited on 27/02/2019), here 167–176.

781 De sterilitate utriusque sexus (first publication posthumous in Geneva in 1609).

782 “[...] quippe ad disiungendos amantium animos, hoc nullum maius, magisque; tetrum venenum est.” Joannes HUCHER: De sterilitate utriusque sexus, Geneva 1610, 11.

783 This term refers to the six non-natural things, the *sex res non naturales*, which were already familiar to Hippocratic medicine. These were understood to be air, food/drink, movement/rest, awake state/asleep state, physical excretions and emotional states.

784 “Omnis foetor malum signum est, & putredinis interioris index [...]” HUCHER: De sterilitate utriusque sexus (see n. 782), 15.

not consider Christ holy, as Campesio believes, but, much more importantly, because they feel compelled to stay away from salt and, according to their law, false food.”<sup>785</sup>

For the *foetor judaicus*, Hucher thus identifies two central reasons, one theological and one medical, with priority clearly being given to the latter. In his opinion, the salt-free diet and the rigorous renunciation of certain non-kosher foods are responsible for body odor. By contrast, he attributes the idea that Jews smell bad on account of divine punishment to Campesio.<sup>786</sup> He leaves it open whether Hucher himself shares this opinion. It becomes clear, however, that he regards nutrition as the more important cause. Following this quote, Hucher identifies various therapies to eliminate or reduce a bad smell emitted by the entire body. These range from dietary measures, bloodletting and the use of laxatives to special baths and silk scented bags to be worn on clothing.<sup>787</sup> This suggests that the French physician assumed that the body odor attributed to Jews could also be treated and eliminated.

The Italian doctor Vincenzo Alsario dalla Croce, who worked at the Roman *Erzgynasium*, used Hucher’s passage about the *foetor judaicus* in a completely different context. In his paper, he discusses the use of salt in fever patients. Following in the footsteps of Pliny, he attributes drying and contracting (astringent) effects to salt. Salt is thus, according to dalla Croce, ideally suited to prevent rotting processes. Alsario dalla Croce cites Hucher’s hypothesis as proof of his point of view that Jews smell bad primarily because of their salt-free diet. However, when he elaborates on the concept of the circumcised people in more detail, he emphasizes the bad smell more strongly than Hucher as a blemish inherent to Jews by nature: “[...] how much the circumcised people, i.e. Jews, have *grassoniae*, namely disgusting body odors by nature [...]”<sup>788</sup>

The concept of *grassoniae* for bad body odor is rarely found in the sources. General formulations such as *graveolentia* or *foetor* are far more common. However, the concept of *grassoniae* and its definition as bad body odor can also be found in the Frenchman Jérôme de Monteux (c. 1495–1560), who taught medicine at the University of Lyon and later Montpellier. In the fifth chapter of his work titled *Anasceves morborum*,<sup>789</sup> he also uses *grassoniae* among the nasal diseases, which, according to him, can be treated above all with appropriate healing potions.<sup>790</sup> However, he does not

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785 “Ea [graveolentia] quidem quibusdam nationibus gentilitia est, vt Recutitis quod Christum non colunt Campesio credente, sed multo potius, quòd à sale, falsisque eduliis ex lege sua abstinere cogantur.” HUCHER: De sterilitate utriusque sexus (see n. 782), 19.

786 I couldn’t clarify with certainty who stands behind the name Campesio. Thomas Browne and Vincenzo Alsario dalla Croce, who both quote from Hucher’s text, speak of Campegio instead. It is possible that the text was written by Symphorien Champier (c. 1471–c. 1540). Like Hucher, he studied medicine in Montpellier. In his works, it is also noticeable that despite his medical education he liked to address theological topics, as can be seen, for example, in his text on *Index Librorum qui in hoc volumine continentur, Mirabilium divinorum humanorumque* (1517).

787 See HUCHER: De sterilitate utriusque sexus (see n. 782), 20.

788 “[...] quam Recutitis, siue Iudæis insint a natura grassoniæ nempe tetri odores corporis [...]” VINCENZO ALSARIO DALLA CROCE: De quaesitis per epistolam in arte medica, Venice 1622, URL: <http://books.google.at/books?id=rexAAAAcAAJ&hl=de&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false> (visited on 27/02/2019), 253.

789 The Refutation of Diseases.

790 Jérôme de MONTEUX: *Anasceves morborum I*, Lugduni [Lyon]: Apud Ioannes Tornaesium, 1560, URL: <ark:/12148/bpt6k79246f> (visited on 04/08/2014), 180–181.

mention that Jews in particular suffer from severe body odor, as Alsario dalla Croce claims. Alsario dalla Croce uses his digression on the Jewish body odor primarily to question and modify the usual dietary rules for patients with a fever. According to these rules, salt-free food was recommended for a fever. Alsario dalla Croce, by contrast, suggests that food should be lightly seasoned for patients with a fever.<sup>791</sup> Thus, the Jewish body odor caused by salt-free food is used by him as a negative example of the effects of completely dispensing with salt.

Both Hucher and Alsario dalla Croce show that the topic of the *foetor judaicus* is not central to the discussion, but only mentioned indirectly. In addition, the Jewish body odor is confirmed, but primarily attributed to the dietary rules of Judaism. Thus the assumed stench proves to be curable and by no means an irreversible blemish that must be tolerated. Healing, however, would only be possible through the abandonment of Kashrut, the Jewish dietary rules, and consequently through an at least partial renunciation of Judaism. To some extent, this point is similar to the theological reasoning, in which the eradication of smell is to be achieved by baptism alone and consequently by a complete renunciation of Judaism.

Critics of the idea of a Jewish stench, such as the English physician Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682), who practiced in Norwich, also took up the argument of salt-free food formulated by Hucher. After successfully completing his first degree (M.A.) in Oxford, Browne went to the continent, studied medicine in Montpellier and Padua, and finally earned his doctorate at Leiden University. In the research landscape,<sup>792</sup> very different assessments of Thomas Browne and his views have circulated to this day, although it is possible to see a development here. At first, he was perceived as a man without any history, who, in a certain way, did not fit into his own time or seemed to have no connection to it. He was also said not to have any political agenda. Today's academia, by contrast, views him as a scholar who took note of both his time and the politics of his time. To what extent he can also be classified as part of the philosemitic movements of the Cromwell era will be discussed in the following analysis. His text titled *Pseudodoxia epidemica* and published for the first time in 1646 pursues a very enlightened approach where Browne tries to refute common misconceptions. Among these, the author also includes the assumption of a *foetor judaicus*. He raises three objections to the argument of salt-free food. First of all, it could not be confirmed for Jews living today or in the past that they ate without salt. He apparently resorts to empirical findings in his observations on contemporary Jews, while he relies on statements concerning Jewish sacrificial rituals in Maimonides (1135/38–1204) for earlier ones. Second, Browne argues that others – such as carnivorous animals, children, and entire peoples – would not use salt in their food and still did not smell bad. He also suspects a salt-free diet for the first human beings in the history of creation. Third, food would contain natural salt, as can be seen in the salty tears, sweat and urine.<sup>793</sup> For these reasons, Browne regards Hucher's argument to be absurd. Browne rejects even more vehemently Campegius's

791 ALSARIO DALLA CROCE: *De quaesitis per epistolam in arte medica* (see n. 788), 254.

792 See Kathryn MURPHY/Richard TODD (eds.): "A man very well studied": New contexts for Thomas Browne, Leiden and Boston 2008, 3–12.

793 Thomas BROWNE: *Pseudodoxia epidemica: or, Enquiries into very many tenents, and commonly presumed truths*, London: Printed by R.W. for N. Enkins, 1658, URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433000984587> (visited on 27/02/2019), 174–175.

argument where Campegius declares the *foetor judaicus* to be a divine stigma and viewing it as devoid of any basis, so that he does not even consider counter-evidence to be necessary:

“Another cause is urged by *Campegius*, and much received by Christians; that this ill savour is a curse derived upon them by Christ, and stands as a badge or brand of a generation that crucified their *Salvator*. But this is a conceit without all warrant; and an easie way to take off dispute in what point of obscurity soever. A method of many Writers, which much depreciates the esteem and value of miracles; that is, therewith to salve not only real verities, but also non-existencies. Thus have elder times not only ascribed the immunity of *Ireland* from any venomous beast, unto the staff or rod of *Patrick*; but the long tayles of *Kent*, unto the malediction of *Austin*.<sup>794</sup>

Campegius’s argument is therefore, in Browne’s eyes, nothing more than a rhetorical strategy that many authors take to heart in order to affirm their theses. For this reason, he refers his religious argument to the level of local legends. So it is not surprising that his text entitled *Religio medici*<sup>795</sup> and published in 1642 caused him to be accused of atheism. Interestingly, he uses, among others, the legend of the inhabitants of Kent for comparison. This legend says that they grow tails similar to animals. This phenomenon was attributed to a curse by Augustine of Canterbury, whom the Pope had sent to Kent to proselytize the Anglo-Saxons. In the original legend, it was Thomas Becket who is said to have cursed the inhabitants of Rochester, which was extended to the entire population of Kent shortly after.<sup>796</sup> That there is a legend in the Christian anti-Jewish polemic saying that Jews grow tails in the form of a spinal extension as divine punishment,<sup>797</sup> is not addressed by Browne in this context, by the way. It must remain open whether he knew this accusation or whether he deliberately left it unmentioned.

In addition to the arguments of Campegius and Hucher, Browne cites four other reasons that speak for him against the accusation of the *foetor judaicus*. First of all, he generally states that neither reason nor sense confirm this assertion:

“But that an unsavory odour is gentilitious or national unto the *Jews*, if rightly understood, we cannot well concede; nor will the information of reason or sense induce it.”<sup>798</sup>

Later in his chapter on Jews, he first refers to the life of Jews in the diaspora and to the sexual relations between Jews and Christians, which inevitably result from this according to his logic, above all between Jewish women and Christian men; therefore, he considers a smell specific to Jews to be absurd:

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794 BROWNE: *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (see n. 793), 175.

795 *The Faith of a Physician*.

796 In regard to the original two legends and their connection, see *Why Englishmen have Tails*, in: *The Tablet*. The international Catholic news weekly Vol. 168, No. 5036 (11/14/1936), 664.

797 See also chapter on *Critics of “Jewish Male” Menstruation* and, for example, AZNAR CARDONA: *Expulsion iustificada de los moriscos* (see n. 392), 180v–181r.

798 BROWNE: *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (see n. 793), 172.

“It being therefore acknowledged, that some are lost, evident that others are mixed, and not assured that any are distinct, it will be hard to establish this quality upon the *Jews*, unless we also transfer the same unto those whose generations are mixed, whose genealogies are *Jewish*, and naturally derived from them.”<sup>799</sup>

The “commixtures” – as he calls it – are thus his first objection to the assumption of a smell specific to Jews. This argument is reminiscent of the views defended by Agustín Salucio (1523–1601)<sup>800</sup> on the Iberian Peninsula. The Dominican and court preacher of King Philip III wrote a treatise on the purity of blood statutes in 1599. However, he did not advocate their total abolition, but their revision and limitation. Nevertheless, his text was banned after his death. Basically, he distinguished between a majority of converts who had willingly accepted the Christian faith and fully integrated themselves into Christian society, to which he added the Spanish Conversos, and a minority of suspicious people. He considered the latter to be above all the Moriscos from Granada, Aragón and Valencia as well as the Portuguese Conversos.<sup>801</sup> He based his main argument for a limitation of the statutes on a sample calculation,<sup>802</sup> which he made at the beginning of his text and which was supposed to prove that nobody could rule out Jewish or Muslim descent due to the commixtures and many generations that had existed since the conversions. He assumed a period of at least six hundred years, which had passed since the beginning of the coexistence of Jews, Muslims and Christians on the Iberian Peninsula. For him, this meant that about twenty generations had passed since that time, and everyone could look back on over a million – exactly 1,048,576 – ancestors on their father’s and mother’s side. Therefore, he concludes elsewhere that this point of view entails that everyone in Europe is a Muslim and Jew:

“[...] if one goes back more than six hundred years through the course of time, then all those who live in Europe – to put it simply – have descended from an earlier lineage [*raza*] of Moors and Jews and thus one can forget the former reason [for the statutes] of fair indignation.”<sup>803</sup>

By the way, this argument was often reduced to the Spaniards and used against them, among others by Luther, before Salucio’s text.<sup>804</sup> Accordingly, the idea that all Spaniards are Moors and Jews can be found in the other countries of Western Europe. The extent to which Browne knew Salucio’s reasoning must remain open at this point. But it seems rather unlikely to me.

Second, as far as Browne’s other arguments are concerned, the Kashrut, the Jewish dietary laws, also speak against a specifically Jewish stench because he views the Jewish diet – quite contrary to

799 Ibidem, 173.

800 In regard to Salucio and his writing, see also PARELLO: *Entre honra y deshonra* (see n. 30), 139–152.

801 SALUCIO: *Discurso echo por fray Agustín de Salucio*. Ms. Codex 1447 (see n. 29), 26r–27v.

802 Ibidem, 3r–4v.

803 “[...] tomando la corrida de atras de mas de 600. años, todos quantos ay en Europa, comunmente hablando, tienen Raça antigua de moros y Judios, y ansi si se puede olvidar la caussa antigua de justa yndignacion [...]” Ibidem, 15v.

804 Wolfgang REINHARD: “Eine so barbarische und grausame Nation wie diese”: Die Konstruktion der Alterität Spaniens durch die Leyenda Negra und ihr Nutzen für allerhand Identitäten, in: Hans-Joachim GEHRKE (ed.): *Geschichtsbilder und Gründungsmythen*, Würzburg 2001, 159–177, here 164–165.

the claims by Hucher and Majoli – as extremely healthy. The fasting, the small range of dishes, which prevent a binge, according to him, and their particular moderation in eating and drinking mean that Jews are well protected from any rot of their fluids and thus from a bad smell resulting from this:

“So that observing a spare and sipmle [sic] diet whereby they prevent the generation of crudities; and fasting often whereby they might also digest them; they must be less inclinable unto this infirmity then any other Nation, whose proceedings are not so reasonable to avoid it.”<sup>805</sup>

Browne clearly also uses the reference to the healthy diet of Jews to exercise social criticism by denouncing the practice of opulent feasts. In this respect, his explanatory remarks can be classified in the category of luxury criticism, which enjoyed great popularity in the Early Modern Era.

Third, Browne refers to the ritual purity laws of Jews, paying particular attention to their significance for generation (procreation) and conception. He emphasizes, above all, that sexual abstinence during female menstruation has a positive effect on procreated progeny. He warns that if sexual abstinence is not observed during this period, there is the threat that the offspring will become infected with measles or smallpox.<sup>806</sup> Here, too, it is possible to read in this a criticism and warning to Christian society, which knew sexual abstinence during menstruation as a norm, but took it to heart only to a limited extent.

Fourth, what he calls probably his strongest argument, experience itself refutes the idea of a *foetor judaicus*:

“Lastly, Experience will convict it; for this offensive odor is no way discoverable in their Synagogues where many are, and by reason of their number could not be concealed: nor is the same discernable in commerce or conversation with such as are cleanly in Apparel, and decent in their Houses. Surely the Viziars and *Turkish* Basha’s are not of this opinion; who as Sr. *Henry Blunt* informeth, do generally keep a *Jew* in their private Counsell.”<sup>807</sup>

Thomas Browne does not address where he could have gained his practical experience. His book was published in 1646, at a time when Jews were still banned from settling in England and only small groups lived secretly on the British Isles, such as the Sephardic community in London. The Jews in England received an at least informal residency permit from Oliver Cromwell a short time later in 1656, which was prepared by a political campaign led by Menasse ben Israel (1604–1657) and the Whitehall Conference in December 1655. Especially at this conference, it became apparent that a quite considerable number of people in England had a positive attitude towards Jews.<sup>808</sup> It would therefore be quite possible that Browne belonged to this philosemitic direction.

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<sup>805</sup> BROWNE: *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (see n. 793), 173.

<sup>806</sup> *Ibidem*, 174.

<sup>807</sup> *Ibidem*, 174.

<sup>808</sup> In this regard, see Hiltrud WALLENBORN: *Bekehrungseifer, Judenangst und Handelsinteresse: Amsterdam, Hamburg und London als Ziele sefardischer Migration im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim et al. 2003, 120–155.

As for Browne's personal contact to Jews, it seems more likely that he met with Jews on the continent during his studies, if his remarks are really based on his own experience. When he continues with the next information on Turkish circumstances, he identifies his source, namely a travelogue by Henry Blount (1602–1682), which means that it is quite likely that he himself appeared as a witness before that.

If one compares this passage with the assertions of the dialog partners in Majoli's text on *Canicular Days*, the blatant contradiction is immediately noticeable. Both are based on the value of experience. While experience in Majoli confirms the *foetor judaicus*, it refutes this in Browne. The information they provide about the circumstances in the Ottoman Empire diverges widely. While Majoli even mentions a special Turkish term used to describe Jews and their supposed unpleasant smell, Browne stresses that a Jew is almost always in the private circle of the vizier or pasha as an advisor.<sup>809</sup>

After Thomas Browne put forward his arguments that refute a *foetor judaicus*, he tries to clarify why such an idea came up at all. On the one hand, he emphasizes that metaphorical statements, which were supposed to express Christians' abhorrence of Jews, were taken literally. On the other, he refers to the disgusting and dissolute lifestyle of Jews, which had arisen through the servitude imposed on them. At this point, the previously more and more positive description of Jewish life comes to an end, making it difficult to reconcile the two positions. For his description of a lifestyle that promotes a bad smell, Browne refers to a travelogue by George Sandys (1578–1644). He describes the Jewish women living in the Ottoman Empire with little flattery as obese with bulging eyes: "They are generally fat, and ranke of the sauours which attend vpon sluttish corpulency. For the most part they are goggle eyd."<sup>810</sup> This quotation makes it clear that here too the bad smell that Sandys witnessed is caused by the living conditions alone. Eva Johanna Holmberg, whose dissertation examined the image of the Jews conveyed in early modern English literature and also analyzed the idea of the *foetor judaicus* in detail, aptly summarizes these stories under the heading of natural causes of body odor:

"Fynes Moryson's garlic-eating Jews in the densely populated ghetto of Prague and George Sandys' fat and smelly Jewish women in Turkey were good examples of a 'naturally caused' Jewish smell, according to the reasoning explained later by Thomas Browne."<sup>811</sup>

On the one hand, a negative picture of the Jewish lifestyle is drawn, while, on the other, the rug is pulled out from under the *foetor judaicus* as an inherited, immutable blemish. English travel literature, for example, often contains words of praise with a view to Jews. Two pages before the shameful description of Jewish women, Sandys praises the optimal balance of fluids in Jewish men, *the best complexions*.<sup>812</sup> Browne's negative representation can also be read in this sense as a strategic means to an end, which serves to counteract the idea of a *foetor judaicus* – in the sense of an inherited

809 See Henry BLOUNT: *A Voyage into the Levant*, London: Printed by I. L[egat] for Andrew Crooke, 1636, URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/miun.alt2311.0001.001> (visited on 27/02/2019), 114–115.

810 George SANDYS: *A Relation of a Iourney*, London: Printed [by Richard Field] for W: Barrett, 1615, 148–149; see also Eva Johanna HOLMBERG: *Jews in the Early Modern English Imagination*, Farnham and Surrey 2011, 135.

811 *Ibidem*, 135.

812 SANDYS: *A Relation of a Iourney* (see n. 810), 146.

blemish – and to expose it as an error. In general, Browne warns his readers against the tendency of attributing certain qualities to an entire nation and concludes his chapter on Jews with the following words:

“Thus therefore, although we concede that many opinions are true which hold some conformity unto this, yet in assenting hereto, many difficulties must arise: it being a dangerous point to annex a constant property unto any Nation, and much more this unto the *Jew*; since it is not verifiable by observation; since the grounds are feeble that should establish it, and lastly, since it all were true, yet are the reasons alleadged for it, of no sufficiency to maintain it.”<sup>813</sup>

It is precisely the last statement that proves once again to be a point directed against the argument of Campegius, who defined the *foetor judaicus* as divine punishment. Here Browne clearly proves that he is a representative of scholarly empiricism by basing his reasoning essentially on experience and observation – “verifiable by observation” – whereas he rejects the theological reasoning of a person like Campegius precisely because of its lack of verifiability by reason and sense. Another critic, Isaac Cardoso (1603/04–1683),<sup>814</sup> who was already discussed in the previous chapter, at least in part also proves to be a proponent of empirical methods such as experience.

The Converso born in Portugal and later emigrating to Italy, where he officially adopted the Jewish faith, defended himself against not only the accusation of “Jewish male” menstruation, but also the Jewish stench, which he enumerated as the second calumny, in his work *On the Excellence of Hebrews*, which appeared in Spanish in 1679. Even if Isaac Cardoso evidently did not know Thomas Browne’s remarks or did not quote them, he also argues on the basis of empirical findings, which is how he introduces his chapter:

“Contrary to all experience and based solely on hatred, some authors attribute a bad smell to Hebrews, citing Martial and Marcellinus as witnesses, and then other Moderns get involved in the process of successively expanding this.”<sup>815</sup>

Experience itself refutes the *foetor judaicus*; experience exposes it as pure slander in this sense, which is based solely on the hatred that Christians have for Jews, Cardoso concludes. This ensures, as Cardoso points out later, that the eyes of reason go blind.<sup>816</sup> Cardoso thus sees hatred as the greatest driving force behind the accusations that Christian polemics made against Jews.

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813 BROWNE: *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (see n. 793), 175.

814 See chapter 3.4.4 *Critics of “Jewish Male” Menstruation* for additional details on his biography and his relationship to Juan de Quiñones.

815 “Contra toda experiencia, y solo fundados en el odio atribuyeron algunos Autores à los Hebreos, el mal olor, trayendo por testigos à Martial, y à Marcellino, y despues otros Modernos lo van amplificando.” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 339.

816 “Adulation and hate blind the mind, and attribute many goods and much gratitude to those whom they worship and flatter, and impute much evil and many vices to those whom they abhor and despise.” / “La adulacion, y el odio ciegan los ojos de la razon, y atribuyen muchos bienes, y gracias al que veneran, lisongean, y imputan muchos males, y vicios al que aborrecen, y desprecian.” *Ibidem*, 340.



Having compiled the ancient and modern authors' accusations regarding the *foetor judaicus* and bad smell in general, Cardoso's first concern is to clarify how a bad smell basically develops. In this context, he identifies two root causes. Thus, on the one hand, there is the natural bad smell; on the other, there is the one that arises randomly or casually, as a kind of accident, so to speak. Cardoso cites strong smelling galbanum resin as an example of a naturally bad smelling substance in another text.<sup>817</sup> By contrast, Cardoso holds primarily rotting processes responsible for a bad smell as a result of an accident:

"This is how the good smell comes from the good concoction of the humors and the perfect mixture of moisture and dryness. And in contrast, the stench develops from the rottenness arising from the rawness of the excrements, which was not overcome by the natural heat [of the body], because these raw undigested vapors, which are secreted through the skin, are foul-smelling and have a strong odor [...]."<sup>818</sup>

Cardoso's approach draws on Galenic humoral pathology. An imbalance of the fluids – dyscrasia in contrast to eucrasia – leads to rotting processes in the body, which in turn would promote a bad smell. That is, following this logic, if one were to restore the balance of the fluids through, say, nutrition and the right lifestyle, then the symptom of the bad smell would also be eliminated.

As far as the rotting processes are concerned, Cardoso argues that these are primarily caused by an excess of heat and humidity, which are not in harmony with each other, as he explains in his natural philosophical-medical work *Philosophia libera* of 1673. He also emphasizes that not all substances affected by rotting processes necessarily have to stink. In this context, he cites the example of rust on iron, which he defines as a rotting process. As proof of a perfect mixture of moisture and dryness, he uses flowers, which therefore smell particularly good due to their optimal mixture.<sup>819</sup> In later chapters of *Philosophia libera*, Cardoso also discusses in detail the various functions of the nose, which he describes as an olfactory organ, but to which he assigns other important functions as well:

"The use of the nose is as an organ for smelling, for transmitting air to the lungs, and thirdly for expunging the excretions of the brain, and it [serves] to shape the voice and is arranged to adorn the face."<sup>820</sup>

In addition to its function as an organ for smelling, the nose has four other functions. It plays a crucial role in breathing, voice formation, the aesthetics of the face and the cleansing of the brain. The latter, according to early modern medical conceptions, is essentially contaminated by a type of fumes, the *vapores*, which rise from the body upward into the brain.

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817 CARDOSO: *Philosophia libera in septem libros distribvta* (see n. 620), 202.

818 "De suerte que el buen olor nace de la buena coccion del humor, y perfecta mixtion del humido con el secco, y al contrario el fetor se engendra de la putredine originada de crudeza excrementitia no vencida del natural calor, con que estas exalaciones crudas indigestas, expelidas por la cute son fetidas, y de olor grave [...]." CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 342.

819 CARDOSO: *Philosophia libera in septem libros distribvta* (see n. 620), 202.

820 "Vsus narium est vt organum esset olfactus, vt aerem deferret in pulmonem, tertio vt cerebri recrementa expurgaret, tum ad formandam vocem, & faciei ornatum constituendum." *Ibidem*, 532.

Cardoso also regards the nose as facial decoration from a physiognomic point of view. First, he notes that the shape of the nose in men generally provides information about the size and shape of the genitals. He then devotes himself to physiognomy by assigning certain characteristics to the various nasal forms, for which he frequently uses comparisons with animals. The animals also seem to stand for this characteristic. A particularly round and blunt nose, similar to that of a lion, is a sign of generosity, for example. Big noses are generally attributed far more positive character traits than small ones. Cardoso considers them to stand for boldness, a great spirit and discretion.<sup>821</sup> In his 1928 text about the ideas circulating in 17th century Spain, the historian Miguel Herrero García (1895–1961) questioned the extent to which these positive assessments of large noses could be reconciled with the fact that Christian polemics slandered Jews with exactly these characteristics.<sup>822</sup> He therefore assumed that these two strands of ideas were only separated from each other by the emergence of the hatred of Jews.<sup>823</sup> In my opinion, it seems more plausible that the two lines of thought existed parallel to each other and could be integrated into their respective contexts independently of each other, very similar to the idea of male menstruation in the previous chapter. In this case, too, the predominantly positively connotated idea of male menstruation could exist and be discussed in isolation from the consistently negatively afflicted idea of “Jewish male” menstruation.

Now that Cardoso’s general ideas about odor and the organ required for it have been clarified, it is necessary to ask what arguments the physician uses to counter the accusation of the *foetor judaicus*. He raises a total of four objections. First, he refers to the climate of Syria and more precisely Palestine as the original region of origin of the Hebrews. The Syrian climate is characterized, above all, by dryness and heat, which, as is well known – according to his statements from *Philosophia libera* – promotes a good odor. He has even greater words of praise for the Palestinian climate: “[...] and the land of Palestine is so good for one’s health and the climate so temperate and perfect because the land was chosen by the Lord for his beloved people.”<sup>824</sup> According to Cardoso’s logic, Palestine can only be a perfectly balanced region with a corresponding climate since God gave the land to the chosen people of Israel. Thus the physician recounts the climate theory by referring to the region of origin. As discussed in the previous chapter, the medievalist Suzanne Akbari shows in her book *Idols in the East* that the Jews posed a challenge to medieval climate theories because they were assigned their own physiology despite their diaspora. For medieval climate theorists, the solution to this paradox consisted in the specific dietary rules that prevented adaptation to the climate in which they lived.<sup>825</sup> By contrast, Cardoso still seems to see the Jewish body in the diaspora as positively influenced by its original region of origin.

However, the Jewish dietary rules also play an important role for him because he mentions them

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821 CARDOSO: *Philosophia libera in septem libros distributa* (see n. 620), 591.

822 See, for example, QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General* (see n. 85), 11r; COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), 171; HUERTA: *Problemas filosóficos* (see n. 578), 15r.

823 Miguel HERRERO GARCÍA: *Las ideas de los españoles del siglos XVII*, Madrid 1966, 630–631.

824 “[...] y ser la tierra de Palestina tan saludable, y de clima tan templado, y perfeto, como tierra escogida del Señor para su pueblo amado.” CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 342.

825 AKBARI: *Idols in the East* (see n. 399), 150.

as a second point to underline the absurdity of the idea of a *foetor judaicus*. Since the food is a selection according to divine rules, Cardoso argues, it is therefore particularly suitable for ensuring the balance of fluids.<sup>826</sup> The third point is closely linked to the second one because Cardoso refers here to the abstinence and simplicity of life, which he attaches to the simplicity of the food. Accordingly, the Hebrews do not indulge in feasts and their simple way of life ensures their physical balance:

“[...] they [the Hebrews] do not produce foul breath like the unruly people who indulge in drunkenness and gluttony, and the moderation of the Hebrews – whether out of need or virtue – is widely known, so that even if they do not have much physical exercise, their moderation and sobriety exceed physical exercise because frugality insulates and prevents surpluses [...]”<sup>827</sup>

This argument of Jews’ particularly moderate way of life lets Cardoso even refute the accusation that the bad smell in Jews is caused by a lack of physical exercise, because exercise becomes obsolete due to the healthy, moderate diet. However, he indirectly confirms the accusation that Jews were more likely to pursue activities with limited movement when he echoed what Francesco Filelfo or Simone Majoli wrote. The argumentation on abstinence, moderation and sobriety strongly resembles the remarks made by Thomas Browne, who also praised the special Jewish dietary practices, their “healthy diet.” Cardoso does not address whether this moderate lifestyle can be traced back to the Jewish diaspora and the associated deprivations and oppressions or to the high moral values of the Jews, i.e. to their general virtue, but certainly sees both elements as influential factors.

The fourth and last point also sounded like something from Thomas Browne. Here Cardoso addresses the ritual purity laws, which would prevent a bad smell and even diseases. As an example, he cites the practice of circumcision, which protects Jews from syphilis among other things.<sup>828</sup> According to Cardoso, Jews also suffer less from the plague and leprosy than other groups due to their moderate lifestyle.<sup>829</sup> In the Jewish polemic against Christians, it was also explained that Christians suffer more from leprosy. The cause of this was mentioned to be sexual intercourse with menstruating women.<sup>830</sup> The idea that leprosy is caused by sex during menstruation was also widespread among physicians. According to this theory, both the child conceived by this sex and the sexual partner could fall ill with leprosy as a result.<sup>831</sup> However, there was also the view shaped by Christian polemics, which closely associated Jews with leprosy and syphilis. The spread of syphilis,

826 CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619), 342.

827 “[...] no producen halitos putridos, como en los hombres destemplados dados à la crapula, y à la gula, y la templança de los Hebreos, ò por necesidad, ò por virtud es bien conocida, con que aunque no tengan ejercicios grandes y la tamplança [sic], y la sobriedad exceden al ejercicio, porque la moderacion ataja, y proibe superfluidades [...]”  
Ibidem, 342.

828 Ibidem, 343.

829 Ibidem, 347; see also the related remarks in chapter 3.4.4 *Critics of “Jewish Male” Menstruation* and Cardoso’s reference to Johann Buxtorf.

830 CUFFEL: *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (see n. 675), 193.

831 ALONSO LÓPEZ DE CORELLA: *Trescientas preguntas de cosas naturales* (1546), Pamplona 2000, 125–126.

for example, was attributed to the Sephardim expelled from Spain.<sup>832</sup> According to Cardoso, the moderate and modest hairstyles of the Jews also contribute to health since they prevent headaches, for example. In this context, Cardoso addresses both aesthetic and health aspects:

“They treat their hair with moderation so that it does not grow long, does not harm their health or cause pains and affects of the head and which is little decorative for male beings [...]”<sup>833</sup>

Accordingly, cultic-ritual, but also aesthetic aspects seem to favor a moderate and thus healthy way of life for Jews, as Cardoso himself shows in Jewish hair fashion. In summary, it is the region of origin and the moderate lifestyle of Hebrews, which, according to Cardoso’s remarks, make a particularly Jewish, bad body odor impossible in the observance of Kashrut and the ritual purity laws as well as general abstinence.

In support of his argument, the Verona-based physician also uses the explanations of the Italian physician and universal scholar Gerolamo Cardano (1501–1576). In his paper on the preservation of health, *De sanitate tuenda*,<sup>834</sup> he talks about the right lifestyle that is conducive to health and in particular about the choice of food that goes with it. According to Cardano, it is important to find the right diet for eating and drinking. In this context, Cardano also draws on his own experience by telling us that figs and grapes (malvasia) would not be given to him to eat, while raisins before eating are particularly beneficial.<sup>835</sup> After this brief insight into his life and eating habits, Cardano describes the Jewish way of life and praises its positive effects on health. Thus, he contrasts the modest life of Jews – defined by abstinence, above all with regard to nutrition – to the deprivation and miserable circumstances under which Jews had to live among Christians and Muslims. He emphasizes that it was only thanks to their way of life that Jews cope so well with these adverse circumstances and even reach old age. According to him, many even reach the age of ninety. Cardano also mentions the women’s ritual ablutions, which they even performed on themselves in the winter with cold water. He also sees proof of abstinence in regard to alcohol. For example, he had never seen a drunk Jew: “[...] I don’t remember ever seeing a drunk Hebrew or hearing from anyone that he had seen one, and at the same time they also raise their sons like that. [...]”<sup>836</sup> As far as this point is concerned, Cardoso, by the way, does not refrain from inserting a comment that he himself has already seen a few drunk Jews.<sup>837</sup> At this point, it can be seen that Cardoso also brings in the value of observation

832 HÖDL: Die Pathologisierung des jüdischen Körpers: Antisemitismus, Geschlecht und Medizin im Fin de Siècle (see n. 330), 30; Anja SCHONLAU: Syphilis in der Literatur: über ästhetik, Moral, Genie und Medizin (1880–2000), Würzburg 2005, 50.

833 “Con modestia tratan del cabello, siendo el crecido no menos dañoso à la salud, y engendrador de dolores, y afectos de cabeça, que poco decorosos en los animos varoniles [...]” CARDOSO: Las Excelencias de los Hebreos (see n. 619), 343.

834 Gerolamo CARDANO: Hieronymi Cardani mediolanensis opera omnia, Vol. 6: Qui est medicinalium primus, Lugduni [Lyon]: Ioannis Antonii Hugueta & Mancii Antonii Ravaud, 1663, URL: [ark:/13960/t49p5pc72](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63862-p0072-7) (visited on 27/02/2019), 104.

835 Ibidem, 103.

836 “[...] nec memini me vidisse vnquam ebrium Hebræum, nec audisse qui viderit, cumque hoc modo etiam educent filios [...]” Ibidem, 104.

837 CARDOSO: Las Excelencias de los Hebreos (see n. 619), 343.

like Thomas Browne, even if this is actually disadvantageous for his argumentation. Apart from this remark, he incorporates Cardano's passage almost literally by translating it into Spanish.

Cardano's explanatory remarks catch one's eye in particular because of his sharp criticism of Christians and Muslims whom he blames for the miserable living conditions of Jews in the diaspora. Here, like Browne, he uses his explanatory remarks about Jews to criticize his own society. At the same time, to a certain extent, he also sees distress and oppression as a cause of a healthy lifestyle characterized by abstinence. Thus, Jews basically found themselves by force in the stage of perpetually needing healing treatment, "nam in perpetuis curis viuunt."<sup>838</sup>

Cardano's passage, in turn, provides Cardoso with ideal support for his argumentation since a non-Jewish doctor finds words of praise for the Jewish way of life here. The fact that he also expresses himself critically when he addresses the lack of physical exercise or inserts that he has already seen some drunk Jews only contributes to his credibility in this sense. A pure hymn of praise for Jews and their way of life would certainly not have been conducive to his goal of invalidating the slander against Jews with well-founded arguments.

It should still be noted that the topic of dietetics plays a decisive role both in confirming and refuting the idea of a *foetor judaicus*. Other topics such as physical exercise, ritual purity, climate theories or the general aspect of abstinence are also discussed, but nutrition and thus Jewish dietary laws repeatedly prove to be a central point of discussion. In this context, a connection can be drawn to the debate on "Jewish male" menstruation, in which Jewish eating habits also played a special role. This may be one reason why the two accusations are often directly tied to each other and discussed in close connection with each other.

### 4.3.3 Culinary Dimensions

The choice of food played an important role in the discussion on the *foetor judaicus* not only from a medical, but also from a culinary point of view. For example, Christian authors made Spanish-Jewish cuisine, which was characterized by its use of olive oil in cooking, co-responsible for the bad smell. The chronicler Andrés Bernaldez (c. 1450–after 1530), who recorded the history of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragón, wrote the following about the traditions of the Spanish Jews who lived in the kingdom before their expulsion in 1492:

"[...] and the meat they fried with oil [...] and the oil with the meat is a thing that makes one's breath smell bad; and so their houses and doors stank of that food and they themselves had the smell of Jews because of the food, and because they were not baptized. Even if some were baptized, they stank like Jews as they offended the essence of baptism through their credulity and Judaizing [...]."<sup>839</sup>

<sup>838</sup> CARDANO: Hieronymi Cardani mediolanensis opera omnia, Vol. 6 (see n. 834), 104.

<sup>839</sup> "[...] e la carne guisaban con aceyte [...], e el aceyte con la carne es cosa que hace muy mal oler el resuello; e ansi sus casas y puertas hedian muy mal a aquellos manjarejos, e ellos eso mesmo tenian el olor de los judios por causa de los manjares, y de no ser bautizados puesto caso que algunos fueron bautizados mortificado el carácter del bautismo en ellos por la credulidad e por judaizar hedian como judios [...]." Andrés BERNÁLDEZ: Historia de los reyes católicos,

On the one hand, the court chronicler explains the *foetor judaicus* quite classically as coming from the lack of baptism. In the case of apostasy and heresy, however, he also ascribed this to the Conversos. On the other hand, he also views the culinary traditions of the Sephardim, that is, the Spanish Jews, who liked to prepare their dishes with olive oil, as another source of smell. In the reverse case, Christian cuisine, in which lard and pork were often used for cooking, could also represent an olfactory challenge for New Christians. For example, in 1505, a servant reported to the Inquisition Court that her Conversa mistress Ana Láinez held a cloth in front of her nose because she could not bear the smell of cooked pork.<sup>840</sup> And the Morisca María de Mendoza, who was interrogated by the Inquisition Tribunal of Cuenca, was also disgusted by Christian cuisine and refused to touch the broth that was prepared on the basis of bacon. Likewise, Mercedes García-Arenal, in her study on the files of the Inquisition Tribunal of Cuenca, found testimony from Christian neighbors of the Morisco community who complained about the bad smell of Moorish cuisine. They held the opinion that the use of olive oil produced a bad smell and caused bad breath.<sup>841</sup>

The fact that the traditional Sephardic dishes assumed a place of immense importance in the inquisition trials against Conversos is also reported by Luis Girón Negrón, Professor of Comparative Literature and Romance Languages:

“Inquisitorial records against the *conversos* brim over with references to their dietary practices [...]. Of course, the preparation of *adefinas* [...], also referred to as *cazuelas* and *calientes* [...], figures among the most common accusations in Inquisitorial trials against putative crypto-Jews.”<sup>842</sup>

Thus, the discovery and examination of Conversos’ dietary habits served extensively as a basis for convicting them of practicing Judaism. The *adefinas* mentioned by Girón Negrón were of such great importance because this meal consisted of a meat stew traditionally eaten on Shabbat and could be prepared in advance or cooked overnight.

The issue also plays an important role in the Inquisition transcripts at the Toledo Inquisition Tribunal, where three physicians were accused of practicing Judaism – a case that I have examined in more detail. All three – Juan Nuñez, Phelipe de Najara and Francisco de San Martin – were questioned about their eating habits, and these habits were a central point in the charges during their trials. Phelipe de Najara, for example, was accused of not eating bacon, and Juan Nuñez is said to have renounced meat, which the Inquisition Court interpreted as adhering to Jewish fasting rituals. And by the way, both of them chose medical arguments to refute the accusations. Phelipe de Najara, for example, asserted at the hearing on August 13, 1608, that he had refrained from eating

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vol. 1, Granada 1856, URL: [ark:/13960/t8v98gw9p](http://ark:/13960/t8v98gw9p) (visited on 27/02/2019), 98; see also GITLITZ: *Secrecy and Deceit* (see n. 5), 536.

840 *Ibidem*, 537.

841 ADC, leg. 252, núm. 3423 u. leg. 437, núm. 6169, cited according to Mercedes GARCÍA-ARENAL: *Inquisición y moriscos: Los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca*, 3rd ed., Madrid 1987, 71.

842 Luis M. GIRÓN NEGRÓN: “Juro al deu aí somos nós”: Some Notes on Gil Vicente’s Jews and the Spanish and Portuguese Cancione[i]ros, in: *La Corónica* 40 (2011), 243–293, here 261.

bacon and other highly salted meat when he was suffering from gout. By doing this, he was only following dietary prescriptions according to Galenic humoral pathology:

“On the other hand, regarding the claim that I do not eat bacon; I left it out for some time, as I already confessed, when I was plagued by gout and another internal disease, for which the said bacon and other salty meats are harmful and damaging to one’s health, according to Galen’s opinion in his *De alimentorum facultatibus*. And when the cause [the disease] had been resolved, I ate of everything, as I stated in Question 32 of my hearing and as Your Lordship can ascertain [...].”<sup>843</sup>

In support of his assertion that he had abstained from eating bacon solely for medical reasons, Phelipe de Najara not only cited Galen as a reference, but also mentioned the document in which the dietary measures are set out in particular. The physician Juan Nuñez, who had been accused together with his wife Beatriz Lopez, also countered the accusation of fasting with a medical refutation:

“He said that all this was mendacious and intriguing fraud, as can be seen in particular from the fact that it is said that he fasted last year [16]78 in September. This is because he was ill the whole year and ate meat, and that rules out that he could have fasted, so he denies this charge.”<sup>844</sup>

Juan Nuñez thus confessed that he could not have fasted at all for the whole year of 1678 because of his illness, which he does not specify, and thus the accusations made of him were null and void. In the case of Francisco de San Martin, food was even the basis for charging him. Witnesses at the royal court were questioned because the accused had informed other guests at a banquet about what he does not eat.<sup>845</sup> However, it was not only about the food that one ate or spurned, but also about the preparation of it. His cell mate Julio de Toledo, himself a physician and, according to his own information, a descendant of a Morisco family that converted to Christianity early on,<sup>846</sup> incriminated Phelipe de Najara in his hearing on October 1, 1608, by claiming that he prepared the meat according to Jewish traditions:

[...] he said he applied for the hearing to tell and explain what he had heard his cell mate Phelipe de Naxara say when he explained the reason why Jews wash and bleed meat for so

843 “Lo otro porque el decir que yo no comia toçino como es ansi que me lo quite algun tiempo como tengo confesado que quando la gota me apretaba y otra enfermedad interior a que el dicho toçino y otras carnes saladas le son nocibas y dañosas conforme la opinion de Galeno en los libros de alimentorum facultatibus, la qual causa cesante comia de todo como en la 32 pregunta de mi interrogatorio tengo articulado y a vuestra señoria le constara [...]” AHN: Causa de fe Phelipe de Najara, 1605–1610 (see n. 106), 225v.

844 “Dixo que todo es engaño embeleco y enredo que se be especialmente en lo que se dice de haver hecho aiuno del mes de septiembre el año passado de setenta y ocho porque este estuvo todo esse año dicho enfermo y comia carne y en esso se excluie que pudiesse aiunar y asi niega el caro [cargó] del capitulo.” AHN: Causa de fe de Juan Nuñez, 1678–1681 (see n. 64), 57r.

845 AHN: Causa de fe Francisco de San Martin, 1537–1543.

846 AHN: Causa de fe Phelipe de Najara, 1605–1610 (see n. 106), 172r–172v.

long. And he [Najara] said that there is a [reason] since the divine Leviticus, which is a book that explains all the ceremonies of Mosaic law, says the same as the said Phelipe de Naxara said: *omnis anima in sanguine est* [all soul power is in the blood, see Lev. 17.14]. And so that they would not eat the soul when they eat the flesh, therefore they let it bleed out; and he [Najara] cautiously admonished this reason, so that whenever the said Phelipe de Naxara washes the meat and bleeds it, as he [Julio de Toledo] has explained in the said confessions, he repeats the said reason from the said Leviticus [...].”<sup>847</sup>

In order to lend credibility to his explanatory remarks, the denunciator and fellow prisoner Julio de Toledo even mentions the reasons for the special meat preparation that Phelipe de Najara is said to have explained to him. He relies on the Old Testament, in which the basic conviction is expressed that the entire soul power can be found in the blood. That the Conversos, who secretly practiced Judaism, relied on the Old Testament was, by the way, common practice, since it was too dangerous for them to possess and consult Jewish writings.<sup>848</sup> The extent to which Julio de Toledo, however, put the words into his fellow inmate’s mouth, since he apparently hoped that his accusations would result in a more favorable outcome for his own trial, and the extent to which these statements were actually made by Najara, must remain open. It can be said, however, that great importance was attributed to both the preparation of the food and the food itself in the Inquisition trials.

But it was not only in the context of the Inquisition, but also in contemporary literature that the topic was readily taken up. In the *Buscón*, the picaresque novel by Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645) first published in 1626, allusions to special eating habits served to expose the Conversos and gave the author cause for all sorts of mockery and scorn. For example, Quevedo shows a Morisco, the owner of an inn, whose steadfastness in faith is doubted. In this context, he also addresses the group of Conversos who are unmasked and exposed by him through their noses and their inability to smell bacon:

“The owner and innkeeper was one of those who believed in God only out of politeness and pretense, Moriscos, as the folk call them, since there is still an extensive post-harvest of these people and also of those who have noses like large cucumbers, which only fail when it comes to smelling a good pork bacon.”<sup>849</sup>

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847 “[...] dixo que la [la audiencia] a pedido para decir y declarar lo que a oido decir a Phelipe de Naxara su compañero de carçel dando la raçon por que los Judios laban mucho la carne y la desangran y dixo que era una que dice el dibineo lenio [divino levítico?] que es un libro que dixo el dicho Phelipe de Naxara que declaraba todas las ceremonias de la ley de moisen el qual dice que / *omnis anima in sanguine est* [see Lev 17:14] / y porque no se comiesen el alma comiendo la carne con sangre que por eso la desangraban y que esta a advertido con cuydado que siempre que el dicho Phelipe de Naxara laba la carne y desangra como tiene declarado en dichas confesiones esta repitiendo la dicha raçon del dicho lenio [levítico?] [...]” AHN: Causa de fe Phelipe de Najara, 1605–1610 (see n. 106), 188v–189r.

848 GITLITZ: *Secrecy and Deceit* (see n. 5), 233.

849 Translation from Hans Carl Artmann’s German translation: QUEVEDO: *Der abenteuerliche Buscón* (see n. 57), 36–37; “Era el dueño y huésped de los que creen en Dios por cortesía o sobre falso; moriscos los llaman en el pueblo, que hay muy grande cosecha desta gente, y de la que tiene sobradas narices y solo les faltan para oler tocino [...]” QUEVEDO: *El buscón* (see n. 57), 63; see also LEITNER: *Das falsche Rot der Rose* (see n. 57), 121. This citation has been analyzed also in chapter 1.1 *A Master Narrative?*. A recent English translation omits this passage, see ANONYMOUS/FRANCISCO



Moriscos and Conversos are mentioned here by Quevedo in one breath. However, the mockery of the nose and its inability to smell bacon is reserved for the Converso group alone. Quevedo even dedicates an entire sonnet to a nose or a man with a big nose, by the way, whereby here too the allusions to a Jewish origin play no inconsiderable role, for example when he embellishes the poem with a reference to the twelve tribes.<sup>850</sup> In two other sonnets, directed at his competitor Luis de Góngora (1561–1627), Quevedo tries to defame his rival as a Jew or Converso by appropriate allusions to the nose and bacon.<sup>851</sup>

An English edition of the *Buscón* in 1657, in which the translation is based on a French translation by Paul Scarron (1660–1660) in 1633 under the pseudonym La Geneste, shows that Quevedo's mockery and allusions outside the Iberian Peninsula probably caused confusion rather than laughter. Accordingly, the translator omitted the bacon passage completely and writes instead:

“The Hostler was a Morisco, and a Thief at his fingers ends. Those we term Morisco's, who are descended from the Moors, though converted to the catholic Faith, and are however vilely suspected of being still Jews.”<sup>852</sup>

Both the omission and the association of the Moriscos with Judaism rather than Islam suggest that the situation of the Conversos and Moriscos beyond the Iberian Peninsula was difficult to comprehend and left room for all sorts of misunderstandings and misinterpretations. The allusion to bacon thus worked in the Iberian region, but not in France or in the Holy Roman Empire.

In addition to sonnets and picaresque novels, the genre of *cancioneros* also enjoyed great popularity, alluding to Sephardic and New Christian peculiarities. The *cancioneros*, which can be roughly translated as songbooks or song collections, form a corpus of Spanish and Portuguese poems and songs on the threshold from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Era (c. 12th–14th centuries). A prominent representative of this genre, the Converso poet Rodrigo Cota († 1497), also used his poems for a certain self-irony or mockery of his own people. The following verses were probably written out of displeasure. Cota wrote them when he was at odds with his brother who had failed to invite him to his cousin's wedding, apparently a major social event at the time, especially within Converso circles:

“At the wedding of this *aljama*<sup>853</sup>  
they didn't eat prickly food  
or fish without scales,

DE QUEVEDO: *Lazarillo de Tormes and The Grifter* (see n. 57), 75.

850 IGNACIO ARELLANO AYUSO: *Poesía satírico burlesca de Quevedo*, Pamplona 1984, 359–363.

851 *Ibidem*, 522, 536–537.

852 QUEVEDO: *The Life and Adventures of Buscon the Witty Spaniard*. Put into English by a Person of Honour. To which is added, the Provident Knight (see n. 59), 39–40; “Nostre Hoste estoit de ceux qui ne croyent en Jesus-Christ que par courtoisie: c'estoit un Morisque, on appelle ainsi ceux d'entre les Maures, qui se sont convertis à la Foy Catholique, qu'on soupçonne de tenir tousiours au Judaïsme.” QUEVEDO: *L'aventurier Buscon / Der abentheuerliche Buscon* (see n. 59), 92.

853 This Arabic term was used to describe the Jewish quarter. See GIRÓN NEGRÓN: “Juro al deu aí somos nós” (see n. 842), 259.

no matter how much the groom could eat,  
 but lots of eggplants  
 and saffron with chard.  
 Everyone who says Jesu<sup>854</sup> at the feast,  
 should not eat meatballs!”<sup>855</sup>

The meatballs mentioned at the end of the short satirical poem, the *albondiguillas*, are as well known as the previously mentioned stew *adefina*.<sup>856</sup> Thus the renunciation of these meatballs at the Converso wedding in Cota becomes, to a certain extent, an expression of Christian convictions and steadfastness. The fact that the poet recites this last admonition to the pious Christians in the sociolect of the Conversos seems like a double ironic twist. In Cota’s case, the Sephardic culinary traditions seem to be less the target of his scorn than the efforts of some guests to deny their belonging to these traditions by loudly expressing their Christian identity.

#### 4.3.4 The Dog of Alba

Another literary tradition, which, however, is not connected to the culinary topoi discussed so far, but which is gladly taken up in connection with the topic of the *foetor judaicus*, is the story about the dog of Alba. The story must have been told before the expulsion of the Sephardim from the Spanish kingdom in 1492, since it involves the Jewish community of Alba. According to Joseph Eugene Gillet (1888–1958), Professor of Romance Languages, who analyzed and published the various texts in an essay, the oldest version known today, which was written in verses, comes from Johannes de Trasmiera, whose texts probably appeared in print in 1524 or a short time later.<sup>857</sup>

The story tells of the dog of Anton Gentil, who attacks only Jews in the city of Alba. Alba probably means the small town of Alba de Tormes, in which the ancestral seat of the Dukes of Alba is located, because the duke is also referred to in one place.<sup>858</sup> Should the Duke of Alba actually be meant, the period of the story can be narrowed down even more, because the Álvarez de Toledo family were Counts of Alba until 1472 when Castilian King Henry IV conferred the title of duke

854 The Conversos had their own sociolect, which is still spoken today, in the meantime as its own language, Judeo-Spanish. As a specific characteristic, they dropped the “s” at the end and were recognized by this. Even with God, the Spanish Dios became a Dio since the “s” was evidently perceived as plural and thus as a contradiction to monotheism.

855 “En la boda desta aljama  
 no se comio peliagudo,  
 ni pescado sin escama,  
 con quanto el marido pudo;  
 sino mucha berengena  
 y açafrañ con acelguilla:  
 quien Jesu diga en la çena  
 que no coma alvondiguilla.”

R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC (ed.): *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, II, vol. 22, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid 1915, 590.

856 GIRÓN NEGRÓN: “Juro al deu aí somos nós” (see n. 842), 269–272.

857 Joseph E. GILLET: *The Coplas del Perro de Alba*, in: *Modern Philology* 23 (1925–1926), 417–444, here 428.

858 *Ibidem*, 421.

on them. Consequently, there remains a window of twenty years, from 1472 to 1492. Thus the probability increases that the story could not have been written too long before 1524, if the first version that we have received from Johannes de Trasmiera was not even the first one. The story goes on to explain that Jews take the biting dog to court. The judge sentences the dog to death and lets him be handed over to the Jews so that they can punish him and take revenge. However, the dog is able to free himself and attacks his would-be executors again. The Jews are forced to move to Oviedo. The dog is then described as a kind of guardian of the city who exposes and bites every Jew coming into the city, even if he is disguised as a Christian:

“If any Jew showed up  
disguised as a Christian,  
and touched him [the dog] with their hand,  
which he [the dog] immediately kissed,  
he tore the Jew’s hand apart,  
since such a disguise did not trick him,  
if a Christian dressed like a Jew,  
he then remained seated.”<sup>859</sup>

This story was taken up by other writers, such as Lope de Vega, and enjoyed great popularity. In Lope de Vega’s allusion to the dog of Alba, which is handed down in a manuscript bearing his signature, the dog is, however, completely removed from its anti-Jewish context and is used only as a symbol for a particularly wild dog.<sup>860</sup> In another work by Lope de Vega, however, there are corresponding passages directed both against Jews and against Conversos.<sup>861</sup> Interestingly enough, the first version of the dog of Alba that we know about is provided with a striking number of Judeo-Spanish terms and phrases, some of which are directly derived from Hebrew. In this connection, Gillet notes in his comments:

“It is somewhat surprising to find the author of the early *Coplas* evidently familiar with the

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859 “Si algun judio topaua  
con capa de algun christiano  
tocaualo con su mano  
la qual luego besaua  
al judio lo arrastraua  
no llegando a tal uestido,  
si el christiano se vestia  
con capa de juderia  
luego en ella estaua asido.”  
Ibidem, 430.

860 Emilio COTARELO Y MORI (ed.): *Colección de entremeses: Loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas*, vol. 2, Granada 2000 (facsimile Madrid 1911), 495; GILLET: *The Coplas del Perro de Alba* (see n. 857), 417.

861 See Juan Carlos GARROT: *Teología y trasfondo histórico-social: Judíos y conversos de Lope de Vega a Calderón*, in: Irene ANDRÉS-SUÁREZ (ed.): *Las dos grandes minorías étnico-religiosas en la literatura del Siglo de Oro: Los judeoconversos y los moriscos*, *Actas del ‘Grand Seminaire’ de Neuchâtel*, 26-27/05/1994, Paris 1995, 129–147.

peculiarities of Judeo-Spanish, so much so that this text may be used for a small contribution to the study of Ladino.”<sup>862</sup>

Against the background of Rodrigo Cota’s wedding poem, one might well assume that this story was also written by a Converso author. Satirical poems and stories aimed at the Conversos or, in this case, at Jews, were by no means unusual for the Converso authors of the time. In the discussion about the *foetor judaicus* and the possibility of a New Christian stigma of smell, Gerónimo de Huerta took up the story about the dog of Alba and embellished it. Thus, according to Huerta, the dog can distinguish Jews from Christians on the basis of their strong smell:

“Some called them goats because of the intense smell these animals possess, similar to their own; and the fact that they are called damned [putos] Jews (as one commonly tends to do) comes from *putore* [Lat. stench] as when one says stinky. By their smell they could be recognized by the dog of Alba, if it is true what they say about him.”<sup>863</sup>

On the one hand, Huerta thus provides an explanation of how it could be that the dog of Alba attacked only Jews and spared Christians. On the other, he gives the story a reality that detaches it from the spheres of fiction by speculating on the truth content of the story and thus grants it a truth content in the first place. In the association of the Jewish body odor with that of a he-goat, as some authors<sup>864</sup> argued, Trachtenberg suspects a connection to the devil, which was often depicted in form of a he-goat.<sup>865</sup>

## 4.4 The Stigma of Smell and *limpieza de sangre*

### 4.4.1 Conversos

Major defenders of a New Christian stigma of smell, who fomented the discussion about the ideology of *limpieza de sangre*, have already been mentioned several times and analyzed in various parts. In this context, Gerónimo de Huerta, Juan de Quiñones, Francisco de Torrejoncillo and Vicente da Costa Matos as well as his translator Diego Gavilán Vela can be mentioned. In addition to classical references such as Martial, Marcellinus and Fortunatus, they mainly base their arguments on two early modern theologians, the Italian Simone de Majoli and the Portuguese Manuel Valle de Moura, who in turn mostly referred to Majoli.

In addition to the common references, the authors also agree that the topoi of “Jewish male” menstruation and the *foetor judaicus* are closely intertwined. In addition, they address the *foetor*

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862 GILLET: *The Coplas del Perro de Alba* (see n. 857), 438.

863 “Algunos los llamaron Bodes, por el intensissimo odor, que estos animales tienen semejante al suyo; y el llamarlos putos Judios (como comunmente suelen) es de putore, como si dixeran putidos, por su olor pudo ser fuessen conocidos del perro de Alua, si es verdad lo que del se cuenta.” HUERTA: *Problemas filosóficos* (see n. 578), 13r.

864 See e.g., among others, MAJOLI: *Simonis Maioli Episcopi Vulturariensis Colloqviorum, Sive Dierum Canicvlarium* (see n. 750), 15.

865 TRACHTENBERG: *The Devil and the Jews* (see n. 668), 48.

*judaicus* consistently in the context of baptism and apostasy. An exception to this is Francisco de Torrejoncillo, who deals only briefly with the topic in his writing and who classifies the *foetor judaicus* as one of the signs of divine punishment.<sup>866</sup> In Huerta, Quiñones and Costa Matos, by contrast, the motif of smell also raises the question of the truthfulness and honesty of baptismal desires among new Christians.

Costa Matos and his translator Gavilán Vela define the *foetor judaicus*, for example, in the classical way as an innate stench, *hedor innato*,<sup>867</sup> which can only be erased by the sacrament of baptism. Moreover, the *Discurso contra los judíos* by them states:

“Some weighty authors say that this stench is innate to all who participated in the death of the Lord, and that by his special grace it was removed from those who converted to our holy faith through baptism. And from this one can safely conclude that if this was a punishment (which is unmistakably the case), those who return to their guilt by abandoning the faith will again be afflicted by the same plague; [this is] the deepest mystery of eternal wisdom, whose judgments are incomprehensible [...]”<sup>868</sup>

At first we find a parallel to the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation here because the thesis was defended that those who suffer from bleeding were the descendants of the ones who were present at the crucifixion of Christ and accepted the blood curse (Matt. 27.25). This theory can also be found in Gerónimo de Huerta.<sup>869</sup> In addition, the effectiveness of baptism is recognized, but it loses its power in the case of a renunciation of faith. How exactly this process takes place is assigned to the sphere of divine arcana, so to speak, which, according to Huerta, far exceeds the human mind. Huerta also believes that a return of the inherited body odor in the case of apostasy is possible:

“[...] because washed with baptismal water the soul becomes pure and many say that the body is freed of its bad smell. But when they [the baptized Conversos] stain their soul with their apostasy again, it is possible that the smell will reappear.”<sup>870</sup>

At this point, Huerta draws clear lines connecting inside and outside, soul and body. Thus inner contamination of the soul through apostasy in the form of bad body odor becomes apparent to the outside. In order to clarify how this loss of purity can occur, both Huerta and Costa Matos refer to the miracles of baptism, especially to the restoration of physical health through the sacrament of baptism. Indirectly, they invite their readers to further develop the idea and ask questions such

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866 TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 169.

867 COSTA MATOS: Discurso contra los judíos (see n. 67), 168.

868 “Algunos graues Autores dizen, que este hedor era natural en todos los que interuinieron en la muerte de el Señor, y que por particular gracia suya se quitaua a los que se reduzian a nuestra sancta fê despues de bautiçados. Y bien se puede inferir si este era castigo (como es infalible) que a los que boluieren a sus culpas Apostatando de la fê tornara la mesma plaga, mysterio profundissimo de la Eterna sabiduria, cuyos juyzios son incomprehensibles [...]” Ibidem, 171.

869 HUERTA: Problemas filosóficos (see n. 578), 15r.

870 “[...] el qual lauado con las aguas del bautismo, quedando limpia el alma, dizen muchos quedar el cuerpo libre de su mal olor. Pero tornando a ensuciarla con su apostasia será posible tornar a manifestarse con el.” Ibidem, 16v.

as: So if positive and salutary miracles are already possible upon baptism, that is, upon joining the Christian community, why shouldn't apostasy, as the arbitrary renunciation of Christianity, be followed by correspondingly negative and disease-causing miracles?

Juan de Quiñones can also be added to this round. He too mentions the miracles of baptism as an explanation, but chooses a much more plastic and drastic picture than Huerta and Costa Matos for the assertion that the *foetor judaicus* returns in the case of apostasy. He draws the comparison quoted at the beginning between dogs that would return to their vomit.<sup>871</sup> The questions about the seriousness of the intention to baptize and about the consequences in the case of apostasy together form the essential discussion points related to the stigma of smell attributed to the Conversos.

#### 4.4.2 Moriscos

It remains necessary to examine the extent to which a bad body odor was also assigned to the Moriscos and the motif of the *foetor judaicus* was reinterpreted for them. Since a large portion of the examined work on the *limpieza de sangre* with biologizing tendencies appeared only after the expulsions of the Moriscos from 1609 to 1614, the focus of the debate is understandably on the Conversos. Even the apologies on the expulsions of the Moriscos often focus more on the Conversos than the Moriscos, since they were often based on the intention of discussing or recommending a complete expulsion of the Conversos.

The Dominican Damian Fonseca (1573–1627), one of the apologists of the Morisco expulsions, deals with the alleged body odor of the Moriscos. Here too – as in the case of the Conversos – the topic is discussed in the context of baptism. Fonseca is, however, concerned with a specific case, namely the granting of baptism to Morisco children in the Kingdom of Valencia. The chapter is fittingly titled: *That the Baptism of the Morisco Children performed in the Kingdom of Valencia was a True Sacrament*.<sup>872</sup>

At first, Fonseca discusses whether the Morisco children may be allowed to be baptized at the request of their baptized but unbelieving parents because they expect physical health for their children as a result of baptism. Fonseca defines this hope for a healthy body as a temporally limited, so to speak earthly benefit in contrast to the unlimited spiritual benefit – eternal life. Thus the Dominican criticizes the Morisco parents for whom only this earthly benefit plays a role in the consideration of baptism for their children.<sup>873</sup>

This is followed by the question of whether the baptism of Morisco children was permissible when such took place against the will of the parents. Fonseca considers that children should not be baptized unless they can be removed from the supervision and education of their apostate parents. The latter was not practiced in Valencia, according to the Dominican, because the risk of unrest by the Morisco community was considered too dangerous and it was feared that such an uprising

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<sup>871</sup> QUIÑONES: Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General (see n. 85), 8v.

<sup>872</sup> *Que el bautismo de los hijos de los Moriscos baptizados del Reyno de Valencia fue verdadero sacramento*, FONSECA: Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España: Con la instrucción, apostasia, y trayción dellos. Y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia (see n. 297), 378.

<sup>873</sup> *Ibidem*, 380.

would plunge all of Spain and the Catholic Church into chaos.<sup>874</sup>

Damian Fonseca concludes with a reflection that he attributes to the learned Navarro. Behind the name of Doctor Navarro hid the canonist Martín de Azpilcueta (1492–1586), a critic of the statutes of blood purity, who, among other things, addressed the General Chapter of the Franciscans in 1525 and declared their statutes, which forbade the admission of the New Christians into their order, to be invalid.<sup>875</sup> In his *Consiliorum seu responsorum in quinque libros*,<sup>876</sup> posthumously published for the first time in 1590, the Navarrese Azpilcueta also dealt with questions of baptism. He describes a case in which Turkish parents insisted on the baptism of their children because they hoped they would be able to recover from, according to the author, being afflicted by the most serious diseases, *filij grauissimis morbis arrepti*. From Azpilcueta's point of view, a baptism for these children seems absolutely permissible. Here he emphasizes, above all, that these children still lack the necessary intellectual ability to judge the situation. Adults, by contrast, should only be allowed to be baptized if they have distanced themselves from their disbelief, since they can thoroughly be expected to have the ability to reason and judge, *iudicium rationis*.<sup>877</sup> In Fonseca's extremely morbid-sounding interpretation, baptism is therefore particularly beneficial for the Morisco children who die at an early age because they are thus certain to enter the Kingdom of Heaven this way:

“To this must be added that many of these children, whom the Church baptizes as it exercises its right, save themselves, as do those who die before they can reach the age at which they might violate their religious duties.”<sup>878</sup>

But Fonseca does not leave it at this daring interpretation, which is certainly not to be found in Azpilcueta's work; rather, he embellishes the case study of the Turks as a whole. Thus he geographically transfers the story to the region of Dalmatia, and also reports on the diseases the children suffer from in detail:

“The learned Navarro considered this reason so effective that he, when advised as to whether the priests in that part of Dalmatia which is held by the Turks may baptize the children whom the Turkish parents voluntarily hand over to them, not to make Christians of them in the effort, but because they had learned that with the help of baptismal water they are freed from the seizures of epilepsy, which tends to afflict the creatures like a certain bad smell if they have not been baptized, [...] he replied that they are not only allowed to baptize them, but must [...].”<sup>879</sup>

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874 Ibidem, 383–384.

875 KAMEN: Una crisis de conciencia en la edad de oro de España (see n. 34), 335.

876 The Advice or Answers in Five Books.

877 Martín de AZPILCUETA: *Consiliorum seu responsorum*, in *quinque libros*, vol. 1, Venice 1603, URL: [http://books.google.at/books/ucm?id=uhaWj\\_ChH2sC&hl=de&pg=PPt#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.at/books/ucm?id=uhaWj_ChH2sC&hl=de&pg=PPt#v=onepage&q&f=false) (visited on 27/02/2019), 768.

878 “A esto se añade, que muchos destos niños que la Iglesia baptiza vsando de su derecho, se saluan, como son los que mueren antes de llegar a edad, en que puedan preuaricar.” FONSECA: *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España: Con la instrucción, apostasia, y trayción dellos. Y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia* (see n. 297), 386.

879 “Esta razon tuuo por tan eficaz el docto Nauarro, que consultando si los Sacerdotes de aquella parte de Dalmatia,

According to Fonseca, parents are therefore primarily concerned with protecting their children from epilepsy. His next step is to compare this suffering with the commonality of the bad smell of the unbaptized. In a certain way, the latter seems to have developed the passage Otto of Freising originally mentioned on the Armenians' neighboring peoples and turned it into a topos. Fonseca now assumes that epilepsy, like bad body odor, is a condition that unbaptized people are more likely to fall ill from. Baptism, he argues, eliminates this condition and is therefore sought by parents for their children. According to Fonseca's explanatory remarks and based on Azpilcueta, it is therefore even the duty of the clergy to satisfy parents' request and baptize the children, especially since there is always hope for the children that they will actually convert to the Christian faith consciously on their way to adulthood. With regard to the specific case of the Morisco children, Fonseca concludes that they would be all the more entitled to be baptized, since their parents and grandparents had previously even voluntarily subjected themselves to the baptismal ceremony. The forced baptisms, which also existed in the case of the Moriscos to a considerable extent, are deliberately ignored by the Dominican at this point. Incidentally, he does not directly take up the argument of the diseases from which the non-baptized suffer with a view to the children of Moriscos, but leaves it to his readers to establish such a link, if necessary.

In a passage in Juan de Pineda's work, already discussed in the chapter on the New Christian wet nurses, a more direct connection is established between the Moriscos and a bad smell, although this seems to be primarily a metaphorical allusion. In his dialogs on the rightful Christian education, Pineda lets the speakers Filótimo and Policronio make the following remarks:

Filótimo. – It is a worthy matter that those who rule the state should be concerned that neither a Morisca nor a woman of Jewish blood raise the children of Old Christians since their blood still tastes of and is tainted with the beliefs of their ancestors. And without any guilt of their own, the children could gain an aftertaste for it, which would be bad for them later as adults. And often I heard a man, equipped with a good mind and rhetorical skills, say that half the quarter he got from his Jewish side never stopped scaring him that he would turn back into a Jew.

Policronio. – This is similar to what my Moriscos say when I correct some mutterings that smell stagnant of Moorish heresy, *natura revertura* – nature returns.”<sup>880</sup>

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que posee el Turco, podían baptizar los hijos que los mismos padres Turcos ofrecían voluntariamente, no con ánimo de hazerlos Christianos, sino porque experimentauan quecon [sic] el agua del baptismo se les quitaua assi el mal caduco de alfereza, que suele dar a las criaturas como vn cierto mal olor que tienen los no baptizados, [...] respondio, que no solo podían, sino que deuián baptizarlos [...]” FONSECA: *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España: Con la instrucción, apostasia, y trayción dellos*. Y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia (see n. 297), 387.

880 Filótimo. – Cosa es muy digna de ser provista por los que gobiernan las repúblicas, que mujer morisca ni de sangre de judíos criase a hijos de cristianos viejos, porque aún les sabe la sangre a la pega de las creencias de sus antepasados, y sin culpa suya podrían los niños cobrar algún resabio que para después de hombres les supiese mal; y muchas veces oí decir a un hombre de buen seso y conversación, que medio cuarto, que tenía de judío, nunca dejaba de le importunar, que se tornase judío.

Policronio. – Eso me parece lo que dicen mis moriscos, cuando los reprehendo de algunos sonsonetes que oliscan a moraizar, *natura revertura*.”

PINEDA: *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana III* (see n. 307), 103.



After Filótimo discusses the danger of a New Christian wet nurse's milk with the use of many taste metaphors, Policronio adds a smell component to this by using the word *oliscar*, i.e. to smell stagnant, for a relapse to the old faith, and even puts this into the mouths of the Moriscos themselves. So it is not the Moriscos that smell bad, but the apostasy and heresy that exude an unpleasant smell.

If one takes into account the culinary discussion between Moriscos and Christians, which was addressed in the study by Mercedes García-Arenal and which in turn attested to the fact that Christian neighbors considered Morisco cuisine to smell bad, one can also speak of a stigma of smell in relation to the Moriscos. However, this proves to be far less elaborate than the *foetor judaicus* assigned to the Conversos and was hardly explicitly mentioned in the texts on the *limpieza de sangre*. On the one hand, this circumstance is, among other things, certainly due to the fact that the Moriscos, in comparison to the Conversos, constituted a much smaller group, which was also less integrated into Christian society and often continued to consist of their own communities. On the other, the discussion was superfluous as a result of the expulsions of the Moriscos. It can be seen, however, that smell with regard to the Moriscos, as with the Conversos, is primarily addressed in the context of heresy and apostasy.

## 4.5 Conclusion

The early modern stigma of smell has now been analyzed from a temporal point of view by examining the ancient and medieval references. Different thematic perspectives have also been examined, in this case the medical, theological, culinary and literary aspects. This approach has made it possible to give the floor to both the proponents and critics of the *foetor judaicus* and the New Christian stigma of smell.

It should be noted that no *foetor judaicus* motif can be found in the ancient authors Martial and Ammianus, despite contrary claims by early modern readers. Only with Venantius Fortunatus can such be seen, although it should probably be assumed that he was using it symbolically. He, too, makes the theme of baptism central to the motif.

In the Middle Ages, the associations of stench and disbelief versus a pleasant smell and baptism developed away from their metaphorical use towards an interpretation *ad litteram*. In the miracle reports, they achieved historical reality. In addition, the *foetor judaicus* was increasingly associated with the accusation of ritual murder.

A bad smell for Muslims can be found in the stories about the Holy Spring of Matarieh. However, with regard to the Moriscos, this Muslim stigma of smell was taken up much less by the early modern authors in the New Christian debate on blood purity than the *foetor judaicus* motif with respect to the Conversos.

Early modern theologians such as Malvenda and Baronio increasingly discussed the stench as a sign of divine punishment for Jews in the diaspora. The context of baptism takes a back seat here. The analysis of Majoli's work showed how the *foetor judaicus* motif was condensed and expanded by new associations with and ties to other anti-Jewish topoi. He combined the *foetor judaicus* with the topic of bad Jewish eating habits, the accusation of usury, the idea of "Jewish-male" menstruation and

the *Judensau* motif. The classical themes of the Middle Ages, baptism and conversion, by contrast, are completely ignored by Majoli.

Jewish eating habits were also the main topic in the medical context. However, the physicians Hucher and Alsario dalla Croce never center the discussion on the *foetor judaicus*, but rather mention it only in passing. The physicians and critics of the *foetor judaicus*, Thomas Browne and Isaac Cardoso – each independently of the other –, also use primarily the aspect of dietetics to refute the *foetor judaicus*. If one compares Hucher and Alsario dalla Croce with Browne and Cardoso, then this ultimately amounts to remarks against remarks because they all have in common that they base their reasoning partly on experience. This reliance on experience and observation may also indicate an epistemic change,<sup>881</sup> which can be proven for this time and which Gianna Pomata summarizes as follows:

“A preliminary investigation suggests that it was in medicine, in the second half of the sixteenth century, that *observatio* first became a distinct epistemic category, and that the concept passed from medicine to general philosophical language as part of a new conceptualization of experience.”<sup>882</sup>

In a sense, the terms that refer to experience, such as *experientia* or *experimentum*, already contain the observation, *observatio*, before it emancipated itself as an independent epistemic category at the turn of the 16th to 17th century.<sup>883</sup> The *observationes*, which became increasingly popular in medicine, also had a significant influence on this development, as can be seen in the works of Amatus Lusitanus, which I have referred to in the previous chapter and analyzed excerpts of.

In comparison to Hucher and dalla Croce, however, Browne and Cardoso discussed other topics besides dietetics, such as ritual purity, climate theories or abstinence and simplicity in lifestyle, which they also use to back up their reasoning. Both authors also find critical words in their description of Jews, such as Cardoso’s reference to the lack of physical exercise. These negative remarks, however, seem primarily to serve the purpose of underpinning the truthfulness and credibility of the two critics. A purely positive portrayal would certainly have been tainted with the accusation of partiality and would in no way have been conducive to their concern: invalidating the accusation of the *foetor judaicus*.

With regard to Spanish-Jewish and Moorish cuisine, the Inquisition files and literary tales have shown that some dishes deviated from Christian cuisine, while their preparation and their smell contributed significantly to the differences between Christians and New Christians. For the group of self-proclaimed Old Christians, among whom Quevedo can certainly be counted, the otherness of the Conversos and Moriscos manifested itself in their culinary otherness. Converso poet Rodrigo Cota also reveals the Sephardic roots of Converso identity with a good portion of self-mockery, alluding to the consumption of typical Spanish-Jewish food.

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881 In this regard, see also Simone DE ANGELIS: Autopsie und Autorität: Zum komplexen Verhältnis einer “Wissenschaft vom Menschen” im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in: Ulrich HEINEN (ed.): *Welche Antike?*, Wiesbaden 2011, 887–901.

882 Gianna POMATA: Observation Rising: Birth of an Epistemic Genre, 1500–1650, in: Lorraine DASTON/Elizabeth LUNBECK (eds.): *Histories of Scientific Observation*, Chicago and London 2011, 45–80, here 65.

883 See also *Ibidem*, 45.

Finally, the aspect of apostasy comes to the fore in the discussion on the Converso stigma of smell in the context of the debate on blood purity. Huerta, Quiñones, Costa Matos and his translator Gavilán Vela thus discuss a possible recurrence of bad body odor when abandoning Christianity and returning to Judaism. In this context, the theological component plays the leading role. Medical factors are mainly discussed by Quiñones, but are secondary. They are intended to support his theological reasoning. Huerta, who holds a post as palace physician at the royal court, limits his work exclusively to religious arguments, apart from a few introductory natural-philosophical definitions on the subject of smell.

As could be illustrated in the analysis of smell associations related to the Moriscos, the Conversos prove to be the main target of the accusations. In everyday life, however, the Moriscos could also be targeted, as was shown by the complaint that the Christian neighbors filed with the Inquisition Tribunal of Cuenca when they expressed their displeasure at the Moorish cuisine that smelled bad to them.

Overall, both physicians and theologians address the topic of the *foetor judaicus*. As was already apparent in the case of “Jewish male” menstruation, however, it is not possible to assign to them medical or theological reasoning on the basis of their position. Thus physicians were able to deal with the topic predominantly in a religious context (Huerta) and theologians were, in part, able to contribute some medical ideas (Majoli). It is therefore necessary to ask whether a biologizing tendency can be observed here or whether the Converso stigma of smell is simply a refinement of the *foetor judaicus* motif by shifting the focus from baptism to apostasy. The latter is certainly at the forefront of the discussion. However, the fact that the majority of the authors define the *foetor judaicus* or the Converso stigma of smell as innate and thus inherited shows that biologicistic motifs also play a role and cannot be completely eliminated.

In terms of Constance Classen’s model mentioned at the beginning, which divides the reactions of the group with the stigma of smell into internalization and rejection, it appears that the first reaction was not found in the sources. The position of rejection, by contrast, can be clearly demonstrated. Moreover, the reaction can also be seen in reverse when the Conversa Ana Láinez and the Morisca María de Mendoza openly express their disgust for Christian cuisine and especially the smell and use of bacon. The stigma of smell in their case is transmuted to Christians.



## 5 Conclusion

To close this book, the various physical markers attributed to the Conversos and, in part, the Moriscos are worth re-examining against the backdrop of the hypothesis stated in the introduction. My starting point was that the more frequent appearance of the topic of physical markers in the texts by the ideologists of blood purity at the turn of the 16th to 17th century was fostered not only by theological but also increasingly by medical theories. This assumption was based on the fact that early modern Iberian medicine also had a strong tendency towards biologicistic approaches at that time. Luis Gracia Guillén already suspected such interaction between biologicistic medicine and the ideology of blood purity.<sup>884</sup>

Fortunately, my conclusion proves to be more positive than, for example, Winfried Schleiner's opening words at the end of the second chapter of his book *Medical Ethics*. In regard to his approach and his initial findings, Schleiner notes: "As I look back at my aspirations and aims as I entered into this topic, I am humbled by my results."<sup>885</sup> It turned out that my hypothesis had its pitfalls. On the one hand, it was quickly evident that, for the most part, the authors of the medical texts apparently did not take any notice of the ideology of blood purity and the body-centered reasoning inherent in it. On the other hand, the ideologists of blood purity also did not refer directly to the physicians. The only exception to this rule is the royal court judge Juan de Quiñones. However, the analysis of the sources revealed a series of connections to other topoi, some of which had already been applied in the Middle Ages, which I would never have suspected in this form at the beginning. In all three physical markers discussed by the ideologists of blood purity and their opponents, the enormous complexity of the reasoning is also astonishing.

In order to summarize the essential findings against the backdrop of the hypothesis, I focus on the categories of "race," body, and gender, as discussed in the introduction – in exactly this order. In regard to the first question on the role that the category of "race" played for the ideology of blood purity, it was possible to confirm Rainer Walz's finding that the Early Modern Era was primarily shaped by genealogical racism.<sup>886</sup> The ideologists of blood purity also exhibited the mixed forms mentioned by Walz, as there is documentation of both a genealogical orientation and gentile racism, i.e. racism essentially based on xenophobia. To illustrate the emphasis on the genealogical aspect, a quotation from Francisco de Torrejoncillo, which was already mentioned in the introduction, shall serve as an example:

"[...] as if it were an original sin to be an enemy of the Christians, of Christ and His divine

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884 GRACIA GUILLÉN: *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial* (see n. 88), 328–352.

885 SCHLEINER: *Medical Ethics in the Renaissance* (see n. 93), 37.

886 WALZ: *Der vormoderne Antisemitismus* (see n. 131).

Law. There is no need to be born of both a Jewish father and mother, only one is enough and it is not important if it is not the father. The mother by herself is sufficient, even if she is not herself wholly a Jew since a half, a quarter or even an eighth part is all that is required. In our times, the Holy Inquisition has uncovered judaizers even within twenty-one degrees of consanguinity. Many heretics become Catholics, many gentiles convert to our faith; but you will never, or only very rarely, see a Jew who has converted unless it is through fear of punishment.”<sup>887</sup>

The genealogical component in Torrejoncillo is almost overwhelming. According to him, Jewish heredity passes from generation to generation, whereby the extent of the heredity itself is insignificant. Torrejoncillo’s opinion is that even the slightest Jewish influence is enough to make a Christian susceptible to apostasy and heresy. In addition, the terms *linaje* and *raza*, which aimed at ancestry, are increasingly found in the ideological work on blood purity.

Interestingly, it could be shown that even critical voices like Thomas Browne<sup>888</sup> or Agustín Salucio<sup>889</sup> worked with genealogical arguments in reverse. Both argued that there was a strong mixing of Christians and Jews – of Christians, Jews and Muslims in the case of Salucio – so that no differences between the formerly distinct groups were still discernible after the passing of generations. In Salucio’s case this even led to the statement that, with a view to the twenty generations that he assumed had passed, the entire population of Europe consisted of Jews and Muslims.<sup>890</sup>

With regard to the second category of the body, it is now necessary to summarize the biologicistic approaches and their dimensions in early modern medicine on the one hand, and in the ideology of blood purity on the other. As Gracia Guillén already pointed out, Converso physicians increasingly adopt biologicistic approaches. One of the best examples is Juan Huarte de San Juan and his 1575 text *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*,<sup>891</sup> i.e. *The Examination of Men’s Wits*. For him, procreation and heredity play the main role in generating suitable men for the scholarly disciplines. At the same time, in the bigger picture, his extreme focus should be regarded as an exception rather than the rule.

Biologicistic traits in medicine can also be found in Andrés Laguna, his former friend Amato Lusitano and Isaac Cardoso. They attribute specific diseases to certain groups. In the case of Andrés Laguna,<sup>892</sup> who worked as a papal personal physician, it was the people of Germany and Lorraine to

887 Translation by Soyer, SOYER: Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire (see n. 18), 157; “[...] como si fuera pecado original, à ser enemigos de Christianos, de Christo, y de su Ley Divina, no es necesario ser de padre, y madre Judios, uno solo basta: no importa que no lo sea el padre, basta la madre, y esta aun no entera, basta la mitad, y ni aun tanto, basta un quarto, y aun octavo: y la Inquisicion Santa ha descubierto en nuestros tiempos, que hasta distantes veinte y un grados se han conocido Judayzar. [...] muchos Gentiles se convierten à nuestra Fé; pero nunca, ò raro se verá un Judio convertido [...]” TORREJONCILLO: Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios (see n. 18), 62.

888 BROWNE: Pseudodoxia epidemica (see n. 793), 172–175.

889 See the chapter 4.3.2 *Medical Arguments* in the part on the New Christian smell.

890 SALUCIO: Discurso echo por fray Agustín de Salucio. Ms. Codex 1447 (see n. 29), 15v.

891 HUARTE: Examen de ingenios para las ciencias (see n. 91); HUARTE: Examen de Ingenios. The Examination of Men’s Wits (see n. 271); see chapter 2.3.1 *Juan Huarte de San Juan*.

892 LAGUNA: Methodus cognoscendi, extirpandique excrescentes in vesicae collo carunculas (see n. 497), 7r.

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whom he generally ascribed male menstruation and, moreover, an effemination. By contrast, Amato Lusitano<sup>893</sup> and Isaac Cardoso,<sup>894</sup> who both turned their backs on the Iberian Peninsula and then officially converted to Judaism, were interested in the question of specific Jewish diseases or, in the case of Cardoso, the question of the absence of certain diseases in the Jewish population.

However, the foundations on which these approaches to ethnic medicine were based are by no means new. Cardoso drew on familiar lines of argumentation based on topics such as climate theories, the precarious position of Jews in the diaspora or Jewish dietary habits. He presented arguments that can already be found in the Middle Ages, for example in the treatise *Omnes Homines* or in Albertus Magnus. Cardoso, however, reinterpreted these arguments and transformed them into positive ones. This can be seen particularly impressively in the example of the position of Jews in the diaspora. If medieval authors claimed Jews' angst was rooted in their alleged guilt in the deicide and thus in the fear of Christian revenge, Cardoso argued that the oppression and hardship that Jews had to suffer among Christians was the cause of their fear and worry. He very openly traces the permanent state of fear back to Jews' circumstances in life established by Christians, whereas in the Middle Ages this fear was interpreted as a product of Jewish misconduct and the resulting divine punishment.

The Converso physicians Amato Lusitano and Isaac Cardoso, who converted to Judaism and paid attention to ethnic approaches in their medicine, are united by the search for a positively connotated, independent, cultural identity, as David B. Ruderman<sup>895</sup> found for the *medicus politicus* literature of Converso physicians. The creation of such an identity also worked through melancholy, defined by Amato Lusitano as a disease to which Jews in particular would prove to be vulnerable. Thus, the Jewish male patients of Amato Lusitano suffered from the consequences of the disease of melancholy, but at the same time they proved to be extremely learned and righteous men who were confident the physician respected them.

When it comes to biologicistic reasoning in regard to the physical markers of New Christians in the work by the ideologists of blood purity, the biologicistic approach is of the utmost importance in the discussion about the contaminated breast milk of New Christians. The question of the transmission of character traits through breast milk – including apostasy and heresy – proved to be an essential element in the discussion. The significance can be illustrated once again by the history of the Neapolitan nobleman mentioned in Vicente da Costa Matos.<sup>896</sup> Although the Neapolitan was of Old Christian and also noble descent, the influence of the breast milk from the Jewish wet nurse outweighed all other factors, so that the nobleman converted to Judaism.

Relatively little significance is attached to biologicistic and medical arguments with regard to “Jewish male” menstruation and the stigma of smell. Theological arguments dominated the discussion on these two physical stigmatizations. First and foremost, it was about the idea of divine signs that God had saddled Jews with a punishment for the murder of Christ. Closely linked to this complex of guilt and punishment were the ritual murder legends. The determinateness of the New Christian body, above all the Converso body, was thus primarily justified religiously. However,

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893 LUSITANUS: *Curationum medicinalium centuriae septem* (see n. 454).

894 CARDOSO: *Las Excelencias de los Hebreos* (see n. 619).

895 RUDERMAN: *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (see n. 94), 294–295.

896 COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), 149.

medical arguments could be used as support. In this case, it was mainly the dietary argument. According to the ideologists of blood purity, Jewish dietary habits, which were based on dietary rules, also led to blood flow and a bad smell.

However, this argument could also be drawn on by theologians to refute or question the idea of the divine origin of physical differences – that is, the idea of the divine signs of punishment. Such a direction was found especially in Alfonso Salmerón<sup>897</sup> and Jean Lorin<sup>898</sup> with a view to the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation. Especially the reasoning in Salmerón and Lorin was gladly taken up in turn by the ideologists of blood purity, although they were all too happy to leave out the critical remarks of the two theologians in their reasoning, as could be seen in Vicente da Costa Matos<sup>899</sup> and Francisco de Torrejoncillo.<sup>900</sup> Juan de Quiñones<sup>901</sup> proves to be the most outstanding example for the integration of the medical reasoning in support of the theological reasoning, as he is the only one to explicitly refer to medical texts.

With regard to the physical stigmatizations, it was already suggested that these did not generally refer to New Christians. At this point, it is necessary to summarize once again which stigmata were discussed for the Conversos and which for the Moriscos in the treatises by the ideologists of blood purity. The question of contaminated breast milk was aimed equally at the Conversas and the Moriscas. The fact that the sources increasingly focused on the Conversas is primarily due to the historical circumstances. The group of Moriscos was smaller and not integrated into Iberian society to the same extent. They often lived in independent communities and, moreover, these communities were located only in certain regions. They also differentiated themselves externally by, for example, different clothing, so that obviously no further differentiation was considered necessary. In my opinion, this is a typical strategy for the development of enemy images. The more similar the bodies are, and the fewer differences they have between them, the greater is the need to slander one’s counterpart on the physical level as different, other and flawed. As a result, the ideologists of blood purity focused more strongly on the Conversos that could not be differentiated or could hardly be differentiated from themselves.

In particular, however, the discussion about the Moriscos was settled with their expulsion from 1609–1614. In addition, the Morisco children had not been retained in the expulsions, so there was no longer any more danger of heretical influences for Spanish society from this side, as far as the ideologists of blood purity saw it. In the discussion about the Morisco children, it became clear that biologicistic assumptions also played an increasingly important role here.

The Moriscos were completely excluded from the accusation of negative male menstruation. This fact indirectly confirms how strongly the motif of “Jewish male” menstruation was based on the classical, anti-Jewish topoi of Christian polemics that had developed since the Middle Ages.

The stigma of smell was also primarily aimed at the Conversos and was strongly influenced by anti-Jewish traditions. Thus, the motif of the *foetor judaicus*, known since the Middle Ages, was

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897 SALMERÓN: *Commentarii in Evangelicam historiam* (see n. 534), 346.

898 LORIN: *Commentariorum in librum Psalmorum* (see n. 537), 627.

899 COSTA MATOS: *Discurso contra los judíos* (see n. 67), 167.

900 TORREJONCILLO: *Centinela contra judíos, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios* (see n. 18), 169.

901 QUIÑONES: *Memorial de Juan de Quiñones dirigido a F. Antonio de Sotomayor, Inquisidor General* (see n. 85).



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transferred primarily to the bodies of the Conversos. There are at most signs of a stigma of smell for the Moriscos, but these are based on other lines of tradition. They involved a general stigma of smell in non-believers, as Otto of Freising argued, but also in Muslims in particular, as the legends of the Holy Spring of Matarieh prove. Especially the latter served the ideologists of blood purity like Juan de Quiñones above all as a contrast foil to the Converso stigma of smell, so that a marking of the Moriscos was indirectly excluded in this way. Moreover, in 1632, i.e. at the time when it is presumed that Quiñones's Memorial emerged, there was no longer any reason for such an attribution of smell with regard to the Moriscos due to the expulsions.

Third and finally, it is now necessary to examine the physical markers in relation to the category of gender and thus to examine the question of the significance to be attached to ideas of masculinity and femininity for physical stigmatizations. The discussion about the contaminated breast milk of New Christian wet nurses showed that particular importance was attached to women in terms of influencing character via the transmission route of milk. Contrary to the Aristotelian theories of procreation, which were common in the Early Modern Era and which attributed greater importance to the influence of the man in terms of shaping the child, the defining force was suddenly in breast milk here. Thus, while Juan Huarte holds solely men to account for the procreation of capable male minds for the scholarly disciplines, Damian Carbón<sup>902</sup> saw the wet nurse as an essential factor influencing the physical and character development of the child. This theory can be exemplified by his statement that the influence of the wet nurse through the milk far outweighs the influence of the parents. Carbón, of course, holds an extreme position here. An increase in the female influence on the child can, however, also be found among other Spanish physicians who dealt with gynecology and pediatrics. Thus Álvarez Miravall<sup>903</sup> adopted the approach of considering breast milk to be the equivalent to male semen when it came to its influence on child development.

For "Jewish male" menstruation, the question of effemination was initially at the forefront. It turned out, however, that an effemination of the Conversos played a subordinate role in the reasoning laid out by the ideologists of blood purity, since the theological reasoning, above all, the blood flow as divine punishment, took priority.

The predominantly positive connotations of male menstruation in early modern medicine showed that men and women were placed within a common framework of equivalence and reference. Thus the physical similarities dominated, as the woman – to simplify it greatly – represented an imperfect version of the man, with her genitals turned inside due to greater humidity and cold. As a result, periodically occurring male hemorrhoidal bleeding could easily be compared to female menstruation and treated together. The idea of vicarious menses, i.e. alternative bleeding, also played a role here that should not be underestimated.

Overall, the texts showed a close intertwining of inside and outside, body and character, but also medicine and theology. The question of location in the physical stigmatizations of the debate on blood purity thus represents a plastic example of the flexibility of the early modern universal scholars.

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902 CARBÓN: *Libro del arte de las Comadres o madras y del regimiento de las preñadas y paridas y de los niños* (see n. 166), LVIr.

903 ÁLVAREZ MIRAVALL: *La conservación de la salud* (see n. 169), 35v, inaccurate pagination.

Physicians like Gerónimo de Huerta could easily argue primarily theologically, and theologians like the Jesuits, Salmerón and Lorin could have medical focal points in their reasoning. If we want to trace the world of thought in the Early Modern Era, it proves to be almost essential that we build a bridge across the so-familiar lines dividing the scholarly disciplines. In turn, the Early Modern Era offers many surprises and insights, which certainly can only be unearthed by persistently seeking to understand the bigger picture.

## 6 Abbreviations

ADC	Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca (Cuenca)
AGP	Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid)
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional de España (Madrid)
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon)
ASV	Archivo Segreto Vaticano (Vatican City)
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
ESV	English Standard Version
KJV	King James Version
VUL	Vulgate
WBIS	World Biographical Information System Online



# 7 Bibliography

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AGP: Amas de lactancia, 1631.

- Amas de lactancia. Felipe IV. Relaciones de amas de pecho y respuesto con sueldos y gajes durante todo el reinado, 1651–1655.

AHN: Causa de fe de Juan Nuñez, 1678–1681.

- Causa de fe Francisco de San Martín, 1537–1543.
- Causa de fe Phelipe de Najara, 1605–1610.
- Relación del auto de la fe que se celebró en la villa de Madrid Corte de su Magestad domingo quatro de Jullio de mill y seiscientos y treinta y dos años, s.a. [1632?]

ASV: Benedict XII, Avignon, 01/08/1340.

- Benedict XII, Avignon, 01/09/1340.

BNE: Felipe IV: Cédula sobre probanzas de limpieza de sangre y nobleza. Vuestra Magestad manda guardar la lei y Prematica de reformation promulgada en onze de Febrero de mil y seiscientos y veinte y tres, Madrid 1638.

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