

In the Iberian Peninsula and Beyond

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*A History of Jews and Muslims
(15th-17th Centuries) Vol. 1*

Edited by

José Alberto R. Silva Tavim,
Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros
and Lúcia Liba Mucznik

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INTRODUCTION

IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA AND BEYOND: A HISTORY OF JEWS AND MUSLIMS

At the origin of this work lies its organizers' belief that Jews and Muslims shared, in the Iberian Peninsula, a common history, defined by their idiosyncrasies as minority groups. Such common history can also be seen in their diasporas, forced by the edicts of religious assimilation – or, as an alternative, of expulsion - dating from the end of the 15th and the start of the 16th centuries (in the Portuguese case, the edicts for both minorities were issued in 1496); and it can be seen, too, in the later expulsion of Moriscos, who were already an officially Christian population, whose process unfolded during the Iberian Dual Monarchy, from 1609 to 1614. This work focuses precisely on those times, when Jews and Muslims were excluded from legal existence in the Iberian kingdoms, forced to leave for new places, near or far,¹ their alternative being to stay and assume, in a multifaceted way, the status of Converso or Converso's descendant. We make an exception in the case of language studies: here, going back to medieval times proved imperative in order to understand linguistic evolutions and constitutions in the Diaspora.

In the Middle Ages, Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula dealt with their identities in different ways from the cultural evolution seen in the Christian world, regarding the differentiation between the civil and religious levels. Above all they negotiated with royal powers, trying to preserve their specificity while remaining within Christendom. They had a fundamental, differentiating premise: the preparation of the way to fully establish, or re-establish, their ideal and salvific universe. The differences in these theological premises stem not only from the specificity with which Judaism and Islam regarded fate, but also from the contexts in which both minorities lived: due to the existence of important Islamic states in the Middle East and Northern Africa, the possibility of escape, and an actually redeeming fate allowed Muslims a more realistic perspective; while on the other hand the Jews, a people without a state, went on insisting, based on the “lesson of the Bible”, on more

transcendental levels – for them, however, these were no less plausible, no less certain to become true eventually.

The materials available to us from this period allow us to observe that contacts between Jews and Muslims stress their dimension as minority groups – either facing the hegemonic Christian world, when concretely dealing with social relations and defending prerogatives, or in a more metaphysical plane, involving religious interrogations and messianic lucubrations – in the latter case, with a connection to Christian messianism, especially in the case of Conversos.

On a spatial level, they often occupied specific areas, frequently peripheral; but in time these saw themselves surrounded and confronted by densely populated Christian areas. Despite the legal and practical measures taken (and reinforced in the late Middle Ages) to stimulate segregation, ample and varied documentation attests to social and cultural permeability among the three universes – Christian, Jewish and Muslim.

However, as minority groups holding powers of negotiation recognized by the Iberian Crowns, Jews and Moors were in fact almost induced by the former into a spatial vicinity: their living in neighbouring spaces was often pointed out, and burial sites were assigned to them in near locations. On the other hand, the royal powers' decisions regarding aspects of their day-to-day life, from taxes to the regulation of their relationship with the Christian majority, were also conceived for both groups as numerically and politically considerable minorities. This coming together, then, also meant observing a certain proximity in their difference towards the majority. Sometimes this implied greater coincidence in ritualistic issues, and in the search for a stricter brand of monotheism, against ideas such as Trinitarianism, transubstantiation and sanctification, promoted in the Christian universe – in this case the embodiment of sanctification (through depiction of images or exhibition of corpses and relics). This proximity, felt in both social and religious terms, triggered feelings of solidarity which made one of the communities, on specific occasions, allow a person from the other to represent them both before the Crown, or to perform such a fundamental ritual as the slaughter of animals in ways which respected the norms established in both religious universes.²

Secular experience in the context of the Iberian Peninsula, implying daily immersion in the space and culture of the Christian majority, caused an instance of acculturation with all the flexibility brought on by this social phenomenon³. Its dimensions were so varied that some people, who were more conservative or required stricter observation of social practices according to the norms of their religious universes, harshly criticized those who came too close to the Christian universe – above all those who were

richer and culturally closer – accusing them of deviating from, and hence obstructing, the preservation of identity,⁴ without which their idealized goals would become impracticable, or slower to achieve. However, even these heralds of grace – or disgrace – whether or not writing in Hebrew or Arabic, could do little in such important domains as that of social expression. The languages spoken by these minorities were versions of the Romance languages of the countries where they lived, often transliterated into Hebrew or Arabic characters – the so-called *aljamias*. In fact, when “in exile”, the use of these languages, alongside other Hispanic cultural practices, will be an essential factor in identitarian presentation and negotiation, in countries where Arabic was the official language, or where other groups of Jews and Muslims lived. Such expressions as “andalusi orchestra” or “Judezmo”, used to designate intrinsic social practices (a language, in the second case) reveal that these Muslim or Jewish groups began to consider these cultural expressions of Iberian origin as intrinsic forms of presenting their difference vis-a-vis other social groups who shared the same ethnic origin.

These cultural practices were also fostered by the benefits of network action which, although it didn't have to be exclusively endogamous, did profit from the awareness and dependability of ethnic unity. In reality, many members of the Jewish and Moorish (or Morisco) diasporas maintained important connections with those converts who remained in the Iberian Peninsula, either as New Christians or Moriscos.⁵ And of course sharing a common cultural background brought both minorities closer together in the dramatic moments of the expulsions and in contexts of proximity abroad. For instance, we know that the Moriscos were helped in their escapes to the Ottoman Empire by networks of New Christians who acted as “smugglers” on both frontiers of the Spanish and French Basque Countries.⁶ We know as well that usage of Hispanic languages made easier, in the 17th century, the negotiations held between Moriscos settled in Salé and “Portuguese” Jews coming from Amsterdam.⁷

Researchers of these communities in the Middle Ages and in the context of their expulsion have insisted on research approaches which shun the commonplace “Tearful History” (still prevailing in some quarters) that portrays minorities as well-defined groups, merely passive and subaltern, conditioned by the discrimination exerted by Christian powers, civil and religious;⁸ or yet, in another extreme, the “living together” ideal, i.e., the idea that until the dramatic events at the end of the 14th, start of the 15th century, the relations between Jews, Muslims and Christians were marked by harmony and mutual understanding.⁹ Actually these interpretative projections of the past, invoking either a hell to be

rejected or a lost paradise, carry hidden ideological objectives: manipulation of the past is meant above all to justify agendas or lines of action, in the present, by groups who pose as descendants either of the “victims” or of their “executioners”, even if they aim at self-depuration by pursuing policies opposed to those followed in the past, or by doing meritorious civilizational work set within some socio-cultural or national context¹⁰. Studies by Jonathan Ray,¹¹ David Nirenberg¹² and Elliot Horowitz¹³ have revealed, respectively, that as far as Jews are concerned we see communities which are divided and very fluid in their relations, even within the same territorial space; that violence was an everyday reality – sporadic violence exerted not only by the central power over this minority, but also among its different social and professional strata, and also in its exchanges with the Muslim minority; finally, not all Jews behaved as mere non-reactive victims, and probably some of the Church’s accusations of sacrilegious acts by Jews were fed by widespread feelings of revolt, dissatisfaction, religious affirmation and ethical and theological rejection of the foundations of the majority’s religion¹⁴ – these were quite visible in the texts of anti-Christian polemics, or in the fragments, usually handwritten, which have come down to us.¹⁵

Likewise, the Muslim minority in the Peninsular kingdoms is not a monolith, displaying instead different nuances which depend on their territorial and jurisdictional insertion.¹⁶ In fact the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada, in 1492, introduces a new split between “old” and “new” Mudéjars, whose cultural and identitarian expressions (from language to clothing) signal a rupture which draws the Castilian Moors, for example, closer to their Christian counterparts than to the population from Granada, who in the meantime had been deported to Castile.¹⁷

This multiple web of social relations is made even more complex by the widespread phenomenon of conversions – encouraged, forced or otherwise – dating from the end of the Middle Ages. Immigration, or even martyrdom, in the face of legalized imposition,¹⁸ attempts at more flexible integration, especially in the first generation of converts, where some secret or erudite “rabbis” go so far as imagining plans to convince the Pope and the whole Church of the “ancient” virtues of Judaism;¹⁹ manipulation of old immanent social categories, of social and ethnic superiority, to show that these conversions by people of a positive essence, generationally enhanced, are fundamental proof not only of their true Christian character, but also of their Christian excellence²⁰ – all this multifaceted reaction to Catholic conversion will give rise, in time, to even more complex situations (in opposition, in conformity, or eclectic) which pervade the manifestations of Jewish, Islamic and Catholic polemics or

apologetics, assumed equally by converts, either sincere or reverting to their ancestral faiths, or those of their ancestors.²¹

In this Mediterranean world, a social-geographic complex which widely exceeds the frontiers defined by its margins – in fact, the diaspora of Jews and Moors moving from the Iberian Peninsula to more northern, southern or eastern lands was a major factor in this widening of Mediterranean culture – the question of orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy plays across all identitarian constellations, especially with the insistence on defining one's religious belonging, from the second half of the 16th century onwards. Here too, confessional movements are influenced by restrictive conceptions at the core of each religious culture, but they are expressed as well in the initiatives taken within other religious authorities²². For instance, the initiatives by some rabbis, from the first generations established in the Middle East and Northern Africa, to make the new 17th-century communities of Jews recently settled in Northern Europe, the south of France and in Livorno immerse all their day-to-day activities in the context of normative Judaism – which gained support from other generations of rabbis coming after the generation of the converts²³ - point to a wide range of opinions and attitudes of suspicion toward the converts' duality, by those congregations of Iberian Jews who had never been baptised as Christians.²⁴ But the work of Yosef Kaplan and other authors reveals as well that, even in texts of Jewish apologetics, the Jewish intellectuals based in Amsterdam display the techniques and ideals of confessionalization with which they had been brought up as Christians.²⁵

As for the Moriscos, the issue is different. Immersed in a hegemonic religion, some of them for more than a century, they nonetheless produce a culture of resistance, expressed in *aljamia*. But their diaspora sends them mostly to Islamic territories, where they will have to assimilate a normative and formal brand of Islam, inexistent in their previous spaces of living. In the broadest cultural sense, ceremonies of conversion can gain the visibility of political propaganda. This is the case in Istanbul, from Ahmed I onwards, with rituals being staged in the royal palace, along with circumcision and the provision of new clothing, an indelible mark of one's novel status as a Muslim²⁶. These immigrant groups will nevertheless have a cultural identity of their own, as seen by the use of names which signal their difference from the remainder of the population – be it the Turkish *Endülüs ta'ifesi* ("Andalus community") or the *andalusís* from Northern Africa.

Sometimes it is at the level of so-called popular culture that the preservation of a non-literary kind of memory gives us surprises regarding the persistence of these people's social insertion. For example, the name

“Jews”, used at the local level (by themselves and others), applied to those whom historians, ethnologists and sociologists refer to as *Marranos* or *New Christians*, immediately reveals a culture clash. These scholars, whether or not they are aware of it, socially insert those people into a cultural process which gradually categorizes them at the civil and religious levels²⁷. On the contrary, although they are immersed in a culture where religious formation and enformation rule everyday life, the “Jewish” neighbours still see themselves as different – they refer back to a primeval Hebrew matrix, leading to endogamy and social and spatial segregation (and self-segregation). Their non-Jewish neighbours, for their part, also recognize them by resorting to identification of that primal essence. So in this local, less legally bound set of social perceptions, the whole complex attempt to frame these people, socially and religiously, is reduced and re-directed to the persistent memory of a different origin. It is as if, fictitiously, the reality of the past had been transported to the present, in petrified form.²⁸ True, social scientists have long taken the necessary precautions about this illusion of perennity. Even at the level of the Romancero's chain of transmission, some traits such as music, linguistic variants and the inclusion of recent words reveal plasticity and the important influence of culture and *fad*.²⁹ On the other hand, certain persistent marks show us, to this day, the way in which cultural influences shaped the everyday life of these communities who cooperated, lived together and spoke the same, or similar, languages. An example of these influences felt across communities is the use of *hamsa* (in Hebrew and Arabic) or “the hand of Fatma” by Muslims, Jews and Catholics, carrying a similar range of intentions and meanings. Another example is the identification of some cultural practice, or social group, with Andalusia, implying its idealized perception within an equally idealized Middle Ages.³⁰

The social scientist is faced, beyond the question of theoretical tools, with the difficulty of utilizing of operational categories shaped outside specific temporal frameworks, in order to interpret the diachronic progress of these minority groups. Aside from the use, already mentioned, of juridical categories created by social actors to interpret Jews, Muslims and converts in social and religious terms, the researcher has to deal with the existence of adjectives and nouns which have been employed in recent times to protect groups inserted in national spaces, referring to the excellence of their social and cultural performance in their Andalusian past. Such is the well-known case of the term *Sephardi*, encompassing all Jews coming from the Iberian Peninsula and their diaspora, and sometimes

even the *Conversos* themselves. In recent times the term has been applied generically to many Jews who are not of Ashkenazi origin, but it was not interpreted in this way by the people concerned before the 19th century, which obscures the whole range of their differences, and even fractures, mentioned before.³¹ Or yet the alteration, by common perception, of a word's original meaning, so that the new meaning overcomes the old – this is the case with the word *Ladino*, formerly referring only to the literal translation, into Spanish, of liturgical texts written in the Holy Language (thus being turned into a “calque language”). It is nowadays used in a wider sense, of a living and flexible language: the so-called *Judezmo* or, in a later context, *Judeoespañol*.³²

The social scientist must exercise caution when using these or other concepts or designations, if he or she is to grasp efficiently the whole depth of the object of study. But these common sense formulations on the past, and the “pressure” they exert in the context of social analysis, also reveal the existence of a large reservoir of living culture, a present-day reality which is in itself an alluring and exciting matter to be taken into account: a challenge.

The book is spread out over six chapters. We use this term because in fact the chapters are intrinsically related: in addition to their being linked by a common theme, the reader may deduce that some topics, subjects, hypotheses and methodological considerations go beyond their strict succession. The reunion of different contributions inside a given chapter was generated above all by the idea that they possess a decisive objective which overcomes – with the exception of the first chapter – a merely chronological perspective.

As a matter of fact the first chapter, although on a diachronic perspective – *After the Expulsion: Conversion and Diaspora* – transcends mere chronology (without ignoring it), summoning reflections on the relations between the realities named in the chapter's title, in the cases of both Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula.

The first two texts focus on the reality of the Portuguese kingdom. The text by Maria José P. Ferro Tavares, however, goes beyond those boundaries, when analyzing the mobility of Iberian Jews and *judeoconversos*, following the political rhythms observed in the different peninsular kingdoms concerning the Jewish question. The problems relating to those groups, and their passages or settlements throughout Portuguese territory, imply a broad chronological spectrum, dating from

before the 15th century. Portugal's Muslim minority is, on the other hand, the object of the text by Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros, which focuses on king D. Manuel I's varying attitudes towards the eradication of both minorities. This was expressed, in the Muslims' case, in terms of the Portuguese monarchy's Mediterranean policy, and in the fate of those Muslims after the passing of the edict.

The situation in Spain is considerably different, given the proximity of the kingdom of Granada, not conquered until 1492, the massive numbers of people of Muslim origin, their permanence in spite of forced conversions, the dramatic moments in their evangelization and their final expulsion, completed from 1609 to 1614. This complex picture is dealt with in the contribution by Rafael Pérez García and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, centred precisely on the perpetuation of Granada's Morisco community, through a study of their social networks in Iberian Peninsula and in the Diaspora. The need to compare both minorities' strategies of inclusion in Spain, after the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, through the use of their own languages, writings and translations - not excluding other vernacular languages - is the object of the study by Mercedes García-Arenal. It analyses identitarian and cultural differences as a function of the varying rhythms and contexts of conversion in both groups.

This text makes a natural connection to the second chapter, on *Identity Discourses*. This contains several contributions reflecting on the process which structured the identities of these minorities, assumed as Christians in a Christian universe, either in an integrative way or through several modes of resistance. The first text is by Alisa Meyuhás Ginio, who looks into a case which is illustrative of the first generations of New Christians – a rabbi from Soria who, in 1492, refuses to convert to Christianity and leaves for Portugal. Later, in 1494, he returns to his hometown, already a converted Catholic, but he still says his prayers in Hebrew, even when imprisoned by the Spanish Inquisition. The text reveals, first of all, that the identitarian resistance by first-generation Conversos is also the result of an inefficient conversion policy by religious institutions, who were “in a hurry” to complete their religious and ideological project of religious unity. The consequences of this whole conjuncture for the following generations will be seen in other texts in this chapter.

Francisco J. Moreno Díaz del Campo analyses what it meant for some of Spain's Morisco communities to use Arabic, as a socializing and identitarian factor, even in opposition to other Morisco groups. He also considers its repression by civil and religious authorities, who equated that linguistic device to an expression of religiosity. The third text, by Ahmed Boucharb, is dedicated to the “Badge Moors” (*Mouros de Sinal*) who lived

in Portugal in the Early Modern Age. They arrived in the kingdom as captives or political refugees, and acted in the company of Moriscos as the voice of an identitarian consciousness, reaffirming and teaching Islam and calling for a return to their home country. This relationship between Moriscos and Muslims in the Portuguese kingdom, coming from the same region, is the subject of the next contribution, by Abdallah Khawli. It is centred on an Inquisition process which contains three letters written in an Arabic dialect called *aroubî*, thus revealing unbroken personal and family relationships unaffected by each person's religious options.

This chapter's next two texts deal with a strategy of integration by New Christians, presented as an essential component of their identitarian transformation: the pretext of superiority, of pedigree, the Hebrew *yihus* identified with Christian nobility and thus invoked as an element of insertion and social ascension. João de Figueiroa-Rêgo shows that the relationship between the quality of being noble and the concept of cleanliness of blood, a decisive factor in structuring the three estates of Iberian society, was the object of manipulation attempts by some Conversos. This emulation, however, preserved the fundamental character of genealogy in Jewish culture, despite resorting to an erosion of those elements which structured their old identity, and to a policy of osmosis of the symbology of Christian honour. Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano analyses the repercussions of granting knighthood to Conversos, in the 17th century, as a way of rewarding them for services rendered to the Dual - Portuguese and Spanish - Monarchy (1580-1640), in the form of monetary loans, revealing a social ascension brought about by the specific sociopolitical conditions of the period considered.

The third chapter is made up of contributions on some of these minorities' ***Cultural Trends***, either assuming their identities as Jews and Muslims (Moors) or in their later situation as Conversos. Carsten L. Wilke starts from the premise of a Jewish theology of conversion, whose main actors are the *anussim*, reverted to Judaism, and whose model is derived from multiple sources – Catholic, Protestant and Islamic. Through analysis of two emblematic 16th century texts – *Consolação às Tribulações de Israel* (1553), by Samuel Usque, and *Diálogos en Marruecos* (1583), by Estêvão Dias – Wilke shows us how the Jewish authors and educators from that period managed to create theologies of conversion which directly appealed to the sensibility of New Christians. Luis Bernabé Pons' contribution is equally centred on internal cultural production, in his case by Moriscos, and on their continuity with previous Mudéjar communities. The complexity and variety of the models adopted, even at the level of linguistic expression, prove the falsehood of the idea, invented by

detractors of these communities, of one single Morisco identity (as the text by Francisco J. Moreno Díaz del Campo confirms).

The next three contributions investigate the adoption or rejection of socioreligious paradigms by authors of Jewish ascent, in the context of Europe's cultural evolution in the 16th and 17th centuries. The first article is by Andrew Gluck and concerns the inclusion of the intellectuals Isaac and Judah Abrabanel (Abravanel), father and son, in the eclectic movement of European Humanism. Despite the differences in thought between them, and the likelihood of Judah's conversion to Catholicism, both men share the notion that human realization is possible, by trying to free Man from self-contempt and excessive love of God.

As we know, this insistence on the possibility of human creation was taken up by the reformist ideals which followed the late 16th century Renaissance, in the sense of affirming that such a possibility did in fact prove unquestionably the power and omniscience of God. The Conversos, immersed in this cultural evolution, put forward multiple responses ranging from duplicity to eclecticism and exclusion - something which is recognized in their complex socioreligious fate. The doctor Manuel Bocarro Francês, or Jacob Rosales (born in Lisbon in 1588 and assumed as a Jew in Hamburg, in 1625 or 1626, after having to flee due to his writings against Castile and a denunciation of cripto-Judaism) is among the strongest paradigms of these personal wanderings, in the Catholic and Jewish contexts of 17th century Europe. His prolix and varied output is studied by Sandra Neves e Silva, in relation to the Cabalistic notions which inspire it, and to the announcement of the Jewish Messiah's imminent coming, exhibiting the marks of Christian messianism as well.

The case of Bocarro/Rosales reveals, first of all, how the Conversos' intellectual world comprised different religious layers. Some of them tried to use the knowledge they had acquired in several cultural contexts in order to affirm eclectic positions, even if they assumed different socioreligious identities – sometimes successfully, sometimes falling in contradiction. However, in this process of confessionalization which divided the various religious spectra, the authors often discarded their previous sociocultural experience and intellectually defended their roles in their new cultural context. This is what Myriam Silvera deals with in her study of another established author, this time in the milieu of Jewish orthodoxy among Amsterdam's Jews: Isaac Oróbio de Castro (1617-1687), a Converso born in the Portuguese city of Bragança, bearing the Christian name Baltazar, and assumed as a Jew in Amsterdam. Her analysis centres on Oróbio's anti-Christian polemic *Prevenciones divinas contra la vana*

idolatria de las Gentes (circa 1670), which reveals the former Converso and his knowledge of the Christian sources of anti-Hebrew polemics.

This chapter's last text belongs to Miriam Bodian, who reflects on the relation between economic thought in the Early Modern Age and the self-image of Portuguese Jews (meaning here those who converted to Judaism after they had left the kingdom, and their descendants). Throughout the 17th century, the use of theological arguments resorting to the notion of Divine Providentialism (already analysed above by Myriam Silvera) - a constantly evolving and changing notion too, due to the reformist and reactionary currents present in Iberian society - shows a deep articulation with political and economic practices in the communities' different contexts.

We now consider the three chapters in this work's second volume. Chapter four is dedicated to *Interchange between Jews and Muslims and multiconfessionalism* and starts off with a text by José Alberto Tavim. The author explores the moments of communication between Jews and Muslims, either assumed as such or as Conversos, in Portugal's Early Modern Age. He considers that the various discourses, solidarities or antagonisms among members of those minorities, or their converts, must be understood as a function of the period in which the conversions took place (an aspect already mentioned, in another context, by Mercedes García-Arenal) and of their respective social surroundings.

The next contribution belongs to Vasco Resende and concerns the issue of conversion and multiconfessionalism as tools of dissimulation. Focusing on Portuguese travel literature on the Middle East, from the 16th and 17th centuries, it analyses the different options of adherence to Islam, the images of these renegades and their frequent use, in the Portuguese State of India, as spies and agents of the state. The chapter's last text, by Edite Alberto, studies another side of multiconfessionalism: not the opportunistic - whether precarious or stable - assumption of a different religious identity, as in the previous case, but the convergence of people from different religions, belonging to universes which in some cases were in direct confrontation. Such is the case of the general ransom of the Portuguese captives held by Mawlay Abdallah, in Morocco, carried out from 1728 onwards. They were exchanged for Moroccan captives living in the kingdom, in a context of multiconfessional cooperation in which the author sees a religious purpose: that of avoiding apostasy by Christians.

We now enter chapter five, dedicated to linguistic modes of expression: *Language and Aljamia*. Let us start with languages. The first study - extended, deep and illustrative - belongs to David Bunis, who draws a comparative analysis of medieval Romance languages, both

Hebrew and Arabic, in Hispania, establishing a diachronic perspective of those *religiolects* which would extend further into the Diasporas. In contrast with the disappearance of the Muslims' Iberian romance language, the author notes the evolution of *Judezmo* – a living language based on a medieval Hispanic matrix which drifted away from its origins due to the creative isolation of distance, as well as the incorporation of words from the countries to which the Jews moved, of other words relating to their religious world, and also to differentiations in its grammatical system. This is precisely the subject developed by Aitor García Moreno, in his contribution on the history of the Sephardi language. He stresses that *Judeoespañol* evolved in a situation of low normative pressure, with an important influence of the French language, from the second half of the 19th century onwards. He uses the evolution of relative clauses as an example of the diachronic chain established for this language. On this same subject, Aldina Quintana focuses on the specific influence of Portuguese on the formation of *Judeoespañol*, visible in some dialectal forms, above all in phonology and lexicon, although generally without alteration of the Castilian basis. This is a process in which the cultural and communitarian frontiers led to hybridization and assimilation of elements originating from different cultures.

This chapter ends with a text by Meritxell Blasco Orellana on the Hebrew *aljamías* of the Romance languages in the Crown of Aragon (i.e., the transcription of medieval Catalan and Aragonese into Hebrew characters), analysing documentation which clearly reflects the polyglot nature of Aragonese Jews.

The last chapter transports us to the transtemporal reality of ***material and intangible culture***. The first contributions refer to elements concentrated around a given time period, while the last two are meant as a “cultural meditation” on transtemporal anchors of these Iberian minorities' civilizations.

The first text, written by Herman Prins Salomon, can be seen as an example of appropriation of the past by the memory of the present. In this case we have a dramatic portrait of the way in which, at the end of the Early Modern Age, social and religious actors still detained the expressive power to judge and condemn the past, as if this were projected without alteration into the present – based on interpretations which, in the 18th century, appeared around the controversial figure of the famous Portuguese polemicist Father António Vieira (1608-1697), condemning his relationships with Jews and New Christians, which lay at the core of his idealizations over the fate of Portugal.

The issue of Judaism and of the Jewish minority, thus, was still not considered in patrimonialistic terms, at the dawn of modernity, but rather as an expression to be condemned in theological terms, throughout the full extent of its diachronic chain. On the contrary, only a certain desacralized way of looking at the past, in some milieus and contexts, and in different periods, allowed the survival of cultural goods produced by the minorities - not judged in an essentialist way but appraised and valued according to other standards, such as aesthetics and awareness of their intrinsic cultural worth. This “survival” provides the theme of Lúcia Liba Mucznik's contribution, on the “Judaica nas coleções da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal” - an analysis of that library's project which aims to collect, treat and make known works written in Hebrew or about the Hebrew language, as well as also works on Judaism and the Jews, incorporating also works of anti-religious polemics³³.

As mentioned above, the last two contributions present themselves as a “cultural digest” of the civilizational output whose main actors were Jews and Moors, laid out in a transtemporal and transethnic perspective. Its target is the tangibility of aesthetics, either on the popular or on the cult side, and the intangibility of the emotions stemming from their enjoyment.

Let us start with the text by Hilary Pomeroy, “Intertwining Cultures: Memories of al-Andaluz”. The author's purpose is to observe the various components of material heritage shared by Muslims and Sephardi Jews, including food and the visual arts, in the context of a distinct Andalusian style, which would come to influence the Jews of the Diaspora. The common matrix of a bygone al-Andaluz, which for that same reason was often idealized, generates a cultural emotiveness which transforms all traits of that materiality into a clearly definable intangible heritage of its own. The contribution by Eva-Maria von Kemnitz focuses precisely on those porous frontiers, more concretely on the *khamisa* symbol in the Islamic context, implying an idiosyncratic kind of intangible heritage, both transtemporal and transethnic. Under the clear surface of these prototypes, the specificity of forms hides a complex process of identitarian appropriation, connecting matter and idea, matter and emotion, just like much of those materials which, originating in the past of these minorities, make us wonder on the meaning of their actions, procedures, differences and shared experiences.

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Notes

- ¹ On the peninsular Muslims' different rhythms of migration to Morocco, even before the edicts of expulsion, see García-Arenal 2013: 313-334.
- ² See, for example, Barros 2009: 374-375.
- ³ Concept of acculturation used here following the formulations of Nathan Wachtel. See Wachtel 1974.
- ⁴ See for example the criticism levelled by the Spanish poet Salomon Alhami, in 1415, at the behaviour of rich Jews in the Lisbon commune, and at the public of this city's main synagogue – Wilke 2007: 55-56 and 61.
- ⁵ See, for example, the considerations on the actions of the Jew/Converso and Moor/Morisco networks, presented by Natalia Muchnik. Cf. Muchnik 2013: 415-419.
- ⁶ See Bernabé Pons 2008: 307-332; Herrera and Bernabé Pons 2013: 215-231.
- ⁷ See Tavim 2011b; idem. 2011c.
- ⁸ On this subject see, for example, the essay by David Engel: Engel 2006.
- ⁹ See, for example, the criticism by Mark Cohen and David Nirenberg: Cohen 1995; Nirenberg 1996; idem, 2014. And also the propositions by Jonathan Ray – Ray 2005; idem, 2011 - and Fernández-Morera 2014. For the Al-Andalus see Marín 2014.
- ¹⁰ See, for example, the study by Julia Phillips Cohen and Sarah Abrevaya Stein on the “line of action” of Sephardi intellectuals in the lands of the former Ottoman Empire, whose unravelling gave rise to modern Turkey and the Balkan countries – Cohen and Stein 2010.
- ¹¹ Ray 2006; idem, 2008; idem, 2103.
- ¹² See above, note 8, and Nirenberg 1993.
- ¹³ Horowitz 2006.
- ¹⁴ Stacey 1998; Buttaroni and Musial 2003.
- ¹⁵ See, for example, Lasker 1992; idem 2007; Ben-Shalom 2014; Wilke 2014.
- ¹⁶ For a global view of Aragon and Castile see Hinojosa Montalvo 2002.
- ¹⁷ See, for example, Dadson 2007.
- ¹⁸ Ray 2013; Tavares 1987; Alcalá 1995; Leroy 1996.
- ¹⁹ Tavim [forthcoming 2015].
- ²⁰ Nirenberg 2002; Tavim 2011.
- ²¹ As one example in a sea of studies, see Kaplan 1989; Wachtel 2001; Muchnik 2005; García-Arenal 2010; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 2010.
- ²² Hsia 1989; Cruz and Perry 1992; Bodian 1997; Schilling 1998; Headley, Hillerbrand and Papalas 2004; Kaplan 2007; Spohnholz 2011; García-Arenal and Wiegers 2013.
- ²³ See Nahon 1993; Bodian 1997; Swetschinski 2000; Goldish 2001; idem, 2012.
- ²⁴ On the doubts of the rabbinical authorities concerning the Iberian *Conversos* living in the Ottoman Empire see Goodblatt 1952; Zsom 2008; idem, 2010. Also concerning those doubts, but related to XV Century Spanish *Conversos*, see Zsom 2014.
- ²⁵ See Kaplan 1989; Boer 1996.

²⁶ Kristić 2013: 262

²⁷ See Farinelli 1925; Schwarz 1925; Roth 1932; Révah 1959-1960; Saraiva 1985; Swetschinski 1987; Wachtel 2001. On this conceptualization, see Tavim 2011.

²⁸ This important precision in their consideration as Jews was well observed by authors such as Álvares 1925; Vasconcelos 1982: 162-235; Garcia 1993; idem, 1999.

²⁹ Among others, Díaz-Mas 1993; Cohen 2009.

³⁰ Some examples: Zafrani 1996; Fuchs 2009; Lebbady 2009; Kamal 2013; Davila 2013.

³¹ See some alerts on this subject in Díaz-Mas 1993; Wexler 1996; Ray 2008; Graizbord 2008; Bodian 2008; Goldberg 2008; Tardieu 2009; Halevi-Wise 2012.

³² See, for example, Révah 1970; Sephihia 1973; idem 1974; idem 1979; Díaz-Mas, Paloma 1993; Bunis 1999; idem 2009; Quintana 2006; Varol and Cohen 2006-2007.

³³ The first result of this project has already been published, accompanying an exhibition on this subject: Mucznik 2014.