

EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 9: Cross-Cultural Connections in the Early Modern Jewish World, Brown University, Providence, RI, February, 26-27, 2012

Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792

David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Introduction

The Early Modern Period, an era of “confessionalization,” provides numerous examples of individuals of immediate, distant, feigned, or merely imputed Jewish origin whose religious and social allegiances shifted radically. The phenomenon of Iberian New Christians or *conversos* comes to mind. Early modern Jews who became Christians but who, unlike *conversos*, possessed no personal and familial background in Christianity constitute an allied field of research (See examples in the Bibliography, below). Scholarly assessments of the ways in which these Jewish non-*conversos* learned and influenced their adopted Christian culture(s) often concentrate on intellectual production. The focus is not surprising, as the converts under discussion were usually educated individuals to whom Christian patrons often assigned prominent roles as anti-Jewish polemicists and missionaries. By contrast to the apologetic works and other religious writings of and about such converts, the texts presented here offer glimpses of the experience of uneducated, relatively inarticulate people of very modest material means who found themselves at a crossroads between Jewish (or Jewish-identified) and Hispano-Catholic identities, and whose formal cultural realignment caused no historical ripple.

The folios selected for this workshop comprise large excerpts of two inquisitorial cases dating from the early 1790s. Both dossiers are relatively brief and fragmentary. I offer them together in order to provide more analytical possibilities than each of the documents would offer by itself.

In each of the cases, a lone deponent appeared “spontaneously” before the Toledo Tribunal of the Spanish Holy Office to express a desire to renounce Judaism, undergo baptism, and be received into “the bosom” of the Roman Catholic Church. Each of the two declarants—a petty merchant and widow from Hesse-Cassel, and a carpenter from Mantua—dimly related or merely hinted of various informal social interactions. May we approach the latter as informal processes and avenues of Jewish and, to a greater extent,

Hispano-Catholic acculturation? If so, the kind of acculturation that these deponents conveyed is largely quotidian, and we must often read between the lines to hypothesize it. By the same token, the cultural learning that the informants described was largely devoid of textual mediation, introspection, and intellectual sophistication.

As records of judicial interrogations the selected dossiers primarily reveal a clash between these ordinary and rather vague (or vaguely-rendered) instances of acculturation on one hand, and, on the other hand, normative institutional concepts of true and false religious paths, true and false religious and ethnic identities, and pure and impure human motivations. We discover, then, far less about interactive learning and mutual formation across openly practiced, autonomous cultures, than about the heavily-biased ethnographic curiosity and the religious and political imperatives of Hispano-Catholic functionaries. At most, the selected texts shed a flickering light on the social transformation of Jewish-identified individuals within the framework of a stark imbalance of power between themselves and a religious institution that possessed the cultural capital to investigate and (re-)define them as “Jews,” and then convert them into “Catholics.” Given this imbalance, and the opacity of the declarants’ words, the documents may ultimately help us to understand how certain cultural *obstacles* characteristic to the early modern centuries conditioned—or precluded—Jewish-Christian exchange across a barbed ethno-religious, political, and socio-economic divide. My oral presentation of the dossiers may well focus on distortion, dissimulation, domination and conformity as over-determined outcomes of this highly conditioned phenomenon of mis- or non-communication.

A final note on the selected sources: Though the dates of both texts may be late for an early modern workshop, a review of the documents makes it reasonably clear that no matter what sea-changes were occurring beyond Spain in the 1790s, the dossiers were products of the traditional religious outlook of a medieval institution—an institution still engaged in a broader competition for souls that the Catholic and Protestant churches had been waging since the sixteenth century.

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Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792

David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición de Toledo, legajo 159, expediente 11 (1790-1791): Carlota Liot.

[Cover, front matter]

Toledo (Inquisition of)

Judaizers

Liot (Carlota)

Of Hebrew Nation, and resident of the village of Consuegra

Her spontaneous testimony and abjuration

1790-1791

Dossier 159, n. 11

[Fol. 6r] Hearing on October 7, 1790

No results issue from the registry of this Holy Office against the woman named Carlota, native of Hesse-Cassel in Germany, of medium height, round face, sort of swollen cheeks, black eyes, brown hair, eyebrows with little hair, Roman nose, 29 years of age more or less, who spontaneously appeared to disclose her Hebraism, requesting entry to the bosom of Our Holy Mother, [the] Church, by receiving the Holy Baptism, according to Your Lordship's notice of September 23, to which we respond gladly, and will so execute it to whatever extent will please you.

[Inquisition of Murcia, October 2,

1790] Atty. Pedro del Moral [?]

Dr. Don Ramon de Albornos

Holy Office of the Inquisition of Toledo

[Fol. 16r] Don Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo, *Licenciado* [= university graduate], [and]

titled Senior Apostolic Familiar of this village, with the necessary submission to your Most Illustrious [*sic.*] acknowledges that on this day, and via *Licenciado* and Friar, Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta of the [illegible] of St. John, Priest and Prior of Santa Maria la Mayor, in said village [of Consuegra], a woman has presented herself to this informant, who says that she is of Judaic nation, that she is called Carlota, and that she is daughter of Leon, native of Hesse-Cassel, dominion of the Emperor; that she left her place of origin at the age of thirteen, and today is of the age of of twenty-nine. She declares voluntarily (among other things) that in the city of Málaga she has resided for six years, and that in that city she knows many of her nation who are hidden; but that she desires [to receive] the Holy Baptism, and convert to our Holy Catholic Faith, of which intention she has implored (tearfully and with repeated invocations of Mary Most Holy) said parish priest, who, in accord with this informant has offered her the customary sustenance and protection until Your Most Illustrious, informed by this missive, orders what he deems just and advisable.

Consuegra, today, April 24 of 1790
Don Fernando Díaz de Linarez y Toledo

[Fol. 18r] In the village of Consuegra on the sixteenth of the month of May of this present year of one thousand, seven hundred and ninety, the *Licenciado*, Friar Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta Rojas of the Order [?] of St. John, Priest and Prior of the Parish of Santa Maria la Mayor of said village, has delivered the preceding dispatch....

On said day at ten in the morning by virtue of the preceding act there appeared before the said Mr. Commissioner and me, the notary, the mentioned Carlota, under legal oath, which she took upon God and a sign of the Cross, not to reveal whatever occurred and she said in the deposition

[Fol. 18v] and [to tell] the whole truth under that oath, which obliges fulfillment and observance, as was explained to her. And by virtue of this the [narrative] representation that I, the notary, made to the Holy Office, dated the twenty-fourth of April, was given to her, and I read it to her *verbo ad verbum* and in its entirety. About it she said that it was the same that she [had] expressed on the cited day to the Commissioner and before me, the notary, [and that] she ratified it in case it was necessary; and thereafter the following questionnaire was posed to her-----

Asked what she calls herself, where she was born, her age, civil status, and occupation, who her parents were or are, and where they reside or died, and what religion they professed, she responds: That she calls herself Carlota; that she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, city of the Emperor of Germany; that she is twenty-nine years of age, more or less; that she has been a merchant, and today [is] a poor *hostiatin* [Lat. *Hostiatim*, ~victim?], because she has been robbed, and at present in a widow's state, because of her man, who was of judaic nation, having died in the city of Málaga, and been buried in the Holy Field of the Hospital del Rey of said city; that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia, both natives and citizens of the previously noted city of Hesse-Cassel, and that she does not know if they are alive or dead; but she knows and makes known that they were of Judaic nation.

Asked if she is Christian, baptized---
She responds that she is not-----

Asked in what religion she was reared and what

[Fol. 19r] she has believed and followed since she had use of reason, and if the religion in which she has been reared is the same one that her parents followed and professed, and if in that country [that faith] is taught, or if she follows the same or different ones, and [if so] which ones—she responds:

That the religion in which she was reared is Judaic, and awaited the Messiah; and they worship a golden image, like a calf; keep the Sabbath day as a holiday, fasting on said day from ten at night on Friday, its eve, until sunrise; observing [its] solemnity with such rigor that they did not move a [single] utensil: She was reared in this religion, the same one that her parents followed, which is tolerated in that country, where in the same way there are Lutherans, Calvinists, and Christians, all of them tolerated, and [enjoying the] free exercise [of their faiths]---

Asked if she observes it. She is asked what she holds and believes at present, and what religion is the one she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death.

She responds: that at present she holds and believes the articles of Our Holy Catholic Faith, which were made known to her by the Commissioner and in front of me, the notary, to whom she responded; and that the religion that she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death is the Catholic religion; and she yearns for the same with intense and powerful desires to be baptized=====

Asked again how it is that she has notice of the articles of our Holy Catholic Faith, and who

[Fol. 19v] has taught it to her, she said that because she found herself with a store [~commercial stall] in the city of Málaga she went out

every week to sell in Vélez-Málaga; and in its suburbs lived a Christian countrywoman of hers, called Christina, who knew the aforementioned parents of the deponent, which is why, in her German tongue, she taught her the Christian doctrine; and although said Christina knew that the parents of the deponent were Jews, she was under the impression that she [the deponent] was a Christian; and because of her stay in Spain, she has learned some mysteries and prayers, such as the Credo, the Sacraments, the five Commandments of our Mother, the Church, the mystery of the Most Holy

Trinity, how God is a remunerator [?], and the rest, in the native language [of Spain]:-----

In the fifth [question] she was asked what cause, motive, or reason she has had and has for separating herself from the Judaic sect, and wishing to follow and profess the Holy Catholic Faith of Our Mother the Roman Church. She responds:

That being certain that if she dies a Jew it condemns her, and if she dies a Catholic she hopes to be saved and go to glory ==

To the sixth [question] she referred to the fourth, given what is understood by it, and to the third==

To the seventh: She was asked if she knows if there are some persons of her sect who are residing in Spain, hidden, and are not from those realms and nations to whom it is permitted, for reasons of

[Fol. 20r] commerce, and with some conditions, to reside in Spain; or if she knows if some, or any one of these who are allowed [to reside] in these realms, has/have violated the pacts and conditions by which his/their residence is permitted, and caused through his/their words, or deeds, some scandal among the loyal Roman Catholics; she responds:

That she knew up to six people of the same sect, hidden, who employed her in the trade in silk stockings, kerchiefs, and other types of merchandise, who accompanied each other and sold in Cádiz, Puerto de La María, and other towns; but that they did not have a house of residence in said city, where they lodged in the inn nearest to the Puerta de la Mar, but she does not remember their names either collectively or in particular, and I only know [*sic.*] the [physical] traits of one of them, who was about two Ys[?] and two fingers tall, rather portly, with a scar on his face, as from a knifing, but that she does not recall in which of his cheeks [the scar] is found, and who may be, or looks like he is about thirty to thirty-five years of age, and that without a doubt the reason

that she does not remember the names is that they disclosed little about themselves to each other, addressing one another with brotherly expressions. This is as much as she knows, as she must declare in this spontaneous declaration, under the oath that she has made.

[Fol. 20v] And all of it is the truth, which is ratified and affirmed if necessary.

She did not sign her declaration because she said she did not know how to do it. The Commissioner did it, to which I was a witness.

[Signatures: Silvestre Díaz Huerta y Rojas and Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo]

[Fol. 24v] In the village of Consuegra, on the tenth day of the month of June of the present year of one thousand, seven-hundred and ninety, Mr. Commissioner, *Licenciado* and Friar Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta delivered to me the preceding dispatch, which he said he had just received by ordinary mail and in his correspondence. Having accepted it, he made before me a formal oath of *Non Rebelando in Todo Pectore*, with his hand placed over the cross upon his habit, and immediately ordered Carlota summoned....
It occurred before me.

[Signatures]

In the said village, day, month and year by virtue of the foregoing the aforementioned Carlota was summoned, from whom said Commissioner took a formal oath of fidelity by God our Lord and by making a sign of the cross, to tell the truth in what she has been asked, and not to reveal as much, or even part of what the gentleman of the dispatch [*sic.*]. [She declared] that the one she had as a husband was known in his country by the

[Fol. 25r] name of “Leon” and in Spain by that of “Antonio,” [and] that she does not know the day Antonio died

and was buried, because the declarant had left the city of Málaga, in order to sell all the kinds of her [his?] merchandise in the cities of Seville, Cordova, Ecija, and other towns, where she stayed [?] for nine months; and upon her return to the city [?] of Málaga she was notified that he had died, being told that he had died about eight months earlier, and according to her calculation, the death had occurred there about twenty-six months ago, more or less; that he did not have a fixed home as his domicile in said city, as they lived in the streets where the fairs that are frequent in that city were celebrated; such that when the [fairs] were [held] in the Calle de la Victoria, they picked themselves up [or: took shelter] and stayed by night in the house that a widow named Catalina has as her store, but that she does not recall her traits other than that she had her stalls and a large portal; and that for the lodging they paid five *reales* each night, and that when the fair took place in the street that they call “Of The Merchants” they spent the night at the Puerta de la Mar in a house that was a tavern, [and the woman who hosted them] was called María, a widow, to whom they paid four *reales* daily, but that the house of the aforementioned María was leased,

[Fol. 25v] and the delcarant is not aware of the property’s owner—and that when she went out to sell at the time she has already indicated, Antonio was left in broken health in the Calle de la Victoria. She did not have any dealings or communication with people besides with the two cited—the hostesses Catalina or María—that was not through her sales, since after the fairs they [=the declarant and her husband] went out to the towns of the county to sell without having a fixed domicile in any of them—and that she only stayed in the mentioned city of Málaga for three years at the time of the fairs. Though she left her country eighteen years ago, more or less, six [of those] years she has been in Portugal, three in France, and the rest in

Spain. She spent thee of these [latter] years as she has declared, and the six remaining [years] she was in Zaragoza, Pamplona, Valencia, and other cities, as well as in Barcelona, where a student for the price of half of a Piece of Eight prepared a certificate of marriage for her and Antonio. When she became acquainted with and dealt with her countrywoman, Christina, in Vélez-Málaga, she was the widow of an invalid whose name she does not know, and lived in a leased house located in the suburbs and that she does not know the name of the street. Christina lived from the work of her hands, threading and making buttons. Regarding

[Fol 26r] her house she cannot provide more details than that it stands apart, but that there are many other little houses similar to it because they stand alone. As for Cristina's personal traits, she can only say that she was a very old woman, of medium stature, with entirely white hair, and that she does not remember any more traits. And having had each and every one of the details contained in the dispatch reviewed for her, and to convey that she made her deposition with the greatest clarity and specificity, she said and repeated that she could not describe, neither explain, more than what she has declared under the oath that she has made, which she has ratified and affirmed. She did not sign because she did not know how to do so. Mr. Commissioner did, and I, the notary, did it, who was present for everything.

[Signatures: Díaz Huerta Y Rojas and Díaz Linares de Toledo]

[Fol. 27r] Presented in Toledo
June 25 of 1790

Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in the file that has been compiled in the case of the woman

called Carlota who wishes to abjure the errors of the Judaic sect and be admitted to the bosom of our Roman Catholic, Apostolic faith, says: He has seen the new declaration that this spontaneous woman has made; and confronted with the earlier one that she proffered on May 16, he finds some contradictions and other inverosimilitudes. So that he may find out what this woman affirms, and so as not to fall for some fraud that she may be trying to perpetrate, it seems to him advisable that the same Commissioner and Notary of Consuegra take from her another statement, by formally interrogating her regarding the following questions:

1st. As she says, she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, a city of the Holy [Roman] Emperor, when it is in fact a private domain of Germany. Let her state the towns that are near her city of origin.

2nd. How can she say that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia and that they were Jews, when these names are of the Law of Grace, and her

[Fol. 27v] parents had full civil and moral liberty in their country and could use proper names of the Law of Moses?

3rd. How can she say in her first statement that she resided in the city of Málaga for six years when afterward she speaks of a mere three years? And that she had a store there, yet later says that she only sold in the fairs by day, and by night she lodged in the Calle de la Victoria, and in a tavern next to the Puerta del Mar in the homes of Catalina and María, including neither their family names, nor their physical traits? It is strange that she should not state or remember her [social] ties, or relatives they may have, so that their [her?] identity and existence may be known.

4th. That she declare the time of the year that she has

seen the fair held at the Calle de los Mercaderes of that city, or that she say what she believes to be the [proper] name of that street; because if she thinks it is the new street that is in front of the Puerta del Mar, it is our understanding that no fair is held there during any part of the year.

5th. That she state if she has been registered in any parish church, or listed as a citizen by the authorities, and if so, where, and in what year; or if she has heard mass, and received the Sacraments of Penitence and Comunion, believing in them internally, or not.

6th. Let her state in what merchandise she trafficked, and if she bought it in order to resell it

[Fol. 28r] in kind [?] or on credit, especially during the nine months that she was in various places without her man; and that she name the subjects with whom she dealt for that purpose, and their addresses, those whom she has known and have known her from the various fairs and townspeople of Andalucía that she has mentioned. It is not verisimilar that she has walked alone, without letting herself be known as to her homeland and religion among the various travelers and walkers of her class, whom she must perforce have had to join along roads and at inns.

7th and final: That said Commissioner pose whatever questions he finds advisable so that he can obtain better knowledge of whether she is indeed a Jew and truly wishes to be a Catholic, and so that persons of our Holy Religion be found who have known her, and can inform [us] as to the conduct, opinions, and religion that this woman has held.

[Signature, June 23, 1790]

[Fol. 30v, starting in line 27]

[Marginal note:] Inspection and declaration
 In the village of consuegra, on said, month, and year [Aug. 2, 1790], as a
 consequence of the [illegible]

[Fol. 31r] earlier notifications the aforementioned Carlota
 was summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary,
 and he received from her an Oath of fidelity
 by God Our Lord, and with the sign
 of the cross, to tell the truth of
 whatever she knows and may be asked. Having
 done so in accordance with the dispatch and
 commission, she responds to the first question:
 That it is true that Hesse-Cassel is the city of a Duke,
 but that he is subject to the Emperor of
 Germany, and that that is why she
 said that the city was the Emperor's, and that although
 she knows and acknowledges that there are many towns
 in its immediate surroundings, she does not know the names
 of any of them.

To the second question she said that although they have
 full liberty for the use [*sic.*] of their sect,
 they are accustomed in their [undeciphered word: *advetuo?* *Advitico?*] to
 assuming
 names of the Law of Grace, except the names Manuel, María, and Juan, and
 for that reason her parents were known
 by the names of Leon and Cecilia-----

Asked about her husband [?], she says that by her
 six-year term of residence in the city of Málaga,
 which she mentioned in her first deposition,
 she means that she participated in the fairs held in that city; and the three
 [following years], which she mentioned in her second deposition refer, and
 she understands them to be, those in which he who is named
 was sick for three years until he died without [?]

[Fol. 31v] the holy baptism; this is what she responded.
 Her declaration was read to her, and she said she had nothing
 to add to it. She ratified it. She did not sign because she did not know
 how to do so. His Mercy did it, as did I, the notary.

[Signatures]

[Fol. 35r] Most Illustrious Sir,

Sir of mine and of all my veneration: With the greatest care I have completed the task with which Your Illustrious Lordship [.....] has charged me by the preceding commission, and I have not been able to locate any of the information that are [*sic.*] indicated in it. In the Calle de la Victoria I have not found more than one widow named Catalina, and she assures me that neither in the time of the fair nor in the off-season has she ever hosted in her home or portal any person besides a woman, a Garbanzo seller [?], who was her acquaintance and a citizen of this city [who lives in] the Calle de la Trinidad. Believing there to be some mistake in the testimony regarding a fair in the “Calle de los Mercaderes,” by which [the deponent] intended to say, or should have said, “in the Calle del Carmen,” I have looked in the Puerta del Mar for the tavern-house in which there lived a widowed woman named María, though there are many taverns and store-houses. I have found no reason to corroborate such a [undeciphered word], neither present nor past. In the Hospital del Rey one cannot know when Antonio died, because [the deponent] does not indicate his surname. For that reason I return the commission so that if possible it will be returned with some clearer details that may be of guidance in order to investigate what Your Illustrious Lordship wishes to know, as with such vague information

[Fol. 35v]

I have not been able to advance anything.

[Valediction and signature of Joseph Fernandez Maqueda]

[Fol. 36r] Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in [light of] the procedures undertaken in the case of the woman called Carlota, who is in the village of Consuegra

Requesting that she be admitted to the bosom of Our Holy Mother, the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church via Holy Baptism and prior abjuration of the Hebrew sect into which she says she was born and has professed, affirms:

That the review of records made in this and the other tribunals of the realm have not resulted in anything against this request. Yet, since the procedures that have been undertaken in the city of Málaga through the Holy Office of Granada have not resulted in anything that would corroborate the presence that the spontaneous declarant alleges at the fairs and houses of said city, her declarations still obscure the information that would be necessary to know whether she has been and is in reality a Jew, and that she sincerely wishes to abjure that reprobate sect and receive the Holy Baptism. The fact that this woman of vague quality, and does not cite a single person who can answer as to her civil status

[Fol. 36v] or moral character, and what is more, not even to her physical existence after so many years of traveling through so many towns and provinces of the realm, is a circumstance that recommends her very little with respect to the credibility of her statements, and in certain terms it seems appropriate to the Prosecutor that for now a commission be given to the Priest and Prior of Consuegra, Silvestre Díaz Huerta, that [along with] the Familiar, Senior Bailiff Don Fernando Díaz de Linares, in association with the four most authorized and literate secular or regular priests of the village of Consuegra, examine the spontaneous declarant anew, asking her all the questions they deem appropriate, to ascertain whether in reality she has not received the Holy Baptism and has been of the Hebrew sect, and if her conversion is sincere, and she has been instructed in our holy Catholic dogmas and seems to them would persevere in Our Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, and that they inform [us] of the results by means of a report of said Priest and Prior and four Priests,

and that it be transmitted to the Prosecutor to say whatever may be necessary. Secret [order] of the Inquisition of Toledo, November 13 of 1790.

[Fol 38v] In the village of Consuegra, twenty-eight days of said month [of November] and year [1790], by virtue of the judicial instructions the Presbyters and Carlota, who are cited in them, were summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary. Each and every one interrogated and reinterrogated Carlota with questions that were deemed advisable, according to the [undeciphered word], her Oath of Fidelity having previously been taken. Each and every one of them found, and are of the common opinion that her desire to receive the Holy Baptism is true; so too that she has not received it to this day; yet, as to her knowledge of the Catholic doctrine, she is found to be very immature; thus, in case the Tribunal deems it advisable to expedite its order to any of the Parish Priests of the village of Madridejos, where her [present] domicile is located, if it should be necessary to examine her well in the Holy Doctrine. In this regard, when prompted, she has offered to remain there so that the Holy Sacrament is administered to her. As to this they are in common accord and can and are obliged to inform the Holy Tribunal. And in acknowledgment they signed along with His Mercy, said Judge, which I faithfully verify.

[Signatures: *Licenciado* Don Sivestre Díaz Huerta y Roxas (Judge)
 Don Antonio Jesus Díaz Gallego
 Dn Elías Gabriel Aguilar Alvarez
 Francisco García de Juan Pérez
 Joachin de Cassas y Vida
 Don Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo (Notary)]

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[Cover, front matter]

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Judaizers

Liot (Carlota)

Of Hebrew Nation, and resident of the village of Consuegra

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[Fol. 6r] Hearing on October 7, 1790

No results issue from the registry of this Holy Office against the woman named Carlota, native of Hesse-Cassel in Germany, of medium height, round face, sort of swollen cheeks, black eyes, brown hair, eyebrows with little hair, Roman nose, 29 years of age more or less, who spontaneously appeared to disclose her Hebraism, requesting entry to the bosom of Our Holy Mother, [the] Church, by receiving the Holy Baptism, according to Your Lordship's notice of September 23, to which we respond gladly, and will so execute it to whatever extent will please you.

[Inquisition of Murcia, October 2,

1790] Atty. Pedro del Moral [?]

Dr. Don Ramon de Albornos

Holy Office of the Inquisition of Toledo

[Fol. 16r] Don Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo, *Licenciado* [= university graduate], [and]

titled Senior Apostolic Familiar of this village, with the necessary submission to your Most Illustrious [*sic.*] acknowledges that on this day, and via *Licenciado* and Friar, Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta of the [illegible] of St. John, Priest and Prior of Santa Maria la Mayor, in said village [of Consuegra], a woman has presented herself to this informant, who says that she is of Judaic nation, that she is called Carlota, and that she is daughter of Leon, native of Hesse-Cassel, dominion of the Emperor; that she left her place of origin at the age of thirteen, and today is of the age of of twenty-nine. She declares voluntarily (among other things) that in the city of Málaga she has resided for six years, and that in that city she knows many of her nation who are hidden; but that she desires [to receive] the Holy Baptism, and convert to our Holy Catholic Faith, of which intention she has implored (tearfully and with repeated invocations of Mary Most Holy) said parish priest, who, in accord with this informant has offered her the customary sustenance and protection until Your Most Illustrious, informed by this missive, orders what he deems just and advisable.

Consuegra, today, April 24 of 1790
Don Fernando Díaz de Linarez y Toledo

[Fol. 18r] In the village of Consuegra on the sixteenth of the month of May of this present year of one thousand, seven hundred and ninety, the *Licenciado*, Friar Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta Rojas of the Order [?] of St. John, Priest and Prior of the Parish of Santa Maria la Mayor of said village, has delivered the preceding dispatch....

On said day at ten in the morning by virtue of the preceding act there appeared before the said Mr. Commissioner and me, the notary, the mentioned Carlota, under legal oath, which she took upon God and a sign of the Cross, not to reveal whatever occurred and she said in the deposition

[Fol. 18v] and [to tell] the whole truth under that oath, which obliges fulfillment and observance, as was explained to her. And by virtue of this the [narrative] representation that I, the notary, made to the Holy Office, dated the twenty-fourth of April, was given to her, and I read it to her *verbo ad verbum* and in its entirety. About it she said that it was the same that she [had] expressed on the cited day to the Commissioner and before me, the notary, [and that] she ratified it in case it was necessary; and thereafter the following questionnaire was posed to her-----

Asked what she calls herself, where she was born, her age, civil status, and occupation, who her parents were or are, and where they reside or died, and what religion they professed, she responds: That she calls herself Carlota; that she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, city of the Emperor of Germany; that she is twenty-nine years of age, more or less; that she has been a merchant, and today [is] a poor *hostiatin* [Lat. *Hostiatim*, ~victim?], because she has been robbed, and at present in a widow's state, because of her man, who was of judaic nation, having died in the city of Málaga, and been buried in the Holy Field of the Hospital del Rey of said city; that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia, both natives and citizens of the previously noted city of Hesse-Cassel, and that she does not know if they are alive or dead; but she knows and makes known that they were of Judaic nation.

Asked if she is Christian, baptized---
She responds that she is not-----

Asked in what religion she was reared and what

[Fol. 19r] she has believed and followed since she had use of reason, and if the religion in which she has been reared is the same one that her parents followed and professed, and if in that country [that faith] is taught, or if she follows the same or different ones, and [if so] which ones—she responds:

That the religion in which she was reared is Judaic, and awaited the Messiah; and they worship a golden image, like a calf; keep the Sabbath day as a holiday, fasting on said day from ten at night on Friday, its eve, until sunrise; observing [its] solemnity with such rigor that they did not move a [single] utensil: She was reared in this religion, the same one that her parents followed, which is tolerated in that country, where in the same way there are Lutherans, Calvinists, and Christians, all of them tolerated, and [enjoying the] free exercise [of their faiths]---

Asked if she observes it. She is asked what she holds and believes at present, and what religion is the one she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death.

She responds: that at present she holds and believes the articles of Our Holy Catholic Faith, which were made known to her by the Commissioner and in front of me, the notary, to whom she responded; and that the religion that she wishes to follow and profess in life and in death is the Catholic religion; and she yearns for the same with intense and powerful desires to be baptized=====

Asked again how it is that she has notice of the articles of our Holy Catholic Faith, and who

[Fol. 19v] has taught it to her, she said that because she found herself with a store [~commercial stall] in the city of Málaga she went out

every week to sell in Vélez-Málaga; and in its suburbs lived a Christian countrywoman of hers, called Christina, who knew the aforementioned parents of the deponent, which is why, in her German tongue, she taught her the Christian doctrine; and although said Christina knew that the parents of the deponent were Jews, she was under the impression that she [the deponent] was a Christian; and because of her stay in Spain, she has learned some mysteries and prayers, such as the Credo, the Sacraments, the five Commandments of our Mother, the Church, the mystery of the Most Holy

Trinity, how God is a remunerator [?], and the rest, in the native language [of Spain]:-----

In the fifth [question] she was asked what cause, motive, or reason she has had and has for separating herself from the Judaic sect, and wishing to follow and profess the Holy Catholic Faith of Our Mother the Roman Church. She responds:

That being certain that if she dies a Jew it condemns her, and if she dies a Catholic she hopes to be saved and go to glory ==

To the sixth [question] she referred to the fourth, given what is understood by it, and to the third==

To the seventh: She was asked if she knows if there are some persons of her sect who are residing in Spain, hidden, and are not from those realms and nations to whom it is permitted, for reasons of

[Fol. 20r] commerce, and with some conditions, to reside in Spain; or if she knows if some, or any one of these who are allowed [to reside] in these realms, has/have violated the pacts and conditions by which his/their residence is permitted, and caused through his/their words, or deeds, some scandal among the loyal Roman Catholics; she responds:

That she knew up to six people of the same sect, hidden, who employed her in the trade in silk stockings, kerchiefs, and other types of merchandise, who accompanied each other and sold in Cádiz, Puerto de La María, and other towns; but that they did not have a house of residence in said city, where they lodged in the inn nearest to the Puerta de la Mar, but she does not remember their names either collectively or in particular, and I only know [*sic.*] the [physical] traits of one of them, who was about two Ys[?] and two fingers tall, rather portly, with a scar on his face, as from a knifing, but that she does not recall in which of his cheeks [the scar] is found, and who may be, or looks like he is about thirty to thirty-five years of age, and that without a doubt the reason

that she does not remember the names is that they disclosed little about themselves to each other, addressing one another with brotherly expressions. This is as much as she knows, as she must declare in this spontaneous declaration, under the oath that she has made.

[Fol. 20v] And all of it is the truth, which is ratified and affirmed if necessary.

She did not sign her declaration because she said she did not know how to do it. The Commissioner did it, to which I was a witness.

[Signatures: Silvestre Díaz Huerta y Rojas and Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo]

[Fol. 24v] In the village of Consuegra, on the tenth day of the month of June of the present year of one thousand, seven-hundred and ninety, Mr. Commissioner, *Licenciado* and Friar Don Silvestre Díaz Huerta delivered to me the preceding dispatch, which he said he had just received by ordinary mail and in his correspondence. Having accepted it, he made before me a formal oath of *Non Rebelando in Todo Pectore*, with his hand placed over the cross upon his habit, and immediately ordered Carlota summoned....
It occurred before me.

[Signatures]

In the said village, day, month and year by virtue of the foregoing the aforementioned Carlota was summoned, from whom said Commissioner took a formal oath of fidelity by God our Lord and by making a sign of the cross, to tell the truth in what she has been asked, and not to reveal as much, or even part of what the gentleman of the dispatch [*sic.*]. [She declared] that the one she had as a husband was known in his country by the

[Fol. 25r] name of “Leon” and in Spain by that of “Antonio,” [and] that she does not know the day Antonio died

and was buried, because the declarant had left the city of Málaga, in order to sell all the kinds of her [his?] merchandise in the cities of Seville, Cordova, Ecija, and other towns, where she stayed [?] for nine months; and upon her return to the city [?] of Málaga she was notified that he had died, being told that he had died about eight months earlier, and according to her calculation, the death had occurred there about twenty-six months ago, more or less; that he did not have a fixed home as his domicile in said city, as they lived in the streets where the fairs that are frequent in that city were celebrated; such that when the [fairs] were [held] in the Calle de la Victoria, they picked themselves up [or: took shelter] and stayed by night in the house that a widow named Catalina has as her store, but that she does not recall her traits other than that she had her stalls and a large portal; and that for the lodging they paid five *reales* each night, and that when the fair took place in the street that they call “Of The Merchants” they spent the night at the Puerta de la Mar in a house that was a tavern, [and the woman who hosted them] was called María, a widow, to whom they paid four *reales* daily, but that the house of the aforementioned María was leased,

[Fol. 25v] and the delcarant is not aware of the property’s owner—and that when she went out to sell at the time she has already indicated, Antonio was left in broken health in the Calle de la Victoria. She did not have any dealings or communication with people besides with the two cited—the hostesses Catalina or María—that was not through her sales, since after the fairs they [=the declarant and her husband] went out to the towns of the county to sell without having a fixed domicile in any of them—and that she only stayed in the mentioned city of Málaga for three years at the time of the fairs. Though she left her country eighteen years ago, more or less, six [of those] years she has been in Portugal, three in France, and the rest in

Spain. She spent thee of these [latter] years as she has declared, and the six remaining [years] she was in Zaragoza, Pamplona, Valencia, and other cities, as well as in Barcelona, where a student for the price of half of a Piece of Eight prepared a certificate of marriage for her and Antonio. When she became acquainted with and dealt with her countrywoman, Christina, in Vélez-Málaga, she was the widow of an invalid whose name she does not know, and lived in a leased house located in the suburbs and that she does not know the name of the street. Christina lived from the work of her hands, threading and making buttons. Regarding

[Fol 26r] her house she cannot provide more details than that it stands apart, but that there are many other little houses similar to it because they stand alone. As for Cristina's personal traits, she can only say that she was a very old woman, of medium stature, with entirely white hair, and that she does not remember any more traits. And having had each and every one of the details contained in the dispatch reviewed for her, and to convey that she made her deposition with the greatest clarity and specificity, she said and repeated that she could not describe, neither explain, more than what she has declared under the oath that she has made, which she has ratified and affirmed. She did not sign because she did not know how to do so. Mr. Commissioner did, and I, the notary, did it, who was present for everything.

[Signatures: Díaz Huerta Y Rojas and Díaz Linares de Toledo]

[Fol. 27r] Presented in Toledo
June 25 of 1790

Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in the file that has been compiled in the case of the woman

called Carlota who wishes to abjure the errors of the Judaic sect and be admitted to the bosom of our Roman Catholic, Apostolic faith, says: He has seen the new declaration that this spontaneous woman has made; and confronted with the earlier one that she proffered on May 16, he finds some contradictions and other inverosimilitudes. So that he may find out what this woman affirms, and so as not to fall for some fraud that she may be trying to perpetrate, it seems to him advisable that the same Commissioner and Notary of Consuegra take from her another statement, by formally interrogating her regarding the following questions:

1st. As she says, she is a native of Hesse-Cassel, a city of the Holy [Roman] Emperor, when it is in fact a private domain of Germany. Let her state the towns that are near her city of origin.

2nd. How can she say that her parents were called Leon and Cecilia and that they were Jews, when these names are of the Law of Grace, and her

[Fol. 27v] parents had full civil and moral liberty in their country and could use proper names of the Law of Moses?

3rd. How can she say in her first statement that she resided in the city of Málaga for six years when afterward she speaks of a mere three years? And that she had a store there, yet later says that she only sold in the fairs by day, and by night she lodged in the Calle de la Victoria, and in a tavern next to the Puerta del Mar in the homes of Catalina and María, including neither their family names, nor their physical traits? It is strange that she should not state or remember her [social] ties, or relatives they may have, so that their [her?] identity and existence may be known.

4th. That she declare the time of the year that she has

seen the fair held at the Calle de los Mercaderes of that city, or that she say what she believes to be the [proper] name of that street; because if she thinks it is the new street that is in front of the Puerta del Mar, it is our understanding that no fair is held there during any part of the year.

5th. That she state if she has been registered in any parish church, or listed as a citizen by the authorities, and if so, where, and in what year; or if she has heard mass, and received the Sacraments of Penitence and Comunion, believing in them internally, or not.

6th. Let her state in what merchandise she trafficked, and if she bought it in order to resell it

[Fol. 28r] in kind [?] or on credit, especially during the nine months that she was in various places without her man; and that she name the subjects with whom she dealt for that purpose, and their addresses, those whom she has known and have known her from the various fairs and townspeople of Andalucía that she has mentioned. It is not verisimilar that she has walked alone, without letting herself be known as to her homeland and religion among the various travelers and walkers of her class, whom she must perforce have had to join along roads and at inns.

7th and final: That said Commissioner pose whatever questions he finds advisable so that he can obtain better knowledge of whether she is indeed a Jew and truly wishes to be a Catholic, and so that persons of our Holy Religion be found who have known her, and can inform [us] as to the conduct, opinions, and religion that this woman has held.

[Signature, June 23, 1790]

[Fol. 30v, starting in line 27]

[Marginal note:] Inspection and declaration
 In the village of consuegra, on said, month, and year [Aug. 2, 1790], as a
 consequence of the [illegible]

[Fol. 31r] earlier notifications the aforementioned Carlota
 was summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary,
 and he received from her an Oath of fidelity
 by God Our Lord, and with the sign
 of the cross, to tell the truth of
 whatever she knows and may be asked. Having
 done so in accordance with the dispatch and
 commission, she responds to the first question:
 That it is true that Hesse-Cassel is the city of a Duke,
 but that he is subject to the Emperor of
 Germany, and that that is why she
 said that the city was the Emperor's, and that although
 she knows and acknowledges that there are many towns
 in its immediate surroundings, she does not know the names
 of any of them.

To the second question she said that although they have
 full liberty for the use [*sic.*] of their sect,
 they are accustomed in their [undeciphered word: *advetuo?* *Advitico?*] to
 assuming
 names of the Law of Grace, except the names Manuel, María, and Juan, and
 for that reason her parents were known
 by the names of Leon and Cecilia-----

Asked about her husband [?], she says that by her
 six-year term of residence in the city of Málaga,
 which she mentioned in her first deposition,
 she means that she participated in the fairs held in that city; and the three
 [following years], which she mentioned in her second deposition refer, and
 she understands them to be, those in which he who is named
 was sick for three years until he died without [?]

[Fol. 31v] the holy baptism; this is what she responded.
 Her declaration was read to her, and she said she had nothing
 to add to it. She ratified it. She did not sign because she did not know
 how to do so. His Mercy did it, as did I, the notary.

[Signatures]

[Fol. 35r] Most Illustrious Sir,

Sir of mine and of all my veneration: With the greatest care I have completed the task with which Your Illustrious Lordship [.....] has charged me by the preceding commission, and I have not been able to locate any of the information that are [*sic.*] indicated in it. In the Calle de la Victoria I have not found more than one widow named Catalina, and she assures me that neither in the time of the fair nor in the off-season has she ever hosted in her home or portal any person besides a woman, a Garbanzo seller [?], who was her acquaintance and a citizen of this city [who lives in] the Calle de la Trinidad. Believing there to be some mistake in the testimony regarding a fair in the “Calle de los Mercaderes,” by which [the deponent] intended to say, or should have said, “in the Calle del Carmen,” I have looked in the Puerta del Mar for the tavern-house in which there lived a widowed woman named María, though there are many taverns and store-houses. I have found no reason to corroborate such a [undeciphered word], neither present nor past. In the Hospital del Rey one cannot know when Antonio died, because [the deponent] does not indicate his surname. For that reason I return the commission so that if possible it will be returned with some clearer details that may be of guidance in order to investigate what Your Illustrious Lordship wishes to know, as with such vague information

[Fol. 35v]

I have not been able to advance anything.

[Valediction and signature of Joseph Fernandez Maqueda]

[Fol. 36r] Most Illustrious Sir:

The Inquisitor-Prosecutor of this Holy Office, in [light of] the procedures undertaken in the case of the woman called Carlota, who is in the village of Consuegra

Requesting that she be admitted to the bosom of Our Holy Mother, the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church via Holy Baptism and prior abjuration of the Hebrew sect into which she says she was born and has professed, affirms:

That the review of records made in this and the other tribunals of the realm have not resulted in anything against this request. Yet, since the procedures that have been undertaken in the city of Málaga through the Holy Office of Granada have not resulted in anything that would corroborate the presence that the spontaneous declarant alleges at the fairs and houses of said city, her declarations still obscure the information that would be necessary to know whether she has been and is in reality a Jew, and that she sincerely wishes to abjure that reprobate sect and receive the Holy Baptism. The fact that this woman of vague quality, and does not cite a single person who can answer as to her civil status

[Fol. 36v] or moral character, and what is more, not even to her physical existence after so many years of traveling through so many towns and provinces of the realm, is a circumstance that recommends her very little with respect to the credibility of her statements, and in certain terms it seems appropriate to the Prosecutor that for now a commission be given to the Priest and Prior of Consuegra, Silvestre Díaz Huerta, that [along with] the Familiar, Senior Bailiff Don Fernando Díaz de Linares, in association with the four most authorized and literate secular or regular priests of the village of Consuegra, examine the spontaneous declarant anew, asking her all the questions they deem appropriate, to ascertain whether in reality she has not received the Holy Baptism and has been of the Hebrew sect, and if her conversion is sincere, and she has been instructed in our holy Catholic dogmas and seems to them would persevere in Our Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, and that they inform [us] of the results by means of a report of said Priest and Prior and four Priests,

and that it be transmitted to the Prosecutor to say whatever may be necessary. Secret [order] of the Inquisition of Toledo, November 13 of 1790.

[Fol 38v] In the village of Consuegra, twenty-eight days of said month [of November] and year [1790], by virtue of the judicial instructions the Presbyters and Carlota, who are cited in them, were summoned before His Mercy and me, the notary. Each and every one interrogated and reinterrogated Carlota with questions that were deemed advisable, according to the [undeciphered word], her Oath of Fidelity having previously been taken. Each and every one of them found, and are of the common opinion that her desire to receive the Holy Baptism is true; so too that she has not received it to this day; yet, as to her knowledge of the Catholic doctrine, she is found to be very immature; thus, in case the Tribunal deems it advisable to expedite its order to any of the Parish Priests of the village of Madridejos, where her [present] domicile is located, if it should be necessary to examine her well in the Holy Doctrine. In this regard, when prompted, she has offered to remain there so that the Holy Sacrament is administered to her. As to this they are in common accord and can and are obliged to inform the Holy Tribunal. And in acknowledgment they signed along with His Mercy, said Judge, which I faithfully verify.

[Signatures: *Licenciado* Don Sivestre Díaz Huerta y Roxas (Judge)
 Don Antonio Jesus Díaz Gallego
 Dn Elías Gabriel Aguilar Alvarez
 Francisco García de Juan Pérez
 Joachin de Cassas y Vida
 Don Fernando Díaz de Linares y Toledo (Notary)]

EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 9: Cross-Cultural Connections in the Early Modern Jewish World, Brown University, Providence, RI, February, 26-27, 2012

Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792

David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición de Toledo, legajo 159, expediente 11 (1790-1791): Carlota Liot.

[Cover, front matter]

Toledo (Inquisición de)

Judaizantes

Liot (Carlota)

de nacion hebrea, y residente en la villa de Consuegra

Su delacion espontanea y abjuracion

1790-1791

Leg.o 159 N. 11

[Fol. 6R]

A^{da} en 7 de Oct^{re} de 1790

Nada resulta en los Rexistros de este S. Oficio, contra la mugger, llamada Carlota, natural de Hesse-Cassel en Alemania, de mediana estatura, cara redonda, carrillos como hinchados, ojos pardos, niñas negras, pelo castaño, Zejas con poco pelo, nariz Roma, de 29 a^s de edad poco mas o menos, espontaneada en ese tribunal de Hebraismo, solicitando entrar en el gremio de N.S. M. Yglesia, recibiendo el S. Baptismo; conforme al aviso de V.S. de 23 de Sepbre, â que contestamos gustosos, y lo haremos igualmente â quanto sea de su agrado.

N.S. gûe â U.S. & Ynqqⁿ de Murcia 2 de octubre de 1790.

L^{do} Pedro del Moral [?]

D.^r D.ⁿ Ramon de Albornos

S.^{to} oficio de Ynqq.^{on} de Toledo

[Fol. 16r]

Dⁿ Fern^{do} Diaz de Linares y Toledo It^{ro} familiar Apos.^o mo^r a titulo de esta Villa, con la debida sumision a VY^{ma} hace presente que, en este dia y por L^{do} Frey Dⁿ Silvestre Diaz Huerta del au[illegible] de Sⁿ Ju. Cura Prior de S^{ta} Maria la Ma^r a dha Villa se ha presentado a el que espone una muger que dize ser de nacion Judaica llamarse Carlota y ser hija de Leon, natural de escasel Dominio de el Enperador; que salio de dha su Naturaleza de edad de treze a^s y oy tiene la de veintinueve: declara voluntariamente (entre otras cosas) que en la ciudad de Malaga ha residido seis a^s y que en dha ciudad conoze a muchos de su nacion ocultos: pero que ella desea el S^{to} Baptismo, y convertirse a nt~ra Santa Fe Catholica sobre cuiã pretension ha importunado (con lagrimas y repetidas invocaciones de Maria Santissima) a dho Paro co; quien con acuerdo de el q^e espone la ha ofrecido el cotidiano sustento y proteccion asta q^e V.Y^{ma} informado p^r esta ordene lo que estime justo y conveniente.

Consuegra oy Abril 24 de 1790

[Signature: Don Fernando Diaz de Linares y Toledo]

[Fol. 18R]

En la villa de consuegra a diez y seis dias de el mes de Maio de este presente ano de mil setezientos y noventa, el L^{do} frey Dⁿ Silvestre Diaz Huerta Rojas del au^{zo} de Sⁿ Ju^a y cura Prior de la Parochia de S^{ta}. Maria la maior de dha villa me entrego el prezedente despacho....

En dho dia y alas diez de la mañana en virtud de el auto prezedente comparezio [?] ante El dho S^{or} comisionado y de mi el notario la espresada Carlota en forma de D~ro; que hizo

P^r dios N.S. y una señal de cruz de no re
 belar quanto ocuriere y dijere en la deposicioⁿ

[Fol 18v]

y todo [sic] la verdad bajo cual aviendose espli
 cado a quanto obliga su cumplimiento, y obser
 vancia; y en la virtud se le hizo presente la
 representacion que Yo el notario hize a el S.
 Tribunal con fecha veintiquatro de Abril
 la que le lei de Vervo ad Verbun y entera
 da de toda ella dijo ser lo mismo q^e en el Zita
 do dia espreso a el S^{or} comizionado y ante mi
 el notario la que ratificava en caso nezesa
 rio; y a la seguida se le hizo el Ynterogatorio
 siguiente----

Preg.^{ta} Como se llama, de donde es Natural que
 edad estado ofizio tiene quien es, o fueron
 sus Padres y donde residen o murieron, y q
 relijion profesaron, a que responde-----
 que se llama Carlota que es natural de
 Ese casel Ciudad del Enperador de Alemania,
 de edad de Veintinueve años, poco mas o
 menos, que ha sido comercianta, y oi en el dia
 Pobre hostiatin [?], por averla robado, q.^e esta en la
 actualidad, como en estado de viuda, por ha
 versele muerto el hombre que era de nazion
 judaica en la Ziudad de Malaga el que
 esta enterado en el canpo S.^{to} del hospital de
 el Rey de dha ciudad que sus Padres se llam
 aron Leon y Zezilia, naturales y Vezinos
 de la espresada ciudad de Esecasel que Ygno
 ra si viven, o han muerto; pero save y le con
 sta que fueron de nazion Judaica; y responde
 Preguntada si es Christiana, Baptizda----
 Responde que no-----
 Preguntada en que Relijion se crio y que

[Fol. 19r]

Es lo que ha creido y seguido desde que

tubo uso de razon, y si la relijion en que ha sido criada es la misma que seguian y profesava sus padres, y si en aquel pais se enseña o sigue la misma o diferentes y quales; responde=====

Que la Religion en que se crio es Judai ca, y que esperaba el Mesias; y adoravan una imagen dorada como de Bezero, guardan do el dia Sabado por de fiesta, aiunando dho dia desde las diez de la noche de el viernes su vispera asta puesta del sol y oservando [?] la solem nidad contanto rigor que ni mobian un trasto [?]: en cui a relijion fue criada y la misma que seguian y profesavan sus padres, la que esta va tolerada en aquel Pais, donde Ygualmen te ay Luteranos Calvinistas y Christianos y todos tolerados, y con libre exercizio--- Preg.^{da} Si la guarda. se le preg.^{ta} que es lo que a el presente tiene y cre, y que relijion es la que quiere seguir y profesar en vida y muerte

Responde: que tiene y cre a el presente los articulos de nuestra S^{ta} Fe Catholica, que le fue ron hechos presentes p^r el S^{or} Comisionado, y por ante mi el Notario a que contesto; y que la relijion q^c quiere seguir y profesar en vida y muerte es la relijion catholica; y por lo mismo desea con vivos y eficazes deseos ser bautizada=====

Repreguntada: que como tiene noticia de los articulos de nuestra S^{ta} Fe Catholica, y quien

[Fol. 19v]

Se la ha enseñado; dijo que con motivo de hallarse con tienda en la ciudad de Malaga salia todas las semanas a vender a Velez Malaga y en sus Arabales vivia una Paisana sua Chris tiana llamada Cristina que conozia a los refe ridos Padres de la deponente con cui o motivo en su lengua Alemana le enseñó la Doctrina Chris tiana y aunque dha Christina savia que los pa

dres de la deponente eran Judios tenia entendido que esta era Christiana; y con el motivo de su estada en España en Castellano ha aprendido algunos misterios y oraciones como el credo sacramentos los cinco mandamientos de nuestra Madre la Yglesia, el misterio de la Santissima Trinidad, como es dios Remunedaror [sic] y los demas en la lengua nativa:-----

5 Preg.^{ta} A la quinta fue preguntada que causa, motivo o razon ha tenido y tiene para apartarse de la secta Judaica, y querer seguir y Profesar La Santa Fe Catolica de nuestra Madre La Yglesia Romana, responde=

Que por tener por Zierto, que si muere Judia Le condena, y si falleza Catolica espera salvarse y irse a la gloria ==

6 preg.^{ta} A la sexta se remitio a la quarta: por lo que se comprende, y a la tercera==

7preg.^{ta} A la septima: fue preguntada si save ay algunas Personas residentes en España de su secta, ocultos, no siendo de aquellos reinos y naciones a quienes esta permitido p.^{or} causa de

[Fol. 20r]

el comercio y con ciertas condiciones el residir en España; o si save que algunos, o alguno de estos que estan permitidos en estos reynos, havia faltado a los pactos y condiciones con que se les permite su residencia y causado con los dichos, o hecho algun escandalo a los fieles Chatolicos Romanos, Responde:=====

Que conzio asta seis personas de la misma secta ocultos que le enpleaban en el comercio de medias de seda, Panuelos, y otros jeneros que se acompañavan y vendian como en Cadis puerto de la Maria, y otros Pueblos; pero que no tenian casa de residencia en dha Ziudad en la que le ospe davan en el meson mas cercano a la puerta

de la mar, pero que no se acuerda de los nombres de ellos en comun ni en particular, y se solo que las señas del uno, es como de dos Y.^s y uno o dos dedos de altura, bastante grueso, con una zicatriz en la cara como de cuchillada, que no tiene presente en qual de las carillos es, y que tendra, o representa como de treinta a treinta y cinco años de edad, y que sin duda la causa de no acordarse e los nombres, es por que viaban [?] entre si poco de ellos, entendiendose con espresiones de ermanos: que es quanto save, pues le debe declarar en esta que ha ejecutado espontaneamente, y bajo de el juramento q.^e lleva hecho-

[Fol. 20v]

Y todo la verdad en el que en caso necesario Se ratifica y afirma no firmo esta su declaracion por decir no saver. Hizolo el señor comisionado a que presente fui

[Signatures: Silvestre Diaz Huerta y Rojas, Dn. Fern^{do} Diaz de Linares y Toledo]

[Fol. 24v]

En la V^a de Consuegra diez dias de el mes de Junio de este presente año de mil setecientos y noventa, el S.^{or} Comisionado L.^{do} Frey D.^{on} Silvestre Dias Huerta me entrego el prezedente despacho q.^e dijo acavava de Rezivir p.^{or} el coreo ordinario y en su corespondencia havien dole azeptado hizo ante mi el juramento en forma la de Pectore puesta la mano sobre la cruz de su avito de non rebelando y a la seguida mando comparezer a Carlota....
Paso ante mi

[signatures]

En la dha Villa dia mes y año a virtud a el anterior proveido [?] conparezio la espresada Carlota de quien dho señor Comisionado le rezevio juramento de fidelidad en forma de dro. que hizo por Dios nuestro Señor y una senal de cruz de dezir la verdad en lo que tiene preguntada como de no rebelar quarto, ni parte de lo que el señor de el despacho dijo; que el que tubo p.^{or} marido era entendido en su pais con el

[Fol. 25r]

Nonbre de Leon y en España con el de Antonio= que no save el dia en que murio, y fue enterado el referido Antonio por Motivo de haver salido de la ziudad de Malaga donde p.^{or} [?] que el dho a vender la declarante los generos de su comerzio a las Ziudades de Sevilla Cordova, ezija y otros pueblos en los que gasto [?] nueve meses , y a el regreso a la lita_a de Malaga tubo la notizia de que avia fallezido diziendola q.^e avria como unos ocho meses q.^e murio, y segun la quenta, halla ocurio dho fallecim.^{to} como unos veintiseis meses poco mas o menos= que no tenia casa segura p.^a su domicili-lio en dha ziudad, pues avitavan en las calles donde zelebravan las ferias que son frequentes en dha ziudad; de modo que quando eran en la calle de la Victoria se Reconjian de noche en la casa q tenia p.^{or} tiend^a una viuda que se llamava Catalina, pero q.^e la que no conserva mas señas que el tener sus puestos y portal grandes y que por el menzionado hospedaje pagavan cada noche cinco r.^s yn y que quando la feria era en la calle q.^e nonbran de los mercaderes vizavan de noche junto a la puerta de la mar en una casa que era taverna y se llamava Maria de estado viuda la que los hospedava Y a quien agavan quatro R.^s diarios, pero q.^e

Su casa la tenia en arrendamiento la zitada

[Fol. 25v—Not foliated]

Maria ignorando la declarante de quien fuese su [?] propiedad= y que quando salio a vender por el tiempo que deja declarado que el repetido Antonio quedo con quebranta de salud en la espresada casa de la calle de la Victoria que no tubo trato ni comunicacion que no fuese transcurzo [?] en sus ventas, con otras personas, que las dos zitadas—huespedas, Chatalina u Maria a [?] causa de que pasados las ferias salian a vender por los pueblos de la comarca sin tener domicilio fijo en alguno== y que a la zitada zuidad de Malaga solo acudio p^r tres años en tiempo de ferias, pues aunque haze dies y ocho años , poco mas o menos, que salio de su Pais seis años ha estado en Portugal, tres en Francia, y los demas en España que los tres gasto [?] como deja declarado y en los seis restantes estuvo en Zaragoza Panplona, Valencia y otras ziudades como tambien en Barcelona donde un estudiante p^r el precio de medio doblon de a ocho las hizo a la declarante y Zitado Antonio la carta de casamiento==que quando conozio y trato en Veles Malaga a la paisana la Christina era viuda de un invalido cuiu nonbre Ygnora que vivia en casa de arrendamiento situada en los arabales y que no save el nonbre de la calle=que dha Christina vivia de el trabajo de sus manos hilando y haciendo votones=que de

[Fol. 26r]

su casa no puede dar mas señas que el hallarse sola pero que ay otras muchas cassillas semejantes p.^{of} lo solas = y en quanto a las señas Personales de dhas Cristina solo puede de

zir que era mujer mui anziana de mediana estatura con todo el cavello blanco y que no tiene presentes otras mas señas== y aviendola reconvenido sobre todos y cada uno de los particulares contenidos en el despacho, para q^e con la maior claridad, y espezificzion hazia su deposizion, dijo y repitio que no podia esponer, ni esplicar mas que lo que deja declarado vajo de el juramento, que deja hecho en que e ratifco y afirmo no firmo p.^r no saver, lo hizo el S.^{or} Comisionado y Yo el notario que a todo fui presente.

[Signatures: Liz.do Dn Silvestre Diaz Huerta, etc.]

[27r]

Present.^{da} en Toledo
y Junio 25 de 1790

M.I.S.

El Inq^{or} fiscal de este S.^{to} Oficio en el expediente Que se ha formado a instancia de la muger Nombada Carlota que solicita abjurar los Errores de la secta Judaica y ser admitida al gremio de nuestra Religion Catholica Apostolica Romana, dice: Ha visto la nueva declaracion que en diez del corr.^{te} ha echo dha espontanea, y confrontada con la anterior q.^e otorgo en 16 de mayo halla algunas contradicciones y otras especies inverisimiles, y con el fin de q.^e le venga en conocimiento de lo q.^e afirma esta muger, y que no se incida en algun embuste que intente practicar es de parecerle le reciba otra declaracion p.^r ante el mismo comisionado y Notr.^o de [?] consuegra, in terrogandola en forma sobre las preguntas siguientes

1^a. Como dice es Nat.^l de Hese Casel, Cuidad del

S.^{to} [?] Emperador, quando es soberania particular de Alemania. Que exprese los Pueblos que hay inmediatos al de su naturaleza.

2.^a Como dice que los padres se nombraban Leon y Cecilia y q.^e ern Judios, quando estos nombres son de la ley de gracia, y sus

[Fol. 27v]

padres tenian plena libertad civil y moral en su pais y podian usar de los nombres propios de la ley de Moises.

3.^a Como dice en su primera declaracion que residio en la ciudad de Malaga seis años si desp.^s dice que solos tres, y que tenia en dha ciudad tienda, y desp.^s dice que solo vendia en las ferias de dia, y de noche se recogia en la calle de la Victoria, y en una taberna junto a la puerta del Mar en las casas de Cathalina y Maria sin los apellidos, ni señas personales es estraño no espresé ni se acuerde de las conexiones, o Parientes que tengan p.^a q.^e le venga en conociom^{to} de la identidad o existencia.

4.^a Que declare el tiempo annual en q.^e ha visto celebrarse feria en al calle de los mercaderes de aquella ciudad, o diga la C.^e que entienda ser esta, porq.^e si entiende ser la C.^e nueva que esta en frente de la Puerta del Mar, en esta se tiene entendido q.^e no hay feria en todo el año.

5.^a Que exprese si en alguna ciudad o pueblo de España ha sido enpadronada en alguna Iglesia Parroq.l, o alistada como Vecina p.^f la Justicia, y donde sea, y en qual año; o si ha ohido misa, y recibido los sacramentos de la Penitencia y comunion creyendolos interiorm.^{te} o no.

6.^a Expresara las mercancías en q.^e tenía su tráfico, y si las compraba, p.^a revenderlas, al

[Fol. 28r]

contraste [?], o al fiado especialm.^{te} en los nueve meses que andubo p.^{or} varias partes sin su hombre, y diga los sugetos y sus domicilios con qn.^{es} trato con este motivo, los que haya tratado y la conozcan con el de andar a las varias ferias y poblaciones de Andalucia que declara, que no es verisimil caminar sola, y dejase de darse a conocer en q.^{to} a s Patria y aun su Religion con los varios viajantes o andantes de su clase con q.^{nes} es forsoso se haya juntado en caminos, o en posadas.

7.^a y final. Que el dho comisionado le haga las demas preguntas oportunas para que se venga en maior conocimiento de que en verdad es Judia, y desea de veras ser Catholica y q.^e se le hallen personas de nuestra S.^{ta} Religion q. la hayan conocido, y puedan informar de la conducta, opinion, y Religion que haya crehido esta Muger.

[signature; Jun. 23, 1790]

[Fol. 30v, starting in line 27]

[Marginal note:] Inscpzion Y declarazion
En la villa de Consuegra dicho dia
mes y año [2nd of August 1790] a consequenzia de el [illegible]

[Fol. 31r]

notificazion anteriores Conparecio en su merzed y de mi el notario la susadha Carlota de quien recibio juramento de fidelidad p^r dios N.S. y una Señal de cruz de dezir la verdad en lo que su-

piere y fuere preguntada y siendolo p.^r
 el despacho, comision a la primera
 pregunta Responde= que es Zierto que
 Esecasel es Ziudad de un Duque pero q.^e
 este esta sujeto a el enperador de Ale
 mania, y que por esta razon dijo ser
 de el enperador dha Ziudad y que aun
 que save y le consta ay muchos pueblos
 inmediatos no save el nonbre de algu-
 no de ellos

A la Seg.^{da}. Preg.^{ta} dijo que aunque tienen
 plena libertad para el uso de su secta
 acostunbran a su [undeciphered word] tomar los non
 bres de la ley de grazia eszeptuando los
 nonbres de Manuel, Maria y Juan y
 p.^r. lo dho a sus padres los entendian con-
 los nonbres de Leon y Cezilia-----

Preguntada por su Zenor [sic.] dize que la Residen-
 zia de los seis años en la ziudad de Mala
 ga que dijo en su primera declaracion se
 entiende aver acudido seis años a las fe
 rias de dha Ziudad y los tres que dize en
 su segunda declaracion es y la entiende
 haver estado el que llama su nonbre tres
 años enfermo en ella asta que murio sin

[Fol. 31v]

el Sagrado Bautismo; esto respondio=
 Leiosele su declaracion y dijo no tenia
 que adicionar cosa alguna. Ratificose
 en ella, no la firmo por no saver, lo
 hizo su merzed y Yo el notario

[Signatures]

[Fol. 35r]

Yllmo. Señor

Mui s^{or} mi y de toda mi veneracion: con el maior cuidado le he hecho diligencia q^e V.S.Y. se sirve encargarme p^r. la comision antecedente y no he podido dar con ninguna de las citas q^e en ella se expresan; en la calle de la victoria no he hallado mas q^e. una viuda llamada Cathalina, y esta asegura q^e nunca recogio en tiempo de feria, ni fuera de el en su casa, o portal persona alguna mas q^e una Garvansera conocida suia y vecina de esta Ciu.^d en la Calle de la Trinidad; creyendo quivocacion en la expresion de la feria en la cale de mercaderes p^r decir, o dever decir en la calle del Carmen, he buscado en la Puerta del mar la casa taberna, q^e la vivia una muger llamada Maria, viuda, y aunq^e en aq.^l sitio hai varias Tabernas y Bodegas ni en el dia, ni de algunos años a esta parte me danrazon de la tal escanias. [?]
 En el Hospital R.^l no se puede saber q^{do} murio el Antonio p^rno describe qual era su apellido. Por lo q^e devuelvo la comision, p.^aq^e si pudiese ser venga con algunas circunstancias mas claras que puedan servir de gobierno, p.^a averiguar lo q^e V.S.Y. desea saber, pues con unas noticias tan vagas

[Fol. 35v]

nada he podido adelantar.

Nro. G^rue aV.S.Y.[illegible]Ma
 Laga 30 de oct.^{re} de 1790.

Yllm.^o S.^{or}
 B. L. P. de V.S.Y. su mas
 Rend.^{do} Subdito y Capp.ⁿ

Joseph Fernandez
 Maqueda

[Fol. 36r]

M.I.S.

El inq.^{or} Fiscal de este S^{to}. Oficio en las dilig.^s practicadas a instancia de la Muger que se nom-

bra Carlota, y q.^c se hally en la villa de consuegra solicitando se le admita al Gremio de N.S.M. la Ygl.^a C.A. R. mediante el St^o Bautismo, y prebia abjurcion de la secta Hebrea en que dice ha nacido la ha profesado, dice: que la correccion de de registros echa en este y en los demas tribunales del reyno no ha resultado cosa alguna contra esta preten- cion; y como por las diligencias que se han practicado en la ciudad de Malaga median- te el S^{to} Oficio de Granada tampoco haya resultado comprobada la existencia que Dha espontanea declara haber echo en las ferias y casas de dha Ciudad, quedan en la misma anterior obscuridad de sus declara- ciones los conocimientos que convendrian tenerse, a saber es que en realidad esta espon- tanea ha sido y es Judia, y que since- ramente desea abjurar esta reprobada secta y recibir el S.^{to} Bautismo. La calidad de ser esta Muger baga, y no citar una sola Persona que conteste en su estado civil

[Fol. 36v]

o concepto moral y lo que es mas, ni aun en su existencia fisica despues de tantos años que ha discurrido por tantos Pue- blos y Provincias del Reyno, son circun- stancias que la recomiendan mui poco p.^a q.^c sea crehida en sus declaraciones y en ciertos terminos parece al fiscal por aho- ra que se de comision al Cura Prior de dho Consuegra [...] Silvestre Diaz Huerta p^{or} que ante el Familiar Alg. Maior Dⁿ Fern.^{do} Diaz de Linares y asociado de quatro sa- cerdotes seculares o Regulares los mas autho- rizados y literatos de dha villa de Consuegra examinen de nuevo a dha espontanea haciendole todas las preguntas que les parezcan oportunas p.^a apurar si en reali

dan no ha recibido el S^{to} Bautismo y ha sido de secta Hebrea y si su conversion es sincera, y se halla instruida en nuestros s^{tos}. dogmas Catholicos, y les parece perseverara en ntra S.^{ta} Religion Catholica A R.^{na} y que informen las resultas con el dictamen de dhos Cura Prior y quatro sacerdotes, y venido q. sea se pase al Fiscal p.^a decir lo q. haya lugar. Secreto de Ynq.ⁿ de Toledo Nov.^e 13 de 1790

[Fol. 38v]

En la villa de Consuegra Veinitiocho dias de dho mes [noviembre] y año [1790], a virtud de la prezedente diligencia comparecieron ante su merced y de mi el notario, los presviteors y Carlota contenidos en ella; y aviendosele por todos y cada uno hecho las preguntas y repreguntas que se tubieron por convenientes, a la predha Carlota, conforme a lo m[---]cedo prezedido el juramento de fidelidad que se [--]e tomo, hallaron todos y cada uno ver a comun parezer zierto el deseo que tiene de rezivir el Santo Baptismo y no haverle recibido asta de presente; pero que en quanto a la Ynstruczion de la doctrina Christiana se halla mui tierna, por lo que si el tribunal estimase por conveniente espedir su orden, a qualquiera de los Parochos de la Villa de Madredejos donde tiene su domicilio y en este acto preg.^{da} ha ofrezido permanecer en el para q^e se le administre el S.^{to} Sacramento de el Baptismo, tienen por de necesidad q.^e antes de administrarsele se le ecxamine bien en la Santa Doctrina; que es quanto de comun acuerdo pueden y deven informar a el S.^{to} tribunal y p.^a que conste lo firmaron con su merced dho señor Juez de que doy fe

[Signatures:

Lic.do D.n Sivestre Diaz Huerta y Roxas

Dn Antonio Jesus Diaz Gallego
Dn Elias Gabriel Aguilar Alvarez
Fran.co Garcia de Juan [Ivan?] Perez
Jochin de Cassas y Vida
D.n Fern.do Diaz de Linares y Toledo

EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 9: Cross-Cultural Connections in the Early Modern Jewish World, Brown University, Providence, RI, February, 26-27, 2012

Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792

David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisición de Toledo, legajo 137, expediente 15 (1791-1792): Salomon Bergom (a.k.a. Carlos Bergamo). *The text below preserves the lineation of the original*

[Cover, front matter]

Toledo (Inquisition of)

Bergom (Salomon)

Later Carlos Bergamo, native of Mantua, Carpenter

Resident of Toledo

Spontaneous Delation

1792-1793

Dossier 137, n.15

[Fol.13r] Presented at the Inquisition of Toledo

December 11 of 1792

Salomon Bergom is my first

name and now I call myself

Carlos Bergamo, at your service [?]: He declares

that, being since birth [of], and reared in the Law of the Old

Testament, and that for some years

has had the true desire to

embrace the law of Jesus Christ,

But experienced for months [?] some

doubts which prevented me from following it.

And now he has them convinced [*sic.*]

he begs of you in surrender that you be

so kind as to give an order of summons

so that I am baptized [?] and received [?]

in the bosom of the Holy Church,
 a grace which he hopes to receive from
 Your Lordship's mercy

Toledo, 1792, 9th of December
 At your service [?]

Salamon Bergom
 Native of Mantua
 In Italy

[Fol. 15r] Presented on December 19, 1792

At the Holy Office of the Inquisition of the city of Toledo, eighteen days of the month of December of one thousand seven hundred and ninety two, During the morning hearing of the Inquisitor, *Licenciado* Don Francisco Xavier Ersua (who attends alone), the gatekeeper of the Chamber and dais [?] of the Holy Office entered and made it known that in the superintendence of the Tribunal there was a man who was asking for a hearing; and the latter having been ordered inside, the Inquisitor received his formal oath to tell the truth as to everything he knew, may be asked about, and may be discussed with him.

Asked what he calls himself, of what place he is a native, what his age and occupation are, who his parents are or were, and where they reside or died, and what religion they professed,

He said: That he calls himself Salomon

[Fol. 15v] Bergom, a native of the city of Mantua in Lombardy of Italy; forty-five years of age more or less; a carpenter and maker of pumps by trade; that his father was called Abraham Bergom, and his mother Nicol—he does not know her last name; that they resided in the city of Mantua; that he has heard that his father has died; he does not know about his mother; and that he thinks they professed the Mosaic religion,

in which they reared him until the age of nine years, at which he fled from his home in the company of a Genevan Knight called Don Pedro—he does not know his last name—with whom he proceeded to Vienna and other parts of this [*sic.*] Empire, and he was in his company for a span of five years, from where he proceeded to Milan, where he was about three or four years learning a trade; from there to Rome, where he was for three years, more or less; from Rome he proceeded to *Florentin de Campaña* [Saint-Florentin, Champagne?] in which city he was for about two years. From Florentin, he returned to Milan, where He stayed about a year and one half; from Milan he proceeded to Turin, where he remained about a year and one half; from Turin he returned to

[Fol. 16r] Vienna, and was there one year; from Vienna he proceeded to Parma, where he remained about a year and a half; from Parma he came to Marseille in France, and from Marseille he proceeded to Languedoc, first the city and second the seaport, also in France, in whose towns he was for about a year and a half; that from Languedoc he came to the Court of Madrid, where [*sic.*] and Royal places of La Granja and the Escorial, [where he was] about four years; that from the Court he proceeded to the Realm of Galicia, where he was about ten years in the cities of Santiago, Coruña and Lugo; that afterward he went to the Realm of Portugal, where he spent about a year in the cities of Oporto and Lisboa; that from there he returned to Madrid, where he was for about four years, and he came to this city of Toledo the Day of Santiago the Elder of the present year.

Asked if he is a baptized Christian, who baptized him, where, with what substance [?],

and how, if godparents attended,
and who they were, and if the manner used

[Fol. 16v] in his baptism by the Minister is the same
in which baptism is customarily performed in that country.

He said that he is not a baptized Christian
because his parents reared him, as he has
said, in the Law of Moses, in which he has
remained until now.

Asked what he has believed in the
religion he has followed; and whether in the country in which
he was reared the same is taught and followed,
or different ones, and which ones.

He said: That he believed in the Ten Commandments
as is taught in the Law of Moses, which is the one he had
followed and held until the present day.
And that in that country the Christian religion is followed,
Except in the neighborhood of Elpuet [?] in
the above-cited city of Mantua, in which
that of Moses is followed, and they are circumcized according
to it, as the declarant is as well.

Asked (since he has declared that he has been
reared, and until now has followed the law of
Moses) to state which is the one he wishes to
follow henceforth, and in which he wishes to live
and die.

He said: That he wishes to embrace, follow,
and die in the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion

Asked what cause or

[Fol. 17r] motive he has and has had for wishing to separate
himself from the law of Moses and its errors, which
he has held and followed until now, and for wishing to follow
and profess the Holy Catholic Faith of Our Holy
Mother, the Roman Church.

He said: That the motive he has had is
that having heard in some conversations
of learned men that although Jesus Christ
could redeem the entire world
with a single drop of blood, He wished, because of His infinite kindness

to suffer many travails in His life,
 passion and death for all humankind,
 in order to provide the greater example and benefit to all of it;
 and because he has considered many times that the
 religion of Moses is abhorred everywhere;
 and that for those reasons he has believed what
 the Catholic religion teaches, which is that God
 made himself a man in the most pure entrails of
 Mary Most Holy, was born and suffered
 death and passion in order to redeem humankind, which
 He was able to do owing to his omnipotence; and that
 therefore he wishes to detest, and he detests,
 the error of the Jews, who do not even [illeg.]
 the true Messiah to have come, who
 is Jesus Christ, true God and man.

[Fol. 17v] And that he detests any of [illegible] errors of said
 sect, as a consequence of Jews' not believing that the true
 Messiah has come to redeem humankind.

Asked if at some time he followed and
 professed our Holy Roman Catholic Faith and religion, and
 later apostatized from it, [and if so]
 what reason he had for apostatizing, and how
 long he held said errors, and if at any
 time he has been instructed in our Holy
 Catholic Faith and Roman religion by any
 person, and who was it who explained and
 taught the misteries and other articles of our
 holy faith.

He said: That at no time has he followed,
 neither professed our Holy Roman Catholic Faith;
 and that therefore he has not apostatized from it,
 and his entire life he has held and followed the
 Law of the Jews; and that he has not been
 instructed by any person in particular in
 Our Holy Faith and Catholic religion, and that
 only a few private conversations,
 and sermons he has heard have given him
 some light and instruction for knowing

[Fol. 18r] the truth of Our Holy Roman Catholic Faith and the falsity of that of the Jews; and that in order to avoid making it known that he professed the law of the Jews, he has endeavored to hide his profession of it, especially at the time of the fulfillment of Easter [or: the fulfillment of holidays], during which he bought a certificate of fulfillment, or changed his residence and parish.

Asked if he knows some persons resident in Spain who know and profess the said errors, or similar ones, contrary to our Catholic Faith, who are not of the Realms and nations to which it is permitted, for reasons of commerce, and with certain commissions, to reside in Spain; or if he knows that some, or some of those who are permitted in these realms have not kept the agreements and conditions under which their residence is permitted, and caused with their words or deeds some scandal to the loyal Roman Catholics.

He said: that he does not know that any person who resides in these Spanish realms follows or professes the law of the Jews and its errors, neither other [errors] similar to them and

[Fol. 18v] opposed to our Holy Faith and that neither does he have any information that they have quarreled [?] and scandalized loyal Roman Catholics with their words and deeds.

Asked what cause he has for saying and asserting that he has been circumcised and not baptized.

He said: that since he was born to Hebrew parents in whose company he lived until the age of nine years, and they do not baptize themselves, neither do they baptize their children, hence he can assure that he is not baptized, and because after coming out [from under] the authority of his parents he has not had himself baptized either; and to confirm this he says that he has heard his parents say many times that he was

circumcised only. And having had this declaration read to him, which he has made in the presence of said Holy Inquisitor,

he said: that it was well written according to what he had declared; and that he must only add that since he had come to Spain and resided in the Court of Madrid he worked there with Don Joseph Lopez, ebony-carpenter [or: fine wood carpenter] of the King Our Lord, who lives in the Calle del Horno de la Mata; and that in the ten years that

[Fol. 19r] he resided in Galicia, as he has said, he worked for most of that time on account [= as a freelancer, journeyman] and that he does not remember the people on whose account he worked for a brief time; and that since he came to this city he has worked in the houses of Bernardo Alvarez, who lives in the Plazuela de la Ropería Vieja, and in that of Yetro Cat, a Frenchman by nation, who lives in the Calle de la Obra Prima.

Both [men] are ebony-carpenters and carpenters; and that that is the truth, under the oath he has taken, and which he affirms and ratifies.

And he signed it in his hand, which I, the Inquisitorial [?] secretary certify.

[Signatures]

EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 9: Cross-Cultural Connections in the Early Modern Jewish World, Brown University, Providence, RI, February, 26-27, 2012

Cultural Transmission and Assimilation in a Quotidian Key: The Conversion of Two Jews in Spain, 1790-1792

David Graizbord, The University of Arizona

Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisición de Toledo, legajo 137, expediente 15 (1791-1792):
Salomon Bergom (a.k.a. Carlos Bergamo). *The text below preserves the lineation of the original*

[COVER, FRONT MATTER]

Toledo (Inquisicion de)	Judaizantes
Bergom (Salomon)	
luego Carlos Bergamo, natural de Mantua, carpintero, residente de Toledo	
Delacion espontanea	
1792-1793	

Leg^o 137 n. 15

[Fol 13r]

Pres.^{da} en la Ynq.ⁿ de Tol.^{do}
11 de Dic.^{re} del 1792

Sino P.^{tes} D S.^{to} Tribunal
De inquisicion Al S.^{on} Ynq.^{or} Fisc^l

-Grisa.
(Solo)

Salomon Bergom de mi primier
Nombre e a ora me liamo
Carlos Bergamo A p dus: espone
che essendo de su nacimiento
E creado in Lei del testamento
Antigo e che cu algunos agnos
che a tenido veredero deseo de

Abbrazare la lei de Gesu cRisto
 Pero che mese traversava unas
 Dudias che me impidiaa la esegue[r]
 E Aora che las tiene convencido
 Supp. Rendidamente. US: che se
 Dine a dar—ordine conparente
 Perche mese Batica e Ricicur^{i[illegble]}
 Innel gremio della Santa Eglesia
 Gracia che spera di Ricivir de la
 Pieta de US

Toledo 1792 a 9 .10—^{ebre}
 ApD us

Salamon Bergom
 natural de mantuaa
 in italia

[Fol. 15r]

Present.^{da} en 19 de dic.^{re} de 1792 + Por present^{da} y pone
 Con sus antec^{tes} al s^r Fisc^l

En el s^{to} Oficio de la Ynq^{on} de la Ciu.^d de
 Toledo diez y ocho dias del mes de Dici-
 Embre de mil setecientos noventa y dos,
 estando en su aud^a de la mañana
 el S.^{or} Ynquisidor Lic.^{do} D.ⁿ Fran.^{co} Xa-
 vier Ersua (q.^e asiste solo) entro el porte-
 ro de camara y estraos [?] de dho S.^{to} Ofic.^o
 e hizo presete q.^e en la Porteria de tri-
 bun.^l havia un hombre q.^e pedia Au-
 diencia; y haviendo sido mandado en-
 trar dho. señor Ynq.^{or} le recibio Jura-
 m.^{to} en forma de decir berdad en todo lo
 que supiere y le fuere preguntado, y
 con el se tratare

Preguntado como se llama, de donde es
 natural, que edad y oficio tiene, quienes
 son sus padres o quienes fueron, y donde
 residen, o murieron, y que Religion pro-

fesaron.

Dixo: Que se llama Salomon Ber-

[Fol. 15v]

Bergom, nat.¹ de la ciud.^d de Mantua en la Lombardia de Ytalia de quarenta y cinco años de edad poco mas o menos, oficio carpintero hacer bombas; que su Padre se llamo Abraam Bergom; y su Madre Nicol ignora su apellido, q.^e residieron en la dha ciu.^d de Mantua, que el dho su Padre ha oido decir ha muerto, su madre lo ignora: Y q.^e le parece profesaron la religion Mosayca, en laq.^e le criaron hasta la ed.^d de nueve años en la q.^e se huyo de su casa en la compañía de un cavallero Ginebrino llamado D.ⁿ Pedro ignora su Apellido, con q.ⁿ paso a Viena y otras partes de este Ynperio, y estubo en su comp.^a p.^r espacio de cinco años desde donde paso a Milan en donde estubo como tres o quatro años aprendiendo oficio, de alli a Roma en donde estubo tres años poco mas o menos, desde Roma paso a Florentin de campaña, en cuya ciu.^d estubo como unos dos añ^s. desde Florentin bolbio a Milan endonde estubo como año y medio, de Milan paso a turin en donde permanecio como año y medio, de Turin bolbio a

[Fol. 16r]

Biena y estubo un año; desde Biena paso a Parma donde permanecio como año y medio; desde Parma bino a Marsella en Francia, y de Marsella paso a Languedoc; el primero Ciu.^d y segundo Puerto de Mar tanb.ⁿ en Francia en cuyos Pueblos estubo como año y medio; que de Languedoc bino a la Corte de Madrid, en donde y sitios R.^s de la Granja, y Es-

corial estuvo como quatro años ; que de dha corte y sitios, paso al R.^{no} de Galicia en donde estuvo como unos diez años en las ciudades de Santiago, Coruña y Lugo; que despues paso al R.^{no} de Portugal en donde paso como un año en las ciudades de Oporto, y Lisboa, q^e de aqui bolbio a Madrid e donde estubo como quatro años, y bino a esta ciud.^d de Toledo el dia Santiago el Mayor de este presente año.

Preg.^{do} si es christiano bautizado, q.ⁿ Le bautizo, en q.^e lugar, con q.^e Materia, Y en q.^e forma; si asistieron Padrinos, Y q.^{nes} fueron; y si la forma de q.^e en su

[Fol. 16v]

bautismo usò el Ministro es la misma con q.^e a costumbran Bautizar en aq.^l pais.

Dixo que no es Chrstiano bautizado porq.^e sus padres le criaron como lleba dicho en la ley de Moyses en la q.^l se ha mantenido hasta de presente.

Preg.^{do} que es loq.^e ha creido en la Relig.ⁿ q.^e ha seguido; y si en aquel Pais enq.^e se crio se enseña o sigue la misma, o diferentes y quales.

Dixo: Que creyo los diez Mandam.^{tos} como se enseña en la de Moyses q.^e es la q.^e via seguido y tenido hasta de presente; Yq.^e en aquel pais se sigue la Religion Christiana excepto en el barrio de Elpuet [?] en la sobredha ciu.^d de Mantua, q.^e se sigue la de Moyses q.^e es la q.^e ha seguido y tenido hasta de presente; y q.^e en aquel Pais se sigue la Religion Christiana, excepto en el Barrio de Elpuet [?] en la sobredha ciu.^d de Mantua, q.^e se sigue la de Moyses, y se circuncidan segun ella como lo esta tamb.ⁿ el declarante.

Preg.^{do} (que supuesto lleba dho q.^e ha sido Criado, y hasta de presente ha seguido la ley De Moyses) exprese qual es la q.^e quiere seguir en lo subsesivo y en la q.^e quiere vivir Y morir.

Dixo: Que quiere abrazar, seguir,
Y morir en la Religion catholica, Apostolica Romana
Preg.^{do} que causa o

[Fol. 17r]

motibo tiene y ha tenido p.^a querer apartarse de la Ley de Moyses y sus errores q.^e hasta aqui ha tenido y seguido, y querer seguir y profesar la S.^{ta} Fe catholica de Nra. S.^{ta} Madre la Yglesia Romana.

Dixo: que el motibo q.^e ha tenido es Porq.^e habiendo oido en algunas conversaciones de hombres instruidos q.^e aunq.^e Jusuchristo pudo con una sola gota de sangre redimir a todo el Mundo, quiso p.^r su ynfinita bondad padecer muchos trabajos en su vida, pasion y muerte p.^a todo el genero humano p.^a el mayor exemplo y provecho de todo el, y por^q ha considerado barias beces, q.^e en Religion de Moyses esta aborrecida en todas partes, Y q.^e con estas razones ha creido lo q.^e enseña la Religion Catholica q.^e es q.^e Dios se hizo hombre en las purisimas entrañas de Maria Santissima, nacio y padecio muerte y Pasion p.^r redimir al genero humano; lo q.^e pudo hacer e hizo p.^r su omnipotencia; y q.^e asi quiere detestar y detesta el horror de los Judios, q.^e niep[illegible] ven venido el verdadero Mesias. q.^e es Jesuchristo; Dios y hombre verdadero.

[Fol. 17v]

Y q.^e destesta qualquiera [illegible]os errores de dha Secta, como consiguiente al de no creer los Judios q.^e haya venido el Mesias

verdadero a redimir el genero humano.

Preg.^{do} si en algun tiempo y qual siguio, y profeso Nra S.^{ta} Fe y Religion Catholica Romana; y despues apostato de ella, que motibo tuvo p.^a apostatar; y quanto tiempo tuvo los dhos errores; y si en algun tiempo ha sido instruido en nra S.^{ta} fe Catholica y Religion Romana p.^r alguna persona, y quien fue el q.^e le explico y enseñò los Misterios, y articus de nra S.^{ta} Fè.

Dixo: Que en ningun tiempo ha seguido, ni profesado nra S.^{ta} Fe Catholic Romana; y q.^e p.^r tanto no ha apostatado de ella, y toda su vida ha tenido y seguido la Ley de los Judios: Y q.^e no ha sido instruido p.^r persona alguna particularm.^{te} en nra S.^{ta} Fe y Religion Catholica, y q.^e solam.^{te} alguns conversaciones particulares, y sermones q.^e ha oido le han dado alguna luz e instrucc.^{on} p.^r conocer

[Fol. 18r]

la verdad de nra S.^{ta} fe catholica Romana y la falsedad de la de los Judios; y q.^e p.^a no ser conocido de q.^e profesaba la dha ley de los Judios, ha procurado ocultar su profesion especialm.^{te} en el tiempo del cumplim.^{to} Pasqual, en el q.^e o compraba la cedula de haver cumplido, o se mudaba de Posada, y Parroq.^a

Preg.^{do} si save q. algunas Personas residentes en España sepan, y profesen los dichos errores, u otros semejantes a ellos, y opuestos a nra. Fe Catholica, no siendo de aquellos Reynos, y Naciones, a quienes esta permitido p.^r causa del comercio, y con ciertas comiciones el residir en España; o si save q.^e algunos,

o algunos de estos q.^e estan permitidos en estos Reynos haya faltado a los pactos y condiciones conq.^e se les permite su residencia, y causado con sus dhos o hechos algun escandalo a los fieles Catholicos Romanos.

Dixo: que no save q.^e alguna persona resid.^{te} en estos Reynos de España siga, ni profese la ley de los Judios y sus errores, ni otros semejantes a ellos y opues-

[Fol. 18v]

opuestos a nra S.^{ta} Fe y q.^e tampoco tiene noticia de q.^e hayan reñido y dado escandalo los fieles catholicos Romanos con sus dichos y hechos.

Preg.^{do} que motibo tiene p.^a decir y ase-
Verar q.^e ha sido circuncidado =, y no bauti-
Zado.

Dixo: que como nacio de padres Hebreos en cuya compañía vibio hasta la edad de nueve años, y estos no se bautizan ni bautizan a sus hijos asi puede asegurar q.^e no esta bautizado; y porq.^e despues q.^e salio de la potestad de sus Padres tampoco se ha bautizado; y en confirmacion de lo referido dice q.^e oyo decir a sus padres varias veces q.^e estaba circuncidado solam.^{te} Y haviendosele leydo esta su declaracion q.^e tiene hecha en presencia del dho S.^{to} Ynquisidor.

Dixo: q.^e estaba bien escrito segun El lo havia declarado ; y q.^e solo tiene q. año-
Dir q.^e desde q.^e bino a España y residio En la Corte de Madrid travaxo en ella con D.ⁿ Joseph Lopez evanista del Reyno. Señor, q.^e vive en la calle del Horno de la Mata; y q.^e en los diez años q.^e

[Fol. 19r]

residio en Galicia como lleba dicho lo mas del tiempo travaxo p.^a la cuenta, y q.^e no se acuerda de los sujetos p.^a cuya cuenta travaxo algun poco de tiempo; y q.^e desde q.^e vino a esta ciu.^d ha trabajado en las casas de Bern.^{do} Alvarez, q.^e vive a la Plazuela de la Roperia vieja; y en la de Yetro Cat de Nacion Frances, q.^e vive en la calle de la obra prima, y ambos evanistas y Carpinteros; y que asi es la verdad bajo juram.^{to} q.^e tiene fho. En q.^e se afirma y ratifica, y lo firmo de su puño de q.^e yo el yn[illegible]ito secretario certifico

[Signatures: Salamon Bergom
D.^r D.ⁿ Mn.1 de Quevedo (Guevara?) Bustam^{te}]