These processes of translation from one media to another are extremely important in the history of cultural production and should inspire further study.

All of the contributors here are experts in the complexities of tapestry history, a history which embraces not only these relations between artists, designers, weavers, and workshops, as well as carters and dyers, but insights into multiples and copies of varying design, material and quality, not to mention the whole history of dispersals and displacements and variables of taste which impacted attitudes towards the value and display of such multiples and movables. These publications demonstrate that the field of tapestry research is rich with possibilities for historians of visual and material culture and this first truly comprehensive survey of Baroque tapestry art in English should inspire a whole generation of scholars to look “behind the arras.”

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Miriam Bodian

Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World

Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007. Pp. xvii, 278

In this study Bodian examines through careful analysis of the Inquisitorial trial records and surrounding contemporary literature well-known early modern “dogmatista” martyrs in the Sephardic Jewish tradition. As Bodian points out in the first chapter, most scholarship on Jewish martyrs has focused on the classical tradition or on Franco-German Jewish martyrdom literature of the twelfth century. While the anti-Jewish pogroms and politico-social persecutions that began in Spain in 1391 did not produce the rich martyrdom literature found in the earlier Ashkenazi tradition (perhaps as Bodian suggests because in Spain Christian clerics sought Jewish conversion without giving many opportunities for martyrdom), many Jews in Spain from the fourteenth century on did, in Bodian’s words, “choose martyrdom ... to avoid conversion” (5). These early Sephardic acts of martyrdom were followed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by a growing corpus of anti-Christian polemics (“Jewish counter-propaganda” to similar Christian anti-Jewish polemics). In the second chapter Bodian narrows down the definition of the “dogmatista crypto-Jewish martyr” she uses to distinguish the four cases she studies in subsequent chapters. These martyrs laid out their athletic, masculine defiance of Church doctrine (the cases she presents all profile men who self-circumcise as an act of resistance to the Church and identity assertion) and open confession of belief in the Law of Moses in drawn out Inquisitorial trials. Such public performances of martyrdom

held the Sephardic Jewish diasporic imagination in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—a period of religious and social turmoil and complexity marked both by the Inquisition in Catholic lands, but also by the rise of Protestantism and the settlement of the Americas and encounters with new civilizations. All of these factors, as well as the ethos of the *ars morendi* in the Christian tradition of the Latin West, and the anxiety over the “proper locus of religious authority” (36) that characterized the diasporic Sephardic community surfaced and played out in different ways in each of the cases Bodian focuses on in chapters three to six.

These cases are those of four men from a variety of family and intellectual traditions that found themselves, sometimes quite voluntarily, before an inquisitorial tribunal in Spanish or Portuguese lands. All four refused to deny their heterodox beliefs, which each claimed were based on Judaism, and all were burned alive in public *autos-da-fé*. Bodian includes in the Appendices a late seventeenth century list gleaned from the literature of the Portuguese Jews of some 25 martyrs burned alive for Judaizing. The four case studies Bodian looks at include that of Luis de Carvajal in sixteenth-century New Spain, the Portuguese friar Diogo d’Asumpção, the seventeenth-century Peruvian doctor Francisco Maldonado de Silva, and the young Castilian student (and Old Christian) Lope de Vera y Alarcón. While earlier scholars such as Seymour B. Liebman and Martin Cohen have presented material from the New Spanish Crypto-Jew Luis de Carvajal’s inquisitorial trial records to argue that he was a Jewish martyr, Bodian adds to this discussion a consideration of the Crypto-Jewish written sources Luis had access to as part of a pan-Atlantic and pan-Mediterranean Jewish community in the final decades of the sixteenth century. She also explores in detail the degree to which Christian mystic and popular folk beliefs may have played a role in Carvajal’s religious and martyrological models. Bodian especially teases out the links between the extremely literalist and bibliocentric crypto-Jewishness of the physician Manuel de Morales, a ship mate who made the crossing from Spain to the Americas with the Carvajals, and Luis’s mature “reasonably articulate and well-articulated” crypto-Jewish thinking. However, the Protestant and *alumbrado* (humanist mysticism) popular during the period also informed Luis’s beliefs, and Bodian argues that assimilation of the latter particularly “made Luis’s path of martyrdom psychologically possible” (69). Bodian includes excerpts from Luis’s own letters and, in the appendices, his self-proclaimed autobiography—all written while in the Inquisition prisons—to support her argument.

From the Spanish colony of New Spain, Bodian turns to Portugal and to the case of the young Capuchin monk of Old Christian ancestry, Diogo d’Asumpção.

Diogo's trial record (of events that began some four years after Luis's death) tells of his disillusionment with monastery life and with orthodox Christian dogma which he came to regard as "a pack of lies, falsehoods, and deceptions" (79). Bodian points out that Diogo seems to have little awareness of or connection to contemporary crypto-Jewish beliefs or communities. In the face of Inquisitorial questions he claims that like the ancient Israelites he still awaits the Messiah. As in Luis's case, the testimony of secret informants—other prisoners that shared cells with the accused—was key to the Inquisition's case against Diogo. These testimonies also reveal that the Inquisition prisons were hotbeds of theological debate and of secrecy and deceit. Another similarity between Luis and Diogo (and that of Francisco in the next) is the prominence of the Psalms as prooftexts for their heterodox beliefs.

The next case Bodian focuses on, that of Francisco Maldonado de Silva, takes us back to the Americas—to colonial Peru. Francisco was the youngest child of an Old Christian mother and a Portuguese Crypto-Jewish father who was tried and sentenced as a Judaizer, but reconciled to the Catholic Church in 1605. After being turned in by his own sister in 1626, Francisco later testified to the Inquisition that he was a Jew, like his father and his father's ancestors, and that his father had instructed him in the Law of Moses. He also claimed his father's reconciliation had been false, done for the sake of his family, and that he would not hide his beliefs in this way—statements Bodian reads as an early proclivity for martyrdom. Much like Diogo and Luis, Francisco engaged the Inquisitors and, in his case, the theological experts they brought in for the purpose, in theological debates that dragged on for months.

Chapter six returns us to the Peninsula and to a young Spaniard, Lope de Vera y Alarcón of Old Christian ancestry. Lope had sought unsuccessfully for his father's permission to go abroad—to Japan or Jerusalem to proselytize. During Lope's trial gossip concerning Lope's father cast doubt on the family's religious beliefs. Lope's Hebrew studies, combined with his own personal skepticism, rash temperament, self-confessed Judaism, and readings of other heterodox and prohibited works such as the *Diary of David Reuveni*, as related in his own testimony and in that of others, were sufficient for the Inquisitors, after some four years of testimony and debate, to condemn Lope to death for Judaizing. Like the other martyrs studied in this book, central to Lope's self-professed Judaizing was a literalist, rationalizing reading of the Bible. As Bodian points out such an approach "was alien, if not hostile, to rabbinic hermeneutics" (177) and the "ancestral, family-oriented" Judaism being practised by communities in the rest of Europe. Bodian confirms that these martyrs' "pure, uncompromising theological motives" were very remote from normative

Judaism, which, not unlike the Catholic Church, viewed their type of truthseeking as problematic, if not threatening.

Bodian makes available the details of four individual cases together in one study and explores the religious and social problems and anxieties (particularly for the Catholic Church in Spanish lands) that such cases exemplify. In addition to what they reveal about the nature of early modern crypto-Jewish martyrdom, these cases reveal the profile of a Spanish Empire fractured by Protestant doubt and maintained and supplied by vast networks of practising Crypto-Jews who flowed through imperial lands in large trade and familial networks that linked the Americas to Europe and Africa. In the details of religious ideals, the glimpses of social networks, circulating prohibited texts, and colonial life and passions found in these cases, we find fragments of other narratives: the seething, duplicitous society of New Christians in the remote regions of the Americas, unhappy, jealous and back-stabbing monks in seventeenth-century Portugal, the existence of extremely devout Catholics in the same family as doubting, clandestine Jews, willing to turn in their own family members in the colonial metropolis of Peru, and the skeptical father of an accused Old Christian university student in Castile, whose own metaphysical doubts seems to have influenced the beliefs of his children. One aspect these cases that merits further study is that of gender. While the cases selected do exemplify how a series of men performed their particularly masculine version of Jewish martyrdom, the existence of strong women figures who also defied the Inquisition, through theological debate, and a basis in literalist, bibliocentric beliefs, such as, for example, Luis de Carvajal's sister, Isbael de Carvajal, offers an area for further study and argues for a definition of crypto-Jewish martyrdom that allows for both genders.

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