Gender & History

WILEY

ORIGINAL ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

In Defence of Food: A Comparative Study of Conversas' and Moriscas' Dietary Laws as a Form of Cultural Resistance in the Early Modern Crown of Aragon

Ivana Arsić

Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Catalunya, Spain

Correspondence: Ivana Arsić (ivana.arsic@upf.edu)

Received: 30 July 2024 | **Revised:** 13 February 2025 | **Accepted:** 16 May 2025

Funding: This study was supported by HORIZON EUROPE Marie Sklodowska-Curie Actions. HORIZON MSCA-2022-PF; Grant Agreement No.: 101104439; Project: CONVERSAS: Conversas of Muslim and Jewish Origin in the Premodern Crown of Aragon: Parallels and Contrasts.

ABSTRACT

This research explores the adaptive strategies employed by Conversas (Christian women of Jewish origin) and Moriscas (Christian women of Muslim origin) in navigating adversity, particularly in their interactions with inquisitorial authorities in the early modern Crown of Aragon. This study analyses these women's efforts to uphold religious and dietary laws while confronting religious violence and preserving contested identities from a comparative perspective. Through an examination of religious practice preservation, coping mechanisms and negotiation tactics, this study unveils the resilience inherent in these communities. Additionally, this study also examines the dual process of negotiation within familial and communal contexts, as well as when confronting the Inquisition. Drawing from various historical sources, including both manuscripts and early modern editions – most notably royal decrees, municipal records, regional statutes and decisions of the *Cortes*, as well as inquisition trials – the research offers insights into the role of gender and female authority in shaping religious identities within premodern Mediterranean society.

In 1495, in Daroca, Conversa María Jiménez found herself at the mercy of the Aragonese Inquisition, accused of violating stringent religious dietary laws with evidence pointing to her clandestine practice of Judaism. Jiménez's transgressions included purchasing meat from non-Christian butchers and salting it during preparation, a method associated with Jewish dietary customs. She confessed to preparing a stew akin to the Jewish dish *hamin*, using ingredients such as meat, chickpeas and eggs. Jiménez also revealed that she and her children consumed unleavened bread and Jewish pastries provided by a Jewish acquaintance. Her final offence was eating meat during Lent, a direct breach of Catholic fasting rules.[1] Fast forward to 1611 in Valencia, where another María – Morisca María Sigir – faced similar scrutiny, this time for adhering to Islamic fasting practices during Ramadan. Sigir rigorously abstained from food and drink from dawn until the stars appeared each evening, starkly contrasting with the Christian community around her. She also confessed to performing Muslim prayers three times daily instead of the usual five, as a pragmatic adaptation due to the vigilance of the Valencian Inquisition – at dawn, before lunch and before dinner – facing the qibla and reciting 'Allahu Akbar'.[2]

In both instances, these women were prosecuted by the Inquisition for their non-Christian religious practices related to dietary habits, with their observable behaviours presented as incriminating evidence. While the underlying reasons for adhering to ancestral dietary laws, as well as the intent behind these practices, were thoroughly examined by the inquisitorial authorities, Jiménez and Sigir employed various strategies to defend their non-Christian actions before the Tribunals. For instance, María Jiménez justified her choice to purchase meat in the Jewish quarter due to its affordability. She similarly defended her

procurement of meat from Muslim butchers by stating that she had observed Christian clergy and other residents of Daroca engaging in the same practice. Regarding her consumption of Jewish bread and pastry, Jiménez attributed her actions to ignorance of religious dietary laws rather than any intent to judaize. She explained that her preparation and consumption of stew were motivated purely by its taste, not by any religious connotations. Additionally, she asserted that eating meat during Quaresma was due to illness.[3] María Sigir presented a parallel case, recounting that her father had instructed her to observe Islamic practices from the age of five. She rationalized these actions as the unconscious compliance of an obedient child, claiming to have only recognized their implications following the expulsion of the Moriscos and her increased interaction with Old Christians, Christian descendants without recent Jewish or Muslim ancestry. By shifting the blame to her absent father, who was beyond the Inquisition's reach – as Inquisition's trial document reveals – Sigir strategically presented a plausible excuse for her criminal offences to the inquisitors.[4]

Despite the origins of their dietary practices – whether embedded in culture or religion – these women found themselves obligated to defend their foodways before the Inquisition. While cultural interpretations of food customs were relatively tolerated by the Inquisition, those with religious implications posed significant threat since by the end of the fifteenth century, food held significant religious symbolism in the Crown of Aragon – a composite monarchy comprising the Kingdom of Aragon, the Principality of Catalonia, the Kingdom of Majorca and the Kingdom of Valencia – and beyond, challenging the prevailing policies of deculturalization and religious assimilation within the monoconfessional society. At the time, food was not considered merely as sustenance but as a powerful symbol laden with meaning. It reflected cultural norms, values and religious attitudes defining the boundaries between different socio-religious groups.[5] It became clear that food habits reflect the complexities of social organization and interaction as food and its preparation carry significance that is deeply ingrained and comprehensible within distinct cultural contexts. As Mary Douglas observed: 'if food is treated as a code, the messages it encodes will be found in the patterns of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries.'[6]

This research undertakes a comparative analysis of the adaptive strategies employed by Conversas and Moriscas in navigating adversity, particularly in their interactions with the inquisitorial authorities, specifically the Tribunals in Barcelona, Valencia and Zaragoza, during the late-fifteenth to the late-seventeenth centuries. These women were often deliberately targeted by the Inquisition due to their central role in preserving Jewish and Muslim customs within the domestic sphere, where religious identity was quietly but powerfully sustained. The household was a critical space for transmitting cultural and religious practices, and the Inquisition viewed women as key figures in resisting religious conformity. This study aims to analyse the strategies employed by both Conversas and Moriscas to uphold their religious and dietary laws while confronting religious violence and preserving their contested identities. Despite the widely accepted recognition of the diverse identities among these religious groups – ranging from those who adamantly insisted upon preserving their former faith to those who assimilated into Christian society, leaving scant traces in historical documents – this research will primarily focus on those who practised hybrid forms of religiosity and those who opposed conformity. Hence, through an examination of religious practice preservation, coping mechanisms and negotiation tactics, this investigation unveils the resilience inherent in these communities. This study attempts to examine the impact of adaptive strategies on preserving cultural and religious identities among Conversas and Moriscas and provides examples of ritual infractions. Furthermore, Conversas' and Moriscas' dual process of negotiation will be examined: first, within their own familial and communal contexts, when negotiating acceptable compromises in food preparation; and second, when confronting the Inquisition, negotiating the interpretation and significance of their Jewish or Islamic practices. The Conversas' and Moriscas' legacy underscores the importance of recognizing the diverse forms of resistance that exist within oppressive contexts and the vital role that seemingly mundane practices can play in the fight for religious identity and autonomy.

Within this study, we will analyse women's religious experiences as reflected in numerous fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts, including unedited manuscripts and early modern editions. Our focus will be on sources from both royal and local authorities, encompassing royal decrees, municipal records, regional statutes and decisions of the *Cortes*. Additionally, we will explore inquisitorial sources, particularly records from Inquisition trials preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon (ACA) in Barcelona, the National Historical Archive (AHN) in Madrid, as well as The Provincial Historical Archive of Zaragoza (AHPZ) and the Historical Archive of the University of Valencia (AHUV). While the first group of sources is essential for understanding the origins of Christian food anxieties and the legal mechanisms preventing interfaith socialization, the second group provides empirical evidence of its repercussions in greater detail. This corpus offers an opportunity to comparatively examine the role of gender and female authority in shaping the religious identities within a premodern Mediterranean society.

1 | Historical Background

The fragile coexistence of Christians, Muslims and Jews in medieval Iberia – commonly referred to as *convivencia* – encouraged by sociocultural interactions and spatial proximity, ultimately led to episodes of violence starting in the late-fourteenth century.[7] The historical trajectory concerning Jews and Muslims involved frequent persecutions, brutal massacres, religious segregation and restrictive laws that prompted mass conversions. This sequence included the bloody pogroms of Jews, which initiated in Seville in 1391 and later spread across Iberia, the anti-semitic preaching of Valencian friar Vincent Ferrer, the Disputation of Tortosa (1413–1414), and discriminatory laws against Jews established in Aragon (1412–1415). These developments led to the re-establishment of the Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon as a royal institution, distinct from the earlier Papal Inquisition. The gradual Christianization of al-Andalus culminated in 1492 when the Catholic Monarchs conquered Granada. Although the *Capitulaciones de Granada* initially guaranteed religious freedom for the Mudéjares (Muslims living under Christian rule), these protections were soon revoked.[8] That same year, Isabella and

Ferdinand issued the Edict of Expulsion, forcing Jews to either convert to Christianity or leave all territories under their crowns.[9] Similar measures were applied to Mudéjares, who faced forced conversions in Valencia in the early 1520s and across the Crown of Aragon in 1526. This escalating suppression culminated in the Royal Decree of 1567, which banned key aspects of Morisco culture, including the use of the Arabic language and traditional customs. Among its more invasive measures, it mandated that Moriscos keep their doors and windows open during weddings and festivals, allowing Old Christian neighbours and authorities to surveil private rituals, particularly those related to food preparation.[10] By targeting domestic spaces – where cultural hybridity and subtle forms of resistance persisted, especially among Morisco women – the decree deepened socio-religious tensions. This oppression ultimately fuelled the Second War of the Alpujarras (1568–1570), a violent rebellion that served as a precursor to the mass expulsions of Moriscos, beginning in Valencia in 1609 and soon extended to Aragon and Catalonia in the following year.[11] Ultimately, this sequence of events led to the emergence of Conversos (Jews converted to Christianity) and Moriscos (Muslims converted to Christianity) as socio-religious entities.

Conversos and Moriscos were hence both associated with the concept of conversion. This distinction is noteworthy, as the historical narratives of these groups are fundamentally based on the widespread perception of their questionable loyalty to a Christianity that many had adopted under coercion.[12] However, although the level of acculturation differed among these groups and time frames, those who still observed their former religion faced suspicions regarding their clandestine adherence to their ancestral faiths, as the prevailing Christian group sought to diminish diversity and enforce religious uniformity. This suspicion precipitated their persecution by the Inquisition, which deemed such actions as heretical. The Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, re-institutionalized by King Ferdinand, became a royal institution and began its operations in Valencia in 1481, Zaragoza in 1486 and Barcelona in 1487.[13] With formal avenues for the transmission of Judaism and Islam prohibited by the Christian authorities, the domestic sphere emerged as the sole bastion for preserving religious practices, with women assuming a central role therein.[14] Isolated within their prescribed social roles, women deviated from traditional expectations and assumed religious roles traditionally occupied by men, challenging gender norms within both clandestine religious communities. Consequently, the heightened participation of women in religious activities can be attributed to the exigencies of forced conversion, facilitated by men's assimilation into mainstream society, thereby provoking a reversal in religious gender roles.[15]

The examination of religious dietary laws among Conversas and Moriscas reveals a multifaceted struggle against the forces of cultural and religious assimilation imposed by Christian and inquisitorial authorities. The Inquisition promptly acknowledged the significant role that these women played in preserving and transmitting religion. Conversas and Moriscas hence faced numerous obstacles in maintaining their cultural practices, such as following religious dietary laws, as inquisitors started to closely observe various dietary practices that had previously been considered inconsequential. This heightened surveillance was driven by the belief that religious assimilation necessitated the eradication of all forms of cultural distinctiveness. Consequently, the choice between eating salt beef or couscous, food prepared with either olive oil or lard, abstaining from eating pork, trimming fat, eating meat on Friday or during Lent or adherence to fasting practices acquired paramount significance, potentially carrying fatal repercussions.

Inquisition trial sources are saturated with references to food practices, particularly those involving women. However, although both men and women consumed food associated with their former religion, men acted as the primary preparers of food, particularly in terms of ritual slaughter or intermittently obtaining meat from butcher shops; nevertheless, as the secondary preparers of food, women exercised decisive authority over the process. This role allowed women to ensure that the food adhered to Jewish or Muslim dietary laws by carefully selecting ingredients and employing appropriate preparation methods. More importantly, women were also responsible for celebrating festivals and holiday observances in accordance with dietary laws that extended beyond foodways. Celebrating Shabbat (the Jewish day of rest) or Yom Kippur (the Jewish Day of Atonement) and Ramadan (the Islamic holy month of fasting), which required fasting, played a central role in maintaining Conversas' and Moriscas' religious lives and thus upheld traditional dietary laws, as the examples excerpted from Inquisition's dossiers will demonstrate.

2 | Negotiating Religious Boundaries Before the Tribunals: Sharing and Procuring Food

After centuries of living under Christian rule, the Jews and Muslims of the Crown of Aragon followed a strong religious tradition that shaped their daily lives in numerous ways. Among the fundamental principles crucial for devout Jewish and Muslim men and women to fulfil their religious obligations are dietary practices and regulations. The initial restrictions on communal eating and drinking among the distinct religious communities during the *convivencia* originated from a tradition that was largely unrelated to the development of Christian arguments against Islam, but rather pertained to disputes against Judaism.[16]

Since the inception of Christian missionary endeavours, social interactions during mealtime have been perceived as a perilous precursor to cultural and sexual intercourse. The gravity of these anxieties is highlighted by historical precedents, including canon 50 of the episcopal council of Elvira, held near Granada around 306 AD. This canon, predating the official legalization of Christianity in the Roman Empire, prohibited Christians from partaking in meals with Jews.[17] The scrutiny by the Inquisition into dietary customs, coupled with broader cultural elements of Judaism, epitomized longstanding Christian ideas about this tradition, which often divulged more about the motives and apprehensions of those propagating these regulations than about the dietary customs themselves. Christian prohibitions against dining with Jews or inviting them to gatherings were driven by two key concerns, as reflected in royal decrees and polemical writings. First, adhering to Jewish dietary laws was seen as sacrilegious for Christians. Second, the asymmetry in accommodation – where Christians were expected to modify their food practices to align with Jewish dietary restrictions, while Jews

were neither required nor permitted to reciprocate – was perceived as a challenge to Christian social and religious authority.[18] This one-sided adjustment reinforced fears that Christians might undermine their own status by subordinating their customs to those of the Jewish community. Comparatively, the situation with Muslims appears less severe. Despite their dietary restrictions, Muslims seem to avoid generating feelings of inferiority among Christians, as indicated in Quran 5:5, which permits the consumption of food between followers of different faiths: 'The food of those who have received the Scripture is lawful for you, and your food is lawful for them'.

Throughout significant periods of Jewish history, Jews found safety primarily within the homes and communities of their fellow Jews. Consequently, the obligation to extend hospitality to visitors and to hold hosts in high regard has remained a cherished duty. Hence, it was customary for Jewish women and their husbands to hospitably open their homes to friends and acquaintances, following established traditions of hospitality. These gatherings often took place around a kitchen table, providing a setting for women to convene, exchange opinions and discuss various facets of their daily lives, including religious matters.[19] To prevent potential relationships between Jews and Christians in 1383, the Valencia City Council issued a decree stipulating that: 'no Christians attend meals or weddings of Jews, under penalty of 20 sueldos or 20 days of prison'.[20] This decree reflects the heightened tensions and social divisions between religious communities during this period, as authorities sought to maintain strict separation between Christians and Jews. Additionally, a definition of a Jew provided in a dictionary for inquisitors, published in Valencia in 1494, explicitly states that although Catholics are permitted to talk with Jews, they are forbidden from sharing meals with them, which underscores the efforts of the Inquisition to regulate social interactions with Jews even after the expulsion.[21] However, despite the existence of regulations banning Christians from sharing meals with Jews, these directives were outlined but never put into practice. This discrepancy highlights the challenges authorities faced to their homogenous religious policy, as the primary concern of the Inquisition seemed to be that Conversos were observing Jewish dietary laws through their association with Jews, as emphasized in the Edict of Expulsion.[22] From a Christian perspective, close relationships with Jewish friends and relatives led to the belief that Conversos were violating secular and religious laws. Despite the prohibition in Jewish laws against participating in social events with gentiles, the Jews of Aragon frequently ignored this ban, sometimes even unaware of the lurking threat of denunciators from the outside, as the following examples will demonstrate.

Brianda de Santàngel, the mother of the prominent rations scribe Luis de Santàngel, for instance, faced prosecution by the Inquisition in 1487 in Valencia.[23] Despite her advanced age, Brianda was prosecuted in the wake of the Santàngel family's involvement in the death of the Inquisitor of Aragon, Pedro Arbués.[24] Among other accusations, she was charged with observing the Sabbath with the Jews of Daroca and the Conversos of Valencia.[25] Through her daily routine on Sabbath, Brianda would abstain from working and spend the entire day away from home visiting friends and relatives, notably the house of notary Jaume Rodriguez, the husband of her niece.[26] An eyewitness, observing her through the window on several occasions, reported that Brianda was seen eating unleavened bread with lettuce and vinegar during the Jewish Passover at the Rodriguez house, alongside her niece.[27] Moreover, another witness asserted seeing Brianda's granddaughter, Angela, daughter of Luis de Santàngel, consuming unleavened bread for three or four consecutive days during Holy Week. The witness described the bread as exceptionally white and adorned with markings from an iron comb. When questioned about the origin of the bread, Angela purportedly said that Brianda obtained it from an external source. Furthermore, the witness noted that this bread differed from that typically consumed by Christians, implying that it was made in Jewish households for Brianda.[28]

Brianda, however, when answering charges against her, vehemently defended the orthodoxy of Christian beliefs and adamantly rejected all the accusations.[29] Additionally, in response to accusations regarding food violations, Brianda refuted the claims by first identifying the eyewitnesses who testified against her, presumably employing the *tachas* defence strategy. This tactic allows the defendant to seek to cross out (*tachar*) certain witnesses for reasons such as mortal animosity, incompetence or prejudice. She thus aimed to prove that the witnesses were maliciously motivated to harm her.[30] Additionally, by naming legitimate as well as illegitimate children of her son Luis de Santàngel, she denied having a granddaughter named Angela.[31]

Similarly, in a case of alleged judaizing concerning Blanca Casafranca, the wife of the royal treasurer general Jaume de Casafranca, who was prosecuted by the Barcelona Tribunal between 1497 and 1505, she faced accusations of associating with Jewish men and women in Cervera and Montblanc. It was claimed that she consumed poultry slaughtered according to kosher rules during these gatherings. Blanca also admitted to consuming bread prepared by Jews from Cervera. While she did not deny that this bread was intended for Passover, she asserted that she consumed it not as part of the celebration but merely because she found it to be good bread.[32] She further explained that during that time, she had eaten both unleavened and leavened bread. Blanca acknowledged having eaten meals prepared by Jews in Cervera on several Saturdays but clarified that she was unaware it was the Sabbath. Thus, she highlighted her lack of religious awareness, affirming that she did not intentionally observe Shabbat. She explained that while chickens and other fowl were slaughtered and prepared on Fridays for Saturday meals, not everyone in her household consumed these dishes.[33]

Blanca endeavoured to clarify that the food consumed in her Barcelona residence was not obligatory and that her culinary preferences were incidental to the formation of her contested identity. By attempting to illustrate the lack of a connection between consuming Jewish heritage food and engaging in judaizing practices, Blanca aimed to minimize the significance of her actions and mitigate the seriousness of her transgressions, despite the implausibility of her claim of ignorance regarding the Sabbath and Jewish dietary laws, given her close associations with Jewish people. The extent to which Jewish approval or disapproval of certain foods influenced her choices remains unclear. Nevertheless, as the wife of Jaume de Casafranca, the royal treasurer of Catalonia, who was well-versed in law and instructed her on how to confess, as the documents reveal, she was likely aware that the Inquisition considered ignorance as a mitigating factor. Thus, she sought to portray her actions as unintentional. Even though

Blanca's statement confirms the preparation of both kosher and non-kosher food at these gatherings, D'Abrera did not find similar evidence while examining inquisitorial trial records in Zaragoza, suggesting one of the defendant's defence tactics.[34]

The relationships of Converso and Morisco women with the outside world were first established in closed social networks, including neighbourhood relationships between co-religionists and female gatherings inside the home. However, outside these confines, places where food was publicly consumed and bought, such as street vendors, butcheries, mills and wash areas, facilitated interreligious interaction.[35] While Conversas did rely on support from their former co-religionists, differences in dietary regulations within public spaces could incite tensions, especially among adherents of different religions. These interactions brought New and Old Christian women into contact with each other, and such encounters occasionally became hostile. The following example demonstrates how inappropriate jokes could escalate into insults, ultimately resulting in denunciations. A notable incident involved sixteen-year-old Aragonese Morisca María Moreno from Sabiñán in 1591. While washing, she was offered apples by four Christian women of her age during Ramadan. Upon discovering that the fruits were intended to be fed to pigs, María promptly threw them into the river. Tensions escalated when the young Christian women began speaking condescendingly about the Prophet Muhammad. María, impassioned, said that Muhammad was good and that the Old Christians, their parents and grandparents will all go to hell while Moriscos will go to heaven.[36] Another witness testified that María also stated the Prophet Muhammad was as good as Joseph.[37] This incident underscores the deliberate provocation by the Christian girls, who, residing in Sabiñán with a large Morisco population, were aware of Ramadan and María's dietary restrictions, particularly the Muslim aversion to pork. Their actions exemplify a deliberate effort to provoke a conflict within public spaces. This highlights the sensitivity of public interactions, especially among adherents of disparate religious beliefs.

Roman Catholic authorities prohibited Christians from partaking in meat that had been prepared by Jews or Muslims. According to the authors and interpreters of canon law, consuming such meat was seen as implicitly endorsing the Jewish and Islamic disavowal of Paul's teachings on dietary laws, as well as their broader rejection of Christ.[38] Consequently, not only were there attempts to divide religious communities during social gatherings while they ate together, but both secular and ecclesiastical authorities also made efforts to prohibit Christians, including New Christians, from acquiring and consuming kosher and halal meat. For instance, a late-thirteenth century ordinance in Huesca forbade Christians from eating Jewish food and drinking wine with them or buying meat from either Jews or Muslims.[39] Additionally, in 1350, Jews in Aragon were mandated to maintain a separate meat market from Christians.[40] Furthermore, in Teruel, despite each minority having its designated neighbourhood, no physical barriers separated them, as Teruel's walls encompassed the entire city, offering protection to all residents regardless of their religious affiliation. However, life within these fortifications sometimes conflicted with religious leaders' expectations. For instance, the Archbishop of Saragossa expressed concern over Christians patronizing Muslim butchers in Teruel, believing it undermined the Catholic faith. Nevertheless, it appears that the residents' choice of butcher was influenced more by meat quality and price than religious convictions.[41] Likewise, in Catalonia, accusations by a preaching friar against local authorities in October 1420 highlighted Jews living among Christians in Cervera by selling them meat they avoided eating.[42] Despite these regulations, accusations of New Christians knowingly purchasing and consuming kosher or halal meat are frequently documented in the Inquisition's trial records.

As revealed in inquisitorial documents, Conversa María Jiménez, the widow of leather tanner Benito Xavar, faced prosecution in Daroca from 1488 until 1495 for, *inter alia*, purchasing meat from Jewish and Muslim butchers. In defence against the accusation of purchasing kosher meat, María asserted that she did so because it was cheaper, not for judaizing.[43] Furthermore, regarding her purchases at Muslim butcher shops, María explained that she did so only because she observed clergy and other residents of Daroca patronizing those establishments.[44] This practice of buying kosher and halal meat was not limited to Daroca, as evidenced by a similar case in Albarracín. A witness before the Inquisition in Albarracín remarked that all Christians, both laity and ecclesiastics, bought and were accustomed to eating kosher and halal meat and that this practice had persisted for a long time.[45] In the same manner, the case of merchant Bernardo Ramírez, prosecuted by the Inquisition between 1488 and 1491, offers insights into the broader societal norms and practices surrounding meat consumption in Daroca. Ramírez confessed to purchasing meat from Jewish and Muslim butchers, attributing his actions to the prevalent custom in Daroca and the perceived quality of the meat from Muslims. He further explained that communal dining practices, including eating with Muslim workers in his household, contributed to the mingling of dietary habits among different religious communities and thus buying meat from the Muslim butchers.[46]

In this context, Ramírez recalled a particular incident in which his wife fell gravely ill on a Friday evening, compelling him to send his daughter Joana to purchase meat. Unable to find any meat available in either Christian or Muslim butcher shops, Joana bought it from Jewish butchers. Ramírez explained that this decision was made out of concern for his wife's health, as she was very sick at the time, and not for religious reasons.[47] Thus, in an attempt to indirectly exculpate himself before the inquisitors for buying kosher meat on Friday, a day in which it was required by church law for Christians to fast, Ramírez found a convenient excuse in his daughter's purchase of meat due to his wife's sickness. The excuse for consuming meat on the Sabbath, attributed not to ceremonial reasons but rather to illness, was often employed by Conversos. The same tactic was utilized by Brianda de Santàngel and María Jiménez when accused of eating meat during the Christian fast days and Lent.[48]

Illness served as a strategic justification not only for Conversos seeking to evade religious dietary restrictions but also for Moriscos attempting to resist expulsion in the early seventeenth century. Between 1609 and 1614, Philip III ordered their removal but granted exemptions in a 1611 letter to the Count of Salazar and the Junta de Moriscos for those deemed too old, infirm or otherwise unfit for the journey. However, the vague criteria for these exemptions allowed many Moriscos to frame ailments such as heart conditions, infertility and menopause to meet

the exemption requirements and secure their right to remain.[49] Both Conversos and Moriscos strategically invoked illness to navigate religious and political restrictions, using health-related exemptions to justify dietary transgressions or resist expulsion. These cases highlight how individuals negotiated legal ambiguities to challenge inquisitorial and state policies, exposing the inconsistencies in institutional enforcement and the limits of authority in regulating bodies, mobility and compliance.

The challenge of proving religious intent in cases of meat consumption hindered the prosecution's ability to distinguish between religious adherence and practical necessity. Similarly, evidence suggests that María Jiménez and other New Christians obtained halal meat for non-religious reasons, further complicating the prosecution's efforts to demonstrate intent. This demonstrates the effectiveness of this negotiation tactic in mitigating persecution and maintaining religious autonomy. Defence attorneys in inquisitorial proceedings frequently employed the argument that the entire community of Zaragoza, regardless of religious affiliation, obtained their meat from Jewish quarters, aiming to bolster their case. While the prosecution faced challenges in demonstrating the intent behind Conversos' purchasing kosher meat solely for religious purposes, this did not preclude the possibility that religious considerations influenced their actions.[50]

Consequently, the burden rested on the prosecution to differentiate Converso defendants from Old Christians by establishing that their meat purchases adhered to Mosaic dietary laws, rather than being driven by thrift or health considerations, as might be the case with Christian meat. However, complicating matters, both Old Christians and Conversos patronized Muslim butchers, blurring the lines between religious communities and undermining attempts to incriminate Converso defendants based solely on their meat-buying practices. In addition, it is crucial to acknowledge that the scarcity of Jewish butcher shops in the post-expulsion period could indeed be a primary factor leading Conversos to procure meat from Muslim establishments. Factors such as slaughtering techniques, examination of animals for consumption and the draining of blood are pertinent considerations within this context. This preference is influenced by the significant parallels in dietary laws shared between Conversos and Muslims, which contrast with Christian dietary regulations.

In early modern Aragon, meat was not a staple in the diet of Morisco communities, being reserved for consumption on special occasions. When meat was consumed, it typically consisted of goat, sheep or game meat, reflecting its status as a luxury item for the modest classes, often enjoyed only during festive gatherings. Among these occasions, the Friday meal held particular significance, often serving as a time for family celebrations. Moriscas typically frequented the market on Thursdays to procure ingredients for meals to be prepared the following day. Concerned about potential denunciations, some Moriscas chose to diversify their sources of provisions by purchasing from various butcher shops to avoid attracting attention through the accumulation of excessive quantities at a single location. However, despite taking precautionary measures and confining their activities within their homes, the act of cooking meat on Fridays proved to be a source of contention for hostile neighbours. This was exemplified in the case of Violante Tejero in Sabiñán, who, despite carefully dividing her meat purchases between two different shops on Thursdays, discovered that the aroma wafting from her cooking pot or the roasting of meat inadvertently alerted hostile neighbours, leading to her denunciation due to the practice among Christians of abstaining from eating meat on Fridays.[51]

3 | Negotiating Religious Boundaries Before the Tribunals: Ingredient Selection and Meal Preparation

During the pre-expulsion period, New Christians had access to meat slaughtered at shops run by their former co-religionists. Nevertheless, in the post-expulsion period, following the events of 1492, the prohibition of Jewish religious institutions significantly hindered Conversos' ability to conduct ritual slaughter for fear of denunciation. Consequently, Jewish food practices were withdrawn into the privacy of the home, where Conversas could continue these customs with reduced risk.

Later generations of Conversos and Moriscos, despite facing challenges in accessing ritually slaughtered meat, devised strategies to maintain dietary observances. Inquisition trial documents reveal a prevalent strategy of slaughtering animals within the home. Men typically assumed the responsibility of acquiring live animals, ensuring their well-being and conducting correct slaughtering procedures to produce kosher or halal products. Women also participated in this role, as evidenced by Blanca Casafranca, who confessed to observing Jewish dietary laws and participating in ritual slaughter with her spouse.[52] Similarly, Brianda de Santàngel faced prosecution on allegations of slaughtering goats, lambs or birds in her household using Jewish methods. For birds specifically, she requested them to be brought alive, enabling her to personally slit their throats over ashes or dust, with a hole dug in the ground to cover the blood.[53] Moreover, butchers who continued to adhere to religious slaughter laws despite the risks posed by the Inquisition were more frequently targeted for investigation, and Moriscas were no exception to this rule. For instance, Gerónima de Muza, in Belchite, ran a butchery despite the prohibition of Moriscos selling food.[54] Gerónima's operation was interrupted when Christian guards surprised her while she was transporting meat with a yoke, knife and scales, in violation of the decrees of the Inquisition.[55]

While it is halachically permitted for both men and women to undertake the task of ritual slaughter, Conversas often assumed this responsibility due to the traditional association of kitchen duties with women. This norm was occasionally relaxed for smaller animals like poultry, as exemplified by the cases of Blanca Casafranca and Brianda de Santàngel, as they were portable and could be purchased alive for later slaughter. Conversely, within the Islamic tradition, the exclusive responsibility for animal slaughter was assigned to men, barring women from the activity.[56] However, instances such as that of Gerónima de Muza illustrate women disobeying this regulation. Therefore, these examples signify a shift in this ritual, indicating adaptive modifications to accommodate challenging circumstances and the impact of these strategies on the preservation of cultural and religious identities among Conversas and Moriscas.

Preparing traditional meals and consuming them serve as tangible reminders of the past and its cultural heritage by simul-

taneously bridging past and present. Food preferences among Conversas and Moriscas do not happen by accident, as meal preparation was not only these women's everyday responsibility but also a stern reminder of their distinctiveness and contested identities. Numerous examples can be found in inquisitorial trial records illustrating women's roles as secondary preparers in the kitchen, particularly in the preparation of meat for consumption, and transforming ingredients into finished meals using religiously significant methods. Tasks such as removing the sciatic nerve, trimming fat, not mixing meat-based and dairy-based foods and ensuring blood-free meat through washing and salting were common practices documented in the Inquisition's trials.[57]

These activities were consistent across both Converso and Morisco groups, which inquisitorial authorities considered fundamental markers of Converso identity. Inquisitors believed that the regular practice of dietary laws facilitated the transmission of religious knowledge and perpetuated Jewish and Muslim customs for future generations. They were aware of the consequences of preserving these laws, as dietary rituals, being part of daily life, were more memorable than annual ceremonies, which posed greater challenges in determining precise dates of celebration due to the prohibition of Jewish or Muslim sacred texts and religious institutions. Consequently, dietary rituals served as a continual reminder of the religious identity among these communities.[58]

Unlike men, women from both communities consistently adhered to religious dietary laws in meal preparation by actively participating in ingredient selection. The example of food taboos, such as abstaining from pork and fish without scales, and the cultural perception that certain foods can be repulsive, is frequently documented in inquisitorial data of prosecuted Conversas. In the same manner, a specific accusation regarding Moriscas is documented in inquisitor Pedro Girón's visit to Gandía in 1590. It recounts an incident where the wife of a man named Rufo, while working in a bakery, inadvertently touched a loaf of bread-containing bacon with another loaf, prompting her to discard it on the ground with the remark: '*mi padre moro, e yo también mora*'.[59]

Numerous records from Inquisition trials feature instances where Moriscos proclaimed the statement: '*mi padre moro, yo moro*' or incriminated their parents for observing Islam. For instance, in 1611, an eight-year-old child named Maria Juana from Valencia voluntarily approached the inquisitors and accused her parents, confessing that they had taught her to fast during Ramadan, among other charges.[60] While many Morisco children were expelled alongside their parents, the implementation of the expulsion decrees varied by region.[61] The initial expulsion decree promulgated in Valencia on 22 September 1609 included specific exemptions: children under the age of four could remain if placed under the care of Old Christian guardians, and members of mixed families led by an Old Christian man were also permitted to stay.[62] It is possible that Maria Juana remained under such provisions, perhaps entrusted to an Old Christian household. Although the records do not clarify the motives behind her voluntary confession, they do confirm that Valencian Moriscos continued observing Ramadan until the final moments before their expulsion.[63]

This belief in inheriting one's religious affiliation from one's parents was not exclusive to Moriscos. Similar occurrences can also be found in the trial proceedings of Conversos. For instance, in the case of Blanca Casafranca, during her confessions given first at the time of grace, and later while detained in the inquisitorial jail, she repeatedly stated that she had been instructed by her mother, Violant Maians, to observe Jewish dietary laws and to fast.[64] In a similar vein, three sisters – Marquesa Badia, Catherina Bertran and Joana Libiana – who were tried in Barcelona in 1496 testified that their mother Marquesa influenced their practice of Judaism. For instance, Joana Libiana confessed that she and her sister Marquesa had prepared a meal the day before in order to adhere to Sabbath rules. When they asked their mother why they ate cold meals prepared in advance, she justified it as being more delicious that way.[65] Moreover, on two occasions, Joana Libiana confessed that while preparing koshered meat, she first removed fat and then blood by soaking it in water. Next, she salted and rinsed the meat before cooking. Catherina, Joana's sister, followed the same dietary rule, instructed by their mother, who convinced her that salted meat is tastier.[66] These instances highlight the role of maternal influence in perpetuating Jewish customs and traditions within Converso families, often hidden behind false intent. The mothers' actions can be seen as providing a convenient excuse for their acts, perhaps motivated by an awareness of the repercussions of children revealing such practices, on the one hand, and a fear of the integration of their children within Christian society if they did not start educating them from childhood, on the other hand. These statements of the defendants represent a defence strategy adapted to the expectations of the inquisitors, as faith was viewed as an inherent aspect of one's heritage, passed down through ancestral lines, sometimes without the necessity of formal education. In line with this perspective, Old Christians frequently identified themselves as 'natural-born Christians' while numerous Conversos admitted to judaizing because their parents had been Jews.[67]

As a result, a crucial aspect of one's confession before the Inquisition involved detailing your genealogical lineage, particularly highlighting the prosecuted members of the defendant's family. Moreover, inquisitors deemed a sincere confession as the sole acceptable response. Subsequently, they demanded further details about the crime and the identification of any accomplices. A recurring motif within depositions of both Conversas and Moriscas was pinning the guilt on already convicted or deceased people – such as in the case of Violant Maians, who died in an inquisitorial prison, or Marquisa, who had passed away before her daughters' trial – or their cousins and friends who were beyond the reach of the inquisitors. This tactic occasionally provided a convenient means of deflecting culpability, given that alleged accomplices could neither contradict the defendant's statement nor suffer the wrath of the inquisitors.

4 | Negotiating Religious Boundaries at Home: Religious Celebrations and Fasting

Within the clandestine worlds of crypto-Jewish and crypto-Muslim communities, fasting made a profound impact on believers. As excerpted from the Inquisition trial records, keeping

Ramadan or Yom Kippur could be the only hint left of their connection to their family's religion. Thus, both Conversas and Moriscas employed various strategies of resistance, clandestinely maintaining their ceremonies in accordance with dietary regulations. For instance, Blanca Casafranca faced charges for expressing negative attitudes during Yom Kippur, which were perceived by the prosecution as attacks against Catholicism. Blanca admitted that before the advent of the Inquisition in Barcelona, she had instructed a servant to separate two eggs for her dinner and store them in the pantry for later consumption during the Yom Kippur. Later, Blanca retrieved the eggs from the pantry and threw them out of the window into the garden of the archbishop of Tarragona. When the servant girl asked if she wished to eat the eggs, Blanca falsely claimed that she had already consumed them and was no longer hungry.[68] According to the prosecution, these actions were indicative of Blanca's deliberate avoidance of eating throughout the entire day of Yom Kippur and were interpreted as an attack on ecclesiastical authorities and the Catholic faith.

While Blanca's case exemplifies the prosecution's interpretation of actions as expressions of religious identity, conversely, the following example from Morisca practices highlights their acute awareness of the risks associated with denunciation. In 1580, in Gandia, Rodríguez testified regarding the Moriscas' cautious behaviour during Lent, recalling an incident where he witnessed them eating meat. Prompted by his presence, the woman present swiftly covered the dish.[69] This demonstration of caution suggests a deliberate effort to conceal potentially incriminating behaviour, reflecting the pervasive atmosphere of suspicion and fear among crypto-religious communities in early modern Valencia, where the Inquisition's brutality and prosecution of women were well-known.[70]

Blanca's case may not be representative of a broader pattern, as it overlooks the inherent risks of denunciations. It is worth considering that her high social status could have influenced her disparaging attitudes towards Christianity, and her likely awareness of the potential repercussions, particularly given the low incidence of capital punishment among the Conversos prosecuted during the peak period of persecution in Barcelona.[71] In contrast, Rodríguez's testimony concerning the Moriscas' cautious behaviour during Lent provides a more compelling example of their awareness of the dangers of denunciation. Thus, the act of covering a dish of meat upon the witness's arrival suggests a deliberate effort to conceal potentially incriminating behaviour and reflects the pervasive atmosphere of suspicion and fear among crypto-religious communities in the early modern Crown of Aragon.

For Conversos and Moriscos, adapting to new food regulations posed significant challenges due to the disruption of established routines and the deeply ingrained cultural and emotional significance of food practices. Unlike other customs, food is not solely a matter of religious observance but also encompasses broader cultural and emotional dimensions that may not always be explicitly linked to religion. While the inquisitors recognized the emotional and cultural significance of religious food practices, their focus remained primarily on enforcing religious orthodoxy, perceiving any deviation as a threat to religious stability.[72] This narrow focus led to the criminalization of practices deeply rooted in cultural traditions. A multitude of trials documented the prosecution of women who violated Catholic fasting rules by preparing meat dishes on Fridays, strategically employing resistance tactics against Christian orthodoxy. For instance, Maria Oscen in 1584 in Épila was denounced for roasting game on Fridays, intending to use it as a garnish for puff pastries.[73] In the same manner, the strategic use of herring to mask the smell of forbidden meat during Lent in the Casafranca household demonstrates the extent of disparaging attitudes towards Christianity within this family, while also reflecting their caution regarding the lurking potential witnesses.[74]

Conversas and Moriscas had the potential to inadvertently or intentionally involve their spouses and kin in their religious affiliations by adhering to religious dietary regulations when preparing meals. The presented instances elucidate intrafamilial conflicts within shared households, centring around adherence to Jewish customs and dietary laws. Allegations against Grana, spouse of Albarracín merchant Paulo Ripoll, included consorting with Jews and persistently preparing Jewish meals, actions deemed to reflect negatively on her husband's newly embraced Christian identity. Despite discrepancies in testimonies regarding Paulo's lapses into judaizing practices, likely influenced by his vacillating religious convictions, it is evident that Grana's unwavering adherence to Jewish customs precipitated discord within the marital union. This discord manifested itself in physical estrangement, with the couple abstaining from cohabitation and maintaining spatial distance during shared meals. The source of conflicts among the Ripolls, and Paulo's resulting frustration, culminated in domestic violence, as he physically assaulted his wife with a rod, triggered by Grana's preparation of Jewish meals, particularly unleavened bread. Moreover, Paulo's violence extended beyond his household, as he was known to physically abuse Jews in the orchard, seemingly demonstrating his lack of control at home and his inability to curb his wife's judaizing behaviours. However, neither estrangement nor his use of physical violence against his wife was effective in stopping her from continuing to observe Jewish customs, since she was depicted by a witness as a 'very wicked woman', attributing her contentiousness to her steadfast observance of Judaism.[75] Similarly, in another reported altercation involving Brianda and her husband, a merchant Luis de Santàngel, Luis allegedly disparaged her as '*marrana judia*', a derogatory term insinuating her Jewish heritage, which she accepted unapologetically by affirming, 'Yes, for I consider myself and all of mine to be honorable because of it'.[76] Brianda's defiant embrace of this epithet, along with her proud assertion that her heritage is a source of honour, underscores her unwavering commitment to Judaism.

In light of the challenges faced by both Conversos and Moriscos in adhering to fasting practices, the struggles encountered in maintaining an all-day fast are exemplified in the following cases. While prosecuting the Casafranca couple, the prosecution sought to demonstrate the mutual improper influence between spouses. Blanca was thus portrayed as deliberately manipulating her husband Jaume to observe Jewish religious practices. The prosecutor wanted to illustrate Blanca's desire to manipulate her husband into following Jewish religious observances, which he occasionally disobeyed. For instance, during Yom Kippur – although it was not specified whether the defendant was sick or in her postpartum period – Blanca insisted that Jaume fast,

claiming she was exempt from fasting due to her health condition. Blanca believed that her husband's fasting would lead to her healing. Even though Jaume initially obeyed his wife's request and claimed to have fasted, he later admitted that he had not kept his word. He, therefore, remarked: 'Do you seriously think that I am the same as you and that I have fasted? And those two pieces of citron jam I took from my drawer?'[77] This slip by Jaume, made a few days later, during a heated discussion with his wife, seemingly demonstrated his shifting religious identity and struggle to adhere to conflicting food prohibitions. In a similar vein, in 1580 Isabel Crestí, while residing at her brother's home in Rafalet de Almoines, interacted with the Morisca widow María 'la Larga'. María asked for food, and although Isabel was fasting during Ramadan, she gave her a piece of bread, albeit cautioning her about the need to compensate for breaking the fast. María responded with resignation, expressing the belief that even if she were to fast for three years, she would still be held accountable for breaking the fast, raising her finger towards the sky.[78]

The prosecution's investigation of the Casafranca couple exposed a dynamic in which Blanca actively influenced Jaume's observance of Jewish religious customs, revealing the complex interplay between spouses in Converso households. Her insistence that Jaume fast on Yom Kippur, despite being exempt herself due to health reasons, underscores fasting's significance as both a religious duty and a marker of communal identity. By encouraging her husband to fast, Blanca assumed a position of religious authority, directly challenging the Inquisition's gendered expectations that men should serve as spiritual leaders while women remained passive supporters of their husbands' faith. This portrayal of Blanca as an enforcer of Jewish practice positioned Jaume as failing in his patriarchal duty to uphold Christian orthodoxy in his household, further intensifying inquisitorial scrutiny. The role of fasting as a visible and contested religious act is similarly evident in the cases of Isabel Crestí and the Morisca María. Isabel's decision to provide food to María while fasting during Ramadan illustrates the tension between religious obligation and compassion. María's resignation in response to Isabel's cautionary words reflects the deep-seated awareness of the religious consequences of breaking the fast, even in moments of need. These instances offer insights into the intricate negotiations of religious identity and observance within the context of familial and social relationships among Conversos and Moriscos within the premodern Crown of Aragon.

5 | Conclusion

The examination of religious dietary laws among Conversas and Moriscas reveals a multifaceted struggle against the forces of cultural and religious assimilation imposed by Christian and inquisitorial authorities. The daily practices of food preparation and communal meals served as persistent affirmations of religious identity, directly challenging the mono-confessional policies aimed at deculturalization. Conversas and Moriscas found themselves engaged in a dual struggle: one within their home and communities, and the other before the Inquisition. Within their households, they transmitted religious knowledge through food customs, occasionally exerting unconscious influence on family members to adhere to dietary laws. In legal proceedings, they utilized various strategies, including selectively adhering to religious customs, strategically confessing and tossing blame onto deceased or absent individuals in order to protect themselves from severe penalties. Strategic manoeuvres employed by Conversas and Moriscas exemplify their resilience and agency amidst systematic and institutionalized persecution. The kitchen, often viewed solely as a domestic and potentially oppressive space linked to gender inequality, emerges as a crucial arena for cultural resistance and negotiation. Here, women asserted their autonomy and challenged societal norms, transforming the kitchen into a significant political space.

Endnotes

[1] Javier García Marco, Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader and María Luz Rodrigo Estevan. *Procesos Inquisitoriales de Daroca y su comunidad: Estudios Preliminares, Edición e Índices* (Dacroca: Centro de Estudios Darocenses, 1994), pp. 31–35.

[2] National Historical Archive (hereafter AHN), Sección de Inquisición, 552, 34 (the manuscript lacks folio numeration).

[3] García Marco et al., 'Procesos inquisitoriales de Daroca y su comunidad', pp. 32–35.

[4] AHN, Sección de Inquisición, 552, 34 (the manuscript lacks folio numeration).

[5] On the interactions between Christians, Muslims and Jews regarding food, as well as the evolving Christian attitudes towards foodways in late medieval and early modern Iberia, see: Constable Olivia Remie, 'Food and Meaning: Christian Understandings of Muslim Food and Food Ways in Spain, 1250–1550', *Viator* 44 (2013), pp. 199–235; David M. Gitlitz, Linda Kay Davidson, *A Drizzle of Honey: The Lives and Recipes of Spain's Secret Jews* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1996); Ana Echevarria, 'Food as a Custom among Spanish Muslims: from Islamic Sources to Inquisitorial Material', in Markus Stich and Dorothea Weltecke (eds), *Essen und Fasten: Interreligiöse Abgrenzung, Konkurrenz und Austauschprozesse* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), pp. 89–110. Additionally, on legal perspectives on the sharing of food, see: David Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food: Constructing Otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); David Freidenreich, 'Sharing Meals with Non-Christians in Canon Law Commentaries, Circa 1160–1260: A Case Study in Legal Development', *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008), pp. 41–77; David Freidenreich, 'Food-Related Interaction Among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in High and Late Medieval Latin Christendom', *History Compass* 11, pp. 957–966.

[6] Mary Douglas, *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1975), p. 249.

[7] For an in-depth examination of the historiographical debates surrounding the concept of *convivencia* – including its origins, interpretations and methodological controversies – see: Ryan Szpiech, 'The Convivencia Wars: Decoding Historiography's Polemic With Philology', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 7 (2015), pp. 135–153.

[8] Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 316.

[9] Jaume Riera i Sans, 'Los tumultos contra las juderias de la Corona de Aragon en 1391', in Frederic Udina i Martorell (ed.), *La mutación de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV en España* (Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, CSIC, 1977), pp. 213–226; Benjamin R. Gampel, *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response, 1391–1392*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Benjamin Ehlers, 'Violence and Religious Identity in Early Modern Valencia', in Kevin Ingram (ed.), *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 103–119.

[10] Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, in *Biblioteca de Visionarios, Heterodoxos y Marginados* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975), pp. 47–48.

[11] Bernard Vincent, 'The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion: A Quantitative Study', in Mercedes García-Arenal (ed.), *The Expulsion of the Moriscos From Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 17–36; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978).

[12] James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).

[13] Jaime Contreras Contreras and Jean Pierre Dedieu, 'Geografía de la Inquisición española: la formación de los distritos (1470–1820)', *Hispania. Revista española de Historia* 40 (1980), pp. 37–94.

[14] In the last decades, cultural historians have increasingly recognized the significant role of women in shaping Converso communities of both Muslim and Jewish descent. For Conversas, see: Gretchen D. Starr-LeBeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Renée Levine Melammed, 'The Jewish Woman in Medieval Iberia', in Jonathan Ray (ed.), *The Jew in Medieval Iberia, 1100–1500* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2011), pp. 253–281. Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics and Daughters of Israel: The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). For Moriscas, see: Bernard Vincent, 'Las mujeres moriscas', in Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot (eds), *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente, tomo III: Del Renacimiento a la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Taurus, 1991), pp. 585–595; Jacqueline Fournel-Guérin, 'La femme morisque en Aragon', in Louis Cardillac (ed.), *Les Morisques et leur temps* (Paris: CNRS, 1983), pp. 523–538. Ana Labarta, 'La mujer morisca: Sus actividades', in María J. Viguera (ed.), *La mujer en al-Andalus: Reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales* (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1989), pp. 219–231; Galia Hasenfeld, *Women Between Islam and Christianity: The Moriscas According to Inquisition Trial Records From Cuenca (1500–1600)* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2002); Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Mary Elizabeth Perry, 'Behind the Veil: Moriscas and the Politics of Resistance and Survival', in Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alain Saint-Saens (eds), *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), pp. 37–53.

[15] Ivana Arsić. 'Are Women More Religious Than Men? The Causal Explanation of Conversas and Moriscas Phenomena.' *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 62 (forthcoming 2027).

[16] Echevarria, 'Food as a Custom', p. 93.

[17] David Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), p. 532.

[18] Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food*, p. 115.

[19] Jonas Holst and Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, 'Friendship and Neighbourship Among Jewish Women and Judeoconverts in the 15th Century Crown of Aragon', in Vicente Raga Rosaleny and Manuel Bermúdez Vázquez (eds), *Filosofía, Método y Otros Prismas: Historia y Actualidad de los Problemas Filosóficos* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2022), pp. 825–838.

[20] José María Hinojosa Montalvo, 'La comunidad hebrea en Valencia: del esplendor a la nada (1377–1391)', *Saitabi: revista de la Facultat de Geografia i Història* 31 (1981), p. 51.

[21] *Dictionnaire des inquisiteurs [1494]*, in John Edwards (ed.), *The Jews in Western Europe 1400–1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 36.

[22] John Edwards, 'The Expulsion of the Jews', in Olivia Constable (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: Readings From Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1997), pp. 352–357.

[23] On Luis de Santángel, see: *Lluís de Santàngel i el seu temps: Congrés Internacional* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1992).

[24] Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, 'El linaje de los Santángel en el Reino de Aragón', in Romero Alfredo (ed.), *Aragón Sefarad: I Estudios* (Zaragoza: Diputación de Zaragoza-Ibercaja, 2004), p. 259.

[25] Motis Dolader, 'El linaje de los Santángel', p. 262.

[26] Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda de Santàngel', in *Congrés Internacional Lluis de Santàngel i el seu temps*, p. 89.

[27] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda', p. 87.

[28] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda de Santàngel', p. 86.

[29] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda de Santàngel', p. 83.

[30] Nicolao Eymerico, *Manual de inquisidores para uso de las inquisiciones de España y Portugal* (Montpellier: Imprenta de Feliz Aviñon, 1821), p. 30.

[31] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda de Santàngel', p. 97.

[32] Archive of the Crown of Aragon (hereafter ACA), Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, fols. LXXVv–LXXVIr.

[33] ACA, Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, fol. LXXVIr.

[34] Anna Ysabel D'Abrera, *The Tribunal of Zaragoza and Crypto-Judaism, 1484–1515* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008), p. 130.

[35] Echevarria, 'Food as a Custom', pp. 96–97.

[36] AHN, Sección de Inquisición, libro 989, fols. 819–820.

[37] AHN, Sección de Inquisición, libro 989, fol. 820.

[38] Freidenreich, *Foreigners and Their Food*, pp. 125, 191–195.

[39] Carlos Laliena Corbera, *Documentos municipales de Huesca, 1100–1350* (Huesca: Ayuntamiento de Huesca, 1988), p. 111.

[40] Fidel Fita and Bienvenido Oliver, *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña, Cortes de Cataluña*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1896), pp. 396–397.

[41] Mary Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), p. 4.

[42] Josep María Llobet i Portella, 'Los conversos según la documentación local de Cervera (1338–1501)', *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie III, Historia medieval* 1 (1988), p. 343.

[43] García Marco et al., 'Procesos inquisitoriales de Daroca y su comunidad', p. 32.

[44] García Marco et al., 'Procesos inquisitoriales de Daroca y su comunidad', p. 33.

[45] Jillian Williams, *Food and Religious Identities in Spain, 1400–1600* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 110.

[46] García Marco et al., 'Procesos inquisitoriales de Daroca y su comunidad', p. 130.

[47] García Marco et al., 'Procesos inquisitoriales de Daroca y su comunidad', pp. 131–132.

[48] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda de Santàngel', p. 84; See footnote 4.

[49] Trevor J. Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava* (Tamesis: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 150–155.

[50] D'Abrera, *The Tribunal of Zaragoza and Crypto-Judaism*, p. 121.

[51] Fournel-Guérin, 'La femme morisque en Aragon', p. 528.

[52] ACA, Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, fol. LXXVIIIr.

[53] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda de Santàngel', p. 82.

[54] Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller*, p. 4.

[55] Fournel-Guérin, 'La femme morisque en Aragon', p. 526.

[56] Mercedes García-Arenal Rodríguez, *Los Moriscos* (Madrid:Editora Nacional, 1975), p. 95.

[57] David Romano, '*Creencias y prácticas religiosas de los judíos de Valencia (1461–1492). Propuestas metodológicas a base de documentos inquisitoriales*', in *Lluís de Santàngel i el seu temps: Congrés Internacional*, pp. 444–445; Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, pp. 531–563; D'Ábrera, *The Tribunal of Zaragoza*, pp. 119–134.

[58] Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, p. 531.

[59] AHN, Inquisición, libro 937, fol. 233.

[60] Historical Archive of the University of Valencia (hereafter AHUV), Procesos de la inquisición, Varia 40.12., fol. 2r.

[61] Mercedes García-Arenal, 'Divided by blood: Race and Religion in Early-Modern Iberia', *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 61 (2024), p. 21.

[62] Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain*, 148.

[63] Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional, moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia* (València: Universitat de València, 2008), p. 89.

[64] ACA, Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, fol. CXLIV.

[65] ACA, Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLIII.

[66] ACA, Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLVv.

[67] Mercedes García-Arenal, '"Mi padre moro, yo moro": The Inheritance of Belief in Early Modern Iberia', in Mercedes García-Arenal (ed.), *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 321.

[68] ACA, Real Cancillería registros. 3684, fol. CLXIIIr.

[69] Santiago La Parra López, 'Las comidas y los ayunos de los Moriscos: Datos para una convivencia en el ducado de Gandía', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 47 (2017), p. 234.

[70] Between 1460 and 1467, the papal Inquisition in Valencia tried more than a dozen cases of judaizing, with the majority of defendants being women (see Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel*, p. 7). For more insights into the duress of inquisitorial courts in Valencia, see also: Juan Blázquez Miguel, *Inquisición y criptojudaísmo* (Madrid: Ediciones Kaydeda, 1988), pp. 115–116; Rafael Carrasco Almonacid, 'Historia de una represión: los moriscos y la Inquisición en Valencia: 1566–1620', *Areas: revista internacional de ciencias sociales* 9 (1988), pp. 27–50.

[71] From 1487 until 1505 in Barcelona, out of 1294 individuals tried on charges of Judaism, forty-four were sentenced to capital punishment (Blázquez Miguel, *Inquisición y criptojudaísmo*, p. 284). For further statistical data on the inquisitorial prosecution on Conversos, consult: Blázquez Miguel, *Inquisición y criptojudaísmo*, pp. 284–320.

[72] Echevarria, 'Food as a Custom', p. 90.

[73] AHN, Sección Inquisición, libro 968, fol. 203.

[74] ACA, Real Cancillería registros. 3684, fol. LXIIIv.

[75] Williams, *Food and Religious Identities in Spain*, pp. 108–114.

[76] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'La familia Santàngel según el proceso inquisitorial de Brianda de Santàngel', p. 91.

[77] ACA, Real Cancillería registros. 3684, fol. LXXVIv.

[78] AHN, Sección de Inquisición, legajo, fol. 806.