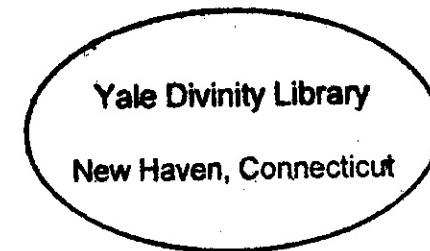


This Happened in My Presence

Moriscos, Old Christians, and
the Spanish Inquisition in the Town of Deza,
1569–1611

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY PATRICK J. O'BANION



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For Joshua

Timeline

- 711 North African Muslims cross into Iberia.
- 714 The area around Deza comes under the control of the Muslim Berber Banu Mada clan.
- c. 800 Deza founded near the ruins of a Roman settlement.
- c. 1120 Deza conquered by King Alfonso I of Aragon.
- before 1136 Deza comes under the control of the kings of Castile.
- 1390s Forced conversions of Jews in some areas of Spain.
- 1442 Deza comes under the control of the counts of Medinaceli.
- 1469 Isabella of Castile marries Ferdinand of Aragon.
- 1474–1504 Reign of Queen Isabella.
- 1479–1516 Reign of King Ferdinand.
- 1478 Pope Sixtus IV grants the Spanish monarchs permission to establish the Holy Office of the Inquisition.
- 1479 Isabel of Castile elevates the count of Medinaceli to the rank of duke.
- 1492 Conquest of the Kingdom of Granada and signing of the Treaty of Granada; expulsion of unbaptized Jews; and Columbus's first voyage to the Americas.
- 1499 The Mudéjares of Granada revolt.
- 1502 Treaty of Granada declared null and void. All Castilian Muslims are ordered to be baptized or leave the kingdom.
- 1515 Expulsion of unbaptized Muslims from the Kingdom of Navarre.
- 1516–56 Reign of King Charles I of Spain (aka Emperor Charles V).
- 1526 Expulsion of unbaptized Aragonese Muslims.
- 1533–34 Juanes de Altopica, Deza's vicar and inquisitorial representative, ousted from his offices after pursuing a case against a Judeoconversa member of a locally prominent family.
- c. 1535 Antonio Páez moves to Deza from Atienza.
- 1540 Birth of Román Ramírez the younger in Deza.
- 1544–75 Don Juan de la Cerda is the Duke of Medinaceli.
- 1545–63 The Council of Trent meets.
- 1548–58 Construction of the main body of Deza's new parish church.
- 1550s–70s Construction of the Duke's House and Garden in Deza.
- 1556–98 Reign of King Philip II of Spain.
- 1556 Miguel Benito becomes vicar and inquisitorial commissioner in Deza.
- 1560 Battle of Djerba. Don Gastón de la Cerda, son of the duke of Medinaceli, is captured.
- mid-1560s Some of Deza's Moriscos purportedly hire an Islamic instructor from Aragon to teach them "Moorish writing."
- 1568–71 The Moriscos of Granada rise in rebellion.
- 1569 Inquisitor Licentiate Alonso Jiménez de Reynoso conducts a regional visitation that includes a stop at Deza.
- 1570 Inquisitor Dr. Diego Gómez de la Madriz arrives in Deza offering the Moriscos an Edict of Grace.
- 1571 Moriscos Alexo Gorgoz, Román Ramírez the younger, Francisco de Miranda, and others negotiate with the king for a more lenient Edict of Grace. The new Edict is taken by 173 of Deza's Moriscos.
- 1575–94 Don Juan Luis de la Cerda is the Duke of Medinaceli.
- 1577 Death of Licentiate Antonio Páez in Deza.

- 1579 Construction is completed on the roof and ceiling of Deza's parish church.
- 1580 Licentiate Miguel Benito shares the vicarage of Deza with his uncle, Miguel Benito.
- 1581 Licentiate Reynoso proposes expelling all Moriscos from Spain to Philip II.
- 1581 Inquisitor Dr. Francisco de Arganda conducts a visitation that includes a stop at Deza.
- 1584 Bishop of Sigüenza decides to withhold communion from all but the most Christianized Moriscos in Deza.
- 1591 Deza's co-vicar and inquisitorial commissioner, Miguel Benito, dies. His nephew, Licentiate Miguel Benito, becomes the sole vicar of the town and commissioner in his own right.
- c. 1594 Death of Angela de Miranda, the first wife of Román Ramírez the younger.
- 1595 Román Ramírez the younger is arrested in Soria but released and confined to Deza upon payment of a bond of 2,000 ducats.
- 1598–1621 Reign of King Philip III of Spain.
- 1599 Trial of Román Ramírez the younger recommences in Cuenca; Ramírez's health declines and he dies in December in the Hospital of St. James.
- 1599–1600 Martín del Rio publishes *Investigations into Magic*.
- 1599–1607 Series of denunciations against local Moriscos are made by some of Deza's Old Christians.
- 1600 King Philip III, Queen Margaret of Austria, and the Duke of Lerma attend the auto-da-fe in Toledo where Ramírez's bones are consigned to the flames.
- 1602 King Philip III and Queen Margaret of Austria visit Deza.
- 1605 Death of Licentiate Miguel Benito and the discovery of the hidden denunciations.
- 1607–11 Final inquisitorial assault on Deza's Morisco community. More than 50 Dezanos are eventually arrested and

transported to Cuenca's secret jails. Others flee to Aragon or elsewhere.

- 1609 Beginning of the expulsion of Spain's Moriscos.
- 1611 The Moriscos of Deza are expelled on 8 July. In November, Miguel Ramírez, Román el Romo, and Juan Mancebo are released from custody and ordered to comply with the Edict of Expulsion.
- 1612 Bell tower of Deza's parish church is finally complete, bringing an end to a building project that spanned more than six decades.
- 1614 King Philip III proclaims the successful completion of the Morisco expulsion.

that Román Ramírez the younger and Angela de Miranda his wife have confessed with me at Pozuel today, Sunday, the day of lord Saint Thomas of 1572.

And I signed it with my name because they were commanded to do it by the reverend lord inquisitors of the diocese of Cuenca and Sigüenza and their district and because it is true that they confessed with me. Done on December 21, 1572.

[Signed:] Altopica

Focus Questions

- Docs. 73–76: To what extent were Román and Angela at fault for not fulfilling the terms of their reconciliation in the 1571 Edict of Grace? To what extent was the sloppiness of local priests or the actions of other individuals to blame?
- Doc. 73: Why did the inquisitors ask Román Ramírez if he knew Román de Deza? Were they setting him up?
- Doc. 73: How did Román attempt to explain the discrepancy with his confessional receipts? Do you find his explanations convincing?
- Doc. 73: Why was the inquisitor so lenient toward Román in the Judicial Decree?
- Doc. 74: What aspects of Román's personality does this letter reveal or emphasize? What might have caused him to lose his temper? Why doesn't the record of his examination mention that he lost his temper?
- Doc. 75: Why was Angela's examination so much more perfunctory than her husband's?
- Doc. 76: Why did Pedro Pérez initial the confessional receipts?
- Doc. 76: Why did Juanes Valles draw up the receipt as he did rather than giving Román and Angela a new receipt after every confession?

5

The Sentence of Román Ramírez the Younger (1599–1600)¹

In 1595, Román Ramírez the younger, who had become well known around the region as a master storyteller, thanks to a prodigious memory that allowed him to recite virtually any chivalric tale his audience requested, was invited to the city of Soria by a local judge to entertain a prominent visitor to his home. Unfortunately and inadvertently, Ramírez was drawn into a local feud and denounced to the Holy Office. The charge, unexpectedly, was that he had made a pact with a devil, which explained his unnatural memory. Ironically, that same year he was serving his second term as town magistrate.

Although he was briefly taken into custody, Ramírez was allowed to return to Deza—perhaps the Duke of Medinaceli interceded once again. The Morisco paid a huge bond of 2,000 ducats to the local warden and was granted “the town as his jail.” He remained active in Deza for the next four years, married a second time, and had two more children. But in 1599, the inquisitors at Cuenca transferred him to the secret jails. In a series of examinations, Ramírez confessed first to Islamic activities and, eventually, to having made a pact with a devil named Liarde.

By the fall of 1599, Ramírez's health had taken a turn for the worse. He was transferred to a local hospital but continued to decline. In early November, he requested a priest to hear his confession and died on December 8, 1599. His body was buried in unconsecrated ground and his trial continued. Early the next year, he was found guilty. His bones were exhumed and, along with an effigy of the deceased, were transported to Zódocover Plaza in Toledo for an auto-da-fe that was attended by some of the most important figures at the Spanish court, including the king and queen.

Below is the formal declaration of Ramírez's guilt and his sentence, a version of which was publicly read at the auto-da-fe in 1600.

¹ ADC, legajo 343, expediente 4876, folios 235r–260r.

Román Ramírez [the younger], Morisco [handed over to the secular authorities] in effigy and bones.

~ Seen by us, the apostolic Inquisitors, together with the ordinary.

A judicial process and criminal trial that has been and is pending before us and in this Holy Office, between the prosecuting attorney on the one hand and the Accused on the other: Román Ramírez, Morisco, citizen, and native of the town of Deza in the diocese of Sigüenza, his effigy being present.

With respect to and regarding Román Ramírez, the aforesaid prosecuting attorney provided us with an account in his previously presented Accusation stating that Román Ramírez was a baptized Christian and, as such, had used and enjoyed the graces and privileges that faithful and Catholic Christians do and should enjoy.

In particular, having confessed of his own free and spontaneous will, he enjoyed the Edict of Grace that was granted and conceded to the Moriscos of Deza in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy. He confessed that when he was 26 years old, having been instructed and persuaded by certain persons of his caste and generation, he had fasted 20 days of the month of Ramadan. He neither ate nor drank during the day until the stars appeared at night. He did this in observance of the sect of Mohammed and the law of the Moors, for he believed that he could be saved by doing it and he considered it to be good and better than the law of the Christians.

Having asked for penance with mercy, he was reconciled and received back into the association and union of our holy mother Church, which imposed certain spiritual penances upon him. And he formally abjured the errors to which reference has been made as they pertained to the decrees of his first trial.

These errors were presented and it was requested that they be collected together with the present material.

~ Subsequently, like a person who had demonstrated himself to have falsely and feignedly converted to our holy Catholic faith and who had made the abovementioned confessions out of pretense and deception, solely in order to enjoy the Edict of Grace, like an impenitent backslider wickedly taking advantage of the mercy shown to him, he continued to live, and had lived, in the said sect of Mohammed, in which his ancestors lived and remained; he performed and repeated their rites and ceremonies.

For many years he fasted for the month of Ramadan, just as he had previously. He performed the *guadoc* and *zala*, washing his entire body and dressing himself in clean clothes.² He prayed the surahs and prayers of that sect, turning his head toward the *qibla*³ (which is in the direction of the rising sun), raising and lowering his head, humbling himself, bowing to the ground at that time called *alaqibir*⁴ (which means God is great), and extending the palms of his hands upward. He also arose early in the day to perform the *zahor*.⁵ And after finishing his fast, he had kept and celebrated the festival of Ramadan for three days—he neither worked nor performed manual labor during that time, especially on the first day. Instead, he dressed himself in clean clothes and performed the *guadoc* and *zala* along with many other rites and ceremonies of the said sect.

~ Adding offense to offense and guilt to guilt for wicked effects and ends, for many years and much time hence, he had made and did make an express accord and pact with the devil. He adored him and promised to be his and to give him his soul if the devil would favor him and provide help and counsel when he needed it or when he asked for it.

And thus he had asked the devil, and the devil enabled him to know and see many hidden and secret illnesses and to cure many people of them. By using herbs, burning incense, and employing superstitious charms the Accused caused people to believe and think that he was very well read and learned in the stories of holy Scripture and the books of chivalry and also that he had a remarkable memory. Yet, all the while, he knew neither how to read nor write. As an occupation and for his job, he had taken to reading such stories and books from memory to audiences. He did so with such precision that it was as if he had them before him and was reading from them, but he did this by the industry and art of the devil and by these means he heaped up and gained great wealth and fortune.

And when asked how he came by such a memory, he had responded that a close associate, a very great herbalist who kept a familiar spirit, gave him a potion for that purpose.⁶

² The *guadoc* is the ritual washing done by Muslims in preparation for prayers (*azala* or, as here, *zala*).

³ The direction a Muslim should face when reciting prayers.

⁴ That is, *Allahu akbar*, a phrase known as the *Takbir*, used in the formal Muslim call to prayer as well as at the beginning of the prayers themselves.

⁵ A predawn meal eaten by Muslims during Ramadan.

⁶ The "close associate" referred to here is Ramírez's maternal grandfather, Juan de Luna.

Furthermore, this close associate had performed the incantation of *bon y varón*⁷ in order to travel a distance of 15 leagues to the city of Zaragoza.⁸ This had caused a horse to appear, which they both mounted, and they were quickly deposited in the city. Removing the horse's bridle, they left it at the city gates. After finishing their business, they returned to that same place, cast the bridle on the horse, mounted it, and were returned to their starting place in a mere moment.

~ And in continuation of his sins: a certain woman from the town of Deza had commended herself to the devils, and one night she was made to disappear around bedtime. This prompted her husband to ask for aid from the Accused, who told him not to worry, for his wife would not be lost. He gave the man a letter and told him to go to a specific place amongst some vines, make a circle, and stand in the middle of it. And when he heard a group of people pass by, although he saw no one, he was to ask, "Where is the King going?" And if they responded, "That way," then let him fling the letter toward them. And when he did this, they came back and restored his wife to him, but the man never saw who had taken her or how it was done.

~ And like a person who had interacted constantly with the devil, he knew about and mentioned closely guarded secrets and things that had occurred in far off lands. He could not have been aware of such things at the time that he revealed and spoke of them, except by means of the said demonic accord and pact.

Specifically, one day when he was on the road, he had left word at his house that a certain stranger would be coming to look for him so that he could go cure his daughter, who was possessed. He told them to let him know when the man arrived. And that is exactly what happened. Based on this as well as what later happened (while he was curing the said woman) it became clear that it was the Accused himself who had cursed and bewitched her. For on her wedding night, he had made her blood flow, which caused her great nausea and anguish. Subsequently, she was greatly dismayed and felt a deep hatred for her parents and husband, whom she did not want to see and with whom she refused to sleep.

⁷ The meaning behind the incantation's title is obscure. The nineteenth-century Englishman George Henry Borrow proposed that it referred to a root used by gypsies and named after Satan, the "good baron" (or *buen barón*). Borrow, *The Zincoli: An Account of the Gypsies of Spain* (London, 1888), 187. However, the story also carries overtones of the *Isra*, a journey taken by Mohammed from Mecca to Jerusalem on the back of a heavenly steed in a single night.

⁸ A league is traditionally defined as the distance a person can walk in one hour—about four miles.

A cleric who believed the woman was possessed had attempted to cast the devils out of her. For 18 days, he conjured at them with exorcisms and prayers from the ecclesiastical manual. Finally, a devil had appeared to him and said that 101 demons were dwelling in that body, but he was the only one there at present. Using the exorcisms, the cleric had forced the devil to say where the others had gone, and he had admitted and declared that they had gone to the town of Deza to visit the Accused, Román Ramírez, and to receive his commands. The devil said they would abandon the woman's body only when he gave them permission to do so.

That day she was tormented more fiercely than ever and sunk into a stupor. The priest commanded the devil, "Stop tormenting her! Allow her to live with her husband!" and demanded the return of a jewel that the devil had taken from her. He responded that Román Ramírez had commanded him to torment her and said that *he* had the jewel.

Because of the devil's words, the girl's parents summoned the Accused to cure her. As soon as he entered the house in which they lived, the girl began to behave very strangely. She said she knew he had arrived and also knew why Román Ramírez was coming. When she saw him, she fainted and fell into a stupor. Her mouth became contorted and she went three days without eating, drinking, or being able to do anything of substance.

The Accused enveloped her with a thick cloud of incense—sandalwood, juniper oil, and other things—which returned her to her senses. Addressing the devil inside of the woman, he said, "Leave her! Leave her! Go! Go! Get out unless you want me to give you more of the incense!" But when the devil refused to respond to him, he made everyone leave the room. And thinking that no one could hear him, he complained to the devil, saying, "Why won't you answer me? My grandfather's devil showed more humility. What have I done that you won't speak to me? Isn't it enough that I've served you and given myself over to you for such a long time?" And he told the devil to make sure that the woman was sound asleep so that she did not overhear their conversation.

When he became aware that another devil had entered the room, he had said, "Welcome. How goes it over there? How are my son, wife, and grandson?" To this, the devil responded that his son had been gravely ill but that he was better now and out of danger. And he said that his wife had been indisposed but that she was recovering. His grandson, however, was very ill and in danger of dying. The Accused told the first devil that it was in his debt and that he had served it. So, he would be obliged if the devil would abandon the woman's body for at least 15 days and leave her in good health. This way they would pay him well for his work and then he could pay his debt, for he needed 200 *reales* to pay the rent on his garden. Otherwise, he

would fall far short and his reputation would be badly hurt. Then, later, the devil could return and possess the woman again and do whatever it wanted. The devil had agreed to comply.

The Accused wanted the Great Turk⁹ to go to war against the Christians, so, like a great enemy of our holy Catholic faith, he had asked the devil to cause men and a great Armada to attack the King our lord. In order to satisfy this desire, the devil responded that the Great Turk was arming his men to invade Spain. Later, the Accused learned that the devil had revealed their conversation and made it public. So, he had threatened it—like a man who had authority over it—declaring that he would bind it and make sure it paid attention to him the next time.

~ And like a treacherous man who focuses only on his own interests and benefit, he threatened the parents of the woman when they did not pay him well for the cure that he had performed, saying that they would soon realize their need. Then he bewitched the woman's husband and commanded the devils to enter his body and torment him. Just so, they tormented him one whole day with a thousand figments of his imagination and with despair.

And when asked to cure the man, Román Ramírez came to see him and said, "Buddy, you've defended yourself well against the attacks you've suffered from the devil." Then he enveloped him with the same incense he used previously and departed, disappointed about how little he had been paid.

The said cleric, conjuring on the said man, discovered that three demons named Satan, Beelzebub, and Barabbas had possessed him. He cast them out and expelled them from him. As a sign of their obedience, he forced them to give a silver *cuartillo*,¹⁰ a single *aguillette*,¹¹ and a pin from a ribbon.

~ Later, the woman's parents realized she had not been healed of her malady but rather was worse off than before. They summoned Román Ramírez and sent him some money, promising him more if he would leave the woman cured. He sent them some more incense, gave orders to the messenger, and wrote down a magical formula for them to recite. He told the messenger that when he arrived at the house, he would find her condition improved, she would be dancing with her friends. (And that is exactly what happened.)

But the woman still did not want to sleep with her husband. For this reason, the messenger gave the incense to the husband for him to use along

with the magical formula. It read as follows: "Devils, get out of her, for Román commands it. And if you don't, I'll have to call and send for him. Then he'll come throw you out, since that's what he promised me." When this conjuration was performed, the woman let out a very loud yell, and she has remained healthy ever since then and has made a life with her husband.

~ Moreover, the Accused has done, said, held, and believed many other errors, sins, and heresies against our holy Catholic faith and has known of many other people who committed them. Like an aider and abettor of heretics, he has kept silent about them and concealed them, refusing to accuse them during the course of his trial. And although he was warned many times to speak and declare the whole truth, he refused to do so, and, instead, like a wicked Christian, he perjured himself.

It was requested of us that we accept his account as true insofar as it suffices for our final sentence, that we might declare his intention to be well proved, that Román Ramírez committed the sins of which he was accused, and that he was and is an apostate, impenitent, and relapsed Mohammedan heretic as well as an aider and abettor of heretics. As a consequence, he has fallen and incurred the sentence of greater excommunication. He is bound by this as well as by the other laws, pragmatics, and instructions established by the Holy Office. Furthermore, we order him to be handed over and we hand him over to the secular justice and arm, declaring his goods confiscated and the property of the chamber and treasury of the King our lord. Let everything be done fully, in compliance with justice. I swear to the said Accusation.

~ In our first audiences with Román Ramírez, he gave his name and said he was a Morisco, descended from Moors, a gardener and herbalist, a citizen and native of the town of Deza from the duchy of Medinaceli, and 60 years old. He said that he believed he had been arrested and brought to the secret jails of the Holy Office on account of his many enemies and because, as an herbalist, he had performed many great and famous cures. Specifically, it had been publicly said that he had cured a woman from Tajuahuerce¹² by commanding the devil and by using witchcraft and incenses.

He said that what really happened in that case was the following: When he was summoned to cure her, he discovered her unconscious and in a stupor, so he incensed her, which somewhat brought her to her senses. When he discovered that her illness had progressed very far and that curing her of it would be extremely arduous and difficult, he returned to his house but left an unguent with the woman's parents to use as incense whenever

⁹ That is, the sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰ A small coin valued at one quarter of a *real*.

¹¹ *Aguillettes* were decorative tips, usually made of silver or gold overlaying the tips of cords or ribbons and normally worn in pairs.

¹² About 25 miles north of Deza in Castile.

she fainted. He also advised them to have her recite the gospels frequently and to take her to visit two shrines dedicated to Our Lady for a pair of novenas.¹³

He said that he never knew or believed she was possessed, nor did he know any cure or medicine that would drive demons from human bodies, nor had he ever used or possessed a familiar spirit.¹⁴ He was well aware that if he had one, he would be arrested. He had not used witchcraft or superstitions or commanded a devil to perform either the incensing or any other cure, but rather used herbs. He knew a great deal about herbs and about their virtues for his grandfather had been a physician and herbalist and had taught him.

He described many of the cures that he had performed using herbs as well as the manner and form that he had used to cure them. And he said that the common people say that he has a familiar because they have seen him recite various books of chivalry, which he had memorized, but they did not know his secret and mystery. What happened was that when he was a youth, his mother gave him a certain potion, which produced in him a remarkable memory. And although he did not know how to read or write—except to sign his name—when he heard books read to him, he retained in his memory the names of all those places, the knights errant, and the substance of the adventures that were contained in each chapter. Later, he recounted them, adding whatever details seemed appropriate in order to better adorn the stories. When he saw how this practice pleased his audience and the interest and profit it produced, he used and practiced it all the more on a daily basis.

~ When he was warned to scour his conscience and to speak the truth about every offense that he had committed against God our Lord and His holy Catholic faith, he replied that he wanted to do so. He confessed that when he was a lad of 14 years, a certain Morisco instructed him and he fasted four or five days for the month of Ramadan. He neither ate nor drank during the whole day—from star to star. He arose very early and performed the *zahor* and he kept the festival of Ramadan. He ended his fast by abstaining from work on the last day and dressing in clean clothes. And he had believed in one single true god.

In his heart he always held fast to the faith and error of the sect of Mohammed, but he stopped performing its fasts and ceremonies for 11 or

12 years because he had no one to tell him when the moon of Ramadan had risen. Later he went to the Kingdom of Aragon and resumed performing the said fasts in the company of other Moriscos.

He continued performing them in the town of Deza until he took advantage of the Edict of Grace in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy [*sic*]. At that point he truly desired and wanted to convert to our holy Catholic faith and he went more than 20 years without performing any Moorish ceremonies. Yet in his heart he was always inclined to be a Moor, and he vacillated within himself over which was the better law, that of the Moors or of the Christians, and in which he would be saved.

Then, about seven or eight years ago, a Turkish slave persuaded him and he resumed believing in and observing the sect of Mohammed. He fasted the month of Ramadan and performed the *guadoc*, washing his entire body with water. He performed the *zala*, dressing himself in clean clothes and turning his face at midday and raising and lowering his head with the palms of his hands extended before him. He humbled himself to the ground at the time called *alaqibir*,¹⁵ reciting the surah that reads, *ynanta yneca Alcauçara façebique lica vira guanaha enaja ynecha hua gualautar*, which means: “God is merciful and compassionate, and he will have mercy on my soul for I do not act out of arrogance, and, Lord, receive from your servant this small service.”¹⁶

When this was done and after reciting that surah, he held and believed that he had gained as many pardons as if he had traveled to Mohammed’s grave in Mecca and that he would be saved by these ceremonies. He had performed them knowing and understanding that they were contrary to our holy Catholic faith and evangelical law and that which our holy mother Church of Rome holds, preaches, and teaches.

He also recited another surah of the same sect that goes: *Alfan du liley. Alamina, guayeca nazahin edina çirata. Aleygayre, guahadobi en debli*.¹⁷ He said that no one in all of Turkey knows what it means, except that it is the first surah of the Qur’an. And when the true Allah was asked by some of his servants about the meaning of those words, he responded that he could

¹⁵ See footnote 4.

¹⁶ This is clearly meant to refer to a chapter (or surah) from the Qur’an, but (whether as a result of scribal error or Ramírez’s pronunciation) it has not been possible to identify it.

¹⁷ This appears to be a corrupt version of the *Surat al-Fatiha* (“The Opening”), which is the first surah Muslims recite in the daily cycle of prayers. A translation reads: “All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds—the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful, Sovereign of the Day of Recompense. It is you we worship and you we ask for help. Guide us to the straight path—the path of those upon whom you have bestowed favor, not of those who have evoked your anger or of those who are astray.”

¹³ A novena is an act of religious devotion repeated for a period of nine days. It typically involves a series of set prayers and is performed in the hope of obtaining special intercessory grace.

¹⁴ A familiar (or familiar spirit) was popularly believed to be a personal demon or supernatural entity that assisted witches and folk healers.

not say, but that whoever recites them would gain as many pardons as there were stars in the heavens. And whoever knew this surah knew everything in the world that he needed to know; no one could serve God without it.

When he finished praying the surah, he had said *yemauleo, yemauleo* seven times—these words meant that Allah responded to his servants' prayers, saying, "He is true and is my servant. I am the honorable one and the noble one, and on my honor and nobility I will give you paradise."

And he had been very determined to go to Constantinople¹⁸ to become a Moor but had given up the idea on account of having a wife and children.

~ When he responded to this Accusation, the Accused claimed to be a baptized and confirmed Christian. He said that after enjoying the Edict of Grace, being reconciled, and abjuring his errors, he committed the sins and heresies that he has confessed, thereby becoming an impenitent backslider. He made reference to his confessions, asking God for pardon and us for penance with mercy.

With regard to the charge that he had made a pact with the devil, the Accused asserted that the truth of what happened is that when he was about ten or twelve years old, his grandfather had been near death. He told and commanded the Accused that if the need arose after his death, then between 11 and 12 o'clock at night he should call upon a devil called Liarde, with whom he had made a pact and whose friend he was. This devil would come to him and answer him whatever he asked.

The first time that he called on him, the devil had responded, saying: "What do you want? Do you think that I have to serve *you* in the same way I did your grandfather? You don't have his skill. May you cure no one! Rather, stay put so they don't take you to the Inquisition like they did him."

He asked the devil who he was and what he had to do for him and if he had a body. He responded to him, "You have a lot to learn, kid. We spirits don't have bodies. And don't ask me anything that'll cause anyone harm, for I'm under orders not to speak about such matters." Then, because it was nearly 12 o'clock he departed, leaving the Accused very sad.

He called on the devil again and asked him to tell him about some money or show him where a treasure was hidden. To this, the devil responded that he could not do anyone any good nor be of any use to him. All he could do was provide the Accused with information about certain herbs.

So, he had not performed any more cures with the devil's help until four or five years later, when he was asked to go to the city of Calatayud¹⁹

to heal a gentleman. Then, once again, he summoned the devil in order to consult with him about the illness and how to cure the gentleman. He responded that the gentleman had been bewitched by means of herbs that had been given to him and that he could cure him by giving him a drink of scorzonera water²⁰ mixed with the juice of quince seeds, pimpnel, and presicaria²¹ herb. These would drive out many of the worms in his body and then he would be well, which is exactly what happened when he used that medicine to cure him.

Ever since then he had become increasingly famous and performed many cures. On some of them he consulted with that devil. And once, after they quarreled because the devil had failed to tell the Accused that he was wanted by Royal justice (on account of certain things for which he was arrested and jailed), he had sent the devil off. The Accused said: May God neither save his soul nor have mercy on him if he made any sort of pact or alliance with the said devil at any time or promised him anything, showed him any reverence, or used him for anything else except what he has said and declared.

We commanded that the Accused [inserted: *be given*] a copy of the Accusation, and a copy was given to him as was an attorney to advise him in his suit. The Accused denied everything else in the Accusation. With the agreement and opinion of the attorney, the trial was concluded and record of it received.

While the prosecutor's witnesses of request were in the process of being ratified and before they were publicized, Román Ramírez died. Having contracted an illness, he passed from this present life. All of the people who, by law, should have been called and summoned to defend the memory and reputation of the Accused were called and summoned; they were assigned appropriate times and places to do so. Since no one appeared or came forward to defend his memory, we provided a defender who resumed the suit.

The testimony of 20 witnesses against the Accused and his sins were publicized in the suit. The defender responded to them, alleging certain excuses. The suit was concluded definitively. We examined all of this. Anything requiring additional consideration and examination beyond our full accord and deliberation received the examination of learned persons of good conscience.

¹⁸ Constantinople (or Istanbul) was the heart of the Muslim Ottoman Empire and is located in modern-day Turkey.

¹⁹ About 30 miles southeast of Deza in Aragon.

²⁰ The scorzonera (or black salsify) is a perennial plant that is cultivated in Spain as a root vegetable. The root is typically boiled and peeled before serving. Presumably, "scorzonera water" was the water left after the root had been boiled.

²¹ A flowering plant of the knotweed family; often called smartweeds.

~ Xp[ist]i nomine invocato²² ~

We find that with regard to the acts and merits of the said trial that the said prosecutor proved his Accusation and complaint well and completely, just as it was expedient for him to prove. We consider and pronounce that his intentions were well proved. Wherefore, we ought to declare and we do declare Román Ramírez to have been and to be an apostate Mohammedan heretic, an aider and abettor of heretics, an impenitent backslider, one who falsely and feignedly confessed and who, on that account, has fallen into and incurred a sentence of greater excommunication and was bound to it, as well as to the confiscation and loss of all his goods—since the day and time that he began to commit the said sins. We apply these to the chamber and treasury of the King our lord and to his receiver in his name, the declaration of which is reserved to us.

We should [inserted: *con*]demn and we do [inserted: *con*]demn the memory and reputation of Román Ramírez, commanding, as we do command that on the day in which a public auto-da-fe is celebrated, an effigy representing him be taken to the gallows with a *coroza*²³ of condemnation and a *sanbenito* with the markings of condemnation²⁴ on one side and on the other a sign bearing the name of Román Ramírez. After this our sentence has been publicly read, let both the effigy and his bones be handed over to the secular justice and arm in order that they might be publicly burned in abhorrence of such great and grievous sins.

Any monument (if there be one set over his grave) or coat of arms (if any be set or painted anywhere) is to be taken down and blotted out in order that no memory of Román Ramírez remain on the face of the earth, save this our sentence of execution, which we command to be carried out by it. And so that it might remain more firmly in the memories of the living, we command that the said *sanbenito* or a similar one with the same markings and sign of condemnation be displayed in a public place in the parish church of the town of Deza, where he was a parishioner. Let it remain there in perpetuity.

Furthermore, we pronounce and declare that the sons and daughters of Román Ramírez and his grandchildren through the male line be deprived of any and all public dignities, benefices, offices—whether ecclesiastical or secular—or any honors that they might hold or possess. And they cannot and are incapable of holding other honors or of going on horseback,

bearing arms, wearing silk, camlet,²⁵ or fine cloth, gold, silver, precious pearls, and corals. Nor may they exercise or use anything else prohibited to the children and descendents of such delinquents by common law and the pragmatics of these Kingdoms and the instructions of the Holy Office.

And, having thus pronounced our final judgment, in these documents and by them we pronounce, declare, and command it.

[Signed:] Licentiate don Pedro Girón
Licentiate don Gaspar de Quiroga
Licentiate don Francisco Manuel
Dr. Gabriel Suárez de Toledo

[The remainder of the document is written in a different hand.]

~ The said sentence was given and pronounced by the apostolic lords Inquisitor of the city and Kingdom of Toledo and the ordinary. They signed their names to it in the presence and by special commission of the most illustrious and reverend lord cardinal **don Fernando Niño de Guevarra**, the apostolic inquisitor general for his majesty's Kingdoms and estates.

A public auto-da-fe was celebrated in Toledo's Zódocover Plaza on Sunday the fifth day of the month of March in the year one thousand six hundred before the Licentiate Sotocamero, the Holy Office's prosecutor, and in the presence of Román Ramírez's effigy and of his bones, which were contained in a box. Both the bones and the effigy were handed over to the secular justice and arm according to the sentence.

All of this was attended by their majesties King don Philip the Third and Queen doña Margaret his wife, our lords (may God keep them many years), as well as by the lord Duke of Lerma and don Rodrigo de Silva and don Álvaro de Zúñiga, alderman of Toledo, and many other persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, from this city and from outside of it.

In my presence: [Signed:] Jusepe Pantoja, scribe.

Focus Questions

Why is it significant that Román was both a crypto-Muslim *and* a sorcerer in league with the devil? What would that conjunction of roles suggest and how might it have affected the thinking of King Philip III, **who** was in the audience at the auto-da-fe?

²⁵ A valuable fabric that often interwove silk with goat's hair, wool, or cotton.

²² Latin: "Invoking the name of Christ."

²³ A tall painted hat made of paper, similar to the popular image of the witch's hat.

²⁴ The *sanbenitos* of those who would be relaxed to the secular arm featured flames and pictures of devils driving the condemned heretics into the fires of hell.