Continuing their founding vocation of buying Christians who had been enslaved by Muslims, the Trinitarians responded to the new devotional climate by inviting a Jesuit to preach to them and teach them Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Although known for centuries for their learning, the Dominicans of Toulouse likewise brought in Jesuit help.

In the end, however, the reform and revival of the old houses are remarkable for their authenticity and humanity. The trials that Marie d'Icard and Blanche de Castillon underwent in order to restore the convents of Sainte-Catherine and Saint Guilhem in Montpellier, capture the mean atmosphere that prevailed. It nuances the triumphalism that often characterizes accounts of the lives of the religious during the Catholic Reformation. Diefendorf's attentiveness to details makes all the difference: our hearts reach out to them.

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Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, Volume Four: Resistance and Reform*. Leiden: Brill, 2021. Pp. viii + 284. Hb, € 129,00/ \$155.00.

One must salute the publication of the fourth volume of a collection series edited by Kevin Ingram, dedicated to exploring the role, contribution, and meaning of the *converso* and *morisco* phenomenon in late medieval and early modern Iberia. This project represents a substantial contribution to Américo Castro's pioneering multicultural idea of Spain as the homeland of the three Abrahamic "castes," where Christians, Muslims, and Jews regularly interacted, even when the hegemonic position of the first group led to the mass conversion of the other two, and their transformation into New Christian *moriscos* and *conversos*. This volume, which was assembled under the dual rubric of "resistance" and "reform," can be seen as a continuation of Ingram's recent book *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain: Bad Blood and Faith from Alonso de Cartagena to Diego Velázquez* (Cham: Palgrave, 2018). According to Ingram, the specific conditions of Christians of Jewish and Muslim origin in Iberia, who were often perceived as suspected heretics with "stained blood," propelled them to develop non-conformist approaches to life. As he states

in his introductory remarks, “All New Christians were, to a greater or lesser degree, non-conformists,” and “[m]ost New Christian voices of resistance and reform have this commonality: they attempt to confront the injustices of their societies while stifling an important facet of their own militancy, their *mancha* or social taint” (1). That is why, the vast majority of Spain’s “great reform voices,” including its “most celebrated writer” Miguel de Cervantes, most of the early Jesuit elite, as well as many of the authors of the picaresque genre, religious reformers, humanists, evangelicals, and mystics, came from converso backgrounds (7).

Five of the twelve articles of this volume also aim to integrate the morisco group into that cherished category of restless Spaniards. William P. Childers’s “Morisco Double Resistance” (203–34), for example, interprets almost every behavior of the morisco minority as an *ipso facto* act of non-conformist resistance, even when they cultivated an appearance of compliance in everyday life, pursued status in Christian society, and participated in cultural activities appreciated by Old Christians (216). Accordingly, “all Moriscos resisted, in one way or several, because whether or not to resist in the face of the colonial power that had seized control of their lives was not a matter of *choice*” (232). While the reader will judge the author’s choice to adopt post-colonial standpoints in deciphering the character and scope of morisco non-conformism, what primarily characterizes this collection of essays is that in one way or another, all of them problematize the concept.

Thus, we can ask what is “non-conformist” in the initiatives of Spanish conversos’ clergymen at the Council of Basel in 1434 to obtain a papal decree that welcomed baptized Jews as full-fledged Christians. In 1542, Pope Paul III integrally reproduced “De neophytis” decree in the bull *Cupientes Iudaeos*, probably at the initiative of Ignatius of Loyola (c.1491–1556) (37–38) (Carlos Gilly’s “The Council of Basel ‘De Neophytis’ Decree as Immediate Cause of and Permanent Antidote to the Racial Purity Statutes,” 13–44). The same question could be addressed to the aristocratic aspirations that led fifteenth-century *converso* prelates (like members of the illustrious Santa María family) to become patrons of ecclesiastical buildings and devotional art (Nicola Jennings’s “Reforming the Church and Re-Framing Identity: Converso Prelates and Artistic Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Castile,” 45–71). I believe that an answer to this question emerges from reading Enrique Soria Mesa’s incisive portrait of the *linajudos* (defined as “those who used their genealogical knowledge to blackmail candidates who had to pass any type of examination of nobility or purity of blood,” 76–77), whose influence was prominent in a society that was “sick of honor” (94) (“Genealogy, Jewish Conversos, and Urban Conflict in Golden Ages Spain: The *Linajudos*,” 72–94). For, in all these cases, what would transform *conversos*

(or *moriscos*), who did their best to conform to the social norms and religious expectations, into non-conformists was less their critique or projects of reform than the resistance from sectors of the Old Christian society to accept New Christians. In other words, it seems that oftentimes, *converso* and *morisco* non-conformism was *a posteriori* reconstruction intended to justify exclusion, by interpreting expressions of social integration and religious devotion as acts of opportunism, hypocrisy, or even as part of an organized conspiracy plan. Moreover, Stephanie M. Cavanaugh showed that in times of the general expulsion of the moriscos from Spain (1609–14), some of them tried to negotiate an exemption, invoking impeccable Christian behavior, social connections with Old Christians and a persistent political fidelity towards the kingdom. However, these arguments were not enough for the political and ecclesiastical authorities, on grounds that the conversion of the Muslims had proven a total and irremediable failure (“*Serán Siempre Moros?: Asserting Conversion during the Expulsion of the Moriscos*,” 257–78). Thus, an insurmountable dissonance between homogenizing stereotypes and heterogeneous realities appears as the most relevant factor that determined the lives of so many women and men.

Furthermore, Francisco Javier Perea Siller’s insights on Spanish Hebraism (“The Hebrew Bible, Jewish Tradition and the Redefinition of Catholicism in the Sixteenth Century,” 128–41) and Ingram’s explorations of pro-converso historiography (“The Converso Issue and Early Modern Historiography,” 142–66), locate the question of non-conformism within the prism of changing historical contexts and persisting apologetic needs. Whereas in early modern Europe, the emerging interest in Hebrew language, biblical exegesis, and culture (including Kabbalah) came along with a suspicion of promoting Judaic, Protestant, and other anti-Catholic proclivities among learned Christians, in Spain, Hebraists were mostly found among men of converso origin. And much like the development of a specific pro-converso historiography (which among *inter alia*, aimed to show that the first and most devoted Christians in Spain were converted Jews), for some *conversos*, Hebraism could also be a means to endorse a more inclusive alternative to the proscribing reality in which they lived (158). At the same time, the development and character of these apologetic expressions largely depended on broader circumstances.

Thus, if Spanish Hebraism flourished under the aegis of Cardinal Cisneros (1436–1517)—though after the Council of Trent (held between 1545 and 1563) it was considered dangerous, especially “when those who demonstrated an interest in the Jewish Bible study were Conversos” (141)—pro-converso historiography erupted after Trent. This happened not only as a result of the failure of previous pro-converso projects to create “a new society, based on an evangelical-humanist credo” (142), or as an outcome of the above-mentioned

de-legitimation of Hebraism: these narratives merged under the historiographical trends promoted by the Catholic Counter-Reformation. According to Ingram, “Converso scholars took advantage of the post-Tridentine interest in promoting Spain’s glorious sacred past to project another message, one that emphasized social syncretism and accommodation” (163). In other words, if the means of *converso* apologetics were dictated by necessities of the time, their ultimate aim remained the same: to promote integration.

Mohammed Saadan’s analysis of the episode of Ozmín and Daraja in Mateo Alemán’s first part of “Guzmán de Alfarache” (1599) (“The Morisco in Mateo Alemán’s Ozmín and Daraja,” 167–84), shows a less radical picture of converso and morisco non-conformism. On the one hand, Saadan did not rush to depict Alemán as a writer of undeniable converso origins (167). On the other hand, if his conclusions are reserved, his interpretations are audacious in claiming that the “Tale of the Two Lovers Ozmín and Daraja was written in order to denounce the fate of those Granada moriscos who were displaced to Seville after the Second War of the Alpujarras (1568–71). The story includes a fictional episode in which two beautiful and virtuous Muslim lovers and members of the Nasrid elite, Ozmín and Daraja, are imprisoned in Seville around the time of the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Kings in 1492. Saadan further claims that the story was written to criticize the way the moriscos living in Seville were falsely accused of a conspiracy, with their supposed leader, Fernando Muley, being imprisoned, tortured, and condemned to the galleys. Saadan even wonders whether the fictitious Ozmín mirrored the real Fernando Muley, whom Alemán probably met when he sojourned in Seville’s Royal Prison for unpaid debts (181–82). At the same time, not only the idealized story of Ozmín and Daraja entails a conformist “happy end,” which includes their integration as Christians protected by the monarchs Isabel and Ferdinando. In his attempt to avoid an idealized view, Saadan mentions an archival document from August 1573, in which “a certain” Mateo Alemán sold a morisca slave for thirty-two ducats (182).

In Patrick O’Banion’s “Románs Garden: Places, Spaces, and Religious Practices among the Moriscos of Deza” (185–202), non-conformism primarily means accommodation, with moriscos transforming the garden of the duke of Medinaceli in Deza into a propitious place to perform crypto-Islamic ceremonies and gatherings. In this case, I would recommend applying Michel Foucault’s concept of “heterotopia” in order to further explore the weight of cultural imagination in such compartmentalized spaces of non-conformity.

Finally, I wish to offer a brief comment on those articles that deal more directly with non-conformism, resistance, and reform: Michel Boeglin’s “Doctor Constantino’s *Doctrina Cristiana*: Divine Compassion and True Faith

in the Work of a Sixteenth-Century Converso Author" (95–110), Ingram's "Juan de Malara's New-Christian Humanism" (111–27), and Luis F. Bernabé Pons's "The Moriscos and the Christian Spirituality of Their Era" (235–56). These demonstrate how burgeoning European cultural and spiritual currents were combined and adapted to the sensibilities and needs of conversos and moriscos. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, who, according to Boeglin, probably had a Jewish background, became a well-known figure by writing "well-received" catechisms in Castilian and a masterpiece *Doctrina Cristiana* (1548). That said, after being controversially elected as canon in the Seville cathedral chapter, he was tried by the Inquisition as a Protestant and died in prison (95). The Seville humanist Juan de Malara, who, according to Ingram, came from Jewish lineage from Ciudad Real (although he presented himself as a noble Old Christian [112–15]), was a humanist writer and Latin scholar. Malara supported Doctor Constantino's abovementioned election, and both were connected to radical groups of religious reformers (117). Both men were influenced by Erasmus of Rotterdam but avoided his strong anti-Semitic overtones. In both cases, their Christian-humanistic penchants emphasized the moral values of the Old Testament and the Jewish origins of Jesus Christ and Christianity. Malara and Doctor Constantino were opposed to exclusionary laws based on purity of blood and could be called "philosemites" (108), because they praised biblical Judaism and Judeo-Christians (though they were hostile to professing Jews and converso judaizers) (108–9, 123–24). Bernabé Pons addressed a canvass of morisco spiritualities that defies generalized patterns and stereotypes. Within this spectrum, he identified an awareness of Catholic and Protestant rites and beliefs. In exile, he said, some moriscos drew support from Protestant ideas to attack Iberian Catholicism, but "they showed no sympathy toward Protestant beliefs, which after all are Christian" (242). Within the Iberian Peninsula, many of them were not immune to the appeals of Christian spiritualities. Spiritual acculturation, however, did not necessarily lead to religious assimilation. The case of the appropriation of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and a set of spiritual exercises like those of Ignatius and the Franciscan García de Cisneros (1455–1510) for (crypto-)Islamic ends by the Mancebo de Arévalo was an extraordinary but hardly isolated example of the convergence of Islamic and Christian devotional sensibilities (246–47).

In other words, the reader of this compelling and variegated collection of articles will learn how painful, tragic, and creatively rich were the multiple ways conversos and moriscos faced their individual and collective experiences. Thus, if the series "The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond" aims to increase appreciation for victims of forced conformity and

xenophobia, this volume implicitly calls to avoid ethnic essentialism and cultural determinism, even when undertaken in the name of the oppressed.

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Martin Gimm, *P. Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. und die Geheimakten zum Gerichtsprozess der Jahre 1664–1665 in China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021. Sinologica Coloniensia 37. Pp. 468, 26 illustrations. Hb, € 98,00.

Between 1664 and 1669, the Catholic mission in China survived the most serious crisis in its history after the establishment of the Jesuit mission in the 1580s under Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci. Four Jesuits in Beijing were interrogated and condemned; all Catholic missionaries in the provinces were summoned to the imperial capital and subsequently exiled to Guangzhou, in a move to expel them eventually. The most senior Jesuit under duress in Beijing was the German Adam Schall von Bell, Director of the Bureau of Astronomy and Mandarin of the First Rank. The venerable Schall had in effect worked at the bureau during the previous Ming dynasty and became a favorite of the young Qing Emperor Shunzhi, who honored him as a grandfatherly figure. Unfortunately for Schall, Shunzhi died in 1661. The regents to the child emperor Kangxi were much less favorably disposed toward these Westerners and they used the petitions against the Jesuits filed by Yang Guangxian, a self-styled orthodox Confucian scholar and minor Qing official, to topple the Jesuit courtier. This is a well-known story, as is the fortunate end: the initial condemnation of the Jesuits, their subsequent pardon, and the final restoration to grace when the young emperor Kangxi assumed personal rule, with the triumph of European astronomy over the traditional Sino-Muslim astronomers. The Catholic mission was saved and reached a new apogee before its eventual demise after 1705 due to the Chinese Rites Controversy.

The protocols of these interrogations—of the four Jesuits and the mandarins at the Bureau of Astronomy under the charge of Schall (several of them Christian converts)—constitute the main content of this volume. In the capable hands of Martin Gimm, a well-known German Sinologist and specialist in Manchu writings, and his research associates, the extensive secret protocols in the First Historical Archive in Beijing are being prepared for publication. This