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Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and
Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614 (review)

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Renaissance Quarterly, Volume 60, Number 1, Spring 2007, pp. 187-189
(Review)

Published by Renaissance Society of America



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Myriam Yvonne Jehenson and Peter N. Dunn. *The Utopian Nexus in Don Quixote*.

Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006. xvi + 192 pp. index. bibl. \$59.95 (cl), \$29.95 (pbk). ISBN: 0-8265-1517-7 (cl), 0-8265-1518-5 (pbk).

Professor Jehenson, well known for her work on pastoral literature, and Professor Dunn, a renowned Golden Age Hispanist, have joined forces. In *The Utopian Nexus in Don Quixote*, Dunn and Jehenson provide us with an encompassing overview of the theory, terminology, and use of utopian myths current in the century preceding Cervantes. In *Don Quixote* the monologue on the Golden Age (1.32) and Camacho's wedding (2.20) serve as the point of departure to examine how the ideology of utopian myth sustains the action in the two parts (1605 and 1615).

Dunn and Jehenson build a strong case in favor of their reading of the classic novel by alternating chapters on Don Quixote's chivalric utopia and Sancho's economic utopia through an understanding of socioeconomic realities at the end of the sixteenth century. Both Dunn and Jehenson have written articles about the important myths alluded to in this study. The authors survey the multiplicity of the ideals of abundance and virtuous frugality in the Renaissance. They combine Renaissance sources and twentieth-century theory, particularly Louis Marin, and recent criticism of *Don Quixote*. European-wide sources for literary, philosophical, juridical, and historical ideas form the backbone of their analysis of *Don Quixote*, where the events at the Duke's palace are pivotal to the fulfillment of both Sancho Panza's and Don Quixote's utopias. Chapter 7 is noteworthy in its discussion of legal theory and ethics in relation to Don Quixote's actions. The authors note the importance in part 2 of the protagonists' stay in Barcelona, where they are no longer free from the exigencies of the natural order and, consequently, the utopian space is debunked. The necessary extensive bibliography is present and integral to the arguments. Many primary sources are cited from secondary sources.

This study presents a new perspective of Cervantes's sources and idealism in the novel. Dunn and Jehenson offer a close reading of the problematic nature of utopian ideals presented to the characters of Cervantes's novels.

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Benjamin Ehlers. *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614*.

The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 124. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. x + 242 pp. index. illus. tpls. bibl. \$45. ISBN: 0-8018-8322-9.

The title of Benjamin Ehlers's book illustrates the power of a preposition. *Between Christians and Moriscos* investigates the episcopate of Juan de Ribera, the Archbishop of Valencia from 1569 to 1611. Ribera was pulled between the Old

Christians and Moriscos in his diocese, eventually choosing only to reform one. Although baptized as Christians, the Moriscos lost and were eventually expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1609–14.

The book brings together two topics of history: Catholic Reformation studies and scholarship on Spanish Islam. The histories combine to provide a clearer perspective on Ribera's accomplishments and failures. Chapter 1 emphasizes the divided flock. Much separated Moriscos from Old Christians. Old Christians solemnly paraded through the streets of Valencia and yet the city still had to enforce hat doffing from disrespectful Moriscos. Moriscos fasted at Ramadan, circumcised their sons, and buried their dead facing Mecca. Ribera easily saw two flocks. Ehlers explores what the archbishop did about these divisions and why.

Ribera was an outsider in Valencia, as chapter 2 demonstrates. Ribera arrived when he was thirty-six years old and remained until his death at seventy-eight. He became a successful reforming bishop identifying with the Old Christian *Valencianos*, but even they resisted reforms, especially when he challenged local customs. The controversial 1570 pasquinades taught Ribera that the University of Valencia and the urban oligarchy, like the Carroz, Mijavila, and Monzón families, had to be respected. Chapter 3 establishes the centrality of the *Colegio de Corpus Christi*, the diocesan seminary. It received funds from tithes, but Ribera also used 50,000 ducats of his own funds to support clerical training. The seminary succeeded: twelve bishops, two archbishops, and a cardinal came from his circle of pages and servants. Ribera reformed old institutions and created new ones that would strengthen Catholic belief and behavior.

After examining Ribera's growing loyalties, the three remaining chapters turn to the Moriscos. Ribera believed that the Morisco population abused his early trust. The problem was epitomized by the elderly Francisco Zenequi. He told the Inquisition that he did not "care how much the patriarch [Ribera] pressures me. I will not be a good Christian" (81). Ten years after the 1571 attempts at reform, the archbishop considered himself fooled by the Moriscos. He believed that they viewed him as a *boçal* (greenhorn) who was easily tricked into trusting their false promises of eventual conversion. By 1582 Ribera worked to prove that the Moriscos were false Christians and deserved expulsion. He did this by funding new parishes and training clergy to preach to the Moriscos in order to produce evidence of their recalcitrance. Were they really so defiant? Pedro Barcaco, for example, fasted at Ramadan and attended a Morisco wedding because neighbors did. Barcaco attached no religious significance to it. Later Barcaco learned that he should be a Christian and memorized his prayers. His village lacked a priest to teach him. Ehlers demonstrates that Ribera blamed the Moriscos for their unchristian behavior. However, I wonder about religious behavior and motivations of inner belief versus community custom. The Archbishop of Valencia wanted only to see villainy.

Ehlers writes that Ribera's actions toward the Moriscos from 1582 to 1609 were "characterized by a host of ironies and paradoxes" (107). Ribera perceived

only obstinate Moriscos, not baptized Christians. He recorded substantial expenditures for the Morisco parishes. No one could question his finances. Ehlers reveals Ribera's attitude with words like *disillusionment*, *subversion*, *disdain*, *discredit*, *doomed*, *pointless*, and *misguided*. This is a sad history, showing that Ribera pursued projects designed to fail.

When Philip III succeeded to the throne in 1598, Ribera had another opportunity to champion the expulsion. He was convinced that Moriscos were "wizened trees, full of knots of heresy" (134). He would not look to any signs of shared culture. Ironically, his programs had hastened the Moriscos' evolution toward "similar eating habits, farming techniques and views on honor and justice" (137), but Philip III had Ribera's justifications for an expulsion. Others objected with clear logic and Christian mercy, but the reconquest story prevailed. Perhaps Ehlers is right that Ribera tried to bring the Moriscos into his fold. The tools may have been inadequate. I warn fellow readers that I ended up disheartened by Ribera's surrender, when as a Christian leader he could have retained more faith in his own God's understanding.

This excellent study presents the case of a reformer who made a very human choice. When "faced with ambiguity, Ribera divided his flock in search for clarity" (xiv). He wanted an exclusively Old Christian flock. In 1960 Ribera was canonized. We may hope for better from our Christian saints, but Ribera found his certainty, strengthened the majority, and helped to expel 85,000 parishioners from his archdioceses — a merciless conclusion supremely desired by the Archbishop of Valencia and future saint, Juan de Ribera.

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Ellen McClure. *Sunspots and the Sun King: Sovereignty and Mediation in Seventeenth-Century France*.

Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006. x + 316 pp. index. bibl. \$45. ISBN: 0-252-03056-7.

Ellen McClure's study exhibits exhaustive erudition and keen perspicacity in analyzing the theories of sovereignty and divine right in the sphere of Louis XIV's role as both an embodiment of God as well as an independent and self-possessed ruler. Moreover, her examination of the Sun King's role as ruler by divine right extends to the complex world of the king's diplomats and ambassadors as mediators of the crown who transmitted and represented his power and authority. Finally, the author displays most remarkable gifts of vision and comprehension of the seventeenth century in her last chapter, concerning the complexities of mediation in the creation of plays and the role of theater in the French monarchy.

Beginning with major political and intellectual events that defined the seventeenth century, such as the assassination of Henri IV, Galileo's discovery of sunspots, and Descartes's critical rationalism, which charted a new course of self-discovery, McClure describes the reaction of the French monarchy to these rather