

Godparenthood, evangelization and alliance building

The Granada Moriscos after the Council of Trent

FRANCISCO J. MORENO DÍAZ DEL CAMPO

Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha (Spain)

On the twelfth day of October of the year 610 [sic], as the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada were leaving, the priest's deputy being Sebastian de Auiles, Bernardo Fernandez de Marcos baptised Ysabel, daughter of Juan Gonçalez de Moya and Barbula de Marin; her godparents were Blas Fernandez de Medina and the widow Maria de Madrid, citizens of this town (APsPD, b. 2, f. 165v).

Nothing in the above entry, hidden among hundreds of birth records in the parish church of St Peter in Daimiel, betrays the fact that it signalled the end of Morisco history in that town. Like those who had settled in Daimiel, the Granadine Moriscos living in other towns and villages in the area had been forced to abandon their homes the previous summer. Some of the more tenacious ones may have lasted until the autumn, but not much longer. They left behind four decades of – not always easy – coexistence with their old-Christian neighbours. This forty-year relationship is gradually being revealed through the study of an increasing variety of sources. Together with inquisitorial records, notarial protocols, property deeds, tax documentation and court archives, parish records offer the opportunity to deepen our knowledge of the pillars supporting social relations between these two communities.

Sacramental registers are a complex source. Among the numerous methodological works that help our understanding of their inner workings, the most complete is a paper by Professor Martín Galán (1981, 292-319), written many years ago, in which he advised of the advantages and disadvantages of using these sources. Their versatility, however, is indisputable. Initially used to extract demographic data, they were later mined for family reconstruction purposes and, more recently, for research on godparenthood.

Over the past few years there have been important developments in our understanding of this institution in Ancien Régime Europe. It is not a new line of work – but rather it harvests the fruits of classical demographic history (Reher 2000; Pérez 2003). Its analytical methods are also derived from the

anthropological approaches developed in Anglo-Saxon countries since the 1970s and linked to the research on kinship and social reproduction carried out across Western Europe since the late 1980s (García González 2016).

The early 2000s were a turning point in the study of godparenthood. Parish records were revisited for research purposes, methodological improvements were introduced — inevitably linked to computational techniques— and working groups were created in order to define the main points of godparenthood as an institution. It is probably early days to establish the landmarks and leading figures of this historiographical development, but the publication of *Padri, padrini, patroni. La parentela spirituale nella storia* (Alfani 2006) marked a watershed moment because it located the institution of godparenthood within the complex network of social relationships that existed in early Renaissance Europe. Since then, its author has devoted himself to defining the guidelines behind the adaptation of medieval practices to the model of godparenthood intended by the prelates of the Council of Trent. Having initially focused on Italy, Alfani went on to address a wider geographical area. It was against this background that the Patrinus network was created, with some highly visible actions leading to the publication of three collective volumes which have already become seminal works (Alfani, Castagnetti, Gourdon (dirs.) 2009; Alfani, Gourdon (eds.) 2012; Alfani, Gourdon, Robin (dirs.) 2015). This approach is therefore framed within a long historiographical tradition with a long future ahead.

Despite these advances, parish registers have not been systematically used to date in the study of Morisco demography, although a few attempts — some of considerable scale — were made before the days of computational tools. The earliest research focused on communities rooted in Aragon, as Salas (1988, 8) states recalling the works of Blasco and Maíso on the Zaragoza villages of Frescano and Bulbiente (Maíso 1976; Maíso and Blasco 1980). Along similar lines, and still in the Zaragoza province, the use of computational methods in demographical research in Spain was pioneered by Ansón. Her contribution to the study of population dynamics among New Christians in the Kingdom of Aragon, and specifically in the bishopric of Tarazona, is one of the most substantial to date (Ansón Calvo 2003-2007).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to review each and every contribution to the field since those early publications, but a few works with regard to the Crown of Castile should be mentioned, if only to provide an overview of the current state of research in the region covered by this paper. The field was opened by Serafín de Tapia's pioneering work on Ávila (1991), followed by Magán and Sánchez's outstanding research (1993) on parishes and Morisco communities in La Sagra in the archbishopric of Toledo. There have been

partial contributions on several locations in the central and eastern areas of La Mancha (Moreno 2004, 2009), as well as on the towns of Pastrana (García López 2009) and Villarrubia de los Ojos (Dadson 2007). In Andalucía, Fernández and Pérez (2009) have worked with this source using family reconstruction methodologies. Otero (2012) used it for qualitative research on the Kingdom of Jaén, and so did Childers (2012) for the town of Baeza.

The large majority of these studies use parish records to reconstruct the demographic reality of the Morisco communities that had been expelled from the former Kingdom of Granada and driven deep into the interior of the Iberian peninsula in the aftermath of the Alpujarras war. It is therefore important to bear in mind that research on these communities before they left Granada already exists, having been pioneered by Bernard Vincent, whose work on Morisco families, names and godparents has been published in various miscellaneous volumes. His research also used records from the Valencia region, including other sources besides parish registers. Vincent was followed by Bravo (1997) and, more recently, by Garrido (2000, 2009) and Collado (2013).

As can be seen, the exploitation of parish records is not alien to Morisco historiography, although the notion of godparenthood has so far been somewhat neglected. As in so many issues relating to the Morisco minority, the starting point was Bernard Vincent's research in the parish of St Nicolas — the church that served the largest Morisco community in Granada in the mid sixteenth century (Vincent 1987, 73-82). Subsequently Vincent published data for the village of Mojácar in Almería between 1568 and 1601, which coincides with the repopulation of this village once the Moriscos had been forced to leave in the wake of the Alpujarras war (Vincent 2005).

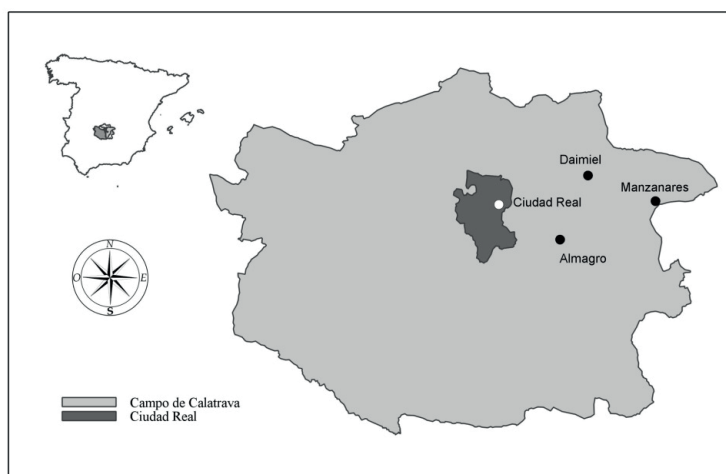
Besides these offerings there is a near-total vacuum in this field, not only with regard to Granada but to the rest of Morisco Spain. The outlook is even more disheartening when it is observed that hardly any inroads have been made into the situation in Castile after the 1568 rebellion. This is even more surprising bearing in mind that the new Morisco geography was simultaneous to the implementation of a new normative framework issued by the Council of Trent.

1. Methodological points: the choice of Campo de Calatrava, Granadine Moriscos and parish sources

Why Campo de Calatrava? Essentially, because it is an appropriate scenario for the study of Morisco religiosity, the impact of post-tridentine practices and the development of social cohesion strategies between Moriscos and Old Christians within the framework provided by the institution of godparenthood. Two extremely interesting phenomena intersected in this area, a fact that makes

it particularly appropriate for our purpose. The first was the forceful settlement of a significant number of exiles from Granada after 1570, affecting every town and village, but particularly Ciudad Real and the eastern reaches of the district bordering La Mancha (Moreno 2009, 124). The second is the presence since the early sixteenth century of a numerous but very clearly defined group of ‘former Moriscos’ or Mudejars who had voluntarily converted. Members of this collective are not always easy to identify in the sources, but they were essentially linked to the so-called *Cinco Villas* (five towns) of Campo de Calatrava (Vázquez 1988). Special attention has been paid to the town of Almagro on account of the relative ease of identifying individual members of the Granadine Morisco collective among its records.

Map 1. *Area covered by the study: Campo de Calatrava*



Tab. 1. *Morisco populations in Ciudad Real, Almagro, Daimiel and Manzanares (1571-1610)*

District or town	1571			1581-86			1610		
	Total pop.	Mor.	% Mor. pop.	Total pop.	Mor.	% Mor. pop.	Total pop.	Mor.	% Mor. pop.
Ciudad Real	10829	2684	24.8	8442	1500	17.7	8573	1580	18.4
Almagro	7390	640	8.7	6773	593	8.7			
Daimiel	6720	221	3.3	6795	184	2.7			
Manzanares	3662	662	18.1	3068	259	8.4	4125	322	7.8

Source: López-Salazar 1986, 666-675; Moreno 2009, 138-141 and 143.

Taking these circumstances and the availability of sources into account, this paper is based on the analysis of baptism registers in seven parishes in the Calatrava towns of Almagro, Ciudad Real, Daimiel and Manzanares – the most important for our purpose because together they welcomed over half the Granada exiles who arrived in the district after the Alpujarras war (Moreno 2009, 138-39). As a bonus, they all have fairly complete parish records¹.

Daimiel had two parish churches. The more recently built of the two is San Pedro, which also offers the more complete registers despite its late foundation – it did not record parishioners until 1563. Santa María la Mayor was founded in the fourteenth century and its baptism records go back at least as far as 1536, albeit with significant gaps between the 1550s and the 1590s. Nevertheless, the main problem posed by data collected in Daimiel's parish churches is not the overall figures, but the difficulty of identifying members of the Morisco minority among them. Fifty-two baptisms altogether in both parishes in forty years seems a very low number indeed, considering that over 200 Granadine Moriscos arrived in the town in 1571.

The situation is similar in Manzanares. Smaller in size and population than the rest of the towns studied, Manzanares appears to have been a prosperous town in the final years of the sixteenth century, particularly thanks to a “strong and modern” agricultural sector (López-Salazar 1993, 31; Romero 2008). The only parish church in the town in the sixteenth century was Nuestra Señora de la Asunción. In principle, the Morisco christening figures shown below are marginally higher than those recorded in Daimiel, but a caveat is in order. After the first few years, in which the town adopted an unusually high number of Granadine Moriscos, the percentage of members of this community registered in the town shrank to 7 or 8 per cent of the total population. The number of documented baptisms only comes near that sort of level in particular years such as 1574-75 or 1602. The rest of the time the figures are so low that the overall ratio is below 3 percent.

At the opposite end are the parishes of Ciudad Real and Almagro, where Granadine Moriscos were systematically and precisely identified as such. As in Manzanares, the number of Granadines christened in Ciudad Real is unexpectedly low as a percentage of the Morisco population, but the recorded figures may fall short of reality.

Special treatment has been given to data from Almagro. The figures for San Bartolomé follow the pattern of other towns, but in the parish of Madre de Dios there are almost twice as many Moriscos. The reason is that, in this particular case, some members of the former Mudejar community may have been included.

Tab. 2. *Christenings of Moriscos and Old Christians in Campo de Calatrava. 1570-1610*

Town and parish	Moriscos		Old Christians	
	No.	%	No.	%
1571-1590				
Ciudad Real				
S. Pedro Apóstol ^a	161	24.7	492	75.3
Sta. M ^a del Prado	227	14.4	1345	85.6
Almagro				
Madre de Dios ^b	258	13.3	1686	86.7
S. Bartolomé	147	6.3	2175	93.7
Daimiel				
S. Pedro Apóstol	19	0.9	2141	99.1
Sta. M ^a la Mayor ^c			231	100
Manzanares				
Nuestra Señora de la Asunción	89	3.7	2302	96.3
1591-1610				
Ciudad Real				
S. Pedro Apóstol ^a	382	22.8	1291	77.2
Sta. M ^a del Prado	222	14.4	1325	85.6
Almagro				
Madre de Dios ^b	115	8.7	1213	91.3
S. Bartolomé	76	2.5	3006	97.5
Daimiel				
S. Pedro Apóstol	12	0.4	3226	99.6
Sta. M ^a la Mayor ^c	21	0.9	2340	99.1
Manzanares				
Nuestra Señora de la Asunción	77	2.3	3258	97.7
TOTAL				
Ciudad Real				
S. Pedro Apóstol ^a	543	23.3	1783	76.7
Sta. M ^a del Prado	449	14.4	2670	85.6
Almagro				
Madre de Dios ^b	373	11.4	2899	88.6
S. Bartolomé	223	4.1	5181	95.9
Daimiel				
S. Pedro Apóstol	12	0.3	3457	99.7
Sta. M ^a la Mayor ^c	40	0.9	4481	99.1
Manzanares				
Nuestra Señora de la Asunción	166	2.9	5560	97.1

^a The dataset starts in 1583.^b Includes individuals identified in the register as Old Moriscos (Mudejars).^c Data for the first period limited to 1574 and 1589-1590.

This is a sensitive issue which may even be cause for controversy, and therefore these data have been processed with due methodological caution. In a nutshell, it has been possible to identify former Mudejars thanks to the lists of Old Moriscos whose privileges, granted by the Catholic Monarchs, were renewed by Philip II in 1577 (published in Vázquez 1988). By cross-checking names in baptism entries, including the names of the christened infants' parents against those in the aforementioned listing, it has been possible to document the behaviour of the Mudejars' descendants – albeit only in outline –, since this issue is beyond the aims of this study. The situation would have been different if these families had been identified as Mudejars or Old Moriscos, but unfortunately only one example has been found in which the status of the individuals concerned is explicitly stated: the christening of Lorenzo, son of Hernando 'the Mudejar' and Isabel 'Mudejar', is the only entry in the parish register in which the priest saw fit to record the individual's precise social status (APsBA. Baut., b. 3, f. 8r. 26.05-1571).

Generally speaking, doubts arose in cases of homonymy, where very common Christian names and surnames appear in the records, as well as because the 1577 document only contains information on the signatories, but not on their descendants. As a result, the timescale for safe identification of these individuals is limited to a decade or two at most, and after 1595-1600 it is extremely difficult to follow their trail. Consequently, as will be discussed below, the data extracted should be interpreted as minimum figures. Indeed, homonymy appears to be an insufficient explanation as far as our parish record sources are concerned, especially since it was common practice at that time to change names or to use several variants of a name, not only among members of one family but also among individuals themselves. Under these circumstances, wherever the social status of a particular person is in doubt, he or she has been classed as an Old Christian by default.

Despite its breadth, however, the sample studied here reflects the problem of the gradual disappearance of Granadines from baptism registers from the 1590s onward, and particularly after 1600. There are several possible ways to account for this phenomenon but, although they are compatible with one another, none of them can categorically explain how these Moriscos fell into – possibly intentional – oblivion.

One explanation could be assimilation, be it actual or practical. The family may have been so well known that it was unnecessary to point out their origin; again, many people who were initially labelled as Moriscos were not so identified in later records, such as the baptism entry for the second or third child. This is the case of, among others, Hernando Enríquez who, as far as the register is concerned, could easily have passed off as an Old Christian by his third and fourth child's christening, but is identified as a Morisco in the entries

for the two eldest (APsPCR. Baut., b. 1, f. 199r, 25.04.1497; f.31v, 22.06.1602; b. 2, f. 69r, 05.01.1603; f. 119v, 19.11.1606).

Indeed, as substantiated by data from the Daimiel parishes, on certain occasions only those individuals who were not part of the town's population in 1571 were identified as Moriscos on registration. This appears to be the case of Lorenzo de Málaga and Isabel Fernández, who were originally from Ocaña (APsMD. Baut., b. 2, f. 180r. 22.11.1599).

Be it as it may, the gradual omission of explicit annotations of an individual's convert status could be interpreted as a token of day-to-day acceptance of the Morisco minority by the rest of the community. As a tacit sign of consent, albeit a subjective one, on the part of the parish priest or sexton who signed each baptism entry, it would be evidence of some kind of social recognition of the Granadines, inasmuch as they were shown on paper to be equal to their Old Christian neighbours.

A second explanation could be that some of the individuals who were not identified as Moriscos were the offspring of mixed marriages, an area which has not been studied in detail to date. This is a complex situation. Every now and then the parents' diverse origins were expressly recorded (APsMCR. Baut., b. 6, f. 129, 01.08.1588), but in the usual scenario parish priests gave little indication of such circumstances, thereby turning the phenomenon into a few isolated cases (Fernández 1973, 165; Dadson 2007, 249-50). In consequence, and even allowing for the hostility with which mixed marriages were received – especially between a Morisco woman and an Old Christian man – it is nonetheless true that they were more common than the sources would have us believe. Whilst not seen as quite appropriate, they were tolerated inasmuch as they encouraged the minority's assimilation (Deardorff 2017, 251).

Lastly, the explanation may include a political component which relates to the negotiation between the Morisco nation and Philip III in the late sixteenth century for the collection of the tax known as *servicio de los naturales* from the Kingdom of Granada's inhabitants. This tax, paid twice during Philip II's reign, was negotiated as of 1597 and enforced in 1603 (Bravo 2003; Vincent 2008; Moreno 2017). Besides its purely fiscal implications, the document signed between the Crown and the people of Granada contained an item to the effect that Moriscos should not be treated in a humiliating manner «nor called Moors, Moriscos or any other degrading names» (Moreno 2017, 10). This long term demand on the part of the Granada population may have been ignored then, as it had been hitherto, but the sequence *negotiation – payment of tax – disappearance of the word Morisco* in documentary sources provides food for thought.

At any rate, up to the time priests and sextons began to omit Morisco labelling, the number of individuals identified as Granadines in the records is

large enough to enable the recovery, so to speak, of a significant part of the unmarked ones. A cautious approach has been adopted in this case, and with the Mudejars of Almagro, so that only those people whose parenthood is unquestionable are included in the Morisco figures. Following Childers' advice to ensure that such reconstruction exercises are based on a wide range of sources (Childers 2012, 41), on this occasion parish records have been complemented wherever possible with notarial protocols and lists of Granadines whose properties were sold by the Treasury Council (*Consejo de Hacienda*) after their expulsion from the peninsula. Since the former cover a long period and the latter two increase in volume as baptisms dwindle, the combination of the two has boosted our database of individuals with a great deal of very useful alternative information.

Nevertheless, just as the global baptism figures indicate the minimum number of births (Martín 1981, 299), those for Morisco baptisms also refer to lower limits, possibly extendable at a later date should further documentation becomes available. Even so, the dataset appears to be robust despite considerable gaps in the data for the early 1570s, particularly in the parishes of Ciudad Real, Santa María in Daimiel and Manzanares. Additionally, Morisco presence is also patchy, to the extent that this group become less visible at either end of the interval studied. In the final period – 1595-1600 onwards – this is due to the concealment practices explained above. In the first few years – 1571-1575 – it reflects the internal dynamics of a minority that had recently settled in Castile and not yet acquired the necessary cohesion for normalized, ordinary demographic behaviour to show through. Despite this kind of discontinuity, wherever stable data are available Moriscos and Old Christians clearly display similar demographic dynamics, an important fact to keep in mind in a comparative study of this type.

2. Granadine Moriscos and godparenthood: background data

It is well known that the role of godparenthood went beyond purely spiritual purposes to become a mechanism that evinced social alliance and endogamic practices and even provided protection and promotion. Scholars who have researched this subject in other areas of Western Europe agree that the Church met with a great deal of resistance on implementing the single model of godparenthood preferred by the Council of Trent (Alfani 2008, 92; Alfani, Gourdon 2016, 28). Local tradition appears to have outdone canonical regulation (Alfani 2008, 97) and the model that was eventually developed in each area largely depended on local circumstances (Alfani 2009b, 54).

Castile is practically uncharted territory in this sense, especially as regards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even more so as far as the Moriscos are concerned. The issue of christening this socio-religious minority's

members and their choice of godparents was addressed at an early date, with the first set of measures issued in 1511 (Vincent 1987, 74). The content of these measures is known and remained in force with very few changes until the Alpujarras Uprising. Indeed, the only alterations introduced date from the Guadix synod of 1554 and were so slight that their effect was limited to reinforcing the law barring Moriscos from godparenthood, introduced in the early years of the century. The only detail worth mentioning is a certain concern about the attitude of some Old Christians who apparently demanded compensation for acting as godparents (Gómez 2011).

After their exile, Granadines continued to be subject to special surveillance, first by the civilian authorities and later by the Church, especially from the 1580s onwards (García Gómez 2002; Pérez, Fernández 2012). Leaving aside the laconic references to evangelization recorded in Castilian synod rulings (Magán, Sánchez 1997), no specific regulation is known to have existed on the baptism of infants, nor on their parents or godparents. It may therefore be inferred that any related practices may have been developed against the background of the Granada rules, but also in agreement with later decisions by local synods as a result of the application of the Council of Trent's provisions.

This study is based on the analysis of a dataset of over 27,000 baptism records, of which nearly 2,000 related to Morisco individuals. The first factor to bear in mind is the number of godfathers, which clearly shows a gradual shift from several godparents to a single one. Godmother data follow similar lines, but it should be noted that their names were not recorded in the parish of San Pedro in Ciudad Real.

The result is an essentially uniform pattern in which having more than two godparents appears to be unusual. That said, it is also likely that the parish priests in this period still ignored the Council's dictates and applied their own criteria, which favoured the appearance of local variants despite the advice of the archbishop's envoys². In the case of La Mancha, adaptation to Tridentine precepts appears to have been fairly smooth but slow. Any peculiarities were not exclusive to this region, since they also existed in other areas further to the south and even before the Council of Trent (Bravo 1997, 40-41). This applies to both Granadine Morisco and Old Christian baptism entries. In the parishes of Madre de Dios (Almagro) and San Pedro (Ciudad Real), a comparison of the two socio-religious communities does not reveal significant differences. San Pedro shows a slight mismatch, particularly in the godmother figures, but this was probably due to the peculiar wording of baptism entries by the priests in that parish (see Appendix 1).

Tab. 3. *Godfathers and godmothers of Moriscos. Ciudad Real, Almagro, Daimiel and Manzanares. 1570-1610*

Town and parish	Ciudad Real			Almagro			Daimiel			Manzanares		
	Sta. M ^a del Prado	San Pedro Apóstol	San Bartolomé Apóstol	San Bartolomé	Madre de Dios	Madre de Dios	Sta. M ^a la Mayor	San Pedro Apóstol	Nra. Sra. de la Asunción	Sta. M ^a la Mayor	San Pedro Apóstol	Nra. Sra. de la Asunción
No. godfathers	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
0	1	0.2	4	0.7	1	0.4	1	0.3				
1	438	97.6	500	92.1	164	73.5	296	79.4	12	100	40	100
2	10	2.2	39	7.2	52	23.3	73	19.6				
3					6	2.7	2	0.5				
N/d							1	0.3				
Total christenings	449	100	543	100	223	100	373	100	12	100	40	100
Average	1.02		1.06		1.28		1.2		1		1	
G O D M O T H E R S												
No. godmothers	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
0	14	3.1	511	94.1	4	1.8	3	0.8				
1	387	86.2	21	3.9	132	59.2	225	60.3	12	100	40	100
2	46	10.2	11	2.0	71	31.8	134	35.9				
3	2	0.4		0.0	16	7.2	9	2.4				
N/d							2	0.5				
Total christenings	449	100	543	100	223	100	373	100	12	100	40	100
Average	1.08		0.06		1.44		1.39		1		1	
Correlation coeff. R (godf./godm.)	0.99		-0.33		0.93		0.97		1		1	

All in all, there is no evidence of different practices taking place beyond certain details, the main one being that Moriscos inclined towards the single godfather model. Additionally, Moriscos tended to choose from a smaller and more compact godparent pool than Old Christians (Tables 3 and 4). The data available for the parishes of San Pedro in Ciudad Real and Madre de Dios in Almagro (Appendix 2) show a major difference between Moriscos and Old Christians in the figures for people who acted as godparents on only one occasion. Also, those who acted as godparents on four or more occasions were more likely to do so for infants of Old Christian stock. This behaviour confirms that Granadines were not particularly concerned about the choice of godparents for their offspring, and also that the people who chose to be godparents to New Christians seldom did so a second time.

A different matter is to pinpoint the reasons for this behaviour. One could, in principle, attribute it to demographic causes – e.g. a lower birth-rate among Moriscos – but, as mentioned above, the two communities were very similar in this respect during the period in question, as was the ratio of baptisms to godparents. I am therefore inclined to think that the reason why Old Christians were less involved in the baptism of Morisco children was of a social and ideological nature. This is not to deny the existence of certain individuals who were willing to fulfil the role of godparents to New Christians and who did not do so by accident. Behaviour varied widely in this respect, and therefore it is well worth moving from the general to the particular in order to take a close look at some specific cases which may offer a rough outline of who might have been the main people involved.

Let us focus first on the case of those individuals who apparently did not object to being godparents to Moriscos. In the parish church of San Pedro in Ciudad Real, the people who took on that role on the highest number of occasions were Gabriel de Espinar, the *licenciado* Juan Mexía de Mora and Pedro de Poblete. The former was a sexton and the latter two were priests. These three men were godfathers to 31, 45 and 19 Morisco infants respectively, but these figures lose much of their value when it is noted that they were also godfathers to a no less significant number of Old Christians (41, 81 and 37 respectively). This can obviously be explained by their position as church people who were, moreover, attached to the parish where the christenings took place, a topic we shall return to below. Other cases are more interesting. On a smaller scale and without an apparent link to the Church, Alonso Carrasco, in Almagro, followed the same pattern. Carrasco was godfather to nineteen children from the 1570s to the 1590s, nearly always with his wife, Ana Ruiz, as godmother. Of the nineteen, ten were Moriscos and nine were Old Christians. It should, however, be noted that nearly all the children baptised belonged to two families: four of them were the children of Gaspar de Baena (christened in 1571, 1583, 1590 and 1598) and another four were born to Alonso de Torres Cubillo (1574, 1578 and two in 1582).

Tab. 4. *Godparents of Moriscos in Ciudad Real, Almagro, Daimiel and Manzanares. 1570-1610. Frequency*

Frequency	Ciudad Real		Almagro		Daimiel		Manzanares
	Sta. M ^a del Prado	San Pedro Apóstol	San Bartolomé	Madre de Dios	Sta. M ^a la Mayor	San Pedro Apóstol	
	no.						
N/d	1		1				
1	222	215	137	185	30	12	85
2	34	38	21	36	5		17
3	9	12	3	10			4
4	11	13	7	2			6
5 to 9	9	11	1	9			1
10 and over	2	3	2				1
	%						
N/d	0.3		0.4				
1	77.1	73.6	81.1	75.5	85.7	100	74.6
2	11.8	13	12.4	14.7	14.3		14.9
3	3.1	4.1	1.8	4.1			3.5
4	3.8	4.5	4.1	0.8			5.3
5 to 9	3.1	3.8	0.6	3.7			0.9
10 and over	0.7	1		0.8			0.9
No. baptisms	449	543	223	373	40	12	166
No. godparents	288	212	169	245	35	12	114
No. Morisco godp.	2	13	13	20			

This was not unusual – indeed, it was relatively common for certain individuals to act as godparents for the entire offspring of one Morisco family. Such was the case of Francisco de Campo, in Daimiel, who carried Alonso Ximénez’s children to the font (APSPD. Baut., b. 2, 03.11.1603 and 30.11.1605) or Alonso de Ureña, mayor of Ciudad Real, who did likewise with Miguel de Talavera’s children (APSMCR. Baut., b. 7, 24.06.1596, 13.11.1600 and b. 8, 23.03.1605). Nor is it unusual to find several members of one family acting as godparents to siblings, such as two of Álvaro de Zafra’s children, whose godfathers were Antonio de Belmar and ‘young’ Antonio de Belmar, most likely father and son (APsBA. Baut., b. 2 13.08.1590 and b. 4 08.11.1597).

Finally, and to keep this sample succinct, several individuals should be mentioned who, although not as active as the above, often appear in the

records as godparents of Moriscos. One of these was Juan Merino, who was the godfather of four children from different families in Manzanares (APM. Baut., b. 1, 05.10.1574 and 02.01.1580; b. 2, 04.01.1575; b. 4, 08.09.1602). The most significant case, however, is that of Pedro de Cuéllar, who was godfather thirteen times (between 1587 and 1602) to infants of different families, with only one set of siblings among them – the children of Diego de Cañizares, christened in 1595 and 1598 (APsMCR. Baut., bs. 5, 6 and 7).

To what extent can these behaviours be linked to the creation of alliances and social protection networks? It is early days to venture a hypothesis in this regard, but the behaviour shown by the Granadine Moriscos who settled in the Campo de Calatrava district appears to be similar to that observed by Bernard Vincent in the former kingdom of Granada towards the mid-sixteenth century (Vincent 1987, 78). It may therefore be inferred that, with regard to the sacrament of baptism among the Morisco community, prejudice prevailed over royal and conciliar regulations, although in our particular case the pattern appears to be more homogeneous.

All in all, it may be more appropriate to focus on the godparenthood model used by Moriscos and Old Christians alike. In his research on early renaissance Italy, Alfani defined the existence of different godparenthood models depending on three very precise variables: the number of godparents, the presence or absence of godmothers and the existence of ‘an acceptable number of godparents’. According to the author, these three variables combined to produce six possible configurations that ranged from ‘pure’ multi-godparenthood (Type 1), with no aparent limit on the number of godfathers and godmothers, to single-godparenthood, be it asymmetrical (Type 6), with a single, usually male, godparent, or symmetrical or ‘binary’, with one godfather and one godmother (Alfani 2009a, 42-43).

Mapping the results of our sample onto the models defined by Alfani is not always straightforward but, with the exception of the parish of San Pedro in Ciudad Real, where godparenthood by a single male (Type 6) appears to be the preferred option, the rest of the Morisco communities analysed clearly favoured the “couple” model, with one godfather and one godmother.

Tab. 5. *Godparenthood models among Granadine Moriscos. Ciudad Real, Almagro, Daimiel and Manzanares. 1570-1610*

Godparenthood (godfather-godmother)	Ciudad Real			Almagro			Daimiel			Manzanares		
	no.	%	%	no.	%	%	no.	%	%	no.	%	%
0-0	1	0.2	4	0.7	1	0.4	1	0.4	2	0.5	1	0.6
1-0	11	2.4	472	86.9	1	0.4	2	0.5	211	56.6	40	100
1-1	382	85.1	20	3.7	117	52.5	80	21.4	80	21.4	12	100
1-2	43	9.6	8	1.5	41	18.4	2	0.5	2	0.5	165	99.4
1-3	2	0.4			4	1.8	2	0.5	2	0.5		
2-0	2	0.4	35	6.4	2	0.9	1	0.3	1	0.3		
2-1	5	1.1	1	0.2	15	6.7	14	3.8	14	3.8		
2-2	3	0.7	3	0.6	24	10.8	51	13.7	51	13.7		
2-3					12	5.4	7	1.9	7	1.9		
Other							3	0.8	3	0.8		
N/d					6	2.7	2	0.5	2	0.5		
Total	449	100	543	100	223	100	373	100	12	100	40	100
Dominant model ¹	no. 5 (1-1)		no. 6 (1-0)		no. 5 (1-1)		no. 5 (1-1)		no. 5 (1-1)		no. 5 (1-1)	
Other models (+2%)	no. 6 (1-0)		no. 5 (1-1)		no. 3 (1-2)		no. 3 (1-2)		no. 3 (1-2)		-	
	no. 3 (1-2)		no. 2 (2-0)		no. 3 (2-1)		no. 4 (2-2)		no. 4 (2-2)		-	
					no. 4 (2-3)		no. 3 (2-1)		no. 4 (2-3)			

1) Based on the types defined in Alfani 2009a, 43.

Other than that, 'limited multi-godparenthood' (Type 3) appears to have been relatively well received, the most popular option being the model named 'ternary' by Alfani, with two godmothers and one godfather as the dominant pattern. As is often the case in other regions, the data collected do not point to the infant's sex having any bearing on the choice of males or females as spiritual parents (Alfani, Gourdon 2016, 37).

The most diverse parishes appear to be those in Almagro, where a significant number of baptism entries with two godfathers and two godmothers – sometimes even three – were found, showing a tendency towards the 'limited asymmetrical multi-godparent' model (Type 4).

These data appear to indicate that Morisco communities in Campo de Calatrava adapted to the process of limiting the number of godparents and unifying the model to comply with Tridentine rulings (Alfani, Gourdon 2016, 28). The clearest cases are Daimiel and Manzanares. In these towns the 'couple' – one-godfather plus one-godmother – model prevailed from the beginning of the period covered, but everything points to the fact that it was not an automatic process and that its evolution also needs to be studied.

In order to observe the evolution of godparenting patterns in the rest of the communities, a chronological breakdown has been produced³. The data from Madre de Dios parish in Almagro are particularly difficult to analyse, as it shows an abnormally high number of baptisms with two godfathers and two godmothers and less predominance of the couple model, to the benefit of the one-godfather/two-godmothers combination. Such circumstances make it difficult to arrive at definitive conclusions. It is possible that this apparent inconsistency in the dataset is due to the presence of Old Moriscos in Almagro but this argument loses credibility when the data from Madre de Dios is compared with that from San Bartolomé, where there may also have been former Mudejars. The situation among Moriscos is reflected in the figures for Old Christians (Appendix 3), so this may be a further example of unusual practices on the part of the clergy in that particular parish, as we saw in the case of San Pedro in Ciudad Real.

All in all, despite such data distortions, the 1-1 model consolidated its predominant position between 1591 and 1610, whereas the cases in which more than one godmother was recorded are far less numerous. While we await more data to become available, the analysis of the parishes of Santa María in Ciudad Real and San Bartolomé confirms that, as time went on, the single godfather-godmother model gained ground to the detriment of other combinations, especially those involving more than one godmother (Table 6).

Tab. 6. *Godparenthood models among Granadine Moriscos. Chronological evolution*

Godparenthood (godfather)	Santa María del Prado (Ciudad Real)		San Bartolomé (Almagro)		Madre de Dios (Almagro)	
	1571-1590	1591-1610	1571-1590	1591-1610	1571-1590	1591-1610
	no.					
0-0		1		1		
1-0	5	6	1		1	1
1-1	175	207	59	58	160	51
1-2	40	3	30	11	46	34
1-3	2		4		2	
2-0	1	1	1	1		1
2-1	1	4	14	1	13	1
2-2	3		20	4	25	26
2-3			12		6	1
Other			6		3	
N/d					2	
Total	227	222	147	76	258	115
	%					
0-0		0.5		1.3		
1-0	2.2	2.7	0.7		0.4	0.9
1-1	77.1	93.2	40.1	76.3	62	44.3
1-2	17.6	1.4	20.4	14.5	17.8	29.6
1-3	0.9		2.7		0.8	
2-0	0.4	0.5	0.7	1.3		0.9
2-1	0.4	1.8	9.5	1.3	5	0.9
2-2	1.3		13.6	5.3	9.7	22.6
2-3			8.2		2.3	0.9
Other			4.1		1.2	
N/d					0.8	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Setting Alfani’s models aside, it is possible to detect hints of the godparents’ socio-economic origin, although this study is clearly inadequate in this respect due to the large number of individuals whose occupation was not recorded. Given the limitations of the source, in which most godparents belong in the “unknown” set, it would be extremely difficult to conduct any kind of socio-professional analysis that might yield conclusive data (Appendix 3).

It would be interesting to test the existence of supportive behaviour within production sectors or guilds, whereby members would ask colleagues or guild members to carry their children to the font. Based on the data collected,

however, it is only possible to deduce that the most usual situation was for the children of Granadines to have totally unrelated individuals from either a social or a professional point of view as godparents. In other words, the majority of people who practised this type of godparenthood formed a collective that had no defining features beyond residence in a particular parish (Vincent 1987, 80). As would be expected, patterns vary from place to place, but this variation is only significant in as much as it reflects the different socio-economic structures existing at the time in the towns studied rather than any common features among the individuals who became godfathers.

Two collectives, however, deserve special attention on account of their special significance and the fact that they tend to be identified fairly accurately. These are the local elites and oligarchies on one hand, and the clergy and other individuals connected with the Church on the other (Vincent 1987, 78-79; Bravo 1997, 42). The most notable godparents in this group were clerks and mayors. Instances of the latter are Diego de Cárcamo, in Ciudad Real, who was godfather to Beatriz, daughter of Miguel Álvarez (APsPCR. Baut., b. 1, f. 169v, 23.01.1596) or Diego de Gámez, who repeatedly took part in Morisco christenings between 1579 and 1588. Among the clerks, it is worth mentioning Sebastián Ruiz, godfather on several occasions between 1592 and 1596 (APsPCR. Baut., b. 1, f. 124v, 01.11.1592; f. 149v, 19.09.1594; f. 179r, 06.10.1596; f. 191r, 24.11.1596 among others). Other individuals with links to government and territorial administration often acted as godfathers, such as Baltasar Ruiz, commander of Almagro (APsBA. Baut., b. 3, f. 153r, 11.08.1586) or renters and members of the local oligarchy such as the Gelder or Juren families. These families were of German origin and they are known to have arrived in Almagro with the assistance of the Fúcar family. Members of either family or of both – such as Maximiliano Gelder y Juren – often appear as godparents of Granadine infants.

The fact that they are mentioned in the registers suggests that there was no reluctance on their part when it came to being godparents to certain Moriscos, but that it was not a common occurrence. In consequence, rather than considering it as a collective trait, it would be more appropriate to speak of individuals who, for whatever reason, agreed to fulfil that role. As shown above, one can detect the presence of certain characters that appear to have engaged with certain Granadine families. Some of these characters were members of the elite, such as the above-mentioned councillor, Alonso de Ureña, and Juan de Juren and his wife, Ana María de Samano, who were godparents to two of Luis de Aguilar and María de Peralta's children — both named Gaspar, which suggests that the elder one must have died in the interval (APsBA. Baut., b. 4, f. 71v, 30.01.1602 and f. 168r, 09.03.1605). Finally, Elena de Sacedo and Rodrigo Merino, councillor of Manzanares, were godparents to

Martín and Pedro, sons of Martín López and Elena de Malagón (APM. Baut., b. 2, f. 244r, 01.01.1584 and f. 83, 24.02.1590).

These are only a few conspicuous, isolated cases which suggest that Moriscos and Old Christians did not avoid contact with each other, yet there are no grounds for generalization or for considering this was the usual state of affairs. They do, however, indicate a complementary – rather than confrontational – attitude between Moriscos and Old Christians. Thus, as far as the former were concerned, the institution of godparenthood helped improve their status as good Christians, for the latter, it may have been a charitable action given the godchildren's origin⁴.

Church people deserve special mention. The issue of clergymen as godfathers is one of the most interesting aspects of research into baptismal practices, but the fact is that few studies have been published as yet (Moreno 2004; Alfani, 2004; Irigoyen 2012; Sánchez 2016). Be that as it may, the data available to date with regard to La Mancha show that the clergy's participation was relatively frequent in Morisco christenings (Appendix 3).

In addition to the few examples from the parish of San Pedro in Ciudad Real mentioned above, similar cases were found in the other towns. For instance, in the parish of San Bartolomé in Almagro there is evidence that six individuals – all of them chaplains – acted as godfathers in eighteen out of the forty-two christenings between 1571 and 1603 involving clergymen as godparents. The situation is similar among sextons. In the parish of Madre de Dios, Francisco Cubillos and Juan de Argamasilla became godparents to thirteen Moriscos between them, which is close to 3.5 per cent of the total Granadine baptisms in the parish. What may sound like circumstantial detail becomes significant when compared to the equivalent figure among Old Christians – two percentage points lower.

It would be a different matter altogether to infer that these individuals would somehow engage in spiritually guiding the christened children. Nor can it be assumed that the clergy afforded them any kind of special protection. In fact, several interpretations can be elicited. The main one – so obvious that it is sometimes ignored – is that the Moriscos did not choose the godparent and that this role was simply picked up by accidental witnesses, such as priests or sextons who were likely to be in the vicinity of the baptismal font at the time of the ceremony.

There are even less data with regard to women, to the extent that the only possible conclusion is that many became godmothers because their husband was the godfather. This is so common that at times their names are omitted from the record or just limited to their first name. In the case of widowers, their wives were replaced by one or more daughters, especially if they were

unmarried. For instance, this was the case of Alonso and Catalina de Ramos, father and daughter, who were godparents to at least two Morisco children (APsBA. Baut., b. 3, fol. 121r. 03.08.1580 and fol. 149r, 14.04.1586). Whether women's contribution was real or their presence was only a complement to the figure of the godfather is a moot point. The role of midwives is also unknown since, despite their presence at the birth, it has not been possible to identify them as potential godmothers of Morisco children.

Going beyond merely quantitative analysis, a few comments should be made about the behaviour of Granadine Moriscos when they acted as godparents. An important question is how many of these godfathers were of Muslim origin. If, as mentioned above, it is not easy to identify Moriscos among the parents in the register, it is practically impossible in the case of godparents, given that New Christian status was hardly ever recorded. Nevertheless, by trawling through documentation and cross referencing with other sources – even the actual baptism records – it is possible to confirm that it was not unusual for Moriscos to be godparents, but not common either (Table 3). To some extent this circumstance indicates a leap forward from the situation before the Alpujarras conflict. By the time the Council of Trent's provisions were applied, the initial prohibitions had already begun to be relaxed even in Granada (Vincent 1987, 76).

This situation is documented in some remarkable cases, such as Alonso Gómez and Cecilia, Granadines listed in the parish of San Pedro in Ciudad Real, who were asked by the priest to be godparents to the foundling Francisco (APsPD. Baut., b. 5, f. 112r, 21.04.1600). Needless to say, cases of Moriscos as godparents to Old Christians are not only scarce but practically anecdotal (Vincent 1987, 81). Cases of Moriscos as godparents to Moriscos are more common but far from frequent, although this could be due to regrettable vagueness in the sources.

An interesting configuration found in the parish of Santa María del Prado consists of an Old Christian godfather and a Morisco godmother. This combination has been found on eighteen occasions (over 10% of the total) in the period 1594 to 1608, but not before or after those dates. This is by no means a common practice, but its sole appearance indicates that such cases may have occurred in other parishes as well and that, in any event, there was room for the type of shared spaces Professor Vincent wrote about in his text on the parish church of San Nicolás in Granada.

A more compelling case is that of the former Mudejars of Almagro. To be regarded with caution, as the identification issues mentioned above recommend, it gives a glimpse of names that could be associated with the group. At any rate, the godfathers' wives were as usual included as godmothers but, significantly, in many cases the individuals identified as Mudejars had an

extra godmother, in contrast to the general trend in the parish as a whole. Although it is probably too early to draw conclusions, and further research is required, the possibility of this custom being a reflection of the strongly endogamic practices that were common in this collective should not be ruled out.

3. A few final thoughts

To date, the study of godparenthood practices in Catholic Europe after the Council of Trent has been carried out using global assumptions and analysing apparently uniform human groups. Factors such as religious dissidence or social alienation have not been taken into account because of difficulties in finding documentary evidence. The aim of this paper has been to contribute to this particular aspect of the discussion and to try to gain a little more knowledge of the behaviour of Granadine Moriscos in terms of that institution. The moment studied is crucial. The Granadines' exile coincided with the implementation of the Council of Trent's regulations and adds an extra layer to the policies developed by the Hispanic Monarchy in its efforts to achieve the religious assimilation of the Moriscos.

Trent brought with it the development of a new model of socio-religious relations that were to be projected onto the future. Research on other parts of Europe, particularly Italy thanks to Guido Alfani, have shown that the provisions issued in Trent aimed to cancel out local uses and customs and to impose a unified godparenthood rule for the whole of Catholic Christianity, with two variants: a single godfather or a godfather and a godmother.

Despite this ruling, everything points to the conclusion that the period covered in this study was too early for a single model to have taken root among the population. At any rate, it may not be possible to discover whether such a model was in use because the response varied depending on the geographical and sociological circumstances of the people involved, let alone in the case presented here, where Morisco conversion adds a further variable into the mix. In this regard, and although some of my final conclusions still need to be refined, it can be said that the Granadines exiled in the Campo de Calatrava district practised a less diverse model of godparenthood than their Old Christian neighbours. This situation may have been due to three factors: 1) the reticence of Old Christians to act as godparents to Moriscos; 2) the inability of the large majority of Moriscos to weave networks of solidly rooted social relations like those that are known to have existed by that time among Old Christians; and 3) the parish priest's election/imposition of godparents for Moriscos.

It is clear that it was not easy to comply with the dictates of the Council of Trent swiftly and immediately. This was partly due to local traditions, but there is no denying that by the late sixteenth century the institution of godparenthood was losing its religious meaning in Castile, and not only among Moriscos⁵. Professor Vincent was the first to observe this in his pioneering work on the subject focusing on mid-sixteenth-century Granada. Everything suggests that similar conditions applied to the Granadines who settled in Castile. Yet certain issues in the background of the institution of godparenthood are vital to gaining an understanding of the integration dynamics of the Morisco minority. Key issues such as social alliances, dependency relations, economic growth and, indeed, religiosity, flow surreptitiously together and demand a deeper analysis.

This paper is only a small sample, a few steps forward in the field. More research is required in other communities so as to confirm or qualify what we know so far.

4. Appendices

Appendix 1. *Godfathers and godmothers in Ciudad Real and Almagro. Morisco/Old Christian comparison*

G O D F A T H E R S								
Town and parish	San Pedro Apóstol (Ciudad Real)				Madre de Dios (Almagro)			
	Moriscos		Old Christians		Moriscos		Old Christians	
No. godfathers	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
0	4	0.7	17	0.95	1	0.3	4	0.1
1	500	92.1	1511	84.84	296	79.4	2257	77.9
2	39	7.2	250	14.04	73	19.6	537	18.5
3			3	0.17	2	0.5	45	1.6
More than 3							1	0.0
N/d					1	0.3	55	1.9
Total baptisms	543	100	1781		373	100	2899	100
Average	1.06		1.13		1.2		1.2	
Corr. Coef. R	0.99				0.99			

G O D M O T H E R S								
Town and parish	San Pedro Apóstol (Ciudad Real)				Madre de Dios (Almagro)			
	Moriscos		Old Christians		Moriscos		Old Christians	
No. godmothers	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
0	511	94.1	1587	89.2	3	0.8	30	1.0
1	21	3.9	138	7.7	225	60.3	1812	62.5
2	11	2.0	54	3.0	134	35.9	933	32.2
3			2	0.1	9	2.4	68	2.3
More than 3							1	0.0
N/d					2	0.5	55	1.9
Total baptisms	543	100	1781	100	373	100	2899	100
Average	0.06		0.14		1.39		1.34	
Corr. Coef. R	0.99				0.99			

Appendix 2. *Number and frequency of godparents in Ciudad Real and Almagro, 1570-1610. Morisco-Old Christian comparison*

Frequency	Ciudad Real San Pedro				Almagro Madre de Dios			
	Old Christians		Moriscos		Old Christians		Moriscos	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
N/d					1	0.1	1	0.4
1	540	66.7	215	73.6	811	63.9	185	75.5
2	116	14.3	38	13.0	185	14.6	36	14.7
3	48	5.9	12	4.1	94	7.4	10	4.1
4	35	4.3	13	4.5	47	3.7	2	0.8
5 to 9	52	6.4	11	3.8	100	7.9	9	3.7
10 and over	18	2.2	3	1.0	31	2.4	2	0.8
No. baptisms	1781		543		1605		373	
No. godparents	809		212		1269		245	
No. Morisco godparents	1		13				20	

Appendix 3. *Models of godparenthood among Moriscos and among Old Christians. Parish of Madre de Dios, Almagro. Chronological evolution*

Godparent model	1571-1590				1591-1610			
	Moriscos		Old Christians		Moriscos		Old Christians	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
0-0			3	0.2				
1-0	1	0.4	5	0.3	1	0.9	15	1.2
1-1	160	62.0	941	55.8	51	44.3	762	62.8
1-2	46	17.8	282	16.7	34	29.6	236	19.5
1-3	2	0.8	14	0.8			1	0.1
2-0			5	0.3	1	0.9		
2-1	13	5.0	65	3.9	1	0.9	38	3.1
2-2	25	9.7	228	13.5	26	22.6	147	12.1
2-3	6	2.3	44	2.6	1	0.9	7	0.6
Other	3	1.2	47	2.8			1	0.1
N/d	2	0.8	52	3.1			6	0.5
Total	258	100	1686	100	115	100	1213	100

Appendix 4. *Socio-professional pattern among godparents of Moriscos. Almagro, Ciudad Real, Daimiel and Manzanares. 1570-1610*

	Unspecified	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector	Clergy	Sextons	Total
	no.						
Ciudad Real							
Sta. M ^a del Prado	343		40	17	47	2	449
San Pedro Apóstol	389	2	30	29	81	12	543
Almagro							
San Bartolomé	168		4	5	42	4	223
Madre de Dios	316	1	12	8	23	13	373
Daimiel							
Sta. M ^a la Mayor	11		1				12
San Pedro Apóstol	30		2		5	3	40
Manzanares							
Nuestra Señora	105		1	7	53		166
	%						
Ciudad Real							
Sta. M ^a del Prado	76.4		8.9	3.8	10.5	0.4	100
San Pedro Apóstol	71.6	0.4	5.5	5.3	14.9	2.2	100
Almagro							
San Bartolomé	75.3		1.8	2.2	18.8	1.8	100
Madre de Dios	84.7	0.3	3.2	2.1	6.2	3.5	100
Daimiel							
Sta. M ^a la Mayor	91.7		8.3				100
San Pedro Apóstol	75		5		12.5	7.5	100
Manzanares							
Nuestra Señora	63.3		0.6	4.2	31.9		100

* This work is part of the research project *La Monarquía Hispánica y las minorías: agentes, estrategias y espacios de negociación* [The Hispanic Monarchy and minorities: agents, strategies and negotiation spaces] (HAR2015-7047-R), funded by MINECO/FEDER. The author would like to thank professors J. López-Salazar Pérez, M.M. Martín Galán, F. Fernández Izquierdo and F. García González for their advice and suggestions.

¹ The archival situation in the rest of the district's parishes varies widely. Extant registers, with first-entry dates shown in brackets, are as follows: documentation has been preserved in Bolaños de Calatrava (1567) but the town did not receive Moriscos. There are no records for this period in the following parishes: Almodóvar (1611); Calzada de Calatrava (1643); Carrión de Calatrava (1846); Fernánaballero (1779); Granátula de Calatrava (1776); Moral de Calatrava (1904); Picón (1721); Pozuelo de Calatrava (1696); Sta. Cruz de Mudela (1702); Valdepeñas (1939); Valenzuela (1851) and Santiago in Ciudad Real (1892). Finally, out of those towns that received Granadine Moriscos, the following have been excluded because their data fail to produce informative results: Miguelturra (1522) and Almadén (1568) have gaps in the record; Aldea del Rey (1557), Ballesteros de Calatrava (1580), Torralba de Calatrava (1549) and Viso del Marqués (1545) only received 8, 2, 14 and 55 Moriscos respectively. Villarrubia de los Ojos was excluded because it has already been studied by Dadson (2007). For dates and data on register availability, see Martí, ed. 2011, 240-42 and <http://FamilySearch.org> (Spain, parish and diocesan registers, 1307-1985; Catholic parishes: Ciudad Real) [Consulted between May and October 2017]. Where not otherwise noted, references to documentation refer to copies provided by the latter portal.

² The successive parish priests of San Pedro in Ciudad Real strongly emphasized the need to record the role of the godparents – i.e. for baptism, exorcism or catechism purposes. Nothing is said about the matter in the records of visits documented from the late 1500s and the early 1600s, but apparently this distinction was not compulsory, which could explain why priests in other churches paid no attention whatsoever to it. This state of affairs continued unchanged until 1608, when the envoy warned that the custom went against the Archbishopric's synodal rulings: «At Ciudad Real, on the fourth day of October of the year sixteen-hundred, Francisco Bernal, vicar and general envoy for Ciudad Real and Calatrava, examined this book of people who are baptized in the parish of San Pedro and approved it and commanded that from now on, following the synod's dictates, it should not record who held them at the font or at exorcism nor who were the godparents, on penalty of full excommunication and a fine of one thousand *maravedís* for building works...».

³ The data for the parish of San Pedro in Ciudad Real have not been included because its records start in 1583.

⁴ Albeit not specifically about Moriscos, it is worth mentioning the case of the 'very dark' twenty-five year old Moroccan Juan Bautista, son of a Hamete Sapia (commander of Genia [sic] castle in Morocco) and his wife Fatima, and possibly a slave. He was christened on July 3rd, 1608 and his godparents were Sebastián de Arriaga, mayor, and Eufemia Carrillo, widow of a former mayor. Also present at his baptism were Cristóbal Bermúdez, Jerónimo Fonseca and Cristóbal de Prado, members of the city élite, 'and many other townspeople', possibly out of curiosity (APsPCR. Baut., b. 2, ff. 139v-140r).

⁵ So long as the concept of godparenthood and its spiritual import beyond the ritual ceremony of admitting a newborn to the Church are acknowledged. This is a complex issue, overlaid with a great deal of circumstantial variation and where it is very likely that social representation and routine compliance with an obligation imposed by the church were more important than the purely religious aspect (Fonseca, 2008, 31-40).

Sources

- APsPCR Parish archive, San Pedro. Ciudad Real. Baptisms. Books 1 (1583-1598) and 2 (1598-1612).
- APsMCR Parish archive, Santa María del Prado. Ciudad Real. Baptisms. Books 5 (1566-1578), 7 (1578-1589), 8 (1589-1600) and 9 (1601-1627).
- APsBA Parish archive, San Bartolomé. Almagro. Baptisms. Books 1 (1521-1634), 2 (1565-1595), 3 (1571-1594) and 4 (1599-1620).
- APMDA Parish archive, Madre de Dios. Almagro. Baptisms. Books 1 (1552-1595) and 2 (1595-1610).
- APsPD Parish archive, San Pedro Apóstol. Daimiel. Baptisms. Books 1 (1563-1595) and 2 (1525-1626).
- APsMD Parish archive, Santa María la Mayor. Daimiel. Baptisms. Books 1 (1535-1542), 2 (1543-1602), 3 (1560-1570) and 4 (1602-1611).
- APM Parish archive, Nuestra Señora de la Asunción. Manzanares. Baptisms. Books 1 (1571-1586), 2 (1575; 1586-1594), 3 (1592-1600) and 4 (1600-1643).

Bibliography

- G. Alfani 2004, *La famille spirituelle des prêtres en Italie septentrionale avant et après le Concile de Trente: caractéristiques et transformations d'un instrument d'intégration sociale*, «Annales de démographie historique», 107, 137-161.
- G. Alfani 2006, *Padri, padrini, patroni. La parentera spirituale nella storia*, Marsilio Editori, Venecia.
- G. Alfani 2008, *La Iglesia y el padrinazgo: ¿una institución social rebelde?*, «Revista de Demografía Histórica», 26, 1, 87-124.
- G. Alfani 2009a, *Fathers and Godfathers: Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy*. Routledge. Farnham (SRY, UK)-Burlington (VT, USA).
- G. Alfani 2009b, *Godparenthood and the Council of Trent: Crisis and transformation of a social institution (Italy, XV-XVIIth centuries)*, «Obradoiro de Historia Moderna», 184, 5-69.
- G. Alfani, P. Castagnetti, V. Gourdon (dirs.) 2009, *Baptiser. Pratique sacramentelle, pratique sociale (XVIe-XXe siècles)*, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, Saint-Étienne.
- G. Alfani, V. Gourdon 2016. *Las familias y la elección de padrinos y madrinas de bautizo en la Europa católica en la Edad Moderna. Balance y perspectivas de investigación*, «Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante», 34, 23-42.
- G. Alfani, V. Gourdon (eds.) 2012, *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500-1900*, Palgrave MacMillan, Londres.
- G. Alfani, V. Gourdon, I. Robin (dirs.) 2015 *Le parrainage en Europe et en Amérique. Pratiques de longue durée (XVIe-XXIe siècle)*, Peter Lang, Bruselas.
- M.ª C. Ansón Calvo 2003, *Demografía diferencial de la minoría morisca, una aportación a su estudio*, «Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios mudéjares y moriscos», 18, 39-72.
- J.J. Bravo Caro 1997, *La familia morisca a través de los registros parroquiales*, en *Actes du VIIIe*

- Symposium International d'Etudes Morisques sur Famille morisque: femmes et enfants*, Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, Zaghouan, 33-48.
- J.J. Bravo Caro 1997 2003, *Un impuesto de desterrados. El servicio de los naturales del Reino de Granada*, en *Estudios modernistas sobre el Reino de Granada. Homenaje al Dr. Joaquín Gil Sanjuán*, Universidad de Málaga, Málaga, 45-81.
- W. Childers 2012, *Propuestas preliminares para la reconstrucción genealógica del a comunidad morisca de Baeza*, «Historia y Genealogía», 2, 37-51.
- M.ªJ. Collado 2013, *Acercamiento a la población de Churriana de la Vega (Granada) a través de su primer libro sacramental*, «Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam», 62, 3-22.
- T. J. Dadson 2007, *Los moriscos de Villarubia de los Ojos (siglos XV-XVIII). Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada*, Iberoamericana-Vervuert, Madrid-Frankfurt am Main.
- M. Deardorff 2017, *The Ties That Bind: Intermarriage between Moriscos and Old Christians in Early Modern Spain, 1526-1614*, «Journal of Family History», 42, 3, 250-70.
- M.F. Fernández Chaves, R.M. Pérez García 2009, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, Universitat de València-Editorial Universidad de Granada-Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, Valencia.
- J. Fernández Nieva 1973, *Un censo de moriscos extremeños de la Inquisición de Llerena (año 1594)*, «Revista de Estudios Extremeños», 29, 1, 149-176.
- J. Fonseca Montes 2008, *La práctica sacramental en tiempos de la confesionalización: Cantabria, siglos XVII y XVIII*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie IV, Historia Moderna», 21, 27-62.
- M.ªJ. García Gómez 2002, *Contribución de la Iglesia a un proyecto político de Felipe II: la integración de los moriscos granadinos deportados a Castilla (1570-1610)*, en *Iglesia y religiosidad en España: historia y archivos. Actas de las V Jornadas de Castilla-La Mancha sobre investigación en archivos. Guadalajara, 8-11 de mayo de 2001*, ANABAD Castilla La-Mancha/Asociación de Amigos del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Guadalajara, Guadalajara, 1421-1453.
- F. García González 2016, *Familia, desigualdad y reproducción social en la España rural, siglos XVI-XIX. Un balance historiográfico (2000-2014)*, en F. García González, G. Béaur, F. Boudjaba (eds.), *La historia rural en España y Francia (siglos XVI-XIX)*, Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, Zaragoza, 271-318.
- A. García López 2009, *Señores, seda y marginados. La comunidad morisca en Pastrana*, Ediciones Bornova, Guadalajara.
- C.J. Garrido García 2000, *La parroquia de Santa María Magdalena de Guadix en época morisca a través de las series de bautismo y confirmación (1559-1570)*, «Boletín del Instituto de Estudios 'Pedro Suárez'», 13, 23-50.
- C.J. Garrido García 2009, *Moriscos y repobladores del reino de Granada en el siglo XVI a través de una nueva fuente: las series parroquiales de bautismo*, «Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam», 58, 119-153.
- L. Gómez Amezcuca 2011, *La pastoral del Bautismo en el Sínodo diocesano de 1554*, «Boletín del Centro de Estudios 'Pedro Suárez'», 24, 61-72.

- A. Irigoyen 2012, *Ecclesiastical Godparenthood in Early Modern Murcia*, en G. Alfani, V. Gourdon (ed.), *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500-1900*, Palgrave MacMillan, Londres, 74-95.
- J. López-Salazar Pérez 1993, *Manzanares en los siglos XVI y XVII*, en *Semana de Historia «ciudad de Manzanares». Del 15 al 20 de octubre de 1900*, Ayuntamiento de Manzanares, Manzanares (CR), 25-42.
- J.M. Magán García, R. Sánchez González 1993, *Moriscos granadinos en La Sagra de Toledo, 1570-1610*, Caja de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo.
- J.M. Magán García, R. Sánchez González 1997, Los nuevos convertidos del reino de Granada en las sinodales de las diócesis castellanas, en A. Mestre Sanchís, E. Giménez López (eds.), *Disidencias y exilios en la España Moderna. Actas de la IV Reunión Científica de la Asociación Española de Historia Moderna*, Universidad de Alicante/Asociación Española de Historia Moderna, Alicante, 393-409.
- J. Maíso 1976, *La cuestión morisca en Bulbunte: 1576-1700*, «Estudios del Departamento de Historia Moderna», 247-276.
- J. Maíso, R. Blasco 1980, *Frescano 1583-1655. Una población morisca a través de los registros parroquiales*, «Estudios del Departamento de Historia Moderna», 55-88.
- M.M. Martín Galán 1981, *Fuentes y métodos para el estudio de la demografía histórica castellana durante la Edad Moderna*, «Hispania», XLI, 148, 231-325.
- F.J. Moreno Díaz del Campo 2004, *Convivencia, control y fe. La práctica sacramental de los moriscos de Alcaraz*, «Al-Basit. Revista de Estudios Albacetenses», 48, 53-92.
- F.J. Moreno Díaz del Campo 2009, *Los moriscos de La Mancha. Sociedad, economía y modos de vida de una minoría en la Castilla moderna*. CSIC, Madrid.
- F.J. Moreno Díaz del Campo 2017, *La Corona, los moriscos granadinos y el servicio de 1603. Pacto fiscal y negociación política*, «Al-Qantara», 38, 1, 7-43.
- S. Otero Mondéjar 2012, *La reconstrucción de una comunidad. Los moriscos en los reinos de Córdoba y Jaén (ss. XVI y XVII)*, Universidad de Córdoba, Córdoba.
- J.M. Pérez García 2003, De la plenitud a la debacle: la demografía histórica modernista en España (1960-2001), en R. J. López, D. L. González (eds.), *Balance de la historiografía modernista, 1973-2001. Actas del VI Coloquio de Metodología Histórica Aplicada*, Xunta de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela, 179-191.
- R.M. Pérez García, M.F. Fernández Chaves 2012, *La política civil y religiosa sobre el matrimonio y la endogamia de los moriscos en la España del siglo XVI*, «Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica», 2, 61-103.
- D.S. Reher 2000, *La investigación en demografía histórica: pasado, presente y futuro*, «Revista de Demografía Histórica», 18, 15-78.
- J.R. Romero Fernández-Pacheco 2008. *Manzanares. 800 años de historia*, Editorial Mediterráneo-Meral Ediciones, Madrid.
- J. Salas Ausens 1988, *La demografía histórica en Aragón, a estudio*, «Revista Zurita», 57, 7-24.
- H.F. Sánchez Diego 2016, *Padrinazgo eclesástico y reproducción social en la Cantabria Moderna: siglos XVII-XVIII*, en M. García Fernández (ed.), *Familia, cultura material y formas de poder en la España moderna. III Encuentro de Jóvenes Investigadores en Historia Moderna. Valladolid, 2-3 de julio de 2015*, Fundación Española de Historia Moderna, Madrid, 307-318.

- S. de Tapia Sánchez 1991, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca.
- L. Vázquez Fernández 1988, *Privilegio de no expulsión de los moriscos antiguos de las Cinco Villas del Campo de Calatrava (Ciudad Real)*, en *Conflictos sociales y evolución económica en la Edad Moderna (I). Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha*, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, 289-299.
- B. Vincent 1987, *El padrinazgo y los moriscos*, en *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI*, en B. Vincent, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Granada, Granada, 73-82.
- B. Vincent 2005, *Baptêmes, noms et parrainage à Mojacar (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, en A. Molinié, M.-C. Zimmermann, M. Ralle (eds.), *Hommage à Carlos Serrano*, París, Editions Hispaniques-Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), 2005, vol. I, 61-68.
- B. Vincent 2008, *Los moriscos granadinos y la Monarquía (1570-1610)*, en J.I. Fortea, J.I. Gelabert (eds.), *Ciudades en conflicto (siglos XVI-XVII)*, Marcial Pons/Junta de Castilla y León, Madrid, 163-179.

Summary

Godparenthood, evangelization and alliance building. The Granada Moriscos after the Council of Trent

In its attempt to provide the Catholic Church with institutions that were common to all the countries in its orbit, the Council of Trent regulated the sacramental practices. These included baptism and the role of spiritual godparents.

This paper analyzes the functioning of this institution in Castile at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th. Simultaneously it tries to find out if the Morisco minority showed a different behaviour than the old Christians one. In order to do this, the study is based on the sacramental books of seven parishes of Campo de Calatrava. That region is one of the most important areas in which Granadine moriscos were settled after the Revolt of the Alpujarras. Its parish archives provide us with important and rich information about the former Muslims' religious and social behaviour.

Riassunto

Padrinato, evangelizzazione e alleanze. I moriscos di Granada dopo il Concilio di Trento

Nel tentativo di dare alla Chiesa Cattolica un'omogeneità istituzionale comune a tutti i suoi paesi, il Concilio di Trento regolamentò le pratiche sacramentali, tra le quali erano inclusi il battesimo e il ruolo del padrino spirituale.

L'articolo analizza il funzionamento di questa istituzione in Castilla alla fine del XVI secolo e inizio del XVII secolo e cerca di capire se la minoranza moresca rivelò un comportamento diverso a quello dei *cristianos viejos*. Per questo motivo, alla base dello studio ci sono i libri sacramentali di sette parrocchie della zona di Campo di Calatrava, area dove si stabilì un importante numero di moreschi di Granada dopo la guerra di Las Alpujarras.

Keywords

Moriscos; Baptism; Godparenthood; Council of Trent; 16th-17th centuries.

Parole chiave

Moriscos; Battesimo; Padrinato; Concilio di Trento; XVI-XVII secolo.

