

Protestants

News of Lutheranism reached Spain quickly, first with reports of Luther's censorship by the University of Louvain in 1519 and then with information about his papal condemnation via bulls issued by Leo X in 1520.¹ The German reformer was a protagonist in conversations among Spain's intellectual, religious, and political elites. The first direct contacts that Spaniards had with Protestantism occurred at the Diet of Worms, when Luther appeared before Charles V in 1521. In those initial moments of information and contact, he aroused sympathy for his criticism of the corruption of the Church and the abuses of the papacy. As a contemporary said: "At first, when Luther only touched on the need for the reform of the Church and the corruption of morals [*corruptionem morum*], everyone approved of him."² That positive opinion quickly shifted. In 1521, in the middle of a popular rebellion against King Charles V of Spain, the inquisitor-general and the Admiral of Castile urged Charles to punish Luther severely, fearing contagion. Two years later, in 1523, the Spanish ambassador in Rome told the pope that the bishop of Zamora, one of the rebellion's leaders, had been "another Luther."³ The echoes from Germany resounded in Castile.

The eruption of Lutheranism coincided with a time of crisis in the trajectory of the Spanish Inquisition. The period 1516–20 was decisive. Trials against judaizing conversos seemed to have been exhausted after decades of terrible persecution since the first public sentencing in Seville in 1480. The tremendous abuses of Inquisitor Lucero in Córdoba (1504–8) intensified criticism of the Holy Office. The Flemish entourage of the new monarch, Charles V, proposed

a possible reform that was quickly stopped by Inquisitor-General Cardinal Francisco de Cisneros. But the voices against the Holy Office were heard in the meetings of the Cortes, both in Castile and Aragon. In this context, it could be said that the outbreak of Lutheranism reactivated the Inquisition and helped to justify its existence.

The first notices about Luther in Spain coincided with the rise of followers of Desiderius Erasmus there, along with a remarkable number of internal spiritual currents that had synthesized diverse influences – Savonarola, the *Devotio moderna*, Franciscan spirituality – and clamored for a reform of the Church and its members, customs and morals, and even the experience of Christian faith itself. Likewise, the discovery of America inspired and stimulated new mystical and prophetic hopes.

Erasmus's works were warmly welcomed in Spain with the support of Charles V and some of the most influential people of the court and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, such as the imperial chancellor, Mercurino Gattinara, and Inquisitor-General Alonso Manrique. The numerous translations and editions of Erasmus's writings demonstrate his success, which included a popular audience. Erasmus proposed a return to the scriptures and a Christian life of more devotional, less ritualized piety. Meditation on the Passion of Christ, mental prayer, and the practice of the virtues were the elements of an authentic Christian discipline that should be within reach of all Christians, not just members of the clergy. His subtle irony and critiques of Rome's abuses and the corruption of the clergy also provoked great approval.

Some historians have suggested that the success of Erasmus in Spain in the 1520s kept the Spanish from taking an interest in Lutheranism in those years.⁴ Nevertheless, there undoubtedly was Spanish curiosity about the writings of Luther and his followers. In Castile, at the University of Alcalá, groups of clergymen and students were in favor of the Christian humanism of Erasmus, yet read the works of Protestant reformers at the same time. In 1529, Juan de Valdés, brother of Alfonso de Valdés, Charles V's secretary, published in Alcalá a manual of doctrine inspired by Erasmus with borrowings from Luther, Oecolampadius, and Melancthon.⁵ He fled Spain and settled in Naples, where he died in 1541; he never broke with the Roman Church. He was undoubtedly an Erasmian and while some historians

have emphasized Juan de Valdés's Protestant leanings others have tied him more closely to *alumbradismo*, but all agree on his originality and influence.⁶

Alumbradismo was derived from Franciscan spirituality and insisted that Christians must abandon themselves to the love of God (*dexamiento*). From 1510, according to inquisitorial sources, a growing number of people in Castile became interested in putting into practice a more authentic interior religiosity, following the masters of late medieval mysticism. Some of the elements of *alumbradismo* were close to Lutheranism, such as the pivotal role of God's grace in salvation, along with the denial of ecclesiastical celibacy and the sacramental character of marriage. But *alumbradismo* was above all an eclectic current that embraced diverse sensibilities.⁷ Codified as a heresy in an inquisition edict of faith of 1525, *alumbradismo* alarmed Spanish inquisitors when they realized the subversive power of some of its propositions and its social influence outside learned circles. The first trials of *alumbrados* took place between 1524 and 1529: They paralleled a growing campaign against Erasmianism, as well as a moment when Luther's ideas were becoming better known and Lutheran books were found crossing Spanish borders.⁸

Where Protestantism was concerned, the first worry in the 1520s was to prevent the entry of the texts of Luther and his followers. In 1521, some informers warned that there were plans in Flanders to translate some of his works into Spanish, a project that appeared to be financed by the converso community.⁹ The same year, Luther's works were banned in Spain and inquisitorial inspectors began to find them as soon as they started to look. In 1525, a conference of theologians decided that the first *alumbrados* on trial could be tied to Lutheran ideas, and that conclusion was included in an edict of faith the same year. Printed books about doctrinal controversies were also banned, because of the danger they could pose by publicizing Lutheran theses.

In these years the Inquisition started to burn books that were intended for distribution across frontiers, whether terrestrial or maritime. In 1525, texts of some Protestant reformers were found at the University of Alcalá, where some academic circles endorsed Erasmus's ideas. In 1531, in Salamanca, a peddler sold, among other things, Luther's books in Spanish, in small formats that were easy to handle

and hide.¹⁰ There undoubtedly was interest in Spain in reading Luther and his followers because, in the end, they were offering new interpretations of topics that were hotly debated at the time among intellectuals and theologians, with which Spanish elites were also certainly concerned: Such subjects included justification by faith, the value of works for eternal salvation, the real presence of Jesus in the Eucharist, the scope of papal authority, and so on.

It seems that the first Spaniard condemned to the stake for Lutheranism was a painter from Mallorca, named Gonsalvo, in 1523, who never admitted to being Lutheran. The Spanish Inquisition in this period did not confront any organized Protestant group, nor did the accused seem to have a deep knowledge of Protestant doctrines or even a strong adherence to them. Condemnations to the stake were rare; far more common were penances, which mostly featured spiritual or economic penalties, or exile.¹¹

These first prosecutions took place at a critical moment between 1523 and 1533, when there was a struggle for control of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition – called the Suprema – between two political factions with very different religious positions. In very general terms, one side defended a rigid Catholicism, with little tolerance for conversos and the new spiritual currents but more attentive to the external conventions of Catholicism. The other side was more flexible, open to patient strategies of evangelization and acculturation of conversos, with a more internalized religiosity and an inquisition that was more pastoral and “gentle.” One of the most important leaders of the second faction was Inquisitor-General Alonso Manrique, archbishop of Seville, who sympathized with Spanish Erasmians, many of whom shared his priorities, albeit not all.¹²

Significantly, even a Spanish inquisitor-general could not necessarily dictate tolerance toward a favorite author. In 1527, anti-Erasmian theologians forced Manrique to convene a congregation to evaluate Erasmus’s works, which had been labeled heretical.¹³ The congregation was suspended without reaching a definitive conclusion. Erasmus won a short-lived victory. Two years later, the Erasmian circles of the imperial court left for Italy with Charles V and Erasmus’s main supporters dispersed. This power vacuum was exploited by the anti-Erasmian party, which from this moment on controlled the government

of the Holy Office.¹⁴ From Bruges in 1534, Renaissance humanist Juan Luis Vives complained of "these difficult times in which one cannot speak or remain silent without danger."¹⁵ In 1536, Erasmus's *Colloquies* were banned in Spain. His works appeared in indices of prohibited books published in Spain in 1551, 1559, 1583, and 1612, although not all his works were banned, as occurred in the indices of the Roman Inquisition.

From the 1530s onward, questions about Lutheranism became more prominent in inquisitorial interrogations, and the accusation of this heresy was made more frequently by inquisition prosecutors, although the charge was not always present in the final sentences. This gap between accusation and sentence seems to indicate that the inquisitors had sufficient means to check whether the prosecutor had really proved a charge of Lutheranism or not. For example, María de Cazalla, who was of converso origin, was accused by Toledo's inquisitors in 1532 of endorsing or repeating several Lutheran propositions: In her 1534 verdict, they stated that they had not been able to prove those specific charges sufficiently.¹⁶ In this complex framework, it must be kept in mind that Spanish inquisitors considered Erasmianism, *alumbradismo*, and Protestantism as intrinsically suspicious because of the presence of conversos in all three movements. The Spanish Inquisition was originally founded in 1478 to investigate and prosecute conversos who allegedly continued to practice Judaism. Its officials made connections between their original targets and Lutheranism when they believed they found conversos promoting and practicing the latter.

In the decade of the 1530s, the news about Protestantism coming from northern Europe and Rome continued to alarm Spanish inquisitors and more conservative theologians and statesmen, but infiltration of actual Protestants into the peninsula was rare. Nevertheless, the inquisitorial machine continued to monitor the scene and take aim at potential Protestant suspects. In 1531, Pope Clement VII granted specific powers to Spain's inquisitor-general and his representatives to persecute Luther and his followers. From that year on, specific edicts against Lutheranism were published. The 1525 prohibition on owning or reading Lutheran books was renewed in 1531, 1532, 1535, and 1536. Letters from the Suprema to the inquisition tribunals multiplied,

especially for ones located on frontiers, asking their inquisitors to watch especially for the entry of forbidden books.¹⁷

In the following decades, the Spanish Inquisition's efforts against Protestantism took place in the context of failures to reunite Catholics and Protestants. In 1541, the Diet of Ratisbon collapsed. In 1542, the Roman Inquisition was recreated and soon fell upon sectors of the Roman Curia most prone to dialogue between Catholics and Protestants. In 1546, the Schmalkaldic War broke out in Germany between the emperor and most of the Lutheran principalities of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1547, Luther died. Calvinism became institutionalized in Geneva and began to spread to other parts of Europe such as France, the Netherlands, and northern Italy. Protestantism began to permeate the circles of Spanish students and merchants in Paris, Montpellier, Louvain, Naples, and Rome, although this process has only been lightly investigated until now.¹⁸ From Rome, Pope Paul III convoked the Catholic Church Council that finally began in Trent in 1545: It was designed not to reconcile Protestants with Catholics but to redefine Catholicism itself. Two years later, the Tridentine decrees on justification by faith, penance, and confession were published; the dogmatic frontier against Protestantism, a source of inquisitorial activity, was being drawn.

In Spain, from the beginning of the 1540s the presence of Protestants became commonplace in the summaries that Spanish inquisitors sent to the Suprema about their cases, especially for frontier tribunals such as Zaragoza, Calahorra-Logroño, Barcelona, and so on. Although the defendants were still mostly foreigners, their sociological profile worried the authorities. Clergymen, grammar teachers, university graduates, some medical doctors – all were educated people who could have a greater social impact due to their professions and their social status. The men of the Holy Office began to become aware of the institution's structural weaknesses when it came to facing a challenge that might have seemed somewhat marginal but was nevertheless persistent. The most outstanding inquisition personality in these years was Fernando de Valdés, appointed inquisitor-general in 1547 by King Philip II. Under his authority, the Inquisition strengthened its bureaucratic and administrative structures.¹⁹ Likewise, procedures and personnel for censorial vigilance were developed, establishing processes such as the

inspection of printing presses and libraries. Then came the first indices of banned books, such as that of 1551, indebted to a 1550 index from Louvain, as well as the general censorship of bibles in 1552, with its prohibition of reading vernacular translations of the scriptures. The year 1559 saw the first official index of banned books created by the Spanish Inquisition. Modern historians disagree about the effectiveness of these censorship efforts.

One area in which we can see the common efforts of Spanish kings and inquisitors to sideline Lutheranism is in the search, identification, return, and prosecution of Spanish Protestants outside the borders of Spain itself. For example, inquisitors could send a relative or friend to try to convince a Protestant sympathizer to return to Spain: In 1532, inquisitors in Zaragoza did exactly that by ordering Juan Servetus to go in search of his brother Miguel (1511–53). The aim was for Juan to persuade Miguel to return to Spain. The “Servetus case” is well known. A humanist of varied interests, as well as a theologian and medical doctor, Miguel eventually scandalized both Catholics and Protestants with his denial of the dogma of the Trinity. Though the Spanish Inquisition failed to catch him, he was burned alive in Calvinist Geneva in 1553.²⁰

Likewise, in 1546, the ecclesiastic Alfonso Díaz unsuccessfully tried to take his brother Juan Díaz back to Spain: After studying in Paris, Juan had converted to Lutheranism and was living in Neuburg an der Donau in Germany. When Juan refused to go, Alfonso hired an assassin, who killed his brother on March 27, 1546. Though arrested and imprisoned, the assassins were never brought to trial. The story of Juan’s murder spread widely in Europe thanks to an account written by another Spaniard, Francisco de Enzinas, who also had converted to Protestantism.²¹

When relatives were missing or reluctant, Spanish inquisitors and kings used their own agents to recapture and punish suspected Protestant heretics. In the last years of his reign, Charles V knitted together an international network of spies and informers that was consolidated in the reign of his son and heir, Philip II. Linked to their country’s diplomatic embassies, the Spanish espionage network had tentacles in the main European capitals, in addition to ports and other strategic places, including Genoa, Rome, Paris, London, Antwerp,

Brussels, Milan, Vienna, Naples, Constantinople, and Venice.²² The Inquisition used this spy network for its own purposes, with remarkable success; when suspects did not voluntarily accept return, inquisitors sought repatriation in order to apply an exemplary punishment. For example, merchant Francisco de Sanromán, who converted to Protestantism in 1540 in Bremen, went shortly afterwards to Emperor Charles V in Regensburg to try to convince him of the need for religious reform in Spain. He was imprisoned and sent to Spain, where he was tried by the Holy Office and condemned for Lutheranism. In 1542, he was burned alive in an *auto de fe* celebrated in Valladolid.

Another extreme case is that of Casiodoro de Reina, a former Hieronymite monk who fled Seville in 1557 when inquisitors there suspected his monastery was full of Protestant heretics.²³ A network of spies managed to get an informer into de la Reina's house in London in 1561, bribed a family to falsely accuse him of sodomy, and monitored his travels as he moved around England, France, and Flanders. He was burned in effigy in an inquisitorial *auto de fe* in 1562, but died of natural causes in Frankfurt in 1594, despite the fact that Philip II had put a price on his head.

In these decades, those tried for Protestantism continued to be mostly foreigners, although there was no shortage of distinguished Spaniards as well.²⁴ Juan Gil, alias Dr. Egidio, stands out for his extensive influence. An influential professor at the University of Alcalá, and later a canon of the cathedral of Seville, Egidio suffered two inquisition trials after being accused of Lutheranism: He was forced to abjure in 1552.²⁵ As a result of his preaching and influence, several groups came together in Seville for the purpose of forming a "tiny church": though their members had different emphases, their founding principle was the doctrine of justification by faith alone.²⁶ During the time Egidio was in the inquisitorial jails, several of his followers fled. Prominent among them was the ecclesiastic Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda, who played a fundamental role in organizing the networks of Spanish Protestants in exile, in cities such as Paris, Geneva, and Frankfurt. Pérez de Pineda continued to have contact with Spanish Protestants who remained in Spain in Seville, Zaragoza, and elsewhere, and played a crucial role in the publication and dissemination of Protestant texts in Spanish.²⁷

At the same time, Protestantism was not perceived as an overwhelming threat by the Spanish Inquisition until the discovery of centers of "luteranos" in Seville and Valladolid in 1557 and 1558. These were relatively organized groups, not isolated individuals; they had a strong record of proselytizing, nourished by the readings of John Calvin, Martin Luther, Bernardino Ochino, Philip Melanchthon, and Juan de Valdés. Their members were capable of great fervor and dynamism, while socially they transversed numerous groups, attracting a more popular sector in Seville and a more aristocratic one in Valladolid. Some had relatives who had been tried for *alumbradismo* twenty years earlier; many belonged to converso families, such as the Cazalla. The participation of women in these Protestant circles was very high in both cities: They acted as leaders in the diffusion of religious dissidence.²⁸

The discovery of these Protestant sects stunned Spanish inquisitors. Adding to the Inquisition's shock was the fact that the various groups held periodic meetings and had read books, letters, biblical commentaries, and other texts by Protestant reformers. In Seville, the movement seemed to have its roots in the preaching of Dr. Egidio, and appeared to have maintained regular contact with Spanish Protestant exiles.

The reaction to these discoveries was one of panic, for several reasons. Members of these Protestant circles were numerous: Between Seville and Valladolid, more than 200 people were prosecuted. In contrast to the predominance of foreigners condemned for Lutheranism up to that time, now the suspects were almost all Spaniards. Most alarming, many belonged to privileged sectors: they were high nobility, servants of the Crown, accountants, counselors, knights of the religious orders, famous preachers who had been close to the emperor, such as Constantino de la Fuente or Agustín de Cazalla, or middle managers of town councils and cities.

Furthermore, until 1557, most of those tried for Protestantism had been found in frontier or border zones, but now they were located close to the heart of the monarchy. Seville and Valladolid were two key cities in Spain's political and economic framework. The former was the gateway to the Indies and a commercial hub of international scope, while the latter was at this time the political center for Spain's royal court. Finally, witness testimony and the defendants' own declarations revealed a highly articulate theological discourse in which the key

elements of Protestantism were present: justification by faith alone, the singular power of divine grace, sacred scripture as the only source of religious authority, the rejection of the visible church, the denial of indulgences and the Catholic penitential system, the disavowal of the adoration of images, the refutation of the mediation of the Virgin and the saints, and the acceptance of only two sacraments whose scriptural provenance was clear, baptism and communion.

The political reaction was immediate. Charles V, retired in the monastery of Yuste, demanded an exemplary and expeditious punishment, without exception. A general alert was proclaimed, in the fullest sense of the term. Philip II immediately ordered increased vigilance at the border with France and wrote more than 200 royal provisions to all the sections of the monarchy, including prelates, heads of religious orders, the nobility, and those in charge of high administrative positions. The king demanded that each and every one of them become actively concerned with Protestant heresy. Addressing the prelates, Philip asked for vigilance in their bishoprics, with greater supervision and control of preachers, the teachers of children, and the moral life of the diocesan clergy. Of the priors general of the religious orders, he demanded that they check their monastic and convent libraries, and that their confessors tell the Inquisition of any suspicion aroused by hearing a confession. The nobles he instructed to watch over their territories and give every assistance to inquisition commissioners.

In July 1559, Philip II warned his bishops in the Americas of the Lutheran danger; the same year, a royal decree forbade students to study in foreign universities, with the exception of Bologna, Coimbra, Naples, and Rome, an order that was repeated in 1568. The objective of the king's strategy was very clear: First, to involve every possible political and religious authority in the fight against Protestantism; second, to demonstrate the monarchy's complete support for the Inquisition and to warn that in case of suspicion, no one could avoid an inquisitorial investigation or trial.

As Philip II was making his position known, another extraordinary element came into play – namely, requests for changes in the Inquisition's legal principles. In September 1558, the Suprema sent an account of the "Lutherans" to Pope Paul IV: It wrote that the Protestant heresy amounted to a sort of sedition or mutiny by aristocratic figures

whom ordinary people would be happy to emulate. The Suprema suggested that nobles sentenced to penances or imprisonment would find a way to evade them; consequently, it asked the pope to grant an apostolic brief that would permit inquisitors to exercise "exemplary justice," regardless of the defendant's "secular, pontifical, or ecclesiastical rank."²⁹

In January 1559, Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés and Philip II followed up on the Suprema's report and asked Pope Paul IV for two new, temporary, apostolic briefs. In reply, the pope authorized Spanish inquisitors to release to the secular arm all condemned dogmatizers even if they showed repentance, if the inquisitors suspected their contrition was not sincere.³⁰ Then, the pope allowed the Spanish Inquisition to sentence anyone to death, irrespective of dignity and status. As a result, defendants accused of Protestantism between 1557 and 1562 very often ended up burned at the stake, despite public atonement and noble birth. Inquisitor-General Valdés's Instructions of 1561 returned inquisitorial jurisprudence to reconciliation for suspects who atoned, a development that underlines how exceptional Pope Paul IV's brief had been.³¹

The repression was fierce. The most important *autos de fe* were held in Seville and Valladolid between 1559 and 1562. The spectacle and drama of the sentencing were carefully designed; the Inquisition sought maximum exemplarity. The reports of the *autos* that have been preserved illustrate the enormous social and religious excitement provoked by the Inquisition's performances. Perhaps the most stunning of these public ceremonies took place in Valladolid before the royal family. On May 21, 1559, with regent Doña Juana of Austria, Prince Don Carlos, and the noble and ecclesiastical elite present, thirty people were sentenced for Protestantism, fourteen of whom were condemned to the stake. Five members of the Cazalla family – three brothers, a sister, plus the bones of their mother – were among the latter. In the *auto de fe* of October 8 of the same year, presided over by Philip II, twenty-six people were sentenced for Protestantism and twelve relaxed to the secular arm, including four nuns. Among those condemned to death in October, royal administrator and Italian Don Carlos de Seso stood out: Having refused to repent, and repeating the truth of his Protestant beliefs on the scaffold, he was burned without being strangled first. In

Valladolid and Seville between 1559 and 1562 dozens of Spaniards convicted of Protestantism died and hundreds convicted or suspected of Protestantism were penanced.³²

The impact of these events was enormous. The descriptions of what had occurred at the *autos de fe* reached all corners of Spain as well as royal European courts. Many accounts emphasized that if Spain had managed to survive the cancer of heresy, it was only due to the righteous actions of the Spanish Inquisition. As a result, the Inquisition increased its credibility and prestige; its position as the guarantor of orthodoxy was even more firmly established.

At the same time, criticism of the Spanish Inquisition and the Spanish monarchy – which already had a substantial history via the complaints of expelled Jews and exiled conversos from the end of the fifteenth century – was galvanized by the accounts of the Protestant deaths, especially in Protestant countries. A fundamental role was played by the book entitled *Artes de la Inquisición Española*, signed by Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montano, probably a pseudonym for Antonio del Corro and Casiodoro de Reina and also, perhaps, Juan Pérez de Pineda.³³ Published in Heidelberg in 1567, this work had enormous publishing success in the following decades, with translations into English, French, Dutch, and German. It recounted fifteen exemplary lives of those condemned to death in Seville. Some of those narratives were collected in the most famous and popular Protestant martyrologies of the following centuries, such as those of the French Calvinist Jean Crespin or the Englishman John Foxe, giving these cases an enormous diffusion.

This was the historical and religious context in which the archbishop of Toledo, the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Carranza, was imprisoned by the Inquisition at the end of August 1559. Carranza was accused of Lutheranism on account of his friendships and sympathies with some of the defendants of Valladolid, some of whom viewed him as a spiritual guide. The inquisitorial prosecution also singled out censures that were made against Carranza's *Commentaries on the Christian Catechism*, published in Antwerp in 1558. Carranza's inquisition trial lasted 17 years, from 1559 to 1576, and ended up turning into a formidable power struggle between Philip II and the papacy as to which authority had legal precedence. The case was finally transferred to Rome in 1567; for

the next nine years, two popes attempted to issue a verdict while Philip II sent advisors and censures to block Carranza's absolution. Pope Gregory XIII ultimately pronounced sentence on April 14, 1576. Carranza had to abjure sixteen different propositions and a vehement suspicion of heresy; he was also suspended from his diocese of Toledo for five years, which had been without a bishop since his arrest.³⁴ He died three weeks later. Though he had managed to successfully recuse Inquisitor-General Valdés for personal enmity in his case's first year, his trial made it clear that no one could be out of danger where the Inquisition was concerned.³⁵

There has been much debate in modern historical scholarship as to whether the Spaniards charged with Protestantism in the late 1550s truly held Protestant beliefs.³⁶ Recent studies have demonstrated that several of the defendants shared a coherent religious doctrine, group identity, and willingness to proselytize covertly. Some preferred to die rather than betray their beliefs. Others were persecuted for scattered ideas, for their personal links with other suspects, or for imprudent comments suspected of heterodoxy.³⁷

When the Seville groups were discovered in 1557, a number of their adherents managed to escape the long arm of the Holy Office, and yet the situations of Spanish religious exiles in Protestant Europe were very diverse. Some were integrated into existing local Reformed churches; others joined churches for refugees or created ones themselves. Some found their beliefs closer to Lutheranism, others to Calvinism; some had more radical positions, as was the case with the Seville silversmith Pedro de Sosa, who was condemned to death in Antwerp as an Anabaptist. Still others oscillated among the different Protestant confessions. Former monks Casiodoro de Reina and Antonio del Corro were first Calvinists but ended their days as Lutheran and Anglican, respectively; they were two figures of enormous intellectual stature who participated in the ideological and religious debates of their time.³⁸ Casiodoro de Reina translated the Bible into Spanish from its original languages and printed it in Basel in 1569. It is known as the *Bear Bible*.

Political and social alarm over Spanish Protestantism remained active in the years after 1562. The detection of crates of forbidden books in the northern ports was frequent throughout this decade. In 1565, the Spanish ambassador in Paris warned of the preparation of

a massive shipment of heretical books to Spain. The pressure on the land frontier was felt with greater intensity in those years. It must not be forgotten that over Christmas 1561, the princess of Béarn, Jeanne d'Albret, proclaimed Calvinism as her territory's religion, and in 1562 the wars of religion began in France, which intensified immigration into Spain by a population that was already viewed with suspicion. In 1563, information reached the Suprema that groups of French clergymen were traveling through Navarre, Murcia, and Aragon and preaching the Protestant faith. They had been commissioned by a preacher of Jeanne d'Albret.

Between 1557 and 1571 small Protestant groups could still be found in Spain, namely in Valencia, Toledo, Aragon, Logroño, Cuenca, and Barcelona. From 1560 onward, three small groups were discovered in Valencia, the most important of which involved the Valencian nobleman Gaspar de Centelles, who died at the stake in 1564. In Teruel, a group of Protestant Spaniards and Frenchmen was discovered, who were reconciled or burned in several *autos de fe* between 1567 and 1571. In Toledo in the mid-1560s, a network of about forty people came to light, French artisans who were also a reception point for French immigrants passing through: Most managed to flee. In Cuenca, a group of six or seven Frenchmen was discovered. In Aragon, two small and interrelated nuclei were discovered, with the standout prisoner being rector Miguel Monterde of Villanueva de la Huerva, who also held a prebend in Zaragoza's cathedral. Monterde had been an old student of Dr. Egidio as well as a correspondent of Pérez de Pineda. He was prosecuted for those contacts by Zaragoza's inquisition tribunal in 1558. Another dozen clergymen and students were also penanced in those years in Zaragoza's *autos de fe*.³⁹

If we analyze the Inquisition's case summaries (*relaciones de causas*) as a whole for this period, we see that in the decade prior to 1559, the average number of individuals sentenced for Protestantism was ten per year; from 1559 until 1575, the average rose to ninety-three per year. Thus, while the discoveries of Protestant cells in 1558–9 marked a serious crisis, the Protestant problem continued for fifteen more years. Moreover, in the *autos de fe* from 1559 to 1562, the majority of those prosecuted for Lutheranism were Spaniards, ranging from 55.2 to 73.5 percent of all those tried for this heresy.⁴⁰ Notably, however,

from 1563 on, the percentage of Spaniards prosecuted for Protestantism progressively decreased while the number of foreigners increased. The repression of foreigners was especially intense in the courts of the Crown of Aragon because of a notorious presence of French immigrants.⁴¹ In this period, Protestant suspects frequently were relaxed to the secular arm, though they also could be sentenced to the galleys or banished.

From the 1570s onward, inquisitors continued to be interested in Protestantism but the number of those prosecuted decreased and they were almost exclusively foreigners. The Inquisition no longer searched for assemblies, only specific individuals. One worth mentioning was the Catalan humanist Pere Galès, who traveled to Italy where he was prosecuted by the Roman Inquisition and lost an eye through torture. He fled to Geneva and occupied the chair of philosophy at the university. He then argued bitterly with the Calvinists and traveled to Bordeaux, where he was imprisoned by members of the Catholic League and, after many vicissitudes, handed over to the Spanish Inquisition in 1593. Prosecuted by the tribunal of Zaragoza, he died before his trial was concluded. His effigy was burned in 1597.⁴² The only option for Spanish Protestants after the sixteenth century was exile.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the Spanish Inquisition was forced to modify its policy toward foreigners suspected of heterodoxy. Its actions were affected by diplomatic pressure from foreign ambassadors and consuls, as well as the increasingly pressing political and economic needs of a monarchy in crisis. The first sign of these changes was the signing of the Alba-Cobham Treaty in December 1574, which designated that English merchants could trade with Spain without inquisitorial interference over matters of faith. If Englishmen were prosecuted and convicted, only their personal belongings could be confiscated, with ships and cargo remaining off-limits. In turn, the English were to show respect for Catholic symbols, rites, and buildings, and should demonstrate reverence for the Eucharist. Some years later, in 1597, Spain signed a commercial treaty with the Hanseatic cities that included similar clauses.

The clauses of the Alba-Cobham Treaty were updated in the Treaty of London of 1604, in which the Spanish monarchy recognized the right of English Protestants passing through Spain to practice their religion.

That being said, their worship was supposed to occur in the strictest privacy. The Treaty of London affected transient English merchants, but indirectly it also changed the fate of English residents. The number of English prisoners decreased and the penalties were softened, with the most common being banishment from Spain or repatriation in an attempt to avoid diplomatic problems. Distant from local pressures and more sensitive to political situations, the Suprema became the guarantor of the treaty's interpretation. William Chapindar, an Englishman who had resided in Malaga since 1606, was betrayed to inquisitors in 1617; accusations of Chapindar's Protestantism were proven. Being a resident, he could not take advantage of the 1604 treaty's clauses, but after the Suprema's intervention, he was simply warned that he should not cause scandal or polemicize in religious matters.

In practice, the Treaty of London meant that English Protestants disappeared from the inquisitors' courtrooms in Spain.⁴³ As for the Dutch, in 1609 the Twelve Years' Truce was signed, which reproduced the clauses of the English treaty. After several vicissitudes, the Peace of Munster (1648) guaranteed for the Dutch what English subjects already enjoyed under the Treaty of London.

Such measures paved the way for a very limited religious toleration. Although there were no diplomatic agreements that protected French subjects, it seems that there was a mirror effect, whereby the signing of the treaties about the English and Dutch also diminished the number of French defendants and softened their sentences. For example, a French sailor, Martin de Occasso, who traveled to Santander in 1630 to pursue a lawsuit, was asked by some neighbors about his Calvinist faith. Occasso not only explained his outlook but also harshly criticized Catholicism. The Inquisition imprisoned him: While he showed signs of conversion to Catholicism, he managed to flee on two occasions. Seized for a third time, he admitted that he had feigned conversion. He was subjected to torture. In 1631, inquisitors condemned him to a public *auto*, reconciliation with confiscation of goods, the wearing of a *sambenito*, five years in the galleys, and upon his return life imprisonment. The Suprema, however, decreed that he should be privately absolved with a caution (*ad cautelam*) and given religious instruction.

At first, Luther was simply a heretical prospect for the Spanish Inquisition, whose officials viewed Protestantism as a distant problem that might result in contagion. Consequently, the Inquisition's first measures were focused on the surveillance of the circulation, purchase, and reading of the texts of the reformers. The conjunction of Lutheranism, Erasmianism, *alumbradismo*, and fear of conversos in the inquisitorial imagination determined the direction of the anti-Lutheran persecutions of the Holy Office in those early years.

In the 1540s, however, there was a notable turning point. The fracture between Catholics and Protestants seemed irremediable and the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1547 drew the dogmatic border from which inquisitors would develop the persecution in a more sophisticated way. The number of Spanish defendants increased, although foreigners were still in the majority. Inquisitor-General Valdés worked deliberately to strengthen the Inquisition's bureaucracy and reach; he also developed new policies, such as censorship via the publication the indices of forbidden books. All these changes were put to the test with the discovery of Protestant centers in Seville and Valladolid, which had an enormous, immediate impact on elites and Spanish society as a whole. Suppression was ferocious, to the point that over the next two centuries, Spanish inquisitors mostly found Protestants in the shape of foreigners who were in transit across Spain or who resided there.

Finally, despite the many advances in recent years in the study of the Reformation in Spain, there is still a great deal of research to be done. We need more precise information about the theological and social profiles of individuals and groups accused of Protestant beliefs; there undoubtedly is more to discover about the communication networks between those Spaniards accused of Protestantism and the wider European and American world. Only in this way will it be possible to adequately assess the circulation of ideas, books, and people, and gauge the potential impact that these networks could have had on the political and intellectual debates of their time.

Notes

1. The inquisitors often used the term "Lutherans" to describe all Protestants. This study is part of the project *Inquisition and Networks: Communities*,

Actors and Power in the Iberian World of the Modern Age (PID2021-123816NB-I00), funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain.

2. Cited in Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), 454.
3. Augustine Redondo, "Luther et l'Espagne de 1520 a 1536," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 1 (1965): 124.
4. Henry Kamen, "Spain," in Robert Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *The Reformation in National Context*, 202–14 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 203.
5. Carlos Gilly, "Juan de Valdés, traductor y adaptor de los escritos de Lutero en su *Diálogo de doctrina christiana*," in Luis López Molina, ed., *Miscelánea de estudios hispánicos: homenaje de los hispanistas de Suiza a Ramón Sugranyes de Franch* (Abadía de Montserrat, 1975), 91–9.
6. Massimo Firpo, *Entre alumbrados y "espirituales": Estudios sobre Juan de Valdés y el valdesianismo en la crisis religiosa del '500 italiano* (Fundación Universitaria Española, 2000).
7. Thus, a significant number of defendants accused of *alumbradismo* were deeply indebted to Erasmus: Such was the case for Maria de Cazalla.
8. Stefania Pastore, *Una herejía española: Conversos, alumbrados e Inquisición (1449–1559)* (Marcial Pons, 2010).
9. John E. Longhurst, "Luther in Spain: 1520–1540," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 103 (1959): 66.
10. Redondo, "Luther et l'Espagne," 154.
11. John E. Longhurst, *Luther's Ghost in Spain (1517–1546)* (Coronado Press, 1969), 41–5.
12. José Martínez Millán, "Corrientes espirituales y facciones políticas en el servicio del emperador Carlos V," in W. Blockmans and N. Mout, eds., *The World of Emperor Charles V* (Royal Netherlands Academy, 2005), 97–126.
13. Lu Ann Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), chapter 2.
14. Miguel Avilés Fernández, "El Santo Oficio en la primera etapa carolina," in Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, eds., *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América* Vol. 1 (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos/Centro de Estudios Inquisitoriales, 1984), 454–5.
15. Ángel Alcalá, "El control inquisitorial de intelectuales en el Siglo de Oro," in Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, eds., *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América* Vol. 3 (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos/Centro de Estudios Inquisitoriales, 2000) 847.
16. Milagros Ortega-Costa, *El proceso de la Inquisición contra María de Cazalla* (Fundación Universitaria Española, 1978), 497.
17. Longhurst, "Luther in Spain," 71–2.

18. José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, "Los españoles en Lovaina, 1551–1558," *Revista española de Teología* 23 (1963): 21–45; Ignacio García Pinilla, "Aperiat oculos Hispania: Los disidentes españoles exiliados del siglo XVI como activistas," in Francisco José Aranda Pérez and José Damião Rodrigues, eds., *De Re Publica Hispaniae: Una vindicación de la cultura política en los reinos ibéricos en la primera modernidad* (Silex, 2008), 187–209.
19. Jaime Contreras, "The Impact of Protestantism in Spain, 1520–1600," in Stephen Haliczer, ed., *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Croom-Helm, 1987), 47–63.
20. For a deep investigation into the relationship between Servetus and Calvin, and Calvin's demand that Servetus be arrested by French episcopal authorities, see Frans Pieter van Stam, *The Servetus Case: An Appeal for a New Assessment* (Droz, 2017).
21. Francisco de Enzinas, *Verdadera historia de la muerte del santo varón Juan Díaz, por Claude de Senarclens*, ed. Ignacio García Pinilla (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2008); Ignacio García Pinilla, "Juan Díaz, conqense: humanista, mártir y tópico literario," in José María Maestre Maestre, Luis Charlo Brea, and Joaquín Pascual Barea, eds., *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: Homenaje al profesor Luis Gil* Vol. 1 (Universidad de Cádiz, 1997), 1495–1506.
22. Carlos Carnicer García and Javier Marcos Rivas, *Espías de Felipe II: Los servicios secretos del Imperio español* (La Esfera de los libros, 2005).
23. For new work on Casiodoro as a Hebraist, see Arturo Eduardo Terrazas Calderón, *Casiodoro de la Reina, hebraísta del siglo XVI: Red de conversos y la traducción de la Biblia*, doctoral dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, 2022.
24. Werner Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo en España, 1517–1648* (Leuven University Press, 2001) 189–209.
25. Robert C. Spach, "Juan Gil and Sixteenth-Century Spanish Protestantism," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995): 863–72.
26. Tomás López Muñoz, *La Reforma en la Sevilla del siglo XVI*, Vol. 1 (Editorial MAD, 2011), 263–77.
27. A. Gordon Kinder, "Juan Pérez de Pineda (Pierius): A Spanish Calvinist Minister of the Gospel in Sixteenth-Century Geneva," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 53 (1976): 99–112.
28. Michel Boeglin, "Religiosidad femenina y herejía: monjas y beatas 'luteranas' ante la Inquisición de Sevilla en tiempos del Emperador," *Scripta: revista internacional de literatura i cultura medieval i moderna* 8 (2016): 164–78. Frances Luttkhuizen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain: A Much-Ignored Side of Spanish History* (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht GmbH and Co, 2017), 137–57, 229–60.
29. Lu Ann Homza, ed. and trans., *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Hackett, 2006), 189–90.

30. National Historical Archive [AHN], Inquisition [Inq], Book 249, ff. 124r–128v.
31. Miguel Jiménez Monteserin, *La Inquisición española. Documentos básicos* (Universitat de València, 2021), 261.
32. For English-language translations of some of the surviving evidence, see Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 176–94.
33. See the introductory study of Marcos J. Herráiz Pareja, Ignacio J. García Pinilla, and Jonathan L. Nelson, eds., *Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus: Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes. The Arts of the Spanish Inquisition: A Critical Edition of the Sanctae inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot (1567) with a Modern English Translation* (Brill, 2018).
34. For popular awareness among Toledo's residents of Carranza's arrest, see Gillian Ahlgren, ed. and trans., *The Inquisition of Francisca: A Sixteenth-Century Visionary on Trial* (The University of Chicago Press, 2005).
35. Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 194–211.
36. See the historiographical synthesis by Michel Boeglin, "The Reception of the Protestant Reformation in the Iberian Peninsula," in Henry A. Jeffries and Richard Rex, eds., *Reformations Compared: Religious Transformations Across Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2024), 242–65.
37. José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, "El protestantismo castellano (1558–1559): Un *topos* (M. Bataillon) convertido en *tópico* historiográfico," in Manuel Revuelta Sañudo y Ciriaco Morón Arroyo, eds., *El erasmismo en España* (Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 1986), 305–21.
38. Carlos Gilly, "El influjo de Sebsten Castellion sobre los heterodoxos españoles del siglo XVI," in Michel Boeglin, Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, and David Kahn, eds., *Reforma y disidencia religiosa: la recepción de las doctrinas reforadas en la Península Ibérica en el siglo XVI* (Casa de Velázquez, 2018) 305–49.
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40. Thomas, *La represión*, 257.
41. E. William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).
42. Xavier Espluga, "Pere Galès: un protestante de Ulldecona profesor en Ginebra," in Michel Boeglin, Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, and David Kahn, eds., *Reforma y disidencia religiosa: La recepción de las*

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43. Thomas, *La represión*, 320–4.

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