

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PURITY-OF-BLOOD DISCRIMINATION (1391–1547)

[New Christians] still hold on their lips the milk of their ancestors' recent perversity.

Archbishop Juan Martínez Guijarro (Silíceo), 1547

The Society of Jesus could not avoid coping with the converso problem, because the Jesuits were founded by a group of Old and New Christians whose majority, as did their leader Ignatius of Loyola, originated in Iberia. In spite of the universal character of the Order envisioned by the founding fathers and of Catholicism *per se*, the vexed purity-of-blood concept produced a profound polarization in the Society as it tried to implement its mission of conversion.¹ Naturally, both Jesuit supporters and opponents of the purity-of-blood discrimination sought validation for their arguments in the works that had been employed in the heated discussion that had rent the Iberian Church between the first anti-converso legislation of 1449 and the Jesuit decree that legalized the converso discrimination in 1593. Moreover, the historical context of the Spanish discriminatory laws—whether discrimination by civic or ecclesiastical authorities—sheds more light on the origins of such legislation in the Society of Jesus itself.

Given this close connection between the majority of the founding fathers of the Society of Jesus and the Iberian context, this chapter aims to provide the reader with a concise historical *excursus* of the complex and abundant discussion about the concept of purity of blood. It begins in Toledo with the *Sentencia-Estatuto* of Pero de Sarmiento (1449); rests on major subsequent pro-converso works by two prominent ecclesiastical intellectuals of the mid-fifteenth century, Alonso de Cartagena and Alonso de Oropesa, whose legacy would be reflected in later pro-converso literature; and concludes again in Toledo with

¹ See the contrary view in Anna Foa, “*Limpieza* versus Mission: Church, Religious Orders, and Conversion in the Sixteenth Century” in Susan E. Myers and Steven J. McMichael, eds., *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), especially pp. 302–3, 306–8.

the *Estatutos* of Archbishop Silíceo (1547), which—along with the Sarmiento legislation—were eagerly defended by Bishop Diego de Simancas in his *Defensio Toletani Statuti* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1573). Arguably, the latter inspired some Jesuits in their campaign to introduce the anti-converso discriminatory laws in the Society of Jesus in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Sentencia-Estatuto of Pero de Sarmiento (1449)

The history of the purity-of-blood anti-converso discrimination begins with the so-called *Sentencia-Estatuto* adopted in Toledo in June 1449. It resulted from a popular uprising against the royal authority of King Juan II of Trastámara (1405–54) that was led by the city mayor (*alcalde mayor*), Pero de Sarmiento. To make the complex and long story short for the purposes of this chapter: the rebellion was provoked by an attempt by the converso Constable of Castile, Álvaro de Luna (d. 1453), to raise additional revenue of one million *maravedíes* from the citizens of Toledo for the defense of Castile against a recent invasion of the Aragonese.² Sarmiento associated this measure with the machinations of the treasurer Alonso Cota³ and other Toledan conversos. They represented an affluent and influential minority among burghers, unparalleled in other European countries of the Middle Ages,⁴ who—under royal protection—rapidly emerged after the first massive conversions propelled by the brutal *pogroms* against the “deicide Jews” in 1391.⁵

Recalling these allegations that had spawned a half-century of social, economic, and political resentment and combining them with the old anti-Judaism bias, a fanatical mob of Old Christians murdered several

² See Sarmiento’s letter to King Juan II written in May 1449, prior to his *Sentencia-Estatuto*, in Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV; vida política* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), pp. 186–90.

³ See Francisco Cantera Burgos, *La familia judeo-conversa de los Cota de Toledo* (Madrid: Academia de Doctores de Madrid, 1969), pp. 11–8.

⁴ On the social and political ascendance of conversos in this period, see, for example, Francisco Marquez Villanueva, “Conversos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV,” *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 63 (1957): 503–40.

⁵ For a recent presentation of the causes of the *pogroms* in 1391, see, for example, Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, *Los conversos en España y Portugal* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2003), pp. 18–20.

conversos in 1449 and plundered or burned many dwellings, beginning with Cota's. What started as an anti-fiscal rebellion turned into anti-converso riots and an anti-royal war. Subsequently, seeking a veiled justification for their *laesa maiestas* offense, the city council issued the purity-of-blood legislation. Claiming a precedent of royal and canon law, it barred all Jews converted to Christianity *and* their descendants from holding public offices or testifying in Christian courts of law, because of the conversos' infamy, inability, and indignity, which allegedly stemmed from their untrustworthy faith and was proven by their continued judaizing.⁶ According to the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, the history of the city of Toledo testified to the longtime converso plotting that can be traced back to the alliance of their Jewish ancestors with the Muslim conquerors, which had caused the death or enslavement of many old and pure (*lindos*) Christians.⁷ More recently, with the royal money that they astutely stole, the conversos had oppressed, destroyed, and robbed the majority of Old Christians of their property in the city of Toledo, where they had been able to sneak into influential governmental posts.⁸

⁶ "Que por quanto es notorio por derecho así canónico como civil, que los conversos de linaje de los judíos, por ser sospechosos en la fe de nuestro Señor e Salvador Jesucristo, en la cual frecuentemente vomitan de ligero, judaizando [...]. Que debemos de declarar e declaramos, pronunciar e pronunciamos, e constituimos, e ordenamos, e mandamos, que todos los dichos conversos descendientes del perverso linaje de judíos, en cualquier guisa que sea, así por virtud del derecho canónico y civil que contra ellos determina sobre las cosas de suso declaradas, como por virtud del dicho privilegio dado a esta cibdad por el dicho señor Rey de muy gloriosa memoria don Alfonso Rey de Castilla y de León, progenitor del rey nuestro señor y por otros señores reyes sus progenitores e por su alteza, jurado e confirmado, como por razón de las herejías e otros delictos, insultos, sediciones e crímenes por ellos fasta hoy cometidos e perpetrados, de que de suso se face mención, sean habidos e tenidos como el derecho los ha e tiene por infames, inhábiles, incapaces e indignos para haber todo oficio e beneficio público y privado en la dicha cibdad de Toledo, y en su tierra, término y jurisdicción con el cual pueden tener señorío en los cristianos viejos en la santa fe católica de nuestro Señor Jesucristo creyentes, facerles daños e injurias, e así mismo ser infames, inhábiles, incapaces para dar testimonio e fe como escribanos públicos o como testigos, y especialmente en esta cibdad" (Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, pp. 193–5).

⁷ For the historical context of Jewish collaboration with the Muslim conquerors, see, for example, Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 9; and Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 91. According to the experts, this is the first use of the term *pure* in relation to Christians who were not of Jewish lineage, which would constitute a shift from socio-political into a racial approach to the vexed converso question.

⁸ See Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV*, p. 194.

Alonso de Cartagena and Alonso de Oropesa

These tragic events of 1449 in Toledo and the consequent anti-converso legislation of Pero de Sarmiento provide the historical context for the major pro-converso work penned by Alonso de Santa María de Cartagena (1384–1456)—*Defensorium unitatis christianae* [In Defense of Christian Unity] (1449–50). Its author was indirectly involved in the political turmoil of Toledo, for his brother, Pedro de Cartagena, saved the life of the Constable of Castile, Álvaro de Luna, against whom the riots of 1449 began.⁹ But what was the broader background of one of the foremost intellectuals of fifteenth-century Spain?

Alonso de Cartagena had been baptized (at the age of five or six) by his father Shlomo ha-Levi/Pablo de Santa María (c. 1351–1435), who—as chief rabbi of Burgos—converted to Christianity just before the anti-Jewish *pogroms* of 1391 and later was elected bishop of Cartagena (1402) and Burgos (1415),¹⁰ while his wife remained faithful to her ancestors' faith. As was the case with a number of other conversos, Cartagena studied civil and ecclesiastical law at Salamanca; he later served as apostolic nuncio and canon in his native Burgos. King Juan II—to whom Alfonso's father and the latter's brother, Álvaro García de Santa María (1370–1460),¹¹ had lent their services—appointed Cartagena as his official envoy to the Council of Basel (1434–9). There, he expressed his conciliarist views and contributed to the formulation of a decree on the regenerative character of baptism without regard for lineage (which Pope Paul III later cited in his bull *Cupientes Iudaeos*, as the Jesuit García Girón de Alarcón would note):

For the members of the family of God and the saints become citizens by the grace of baptism, and it is much more worthy to be regenerated in the spirit than to be born in the flesh, we stipulate by this decree that [the converted Jews] of the cities and places, where they are regenerated by holy baptism, must enjoy the same privileges, exemptions, and liberties that other [Christians] receive based on their birth and origin alone.¹²

⁹ See Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Marcel Bataillon was incorrect in stating that Shlomo ha-Levi converted *after* the 1391 *pogroms* (see Fabre, *Marcel Bataillon*, p. 237).

¹¹ On the enormous influence of the converso clan of Santa María, see Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos. Historia de la Judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1952).

¹² Concilium Basileense, *De his qui volunt ad fidem converti* (Decretum Sexto Basileense, sess. XIX): “Et quoniam per gratiam baptismi cives sanctorum et domestici

After Pablo de Santa María's death (1435), Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431–47) nominated Cartagena his successor in the episcopal see of Burgos. As would be the case with many future converso Jesuits, the civic aspects of ancient Roman literature, especially Cicero and Seneca, fascinated Cartagena. At the request of Juan Alfonso de Zamora, King Juan II's secretary, he translated Cicero's *De officiis*, *De senectute*, and *De inventione* and rendered into Castilian Seneca's twelve books. He also participated in the literary debate with Italian humanists over the translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* by Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444).¹³ Cartagena employed in his *Defensorium* these classical authorities to corroborate the biblical and patristic citations.¹⁴

The 1449 events in Toledo are also echoed—albeit less explicitly—in another work that was written around the same time by Fray Alonso de Oropesa (d. 1469). It was entitled *Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloria plebis Dei Israel, de unitate fidei et de concordia et pacifica aequalitate fidelium* [Light for the Revelation of the Gentiles and Glory to the people of God Israel: Concerning the Unity of the Faith and Agreeable and Peaceful Equality of the Faithful], which is an allusion to the words of old Simon in the Gospel according to Luke (2:32).¹⁵ The book was dedicated to Alonso Carrillo de Acuña (1413–82), Archbishop of Toledo since 1447, known for his opposition to the *pureza de sangre* laws that he and his successors would later repudiate, as we shall see in Chapter Four.¹⁶

Oropesa, who may have been a converso and had taken his name from his native town of Oropesa near Toledo, studied—as had Cartagena—at Salamanca and entered the Jeronymite monastery

Dei efficiuntur, longeque dignius sit regenerari spiritu, quam nasci carne, hac edictali lege statuimus ut civitatum et locorum in quibus sacro baptismate regenerantur privilegiis, libertatibus et immunitatibus gaudeant quae ratione duntaxat nativitatis et originis alii consequuntur.” In his *Defensorium* (ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 261), Cartagena stated that this decree was voted unanimously.

¹³ On Cartagena's humanism, see, for example, Jeremy Lawrance, “Alfonso de Cartagena y los conversos,” in Alan Deyermond and Ralph Penny, eds, *Actas del Primer Congreso Anglo-Hispano* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 103–20.

¹⁴ For a presentation of Cartagena's thought in his *Defensorium*, see, for example, Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 64–99; and Pastore, *Eresia spagnola*, pp. 5–8 and 10.

¹⁵ For a presentation of Oropesa's life and thought, see Díaz's introduction to his translation (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, pp. 7–57); Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, pp. 232–3; and Pastore, *Eresia spagnola*, pp. 9–11 and 19–25.

¹⁶ On Archbishop Carrillo and his lineage, see Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, pp. 96–7; Francisco Esteve Barba, *Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña: autor de la unidad de España* (Barcelona: Editorial Amaltea, 1943); and Barba, *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* (<http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1440a.htm>).

of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Extremadura.¹⁷ Shortly thereafter, he was elected as prior of Santa Catalina in Talavera (1451/2) and later became superior general of his religious Order (in 1457 and again in 1462).¹⁸ Oropesa had been composing the *Lumen* intermittently between 1450 and 1466 as a response not only to the Sarmiento anti-converso legislation but also to the subsequent anti-converso tensions in Toledo in 1461–2 that he was personally called to solve by Archbishop Carrillo, after a certain Franciscan claimed to possess a hundred foreskins that had come from circumcised Christians.¹⁹

Even though it is difficult to establish the reciprocal influence between the two treatises—sometimes it looks as though Oropesa copied parts of Cartagena’s work (or was depending on a common source?)—they employed very similar arguments in their effort to counter the Sarmiento legislation and its anti-converso bias. The main themes of Cartagena’s *Defensorium* and Oropesa’s *Lumen*, on which they based their anti-discrimination arguments, are the unity of Christian faith; the election of Israel in view of the generation of Christ; the imperfection of Israel before the birth of Jesus and its perfection in Christ; and the redemption of both Gentiles and Jews to form one people of God in harmony and peace. However, Cartagena and Oropesa give the Jews differing responsibility for the conversos’ lack of persistence in the Christian faith. The former claims that the Jews—more than pagans, heretics, or schismatics—represent a risk for the Christian faithful and that, therefore, one must preach to them their fulfillment in Christ. The latter calls for more drastic measures: the intervention of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities to prevent contacts between Christians and Jews,²⁰ a position that

¹⁷ Alfred Sicroff, “The Jeronymite Monastery of Guadalupe in 14th and 15th century Spain,” in *Collected Studies in Honour of Américo Castro’s Eightieth Year* (Oxford: Lincombe Lodge Research Library, 1965), pp. 397–422.

¹⁸ On different views about Oropesa’s ancestry, see Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 183; and Pastore, *Eresia spagnola*, pp. 18–9. Foa in her “*Limpieza versus Mission*” (pp. 303–4) incorrectly states that Oropesa was the general of the Jerusalemite Order. The name of the Jeronymite Order comes from its patron, St. Jerome (Spanish *Jerónimo*, Lat. *Hieronimus*, thus also “Hieronymites”—a different spelling of the Order’s name).

¹⁹ See, for example, Henry Charles Lea, *History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1906), vol. 1, p. 127; Fabre, ed., *Marcel Bataillon*, pp. 240–1; and Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 95–6.

²⁰ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 99–100.

would eventually materialize in the creation by Oropesa of a proto Spanish Inquisition.²¹

To the Bishop of Burgos and the General of the Jeronymites, the desire to strive for Christian unity originates in God's creation of humanity in the unity of one man alone. Cartagena's account, thus, begins with a literal analysis of the biblical story of the creation of Adam and Eve (Genesis 1:26): "One Adam was created, as the Scripture says: 'Let us make man to our image and likeness.' He did not say men, but man, to show that he was thinking about the unity of men from the very beginning and that he abhorred the distinction among them based on carnal birth."²² In the history of the dispersion of humankind

²¹ Archbishop Carrillo summoned Oropesa to resolve a new conflict between the conversos and the Old Christians that sparked in Toledo in 1461. The Jeronymite superior general punished those conversos who judaized and those Old Christians who denied the regenerative character of baptism. According to the Order's historian, José de Sigüenza, this intervention formed the first Inquisition in Castile. On Oropesa's contribution to the creation of the Spanish Inquisition, see David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present* 174 (2002): 31; Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, pp. 73–4, 80, 146; and Pastore, *Eresia spagnola*, p. 10. The relationship among the purity-of-blood laws, the conversos, and the foundation of the Spanish Inquisition was much more complex than Foa suggested in her "*Limpieza* and Mission," p. 303.

²² "Un solo Adán fue creado como dice la escritura [...]. No dijo a los hombres, sino al hombre, para manifestar desde el mismo principio que pensaba en la unidad de los hombres y que la diferencia entre ellos, basada en la propagación de la carne, la aborrecía" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 107).

"Pues como permanece la Iglesia perfecta e inmutable en su estado, así también permanece universal y unida en concordia unánime de todos sus fieles, apartada de ella toda disparidad de aquellas antiguas imperfecciones, puesto que, de otro modo, ya no podría decirse que tuviera un estado nuevo y perfecto; esta sacratísima unión la solemnizó Cristo muriendo en la cruz para redención universal de todos los fieles, sin división alguna que se introduzca entre ellos, cuando adquirió para sí la única e indivisa Iglesia de todos los católicos; y tan admirable misterio ya había sido figurado antes en la formación de la primera mujer del costado del varón: de forma que, como del único varón Adán, se formaba la única mujer para la procreación universal de todos, así también del gloriosísimo Jesús, único redentor nuestro, se formase la única santa madre Iglesia para salvación universal de todos sus fieles, a quienes por el mismo hecho les encomendó una concordia unánime" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXI).

All quotations from the *Defensorium* are from the Spanish translation of the Latin original in Verdín-Díaz, ed., *Alonso de Cartagena*. The choice of the Spanish translation is dictated by Verdín-Díaz's premise that he based it on his more correct reading of the manuscript than that of the Jesuit Manuel Alonso in his D. Alonso de Cartagena. Obispo de Burgos, *Defensorium unitatis Christianae. Tratado en favor de los judíos conversos. Edición, prólogo y notas por el P. Manuel Alonso, S.I.* (Madrid: CSIC, 1943), and on the comparison of two different manuscripts.

All quotations from the *Lumen* are from the Spanish translation of the Latin original (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz).

resulting from Cain's crime, God based his choices not on a person's lineage or origin but on righteousness. That was the case, for instance, with Noah and Job, who were Gentiles: their righteousness came from their obedience to the law of nature alone,²³ which Cartagena compares elsewhere to the lunar light in contrast with the solar light of Christ, who is eternal splendor and a second Adam without stain.²⁴

God's preferences, argue Cartagena and Oropesa, do not guarantee justification; Abram's circumcision was just a mark of an alliance, not a result of his merits. This is why "God generously decided to give his people the law, so that the distinction among peoples be perceived not only in the flesh by cutting off the foreskin, but also in the customs by cutting off vices."²⁵

For both Cartagena and Oropesa, the election of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and the story of the chosen people were

²³ See Cartagena, *Defensorium* (ed. Verdín-Díaz), pp. 108–9. Concerning Job, Oropesa quotes Augustine's *De civitate Dei*: "Ni creo que los mismos judíos se atrevan a decir que nadie perteneció al Señor fuera de los israelitas, desde que comenzó a ser descendencia de Israel con la reprobación del hermano mayor. Pueblo que de verdad se dijera con propiedad pueblo de Dios no hubo otro; pero no pueden negar que hubiera algunos hombres que pertenecían no a la patria terrena sino a la sociedad celestial, a los verdaderos ciudadanos israelitas de la patria del cielo, ya que, si lo niegan, con toda facilidad se les demostrará 'del santo y admirable Job,' que ni era del país ni prosélito, es decir, ni vivía en el pueblo de Israel, sino que era descendiente de los idumeos: donde nació allí murió; quien de tal forma es alabado por la palabra de Dios que, en lo que atañe a su justicia y piedad, ningún hombre de su tiempo lo iguala, y cuya época, que, aunque no encontremos en las crónicas, podemos deducir de su mismo libro—que con razón los israelitas lo aceptaron entre los autores canónicos—debió ser tres generaciones posterior a Israel" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XI).

²⁴ See Cartagena, *Defensorium* (ed. Verdín-Díaz), pp. 127–35. See a similar use of this metaphor in Oropesa: "Pero esta paz excelente y verdadera concordia de la Iglesia militante ha de durar hasta que no haya luna, que es lo mismo que decir hasta que acabe la actual Iglesia, que, cual otra luna en la oscurísima noche así resplandece ella en las tinieblas de este oscuro mundo, iluminada incesante y maravillosamente por el verdadero sol de justicia, por la que, el que es la luz verdadera, ilumina a todo hombre que viene a este mundo (Jn 1, 9); o también: hasta que no haya luna, es decir, hasta que se termine esta vida actual, cuando ya cesó el moverse de las estrellas y puede decirse que ya tampoco hay luna. Y así concuerda bien con ésta otra frase del profeta en que dice de Cristo: «Grande es su señorío y la paz no tendrá fin...» (Is 9, 6). Y esto es porque en esta vida no tendrá fin esta paz de la Iglesia, y después de esta vida tampoco puede decirse propiamente que se acaba sin más, porque le sucede otra paz mejor que ha de durar para siempre, como se ha dicho" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXXV).

²⁵ "[Dios] se dignó darle generosamente la ley para que la diferencia no fuese percibida sólo en la carne, por el corte del prepucio, sino en las costumbres, por el corte de los vicios" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 114).

understood in light of the generation of Christ,²⁶ in whom all lineage distinctions cease. Christ saved both Jews and Gentiles, for they are united as one people by the virtue of regenerative baptism, as St. Paul—fundamental to Cartagena’s argument—had already stressed: “For as many of as have been baptized in Christ have become clothed with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither servant nor free; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus” (Galatians 3:27–9).²⁷

²⁶ “Sólo a ese pueblo [judío] la ley le fue ofrecida para que alcanzase ciertas prerrogativas de virtud por encima de los demás en atención a que de ese pueblo había de nacer Cristo [...]. Dios dio la ley y otros muchos beneficios a aquel pueblo por la promesa hecha a sus padres, por aquella especialmente que de ellos nacería Cristo [...]. La razón de la distinción concedida a aquel pueblo se deriva de la carne de Cristo que habría recibir de aquel pueblo, y no de los méritos del pueblo” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 116–7).

“Si se preguntase por qué eligió más bien al pueblo judío para este misterio en vez de cualquier otro, para que Cristo precisamente naciera de él, dice santo Tomás en la Suma teológica que parece respuesta adecuada a esto lo que dice Agustín en las Homilías sobre el evangelio de Juan acerca de por qué Dios traiga a uno y no traiga a otro—se entiende a la penitencia y a la gracia—: «no quieras juzgar si no quieres errare; donde también un poco antes concluye que tal elección del pueblo judío no fue por mérito de Abraham para que se le hiciera la promesa de que Cristo nacería de su descendencia, sino por elección y vocación gratuita; por eso dice Isaías: «¿Quién ha suscitado de oriente al justo y lo ha llamado para que le salga al paso?» (Is 41, 2 Vulg.). Y de esta forma los padres recibieron la promesa tan sólo por la elección gratuita, y el pueblo nacido de ellos recibió la ley, según dice el Deuteronomio: «... y de en medio del fuego has oído sus palabras. Porque amó a tus padres y eligió a su descendencia después de ellos...» (Dt 4, 36–37). Supuesta, pues, la predilección y la promesa a los padres antiguos, que fue libre y gratuita, como se ha dicho, resulta en consecuencia la elección del pueblo para que se realizase el misterio de Cristo, por la veracidad de Dios, para que se confirmasen en él las promesas hechas a los padres, como dice el Apóstol a los Romanos (Rm 15, 8)” (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XIII).

²⁷ See Cartagena, *Defensorium* (ed. Verdín-Díaz), pp. 93 and 135.

“Pues así como todos hemos sido engendrados por Adán y Eva, y todos sin diferencias hemos quedado pecadores, así también todos hemos sido reengendrados por Cristo y la Iglesia sin diferencias y hemos quedado en perfecta justicia, según lo que explica ampliamente el Apóstol a los Romanos y en la primera carta a los Corintios, diciendo: «Porque, habiendo venido por un hombre la muerte, también por un hombre viene la resurrección de los muertos. Pues del mismo modo que en Adán mueren todos, así también todos revivirán en Cristo» (1 Co 15, 21–22; cf. Rm 5, 12–21), «pues no hay diferencia alguna (de judío y griego, es decir, de judío o gentil, como dice la Glosa); todos pecaron y están privados de la gloria de Dios, y son justificados por el don de su gracia, en virtud de la redención realizada en Cristo Jesús» (Rm 3, 22–24), como dice a los Romanos; y concluye el Apóstol diciendo a los Gálatas: «Ya no hay judío ni griego; ni esclavo ni libre; ni hombre ni mujer, ya que todos vosotros sois uno en Cristo Jesús» (Ga 3, 28); lo que comenta la glosa: «Por ninguna de esas cosas nadie se hace más digno en la fe de Cristo, y por tanto que ninguno judaice cual si fuese más digno por algo de eso, ya que en verdad por ninguna de esas cosas se hace nadie más digno en Cristo»” (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXI).

Within the framework of his ecclesiology of the continuity of the covenant, Cartagena underlines the point that Christ's redemption is for the Israelites the clear perfection of their faith that was represented in the Old Testament as figurative or allegoric. For Gentiles—to the contrary—Christ's message is something totally new. Thus, the former are invited to learn more profoundly something that had been known already;²⁸ the latter, in contrast, are invited to learn something they had not yet heard.²⁹ As Cartagena notes, "it was not Jerusalem that walked towards Gentiles, but it was they who went to Jerusalem, so that both peoples established the new and true Jerusalem that in this life is the Church Militant, through which one reaches the celestial Jerusalem, where all, without regard to their provenience, walk in the light without enmity."³⁰

²⁸ "Dios eligió a aquel pueblo de entre los gentiles, como quedará claro en el capítulo siguiente, para que, al llegar el tiempo elegido por él, rehiciera de ellos un pueblo que le fuera grato entre todos los gentiles, perfecto en su estado e inmutable hasta el fin del mundo; cuya perfección y calidad, fe y creencia, culto y veneración significó suficientemente en aquel pueblo pequeño y singular especialmente elegido para que por él pudiera darse a conocer con claridad lo que la religión cristiana cree, venera y predica, con tal que el que va a ser instruido no ponga ante sus ojos el velo de una obstinada ceguera con que contradiga al Espíritu Santo no dejando entrar dentro de sí la luz de la fe; lo que parece claro que ha ocurrido a los pérfidos judíos, que pugnan hasta hoy día por negar con cerviz altiva a Cristo como verdadero salvador, que es el camino, la verdad y la vida por donde debieran entrar al descanso eterno" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XII).

This argument seems to be the ideological backbone of the Jesuit apostolate to the Roman Jews, as we shall see below: Polanco wrote in a letter that "many Jews, moved by the love of our fellow Jesuits or the good example of some of their own who were already baptized, were converted to our faith. Among them were some of the most respected Jews who were highly important for converting others because they could clearly and forcefully persuade the other Jews, showing them from Scripture that Jesus Christ our Lord is the real promised Messiah" (Polanco, *Chron.* 3:9; MHSI, *Fontes Narr.* 4:404).

²⁹ "Se saca en conclusión, por consiguiente, que una vez libre el entendimiento y purificada el alma, los israelitas que reciben la fe de los libros de la ley escrita, espiritualmente entendidos y por Cristo completamente perfeccionados, reconocen claramente lo que se consideraba como figurado o alegórico; los gentiles, en cambio, lo escuchan como algo nuevo y saludable desconocido para sus filósofos, cosa que manifiestamente se ve en la misma llamada a los dos pueblos, si se observa bien la cualidad de la llamada. El uno es invitado a conocer más profundamente lo que de alguna manera había conocido; el otro, en cambio, es invitado a lo que no había oído" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 113–4). See also the following Chapter 7 of Cartagena's work.

³⁰ "Y no fue Jerusalén la que se dirigió a los gentiles, sino que es el pueblo gentil el que se vuelve a Jerusalén para de uno y otro pueblo establecer la única y verdadera Jerusalén, que en esta vida es la Iglesia militante por medio de la cual se sube a la

After having provided a biblical context in Part One that concurs with Oropesa's exposition, Cartagena aims to provide what he calls four theorems: (1) Through the Redeemer of the world, Jesus Christ, the Israelites were redeemed in fullness; (2) In the same way and through the same Savior all nations of the world also received grace and redemption; (3) Israelites and Gentiles, as they entered the door of the Catholic Church through baptism, do not remain divided into two peoples or nations; instead, together they form one new people; (4) Now, as before, those who arrive to the Catholic faith recuperate their capacity of any excellence, nobility or any other faculty that they had possessed earlier, provided that in doing so they do not oppose the principles of authority of the Catholic Church.³¹

To demonstrate the first theorem, the son of the former chief rabbi of Burgos highlights what the New Testament teaches about the redemption of Israel. Christ in the Gospel according to Matthew (15:24), for example, defines his mission by saying "I was not sent except to the

Jerusalén celestial y en la que todos, de cualquier parte que vinieren, caminarán en la luz sin enemistad" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 133).

"Todo lo cual hay que entender así, según los sagrados doctores: la fuente abierta había de ser el santo bautismo en el que la impureza, es decir, el pecado original en las entrañas de la menstruada, o sea, contraído de la misma madre, y el pecado, se entiende actual, habían de lavarse y purificarse del todo; y tenía que estar abierta, o sea, pública y común, para todos los habitantes de Jerusalén, que es la Iglesia militante, que con frecuencia se la designa en la Escritura por Jerusalén, y que había de estar abierta espiritualmente a la casa de David; y por la que se habían de extirpar los nombres de los ídolos de esta tierra, porque tanto los judíos como los gentiles tenían que venir a ella y a la vez purificarse uniformemente por ella y, abandonando el judaísmo y la gentilidad, congregarse en unanimidad en un pueblo nuevo que se hizo al comienzo de la Iglesia naciente y se hará después sucesivamente, pero se completará del todo en uno y otro pueblo hacia el fin del mundo, cuando se haga íntegra y perfectamente un solo rebaño y un solo pastor, porque entonces se exterminarán definitivamente tanto el judaísmo como los ídolos de la gentilidad, y todos se reunirán juntos en la fe universal" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXXIX). See also Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 65.

³¹ "Primer teorema. Se demuestra que por medio del redentor del mundo, Jesucristo nuestro Señor, el pueblo israelita fue completamente redimido. Segundo teorema que todas las gentes del mundo, del mismo modo y mediante el mismo Salvador, recibieron también la gracia de la redención. Tercer teorema que tanto los israelitas como los gentiles, al entrar por la puerta del bautismo a la Iglesia católica, no permanecen divididos como dos pueblos o dos gentes, sino que de uno y otro se crea un único pueblo nuevo. Cuarto teorema que tanto entonces como ahora los que arriban a la fe católica recuperan de nuevo la aptitud para obtener cualquier excelencia, nobleza, u otra dote cualquiera que en principio tenían, siempre que para recuperarlas no se opongan a los principios de la autoridad de la Iglesia" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 142). On the discussion of the Jewish/Spanish concept of nobility, see Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition*, pp. 8–16.

sheep, which have fallen away from the house of Israel,” and Paul describes Jesus’ mission as “minister of circumcision because of the truth of God, so as to confirm the promises to the fathers.”³² Oropesa supports Cartagena’s first theorem by emphasizing that the entire Holy Scripture testifies how these promises were accepted or refused by Israel.³³ This story still continues—those who reject the Catholic Church follow the infidelity of the impious and the hardness of the rebel. However, those who refuse the imprudence of their ancestors and submit their hearts to the Catholic faith with purity of spirit are true followers of the chosen Israel.³⁴ That is what Paul had in his mind when he addressed the Gentiles in his Letter to the Romans (11:13–26 and 30–2), whose longest quotation is pivotal in Cartagena’s work and, therefore, worth citing in its entirety:

For I say to you Gentiles: Certainly, as long as I am an Apostle to the Gentiles, I will honor my ministry in such a way that I might provoke to rivalry those who are my own flesh, and so that I may save some of them. For if their loss is for the reconciliation of the world, what could their return be for, except life out of death? For if the first-fruit has been sanctified, so also has the whole. And if the root is holy, so also are the

³² See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 146; and Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXVII: “Pues eso es lo que Jesús les dijo a sus discípulos que intercedían por la mujer cananea: «No he sido enviado más que a las ovejas perdidas de la casa de Israel» (Mt 15, 24), es decir, no he venido a predicar ni a conceder mis beneficios ni yo ni mis discípulos, como ocupación propia mientras viva, a no ser a los judíos a quienes fue hace mucho tiempo prometido; y a la mujer cananea que ya en persona se había acercado a Cristo pidiendo insistentemente la salud de su hija, le respondió Cristo de la misma manera diciéndole: «No está bien tomar el pan de los hijos y echárselo a los perritos» (Mt 15, 26).”

³³ Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XIII: “Ciertamente hay muchos y diversos testimonios tanto de la ley como de las profecías y también de ambos, que claramente hacen ver que el pueblo elegido por Dios y su ley y sacerdocio habían sido puestos al modo de un espejo divino de todos los gentiles para salvación y bendición de todos los que se iban a salvar, a quienes Dios había dispuesto a su tiempo llamar, traer y reunir por medio de su Unigénito hecho hombre; quienes llegando en gran muchedumbre de las cuatro partes del mundo se habían de salvar, una vez revelada la gracia y la salvación eterna, al conocer al único y verdadero redentor y al aceptar su santísima ley; y todo esto debía aprovechar en ventaja y salvación de todos a partir de los judíos, cual de raíz seleccionada. Pero, ya que esto resalta claramente en los santos evangelios y el Apóstol lo muestra y desenvuelve brillantemente en muchos lugares de sus cartas, resultaría superfluo acumular testimonios sobre ello; sin embargo hay uno en que el santo Simeón, nuevo profeta evangélico de Cristo, en una sentencia encerró este admirable misterio diciendo que Cristo, nacido del pueblo judío y presentado en aquel mismo momento a sus manos en el templo, era la luz para conocimiento de los gentiles y gloria de su pueblo Israel (cf. Lc 2, 32).”

³⁴ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 154.

branches. And if some of the branches are broken, and if you, being a wild olive branch, are grafted onto them and you become a partaker of the root and of the fatness of the olive tree, do not glorify yourself above the branches. For though you glory, you do not support the root, but the root supports you. Therefore, you would say: The branches were broken off, so that I might be grafted on. Well enough. They were broken off because of unbelief. But you stand on faith. So do not choose to savor what is exalted, but instead be afraid. For if God has not spared the natural branches, perhaps also he might not spare you. So then, notice the goodness and the severity of God. Certainly, toward those who have fallen, there is severity; but toward you there is the goodness of God, if you remain in goodness. Otherwise, you also will be cut off. Moreover, if they do not remain in unbelief, they will be grafted on. For God is able to graft them on again. So if you have been cut off from the wild olive tree, which is natural to you, and, contrary to nature, you are grafted on to the good olive tree, how much more shall those who are the natural branches be grafted on to their own olive tree? For I do not want you to be ignorant, brothers, of this mystery (lest you seem wise only to yourselves) that a certain blindness has occurred in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles has arrived. And in this way, all of Israel may be saved [...]. And just as you also, in times past, did not believe in God, but now you have obtained mercy because of their unbelief, so also have these now not believed, for your mercy, so that they might obtain mercy also. For God has enclosed everyone in unbelief, so that he may have mercy on everyone.³⁵

From the above citation, Cartagena deduces that the election or rejection of the Israelites is based on their reception or refusal of the faith. Only those who believe, no matter whether they come from Israel and Abraham or from other nations, can be called faithful Israelites and descendants of Abraham.³⁶ Thus, it is necessary to recall the sins

³⁵ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 156. On the centrality of this passage in Cartagena's father's *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, see Rosenstock, *New Men*, pp. 35–7.

³⁶ “Y de estas palabras del apóstol con sobrada evidencia se deduce que la elección o rechazo de los israelitas está basada en la recepción de la fe o en rechazo de la misma, de manera que de acuerdo con la diversidad de méritos los creyentes se consideran elegidos, y los no creyentes, rechazados, quedando balanceado el juicio del justo juez. En cuanto al lugar de donde procedieren, tanto de Israel y de Abraham como de otras naciones, llámense solamente fieles israelitas y descendientes de Abraham” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 157).

“Aun cuando aquel pueblo judío era el único que pertenecía al Señor de modo que él y ninguno más se llamase pueblo de Dios por su especial culto, ceremonias y ley, y por esa razón Dios fuese conocido en Judá y fuese grande su nombre en Israel (cf. Sal 76, 2), sin embargo, no lo eligió Dios de tal modo que ya entonces permitiera que perecieran todos los gentiles, por no abrirles con misericordia el camino de

of their fathers, either Gentile or Israelite, if they resist accepting the Catholic faith or if, after having received it, they fall into the errors of Judaism or Gentilism. This is so because to not know the truth or, after having known it, to abandon it, is something very grave and must be persecuted by authorities.³⁷ Together with “saint doctors,” Cartagena believes that Paul in his Letter to Titus (1:10–4) gave an example of this sharp rebuke by addressing those of the circumcision who “subvert the entire house” by teaching in Crete “the Jewish fables” under the name of Christ, while at the same time failing to reprehend the Cretan Gentiles themselves.³⁸

Concluding the exposition of the first theorem, Cartagena repeats that a special attention should be paid to the faith and not to the Israelite flesh, even though—he proudly underscores—the faith appears to be more splendid in the Israelite flesh, as proven in Philippians 3:3–6, where Paul paradoxically says that even though there should be no confidence in the flesh for the circumcised, he might be entitled to have more confidence in the flesh as “a Hebrew among Hebrews.”³⁹

It follows, Cartagena points out, that the Israelite who was exiled from the divine grace due to his infidelity, but was adopted through baptism to receive the faith, is reestablished in the divine grace with more richness than before, for the grace that is earned by the divine adoption is much more extraordinary, pure, and beneficial than the

la esperanza de salvación; pues muchas personas particulares de entre los gentiles, realizando obras de verdadera justicia, fueron fieles y aceptos a Dios y herederos y conciudadanos entre los verdaderos israelitas, no en la condición de la herencia terrena, sino de la sociedad de los cielos, a quienes plugo a Dios iluminar de muchos modos en la fe y en su culto grato, ya por el conocimiento y trato con aquel pueblo judío, ya por manifestación de sus ángeles o por cualquier inspiración divina, como explica santo Tomás en los Comentarios a los libros de las Sentencias” (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XI).

³⁷ See the *Utillogo* of Cartagena’s *Defensorium* (ed. Verdín-Díaz), pp. 398–400.

³⁸ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 161–9.

³⁹ See Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XLVIII: “Ampliamente explica todo esto el Apóstol a los Romanos, donde hace ver que Dios no ha rechazado a Israel, sino que su resto siempre se salvará, elegido por gracia, etcétera (cf. Rm 9–11), y que Dios es poderoso para volver a reinjertarlos en la fe, de donde se han cortado y caído, y que tenga cuidado cualquiera que de la gentilidad se ha injertado en la fe para que no presuma ni se ensoberbezca contra los que se convierten del judaísmo a la fe de Cristo, no sea que él mismo sea cortado y caiga a causa de la soberbia, etc.” See also Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 89–90. For a discussion of the pride of conversos stemming from their descent from God’s chosen people with the bibliography on the subject, see Nirenberg, “Mass conversion,” pp. 30–1.

one under the law, as St. Paul's life itself testified.⁴⁰ The divine adoption opens the gates of heaven, which was impossible before, for the sacraments of the old law did not possess any virtue whereby the sanctifying grace could be conferred.⁴¹ To exemplify this argument, Cartagena cites the proverbial Jewish shyness that, by virtue of baptism, was transformed in many into military valor.⁴²

The equality with which the Savior treats both Israelites and Gentiles is the subject matter of Cartagena's second theorem. Since the issue had been partially treated in the previous theorem, its exposition here is briefer. The special connection between Israelite lineage and acceptance of the Catholic faith mentioned at the end of the previous theorem clearly does not exclude Gentiles from the universal redemption offered through Christ, provided that they make themselves worthy to receive it, which is true also for the Israelites.⁴³ Moreover,

⁴⁰ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 288.

"Y así todos nos hacemos por la fe y el bautismo hijos de Abrahán (cf. Ga 3, 29), incluso también hijos de Dios (Cf. Jn 1, 12), y, en consecuencia, coherederos con Cristo (cf. Rm 8, 17) y, mediante él, ambos, judíos y gentiles, tenemos acceso al Padre en el único Espíritu (cf. Ef 2, 18), y, por lo tanto, cesa absolutamente tal diferencia, porque igualmente somos recibidos por Cristo mediante la fe y el sagrado bautismo, y nos acercamos a él en el único y mismo Espíritu de filiación, gracia y herencia; pues como escribe san León en el mismo sermón: *El día del nacimiento del Señor es el día del nacimiento de la paz*" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XLIX).

⁴¹ "La gracia que se gana por adopción divina es mucho más extraordinaria, pura y provechosa que la que bajo la ley se poseía. Porque la adopción divina abre las puertas del cielo, lo que no hubiese podido hacer aquella, porque los sacramentos de la Antigua ley no tenían en sí virtud alguna con la que obrasen para conferir la gracia santificante" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 171). See also *ibidem*, p. 277.

⁴² See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 183. See also Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 75. One wonders whether Cartagena's argument explains the engagement of a number of converso Jesuits, such as Diego Laínez, Jerónimo Nadal, Cristóbal Rodríguez, Baltasar Gago, or Hernando de Torres, as military chaplains.

⁴³ "Ninguno, pues, ya sea israelita, ya sea gentil, será excluido de los dones de Cristo a no ser que él mismo se excluya habiéndose indigno" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 179).

"Pues como permanece la Iglesia perfecta e inmutable en su estado, así también permanece universal y unida en concordia unánime de todos sus fieles, apartada de ella toda disparidad de aquellas antiguas imperfecciones, puesto que, de otro modo, ya no podría decirse que tuviera un estado nuevo y perfecto; esta sacratísima unión la solemnizó Cristo muriendo en la cruz para redención universal de todos los fieles, sin división alguna que se introduzca entre ellos, cuando adquirió para sí la única e indivisa Iglesia de todos los católicos; y tan admirable misterio ya había sido figurado antes en la formación de la primera mujer del costado del varón: de forma que, como del único varón. Adán, se formaba la única mujer para la procreación universal de todos, así también del gloriosísimo Jesús, único redentor nuestro, se formase la única santa madre Iglesia para salvación universal de todos sus fieles, a

even though “the first fruits of the Israelite people represented in the shepherds anticipated the fruits of the Gentiles in the reception of the Catholic faith, yet the fullness of the nations represented by the Magi anticipated the Israelite fullness in the faith,” as St. Paul had noted in his Letter to the Romans (11:25–6): “A certain blindness has occurred in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles has arrived and in this way all of Israel may be saved.”⁴⁴ Cartagena and Oropesa study this soteriological order by an analysis of the *Acts of the Apostles* 10, where Peter visits the Gentile Cornelius and, after having overcome his own resistance, as a circumcised Jew, to dealing with a Gentile, recognizes God’s will in redeeming the Gentile through baptism.⁴⁵

The baptism of Cornelius united him with Peter to be part of the new and indivisible—as Jesus’ tunic⁴⁶—people of the Church of

quienes por el mismo hecho les encomendó una concordia unánime” (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXI).

⁴⁴ “Así pues, las primicias del pueblo israelita figuradas en los pastores se anticiparon a las primicias de los gentiles en la recepción de la fe católica, mas la plenitud de las gentes representada por los Magos se anticipó a la plenitud israelita en la fe” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 182). Surprisingly, Rosenstock (*New Men*, p. 33) overlooked this choice of the Pauline *corpus* by Cartagena in an attempt to explicate Israel’s delay in the final redemption.

“Pero hay que seguir considerando para redondear del todo el tema presente que en su santísimo nacimiento no sólo mostró que pronto iba a hacer tal paz entre los dos pueblos, sino que también comenzó a realizarla enseguida, y en cierta forma ya los unió en sí mismo, pues trajo a los pastores, que eran del pueblo judío (como está en el evangelio de Lucas, 2, 8–17), y a los magos, del pueblo de los gentiles (como está en el evangelio de Mateo, 2, 1–12); y a unos y otros llamó de modo extraordinario y los trajo para que lo adorasen y reconociesen como Dios y hombre, y así ya los reunió en sí mismo en una cierta alianza de paz” (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXXV).

⁴⁵ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 183–5.

“Pero, sea de ello lo que se quiera, resulta evidente que la Iglesia universal estuvo congregada de unos y otros en unanimidad y se hizo admirable ejemplo en esta santa comunión dicha, como se dice expresamente en los Hechos de los Apóstoles (cf. Hch 6,1–7; 14,1.27) y puede deducirse en general del desarrollo de todo el libro; y todos los de ambos pueblos, de los judíos y de los gentiles, recibían de Dios la misma gracia y dones dentro de la única Iglesia universal de los fieles. Por eso, cuando Pedro fue de Joppe a Cesárea invitado por el centurión Cornelio, que era hombre gentil, y permaneció con él, y él con sus parientes y amigos recibieron el Espíritu Santo hasta llegar a proclamar en toda lengua las maravillas de Dios y merecer que les bautizara en el nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y cuando los creyentes de Jerusalén que eran de la circuncisión comenzaron a reprochárselo a Pedro, él, haciéndoles ver esta igualdad de gracia para unas y otras gentes, les respondió diciendo: «Por tanto, si Dios les ha concedido el mismo don que a nosotros, por haber creído en el Señor Jesucristo, ¿quién era yo para poner obstáculos a Dios? Al oír esto se tranquilizaron y glorificaron a Dios...»” (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXXVIII).

⁴⁶ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 199; and Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. II: “Con razón pues sólo nos resta concluir sobre la magnitud de este error

Christ, regardless of their different lineage. This mixture of blood had taken place already in biblical times among the Israelites themselves, explicates Cartagena in the third theorem. For instance, Rahab (Joshua 6:25) and Ruth (Ruth 1:16–7) came from the Gentiles—from Jericho and Moab, respectively. Yet they both married Israelite men: the former became mother of Solomon and the latter of Jesse, father of David, from whom Christ derived his lineage, as the Gospel according to Matthew highlighted.⁴⁷ In sum, “the sanctification of Israel would really come in the form not of division but of unification, so that both the descendants of Jacob by flesh and the rest would unite under one king and one pastor, that is Christ, in order to form one people only, one lineage only, and one flock only.”⁴⁸ Isaiah predicted this union: “The wolf will dwell with the lamb; and the leopard will lie down with the kid.” According to Cartagena, in this image, the “bellicosity of the armed Gentility unites with tenderness of the Israelite meekness.”⁴⁹

The unity of the Christian Church that encompasses both Israelites and Gentiles is also based on the sharing of guilt for Christ’s death, a guilt shared by those priests who disregarded the signs given to them by prophets; simple Jews as a result to their ignorance; and the Gentiles who actually crucified Christ. The last group’s guilt, however, was more forgivable in Cartagena’s view, for—contrary to the Jews—the Gentiles did not have knowledge of the law.⁵⁰ Nevertheless,

que, si realmente somos discípulos de Cristo, fieles y católicos, tenemos que deplorar en este cisma, no de otra forma que rasgando los vestidos, que se ha cortado su túnica: es decir, la caridad y la unidad.”

⁴⁷ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 189; and Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. L: “«Y suscitaré para ponérselo al frente a un solo pastor que las apacientará: mi siervo David», es decir. Cristo, nacido de la descendencia de David según la carne, como se dice en el evangelio de Mateo y en la carta a los Romanos (cf. Mt 1,1; 1,6–16; Rm 1,3).” On Netanyahu’s critique of Américo Castro’s idea of alleged Jewish “racial hermetism,” see Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition*, pp. 4–7.

⁴⁸ “La santificación de Israel habría de venir no realmente bajo la forma de división, sino de unificación, de modo que, tanto los que descendieran de Jacob según la carne como el resto, se unirían para bajo un solo rey y un solo pastor, que es Cristo, para formar un solo pueblo, un solo linaje y un solo rebaño” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 199).

⁴⁹ “La turbulencia de la gentilidad armada se une a la blandura de la masedumbre israelita” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 200–1).

⁵⁰ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 202–3; and Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XLVIII: “Es que esta santificación por el bautismo es tan necesaria a los gentiles como a los judíos si quieren salvarse y contarse y estar entre los hijos de la Iglesia: pues todos pecaron y están privados de la gloria de Dios,

both Gentiles and Jews were forgiven in the event of Christ's death on the cross that dissolved the "intermediate wall of separation," opening access to the Father for both of them, as St. Paul argued in his Letter to Ephesians (2:14–8). Therefore, as Alonso Díaz de Montalvo (1405–99) pointed out,⁵¹ there are no longer visitors or new arrivals in Christian religion—we cannot tolerate those who distinguish between New and Old (Christians), for there is no Catholic who has not come to the faith recently: as nobody who stays in his mother's womb can be circumcised, so none can be baptized.⁵²

Unique to Cartagena is his fourth and last theorem, which he explains as a consequence of a correct syllogism made of two major propositions contained in the first and second theorems and of a minor proposition enclosed in the third theorem: if both the Israelite and Gentile peoples are fully saved and, after they arrived to the faith, formed one people of God without any lineage differences, *ergo* they can aspire to all the merits they had previously possessed and can obtain the new ones within the unity of the new people.⁵³

como acaba de decirse: ciertamente pecaron por el pecado original con el que todos nacemos hijos de la cólera, como se ha dicho; también pecaron con pecados actuales tanto los judíos como los gentiles en la misma crucifixión de Cristo, en la que se aliaron unos y otros contra él y la consumaron."

⁵¹ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 56–9.

⁵² See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 205–6; and Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. L: "De todo lo dicho resulta claro que de ninguna forma se puede llamar neófito a la persona que, una vez hecha adulta, por más que hubiera sido hijo de algún infiel ya judío ya gentil, sin embargo había sido bautizada mientras era niño, incluso aunque hubiera sido circuncidado antes del bautismo. Asimismo que mucho menos se le puede llamar o considerar neófito al que ha nacido de padres ya fieles y bautizado enseguida según la costumbre de la Iglesia, por más que ellos antes hubieran sido judíos o sarracenos. Asimismo que no se le puede considerar ni llamar neófito al que, aunque fuera adulto y persona mayor cuando se hizo cristiano, no obstante ya había vivido durante algún tiempo y por algunos años en la fe de Cristo después de haberse bautizado. Es bien clara la razón de todo esto y es porque ninguno de ellos sería «hace poco renacido» ni «nuevo en la fe», que es lo que se exige para que se le llame y sea neófito." See also Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 91.

⁵³ "Este teorema en realidad se depende de los teoremas anteriores como consecuencia lógica de un correcto silogismo, pues al ser tanto el pueblo gentil como el israelita salvados a cabalidad, como en el primero y en el segundo teorema se deduce a modo de una proposición mayor, y al formarse un solo pueblo y un nuevo grupo de estos dos pueblos llegados a la fe, como se demostró con el tercer teorema a modo de una consecuencia lógica; de tal manera que los procedentes de ambas partes, reunidos ya en un solo pueblo bajo la caridad cristiana y sin diferencia alguna de linaje, puedan aspirar a todos los méritos que tenían, y a conseguir otros dentro de la unidad del nuevo pueblo" (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 213).

Based on this syllogism, the Roman Constantine the Great,⁵⁴ the Frank Clovis,⁵⁵ the Gothic Alaric,⁵⁶ or the Lithuanian Jagiełło,⁵⁷ who were all Gentiles before they accepted the Catholic faith, not only kept their attributes of majesty and nobility of lineage but also were further ennobled by the water of baptism. Moreover, Emperor Justinian⁵⁸—in spite of being Christian—was proud to trace his lineage to the pagan Aeneas.⁵⁹

Royalty and priesthood, the highest of dignities assigned to nobility, existed also in the history of the people of Israel, as the Scriptures testify abundantly. Beyond this nobility by lineage that was often combined with theological nobility in the great figures of Solomon or Samuel, Cartagena points out the presence of what he calls “*civic nobility*” in the Israelite people. Its most evocative example is Judas Maccabaeus.⁶⁰ Cartagena admits, however, that this civic nobility must have waned because of grave Jewish sins of infidelity and blindness in not recognizing Christ, as could be observed during the so-called Jewish war against Titus and Vespasian.⁶¹ He confidently concludes his argument with an analogy:

As by divine mercy they were freed from the material Egypt through the passage across the Red Sea signaled to them by a column of fire, so will they be mercifully freed from the spiritual Egypt of infidelity and all their grief when they turn to the Catholic faith through the Red Sea of baptismal water reddened by the blood of Christ and signaled to them by the column of fire of love of the Holy Spirit.⁶²

⁵⁴ Constantine I (c. 272–337) was the first Roman emperor to endorse Christianity as state religion (Edict of Milan, 313), even though he accepted baptism only on his deathbed.

⁵⁵ Clovis I (c. 466–511) was the founder of the Merovingian dynasty of Frankish kings. He converted to Catholicism under the sway of his wife, Clotilda.

⁵⁶ Alaric I (c. 370–410) was the king of Goths, who captured Rome.

⁵⁷ Jogaila, later Władysław II Jagiełło (c. 1362–1434), was Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland. In 1386 he converted to Christianity and married Queen Jadwiga of Poland. See also Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 331.

⁵⁸ Justinian I or Justinian the Great (482–565) was Eastern Roman Emperor since 527. His major legacy, reflected in the Visigothic legislation, with which Cartagena as jurist must have been quite familiar, comes from his *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.

⁵⁹ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 214–7.

⁶⁰ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 221–5. Other biblical examples are from Deuteronomy 1:15; Numbers 1:16–7; 1 Samuel 9:6; 2 Samuel 23:18–9; Isaiah 34:12; Marc 15:43; and Acts of the Apostles 17:12.

⁶¹ Cartagena alludes here to the first Jewish-Roman War, 66–73 C.E., known as The Great Revolt.

⁶² “Y así como por la divina clemencia fueron librados del Egipto material a través del paso del Mar Rojo señalándoles el camino una columna de fuego, así serán

In other words, natural and civic nobility had been undermined by, as Cartagena puts it, the theological slavery of Hagar—whose womb symbolizes the Synagogue—which prevented the Jews from holding civic offices in Christian society. Yet, through the water of baptism the Jews are liberated from this kind of slavery to become sons of Sarah—whose womb represents the Church Militant—and their impurity is made purer than snow (Psalm 50:9).⁶³ Thus,

While the unfortunate Jews on account of the blindness of their hearts are filled with the misfortune, both spiritual and physical, of not seeing the light that enlightens every man who comes to this world, if their eyes are opened, once they have come to the Church, they receive the vision of the soul. There is no doubt that, freed from spiritual ills, they will also be freed from the weight of temporary ones. Who, then, will dare to say that the men purified by water of baptism are still marked by the stain of infamy of their ancestors, while their own sins are completely removed by the same water of baptism?⁶⁴

To support his argument against “the malice of the envious,” about whose origins from Goths or Vandals nobody inquires,⁶⁵ Cartagena—like the jurist Díaz de Montalvo—quotes a law from the Civil Code⁶⁶ that contradicts what we would term today “biological determinism”: “a father’s sin or punishment cannot impress any stain on his child [unless it is the stain of original sin transmitted from Adam], for everyone is subject to his own responsibility and no one inherits crime.”⁶⁷

misericordiosamente liberados del Egipto espiritual de la infidelidad, y de todas sus congojas, por el Mar Rojo del agua bautismal, enrojecidos por la sangre de Cristo al pasar a la fe católica y señalándoles el camino la columna de fuego del amor del Espíritu Santo” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 226). See also *ibidem*, pp. 241–3 and 277–9.

⁶³ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 237 and 263.

⁶⁴ “Como los infortunados judíos por la ceguera de su corazón son colmados de desgracias, tanto espirituales como corporales, al no ver la luz que ilumina a todo hombre que viene a este mundo, si abiertos los ojos, una vez llegados a la Iglesia, reciben la visión del alma, no cabe lugar a duda de que, al ser liberados de los males espirituales, serán también liberados del peso de los males temporales [...]. ¿Quien, pues, se atreverá a decir que al purificado por el agua del bautismo le ha quedado mancha alguna de la infamia de sus antepasados, cuando hasta sus propios pecados son completamente removidos por la misma agua del bautismo?” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 251).

⁶⁵ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 270.

⁶⁶ *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, “Digestorum liber XLVIII,” tit. XIX, “De poenis,” 26.

⁶⁷ “El pecado o el castigo paterno no puede imponer mancha alguna al hijo, ya que cada cual está sujeto a su propia responsabilidad y no se establece como sucesor del delito a nadie” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 252; see also *ibidem*, pp. 253–5).

Those Israelites who are regenerated by the water of baptism not only enjoy every privilege, exemption, and liberty—as the fathers of the Council of Basel unanimously stated (as we have seen earlier)—but also they have the right to be treated delicately,⁶⁸ following St. Paul’s recommendation to give the weak neophytes the milk of love and generous breasts rather than solid food [1 Corinthians 3:2], as a mother gives to her child. Newborns to the faith are like tender plants that have to be watered often with an abundance of water, for the Church is like “an enclosed garden, a sealed fountain” (The Song of Songs 4:12). They must be taken care of with brotherly love, so that they feel they are one, without any differentiation based on their ancient origin.⁶⁹ This kind of unity is desired by Christ himself, as was the unity that is between him and his Father (John 17:11), “for in Christ Jesus either circumcision or foreskin is worth nothing, but only faith which works through charity” (Galatians 5:6).⁷⁰

The necessity of Christian unity in Spanish society, continues Cartagena, is built on the promise of equality without regard for lineage, as was well understood by King Alfonso X (the Wise) who inscribed it into the collection of laws known as *Partidas* [1256–65], which were subsequently confirmed by King Enrique:

We also order that, after any Jews become Christians, all persons in our dominions shall honor them; and that no one shall dare reproach them or their descendants, by way of affront, with having been Jews; and that

⁶⁸ Fernan Díaz de Toledo, a converso counselor and secretary of King Juan II, presented the same argument in his *Instrucción* (see Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 95).

⁶⁹ “Éstos han de ser tratados de diferente manera que los demás, sino que bajo la unidad de un mismo cuerpo si advertimos que algunos son débiles, que los aliviemos con la leche de la caridad y con los pechos de la generosidad, como en un mismo jardín a las plantas más tiernas se las riega más a menudo con abundancia de buena agua. Porque la Iglesia es un jardín cercado y una fuente sellada bajo cuya unidad y sello todos cuantos se lavan con el agua de la fuente sellada, que es el bautismo, han de ser cuidados con mano fraterna y caritativa para que se sientan una sola cosa sin diferencia alguna motivada por la antigüedad de origen” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 262).

For a different use of the metaphor of milk as drink that feeds Christians coming either from Judaism or Paganism, see Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XXXII: “Los dos senos son los dos pueblos, de los gentiles y de los judíos, porque, al vivir continuamente en amor fraterno se alimentan mutuamente con la leche de la piedad en la caridad, por lo que se denominan correctamente como dos crías mellizas de gacela, porque, al ser engendrados en la fe por la predicación de la sinagoga, se alimentan de sus escrituras atendiendo a la esperanza de eternidad, y así pacen concordes en los montes.”

⁷⁰ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 263–7.

they shall possess all their property, sharing the same with their brothers and inheriting it from their fathers and mothers and other relatives just as if they were Jews; and that they can hold all offices and dignities which other Christians can do.⁷¹

In Cartagena's (and Díaz de Montalvo's) opinion as a jurist trained in *utroque iure*, all the civil and ecclesiastical laws that he cited so far were broken by the Toledan anti-converso legislation of 1449, behind which—in Cartagena's view—stood Marcos [García de Mora].⁷² Cartagena accosts him, arguing that García de Mora's statutes are against the divine law and heretical.⁷³ His "black envy" fueled his distortion of the Fourth Council of Toledo's legislation [633], which Cartagena personally consulted in Basel. According to García de Mora, this canon was supposedly incorporated into Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140)⁷⁴ and provided

⁷¹ Alfonso X el Sabio, *Partidas*, "La Séptima Partida," tit. XXIV, ley VI (see Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 273–4). See also Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XLIII. The Alfonsine legislation comprised, though, many restrictions on Jewish life: Jews were prohibited from intermarrying with Christians, visiting Christian baths, possessing Christians servants, holding any public office that would give them power over Christians, or seeking Christian converts to Judaism.

⁷² In his *Memorial* (1449), which supported the purity-of-blood legislation of Sarmiento, García de Mora (known also as Marquillos de Mazarambroz) accused the conversos of Toledo of being responsible for the conspiracy against Old Christians during the 1449 revolt. He called for the persecution and murder of New Christians. For an analysis of this document, see Eloy Benito Ruano, "El memorial contra los conversos del bachiller Marcos García de Mora ('Marquillos de Mazarambroz'), *Sefarad* 17 (1957): 320–51; and Verdín-Díaz, ed., *Alonso de Cartagena*, pp. 31–57. For Cartagena's analysis of García de Mora's resentment, see Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 321–6.

⁷³ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 330 and 341–2.

"Pero de todo lo dicho aparece bien claro cuánta ha sido la temeridad y audacia de estas personas que quieren separar de la Iglesia de Dios a los que se habían convertido del judaísmo y hecho cristianos por el bautismo, y de los que se esfuerzan por excluirlos de los oficios y dignidades y de los demás honores de la Iglesia de Dios; por ser esto evidentemente contra la autoridad de la Iglesia universal, contra su sagrada Escritura y sucesión tácita, contra su uso y costumbre prolongado desde los santos apóstoles hasta ahora, y contra sus honorables concilios" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. XLVII).

⁷⁴ "Y esto solo debiera bastar como respuesta al argumento tomado de dicho concilio toledano. Sin embargo, para que con el honor debido a dicho concilio y a la veneración de aquellos santos padres se dé la respuesta, hay que decir que, aunque aquellos concilios de obispos no tenían validez para definir y establecer, especialmente en tan importantes y difíciles asuntos, no obstante eran válidos para corregir y castigar, y son necesarios para eso, como allí mismo dice Graciano, y así se hicieron y dispusieron aquellos decretos escritos entonces contra los delincuentes e impuestos y aplicados por aquellos santos padres reunidos en dicho concilio toledano, o sea, a modo de sentencia y reprehensión particular de corrección y castigo contra aquellos lapsos de entonces, como contra ciertas personas concretas atrapa-

a precedent to debar New Christians from holding office in Toledo. The astute lawyer Cartagena argues, however, that one should look at the different historical context of the reigns of Sisebuto [612–20] and Sisenando [633–6], under whom the legislation was promulgated and which Gratian omitted in his transcription of the decree.⁷⁵ Additionally, Toledo IV was the only council among the fifteen Visigothic councils that dealt with the *judaizantes*.⁷⁶ Moreover, Cartagena was unable to find this part of the council's legislation in Gratian's collection, for the only fragment related to the debarment of the Jews from public offices and those "ex Iudaeis" refers not—in his view—to the carnal descent but to the spiritual one:

The holy Council has ruled that the Jews, or those who are from the Jews [*ex Iudaeis*], in no way aspire to public offices, for by such activity they would do injustice to the Christians. Therefore, the judges of provinces, together with the bishops, prevent their fraudulently disguised infiltrations and not allow them to hold public offices. And if anyone permitted it, would have to be excommunicated as sacrilegious and who fraudulently attained office, would have to be put to death publicly.⁷⁷

das en aquellas transgresiones y errores; y no a modo de ley o de estatuto general que habría de durar para siempre y que se imponía a todo el pueblo de Dios que entonces se había convertido del judaísmo o que se iba a convertir en adelante a la fe; y en esta forma lo relata y presenta Graciano, y no como estatutos de los concilios generales o decretos de los sumos Pontífices, que se consideran como leyes y son leyes, y como tales se veneran y se cumplen, sino como determinadas actuaciones concretas y correcciones hechas temporalmente para la reforma de las costumbres y enmienda de los que vivieron en aquel entonces, de lo que también en algunas cosas pueden tomar ejemplo los actuales y los futuros, con tal que no se tuerza del camino de la verdad y de la sana y recta doctrina de la santa madre Iglesia" (Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. LI).

⁷⁵ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 304 and 328–30; and Oropesa, *Luz*, ed. Díaz y Díaz, cap. LI: "Ya que si fuese verdad que dichos cánones abarcaban a todos los de raza judía que habían recibido o iban a recibir la fe de Cristo y a todos les aplicaban las penas allí contenidas, no exceptuaría este canon a sus hijos, al ser igualmente de la misma raza y vivir en la misma fe; pero, sin embargo, los excluye y los salva y dice que el hijo no cargará con la maldad de su padre, es decir, que no será castigado por los pecados de él, como está escrito y puesto en los sagrados cánones del mismo concilio toledano, donde dice: «Los judíos bautizados, si estuviesen condenados con cualquier pena después de haber prevaricado contra Cristo, no convendrá excluir a sus hijos fieles de los bienes de ellos, porque está escrito: El hijo no cargará con la iniquidad de su padre, ni el padre cargará con la iniquidad de su hijo»."

For the historical context of Sisebuto's and Sisenando's legislation concerning Jews and conversos, see, for example, Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 8–9.

⁷⁶ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 294–304. Fernan Díaz de Toledo argued similarly in his *Instrucción* (see Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 94).

⁷⁷ "Constituuit sanctum concilium ut iudaei aut hi qui ex iudaeis sunt, officia publica nullatenus appetant, qui sub hac actione christianis iniuriam faciunt. Ideoque iudices

Cartagena concludes this part of his work, addressing directly Marcos García de Mora, the true leader of the anti-converso party in Toledo, with the following provocative words:

Examine, therefore, so to speak your way, if by chance you are from the Jews, because, applauding their infidelity, you persecute with rancorous hate the faithful who descend from them up to the point that a door-woman could tell you, *You are one of them* (I do not know whether according to the flesh, but certainly according to the spirit). If you hold a position by which you are blamed, you are one of them, because your language betrays you, because you say huge things against God, as you were a beast going to die.⁷⁸

The legislation of Toledo IV breaks, in Cartagena's view, with the long-running tradition of the Church, within which many Israelites became prestigious figures:

It never occurred that a person was rejected because of his Jewish blood. And we do not speak here just about the origins of the Church, when the pillars of the faith, the saint apostles, and after them, the disciples of our Redeemer as well as many other descendants of Jewish blood governed the Church of God, holding important offices (and some ennobled it with martyrdom or virtues).⁷⁹

provinciarum cum sacerdotibus eorum subreptiones fraudulentè relictas suspendant et officia publica agere non permittant. Si quis autem hoc presumpserit velut in sacrilegium excommunicatio proferatur. Et qui subreperit, publicis cèdibus deputetur.”

A comparison of Cartagena's transcription of the Toledan decree with its original (see *Conciliorum Toletanum IV*, cap. LXV, “Ne iudaei, vel si qui ex iudaeis sunt, officia publica agant,” quoted in Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 304), proves Cartagena's accuracy. The expression “ex Iudaeis,” however, did apply in many writings of the period to those who descended from Jews by blood (see, for example, the text by the Jesuit Manuel Rodrigues that we shall analyze in Chapter Three). Thus, Cartagena's philological argument about the spiritual nature of the expression (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 305–9 and 312–4) seems to be forced.

⁷⁸ “Examina, pues, para hablar a tu modo, si acaso tú eres de los judíos, porque tú, aplaudiendo su infidelidad, persigues con rencoroso odio a los fieles que descienden de ellos hasta el punto que una criada portera pudiera decirte, *Tú eres uno de ellos* [Mark 14:66–72], no sé si en la carne, pero sí ciertamente en el espíritu. Si mantienes esa posición que se te achaca, tú eres uno de ellos, porque tu lenguaje te delata, porque dices, como tocado de muerte por cuerpo de bestia, cosas enormes contra Dios” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 308).

⁷⁹ “Y jamás se ha descubierto que nadie hubiera sido rechazado por esta causa. Y no hablemos del origen mismo de la Iglesia en el que las columnas de la fe, los santos apóstoles y, después de ellos, los discípulos de nuestro Redentor, además de muchos otros descendientes de sangre judía, gobernaron la Iglesia de Dios bajo vestiduras de dignidades, y algunos la ennoblecieron con el martirio, y muchos con sus virtudes” (Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 320).

Thus, Evarist was a pope for ten years,⁸⁰ and Julian—known for his knowledge and virtue—held the primatial See of Toledo itself.⁸¹ In the conclusion to the exposition of his fourth theorem, Cartagena continues to criticize García de Mora for manipulating the true meaning of the decrees of Toledo IV that pertain to the prohibition against Jews and “those who are from Jews” testifying in Christian courts of law.⁸²

The third and last brief part of the work aims to interpret the turmoil caused by García de Mora as a pagan act of destroying Church unity and fomenting a heretical rebellion against the royal power of King Juan II, to whom the *Defensorium* is dedicated.⁸³

Cartagena’s arguments—with the support of his converso colleague from Basel, the Dominican Cardinal Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468), uncle of the future Inquisitor General,⁸⁴ and the royal jurist Díaz de Montalvo⁸⁵—found a benevolent hearing with Pope Nicholas V. The pope immediately issued three bulls against the Sarmiento legislation of 1449, the most important of them being the *Humani generis inimicus*

⁸⁰ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 320.

Evarist is traditionally regarded as the fifth bishop of Rome, successor to Clement I. He reigned between 100 and 109. He was the son of Juda from Bethlehem, who migrated to Antioch, where Evarist was born. He was martyred under Emperor Trajan (r. 97–117).

⁸¹ See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, p. 320. For other names of the converso prelates, see Fernan Díaz de Toledo’s *Instrucción* (see Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 95).

Archbishop Julian (d. 690) was baptized in Toledo. Isidor de Beja and Pablo de Santa María acknowledged his Jewish origins, as did Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, an important jurist during the reigns of Juan II and Enrique IV. Julian opposed the violence of King Erwig against King Wamba, whose history he put in writing. He was behind the anti-Jewish legislation of the Twelfth Council of Toledo and author of *De comprobatione aetatis sextae contra Judaeos* (686), intended to compel Jews to convert (see Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 58; and Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 67). Archbishop Silíceo denied Julian’s Jewish origins (see Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 156).

⁸² See Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 327–42.

⁸³ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 81–3.

⁸⁴ At the occasion, Torquemada wrote a treatise, *Contra Madianitas et Ismaelitas adversarios et detractores illorum qui de populo Israeli originem traxerunt*, which reflected the argumentation of Cartagena. It has two modern editions: by Nicolás López Martínez and Vicente Proaño Gil (Burgos: Seminario Metropolitano de Burgos, 1957); and by Carlos del Valle and Eloy Benito Ruano (Madrid: Aben Ezra Ediciones, 2002). See its analysis vis-à-vis Cartagena’s *Defensorium* in Rosenstock, *New Men*, especially pp. 53–68; and Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 98. For the biography of Torquemada, see Stephen Lederer, *Der Spanische Cardinal Johann von Torquemada: sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1879); and Thomas Izbicki, *Protector of the Faith: Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981).

⁸⁵ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 56–9.

(its very existence would be questioned by Bishop Simancas, but not by the Jesuit García Girón de Alarcón, as we shall see below):

Bishop Nicholas, Servant of the Servants of God, that the matter may be perpetually known.

The enemy of humankind, once he saw the word of God fall on good field, engaged in sowing weeds, so that, rammed the seed, it would not produce fruit [Matthew 13:24–30]. Similarly, the Apostle Paul, vase of choice and principal extirpator of this weed, relates that at the beginning a disagreement was born over favoritism among the converted to the faith: some struggled for the precedence of Jews over Gentiles and others looked for other ways to arrive at a schism in the Church of God, when some claimed to be of Cephas and others of Apollo [1 Corinthians 3:22]. Predicting that it would happen in the beginning of the newborn Church, our Redeemer ruled that those who remove such weeds relieve also those who sinned out of human weakness or those who fell. The Apostle himself, writing to the Romans, undid with divine words any dissent over that favoritism; and Peter, Prince of the Apostles, turned away any chance of schism, once bishops were ordained in each diocese.

Following the example of our Redeemer and being His unworthy vicar on earth in removing these disagreements, illustrated by the above examples, We are obliged to use with much care our pontifical authority and challenge those who could engender some division among the faithful, so that charity, love, and unity reign among them. Nothing then is more convenient among the faithful than to have only one mind, as the Apostle said: “For just as the body is one, and yet has many parts, so all the parts of the body, though they are many, are only one body. So also in Christ. And indeed, in one Spirit, we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether servant or free. And we have all drank in the one Spirit” [1 Corinthians 12:12–3]. “One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all” [Ephesians 4:5–6].

We have found out that some new sowers of weeds, who try to corrupt the salvific foundation of this unity and peace of our faith and renew the discord that had been extirpated by the Apostle Paul, vase of choice, especially in the realms of our dear son, the illustrious Juan, king of Castile and León, audaciously affirmed that those from Gentilism or Judaism or any other error, who learned the Christian truth and were baptized and even—what is graver—their descendants, may not be admitted to honors, dignities, offices, and public notaries or witness in cases of Christians, because of their recent reception of the faith, bringing them disgrace in word and deed.

This is alien to the teaching of our Redeemer as witnessed by the Apostle Paul who said: “Glory and honor and peace are for all who do what is good, the Jew first, and also the Greek, for there is no favoritism of persons with God” [Romans 2:10–1] and: “*Whoever believes in him shall not be confused*, for there is no distinction between Jew and

Greek, for the same Lord is over all, richly in all who call upon him” [Romans 10:11–2], and elsewhere: “For in Christ Jesus either circumcision or foreskin is worth nothing, but only faith which works through charity” [Galatians 5:6]). Those who have walked away from the truth of Christian faith and have exceeded in things said above, whom we desire to take to the path of the true faith and warn, are not only contradicted by the quoted divine testimonies, but also by the frequent sanctions of those illustrious princes, such as Alfonso, the so-called Wise, and Enrique, and our beloved son Juan, kings of Castile and León, which were aimed to increase the faith and supported by severe penalties. We have seen those sanctions in kings’ authentic letters, supplied with their seals, and we have pondered them wisely. They established that there was no preference between the newly converts to the faith, especially from the Jewish people, and the Old Christians to keep or receive honors, offices and dignities, both ecclesiastical and civil [...] and whoever sows falsehoods against the rule of Christian law, scandalizes neighbors, and acts against unity and peace, should confess his mistakes and be punished with appropriate penalties.

By our initiative, we consciously adopt, confirm, and—with the firmness of the apostolic authority—approve the orders and decrees of those princes regarding these issues as complying with the sacred canons and law. And under penalty of excommunication, we commend to each and every one of any status, rank or condition, either ecclesiastical or lay, to admit each and every one of the converts to the Christian faith and those who will convert in the future either from Gentilism or Judaism, or from any sect they may have come or will come, and their descendants of both the clergy and laity, as long as they live as good Catholics and Christians, to all dignities, honors, offices, public notaries, witness statements and everything else, to which all other older Christians are usually admitted. No difference should be made between them and other Christians, because of having recently received faith, nor should they disgrace them by word or deed, nor should they let others do such things; rather, they should contradict and oppose it with all their might; and with all their charity they should accompany them and honor without favoritism of persons. Additionally, we declare and decree that we Catholics are one body in Christ, according to the teaching of our faith, and that all those converted are part of it and that we all have to consider them as such.

However, if you find that some of them after baptism lost the sense of the Christian faith, or follow the mistakes of the Jews or Gentiles, or by ignorance or ill will do not uphold the precepts of Christian faith, in such cases goes into effect what was established in the Council of Toledo, especially in the chapter *Constituit*, and elsewhere, where against such apostates from the faith of Christ one says that they are not to be admitted to such honors at parity with the other good faithful, which is exactly what the quoted kings, correctly understanding the sacred canons, have applied to certain laws of their kingdoms in their mentioned constitutions—to think differently would be less than what is expected from a

Christian. Who suffers because of this scandal should go to a judge and demand that he fulfill what is right by the public authority of law and the established order, and that nobody intend, out of his own authority outside the established order, to do violence against all or any of them, which is contrary to the teaching of the divine and human laws. [...]

Given in Fabriano, diocese of Camerino, in the year 1449 of the Incarnation of the Lord, the 24th of September, in the third year of our pontificate.⁸⁶

Humani generis inimicus, echoing strongly Cartagena's *Defensorium*, excommunicated "those who sowed zizania," but only temporarily, and it did not prevent other anti-converso riots and the dissemination of purity-of-blood laws beyond Toledo. Fiercely promoted by the Franciscan Alonso de Espina (d. 1469) in his malicious *Fortalitiium fidei* (c. 1464),⁸⁷ purity-of-blood laws were adopted by the city councils of Cordova and Jaén (1473), Ciudad Real, Valladolid, and Segovia (1474), Villena (1476), and others. Oropesa's religious order, the Jeronymites, introduced the anti-converso statutes at the end of the fifteenth century; the Franciscans accepted the statutes with a limitation up to the fourth generation in 1525, a restriction which was later abrogated (1583); and the Discalced Carmelites adopted them just two years after the Jesuits (1595). The Dominicans never applied the statutes universally, but individual convents did, such as Santo Tomás of Ávila (1496) or San Pablo of Cordova (1538). Also the military orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and Santiago followed suit in the later fourteenth century, as did the Colegios Mayores, such as San Bartolomé in Salamanca or San Clemente in Bologna,⁸⁸ and the cathedrals of Badajoz, Cordova, Jaén, León, Oviedo, Seville, Sigüenza, and Valencia.⁸⁹ Yet, the con-

⁸⁶ See the original Latin text in Appendix II. For an analysis of Nicholas V's legislation regarding conversos (there were other two bulls), see V. Beltrán de Heredia, "Las bulas de Nicolás V acerca de los conversos," *Sefarad* 21 (1961): 22–47. Roth (*Conversos, Inquisition*, p. 101) criticized Heredia's argumentation concerning the causes that led to the creation of the Inquisition as reflecting Heredia's "anti-Jewish animus."

⁸⁷ *Fortalitiium fidei contra Iudaeos, Saracenos aliosque Christianae fidei inimicos* had numerous editions in various parts of Europe. For an analysis of the text, see Steven J. McMichael, *Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah? Alphonso de Espina's argument against the Jews in the Fortalitiium fidei (c. 1464)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994). See also Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 100–1.

⁸⁸ See Baltasar Cuart, *Colegiales mayores y limpieza de sangre durante la edad moderna: el Estatuto de S. Clemente de Bolonia (ss. XV–XIX)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1991).

⁸⁹ See Kamen, *Crisis and Change*, p. 4; and Elvira Pérez Ferreiro, *El Tratdo de Uceda contra los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre. Una reacción ante el establecimiento del*

versos continued to play important roles in both civil and ecclesiastical spheres, especially in Toledo, where one hundred years after the Sarmiento legislation the city's archbishop promulgated discriminatory laws against converso clerics.⁹⁰

Purity-of-blood statutes of Archbishop Silíceo (1547)

In none of the anti-converso laws did the 1449 *Sentencia-Estatuto* of Toledo leave its unlawful mark more than in the *Pureza-de-sangre* Statutes (1547) of Juan Martínez Guijarro (1477–1557), Inquisitor General of Spain and Archbishop of Toledo. Even though Pope Paul IV and Guijarro's former pupil, King Philip II, ratified Guijarro's statutes in 1555 and 1556, respectively—in spite of the latter's earlier opposition to it—Jesuit leaders would adamantly oppose the archbishop's attempt to impose anti-converso laws on the Society of Jesus, which had been founded just a few years earlier (1540), as we shall see in the following chapter.

Juan Martínez Guijarro—who used the Latinized form of his name, Silíceo, in order to disguise his lower-class social background—was born into a poor peasant family near Llerena (Villagarcía), an origin that would guarantee his blood's purity.⁹¹ As had Loyola and his first companions, Silíceo studied at the University of Paris for many years. Upon his return to Spain, he continued his academic career at Salamanca, where he resided at the College of San Bartolomé at the time it introduced purity-of-blood statutes. Subsequently, Silíceo became Prince Philip's Latin preceptor, an office that earned him in 1546 the most elevated episcopal office in Spain—the Primatial See of Toledo—and the cardinalate in 1554. Seeking a veiled pretext to act against the converso Cobos clan of Toledo, whose preeminent representative, Francisco de los Cobos y Molina (d. 1547),⁹² was the royal secretary who opposed Silíceo's appointment to the archbishopric, and to sabotage the

Estatuto de Limpieza en la Orden Franciscana (Madrid: Aben Ezra Ediciones, 2000), pp. 25–9.

⁹⁰ For an analysis of the adoption of the *limpieza* statues versus their actual implementation, see Linda Martz, "Pure Blood Statues in Sixteenth Century Toledo: Implementation as Opposed to Adoption," *Sefarad* 54 (1994): 83–106.

⁹¹ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 126–7; and Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 51.

⁹² See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 127–8; and Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos, Secretary of the Emperor Charles V* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960).

nomination of the converso Fernando Jiménez as canon of the Toledan Church,⁹³ Sarmiento's avatar promulgated the *pureza-de-sangre* statutes in his cathedral chapter.

Silíceo's *raison d'être* for his anti-converso legislation is shared with the 1449 Toledan statutes and, thus, does not need further analysis here: the converso, who inherits the bad moral inclinations of his Jewish ancestors, is unsuitable to hold any public office. Claiming the authority of the Scriptures and the Fourth Council of Toledo, he argues that the conversos "still hold on their lips the milk of their ancestors' recent perversity."⁹⁴ To Silíceo, this inclination to the vice of unfaithfulness takes roots in a man already at his birth.⁹⁵ A choice between pure and impure Christians was to Silíceo similar to a choice between bred and in-bred horses.⁹⁶ These arguments seemed absurd even to the non-converso clerics, Pero González de Mendoza from Guadalajara and Álvaro de Mendoza from Talavera, who—supported by the numerous converso clergy of Toledo—called for the immediate annulment of the statutes. But Silíceo viewed himself as the harbinger of the second Spanish *Reconquista* and made every possible effort, cunning conspiracy included, to have his anti-converso laws approved by both royal and papal authorities.⁹⁷ One of the major defenders of Silíceo's racial discrimination was Bishop Diego de Simancas.

⁹³ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 131. In his study of "the most infamous and representative" case of Cazorla in relation to the 1547 Statutes, Samson Alexander stressed that "although anti-Semitic prejudice played a role, it was predominantly about Toledan politics, opposed visions of the Church and contested notions of religious identity as either a genealogical category, something inhering in blood lines or something associated with virtue and personal piety" (see Samson Alexander, "The *adelantamiento* of Cazorla, *converso* Culture and Toledo Cathedral Chapter's 1547 *estatuto de limpieza de sangre*," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 84/7 (2007): 819.

⁹⁴ "Tienen en los labios la leche de la reciente perversidad de sus antepasados" (quoted by Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 131). On Américo Castro's interpretation of the alleged Jewish-biblical origins of Silíceo's statutes, see Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition*, pp. 7–8.

⁹⁵ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 131–2. As we have seen, this view was contrasted by Alonso de Cartagena, who—quoting Augustin—argued that a man who does not follow the vices of his parents, wherever he comes from, is honest and saved.

⁹⁶ It is interesting to note in this context that Covarrubias y Orozco's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1611) defined the term *raza* as "the caste of pure-bred horses which are branded with an iron so that they may be recognized as such. *Raza* in [human] lineages is understood in a bad sense, such as having within oneself some of the lineage of Moors or Jews." See Yerushalmi, *Assimilation and Racial Anti-Semitism*, p. 15.

⁹⁷ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 142–67.

Defensio Toletani Statuti of *Diego de Simancas* (1573)

An Old Christian nobleman from Cordova and a law student at the University of Salamanca and the College of Santa Cruz in Valladolid, Diego de Simancas (1513–83) held prominent positions in the bureaucracies of Crown, Church, and Inquisition: he was a judge, a bishop, and an inquisitor.⁹⁸ He published his *Defensio* in Antwerp under the pseudonym of Didacus (Diego) Velásquez, first in 1573 and again in 1575.⁹⁹ Simancas's anti-converso feelings were already known much earlier, however: he let them slip during the inquisitorial process of Archbishop Bartolomé Carranza (1503–76),¹⁰⁰ who—as we shall see—was defended by the converso Francisco de Toledo Herrera, the first Jesuit cardinal, and by Francisco de Borja, the third superior general of the Jesuits and a protector of conversos.

Simancas's defense of Silíceo's decree, which in the former's own words prohibited "those from the circumcision," Mahometans, or heretics from receiving benefices and offices in the Church of Toledo,¹⁰¹ was a response to converso "machinations" against Silíceo's legislation, such as Alonso Lobo's preaching in Rome in the early 1570s, and a defense against "deceiving the pope and his ministers," which was the supposed goal of the "prolix" *Apologia pro Iudaeis Christianis* (Paris, 1553). This last work was written by the French Franciscan biblical scholar from the Sorbonne, Henri Mauroy, who—following the example of Cartagena and Oropesa—strongly opposed the *pureza-de-sangre* statutes. Among many things that scandalized Simancas was the fact that Mauroy made a connection between Spanish conversos and the biblical patriarchs, which was provocatively expressed in the very work's full title: *Apologia in duas partes divisa, pro iis, qui ex patriarcharum, Abrahae videlicet, Isaac, et Jacob, reliquiis sati, de Christo Iesu et fide catholica pie ac sancte sentiunt, in Archiepiscopum Toletanum, et suos asseclas* [The Defense

⁹⁸ For his biographical profile, see Kimberly Lynn Hossain, *Arbiters of Faith, Agents of Empire: Spanish Inquisitors and their Careers, 1550–1650*. Thesis (Ph.D.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2006), pp. 121–5.

⁹⁹ For a brief presentation of the work's content, see Lynn Hossain, *Arbiters of Faith*, pp. 179–81.

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed analysis of Simancas's participation in Carranza's process, see Lynn Hossain, *Arbiters of Faith*, especially pp. 143 and 149.

¹⁰¹ "Siliceus decreto sive statuto vetuit, ne ii qui ex circumcissione sunt aut ex Mahumetanis, vel Haereticis nati, beneficia et officia deinceps in eadem Ecclesia habere possent" (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 2).

(divided in two parts) of those who descending from the patriarchs, that is Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, leaving apart others, piously and saintly feel about Jesus Christ and the Catholic faith, against the Archbishop of Toledo and his followers].

Indeed, one of the main arguments, which Simancas stressed, was the repudiation of the converso “trite prattle” about their consanguinity with Jesus’ Jewish humanity descending from Abraham. Following the argumentation of Baltasar Porreño,¹⁰² Simancas claimed that the Toledan statutes concerned only the descendants of perfidious Jews, who had killed Christ the Lord, the Apostles, and other saints, and who—persisting for close to fifteen hundred years in their perfidy—blasphemed Christ God three times every day and wanted to kill and destroy all other Christians.¹⁰³ To Simancas, converso consanguinity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is impossible, for these names belong not to the flesh and nature but to grace, the promise, the faith, and the sacrament. These names pertain no more to the converso than to the Gentile faithful, who are from the faith sons of Abraham, as St. Paul wrote in his letters to Romans (4:11) and Galatians (3:7). The perfidious Jews cannot be sons of Abraham if they speak badly about the Savior. Moreover, their Talmud states that Abraham himself taught magic arts and diabolical inventions, as Hadrianus Finus had demonstrated.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 214.

¹⁰³ “Statuta non tangunt nisi descendentes ex perfidis Iudaeis, qui Christum Dominum et Apostolos aliosque sanctos occiderunt et per mille quingentos circiter annos in sua perfidia persistentes, ter singulis diebus Deum Christum blasphemabantur et caeteros Christianos omnes occidere ac perdere vellent” (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 15^v).

¹⁰⁴ “Ad haec nomine Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, non sunt nomine carnis et naturae, sed nomine gratiae et promissionis et fidei et sacramenti: nec magis ad eos pertinent quam ad gentiles credentes: Nam qui ex fide sunt, ii sunt filii Abrahae, ut ad Romanos et Galatas divinus scribit Apostolus (Rom. 4, Gal. 3). Igitur quando parentes illorum Iudaei perfidi, maiores autem nostri christiani fideles erant, illi non veri filii Abrahae, sed nostri veri filii erant. Praeterea non solum de Salvatore Iudaei male loquuntur et sentiunt, sed de ipso etiam Abraham aiunt in suo Talmud docuisse magicas artes et inventiones daemonum: quo plane ostendunt se non esse veros Abrahae filios quam fabulam cum aliis impiis blasphemis ac deridendis retulit Finus Hadrianus lib. 9 cap. 8” (Simancas, *Defensio*, ff. 16^{r-v}).

Hadrianus Finus (Fino, Fini d’Adria) from Ferrara was the author of *In Iudaeos Flagellum* (Venice, 1538), a long attack against Jewish practices contained in the Talmud. On other quotations from Finus regarding the Talmud as a source of laws against Christians, see Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 35^v.

Through a detailed analysis of Jesus' relatives (Chapters 22 and 23), Simancas desires to convince the reader that because those relatives followed Christ faithfully, the Spanish conversos cannot be their descendants. Spanish conversos are the offspring of the Jews who killed Jesus and later found refuge in Spain after the destruction of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵

The association Mauroy makes between conversos and Jews, when he calls the former Jewish Christians or Jewish conversos or simply Jews, bothers Simancas.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the common identification of the converso with the persona of the Jew is the anthropological backbone of Simancas's argumentation against conversos. The most frequent way Simancas refers to conversos in his *Defensio* is "those from the circumcision," which refers more to converso ancestry than to reality—only Judaizing conversos may have undergone the rite of circumcision. But to Simancas, the majority of conversos continue to celebrate Jewish rites, among them "the abominable circumcisions,"¹⁰⁷ as did "many rebellious people, mere talkers and deceivers, especially those of the circumcision group" in the primitive Church.¹⁰⁸ He echoes here Silíceo's claim that Jews who converted to Catholicism were motivated by fear and retained of the intent to go "back to their vomit" [as dogs do].¹⁰⁹

"Those from the circumcision," continues Simancas, are fairly barred from the offices of the Church of Toledo, for they are stained

¹⁰⁵ "Addo quod novi isti Christiani non descendunt ex Iudaeis antiquis nobilibus, sed ex illis, qui excidio Hierosolymitano superfuerunt, qui, ut ait Aegesippus, viliores [...] in omnem terram ventilati sunt" (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 29).

¹⁰⁶ See Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 2'. Alonso de Cartagena, quoting Isidor (*Etymologiarum liber octavus*, cap. X), opposed the use of the term *iudaei baptizati* for Christians of Jewish origins, since being a Jew demands a certain way of life. The term may be applied only to Judaizing Christians (see Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 336 and 339).

¹⁰⁷ "Plerique ex Iudaeis, qui dudum ad Christianam fidem promoti sunt, nunc blasphemantes Christum, non solum Iudaicos ritus perpetrasse noscuntur, sed etiam abominandas circumcisiones exercere" (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 31').

¹⁰⁸ This is the interpretation of the Pauline Letter to Titus (1:10) that, according to Simancas, was given by Aquinas: "Accedit et illud Pauli apostoli in epistola ad Titum cap. 1 dicentis: 'Sunt multi inobedientes, vaniloqui et seductores, maxime qui de circumcissione sunt.' [...] Et Divus Thomas enarrans verba illa 'maxime qui de circumcissione sunt' inquit, qui cogebant homines iudaizare" (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 32). See Thomas Aquinas, *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, 5.4, where this interpretation seems to be missing.

¹⁰⁹ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 145; and Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 35'. Alonso de Cartagena too used this expression in his *Defensorium* (see Cartagena, *Defensorium*, ed. Verdín-Díaz, pp. 328, 332, 334, and 373).

by the blood of their Jewish ancestors, which is “like a poison that kills the entire human being.”¹¹⁰ Therefore, as the Franciscan Alonso de Espina had noted in his *Fortalitiū fidei*,¹¹¹ conversos are heirs to Jewish bad moral inclinations that are transmitted through the generations. As Jews, they are prone to abuses (*proclives ad contumelias*) and are—in the Bible’s own words—“a stiff-necked people,” “a crooked and depraved generation,” “a brood of vipers,” “a wicked generation,” “a perverse generation, children who are unfaithful,” “an unbelieving and perverse generation,” and “a faithless generation.”¹¹² Simancas, who actually does not use Silíceo’s term of (perfidious and unfaithful) *raza*, concludes that the perception of recent Jewish conversos as ambitious, disobedient, idly talking, and deceiving is longstanding, and it is meritorious that they are barred or fired from some ecclesiastical benefices.¹¹³

Simancas ambiguously claims that “even though soul-illnesses (*animi morbi*) do not pass from parents to children, the latter, however, fall into those vices by which their parents had been affected.” He quotes some popular proverbs to prove his point: “Like mother, like daughter” (Ezekiel 16:44) and “Bad egg, bad bird.” Thus, “the children of the infidel seem to be prone to infidelity.”¹¹⁴ Simancas’s predecessor, Inquisitor Silíceo, expressed this idea more eloquently (as we have seen above): “[The New Christians] still hold on their lips the milk of their ancestors’ recent perversity.”¹¹⁵ The “hereditary vices,” especially ambition, conspiracy, and greed for power, are—according to Simancas—peculiar to

¹¹⁰ Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 23^v: “quasi venenum hominem totum inficere.”

¹¹¹ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, pp. 100–1.

¹¹² “Iudaei semper fuerunt cervicis durissimae, generatio eorum prava et perversa, progenies viperarum, generatio pessima. [...] Accedunt et verba illa Scripturae divinae contra Iudaeos: Generatio perversa, et infideles filii; et illa Salvatoris, ‘O generatio incredula et perversa!’ Tum ille: ‘O generatio infidelis!’” (Simancas, *Defensio*, ff. 29^{r-v}).

¹¹³ “Vetus ergo et antiquus est recenter conversis ex Iudaeis ambitiosos, inobedientes, vaniloquos et seductores esse. Merito igitur a quibusdam ecclesiasticis beneficiis arcentur et eiiciuntur” (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 32).

¹¹⁴ Nam etsi animi morbi ex patribus in filios non transeant, saepe tamen filii solent in ea vitia incidere, quibus parentes fuere affecti. [...] Et ut alia praeteream, vetus proverbium est ab Ezechiele relatum: Sicut mater, ita filia eius et malum ovum, malus corvus [...], sic infidelium filii ad infidelitatem prona esse videntur (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 29^r). Elsewhere (f. 31^v) Simancas stresses this point by quoting Cicero’s *De Officiis* (1, 32): “Plerique autem parentum praeceptis imbuti [filii], ad eorum consuetudinem moremque deducimur.”

¹¹⁵ “Tienen en los labios la leche de la reciente perversidad de sus antepasados” (quoted by Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 131). The Anglican John Foxe (1517–87) expressed a similar idea in one of his sermons: “Jewish Infidelitie... seemeth after a certaine maner their inheritable disease, who are after a certaine sort, from their mothers wombe,

Jewish conversos and more frequent in them than in others. Moreover, even Muslims are less implacable and querulous, more truthful, and of better manners than Jews.¹¹⁶

This is the reason, as Silíceo had already argued,¹¹⁷ why many Spanish ecclesiastical institutions had excluded them in order to preserve tranquility and peace and avoid schisms and quarrels.¹¹⁸ Following Silíceo's Statutes, which had converso conspiracy as their leitmotiv—the conversos infiltrated the offices of importance in the Church of Toledo¹¹⁹—Simancas claims that the history of Judeo-converso conspiracy against the city of Toledo was very old. Jews helped the Muslim invaders occupy Toledo [711 C.E.];¹²⁰ they plotted against the Spanish king, as the documents of the Fourth Council of Toledo indicate; during the reign of King Juan [II], conversos conspired against the prefect of the city of Toledo [Pero Sarmiento] and other Old Christians in order to kill them and occupy the city, so that they could blatantly go back to Judaism; and they organized in Toledo the same kind of plot twice during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.¹²¹ Converso intrigues were

naturally carries through perverse forwardness, into all malicious hatred, & contempt of Christ, & his Christians" (quoted in Adelman, *Blood Relations*, p. 66).

¹¹⁶ "Cur magis queruli et implacabiles sunt quam hi qui ex Mahometanis descendunt? Quandoquidem Saraceni et veraciores et fortiores et meliorum morum quam Iudaei sunt" (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 35^v).

¹¹⁷ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 162.

¹¹⁸ "Habent maiori ex parte hi, qui ex circumcissione sunt, vitia quaedam peculiaris ac prae caeteris frequentiora quam ob rem non solum a quibusdam ecclesiis cathedralibus, sed etiam ab omnibus collegiis scholarium, ab aliquibus monasteriis et sodalitatibus iure quam optimo in Hispania excluduntur. Sunt enim ambitiosi atque dignitatum cupidi (ut iam ante dixi) quod vitium hereditarium fere illis inesse videtur. [...] Iure igitur statuta ea sunt, ut in collegiis et capitulis (ut vocant) sine istis cum tranquillitate et pace vivatur: tantum abest, ut propter statuta oriantur schismata vel dissensiones, ut isti fingunt" (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 32^v).

It is interesting to know that, as Silíceo and, after him, Simancas argued, a great number of ecclesiastical institutions closed their doors to candidates of Jewish ancestry. Others—like the Jesuit Diego de Guzmán—would not acquiesce by underscoring that only a few of them did so. See ARSI, *Instit.* 186e, f. 357.

¹¹⁹ See Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 157.

¹²⁰ "Civitas Hispaniae nobilissima atque fortissima prodita fuit olim a Iudaeis, quando Mauri totam Hispaniam occuparunt multaque alia scelerata et nefaria in Hispania Iudaei perpetrasset traduntur" (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 5).

¹²¹ "Praetera conspirationibus, seditionibus et factionibus omnia inturbare solent. Neque id novum est: nam iam olim contra regem et regnum Hispaniae coniurarunt, ut in concilio Toletano IV constat, in cuius capite octavo hoc decretum exstat. Temporibus quoque Regis Ioannis eius nominis secundi Marrani coniuraverunt contra praefectum urbis Toletanae et contra veteres christianos, volentes eos occidere atque urbem ipsam occupare, ut palam ad Iudaismum redirent. Quod idem bis in eadem urbe commisisse dicuntur tempore Ferdinandi et Isabellae Regum vere catholicorum. Et nisi reiectae

unbearable in the Church of Toledo, for it was considered the most preeminent see in Spain, being the See of the Catholic Primate.¹²²

This portrayal of the Spanish Judeo-conversos justifies, in Simancas's view, use of the term *marranos*, a term to whose meaning and origin he dedicates much space. Even though some maintain that the term *marranos* stands for any group of people descended from Jews and others claim that it refers to any infidels, Simancas stresses that the label *marranos* can be applied in neither way, for not all who are stained and contaminated by the Jewish blood can be called *marranos*, and not all infidels belong to this group, which—as Michael Ritius [1445–1515] wrote in his *De Hispaniae Regibus*—is composed only of those baptized Jews who are false Christians.¹²³

But what is the origin of the word?—asks Simancas. Some argue that the Spanish Jews were named *marranos*, i.e., pigs—*marrano* commonly refers to a one-year-old pig and, thus, the same name was applied to those who descend from Jews and are suspected [of practicing Judaism]. But, according to Simancas, this explanation is unlikely, for Jews do not have anything in common with the quality of pigs, except the fact that when one grunts, all the others immediately run to help.¹²⁴

The author of the *Defensio* subscribes instead to an older meaning of the term *marrano* that comes from the Hebrew word *mara*, which commonly means “to rebel.” This word is more appropriate, for Jews rebel against Christ the Lord, as Petrus Godofredus wrote under the

coniurationes fuissent, magnas caeterum christianorum strages edidissent” (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 32^v).

¹²² “Plurimum quidem honoris detractebatur ecclesiae celeberrimae Toletanae cum eius praebendas ac dignitates illi occupabant, qui perfidiorum filii, vel hinc oriundi erunt quos iure vel iniuria Marranos appellare solent: proclives sunt hos homines ad contumelias” (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 24^v).

¹²³ “Ac primum quidem sunt qui dicant marranos vocari eos qui ex Iudaeis aliqua ex parte descendunt, alii aiunt marranos vocari quoslibet infideles. Sed neutrum verum est, nec enim omnes Iudaeorum sanguine maculati et contaminati sunt marrani, nec infideles omnes appellantur marrani. Sed eos Hispani marranos vocari solemus, qui ex Iudaeis descendentes et baptizati, ficti christiani sunt. Quod et Michael Ritius lib. 3 de regibus Hispaniae recte intellexit inquiens, ‘Qui Iudaeorum ritibus imbuti, nomine fenus sunt christiani, hi vulgo marrani dicuntur.’” (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 24^v).

¹²⁴ “Quidam dicunt Iudaeos ipsos ab Hispanis dictos fuisse Marranos, id est porcōs a nomine vulgari quo sues unius anni marranos vocant; atque inde fuisse nomine illo infami appellabor Marranos etiam eos, qui ex Iudaeis descendunt et suspecti sunt. Sed hoc verisimile non est, nihil enim commune habent isti cum qualitate porcorum, nisi quod uno gruniente, coeteri omnes ei ausiliaturi statim accurrunt (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 24^v).

entry “apostate:” “*Marranos* are those rebellious, contumacious, disobedient, and ambiguous men who under the name of Christianity are still attached to Judaism.”¹²⁵

This sort of philological analysis is absent in the interpretation of St. Paul’s letters that Simancas employs to counter the converso contentions with regard to the ethnic, gender, and social structure of the Christian community. Contrary to what Cartagena and Oropesa argued, Paul’s expressions such as “there is no favoritism [*acceptatio personarum*] with God” (Romans 2:11); “there is no distinction between Jew and Greek” (Romans 10:12); “there is neither Jew nor Greek, servant nor free, male nor female” (Galatians 3:28); and “there is neither circumcision nor foreskin, Barbarian nor Scythian, servant nor free” (Colossians 3:11), are interpreted by Simancas as references to spiritual and not—as the New Christians claim—temporal things and, therefore, cannot be applied to condemn the Toledan purity-of-blood statutes that were aimed to deprive conversos of benefices and offices, which are temporal and not spiritual affairs.¹²⁶ Simancas abhors the idea of Christian society

¹²⁵ “Alii putant antiquiorem esse huius nomines originem et a verbo hebraico (mara) derivatum esse, quod inter alia signeat rebellare: cum enim isti rebelles sint contra Christum Dominum, recti Marrani sunt appellati quod et Petrus Godofredus in rubrica de Apostatis confirmare videtur, multa ex Haebraeis miscens ac demum concludens apostatas esse eos, quos Hispani Marranos vocant, qui sub nomine Christianismi, studiosi sunt Iudaismi, rebelles, contumaces, inobedientes, praevaricatores” (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 25).

The Encyclopedia Judaica (13:559) explains the term *Marrano* as follows: “Term of opprobrium used to denigrate the New Christians of Spain and Portugal. Various origins for the term have been suggested. These include the Hebrew *marit ayin* (‘the appearance of the eye’), referring to the fact that the Marranos were ostensibly Christian but actually Judaizers; *mohoram attah* (‘you are excommunicated’); the Aramaic-Hebrew *Mar Anus* (‘Mr. Forced convert’); the Hebrew *mumar* (‘apostate’) with the Spanish ending *ano*; the Arabic *mura’in* (‘hypocrite’); and the second word of the ecclesiastical imprecation *anathema maranatha*. However, all such derivations are unlikely. The most probable, as clearly shown by Farinelli’s study, is from the Spanish word meaning swine, a word already in use in the early Middle Ages, though Y. Malkiel argues plausibly for a derivation from the late Arabic *barran*, *barrani*, meaning an outsider or stranger, and a coalescence of this word with the term *marrano* ‘pig, pork’ derived from Latin *verres* ‘wild boar.’ The term probably did not originally refer to the Judaizers’ reluctance to eat pork, as some scholars hold. From its earliest use, it was intended to impart the sense of loathing conveyed by the word in other languages. Although romanticized and regarded by later Jewry as a badge of honor, the term was not as widely used, especially in official circles, as is often believed.”

¹²⁶ “Paulus quidem Apostolus nihilominus in ea epistola tractat, quam de rebus terrenis: eius enim doctrina de spiritualibus est, componit dissidium ortum inter novos illos Christianos, qui se putabant meliores aut perfectiores esse propter praeputium, aut propter circumcisionem. Docet utrosque divinus Apostolus apud Christum

in which there would be “no distinction between noble and ignoble, between good and bad lineage, between honorable and humble.”¹²⁷

This interpretation of Paul’s thought is contrary to what Pope Nicholas V expressed in his bull *Humani generis inimicus* (1449), to which Simancas dedicates Chapter 17. He questions there the authenticity of the bull that became a weapon of the converso counterattack against the Sarmiento legislation as contrary to the Catholic faith, as we have seen earlier, and against the Jesuit *de genere* decree, as we shall see in Chapter Three. Nevertheless, Simancas discusses a portion of the bull he probably read in Alonso de Oropesa’s *Lumen*. The copied paragraph (which happens to be authentic) refers to the addressee of the Sarmiento statutes: the New Christians and their descendants who “were not to be admitted to honors, dignities, offices and notaries, and testify in the trials of Christians, because of their recent receipt of faith, bringing dishonors of word and deed.” Simancas argues that the bull’s text refer not specifically to ecclesiastical benefices—as the Silíceo legislation did—but to all honors, dignities, etc. In addition—he underscores—Pope Paul IV, who confirmed the Statutes of Toledo, expressly abrogated Nicholas’s bull.¹²⁸

Dominum nullam esse distinctionem Iudaei et Graeci, nullamque esse acceptionem personarum, quid inde contra statuta quae de rebus temporalibus sunt. [...] Quod si verba illa non est Iudaeus neque Graecus non est servus neque liber non est masculus neque femina, gentilis et Iudaeus, circumcisio et praeputium, barbarus et Scytha, servus et liber, sed omnia in omnibus Christus: si haec inquam et similia verba efficiunt, ut omnes Christiani in rebus temporalibus cunctis aequales esse debeant, iam servus et femina, Barbarus et Scytha nostra esse contra iura illa divina quae de spiritualibus, non autem de rebus terrenis loquuntur” (Simancas, *Defensio*, ff. 7^{r-v}).

¹²⁷ “Iam hodie nulla distinctio erit nobilis aut ignobilis, boni aut mali generis, illustris aut vilis, denique nullus erit ordo reipublicae. Absit autem ab animis fidelium tam iniqua persuasio, ut apostoli doctrina tutius rectae pulitiae formam damnare, aut subvertere videatur (Simancas, *Defensio*, f. 7).

¹²⁸ “Proferunt contra statutum Toletanum bullam Nicolai quinti, ex qua colligunt, statutum esse contra fidem catholicam, quia, inquit, nos a veritate catholicae fidei aberrantes, ad viam veritatis deducere cupientes et Paulo post affectantes ut quisque quae recta sunt spiat: et qui contra christianae legis normam falsa seminare et proximos scandalizare, quae unitatis et pacis contraria sunt praesumpserunt [...]. Cui primo respondetur eam bullam authenticam non inveniri ideoque fide carere. Deinde longe aliud fuisse quod tunc tractabatur: nam ut in illa scriptura (qualisquaque tandem sit) continetur, illud est quod quidam asserebant novos Christianos et eorum filios non debere ad honores, dignitates, officia tabellionatus et ad testimonium in Christianorum causis perhibendum admitti, eos verbis et factis, contumeliis afficientes. Haec sunt verba illis chartae. Ex quibus perspicuum est, eos qui illa credebant et asserebant non de beneficiis quibusdam ecclesiasticis, sed generaliter ac universe de omnibus honoribus, dignitatibus, officiis publicis atque adeo de testimoniis perhibendis egisse: novos christianos iniuriis etiam afficientes atque ea quidem omnia non aliam ob causam,

True, Pope Paul IV approved the Silíceo Statutes and issued the harshest anti-Jewish legislation (*Cum nimis absurdum*, 1555), which was supported by Ignatius of Loyola.¹²⁹ Conversely, under the sway of the same Loyola, his predecessor, Paul III, published in 1542 the bull *Cupientes Iudaeos* (1542), which—among other things—allowed Jewish catechumens to retain property after their conversion.

In conclusion, this chapter has provided a brief historical *excursus* of the intricate and rich literature on the concept of *pureza de sangre* and its adoption in civil and ecclesiastical life of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain. We have discussed the most important and emblematic five texts that reflect the variety of approaches to the issue: Mayor Sarmiento's *Sentencia-Estatuto* (1449); Bishop Alonso de Cartagena's *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (1449–50); Fray Alonso de Oropesa's *Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloria plebis Dei Israel, de unitate fidei et de concordia et pacifica aequalitate fidelium* (1450–66); Archbishop Silíceo's *Estatutos de limpieza* (1547); and Bishop Diego de Simancas's *Defensio Toletani Statuti* (1573). An analysis of these primary sources and their interpretation by contemporary scholars serves as a necessary framework to contextualize the discussion about the adoption and implementation of the same concept of purity-of-blood in the legislation of the Society of Jesus, which was founded by the Spanish nobleman Ignatius of Loyola and a group of his followers, many of whom were born and studied in Spain before meeting at the University of Paris and then moving to Italy to become an officially recognized new religious order. The following chapter traces Jesuit approaches to the Spanish policy of *pureza de sangre* and the role conversos played in the early Society of Jesus from the foundation of the Order in 1540 until the death of the third superior general, Francisco de Borja, in 1572, which marked a shift in the Jesuit policy towards conversos.

nisi quia novi christiani erant, ut bis in illa papyro relatum est, his verbis: propter novam assumptionem fidei. Iterum poppter novam fidei receptionem. Igitur [...] videri non debet, si dicantur illic eam opinionem erroneam esse, nec illos recta sensisse. In statuto autem nostro omnia prius diversa sunt, nec effici ullo pacto potest, ut id haeresis sit [...]. Postremo, illa bulla nominatim in hac parte revocata est a Paulo quarto in confirmatione statuti, his ipsis verbis: Non obstante recolendae memoriae Nicolai Papae quinti, similiter praedecessoris nostri, et aliis constitutionibus apostolicis, etc.” (Simancas, *Defensio*, ff. 13^v–14).

¹²⁹ See Foa, “*Limpieza* versus Mission, p. 300.