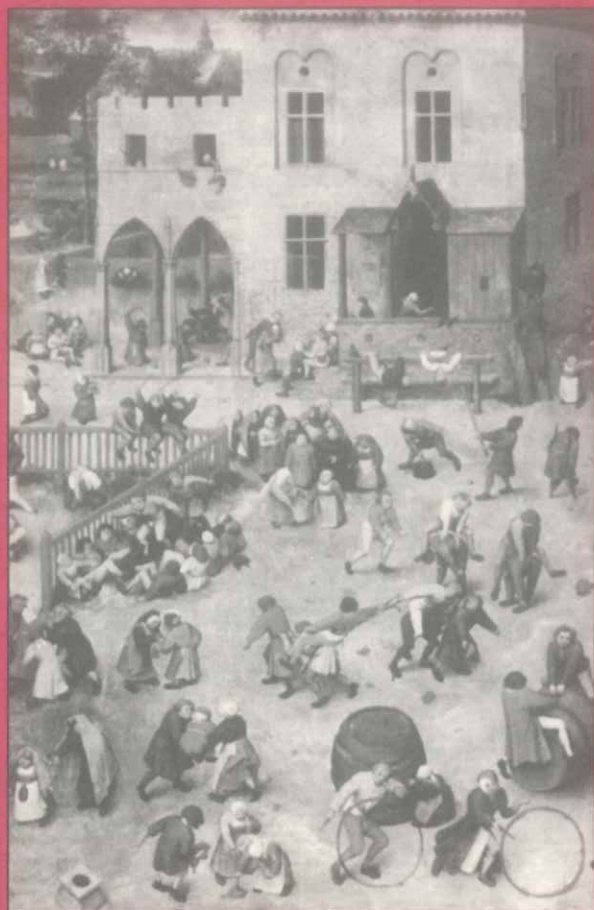


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last resort, when the Spaniards had clearly failed to impress the French with an array of juridical and historical arguments against the Salic Law. If religious concerns had been the dominant element, then Philip II should have backed another Catholic Bourbon, who might have better challenged the claims of Henry of Bourbon. Concern over religion may have been a driving justification, but the strategy adopted clearly was dynastic. Indeed one reason for the long silence in Madrid in 1593–94 may well have been not Philip's sickness, but his inability, and that of his advisors, to conceive of a viable alternative strategy to traditional dynasticism. Yet these points aside, this is a work of exceptional scholarship that offers a wealth of new information on Spanish relations with France, and it will be of tremendous value to historians.

**Il Vangelo e la Spada: L'Inquisizione di Castiglia e i Suoi Critici (1460–1598).**

Stefania Pastore. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003. 488 pp. €49.00. ISBN 88-8498-103-4.

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Stefania Pastore's study recovers the depth of resistance to the Spanish Inquisition's practices and its intellectual underpinnings. She pays special attention to strong proponents of episcopalism, papal attempts at reform, and the often-overlooked works of conversion by confessors and missionaries. Pastore synthesizes theological arguments to address questions about tolerance, charity, persuasion, and correction. She reorients and adds much-needed nuance to the established historiography. Her work is well-crafted intellectual history, and her dexterous analysis of a wide variety of theological texts, inquisitorial trials, and correspondence convincingly argues for an intellectually complex "inquisitorial Spain."

Pastore's subjects accuse the inquisitorial apparatus of suborning Christian charity. The bishops, in particular, reject a heritage of forced baptism, emphasize the education of converts, and advocate the correction of heresy through the private confessional rather than the public inquisitorial denunciation. To its critics, the Inquisition contravenes the nature of the gospel and papal and canonical authority, while usurping the traditional role of bishops as *inquisidores ordinarios*. Most striking about Pastore's argument is her demonstration of the sustained expression of such dissent throughout the Inquisition's height of power in the sixteenth century.

Pastore rereads the origins of the Spanish Inquisition; for her, anticonverso sentiment, court politics, and an initially permissive papal position created the necessary climate and spawned opposing factions of philo-inquisitorial and proconverso theorists. She then turns to Andalucía—notable for the presence of both Judeo-conversos and Moriscos—where pastoral models of conversion came into conflict with inquisitorial control. Furthermore, she charts the rise of university cohorts—particularly those of Baeza—and factions within the Jesuits and other orders, that continued to urge tolerance and assimilation (although in other instances, the Jesuits aligned with inquisitorial aims). She weaves in a variety of other theological considerations among these topics, such as Erasmian notions of tolerance and Tridentine episcopal reform. She treats the long debate on the viability of *correctio fraterna* in cases of heresy through the lens of the Bartolomé de Carranza trial. As a coda, she shows how jurisdictional conflicts between inquisitors and bishops only heightened in the post-Tridentine era, particularly as Rome began to exert its powers more forcefully.

The issue of conversion lies at the heart of Pastore's argument. She charts an intellectual

genealogy of tolerance from Alonso de Cartagena and opponents of the *limpieza de sangre* statutes through Alonso de Oropesa and Juan de Ávila, among others. She defines this "typically converso spirituality" as emphases on charity, Pauline teachings, pardon and fraternal correction. Her focus on conversos resonates because of the centrality of lineage and blood to inquisitorial parties. While one of her "critics" links heresy's rise to the decline in Christian charity, she finds the inquisitorial faction blaming the growth of new European heresies on descendants of Jewish converts. Such examples demonstrate the intrinsic link between theories on conversion and the dialogue about inquisition and correction.

As conversion comes to the forefront, so must the dioceses of Andalucía with their large converso and Morisco populations. There were also strong archbishops in Andalucía, from Hernando de Talavera onwards, who were committed to catechizing their flocks, although they varied in the severity of their corrective measures. Besides the missionary alternatives to inquisitorial denunciation, Pastore also argues that the University of Baeza was essentially a converso institution, which further makes Andalucía home to a variety of resistance to inquisitorial practice.

Despite her lengthier treatment of the critics of the Inquisition, Pastore also evinces familiarity with the texts of inquisitors, though they are not her protagonists. She terms Alonso de Castro's *De iusta haereticorum punitione* (1547), "L'elogio dell'intolleranza" (213). She suggests that Diego de Simancas's work lacks good scriptural and patristic argumentation, instead privileging his experience as an inquisitor. Throughout, Pastore emphasizes the growing power of the Inquisition and its interdependence with the crown, predicated on "una adattabilità quasi illimitata" (84). By the 1550s she terms it "un apparato burocraticamente efficiente e politicamente terribile" (303). She aligns inquisitors and their cohort with power, politics, careerism, and a juridical mentality, framed in opposition to the arguments of theologians, the pastoral impulses of bishops, and the persuasion of missionaries.

With such complexity of analysis, some reduction is inevitable. There is an occasional tension between her mastery of the sources and her tendency to lump inquisitors into a single mind-set. Inquisitors and the inquisitorial mentality become virtually synonymous with anticonverso, antigospel tactics that privilege force over charity and elevate fear over love. When Pastore describes Oropesa's episcopal inquisition, she refers to its "cautela, amore e carità" (11). She seems to assume that her critics lived up to their ideals, while disregarding inquisitors' appeals for prudence or to their consciences.

In sum, Pastore's work is among the best contributions to the intellectual history of the Inquisition and its era. She melds theoretical exegesis and practical examples, and clarifies knotty issues of jurisdiction and theology. Further, she highlights the importance of missionaries and preachers in a way not usually seen in inquisitorial studies. *Il Vangelo e la Spada* is wide-ranging and provocative, and should stimulate thought and debate among scholars of early modern religious themes.

