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## The Jewish Precedent in the Spanish Politics of Conversion of Muslims and Moriscos\*

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The legal elimination of the Jews and Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula forms a remarkably brief chronological sequence.<sup>1</sup> In 1492, just after the conquest of Granada, the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, ordered the expulsion of the Jews of Castile and Aragon.<sup>2</sup> In 1496, Manuel I ordered the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal.<sup>3</sup> Two years later, John of Albret and Catherine of Navarre expelled the Jews from their kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In 1502 the Catholic Monarchs decreed the expulsion of the Muslims from the entire Crown of Castile.<sup>5</sup> And in 1525 Emperor Charles V expelled the Muslims from the Crown of Aragon, which included the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon and the Principality of Catalonia. These decrees led not only to the departure of a major part of the Jewish population and of a smaller percentage of the Muslims but also to hundreds of thousands of baptisms, which were accepted under the threat of expulsion. Despite the line that has classically been drawn between expulsion and forced conversions, there is a direct connection between the two. Although the decree expelling the Jews from Spain was supposed to be a strong incentive for departure, it nevertheless resulted in a great number of conversions. In Aragon about a third of the 8,000 to 9,000 Jews opted for baptism. In Portugal the Jews had no real option other than conversion, though the Muslims were, in fact, expelled. The decree of the kings of Navarre was a forced conversion, as the paths to Castile and Aragon were closed. The same remarks apply to the decrees expelling the Muslims from Spain, both of which were very restrictive: in 1502 it

was forbidden to immigrate to northern Africa, and children were not included in the expulsion.

This sequence of events has classically been discussed from the vantage point of the coherence and continuity of royal decisions: Were they the result of a general plan to eradicate Judaism and Islam from the Spanish kingdoms, a plan that would be justified by the belief that the monarchs were entrusted by God with the holy mission of defending the Catholic faith? Or is the linking of these various decrees of expulsion the effect of historiographical reconstruction, if not the mere consequence of an unpredictable chain reaction?<sup>6</sup>

It is remarkable that Jews and conversos, on the one hand, and Mudejares and Moriscos, on the other hand, have usually remained separated in different historiographies.<sup>7</sup> When, some years ago, James Amelang titled his book on conversos and Moriscos *Historias paralelas*,<sup>8</sup> his conclusion about the similarities and differences between the groups did not remove the impression that they were, in fact, two separate stories.<sup>9</sup> In this paper I will focus on the advice and criticism related to the politics of conversion as it related to the Muslims and Moriscos prior to the Moriscos' expulsion in 1609. I will analyze the function of the Jewish precedent in the debate about the Moriscos' politics, tracing some evidence of how the link between the Christianization of Jews, Muslims, and Moriscos was perceived and discussed. The purpose is not to compare the processes of conversion but rather to see, in the discourse about the conversions, how various participants in the debate (prelates, theologians, and historians) connected those events.

#### Contesting the Conversions in Valencia

The Jewish precedent first appears in the Kingdom of Valencia in the middle of the 1520s. In this territory, as in the rest of the Crown of Aragon, the Muslims were Mudejares who had been living under Christian rule since the Reconquista in the thirteenth century. Many of them formed a hard-working peasantry that provided the major part of the barons' income. In 1519, just a few months after Charles V had left Spain to receive the imperial crown in Germany, the Revolt of the Brotherhoods (Spanish: *Germanías*) began in Valencia, led by the guilds of craftsmen in the city. The rebels defeated the royal troops in Gandia on July 25, 1521, and controlled a large part of the territory south of Valencia. The reasons behind the *Agermanados'* attack on the communities of Mudejares after the battle of Gandia were complex, a mixture of economic revenge against the landlords and of millenarist ideas aimed at achieving the conversion of the "infidels."<sup>10</sup> During the summer of 1521, thousands of Mudejares were led to

baptism—in some cases under mortal threat, in other cases by the effect of panic or by the indirect pressure and preventive actions of local authorities wanting to avoid being attacked by the rebels under the pretext of despoiling and converting the Muslims. Thus, after the defeat of the *Germanías* in 1522, Muslim conversions performed under the illegal rule of the rebels were strongly contested by influential sectors of Valencian society. The landlords were neither ready to grant their converted vassals equality of taxation with “Old Christians,” which these “New Christians” could and in some places did claim, nor were they willing to approve the rebels’ violent actions.

After the retreat of the *Germanías*, the Inquisition began collecting evidence of apostasy among the new converts, especially in the lands of the Count of Oliva. In March 1524 a priest of the count’s house, Mosen de Segovia, denounced converts to the Holy Office for praying in the mosque of Oliva, which had been temporarily used as a church during the revolt and reverted to its prior use after the rebels’ defeat. Complaining with other priests against this profanation, Mosen de Segovia denounced a provocative declaration made by the count, saying that “he heard the count say that God forgive Queen Isabella and the cardinal, who sent many souls to hell by ordering the conversion of the Muslims in Spain.”<sup>11</sup> Clearly, the Count of Oliva did not hesitate to criticize the conversions made some twenty-five years previously and to assign the responsibility for these forced conversions to Isabella, the queen of Castile, and to Cardinal Cisneros, her confessor, who had played a leading role in the Christianization of Granada—but not to Ferdinand of Aragon, whose reputation was intact. The memory of the events of Castile was still fresh in Valencia a generation later. Still more subversive were the declarations made by Martín Sánchez, the prior of the Augustinians of Valencia. A master of theology, Martín Sánchez had just been nominated by the vicereine, Germaine of Foix, to investigate the forced conversions of 1521, forming a small commission of inquiry with another Valencian notable and two inquisitors appointed by the general inquisitor, Alonso Manrique. The commission began its work in October 1524, but a few days prior, a merchant of Valencia had denounced Martín Sánchez for having said of the converts that

they can’t be called Christians, but baptized people, and it is good to let them live in their law (as Moors), as none of them are good Christians. That is why they burn so many converts: because their ancestors were made Christians by force, and prohibited from frequenting the Christians or to make business with them, so they, to avoid going away, became Christians, and as a result their descendants aren’t good Christians.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, according to a friar of his convent, the prior had said during another conversation that

Saint Vincent Ferrer is very guilty of this, to have made the Jews Christians by force and mixed them with the natural Christians, and now they suffer these shames and punishments. And see those Moors who received baptism: though they are baptized, they are not Christians, and I don't consider them as Christians, because they were baptized by force. And if I were in Turkey, and if I were the Turk [the sultan], I would make all the Christians who live there Turks by force, just as here the Christians have made the Moors Christians by force.<sup>13</sup>

These testimonies aimed to discredit Martín Sánchez as a fierce opponent of the conversions. Obviously, the monk was extremely critical of the politics that had been behind the conversion of Spain's minorities since the end of the fourteenth century. Vincent Ferrer, a Valencian Dominican friar who had been canonized in 1455, was well known for his violent preaching against the Jews and his coercive methods of conversion. In the Kingdom of Valencia, the wave of anti-Judaism that ran through Spain in 1391 had been particularly violent.<sup>14</sup> Many Jewish communities disappeared completely; in the city of Valencia, only some 200 Jews, out of the 2,500 or 3,000 members of the community, escaped to baptism. As in the rest of Spain, the "New Christians" were suspected of insincerity. As early as 1402, the *jurats* (members of the city council) began to denounce them and to promote a strict policy of separation between the converts and the Jews who had escaped conversion, to ensure that the former did not revert to Judaism.<sup>15</sup> In 1481 the Valencian Inquisition prosecuted the leading converso families of the city, which were mainly families of merchants.

Meanwhile, the Franciscan friars persevered in encouraging the conversion of the infidels. The Muslim community of the city was attacked during the anti-Jewish riots in 1391, and again in June 1455 during the riot known as the "avalot del Corpus," whose rallying cry was "Let the Moors be Christians or die!"<sup>16</sup> Martín Sánchez was not only looking at the social realities created by these events but was also taking into account the sufferings inflicted on the converts, as the brutal repression of heresy by the Inquisition was the major consequence of the forced conversions. In doing so, Sánchez was part of a current of hostility against the Inquisition that was not limited to converso circles—although the voices of discord had little opportunity for open expression.<sup>17</sup> Sánchez's position was that it was better to return to the previous situation, as if there had been no baptisms at all, because Jews and Moors could never be "good Christians" like the "natural

Christians” and because the human cost of the fight against heresy was too high. The Jewish precedent, for him, had to be dissuasive. His opinion was based on strong skepticism regarding the possibility of achieving the conversion of infidels by coercive methods. It seems that the Augustinian prior adhered to Thomas Aquinas’s statement that pagans and Jews should not be forced to be Christians “because faith is a voluntary act.”<sup>18</sup>

#### On the Validity of Forced Conversions

As the magnates, who were the strongest force in Valencian society, contested the conversions made at the time of the Germanias, the authorities had to work hard to justify the validity of the baptisms of the Mudejares. This point is a major difference between the Valencian sequence of forced conversions and the previous episodes concerning the Jews of Spain and the Muslims of Granada, whose conversions were made under royal authority and had therefore not been directly contested. The Spanish Inquisition, whose original *raison d’être* was to prosecute the apostasy of the converts from Judaism, though it would also deal with converts from Islam, had alerted the emperor about the seriousness of the situation in the Kingdom of Valencia. This was precisely the reason for the inquiry of autumn 1524.<sup>19</sup> Put under pressure by the general inquisitor, the emperor convoked a meeting of prelates, theologians, and lawyers of his councils, the so-called Congregation of Madrid. The assembly studied the results of the inquiry and came to the conclusion, in March 1525, that the baptisms made during the time of the Germanias were valid. As no record remains of the assembly’s debates, the legal justifications for this sentence have been minimized by historians, and the emperor’s decision to recognize the validity of the conversions has long been qualified as merely political.

However, these legal justifications can be found in the treatise of Fernando de Loazes, *Per utilis et singularis questio*, published in early 1525, just after the assembly made its decision.<sup>20</sup> Fernando de Loazes (1497–1568), born in Orihuela, Spain, a doctor in canon and civil law, was at this time a procurator fiscal for the Inquisition of Valencia. He had to flee his hometown during the revolt because it had been invaded by the *Agermanados*. He wrote his treatise for experts, following the rules of scholastic demonstration.<sup>21</sup> The first part presents the arguments of the opponents: the baptisms were made under the threat of an illegal power (that of the Brotherhood); therefore they are invalid. The second part exposes the argumentation for the validity of the baptisms. Loazes does not deny the violence and pressures exerted on the Muslims, but he states that this violence was only conditional, not absolute. In this case the dispositions of the canon *De Judeis* of Gratian’s *Decree* and

of the canon *Maiores* of Pope Gregory IX's *Liber Extra* had to be enforced.

The canon *De Judeis* was indeed the oldest and most powerful precedent of forced conversion in the long-lasting relationship between the Catholic Church and the non-Christians, and as its title reveals, it was a Jewish precedent. Emitted by the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), the canon deals with the consequences of the persecution launched against the Jews in Visigoth *Hispania* by King Sisebut, in the early seventh century: many Jews, having received baptism and, after the king's death, having returned to Judaism, were thus considered apostates. The Council decided that though these forced conversions were not a commendable method of gaining new adepts, they were valid, and therefore the converts had to be constrained to observe the rules of Christianity. In the middle of the twelfth century, Gratian of Bologna inserted the canon *De Judeis* (1 D.45 c.5) in his *Decree*, a major compilation of canon law, so that this ancient decision of a local assembly became a model and a norm to be enforced in similar circumstances in all Christendom. When Pope Innocent III, in 1204, dealt with the issue of the validity of baptism, he supported his decision with the canon *De Judeis*. Innocent III's letter, known as canon *Maiores* (X, 3.42.3) after it was inserted in the official collection of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX (1234), exposed another decisive rule for the validity of baptism. When the violence was "absolute," that is, if the infidel protested loudly and offered physical resistance without giving any sign of consent, the sacrament was not valid. But if he gave his consent, even tacitly, under all kinds of pressures, including mortal threat, the violence was considered "conditional": the sacrament was valid because the consent was, despite adverse circumstances, the expression of a personal choice.

Thus, in Renaissance Spain, the solution adopted after the prosecution of the Jews by a Visigoth king some nine centuries previously was considered a suitable precedent to resolve the Valencian case concerning Muslims. The construction of canon law was so strong that it held the first rank in the hierarchy of legal norms regarding sacraments. The promise made by King Ferdinand to his vassals in the Cortes of 1510, that they would not be submitted to forced conversion, could not prevail over canon *De Judeis*. In 1525 the emperor eventually overstepped canon law with the decision to expel all Muslims from the Crown of Aragon in order to cut off the converts' contact with Islam. His power, however, did not extend to the point of canceling sacraments. Moreover, the Inquisition was a strong pillar of his power. To accept any backward step in the forced conversion of the Mudejares could liberate the discordant voices of a part of Christian society that, like Martín Sánchez, had not accepted the consequences of the forced conversion of the Jews.

For or against Sisebut

Sisebut did not lack emulators in Renaissance Spain. The Franciscan friars in particular, who had been strongly engaged in anti-Jewish preaching in Castile and Aragon, promoted the coercive politics of conversion.<sup>22</sup> They found theological justification in the opinion of Franciscan theologian John Duns (commonly referred to as Duns Scotus), who at the beginning of the fourteenth century stated that the Christian prince was the only authority qualified to order the conversion of “the children of the Jews and other infidels,” and that, moreover, it was for him a pious duty to force the non-Christian adults to convert “by threats and torments” (*minis et terroribus*), following Sisebut’s example.<sup>23</sup> Although the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, who opposed forced conversions, was dominant among the theologians, the Scotist line was quite influential in Spain during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. The power of the Christian prince to rule the conscience of his subjects was at the heart of the debate. Franciscan authors—such as Francesc Eiximenis, in his treatise *Dotze llibre del Crestià* (The Christian), written around 1385 and published in Catalan in 1484, and Alonso de la Espina, in his  *Fortalitium fidei* (The fortress of faith), written around 1460 and published in 1470—had given a voice to Duns Scotus in Spain.<sup>24</sup> Among Duns Scotus’s arguments, three seemed particularly pertinent and were frequently used at the time: (1) it was licit to imitate Sisebut because the Council of Toledo had called him “a pious prince” (*religiosus princeps*), expressing by these words his approbation of the forced conversion of the Jews; (2) it was a lesser evil to have insincere converts than true infidels; and (3) after two or three generations, the descendants of the converts would be successfully integrated among the Christian believers. Targeting the children specifically was a central feature of authoritarian strategies for conversion. The Fourth Council of Toledo had left a tool for this, the canon *Iudeorum filios*, later inserted in the *Decree* (2 C.28 q.1 c.11) that ordered the removal of the children from their Jewish parents to avoid the transmission of apostasy when the children were baptized.

There is evidence of Scotist influence in the conversion of the Muslims during the reign of Charles V. In November 1525 the emperor wrote to the captain general of Catalonia that the decree of expulsion applied to all the Muslims and that

it would be good to tell them, in the sermons, that if they are obstinate and hardened in their sect and resolve to exit these realms, they have to leave their children to become Christians, because it will be [a] very efficient [way] to convert the parents.<sup>25</sup>



The decree of 1502 had fixed the lower age limit for the expulsion at twelve years. It did not specify that the children below that age had to be left in Castile, but the comparison with the decree of expulsion of the Jews, which explicitly included the children, suggests that the intention was not so much to expel the Muslims as to convert them. The emperor too made it clear that the children were leverage to extort the parents' consent to baptism.

The same ideas were discussed in Granada in 1526, in the commission ordered by the emperor to search for the effective means of ensuring that the Moriscos baptized there a generation ago would behave like "good Christians," as there was strong evidence of the persistence of Islam among these "New Christians." This assembly, the Congregation of the Royal Chapel of Granada, counted twelve prelates and lawyers, most of whom had attended the Congregation of Madrid. Doctor Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, a member of the Council of Castile, prepared a document that is considered the first systematic program of action for the assimilation of the Moriscos (that is, the transformation of their behavior to conform to Christian standards).<sup>26</sup> He recommended removing the children from their families to prevent the transmission of Islam, and he stated that this means of action, although cruel and difficult, would be efficient, pointing out that canon law permitted its enforcement. Carvajal was full of optimism about the ability of Spain to eradicate the religious minorities:

The difficulties must not prevent this holy enterprise. We have seen the general expulsion of the Jews and of the Moors from the whole realm: though it seemed to be difficult in the beginning, the intention made it very easy.<sup>27</sup>

At this time, the wave of expulsions of 1492–1525 was considered on the whole a successful effort to impose Christian exclusivity. The criticisms against Sisebut came from the Dominicans, who were engaged in the evangelization of the New World and had to resolve theological and moral problems arising from the conquest. Tommaso Cajetano, a Dominican cardinal and a major authority in Catholic theology, refuted the Scotist doctrine on forced conversion in his *Commentary* on the *Summa theologica*, written between 1507 and 1522. Sisebut's coercive politics were not to be a valuable model for Christian princes, because the Fourth Council of Toledo, although praising the king's intention, had disapproved of his actions. "Good intention can cause great damage," stated Cajetano with a bit of irony.<sup>28</sup> The distinction between the intention of the sovereign and his actions allowed praising his person while criticizing his decisions. Political decrees remained under theological and moral scrutiny, even when the prince pretended to defend the

Christian faith. The difficulties involved in the Christianization of the Moriscos were not an issue that theologians could easily develop, because of the respect due to the emperor, so they preferred to comment on the precedent of the seventh century, which was an indirect way of addressing the topic. The Dominican Francisco de Vitoria, well known for his critical views on the right of conquest,<sup>29</sup> stated in his *Commentary* on the *Summa theologica*, written between 1534 and 1537, that Sisebut had been frowned upon for having forced “Jews and Saracens” to convert.<sup>30</sup> By using this anachronism, Vitoria included Muslims and Moriscos in his reflection on forced conversion. As it became clear, with the passing of years, that the transformation of the Moriscos into “good Christians” had not truly come about, the Scotist argument of the achievement of conversion within two or three generations came under repeated criticism. Toward the end of Charles V’s reign (in 1555–1556), Dominican theologian Domingo de Soto stated that

what long experience is showing us is that neither the children, nor the grandchildren, nor even the great-grandchildren of the Saracens who were converted in Spain a long time ago abandoned their sect in their hearts.<sup>31</sup>

At the end of the century, another Dominican, Domingo de Báñez, insisted on the inefficiency of forced conversions: they produced many sacrileges, and those who had accepted baptism insincerely “secretly teach their children how to conserve the sect of Mahomet.”<sup>32</sup> Thus, if it was too late for the Jews and too late for the Muslims, since baptism could not be canceled, the theologians of Salamanca strongly condemned forced conversions in an effort to prevent a repetition of those past tragedies with the Indians in the New World.

#### The Transformation of the Jewish Precedent

The War of Granada, a long and painful rebellion of the Moriscos (1568–1571), changed the tone of opinion regarding the politics of conversion. In the 1580s prelates, inquisitors, and royal counselors were searching for a definitive solution to the problem of the Moriscos, who were by then considered dangerous to the security of Spain because they were insincere Christians. Expelling them began to seem an attractive solution, although many counselors were still in favor of a huge missionary effort to teach them the basic rules of Christianity. At this time the myth of the Visigoths was omnipresent in the historians’ construction of Spanish identity, so Sisebut and his successors were familiar to the king’s advisers.<sup>33</sup> Ximenez de Reinoso, the inquisitor of Valencia and a partisan of the expulsion, in his 1582 *Advice* to Philip II, modified the sense of the

seventh-century precedent by saying that it was in fact an expulsion, not a forced conversion:

Sisebut, king of the Goths, following nothing but his holy zeal, cast out and expelled the Jews of Spain and of all his realms; for this reason, even for those who want to criticize him, he earned the reputation of being very Christian, and he keeps it until our days.<sup>34</sup>

This reversal allowed him to approve not only Sisebut's pious intention but also his decision, as expulsion was considered a legal way of dealing with all kinds of undesirable groups or individuals, such as religious minorities, religious dissidents, prostitutes, or beggars. The Valencian inquisitor offered another strong justification for the expulsion of the Moriscos, with this surprising argument *a fortiori*:

The Catholic Monarchs, of good and praised memory, after having taken all the realms of Spain from the power of these barbarous infidels, to secure their power, promulgated the Pragmatic of 1492, in which they ordered all the Jews who didn't want to accept baptism to leave Spain and their realms, and this, without having committed any crime. So it would be all the more just to throw out these people [the Moriscos], although they are baptized, after the many apostasies and treasons that they commit every day.<sup>35</sup>

The contrapositioning of the innocent Jews with the guilty Moriscos ("without having committed any crime"/"many apostasies and treasons") is very surprising, since the major justification given for expelling the Jews in 1492 was their constant efforts to induce the "New Christians" to apostasy. A few years after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the decree had entered the list of legitimate expulsions that already included those from Savoy, England, and France. The main sources of canon law, Gratian's *Decree* and the *Decretals*, did not fix rules about the expulsion of minorities, so that historical precedents and political arguments were essential in the justification of such decisions. The expulsion from Spain was a punishment for the perfidy of the Jews, claimed such influential authors as the Italian canonist Marquardus de Susanis and the bishop of Zamora, Diego de Simancas.<sup>36</sup> This political justification allowed clearing the reputation of the Catholic Monarchs of any suspicion of forced conversion. Among other theologians, Pedro de Aragón, an Augustinian master of Salamanca, refused to consider the Catholic Monarchs as emulators of Sisebut because their motive for expelling the Jews had not been to drive them to baptism but rather to protect their subjects from the contagion of the Jews.<sup>37</sup>

Following the same historical pattern as Ximenez de Reinoso, but arguing against the expulsion of the Moriscos, Feliciano Figueroa, bishop of Segorbe, in the Kingdom of Valencia, recounted for Philip III the age-old struggle of the Spanish kings against the Muslims and the Jews. He condemned forced conversions but reminded Philip that the Fourth Council of Toledo had approved the decision of the “very pious” Sisebut and that, over time, the Jews had become good Christians. King Egica’s political stance regarding the insincere converts, at the end of the seventh century, had been equally successful: the apostates had been reduced to slavery, dispersed among “Old Christians,” and deprived of their children, and “they all became over time good Christians, and it is a living example for these Moriscos.”<sup>38</sup>

Sisebut remained a useful historical precedent that could be recalled to justify various solutions for the Morisco problem. In a crucial moment—the debate of the Council of State on January 30, 1608, a prelude to the decision in favor of the expulsion—the Visigoth king appears once again in the advice of a prestigious councillor, the constable of Castile, Juan Fernández de Velasco y Tovar. The constable recognized the violent conditions surrounding the first conversions of the Muslims in the Kingdom of Valencia. He recalled the parallel that several authors had drawn between Emperor Charles V and King Sisebut, and he did not fail to point out that the Fourth Council of Toledo had condemned the conversion of the Jews and ordered that no forced conversions be made.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, the Moriscos were apostates and heretics, but it was advisable to punish them *mildly* (“deben ser castigados blandamente”). For him expelling the Moriscos was the “less bloody and the more reasonable way” to put apostasy to an end.

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, the remote precedent of the forced conversion/expulsion of the Jews under Sisebut, a thousand years before, was still a tool for political advice. As the respect due to the recent kings of Spain, the glorious Catholic Monarchs and Emperor Charles V, prevented the expression of direct criticism of their decisions, Sisebut was an easier target for the opponents to forced conversions. There was a strong sense of continuity between the different episodes of conversion/expulsion, especially because despite their differences, Jews and Muslims were all infidels with respect to canon law. The rules drawn up in western Christendom in the context of a strong hostility toward the Jews eventually applied to all non-Christians, first to Muslims and then to various other peoples, during the global expansion of Catholicism. Thus, anti-Judaism put its mark on the relations of the Catholic Church and the Catholic states with other religious traditions, far beyond the Christian-Jewish face-off.

The legitimacy of the expulsion/conversion of 1492 was not vigorously discussed in the following decades, because the Jews were always suspected of plotting against the Christians.<sup>40</sup> But the coercive conversion policies were pointed out as being inefficient. The obstinate resistance of the Moriscos to the efforts of Christianization and to inquisitorial repression came to discredit the Scotist line, offering a strong argument to the partisans of less coercive methods in the evangelization of the New World. In western Europe, the conversions of 1492–1525 were the last episode of mass baptisms, and the missionaries developed various nonviolent methods of evangelization. But the use of coercion and pressure to lead individuals to conversion remained a strong temptation for the Catholic Church, and for the sovereigns, throughout the early modern age in Europe.

#### Notes

- \* This research was funded by the Centre de recherche en histoire européenne comparée, CRHEC, EA 4392) of Université Paris-Est, France.
- 1 Isabelle Poutrin, “Eradication ou conversion forcée? Les expulsions ibériques en débat au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle” [Eradication or forced conversion? The debate on Iberian expulsions in the sixteenth century], in *Les expulsions de minorités religieuses dans l’Europe des XIII<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* [The expulsions of religious minorities in Europe, 13th–17th centuries], ed. Isabelle Poutrin and Alain Tallon (Pompignac, France: Bière, 2015), 45–67.
- 2 From among a huge bibliography, see: Luis Suárez Fernández, *La expulsión de los judíos de España* [The expulsion of the Jews of Spain] (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1991); Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002); Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy: The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007).
- 3 François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- 4 Benjamin R. Gampel, *The Last Jews on Iberian Soil: Navarrese Jewry, 1479-1498* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
- 5 Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Los mudejares del reino de Granada* [The Mudejares of Granada] (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991).
- 6 For the various moments of the historical debate on the king’s intentionality, see John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 105–110; Maurice Kriegel, “La prise d’une décision: l’expulsion des juifs d’Espagne en 1492” [Taking a decision: The expulsion of the Jews of Spain], *Revue Historique* 260 (1978): 48–90, esp. 50–51; Mark Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley:

- University of California Press, 1991), 11–13; Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones: La Monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos* [Heroic decisions: The Catholic monarchy and the Moriscos of Valencia] (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2001), 16–28.
- 7 The term Converso refers to New Christians of Jewish origin. New Christians of Muslim origin were called the pejorative name “Moriscos.” *Mudejanes*, from Arabic مدجن, or “domesticated” was the term used for Muslims who remained under the conquest of Spain.
  - 8 James Amelang, *Historias paralelas: Judeoconversos y moriscos en la España moderna* (Madrid: Akal, 2011), published in translation as *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), to which the reader can refer for its helpful bibliographical essay.
  - 9 The collective research project Corpi (Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics and Interaction: Early Modern Iberia and Beyond), an ERC project (2013–2018), coordinated by Mercedes García-Arenal, is now studying the change brought by forced mass conversion in early modern Iberia, from a variety of case studies, including both Jews and Muslims.
  - 10 Vicent J. Valles Borrás, *La Germania* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2000), 15–23. *Agermanados*, a term originally used for members of the guilds, came to refer to all those who participated in the revolt.
  - 11 “. . . ha huydo dezir al señor compte que Dios perdonase a la reyna doña Isabel y al Cardenal que havian hecho ir muchas animas al infierno por haver fecho convertir los moros en Spanya.” Deposition of Mosen de Segovia, March 1, 1524, Inquisition, legajo 799, caja 3 fol. 416 v., Archivo Historico Nacional (hereafter cited as AHN), Madrid. All translations are my own. “Mosen” was a title granted to honorable persons, especially priests, as is the case here. For a larger study of this event, see Isabelle Poutrin, *Convertir les musulmans. Espagne 1491-1609* [To convert the Muslims. Spain, 1491-1609] (Paris: Puf, 2012).
  - 12 “. . . y aquells nos poden dir christians sinó batejats y es be deixar-los star en la sua lley (com a moros) que may ningun bon christiàs que perçou cremen tants de conversos per haver los fet fer christians per força als seus antipassats quels manaren que non conversasen ab christians ni fessen mercaderies ningunes ab ells y ells per no anar-se feren-se christians y axí may son bons christians los descendents.” Joan Sabater, September 25, 1524, Inquisicion, legajo 799 caja 3, fol. 437 v., AHN. My translation from Valencian.
  - 13 “Gran culpa té sanct Vicent Ferrer de açò, que feu fer los juheus christians per força e mesclols ab los christians de natura et ara patixen estes vergonyes y penitencies, y mirau estos moros, que han rebut lo baptisme, jatsia sien batejats no son christians nihs tong per christians, que per força son stats batejats. E si yom trobas en Turquia, que fos lo Grand Turch, a tots los christians qui allí stan faria tornar moros per força puix ací los christians han fet tornar als moros christians per força.” Deposition of Brother Joan de Xavea, April 21, 1525, Inquisition, legajo 799 caja 3, fol. 467, AHN.

- 14 See David Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).
- 15 Yitzhak Fritz Baer, *Historia de las judíos en la España cristiana* [History of the Jews in Christian Spain], trans. (from Hebrew) José Luis Lacave (Barcelona: Riopiedras, 1998), 531–565; Ernest Belenguier, ed., *Història del país valencià* [History of the Valencian country], vol. 2, *De la conquesta a la federació hispànica* [From conquest to Hispanic federation] (Barcelona: edicions 62, 1989), 248–250.
- 16 “Facen-se cristians los moros o miuren.” Belenguier, *Història del país valencià*, 2:322–325.
- 17 Doris Moreno, *La invención de la Inquisición* [The invention of the Inquisition] (Madrid: Fundación Carolina. Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos/Marcial Pons Historia, 2004), 95–103.
- 18 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIe-IIae, q. 10, a. 8 co.
- 19 Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*, 68–76; Augustin Redondo, *Antonio de Guevara (1480?-1545) et l’Espagne de son temps: De la carrière officielle aux œuvres politico-morales* [Antonio de Guevara (1480?-1545) and Spain: Official career and politico-moral works] (Geneva: Droz, 1976), 222–264.
- 20 Fernando de Loazes, *Per utilis et singularis questio: seu tractatus super nova paganorum regni Valentiae conversione* [Treatise on the recent conversion of the pagans of the Kingdom of Valencia] (Valencia, 1525); Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (London: Bernard Quarich, 1901), 70–79.
- 21 Isabelle Poutrin, “La conversion des musulmans de Valence (1521-1525) et la doctrine de l’Église sur les baptêmes forcés” [The conversion of the Muslims of Valencia (1521-1525) and the doctrine of the Church on forced baptisms], *Revue Historique* 648 (2008): 819–855.
- 22 See David Vieira, “The Evolution of Franciscan Eiximenis’ Attitudes toward Judaism,” in *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 147–159; Steven J. McMichael, “Alfonso de Espina and the Mosaic Law,” in McMichael and Myers, *Friars and Jews*, 199–223; Francisco Javier Rojo Alique, “Fifteenth-Century Franciscan Preachers in Castile: The Example of Valladolid,” in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, ed. Timothy J. Johnson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 353–379.
- 23 John Duns Scotus [Ioannes Duns Scotus], *Ordinatio*, in *Opera Omnia*: editio minor 3/2, *Opera theologica* [Theological works], ed. Giovanni Lauriola (Bari: Editrice Alberobello, 2001), 530. See Elsa Marmursztejn and Sylvain Piron, “Duns Scot et la politique. Pouvoir du prince et conversion des juifs” [Duns Scotus and politics. Power of the prince and conversion of the Jews], in *Duns Scot à Paris. 1302-2002* [Duns Scotus in Paris, 1302-2002], ed. Olivier Boulnois et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 21–62; Nancy L. Turner, “Jews and Judaism in Peter Auriol’s *Sentences* Commentary,” in McMichael and Myers, *Friars and Jews*, 81–98; Elsa Marmursztejn,

- “Débats médiévaux sur l’expulsion des juifs des monarchies occidentales” [Medieval discussions on the expulsion of the Jews from the western kingdoms], in Poutrin and Tallon, *Les expulsions de minorités*, 19–44.
- 24 Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotze llibre del Crestià*, pt. 2, ed. C. Wittlin et al. (Gerona: Col·legi Universitari de Girona – Diputació de Girona, 1986), 371; on Eiximenis, see María Teresa Ferrer Mallol, “Frontera, convivencia y proselitismo entre cristianos y moros en los textos de Francesc Eiximenis y de San Vicente Ferrer” [Frontier, coexistence and proselytism between Christians and Moors in the works of Francesc Eiximenis and Saint Vincent Ferrer], in *Pensamiento medieval hispano. Homenaje a Horacio Santiago Otero* [Hispanic medieval thought. Essays in honor of Horacio Santiago Otero], ed. José María Soto Rabanos (Madrid: CSIC, 1998), 1579–1600; Alonso de Espina, *Fortalitium fidei contra iudeos, sarracenos aliosq[ue] christiane fidei inimicos* [“The fortress of faith” against Jews, Saracens and other enemies of the Christian faith] [1st ed., 1470] (Lyon, 1511), L. III, “De bello Iudeorum,” fol. ccxxxv; on this author, see Alice Meyudas, *La forteresse de la foi. La vision du monde d’Alonso de Espina, moine espagnol (?-1466)* [“The fortress of faith.” The vision of the world of the Spanish monk Alonso de Espina (?-1466)] (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1998); Ana Echevarria, “*The Fortress of Faith*: The Attitude towards Muslims in Fifteenth-Century Spain” (Leiden: Brill, 1999).
- 25 “. . . sera bien que en las predicaciones se les declara que en casso que ellos estuviessen pertinaces y endurecidos en su secta y determinassen irse fuera de nuestros reynos, han de dexar sus hijos para que sean christianos, porque esto sera mucha parte para convertir los padres.” Charles V to the Captain general of Cataluña, November 10, 1525, Inquisicion, libro 256, fol. 462v and libro 247, fol. 71v, AHN; Redondo, *Antonio de Guevara*, 249.
- 26 Augustin Redondo, “El primer plan sistemático de asimilación de los moriscos granadinos: El del doctor Carvajal (1526)” [The first systematic program of assimilation for Granada’s Moriscos: Doctor Carvajal’s program], in *Les morisques et leur temps* [The Moriscos and their time] (Paris: CNRS, 1983), 111–132. The text of the *Parecer* of Galindez de Carvajal, conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, (ms. 1752, fol. 173v-184v), was published in Joaquín Gil Sanjuán, “El parecer de Galíndez de Carvajal sobre los moriscos andaluces (año 1526)” [Galindez de Carvajal’s advice on Andalusian Moriscos (1526)], *Baetica* 11 (1988): 385–401.
- 27 “. . . y las dificultades no deven ympedir tan santa obra pues vimos la expulsion general de los judios y moros de todo el rreyno, la qual aunque al principio parecio dificultosa, la yntencion la hizo muy facile.” Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal, *Parecer*, fol. 180v. Quoted in Redondo, *Antonio de Guevara*, 278.
- 28 “Multa enim mala intentione bona fiunt.” Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia, t. VIII cum commentariis Thomas de Vio Caietani* [Complete works, vol. 8 with the commentaries of Thomas de Vio, Cardinal Cajetano], ad. Ila Ilae, question 10, article 8 (Rome: Typografia polyglotta de Propaganda fide, 1875).



- 29 Francisco de Vitoria, *Relectio De Indis* [1539], published in French as *Leçon sur les Indiens* [Lecture on the Indians] (Geneva: Droz, 1966).
- 30 Francisco de Vitoria, *Comentarios a la Secunda Secundae de Santo Tomas* [Commentary on the second part of the second part of St. Thomas's *Summa theologiae*], ed. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, vol. 1, *De Fide et Spe*, q. 1-22, question 10, article 8, 2 (Salamanca, 1932), 190.
- 31 "Praesertim, quod longo experimento nobis constat, neque filios, neque nepotes, neque vero pronepotes Sarracenorum, qui in Hispania olim fuerint conversi suam sectam animo insculptam gestare." Domingo de Soto, *In quartum Sententiarum* [Commentary on the fourth book of Peter Lombard's "Sentences"] (Venice, 1575), 295.
- 32 ". . . quia ficte baptizantur, et ita docent filios suos in occulto ad servandam sectam Mahometi." Domingo Bañez, *Commentaria in secundam secundae* [Commentary on the second part of the second part of St. Thomas's *Summa theologiae*], question 10, article 10 (Venice, 1602), 523.
- 33 Augustin Redondo, "Les divers visages du thème (wi)sigothique dans l'Espagne des XVIe et XVIIe siècles" [The various aspects of the Visigothic theme in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain], in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique* [Europe and the inheritance of Visigothic Spain], ed. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1992), 353–364.
- 34 "Sisebut rey godo, solamente fundado en su zelo santo, echo y espelio los judios de España y de todos sus reynos y por ello, aun cerca de los que quieren murmurar del, gano renombre de cristianisimo y hasta hoy le conserva." Licenciado Ximenez de Reinoso, April 31, 1582, in Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* [The Spanish Moriscos and their expulsion] (Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1992), 1:601.
- 35 "Los Reyes Catholicos, de buena y felice memoria, después que tuvieron sacadas del todo las Españas de poder de estos barbaros ynfieles, para mas asegurarlas promulgaron la pregmatica del año de 1492 en que mandaron salir de España y de sus reynos a todos los judios que no se quisiesen bautizar y esto sin haver cometido delicto alguno, quanto mas justo seria agora echar a estos aunque sean bautizados después de tantas apostasias y trayciones como cada dia cometen." Ximenez de Reinoso, in Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos*, 1:601.
- 36 Marquard de Susanis, *Tractatus de Iudeis et aliis infidelibus* [Treatise on the Jews and other infidels] (Venice, 1558), 24–26; on Susanis, see Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1977); Diego de Simancas, *De Catholicis institutionibus* [Treatise on the Catholic doctrines], in *Opera Jacobi Simancae* [Works of Diego de Simancas] (Ferrara, 1692), 244.
- 37 Pedro de Aragón, *In secundam Secundae divi Thomae Doctoris Angelici commentarium* [Commentary on the second part of the second part of St. Thomas's *Summa theologiae*] (Salamanca, 1584), 1:290.
- 38 ". . . vinieron por tiempo todos a ser buenos cristianos como vemos en España, y este es un ejemplar muy al vivo para estos moriscos." Feliciano Figueroa, "Relación de lo que se ha hecho en

- la materia de la instrucción de los moriscos, 1601-1604” [Relation of what has been done for the instruction of the Moriscos, 1601-1604], in Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos*, 2:440.
- 39 Constable of Castile, document added to the advice of the Council of State, January 30, 1608 in Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos*, 2:461.
- 40 Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, “La expulsión de los judíos y de los moriscos: una visión desde el siglo xvii” [The expulsion of the Jews and Moriscos: A vision from the seventeenth century], in *Carlos V, europeísmo y universalidad* [Charles V, Europeanism and universality], ed. Francisco Sánchez-Montes Gonzáles and J. Luis Castellano Castellano (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Carlos V y Felipe II, 2001), 5:565–576.

