

1957

Bernardino de Tovar, Lutheran Heretic?

Vicky Mason Arnett

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BERNARDINO DE TOVAR, LUTHERAN HERETIC?

by

Vicky Mason Arnett

A Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

The University of New Mexico

1957



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DATE June 4, 1957

Thesis committee

John E. Longhurst
CHAIRMAN
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MASTER OF ARTS

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INTRODUCTION

I. SALAMANDA AND THE TOWN

II. TOWN AND THE SALAMANDA

III. TOWN AND THE SALAMANDA

IV. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TOWN

V. BREAK WITH THE TOWN

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INTRODUCTION

In the early part of the sixteenth century the Spanish Inquisition was becoming concerned over the religious opinions of two groups of recent origin--the Illuminists and the Erasmists. The tenets of Illuminism were based heavily on Pauline mysticism, and early became suspect by the Inquisition. The Illuminists, or Alumbrados, believed in the complete surrender of oneself to God.¹ This complete abandonment to God's will was called dexamiento. According to a definition given by the Alumbrado Nicholas Embid, the will ceases to be active and becomes submissive to divine will. In this abandoned state the dexado is not responsible for his actions since the will proceeds directly from God.²

This concentration on an indwelling God and self-emptying before Christ could quite naturally lead to deviations from strict orthodoxy. The Alumbrados scorned ecclesiastical authority and priestly instruction. They seemed to deny the sacraments and good works; they scorned all

¹ A. S. Turberville, The Spanish Inquisition (London, 1932), 134.

² J. E. Longhurst, Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Juan de Valdés (Albuquerque, 1950), 24.

prayer, disregarded rigid formalism and other external manifestations performed by Christian Catholics. The essence of Illuminism seemed to be found in their frequent saying, "You are God and God is you."

The origin of Illuminism cannot adequately be determined. Marcel Bataillon, perhaps the greatest living authority on Erasmism in Spain, prefers to place Illuminism within the framework of the general religious renovation that was taking place all over Europe by the sixteen century.³ As early as 1512, Alumbrado groups were active in Guadalajara under the leadership of the beata Isabel de la Cruz, and in Salamanca under the guidance of Francisca Hernández. Isabel and Francisca share the spotlight as the central feminine figures in the spread of the Illuminist cult. In the early 1520's the Illuminists were holding conventicles at Escalona, directed by Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, the principal male exponent of Illuminist doctrine. During the same period, Alumbrado circles were meeting at Cifuentes, Pastana, Valladolid and Toledo.⁴ The members of these Alumbrado groups were mainly clerics and a few piously inclined women who were seeking to satisfy their religious needs through the vivifying emotionalism implicit in the practice of

³ Marcel Bataillon, Erasmus y España (2 vols., México, 1950). See especially I, chap. 4.

⁴ Longhurst, Juan de Valdés, 16.

prayer, disengaged right hand and left hand
manifestations performed by the subject, the nature
of Illuminism seemed to be found in their history and
"You are God and God is you."

The origin of the Illuminist movement is not

known. Marcel Bataillon, however, has suggested a link
authority on Illuminism in Spain, pointing to the Illuminist
within the framework of the general religious movement
that was taking place at that time in the sixteenth century.
As early as 1512, Alvarado wrote that there were Illuminist
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3 Marcel Bataillon, *Spain and its World, 1500-1700*, Oxford, 1950. See especially I, 200-201.

4 Longhurst, *Spain in the Sixteenth Century*, 1950.

Illuminism. It is quite interesting to note that many of the persons attracted to the Alumbrados were of converso blood. The major leaders of the early Illuminist movement, Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz, were of Jewish ancestry.⁵

In direct contrast to this non-intellectual religious movement was the ascendancy in Spain of Erasmian ideas. Spain had awakened to the humanist thought initiated by the Italian Renaissance, and shortly this humanist pattern became dominated by Erasmist thinking, which permeated the comparatively young University of Alcalá and the Imperial court of Charles V. Among the devotees of Erasmus were many notable and illustrious Spaniards, such as Alonso Manrique, Inquisitor General and Archbishop of Seville; Alonso Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo; the Marqués de Villena; Juan de Valdés, the author of a theological treatise, Doctrina Cristiana, which was to force his exile from Spain; Juan's brother, Alfonso, secretary to Charles V; Juan de Vergara, secretary to the Archbishop of Toledo; and his brother, Francisco, professor of Greek at Alcalá.⁶ The religious writings of the brilliant Flemish humanist appealed strongly to the humanist intellectuals because they concen-

⁵ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 210.

⁶ Turberville, The Spanish Inquisition, 133; Longhurst, Juan de Valdés, 11, 13, 24; Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 287; II, 24.

trated on the proper inner spirit of Christian man and attacked Church formalism and ostentation. Erasmus particularly raged at the observance of fasts and pilgrimages, the reverencing of relics, and Church abuses such as the extravagant sale of relics. His affection for the simplicity of the early Church made him critical of the elaboration of Church ceremonies. He wanted reform--but reform within the Church.

Erasmism did not lack for opponents, however. Since Erasmus sought the de-emphasis of external Church practices, his irate critics believed he was denying their essential validity and felt that some of his doctrines should be condemned. Because of the powerful backing that Erasmus had in Spain, the popularity of his thought was widespread and even penetrated Illuminism mainly through the publication in Spain of the Enchiridion in 1525. In the Enchiridion Erasmus set forth a format on what a proper Christian life should be and how it could be attained. Erasmus' principal theme was that knowledge of Scripture should be combined with simple devotion, and the essence of his program was emphasis on the indwelling spirit of Christ. In this work Erasmus also assailed the ignorance and superstition of the clergy and the materialism of the Church.⁷ Obviously, the

⁷ For an excellent summary of the life and thought of Erasmus, see Margaret M. Phillips, Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance (New York, 1950).

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Illuminists found the ideas of the Enchiridion much to their liking because Erasmus spoke of a proper inner spirit and seemed to scorn Church practices. It must be remembered that Erasmus never denied the actual validity of external Church practices or the freedom of human will, but by implication, the Illuminists--with their emphasis on lack of personal responsibility when divine will was uppermost in consciousness--did repudiate their worth.

The year 1525 was a crucial one for the Alumbrados. The publication of the Enchiridion invited and prepared the way for the fusion of Erasmism and Illuminism. In the same year the Inquisition issued an edict against the Alumbrados which compiled the erroneous tenets of Illuminism.⁸ On April 12 the Inquisitor General read in Madrid another edict which ordered all Lutheran books and their adherents to be handed over to the Inquisition under pain of excommunication.⁹ In 1525 no association had as yet been made between the ideas of the Alumbrados and the Lutherans, because only three of the propositions against the Alumbrados were considered to have a Lutheran flavor. However, by 1530 Spain's

⁸ Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereinafter referred to as AHN), Inquisición, libro 1299, fols. 551-556.

AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso contra Juan de Vergara, Legajo 223, No. 42. This edict appears in the Vergara proceso, 3r.

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Inquisitors were forced to review the religious inquietudes of this period. As the Inquisitors watched Lutheranism gaining a stronghold in Europe, and listened to Francisca Hernández and Diego Hernández betray their Illuminist friends and wildly denounce some of them as Lutherans, the worried watchdogs of orthodoxy translated the heterodox movements of Erasmism and Illuminism into Lutheranism.

The purpose of this thesis is to indicate the fusion of Erasmism and Illuminism with Lutheranism by following the career of Bernardino de Tovar, an important Alumbrado and probable Erasmist, who was denounced to the Inquisition as a Lutheran heretic. The preparation of a complete biographical sketch of Tovar is practically impossible because of the lack of available information. We do know that he was a converso and a step-brother of Juan, Francisco, and their sister Isabel Vergara.¹⁰ But the record of his early career is quite blank. Therefore this work is limited to following the movements of Tovar from the time of his connection with the Alumbrados in Salamanca and Valladolid, through his stay at the University of Alcalá, to his subsequent trial in the 1530's by the Inquisition of Toledo. Unfortunately, the trial of Tovar is lost and the reconstruction of his career

¹⁰ AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso de Petronila de Lucena, Legajo 111, No. 46, [11].

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is based on the few remaining trials that have been preserved from this period. The major sources I have used are the procesos against Juan de Vergara, Antonio de Medrano, María de Cazalla and Luis de Beteta--all of whom were questioned by the Inquisition about their Alumbrado beliefs. Other works that give a penetrating picture of the Alumbrado and Erasmist movement are, Erasmus y España by Marcel Bataillon; Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Juan de Valdés, and "The Alumbrados of Toledo: Juan del Castillo and the Lucenas," by John E. Longhurst. In addition to tracing for the first time the career of Tovar, this work hopes to provide a glimpse of the narrowing intellectual and religious climate of Spain in the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER I

SALAMANCA AND VALLADOLID

Bernardino de Tovar must have expected an ordinary scholarly career in the Church when, in 1510, he began to study at the University of Salamanca, where he probably took holy orders.¹ The event that was to radically change this ambition and the course of his life, and to lead to Tovar's embarkation into the world of Illuminism and thereby to his ultimate ruin, was Tovar's chance meeting with the fascinating beata, Francisca Hernández. Francisca, at an early age, displayed her powers for spiritual divination and achieved considerable local fame in her native town of Canillas near Salamanca.² Francisca's place in the heterodox religious life of Spain truly becomes significant when she creates for herself the role of high priestess of the Alumbrado movement both in Salamanca and in Valladolid and gathers around her a group of enthusiastic friars in those cities.

Tovar, together with his fellow students and clerics at the University of Salamanca, Antonio de Medrano, Diego

¹ Vergara proceso, 257v.

² Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 81, n. 27.

de Villareal, Andrés Muñoz and Fray Gil Pizarro, were among the first in the succession of fervent followers to forsake their studies and to attach themselves to Francisca probably around the year 1517. From this time on Francisca would act as their instructress in the mysteries of the divine.³ This Alumbrado nucleus rapidly expanded to include other clerics such as Licentiate Miguel de Ortiz, Licentiate Cristóbal de Gumiel and Diego López, cleric of Toledo, Licentiate Antonio de Sayavedra and his brother Herrera, Doctor Francisco de Valderrama, and Doña María de Brochero.⁴

Tovar's desertion of his scholarly pursuits and subsequent attachment to Francisca greatly disturbed his step-brother, Juan de Vergara. Angrily, Vergara rebuked him and withdrew his financial support, but this had absolutely no effect on the lovesick Tovar, who was determined to serve Francisca the rest of his life.⁵

The blind worship accorded to Francisca by her clerical devotees almost escapes explanation. As a sign of their slavish devotion, Tovar and the other clerics

³ AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso contra Antonio de Medrano, Legajo 104, No. 15, 167r, 169r-170v.

⁴ Ibid., 149r, 150v.

⁵ Vergara proceso, 288r.

regularly kissed Francisca's hands and feet.⁶ To the poisonously seductive, wanton and unchaste Francisca they attributed every virtue, praising her as a holy, spiritual and saintly servant of God and prophetess of the future. Medrano, who frequently expounded on his mistress' charms, said that if Francisca's maid did not perform her duties, God would send an angel to serve Francisca;⁷ if the Lord had not already been incarnated, he would be so now in Francisca. Her devout clerics regarded her as the true bride of Christ and incapable of sin. She ranked just below the Lord in the heavenly galaxy of famous saints.⁸

Francisca shared the leadership of the Alumbrado conventicle with her most devout disciple, Bachiller Antonio de Medrano of Navarrete, an obscene and lascivious monster, who acted as her chief publicity agent and confessor.⁹ Francisca and Medrano belittled obedience and discipline and encouraged their followers to disregard Church laws and not to concern themselves with the observance of Church ceremonies such as abstinence or penance,

⁶ Medrano proceso, 169r.

⁷ Ibid., 167v, 168r, 169v, 241r.

⁸ Manuel de Serrano y Sanz, "Francisca Hernández y el Bachiller Antonio de Medrano. Sus Procesos por la Inquisición (1519 a 1532)," Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, XLI (1902), 128-132.

⁹ Ibid., 107.

saying that omission of such practices was not a sin.¹⁰ The most important thing was to love God and serve him through Francisca.¹¹ Francisca and her admiring puppets interpreted this love of God as giving them freedom from worldly restrictions and a sort of sexual license. Consequently Francisca and Medrano strongly emphasized erotic behavior as a method of reaching spiritual abandonment. They would indulge their earthly passions to the accompaniment of frequent exhortations to God.¹² To sustain the community of Alumbrados, Medrano, as treasurer, extorted money contributions from the followers and took a very dim view of any disciple who appeared unwilling to support Francisca. Medrano and Francisca forced a certain young devotee in their Illuminist circle, Fray Sanchez Calero, to sell all his possessions, and they in turn used the money to pay off debts and buy new clothes. Another Illuminist, Gil Pizarro, who later became a Franciscan friar, also yielded to the pressure tactics of Medrano and frequently donated to the lavish upkeep demanded by Francisca.¹³

¹⁰ Medrano proceso, 134r, 153r.

¹¹ Ibid., 169v.

¹² Serrano y Sanz, "Francisca Hernández y Antonio de Medrano," 105.

¹³ Medrano proceso, 137v, 167v.

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The erotic behavior and unorthodox conduct of the community soon aroused the interest of the ecclesiastical authorities of Salamanca;¹⁴ about the same time the Inquisition of Valladolid, for the same reasons, became suspicious of this conventicle and carried Francisca off to Valladolid for questioning, probably in 1519.¹⁵ Though surprised and angered by the action of the Inquisition, Francisca's most ardent disciples, Tovar, Medrano, Villareal and Muñoz trooped to Valladolid to be near her¹⁶ and obtained an apartment in the home of Licentiate Bernardo and his wife Doña Mencía de Guevara, where Francisca was living.¹⁷ Medrano was prohibited by the Inquisition from conversing with Francisca, with the exception of saying mass for her.¹⁸ Bernardo's house became a meeting place for the Alumbrados, and it was here that Tovar met the Franciscan bishop of Verisa, Juan de Cazalla, a former chaplain to Cisneros and prominent Alumbrado and Erasmist,

¹⁴ Serrano y Sanz, "Francisca Hernández y Antonio de Medrano," 105.

¹⁵ Medrano proceso, 170r, 220v. According to the testimony given in April 1520 by Francisco de Tejeda of Valladolid, Francisca, who was living in his home at that time, had been detained in Valladolid for approximately one year (Medrano proceso, 110r).

¹⁶ Ibid., 163r.

¹⁷ Ibid., 167v.

¹⁸ Ibid., 164r.

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who shared in the Illuminist activities of his sister, María de Cazalla, Francisca's rival for the affection of her devotees and the feminine inspiration of the Guadalupe Alumbrados, after the arrest of Isabel de la Cruz in 1524.¹⁹

Francisca, at some time during the investigation, was placed under house arrest by the Inquisition in the home of Francisco de Tejada. Tovar, Medrano and Villareal faithfully continued to serve as her chaplains.²⁰ Juan de Vergara, while traveling with the court to Flanders, passed through Valladolid in early March, 1520, and again tried to sever Tovar's relationship with Francisca by offering his brother one of his benefices. At Vergara's request, Don Francisco de Mendoza, of the Monastery of San Benito in Valladolid, also pleaded with Tovar to give up his love affair. All these efforts were in vain.²¹

¹⁹ Vergara proceso, 66r-v; Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 72-73, 209. Alcaraz was also picked up by the Inquisition in 1524 (Longhurst, Juan de Valdés, 19). Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz appeared at a public auto de fe in Toledo in 1529 and were sentenced at that time to perpetual imprisonment (Bataillon, Erasmo, II, 9).

²⁰ Medrano proceso, 110r. It is impossible to determine because of conflicting testimony the exact date of Francisca's stay in the home of Bernardo or Tejada, or in which home she first resided.

²¹ Manuel de Foronda y Aguilar, Estancias y Viajes de Carlos Quinto, (Madrid, 1914), 161; Vergara proceso, 258r.

The Inquisition sentenced Francisca probably in 1521,²² ordering her to change her residence and forbidding her to communicate with her former chaplains. Francisca then moved into the home of Pedro de Cazalla and his wife Leonor de Bivero; this house became the center of the Illuminist movement in Valladolid.²³ Regardless of the Inquisition's investigation, Francisca's former devotees had clustered around her. They included Cristóbal de Gumiel, Miguel Ortiz and Diego López, who drifted back from Toledo, and Andrés Muñoz, who journeyed back and forth from Avila.²⁴ Francisca's new admirers from Valladolid who later came under the influence of Tovar were Francisco Díaz and a probable brother, Bachiller Olmedilla,²⁵ and the Erasmist

²² Medrano proceso, 130v, 164r.

²³ These Cazallas are not related to the Bishop Juan and his sister María de Cazalla. Leonor de Bivero and her husband are the founders of the famous house of Cazalla that was nearly extinguished by the Inquisition in a public auto de fe in Valladolid in 1559. Leonor herself was deeply compromised by the Illuminists (Medrano proceso, 240v). When the persecutions began, she was placed under house arrest, but Leonor died before anything was done to her. By order of the Inquisition, May 21, 1559, her bones were dug up and burned and the house was razed to the ground because it had been the place where the Lutherans assembled (Henry C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, 4 vols., New York, 1922, III, 130, 430).

²⁴ Medrano proceso, 143r, 167v.

²⁵ AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso contra María de Cazalla, Legajo 110, No. 21, 134v. Not much is known about Bachiller Olmedilla. The main reference which would indicate that bachiller Olmedilla does not refer to Fran-

Franciscan Fray Gil López de Béjar, later preacher to Charles V.²⁶ Francisca's growing conventicle and her increasing power must have greatly enhanced her reputation as a holy woman with a direct wire to God.

Tovar, Villareal and Medrano ignored the prohibition of the Inquisitors and promptly ensconced themselves in an apartment across the street from the Cazalla home that directly faced Francisca's room. From their perch at the window, the three would frantically wave to her, anxiously waiting for Francisca to make her appearance and bless them by making the sign of the cross.²⁷ Medrano piously sent her the choicest delicacies, and Tovar frequently acted as her confessor.²⁸ On every possible occasion Tovar and Medrano paid secret nocturnal visits to Francisca.²⁹ The Inquisition soon became aware that Tovar and his companions continued to see Francisca illegally, and as a final step

cisco Díaz is the testimony of Medrano. He names a son of Doctor Olmedilla whose name he cannot recall and who is now in Rome, as a devotee of Francisca. Two lines later he names Francisco Díaz, son of Olmedilla, as one of Francisca's admirers (Medrano proceso, 167v). The Cazalla proceso simply lists a Bachiller Olmedilla as a follower of Francisca.

²⁶ Medrano proceso, 144r, 220v.

²⁷ Ibid., 220v, 144r.

²⁸ Ibid., 133r; Vergara proceso, 66r-v.

²⁹ Medrano proceso, 174v.

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banished them from Valladolid.³⁰ All three tearfully took their leave of Francisca and went their separate ways. Medrano went to a little village outside of Valladolid called Villavaquerín, and Tovar moved to another little village close by. They continued to contact Francisca and to sneak surreptitiously into Valladolid.³¹

Juan de Vergara, still troubled by Tovar's behavior, and determined to break off his relations with Francisca, arranged a meeting with his brother on his return from Flanders in the fall of 1522. This time Vergara successfully persuaded Tovar to leave Francisca and go to Alcalá.³² At his brother's insistence, Vergara also saw Francisca in order to prepare her for Tovar's departure.

³⁰ Medrano proceso, 124r.

³¹ Ibid., 163r-v, 140r, 240v. Medrano eventually returned to Salamanca and his native town of Navarrete, where he continued to profess his Alumbrado doctrines. He was denounced to the Inquisition of Logroño in 1526 and penanced in June, 1527 (Serrano y Sanz, "Francisca Hernández y Antonio de Medrano," 107-108). A second proceso was begun against him in 1530. In April, 1532, Medrano abjured de vehementi and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in a monastery of Toledo (Ibid., 137). Diego de Villareal carried out legal functions for Medrano during his early trial (Medrano proceso, 99r-v, 105v). By June, 1533, the Inquisition had begun a proceso against him. During his trial he was allowed the freedom of the city (Vergara proceso, 125r).

³² Vergara proceso, 264r-v.

Francisca was extremely annoyed and dissatisfied with the loss of Tovar and cursed Vergara for his interference.³³ Tovar later discovered that his parting had caused irreparable damage to his relationship with Francisca.³⁴

³³ Vergara proceso, 134r-v.

³⁴ Ibid., 264v. Medrano often said it was more dangerous to anger Francisca than God (Medrano proceso, 169v).

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CHAPTER II

TOVAR AND THE ERASMISTS OF ALCALÁ

The University of Alcalá was characterized by the high premium that it placed on the knowledge of Latin and Greek and on the direct study of the Bible. Founded in 1510 by the great reformer, Cardinal Cisneros, and dedicated to the purpose of breathing new, fresh life into the Church, Alcalá from the very beginning was deeply impregnated with the spirit of humanism, which in a short time was identified with Erasmism. The leading humanist intellectuals of the University, sensing a similar reform sentiment in the ideas of Erasmus, were strongly attracted to the Flemish humanist, and because of their enthusiasm Alcalá became an active center for the dissemination of Erasmian thought.¹

Another stronghold of the Spanish Erasmists was the court of Charles V. The entourage of Charles V was dotted with numerous Erasmist followers who boldly advocated their doctrines under the Emperor's protection. By 1528 there was a close tie-up between the scholars of

¹ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 12-29.

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the University and their like-minded friends in the court.²

When Tovar arrived in Alcalá, probably to teach and to perfect his Latin and Greek, he undoubtedly found the Christian-humanist atmosphere much to his liking.³ Tovar shortly became acquainted both with the Erasmists at Alcalá and at the imperial court because of the prestige of his brothers Juan de Vergara, secretary to Alonso Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, and Francisco de Vergara, professor of Greek at Alcalá.⁴ Tovar's name is most intimately linked with the Erasmists Alonso de Virués, Miguel de Egüía, Juan de Valdés and Mateo Pascual. All these men became suspect by the Inquisition, and their friendship with Tovar probably made their crimes more heinous in the eyes of the Inquisitors.

Alonso de Virués, a favorite preacher of Charles V and translator of some of Erasmus' works into Spanish, was a staunch defender and apologist of Erasmus at the conference of Valladolid in 1527 which questioned the

² Longhurst, Juan de Valdés, 29.

³ Cazalla proceso, 149r; Vergara proceso, 44r.

⁴ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 187. Francisco de Vergara, along with Juan, an eminent hellenist and Erasmist, was one of the major links between the Erasmists at court and Alcalá.

Flemish humanist's orthodoxy and ultimately signalled the death blow to followers of Spanish Erasmism.⁵ From Burgos in the year 1526, Virués had enthusiastically written to Juan de Vergara of Tovar's brilliant mind and of the fast friendship that had developed between them.⁶ Virués was later tried by the Inquisition because of his adherence to Erasmist doctrines. The Emperor pressured the Inquisitors to favor Virués, and he was released in 1537, only having to abjure de levi. The next year Charles V appointed Virués Bishop of the Canaries, and Virués was never bothered again.⁷

Tovar's intimate friendship with another politically important Erasmist and student at Alcalá, Juan de Valdés, twin brother of Alfonso de Valdés, secretary to Charles V, considerably damaged the already shaky reputation of Valdés. Juan de Valdés had fallen under Inquisitorial investigation with the publication of his Doctrina Cristiana in 1529, a work strongly influenced

⁵ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 310, 499; II, 43-44.

⁶ P. S. and H. M. Allen, eds., Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami (11 vols., Oxford, 1906-1947), VI, 499. Bataillon believes that on the strength of his acquaintanceship with Tovar, Virués thought he could personally greet Erasmus (Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 259).

⁷ Bataillon, Erasmus, II, 64.

by Erasmism and suspected by the Inquisitors of containing heretical errors. A committee of learned theologians of the University of Alcalá, appointed by the Suprema, met in the headquarters of Mateo Pascual, rector of Alcalá, to examine the treatise.⁸ Tovar and Valdés were living together at that time, and it is quite possible that Tovar, who highly endorsed the composition, although he reproved Valdés for publishing it so hastily, attempted to pressure Juan de Vergara to use his influence with the members of the committee in order to secure approval of the work.⁹ The committee did not censure it, and Valdés was safe for a short, uneasy time, but with Tovar's arrest Valdés was spurred to flee Spain,¹⁰ and was out of reach of the long arm of the Inquisition when Diego Hernández denounced Valdés as a disciple of Tovar.¹¹

Tovar became the spiritual mentor of the zealous Erasmist Miguel de Eguía, printer at Alcalá, and involved the willing Eguía in all of his Illuminist enterprises.¹²

⁸ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 403, 400, 432-433.

⁹ Vergara proceso, 204r; Cazalla proceso, 34r. Tovar's regard for the work was used as damaging evidence in his trial (Cazalla proceso, 188r).

¹⁰ For further information on Juan de Valdés, see Longhurst, Juan de Valdés.

¹¹ Vergara proceso, 44v.

¹² Ibid., 61v.

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Eguía had married the daughter of Arnao Guillén Brocar, the printer of the Complutensian Bible, and on Brocar's death in 1523 Eguía inherited the press at Alcalá. Eguía, a brilliant typographer, wanted his Alcalá press to print works of the highest quality and felt that the works of Erasmus met this standard.¹³ Eguía began his Erasmian campaign in the spring of 1525 with the Latin publication of the Enchiridion, following it up with other Erasmian tracts published under the patronage of Alonso Fonseca.¹⁴ Eguía dedicated himself to the vulgarization and dissemination of Erasmian works so ardently that his presses gave a great impetus to the Erasmian movement in Spain. Eguía represents the curious combination of the two traditions of erudition and unorthodox piety characteristic of Erasmism and Illuminism, and as such Eguía could not escape the prying eyes of the alert Inquisitors.

Perhaps another symbol of the fusion of these traditions, at least in the eyes of the Inquisition, was Mateo Pascual, rector of the College of San Ildefonso. Mateo, a good friend of Tovar's, was without doubt an

¹³ J. Goñi Gaztambide, "El Impresor Miguel de Eguía, procesado por la Inquisición (c. 1495-1546)," Hispania Sacra, I (1948), 43-44.

¹⁴ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 190-193, 24.

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Erasmist, but whether he sincerely imbibed Tovar's Illuminist ideas is not clear; yet Pascual found sufficient cause to flee Spain for Rome sometime between December 1529 and September 1530, on learning of Tovar's seizure by the Inquisitorial Tribunal. Vergara sought to have Pascual stay in Spain with the Archbishop of Toledo, probably with the idea of having Pascual appear before the Tribunal as a favorable reference for Tovar.¹⁵ Pascual did return to Spain, supposedly to quell the unsavory rumors about his sudden departure, and assumed the position of Vicar General of Zaragoza. By May 3, 1533, he was relieved of his post and the Inquisitors were preparing to call Pascual before them to answer charges regarding his complacent conduct of the Valdés affair and his imprudent remarks about purgatory. Pascual had also been denounced as a disciple of Tovar. The Inquisitor General, Manrique, took a special interest in Pascual's case and asked that he be treated with all honor and respect and that his proceso be dispatched promptly. Pascual was imprisoned in Toledo by July 1533; however, the trial dragged on and he was not again at liberty until 1537. He died free in Rome, in 1553.¹⁶

¹⁵ Vergara proceso, 15r, 237v; Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 488.

¹⁶ Bataillon, Erasmus, II, 59-60; Vergara proceso, 44v, 45v.

Others of Tovar's Erasmian friends, Fray Dionisio Vázquez, illustrious preacher to the Emperor and Leo X, and now professor of the Bible at Alcalá, and his brother Hernán Vázquez, influential Erasmist at court, were deeply compromised by their acquaintance with Tovar when Diego Hernández denounced them as Lutheran followers of Tovar in 1532. Francisco de Vergara also became suspect by the Inquisition when Hernández leveled the same charge against him.¹⁷

How deeply Tovar was involved with Erasmism is a perplexing problem. Bataillon thinks that Tovar was an Erasmist. Tovar himself was not unknown to the Flemish humanist. In a letter to Juan de Vergara, one of the humanist's many correspondents, Erasmus warmly praised Tovar and their brother Francisco, but Tovar never personally corresponded with Erasmus.¹⁸ It is true that Tovar asso-

¹⁷ Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 277, 187; Longhurst, Juan de Valdés, 38; Vergara proceso, 44v, 46r. Fray Dionisio appeared as a witness in Beteta's trial, but he was never troubled by the Inquisition (Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 277). Apparently his brother Hernán also escaped investigation. Alfonso de Valdés, author of two famous controversial lucianesque dialogues, The Dialogue of Lactancio and The Dialogue of Mercury and Charon, died of the plague in Vienna in 1532, which probably saved him from the Inquisition (J.E. Longhurst, Alfonso de Valdés and the Sack of Rome, Albuquerque, 1952, Introduction). Francisco de Vergara was never tried by the Inquisition, but was not on good terms with them because he was refused by the fiscal to be a witness for María de Cazalla (Cazalla proceso, 124r, 148r).

¹⁸ Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 317.

ciated with the Erasmists at Alcalá, but of course his companionship with the admirers of Erasmus did not necessarily mean he had unrestrainedly embraced Erasmist thought. I believe the trial records speak for themselves on this point. Nowhere in the specific testimony of the witnesses against Tovar is there any attempt to accuse Tovar of Erasmism. The only occasion on which Tovar and Erasmus are linked is when the witnesses are attempting to establish the strong Erasmist conviction of Juan de Vergara by using Tovar as a foil. Nearly all the denunciations of Tovar are always concerned with his Illuminist activities, and even more important, in none of the testimony of his followers is there any evidence of Erasmian ideas. The evidence would seem to indicate that Tovar's relation with Erasmus seems to be directly associated with his brother's connections with the humanist doctor and that Tovar professed an interest in Erasmism, but the emotional spirit implicit in Illuminism more than swayed him in that direction.

CHAPTER III

TOVAR AND THE ILLUMINISTS OF NEW CASTILE

To the University of Alcalá, already permeated with Erasmism, Tovar added a new threat--Illuminism. Soon after his arrival from Valladolid, Tovar was practicing and teaching his Illuminist doctrine to his new companions at Alcalá. His sister, Isabel de Vergara, who lived with him, actively participated in Tovar's enthusiasm for the spread of the Illuminist cult. Isabel, an extremely well educated and strong-willed young woman, also shared the family's love for Erasmus and had learned Latin in order to read Erasmus' works in the original form, and had translated one of his works into Spanish.¹ When Juan de Vergara was absent, the Vergara house, embellished by its library for which Tovar, as Juan's custodian, procured books, probably was the center for the diffusion

¹ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 398; Vergara proceso, 64v. Isabel was mocked by the other feminine Illuminists for her intellectualism. Petronila de Lucena, sister of Juan del Castillo, firmly believed that she intuitively knew and felt more than Isabel with all of her education (Petronila proceso, 3v).

of evangelical humanism.²

The number of persons that Tovar attracted to his teachings from the cities of New Castile is amazing, and from the orthodox viewpoint it is almost horrifying to consider the heretical influence that he must have wielded over their religious thinking. Among the frequent visitors to his home in Alcalá were three servants of the Archbishop of Toledo; the Primate's chamberlain, Francisco Osorno Gutiérrez, Tovar's old friend and preacher to Charles V, Fray Gil López de Béjar, and Martín Laso de Cropesa, a humanist scholar and former employee of Bishop Cazalla.³ Tovar's Illuminist conventicle also included Gaspar de Villafañá, a cleric of minor orders, two students at Alcalá, Francisco de León and Juan del Castillo, and Juan's brother Gaspar de Lucena, and the clerics Alonso de Frías and Juan de Tapia. All these men were picked up by the Inquisition and one of them, Juan del Castillo,

² Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 398, 399. Tovar's maintenance of his brother's library resulted in furnishing evidence against himself and Vergara as to the question of the orthodoxy of the books in the library (Vergara proceso, 276r).

³ Vergara proceso, 40r, 4lv, 329v; Universitaetsbibliothek, Halle (Germany), II, Yc 20, 2, 2o, Proceso contra Fray Francisco Ortiz, 150v. Fray Gil had quite an Illuminist background. He was acquainted with Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, and was the former confessor to María de Cazalla in Guadalajara. Bataillon, Erasmus, II, 56, 59; I, 218.

of evangelistic mission.

The number of persons who have been converted is

estimated from the number of persons who have been baptized.

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was destined for the stake.⁴

Some well-known professors at Alcalá were also attracted to Tovar's Illuminist teachings. The Portuguese maestro, Manuel de Miona, and his companion Alonso Garzón, who also acted as Tovar's confessor, were his most intimate associates, along with Doctor Miguel de Torres, vice-rector of the Trilingual College, and Diego Hernández, colegial in the college of La Madre de Dios. Tovar's name is also linked with that of Doctor Diego de Albornoz, professor of theology, but there is slim evidence to indicate that the good doctor imbibed the Illuminist doctrine.

Miona, who was quite fond of drink and extremely poor, was not well liked by his colleagues. He apparently acted as Tovar's right hand man in teaching the heretical doctrine to Torres, Garzón, and possibly to Beatriz Ramírez, beata from Alcalá, a woman named Luisa Velásquez, and a

⁴ Vergara proceso, 71r, 74r, 98r, 329v, 44v; Ortiz proceso, 74r; J. E. Longhurst, "The Alumbrados of Toledo: Juan del Castillo and the Lucenas," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, Jahrgang 45, Heft 2 (1954), 235, n. 6. Diego Hernández also denounced as followers of Tovar the Archpriest of Santa María, and a man named Mora (Vergara proceso, 44v, 45v). Hardly anything is known about these men and their identification with Tovar and Illuminism. The Archpriest of Santa María cannot further be identified; Mora is described as a servant of Tovar, although he may be the Canon Francisco de Mora who appears in the Alcaraz trial (Manuel de Serrano y Sanz, "Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Iluminado Alcarreno del Siglo XVI," Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, VIII, 1903, 4, n. 1).

was devoted for his studies.

Some well-known names are mentioned below.

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certain Arenas and his wife.⁵ The Illuminist tenets did not seem to satiate Miona's spiritual hunger, and it was not until the arrival of St. Ignatius Loyola in Alcalá that Miona found what he was looking for. Miona was strongly attracted to the saint, and Loyola returned Miona's admiration. Miona became the saint's confessor and probably forsook Tovar's leadership in spiritual matters for that of Loyola during his stay in Alcalá in 1526-27. Loyola's spiritual warmth also drew into his circle others of Tovar's devotees: Beatriz Ramírez, Luisa Velásquez, and Arenas and his wife.⁶

Tovar did not confine his Illuminist activities solely to Alcalá. He attended the conventicles of Isabel de la Cruz, a beata of Toledo, and exercised his spiritual influence over her and her associates. The meeting place for the Alumbrados of Toledo was the home of a woman called Mayor García; Tovar must have met there Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Alonso López de la Palomera of Pastrana, and Gutierre Ortiz, professor of theology at Santa Catalina of Toledo. Tovar's most intimate acquaintance in this group was Luis de Beteta, cantor of the Iglesia Mayor and

⁵ Vergara proceso, 44r-44v, 46r.

⁶ Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 247; Fidel Fita, "Los tres procesos de S. Ignacio de Loyola en Alcalá de Henares," Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia, XXXIII (1898), 422.

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fond protector of Isabel and her sister María.⁷ While in Toledo Tovar must have also sought out his old friends, Diego López, at the Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes, and Miguel Ortiz and Cristóbal Gumiel, students at the college of Santa Catalina.⁸

In addition to his participation in the Illuminist movement of Toledo, Tovar was deeply involved with the Guadalajara Alumbrados. He attended the Illuminist conventicles of the famous Franciscan tertiary Isabel de la Cruz,⁹ and those of her successor, María de Cazalla, a fervent admirer of Isabel. María had done missionary work in Pastrana in 1522, and had returned to Guadalajara to diffuse the Illuminist spirit in the palaces of the aristocracy. She saw Christianity around her as a mountain of Jewish ceremonies. She taught that following Church practices did not make one a good Christian and instructed her followers not to seek God in a temple of song but in one's self, the living temple. María was also fond of reading the Spanish translations of Erasmus' works, particularly the Coloquios Familiares. She had also read

⁷ AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso de Luis de Beteta, Legajo 102, No. 5, 24r, 24v, 65v, 66r.

⁸ Ibid., 48v, 36v; Ortiz proceso, 55v, 56r, 65v.

⁹ AHN, Inquisición de Toledo, Proceso contra Rodrigo Bivar, Legajo 213, No. 7, 3r.

Valdés' Doctrina Cristiana, which she highly approved.¹⁰ María's fame attracted many clerics to her side, and Tovar became her zealous admirer, partially forsaking Francisca. To show his devotion for María, Tovar sent two of his disciples, Diego Hernández and Juan del Castillo, to Guadalajara to hear her Illuminist preaching.¹¹

Tovar's Illuminist contacts in New Castile provided him with many more disciples: from Guadalajara, Bachiller Francisco de Torres, musician in the service of the Duque del Infantado in Guadalajara and a devotee of María de Cazalla; the cleric Juan López de Calain, in the service of Alonso Castillo, chaplain to the Duque del Infantado and former devotee of Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz;¹² from Pastrana, Bachiller and cleric Gerónimo de Olivares, member of the Alumbrado conventicles in Pastrana, and now a follower of María;¹³ from Toledo, the clerics Fernando de Santo Domingo and Pero Núñez;¹⁴ from Burgos, the merchant Diego del Castillo, cousin of Juan del Cas-

¹⁰ Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 208-209, 245-246, 345.

¹¹ Cazalla proceso, 16r, 18r-v.

¹² Bivar proceso, 11r, 4v; Cazalla proceso, 18v, 8v.

¹³ Ortiz proceso, 49r-v.

¹⁴ Vergara proceso, 74r, 75v, 44v; Beteta proceso, 194.

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tillo;¹⁵ from Palencia, the canons Pero Gutiérrez and Pero Hernández.¹⁶

Tovar's association with the Alumbrados of New Castile had not caused him to lose contact with his old associates in Valladolid. He had visited Medrano¹⁷ in Salamanca in 1524 for his spiritual edification; he corresponded with Diego de Villareal and Alonso López de Bivero, brother of Leonor, and the cleric Francisco Díaz. Tovar, still devoted to Francisca, urged his former companions of Valladolid, Francisco Díaz and Hernando de Mohe-dano, cleric from Cuenca, to visit Francisca for proper spiritual care.¹⁸

Tovar also sent his associates and disciples of New Castile to Francisca to learn from her the mysteries of Illuminism and incidentally to bear loving messages to Francisca for him. Miguel de Egufá, Bachiller Olivares, Santo Domingo, Juan del Castillo, Diego del Castillo, Pero Núñez, Francisco de León, Luis de Beteta, Pero Hernández, probably Pero Gutiérrez, and Gaspar de Villafaña all came to know and admire Francisca through Tovar's in-

¹⁵ Vergara proceso, 18r-v, 44v.

¹⁶ Ibid., 44v.

¹⁷ Medrano proceso, 153r.

¹⁸ Vergara proceso, 67v, 65v.

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 - 16 Tovar, 1934, 16
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sistence.¹⁹

Tovar's real motive for sending his disciples to Valladolid was to prepare them for the formal undertaking of spreading Illuminism throughout the world. The actual scheme conceived by Juan López and heartily endorsed by Tovar culminated in the formation of the Apostolate. The plan of the Apostolate was to gather together a zealous missionary group of men into an informal religious order for the Illuminist evangelization of the world. The base of operation was the estate of the Admiral of Castile, Don Fadrique Enríquez, at Medina de Ríoseco.

¹⁹ Vergara proceso, 61r, 62v, 74v, 70v, 68v, 69r. Beteta proceso, 18r, 18v, [13], 22v. Francisca also says that Tovar sent Gumiel to her; this hardly seems likely since he had known her previously in Salamanca.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOSTOLATE OF MEDINA DE RÍOSECO

In the eyes of Spain's Inquisitors, Erasmism represented a body of religious thought which was potentially Lutheran. Illuminism, already condemned by 1525, also posed its threat to orthodoxy by virtue of extreme emphasis on the inner spirit of the true Christian. However, there was as yet no discernible connection between Erasmists and Illuminists. This link was forged by the Apostles of Medina de Río seco.

The historical function of the Apostolate of Medina de Río seco was to bring together representatives of both these heterodox patterns of religious development in Spain and to create, in the worried minds of the Inquisitors, the fear that there existed in Spain a missionary group of Lutherans who threatened to undermine the entire structure of Spanish religious orthodoxy.

The Apostolate of Medina de Río seco began to take shape by 1525. In July of that year the Alumbrado Juan López de Calain wrote the Admiral of Castile, Fadrique Enríquez, urging him to take up God's banner and be a leader of the Reformation of true Christianity. In his

letter López eagerly offered his services to the Admiral.¹ Don Fadrique Enríquez was a powerful figure at court and occupied a high place in Spanish society. He was a noted statesman and patron of learning. He evidently had been attracted to the cause of the Alumbrados, as was his brother-in-law, Diego López de Pacheco, the Marqués of Villena.² The Admiral then sent for Juan López to consider the proposition as López had outlined it in his letter. López told the Admiral that it would be a good thing to reform the earth so that everyone could live a Christian life, and that he knew many clerics and friends who would be interested in such an undertaking. The Admiral, intrigued at the whole prospect of evangelization of his estates, gave Juan López a letter which stated that he would provide any interested persons with all they needed and would furnish quarters on his estates at Medina de Rioseco.³

¹ Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 214, n. 35.

² Ibid., I, 214.

³ According to the testimony of Juan del Castillo given in 1535, the Admiral sent for Juan López eight or nine years before, i.e., 1526-1527, because he wanted to confess to him as he had heard he was a good man. López, on that occasion, put the idea of reform into the Admiral's head (Beteta proceso, 24v). Francisca Hernández, in her testimony of October 13, 1530, says that Juan and Diego López were hoping to form the Apostolate five years before, i.e., 1525 (Vergara proceso, 67r). In other testimony on the same date in regard to Miguel de Egüa, she dates these events four years before, i.e., 1526 (Ibid., 66v). Beteta also speaks of going to Medina de Rioseco after 1525 (Be-

This letter also authorized a salary of 20,000 maravedis to anyone joining the Apostles.⁴

The plan was to form a group of Apostles who would preach, convert and missionize the world to their own (Alumbrado) opinions.⁵ According to one of the group, Miguel de Egúía, they were going to convert the world to their views and show how everything else was a superstition and a joke.⁶ Francisca Hernández later testified before the Inquisition that she understood they wanted to form the Apostolate in order to go to Germany to be with Luther.⁷ Francisca's explanation is highly unlikely since Juan López was going to try to get a papal bull sanctioning the Apostolate. López would hardly do this if it was his intention to go to Germany. It seems more likely that the Apostolate was to be an informal religious order, because the Admiral gave López a private house on his estates at Medina de Ríoseco so López could gather his chosen ones around him.⁸ The Admiral foresaw this house as a religious con-

teta proceso, 364). It would appear that the major activity of the Apostolate took place at Medina de Ríoseco in 1526-1527.

⁴ Beteta proceso, 37v.

⁵ Vergara proceso, 77v.

⁶ Ibid., 61r.

⁷ Ibid., 62v; Beteta proceso, 22r.

⁸ Beteta proceso, 26r-v.

This letter is dated 1957 and is addressed to the
to anyone joining the movement.

The letter is dated 1957 and is addressed to the
person, concerning the movement in the area.

(Albuquerque) October 1957. The letter is dated 1957 and is addressed to the
Michael de Aguiar, who was going to attend the school in

their view and have a very high opinion of the movement.
and a book. The letter is dated 1957 and is addressed to the

the industrialist who was going to attend the school in
the Agostinho de Aguiar, who was going to attend the school in

Francisco's explanation is that the movement is a very
was going to try to establish a new movement in the area.

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to go to Germany. The letter is dated 1957 and is addressed to the

late was to be an industrialist who was going to attend the school in
Admiral gave Aguiar a very high opinion of the movement and a book.

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to go to Germany. The letter is dated 1957 and is addressed to the
to go to Germany. The letter is dated 1957 and is addressed to the

vent with Tomás de Guzmán, a famous Dominican friar and preacher, as its prior.⁹

The Captain of the Apostles was to be Bernardino de Tovar. Tovar had probably been asked to head the Apostolate not only because of his senior stature in Illuminism, but because of the prestige his name would lend to the organization. However, there is no evidence that Tovar was ever in Medina de Rioseco. Even though Tovar obviously influenced and inspired the minds of his enthusiastic followers,¹⁰ he was considerably less active than were Juan López and Diego López.¹¹ Tovar did send the Erasmian Alumbrado Juan del Castillo to Juan López to become an Apostle, and he also urged Miguel de Egúía to make haste to the Admiral's estate.¹² Apparently Tovar also advised

⁹ Beteta proceso, 37v. Guzmán, a descendant of noble blood, was respected for his exemplary life and zeal for reform. He had taught at the College of San Gregorio in Valladolid since 1516 and had helped to rejuvenate the Dominican ideal of work, study and personal contribution there (Vicente Beltran de Heredia, Las Corrientes de espiritualidad entre los Dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del Siglo XVI [Salamanca, 1941], 27; Beteta proceso, 26v, 37v). Guzmán was an admirer of Erasmus as well as being attracted to Illuminism. Guzmán knew Tovar and probably spent some time with him in Alcalá in 1526 before going to Medina de Rioseco (Ortiz proceso, 15v-16v).

¹⁰ Vergara proceso, 66r.

¹¹ Ibid., 78r-v.

¹² Beteta proceso, 17v, 18r.

Gaspar de Villafañe, Tomás de Guzmán and Pero Gutiérrez to join the movement.¹³ However, it appears that the real inspiration and drive for the Apostolate came from Juan López and his friend and closest associate, Diego López.¹⁴

Armed with the letter the Admiral had given him, Juan López evidently journeyed to Toledo, Alcalá, Valladolid and other places to recruit people, mainly clerics, some of whom he had previously known, to join the Apostolate at Medina de Ríoseco.¹⁵ He sounded out Miguel Ortiz and Gutierre Ortiz, who rebuffed his proposal. He also showed the letter to Luis de Beteta. Beteta was much impressed with the letter, but he failed to go with Juan López at that time and later arrived in Medina de Ríoseco.¹⁶ Beteta's motive for becoming a member appears to be largely economic. The offer of being a cantor of the chapel of the Admiral for the salary of 20,000 maravedis seemed quite attractive. He also indicated that another reason

¹³ Beteta proceso, 26r, 26v, 65r.

¹⁴ In the testimonies Juan López and Diego López are most frequently mentioned together in working at the formation of the Apostolate (Vergara proceso, 61v, 75r).

¹⁵ Beteta proceso, 37r.

¹⁶ Ibid.

for going to Medina de Río seco was to hear Tomás de Guzmán preach.¹⁷

Juan López also showed the letter to Juan del Castillo. Castillo, intrigued by López' proposal, acted on Tovar's advice and went to Medina de Río seco to join the Apostolate.¹⁸ Miguel de Eguía was already at the Admiral's estate, hiding because he did not want his presence known there.¹⁹ He had gone to Medina de Río seco with Diego López, who was also recruiting. Eguía appears to have been one of the most ardent and enthusiastic of the Apostles. He was imbued with Illuminist ideas and possibly even wanted to help in the formation of the Apostolate.²⁰ According to Francisca Hernández, Eguía greatly praised the Alumbrados,

¹⁷ Beteta proceso, 37r. Beteta, in reply to the publication, said, "I am a poor cleric and if I don't go looking for it I don't get enough to eat." Since he was offered by the Admiral a salary of 20,000 maravedis to be a cantor of the chapel, it suited him to accept that salary. He was informed that Tomás de Guzmán was going there and he was anxious to hear the lessons during the week and the sermons on holidays in the house that Guzmán was going to build. As he would have a comfortable place with a salary, he agreed to go there (Ibid., 57v-58r).

¹⁸ Ibid., 27r.

¹⁹ Francisca de Hernández said she knew Eguía was in hiding because he had left his press to his servant and didn't tell him where he was going (Ibid., 185). Marí Ramírez corroborated this and added that his brothers were looking for him (Ibid., 22r).

²⁰ Vergara proceso, 66v.

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in particular Juan López, Diego López and Tovar, whom he esteemed above the rest, and he supposedly told her he would give his soul and property to the Alumbrados.²¹

Diego López, in order to aid Juan López in recruiting members, had been given twelve ducats and a mule by Diego del Castillo, their close friend and a merchant of Burgos, who also wanted to be an Apostle.²² Diego procured books for Tovar in Flanders and was without doubt a very valuable asset because of his business acumen.²³

Although interested members were recruited and elaborate plans were made, the Apostolate was a dismal failure. The members did not stay long in Medina de Río-seco because they found no accommodations ready and no sign of the construction of the religious convent. Evidently the members were disappointed and lost interest, probably because the Admiral appeared to be lukewarm about the whole business.²⁴

Luis de Beteta went to Medina de Río-seco and found Juan del Castillo there in the company of Juan López. He dined with them that night, stayed another day and then

²¹ Beteta proceso, 16v, 17r.

²² Vergara proceso, 62r.

²³ Beteta proceso, 17v; Vergara proceso, 15r-v.

²⁴ Beteta proceso, 22r, 27r, 38r.

left, although López urged him to stay. Beteta had only been looking for a handout; finding none, he departed.²⁵ Gaspar de Villafaña also left because nothing was organized as he expected. Juan del Castillo stayed a month or so waiting for something to happen. He then decided against joining the group and returned to Valladolid, leaving Juan López alone in the house of the Admiral.²⁶ Finally the Admiral, wearied of the whole affair, threw them out.²⁷

After the failure of the Apostolate, the members dispersed. Gaspar de Villafaña was almost immediately picked up by the Inquisition.²⁸ Juan López and Diego López went to Granada. Juan had accepted a position as chaplain of the Capilla Real in that city, and Diego in a spurt of religious fervor had proposed to lead a crusade against the Moors, although he never apparently carried out his

²⁵ Beteta proceso, 37r. According to Beteta's own testimony he did not see any advantage in staying at Medina de Rioseco and believed the Apostolate to be nothing more than a joke.

²⁶ Ibid., 27r. Castillo, in other testimony, says he was rejected by his friends for the Apostolate (Vergara proceso, 75r-78v).

²⁷ According to the testimony of Mari Ramírez, the Admiral had them all there thinking they were very good persons, but after he saw it was a "matter of the devil," he threw them out (Vergara proceso, 78v).

²⁸ Beteta proceso, 26v; Vergara proceso, 68v.

plan.²⁹ Egúía and Juan del Castillo eventually returned to Alcalá.³⁰ Beteta returned to his native town of Toledo³¹ and Diego del Castillo must have likewise returned to his business activities. Guzmán, destined for a notable career in the Church, went to Talavera, because he was attracted to the work of Hurtado, a Dominican padre who was dedicated to the reform of his Order, and to the return to the austere life of spiritual contemplation. From there Guzmán was sent to assist in the founding of the Monastery of Ocaña, and he was named its prior in 1529.³² The later whereabouts of Pero Gutiérrez, the canon of Palencia, is impossible to determine, and this man's role in Illuminism remains a mystery.

The Admiral continued to be attracted to Illuminism and other unconventional people. In 1530 Eugenio Torralba, after his release from jail for practicing witchcraft, was brought to Medina de Rioseco to be the Admiral's personal physician. In 1535 the Admiral tried to urge Fray Francisco Ortiz, whom he held in great esteem, to come out of

²⁹ Medrano proceso, 136r, 213v.

³⁰ Goñi Gaztambide, "El Impresor Miguel de Egúía," 56; Vergara proceso, 75r.

³¹ Beteta proceso, 37r.

³² Beltrán de Heredia, Las Corrientes de espiritualidad, 28-29.

plan. 29. Enola and Alan...
 to Alcala. 30. He...
 31 and Diego del...
 his business activities...
 career in the...
 attracted to the...
 dedicated to the...
 the...
 Gurnea was sent...
 of Gurnea, and he...
 whereabouts of...
 impossible to...
 remains a mystery.

The...
 and other...
 after his release...
 brought to...
 physician. In 1933...
 elaco Ortiz, who...

29. He...
 30. Enola...
 31. He...
 32. He...
 Feb. 28-29.

his seclusion in the monastery at Tordelaguna and come to his estates to preach to him.³³

³³ Longhurst, "Juan del Castillo," 38, n. 24. "Epístolas Familiares del Padre Francisco Ortiz," Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, XIII, Epistolario Espanol (Madrid, 1942), 265-267.

his section in the laboratory of the FBI
to his arrest to prevent the same.

CONFIDENTIAL

82 Longhorns, "The Longhorns" and "The Longhorns"
The Longhorns are the only team in the world
to have been named "Longhorns" in 1913.
205-207

CHAPTER V

BREAK WITH FRANCISCA HERNÁNDEZ

The estrangement between Tovar and Francisca Hernández occurred gradually, but the pattern for the break had already been established at the time Tovar withdrew from Francisca's company to go to Alcalá. Francisca, jealous of every disciple, was never able to forgive Tovar for allowing his brother to persuade him to leave her. Tovar was aware that he had parted on bad terms with his friends, but he failed to give the matter any importance and to recognize any danger signals.

From Alcalá Tovar faithfully sent letters and gifts to Francisca in Valladolid and commissioned his followers to seek her out for indoctrination into the mysteries of Illuminism. His disciples shared Tovar's faith in Francisca and freely talked to her about the progress of the Apostolate.¹ The year 1527 presents us with a very different picture of the relationship between Tovar and Francisca, for by that time these two, supported by their

¹ Vergara proceso, 69v, 75r. Francisca maintained to the Inquisition that she had not received a word from him since they parted (Ibid., 1st 11r).

THE ENTANGLEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO STATES
AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE FACTS
The entanglement between the two states
had already been established in the first round of
from Francisco's attempt to go to Alaska. The
regions of every district, was never able to recognize
for allowing his father to purchase his land.
Tovar was aware that he had failed to buy land with his
friends, but he failed to give the money to his
and to recognize my daughter's rights.
From about 1900, the situation was very different
to Francisco in Villavieja and Comancheros. It is
to see her out for a long time. The situation of
Illimines. His father, who was a very good man,
class and finally found a way to the project of the
apostolate. The year 1937, however, was a very difficult
terent picture of the situation. It was a very difficult
class, for by then the situation was very different.

I Vergara, however, saw the situation differently
the situation. It was a very different situation
since they were not the same.

followers, were hurling bitter invectives toward each other.²

It has already been stated that one cause of the break was Tovar's departure for Alcalá at the insistence of his brother. This had won for Juan de Vergara the undying hatred of Francisca, and it is quite possible that she had come to include Tovar in her malice for Juan.³ Another even more plausible reason for the change in Francisca's attitude was her jealousy of her rival, María de Cazalla, for Tovar's affections. Francisca accused Tovar of dissimulation because he no longer publicly declared that he had no other mother except Francisca.⁴

Whatever the cause may be, in the months preceding the year 1527 Francisca noticeably cooled toward Tovar. She tried to discredit him to his friends and lure his following to her side. She refused to answer Tovar's letters, and Tovar angrily rebuked Francisca for not replying

² Ortiz, testifying in 1530, claimed that Francisca had warned him against Tovar six years before, in 1524 (Vergara proceso, 268v). Yet the Apostles were visiting Francisca in 1526 and 1527. Villafana's visit to Francisca was apparently in 1527. Francisca herself says in 1530 in her testimony that she stopped conversing with Tovar three years before, in 1527 (Beteta proceso, 14v).

³ Vergara proceso, 137v.

⁴ Ibid., 69r-v. According to the testimony of María de Cazalla, she had incurred the enmity of Francisca because of Tovar's attachment to her (Cazalla proceso, 122r).

followers, were not... other.

It has... of his... eye... she had some... Another even more... class's... Casalia, for... of disambiguation... that he had no other... However the... the year 1957... she tried to... following to... ters, and... 2. Order,...

had wanted... (Vergara... Francisco in 1950... class was... 1950 in her... very three years...

3. Vergara... This... de Casalia, the... cause of...

4. This... de Casalia, the... cause of...

to his messages; at the same time he pleaded with her to let one of her servants read the letters and begged her to drop him a line and not leave him so lost.⁵ She declined to be courteous to Gaspar de Villafañã and talked to him through a window and further ignored him during his stay in Valladolid. This upset Tovar and Diego López, Villafañã's close friend. Tovar, in a fit of anger, wrote to Bivero and Díaz, deploring her lack of charity toward such a saintly man and questioning Francisca's authority to do this. Diego's letter to some acquaintances in Valladolid must have really inflamed Francisca when she learned of the letter's contents. Diego wrote his friends to serve God with a free spirit and to subject themselves to the authority of no one (i.e., Francisca), and that they should note how unkindly Francisca had treated Villafañã.⁶ The smouldering quarrel had burst into flame, and Tovar and Francisca hastened to rally supporters around them. The split was now a reality.

Francisca warned Fray Francisco Ortiz not to have any communication with Tovar. This greatly surprised Ortiz

⁵ Francisca claimed that her refusal to write made him so angry that he drew up the accusation made against her in Valladolid (Vergara proceso, 70r).

⁶ Vergara proceso, 74v.

to his message at the time he showed with me
let one of men say that the letter was not
to drop his line and to leave the letter
to be compared to the letter and the letter
through a window and through the letter
in Valledor. This was a letter from
close friend. I was a letter from
and this, describing the letter from
certainly man and describing the letter from
Diego's letter to some man in Valledor
have really and the letter from the letter
letter's content. Diego was the letter from
with a free letter and the letter from
city of no one. I was a letter from
note how really the letter from the letter
reconsidering part of the letter from the letter
Francisco letter to the letter from the letter
split was not a letter.

Francisco letter to the letter from the letter
any communication with the letter from the letter

Francisco letter to the letter from the letter
him so angry and the letter from the letter
her in Valledor the letter from the letter
Francisco letter to the letter from the letter

because Tovar had always praised Francisca to him.⁷ She advised Diego López to forswear Tovar, and his friend Fray Gil, and to depose against them.⁸ She threatened to have nothing more to do with Francisco de León if he continued to correspond with Tovar, and she prevailed upon Santo Domingo to disavow Tovar as his mentor.⁹ Francisca further insisted that Pedro de Cazalla call his sons home from Alcalá because they were being infected with Tovar's teachings.¹⁰

Francisca's power had waned, and she was only partially successful in winning over Tovar's followers. The friends of Tovar that she lured to her camp were Francisco de León, Fernando de Santo Domingo, and her loyal devotees Fray Francisco Ortiz and Antonio de Medrano.¹¹ Those who sided with Tovar in the break were Villafañá, Diego López, Juan López, Juan del Castillo, Pero Núñez, Beteta, Gumiel, Francisco Díaz, Fray Gil López de Béjar, Diego del Cas-

⁷ Vergara proceso, 1st llr, 69v.

⁸ Medrano proceso, 138r.

⁹ Vergara proceso, 75v.

¹⁰ Ibid., 76v.

¹¹ Ibid., 74r, 75v, 11r; Ortiz proceso, 56r; Medrano proceso, 220v.

tillo, and probably Diego de Villareal.¹²

Bitter hatred flared between the two mutually hostile groups, and each side began an active campaign of slander. Fray Gil López de Béjar, Juan López and Diego López cursed Francisca and her teachings.¹³ Diego López in particular zealously spread disparaging propaganda and advised her followers to stay away from Francisca. Diego also enlisted the help of Inés López, her former maid, in his persecution of Francisca.¹⁴ Diego López even gained an audience with the Inquisitor General, Alonso Manrique, and the Emperor Charles V to complain about the activities of Francisca and Medrano.¹⁵ Fray Francisco Ortiz spoke out as Francisca's champion. He raged against filthy remarks made by López and Béjar. Ortiz called them traitors and renegades to one they had once loved and described them as wolves in sheep's clothing. The division of the Illuminists dangerously undermined their solidarity and was to be of considerable import when Francisca, again

¹² Vergara proceso, 74r; Medrano proceso, 154r-155v; 134v, 140r, 138r. Francisca does not name Diego del Castillo as one who returned to Tovar, but this is probably a slip on her part. In October 1530 Medrano "tached" Villareal as an enemy, so Diego probably followed Tovar in the break (Medrano proceso, 220v).

¹³ Vergara proceso, 69v, 70r.

¹⁴ Cazalla proceso, 138r.

¹⁵ Medrano proceso, 220v.

seized by the Inquisition in 1529, snatched at the opportunity for revenge and indiscriminately began to denounce Tovar and his associates.¹⁶

¹⁶ Medrano proceso, 138r; Ortiz proceso, 55v-56r, 166r, 117r.

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acted by the Bureau for the purpose of -
tendency for reversal and to prevent
Tovar and his associates, to

is referred to, and the Bureau, to
MVT.

CHAPTER VI

THE DENUNCIATIONS OF FRANCISCA HERNÁNDEZ AND DIEGO HERNÁNDEZ

In late March 1529, the Illuminist world was visibly shaken when Francisca Hernández and her maid, Marí Ramírez, were picked up by the Toledo Inquisition.¹ Fray Francisco Ortiz, a fanatical admirer of Francisca, preached at San Juan de los Reyes an ardent sermon against the Inquisition's jailing of Francisca; his incensed listeners, not sharing Ortiz' enthusiasm for her, dragged him from the pulpit.²

Francisca unaccountably kept silent before the Inquisitors until July 27, 1530.³ On that date the Edict of 1525, which condemned the propositions of the Alumbrados, was read to her; from that date forward she began denouncing everyone of whom she had heard, accusing them of Alumbrado beliefs and Lutheranism.

¹ Ortiz proceso, 10v.

² Ibid., 15v-16v.

³ Francisca excused the delay by saying she could not do wrong to her friends (Vergara proceso, 62v). Furthermore, when Mexía was examining her case, she finally stated that it would be of more benefit to God to investigate Tovar and others, and under pain of hell, the Inquisitors forced her to tell all that she knew (Ibid., 26v).

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
AND THE PEOPLE

In late 1892, the Democratic Party
did not believe when the people were
families, were not to be the people
Francisco Ortiz, a Catholic priest, was
at San Juan de los Rios in the
population's belief in the Catholic
not caring for the people, but for
the people.

Francisco Ortiz, a Catholic priest, was
disappointed with the people, but the
1892, which contained the people's
was not to be; but the people were
naming everyone, a name for the people,
Alvarado, the people's name.

1. Ortiz, the people's name.
2. Ibid., the people's name.
3. Francisco Ortiz, a Catholic priest, was
do not to be the people's name, but the
more, the people's name, the people's name,
that it would be the people's name, the
and others, the people's name, the people's name,
not to tell all the people's name.

Francisca was particularly vocal in her denunciation of Tovar. She accused him of being an Alumbrado and a Lutheran, and of subscribing to the following propositions listed in the edict:

1) He maintained that it was useless to pray because prayer served no purpose, and that he regularly said mass without praying.

2) Oral prayer was unnecessary; mental prayer was sufficient.

3) He believed that it was not compulsory to confess bad thoughts.

4) He doubted that there was a purgatory.⁴

5) He said excommunication was not binding because no one had the power to separate anyone from God.

6) He believed that God entered more fully into a man's soul than the host because man is created in God's image.

7) He mocked those who wept over their sins, calling them cry-babies and penance-seekers wrapped up in themselves. Tovar believed that God would have none of this, because God desired good intent.

⁴ Francisca later, in 1532, was examined on her testimony and hedged on this accusation, saying she never heard him say this or express an opinion about hell either (Ver-gara proceso, 73r, 71v-72).

Franchise and other matters.

tion of Tower. The company is a subsidiary of

a subsidiary, and the company is a subsidiary of

which is listed in the

1) He believed that the company is a subsidiary of

cause of the company is a subsidiary of

ness without paying.

2) Great things are being done in the

efficient.

3) He believed that the company is a subsidiary of

less had thought.

4) He believed that the company is a subsidiary of

5) He believed that the company is a subsidiary of

no one had the right to

6) He believed that the company is a subsidiary of

man's soul that the company is a subsidiary of

image.

7) He believed that the company is a subsidiary of

then cry-babies and

Tower believed that the company is a subsidiary of

God desired good things.

Franchise and other matters.

and based on the company is a subsidiary of

him say this or otherwise and a subsidiary of

Franchise and other matters.

8) He maintained confession was not of divine, but of positive law.⁵

9) He believed that he who loves God is God.

10) Tovar taught that God wanted love from us, and we should not be tied down by exterior acts which were created for the imperfect, and that loving God is more important than performing exterior acts. Tovar was made so perfect in God's love, he did not need to fast.

In addition Francisca declared Tovar favored the opinions of Luther, saying that his teachings were good. He mocked indulgences and bulls. She further accused him of having Lutheran tracts, particularly a Lutheran work called El Ramo.⁶

In later testimony given on August 16, October 12 and December 4, 1530, Francisca elaborated on Tovar's errors, stating that he maintained that the ceremonies of the mass, except for consecration, were superfluous, and

⁵ At this time, in 1530, the matter had not been settled, and it was not officially heretical to subscribe to either view; but as the Lutheran struggle spread it became dangerous to say confession was not of divine law. The Council of Trent finally resolved the question and declared confession to be of divine law (Henry C. Lea, The Spanish Inquisition, 3, 412).

⁶ Vergara proceso, 58r-64v; Beteta proceso, 14r-154. The book title is a mistake on Francisca's part; there is no such work. This error would tend to prove Francisca's scant knowledge of Lutheranism.

but of sensitive law.
2) He has been...
10) Town...
we should not be...
expressed for...
perfect in...
In addition...
opinions of...
He worked...
of having...
called...
In later...
and December...
errors, stating...
the mass, every...

At this time...
settled, and...
to either...
name...
The Council...
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The book...
no such work...
secret knowledge...

he also mocked the Inquisition and the Santa Cruzada because they were of little service to mankind.⁷ As for purgatory, Tovar saw no need of it; if indulgences were worthless anyhow, the soul might just as well suffer on a rock. In addition, Tovar incorrectly placed the defect of indulgences in the power of the Pope and not in the persons receiving them, and he believed that the Pope persecuted Luther because he reprimanded the teachings of the Pope.⁸ Tovar believed that God entered more fully into man than into the host, because the end (the spirit) was more important than the means (the sacrament of communion). He also claimed the worship of images meant nothing. Tovar held to the belief that contrition was sufficient, and as far as he knew he had only confessed once.⁹ As an anticlimax to all this, Francisca said she saw nothing Christian in the characters of Tovar and his friends.¹⁰

Francisca further charged Tovar with instructing all his followers in his erroneous beliefs, and proceeded to denounce as heretics all of her former friends: Egúía,

⁷ Vergara proceso, 60v-61r.

⁸ Ibid., 65r, 8r. At the same time Francisca was denouncing Tovar, she was also accusing Juan de Vergara of holding to the same heretical opinions and of being an Alumbrado.

⁹ Ibid., 64r-v.

¹⁰ Ibid., 70r-v.

Juan López, Diego López, Villafaña, Juan del Castillo, Diego del Castillo and Pero Gutiérrez.¹¹ She said she had heard Juan López and Diego López say that Luther was a great servant of God and that his writings were holy, Catholic and good, and that they would go to join Luther if they could do so.¹² Marí Ramírez, Francisca's maid, in her testimony, which always corroborated Francisca's accusation, said that Miguel de Eguía praised the Alumbrados because they were illumined to serve God, and that Eguía believed that those who did not follow them were not true Christians. According to her, he said there was no purgatory and even doubted that there was a hell. When she reproved him for saying such things he replied, "You believe what you like; you won't change my mind about this." She believed he got these opinions from Tovar.¹³ Francisca said she spoke to Villafaña through a window in Valladolid and that he told her that he never prayed the divine office. He also said a light was beginning to come, which she took to mean that he was waiting for the coming of Christ. All this Francisca believed he had learned from

¹¹ Vergara proceso, 70v-71v.

¹² Beteta proceso, 17v.

¹³ Ibid., 20r.

Tovar.¹⁴ Francisca also accused Pero Gutiérrez, Diego del Castillo and Juan del Castillo of Illuminist activities.¹⁵ In her denunciation of Juan del Castillo, Francisca said his errors were not as notorious as the others, although she never saw him pray and often saw him reading the Bible. He also used to say, "Ay, mi Dios," a phrase often used by heretics which she understood to mean that good works were not necessary for salvation.¹⁶

What information Francisca did not know about Tovar and the Alumbrados was ably supplied by another prisoner of the Inquisition, Diego Hernández.¹⁷ Diego could not have been a more unreliable witness as to the character of others. He is described by his Illuminist friends as an obnoxious and repulsive fool who spastically leaped about, garbed himself as a woman, and generally acted like a madman.¹⁸ It is surprising that the Inquisitors relied

¹⁴ Vergara proceso, 6lv-62r.

¹⁵ Beteta proceso, 18r; Vergara proceso, 7lv.

¹⁶ Longhurst, "Juan del Castillo," 249.

¹⁷ Diego had long been associated with the Illuminists through his confessor Tovar. Diego had feared arrest when Tovar was seized, and he could not have been more right. To the Inquisitors Diego termed himself a bearer of Tovar's "undercover doctrine" and "an experimenter of his bad works," but not his disciple (Beteta proceso, 16; Vergara proceso, 46v).

¹⁸ Longhurst, "Juan de Valdés," 49.

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on the testimony of such a man, but all sense of balance was lost in the face of the Lutheran scare.

Diego Hernández in 1532 provided the Inquisition with a list of Tovar's heretical followers. He named Juan de Valdés, the Archpriest of Santa María, Mateo Pascual, Maestro Miona, Miguel de Torres, Juan de Tapia, Alonso de Frías, Francisco Gutiérrez, Bachiller Olmedilla, Martín Laso de Oropesa, Doctor Juan de Vergara, Isabel de Vergara, Francisco de Vergara, Miguel de Egúía, Diego del Castillo, Alonso Garzón, Francisco de Mora, Bachiller Francisco de Torres, Fray Dionisio Vázquez, Alfonso de Valdés, Gaspar de Lucena, Gaspar de Villafañá, Doctor Hernán Vázquez, Doctor Alborno, Beatriz Ramírez, Luisa Velásquez, and a certain Arenas and his wife Luisa.

The Spanish Inquisitors must have been put into a state of frenzy indeed by the denunciations of Francisca Hernández and Diego Hernández; for there was no doubt, from the Inquisition's point of view, that the men who were uttering these beliefs were heretics. To make matters worse for those soon to be involved, the watchdogs of orthodoxy, fearing the spread of the Luther heresy to Spain, had by this time linked Illuminism with Lutheranism.

The Inquisitors must have been convinced of the existence of a vast Lutheran plot to overthrow Catholicism when Diego Hernández, a year later, in 1533, named a long

list of Lutherans whose identities had supposedly been revealed to him by Juan del Castillo. He considered Tovar the leader of the group and listed nearly all his companions as Lutheran conspirators. According to Diego, Juan López had insisted that he would let himself be burned at the stake--a tragically true prophecy--and die in the Lutheran sect "like a nobleman" and would never reveal the names of his fellow Lutherans.¹⁹ Juan del Castillo supposedly said the same thing, adding that the movement would expand and glorify God because nowhere were there finer Lutherans than in Spain, not even in Germany.²⁰

All this horrifying testimony of Diego and Francisca unleashed a tidal wave of persecutions by the Holy Tribunal in the 1530's that engulfed those in highly placed positions in Spain as well as those of lowly status.

¹⁹ Vergara proceso, 44v.

²⁰ Longhurst, "Juan del Castillo," 247.

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the leader of the...
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19 Veterans...
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CHAPTER VII

THE TRIAL OF TOVAR

The Inquisition, spurred by the testimony of Francisca Hernández and her maid, Marí Ramírez, and determined to repress the rampant Lutheran heresy, began a systematic campaign of persecution against the Erasmists and the Illuminists. Bernardino de Tovar was perhaps the first really significant Alumbrado to be brought to trial, not only because his arrest tainted one of the great families of Spain close to Charles V, but because it had a far-reaching effect on the behavior of his Illuminist associates.

In December of 1529 the Inquisition first questioned Tovar concerning the ownership of a book by Oeclampadius, a Protestant reformer.¹ In July of 1530 Francisca stated that it would be of more benefit to God and the Inquisition to investigate Tovar and his friends because she saw nothing Christian in their character.² By September, 1530,

¹ Vergara proceso, 15r. This work was Oeclampadius' Commentary on Isaiah.

² Ibid., 70r-v.

CHAPTER VI

THE LITERATURE OF THE

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CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET

Tovar had been seized in Alcalá and brought to the Inquisition jails of Toledo along with another prisoner, Pero Luis.³ Tovar's first encounter with the Inquisition in 1529 and his subsequent imprisonment in 1530 caused an exodus from Spain of those followers who were too anxious to wait around for the impending developments. Miona, accompanied by Miguel de Torres, fled in 1530 from his post, the curacy of Villa Villa, for the safety of Paris.⁴ Juan del Castillo had also made the same decision to seek refuge there.⁵ Juan de Valdés and Mateo Pascual escaped to Rome some time after Tovar's arrest.⁶

Tovar's seizure prompted a hostile outcry in Madrid in protest against the effrontery of the Holy Office in proceeding against Tovar.⁷ Soon after Tovar's imprisonment, Vergara angrily complained to Licentiate Mexía, a member of the Tribunal, of the slight done to the family honor and accused the Inquisition of mockery, abuses and

³ Vergara proceso, 269r, 3r, 113r.

⁴ Ibid., 44v; Bataillon, Erasmo, I, 248.

⁵ Longhurst, "Juan del Castillo," 244.

⁶ Longhurst, Juan de Valdés, 54.

⁷ Vergara proceso, 2r. Somehow the decision made regarding the arrest of Tovar had leaked out from the Suprema.

Tovar had been seized in April, and brought to the station (Jail) of Toluca along with another man, Luis J. Tovar, a well known figure in the labor movement. Tovar and his associates were imprisoned in 1939 and exiled from Mexico to Spain following the fall of Franco to wait around for the favorable development of the situation. Accompanied by a few friends, they left for Spain by boat, the name of the vessel being the "El Estero". Juan del Castillo had also made the same decision to seek refuge there. He had no links and had no personal access to Rome nor the other countries. Tovar et al. presented a written statement in Spain in protest against the dictatorship of the Falange in the proceedings against Tovar. When Tovar's mission went, Tovar's family members in Mexico were notified, a member of the family, the daughter, was in the family honor and secured the participation of several figures and

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- 3 Verónica Guerrero, 2001, p. 112.
 - 4 Ibid., p. 112.
 - 5 Ibid., p. 112.
 - 6 Ibid., p. 112.
 - 7 Verónica Guerrero, p. 112.
- regarding the act of Tovar and his family in Spain.

ignorance.⁸ Vergara's interference in the case of Tovar by no means stopped there. When Gerónimo Ruiz was commissioned by the Inquisition to go to Alcalá and gather evidence, Vergara attempted to invalidate Ruiz' testimony by casting suspicion on his moral character.⁹ Vergara, aware that Francisco Gutiérrez was to testify about Tovar's activities before Ruiz, had probably coached Francisco on what to say and had possibly indicated prospects of a reward.¹⁰

Within six months after Tovar's imprisonment Vergara set up a secret communication system whereby he could exchange valuable information about the case with his brother. Vergara first contacted Hernán Rodríguez, chaplain of a church in Toledo, and asked him to look after Tovar and to carry messages back and forth from the jail. Rodríguez agreed to be the go-between. Rodríguez also paid Licentiate Miguel Ortiz to act as intermediary between himself and Vergara. The method for smuggling the

⁸ Vergara proceso, 269r, 156r, 127r.

⁹ Ibid., 147r.

Ibid., 41r. According to testimony of Gutiérrez, Vergara had told him to tell the truth and Gutiérrez replied that he had seen nothing suspicious. After Gutiérrez testified, he returned to Vergara and asked for his assistance in obtaining a benefice now vacant at Alcalá.

1. The defendant, [Name], is charged with the crime of [Crime].
2. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
3. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
4. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
5. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
6. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
7. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
8. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
9. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
10. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].

11. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
12. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
13. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
14. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
15. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
16. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
17. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
18. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
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21. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
22. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
23. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
24. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
25. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
26. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
27. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
28. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
29. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].
30. The defendant is charged with the crime of [Crime].

secret messages was simple. Rodríguez would carry food or personal objects wrapped in paper to the jail. The Alcaide Juan de Ortega, or the mozo de cárcel Juan Sánchez, both of whom had been liberally bribed by Rodríguez for Vergara, would deliver the articles to Tovar. When Tovar held the innocent-looking wrapping over a flame, the message, written in the juice of a citrus fruit, would appear.¹¹ From the messages it is clear that Vergara knew everything going on in the Holy Office concerning Tovar's case.

Vergara's obvious motive for his energetic meddling with the secret proceedings of the Holy Office was to enable him to counsel his brother on how to conduct himself before the Inquisitors. Vergara advised Tovar of the principal witnesses, namely, Francisca Hernández and Diego Hernández, and of their testimony against him. Vergara had obtained a copy of the accusations against Tovar from the Archbishop of Toledo, who was not only aware of the illicit correspondence between the brothers but actively participated in reading the messages. The Archbishop, at Vergara's insistence, had requested the copy from the Inquisitors; this copy, concealed in the coat of Diego de Aguilar, Tovar's servant, was then delivered to Tovar in

¹¹ Vergara proceso, 308v, 105r-109v. Rodríguez gave twelve hanegas of wheat to the Alcaide, promising him a better reward if he looked after Tovar with care (Ibid., 107r-v).

his cell.¹² Vergara warned Tovar to disqualify several of his trial judges and Bishop Mondoñedo, a member of the Suprema. He had learned that the Bishop had voted unfavorably in his case when it had been taken to the Suprema and that the vote had been split, 2-2.¹³ To further expedite the case, Vergara had warned Lucena of the proceso being prepared against his brother, Juan del Castillo, and asked him to write Juan to flee Rome, to avoid seizure by the Inquisition. Vergara wrote in the same vein to Juan de Valdés and Mateo Pascual, because he evidently feared that if they were caught their testimony would prejudice Tovar's case.¹⁴

The Inquisition was aware from the very first of Vergara's knowledge of their proceedings, but they were

¹² Vergara proceso, 96r, 306v, 315r.

¹³ Ibid., 97v, 334r.

Ibid., 351r, 352v, 354r. Testimony of Gaspar de Lucena. Vergara's version is that he wrote the three urging them to come home and clear themselves because he believed their absence was delaying Tovar's case (Ibid., 126v-129v). It is true that Mateo Pascual did return to Spain, ostensibly to squelch rumors about his leavetaking (Bataillon, Erasmus, II, 59), but it is unlikely that he did so on Vergara's advice. In a note to Tovar, May 11, 1533, Vergara expressed fear that Castillo, now a prisoner of the Inquisition, would stand in the way of Tovar's release (Cazalla proceso, 203v).

unable to discover the source and stop the leak.¹⁵ The informant, strangely enough, was a member of the Tribunal, a notary named Bachiller Pedro de Hermosilla. After the imprisonment of Tovar, Vergara contacted Licentiate Gumiel asking him to persuade Bachiller Hermosilla of the Holy Office to supply him with pertinent information about Tovar's case. Hermosilla agreed to do this for a price. In Vergara's name Gumiel promised Hermosilla a salary of 15,000 maravedis yearly and the help of the Archbishop of Toledo at the proper time.¹⁶ For Gumiel's part in the deception, Vergara paid him various sums and interceded in his behalf with the Archbishop of Toledo, who gave Gumiel the curacy of Jumela, and possibly another benefice in a church in Madrid to hold for Bachiller Hermosilla.¹⁷ When Vergara was absent from Toledo, he made Gumiel his deputy, and Gumiel received and answered Tovar's letters. Gumiel also brought the fiscal Diego Ortiz de Angulo to see Vergara, who urged the fiscal to use his influence to

¹⁵ Vergara proceso, 3v. Petition of the fiscal, December 1, 1530.

¹⁶ Ibid., 235v-236v. Vergara's version is that Gumiel came to see him in Madrid and proposed this plan (Ibid., 251r-v, 255r).

¹⁷ Ibid., 251v, 309v-310r.

obtain justice in Tovar's case.¹⁸

After two and one-half years of watching and waiting, the Inquisitors finally discovered the secret correspondence. The despensero, Gaspar de Martínez, who had been alerted to watch for anything suspicious, brought some raisins wrapped in unusually thin paper to Inquisitor Vaguer on April 11, 1533, and by the light of the fire Vergara's communication system figuratively fell to ashes.¹⁹ The Inquisitors moved with alacrity. On April 21, 1533, they ordered the removal from their posts of the Alcaide and the mozo de cárcel so that no news would filter out to Vergara. The despensero was appointed to take over the mozo de cárcel's duties, and the unfortunate Alcaide was sent to the Suprema in Valladolid bearing a letter relating the discovery of the correspondence and of the participants.²⁰ The Inquisition also decided to question Diego de Aguilar, Tovar's servant, and to search Vergara's apartment for notes on the pretext of checking Vergara's books to make sure they were properly Catholic. Two days later Tovar was brought out to the audience chamber to be questioned, while Inquisitor Vaguer ransacked his cell. The

¹⁸ Vergara proceso, 233r, 238v.

¹⁹ Ibid., 97v.

²⁰ Ibid., 101v.

Obtain Justice in the case.
After two and a half years of waiting,
waiting, the Inspector's office discovered the
correspondence. The Inspector, G. de la Haza, who
had been alerted to look for correspondence, found
some remains written in Spanish, but not in French.
Vague on April 11, 1911, and by the end of the year
Vergara's communication against the Inspector, 1911 to 1912.
The Inspector moved also against the Inspector, 1911 to 1912.
They ordered the removal of their name from the list
and the name de la Haza as that he was not listed and
to Vergara. The Inspector was informed by some way the
more de la Haza's duties, and the Inspector's name was
sent to the Superior in Valencia, and a letter relating
the discovery of the correspondence was sent to the Inspector.
Panta. 20 The Inspector's name was not mentioned in 1912
de la Haza, Tover's name, and he was not listed in 1912.
ment for notes on the Inspector's name, and the Inspector's name
to make sure they were properly listed. The Inspector
Tover was brought out to the Inspector's name to be
alone, while Inspector's name was not listed in 1912.

18 Vergara moved, 1911, 1912.

19 1911, 1912.

20 1911, 1912.

examination revealed books containing notes; one from Tovar for Rodríguez, one from Lucena, and various other unknown notes, a branch of flowering almond, chicken plumes, and a lime tightly tied to and hanging from a nail.²¹

In order not to arouse the suspicions of Vergara, the Inquisitors continued to allow Rodríguez to bring messages to the jail; they quietly intercepted notes on May 3, 5, 12 and 17.²² On May 17 the fiscal accused Vergara of aiding a heretic and trying to free him from just punishment and pervert the work of the Holy Office, and Vergara was questioned on the 20th. On June 23 the Inquisitors voted to jail Vergara on the ground that he had not told the truth about interfering with the functions of the Holy Office.²³ The Alcalde Juan de Ortega and the mozo de cárcel Juan Sánchez had already been detained in May 1533, and by the end of 1533 the Inquisition had initiated procesos against Gumiel, Hermosilla and Diego de

²¹ Vergara proceso, 102r-v. The books found were the Novum Testamentum Graece, Cornucopiae, Commentaria Sanctae Thomae, Alciato (Manuel de Serrano y Sanz, "Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo," Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, VI (1902), 33).

²² Vergara proceso, 118r-120v.

²³ Ibid., 123r-v. The Inquisition had begun a proceso against Vergara shortly after Francisca had denounced him as a heretic (Ibid., 7r). For this reason it is interesting to note that Vergara was not jailed for heresy.

Aguilar.²⁴

When the Holy Office seized Diego de Aguilar, Juan Ortega and Juan Sánchez for questioning about Tovar's illegal correspondence with Vergara, the Inquisitors were further surprised to learn from the inquiry of these men that a voluminous exchange of notes was also going on between the prisoners in jail and that Tovar was at the very core of it. Tovar had bribed Juan Sánchez to let Aguilar have the run of the jail, and Tovar's servant obligingly delivered messages for his master to Francisco Gutiérrez, Gaspar de Lucena, Pero Luis, María de Cazalla, and a Portuguese woman, Catalina de Figueredo.²⁵ Tovar was endeavoring to find out from his correspondents all he could about the accusations and testimony against them, better to prepare his own case. In addition Tovar was keeping them informed about his trial and was informally

²⁴ Vergara proceso, 115v, 235r-v, 334r, 103r.

²⁵ Cazalla proceso, 22r, r187r1; Vergara proceso, 103r-v. Gutiérrez had been denounced by Diego Hernández as a disciple of Tovar and a Lutheran (Vergara proceso, 44v). He had been questioned about Tovar's activities in November 1530, and by April of 1532 he was imprisoned (*Ibid.*, 40v-41r). Lucena, also accused by Diego as a follower of Tovar and a Lutheran heretic, had been seized by the Inquisition in March 1532 (*Ibid.*, 44v, 45r, 40r). Denounced by Francisca Hernández and Diego Hernández, María's arrest was ordered on April 18, 1531 (Cazalla proceso, 2r). She was imprisoned and first questioned by the Inquisition on May 3, 1532 (*Ibid.*, 25r).

When the wife of the deceased, Maria Agulias, was
interrogated and then released for questioning about the
legal correspondence with Vazquez, the following was
further suggested to her: that a voluntary statement
between the prisoner and the wife and that there was a
very close of it. There was indeed a close relationship
Agulias have the right of the wife, and the wife is
obliged to deliver the same for a certain period of
time, as a result of the same, the wife is obliged
and a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is obliged
was endeavoring to find out the correspondence and
could about the correspondence of the wife, and the
better to preserve the correspondence, it is better to
keeping them together and the wife is obliged to

24. Vazquez is a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
25. Maria Agulias, is a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
1031-v. Cordeiro, is a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
as a disciple of Vazquez and a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
He had been a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
in November 1930, and he had been a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
(Ibid.: 1031-v. Cordeiro, is a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
follower of Vazquez and a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
by the Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
denounced by Vazquez and a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
Maria's sister was a Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a
processo, 21. The wife of Vazquez, Maria Agulias, is a
by the Portuguese woman, Maria Agulias, is a

acting as their legal counsel and spiritual adviser.²⁶

Juan Sánchez and Juan Ortega winked at all this chicanery for liberal fees, and actively participated in the subterfuge of the prisoners. They acted as letter bearers, permitted cell doors to remain unlocked, and allowed the inmates to roam freely about the jail and to visit each other in the cells for long periods. Sánchez merrily danced and sang with the prisoners and paid fond court to all the female prisoners. Sánchez became particularly enamored of Francisca and wanted to go away to Rome with her. Even Ortega didn't escape Francisca's charms.²⁷ To maintain their prosperous and gay mode of life, Sánchez and Ortega had been forced to bribe the talkative Diego Hernández, who had accidentally learned of the correspondence when the accusation against María de Cazalla was thrown into his cell by mistake instead of into Tovar's. Content with his reward, Diego remained uncharacteristically silent until it was impossible to keep the affair hidden any longer.²⁸

Unfortunately the trial of Tovar has long since vanished, but Tovar appears as a witness in the trials of

²⁶ Cazalla proceso, 22r, 226r, 229v, [187v], 232r-v, [190v-191v]; Vergara proceso, 104 r.

²⁷ Cazalla proceso, 223v, 225r, 226r-v, 227v-228r.

²⁸ Ibid., [188r-189v].

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it was...
Uniform...
vanished, but...

-
- 26 Cecilia...
 - 1900-1910; Virginia...
 - 27 Cecilia...
 - 28 John...

Juan de Vergara, Antonio de Medrano, Luis de Beteta and María de Cazalla. For the most part these extracts reveal little information that actually throws much light on his case.²⁹ To ascertain the proceedings of the trial, one has to rely on Vergara's reply to the publication of the witnesses and the testimony of his accusers. It is clear that the principal accusers in the trial of Tovar were Francisca Hernández and Diego Hernández who, as previously mentioned, denounced him as an Illuminist and Lutheran heretic. It seems unbelievable that the Inquisition would credit the word of these two unscrupulous persons who deposed so willy-nilly against anything, but they did.³⁰

On the basis of their testimony, Tovar must have been regarded by the Inquisition as a fearful heretical leader of the Alumbrados, in whose hands lay the opening wedge for destroying the foundations of the Church. The testimony of some of his followers must have borne out their opinion. Olivares, when questioned by the Inquisition in their roundup of Alumbrados in July 1524, in Pastana, testified that Tovar taught that the most important thing was to love God and to avoid being tied down by ex-

²⁹ Vergara proceso, 194r-201r; Medrano proceso, 153r, 161r; Beteta proceso, 56v; Cazalla proceso, 138r.

³⁰ Vergara proceso, 86r, 330v.

... Juan de Vargas, ...
... Maria de Casilla, ...
... little information ...
... case. 29 To ...
... to rely on ...
... nesses and the ...
... the principal ...
... Hernandez and ...
... denounced him ...
... seems unbelievable ...
... word of these ...
... Willy-nilly ...
... On the ...
... been regarded ...
... leader of ...
... wedge for ...
... testimony of ...
... their opinion ...
... then in ...
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terior Church practices such as dietary rules. Olivares also supposedly claimed later to Francisca that he longed to obtain the state of dexamiento as perfectly as Tovar had achieved it.³¹ Francisco Gutiérrez testified that Tovar had advised him to mock confession and not to pray anything except three psalms and three lecciones.³²

Tovar's insistence on the uselessness of prayer must have been brought up not only in connection with Illuminist belief, but to further indict him by establishing his leaning toward Erasmism, thereby linking, perhaps even unwittingly, the two movements together. Hernando de Lunar testified in 1530 that when conversing with Tovar in Alcalá, Tovar had told him that the practice of praying the canonical hours had been established for rogues, because in former times the clergy did not pray but studied Holy Scripture. Lunar actually believed that Vergara had learned this from Erasmus and had instilled the opinion in Tovar. This witness also stated he heard Tovar scorn and mock papal bulls.³³

³¹ Ortiz proceso, 49r; Vergara proceso, 75r.

³² Vergara proceso, 41v. Francisca frequently accused Tovar of convincing his followers that it was not necessary to pray the divine office and that prayer was useless. He accordingly told Hernando de Mohedano and Francisco Díaz this (Beteta proceso, 18r, 22r; Vergara proceso, 65v).

³³ Vergara proceso, 16r.

Fray Francisco Ortiz further implied that Tovar was in league with Erasmus when he proclaimed that he had seen a letter from the Fleming thanking Tovar and his brothers for some kind favors.³⁴ Tovar must have also been indicted by the Inquisition for his overt praise of Valdés' Doctrina Cristiana, a work that was suspect by the Inquisitors because of its Erasmist influence.³⁵

Though the trial possibly centered around Tovar's adherence to the Illuminist beliefs, it is even more probable that the worried Inquisitors saw the case before them as a Lutheran trial. Diego had accused Tovar of being the head of a Lutheran conspiracy; Francisca had at first typed the Apostolate as an attempt at conversion to Lutheranism. Francisca had testified that Tovar had Lutheran tracts in his possession; Lucena had stated that Tovar lent Juan del Castillo Lutheran books.³⁶ María de Cazalla further testified that Diego Hernández had told her Tovar had been strangely affected by the reading of the works of Luther.³⁷ In December 1530, the fiscal charged that Tovar had vio-

³⁴ Vergara proceso, 1st 11r.

³⁵ Cazalla proceso, [188r]. Lucena, submitted to torture, had promised to tell all about the relationship of Tovar and Valdés (Vergara proceso, 351r).

³⁶ Vergara proceso, 353v.

³⁷ Cazalla proceso, 33v.

lated the edict of 1525 against Luther which required all books of heretical persuasion to be handed over to the Suprema in Madrid under pain of excommunication, because he had kept the forbidden works for a long period after this date. According to the fiscal, this proved Tovar disregarded the spiritual authority and censures of the mother Church and adhered to Lutheran errors.³⁸ The particular book that prompted this Lutheran charge was a work entitled On Isaiah by the Protestant reformer Oecampadius.³⁹ On a buying trip in Flanders Diego del Castillo had sent this volume among others to Tovar, and it had wound up in Vergara's library.⁴⁰

Denounced as a leader of the Illuminist and Lutheran movement and implicated with Erasmism, surely Tovar must have been seriously dealt with by the Inquisition, but the fate of Tovar at the hands of the Holy Office must remain an unsolved mystery. He might have been penanced by the In-

³⁸ Vergara proceso, 3r. The fiscal charged Vergara with the same violation.

³⁹ Johannes Oecampadius, a humanist and famous preacher of Basel, was not a Lutheran, although he knew Luther in the early days of his career. He followed and supported the tenets of Zwingli. As the leader of the reformation in the city of Basel, Oecampadius placed it within the Zwinglian fold (Harold J. Grimm, The Reformation Era [New York, 1954], 135, 189, 194-195).

⁴⁰ Vergara proceso, 15r-v, 276r.

quisitors and appeared at an auto de fe shortly before April 22, 1535.⁴¹ It is also possible that Tovar was still in jail in 1536.⁴² From this date on Tovar sinks into oblivion, a state from which I feel sure that this really mediocre and shadowy man would never have arisen if it had not been for his Illuminist career that eventually led to his identification with Lutheranism in the eyes of the Inquisition.

Tovar was probably not a Lutheran. Francisca's charges that Tovar was aware of Lutheran tracts and errors and recited them in her company is hardly plausible. At that time, 1520, Lutheran matter would scarcely be circulating in Spain, not only because it was exceedingly difficult to import foreign matter into the country, but also because Luther's real attack against and break with the Church did not begin until he was officially committed to heresy in 1521. The opinions of Luther regarding bulls and indulgences that Tovar supposedly adhered to could not have been known in that period to be actual statements of Luther.

⁴¹ Vergara proceso, 357r-v. The testimony of the mozo de cárcel given on April 22, 1535, indicates that Vergara asked him if Tovar had appeared at the recent auto de fe and wanted to know what sentence he had received.

⁴² The testimony of Beteta implies that Tovar was still in jail in 1536. In 1538 he says he was in Alcalá two years ago more or less and Tovar was still in jail (Beteta proceso, 56v, 59r, 67v).

put before and... April 23, 1933... in jail in 1933... conviction... not been for the... his identification... question.

Tover was probably not a... charges that Tover was... and needed... that time, 1933... lasting in Spain... out to report... because... through and not... heresy in 1933... indulgence... been known...

41- Tover... asked him... wanted to know...

42 The... in jail in 1933... one more or less... came, 1933, 1934.

Even supposing Tovar held, perhaps unwittingly, the same views as Luther in the particular matter of bulls and indulgences at the time Luther was justifiably attacking Tetzels' wild extravagant claims on the power of the indulgences, in 1517, it would not prove Tovar a Lutheran, because both Luther's and Tovar's opinions were upheld by Catholic doctors. Except for the charges made by Diego Hernández, Francisca Hernández and Gaspar de Lucena, none of the testimony of Tovar's followers indicates that they ever read or even heard a line of Luther's. If they had, they most certainly would have said so, for Tovar's disciples did not hesitate to elaborate on his Illuminist practices.

Lutheranism was officially condemned in Spain in 1525. In the same year the edict against the Alumbrados was issued, and the Inquisition established no connection between the two. It was not until 1530 that the worried Holy Tribunal, watching Protestantism rampaging through the rest of Europe, saw in the tenets of the Alumbrados, which emphasized the inner spirit and discarded the ritualistic practices of the Church, a potential Lutheran movement.

The connection between Lutheranism and Illuminism was superficial, but that fear that orthodox Catholicism would be destroyed in Spain was not. Tovar was undoubtedly an Illuminist and stood to be condemned as a pernicious

heretic by the Inquisition on those grounds, but even the heresy of Illuminism is not new, but travels under a different name. All through Church history there are examples of men who, concentrating on the inner spirit in their search for God, have overstepped the bounds of orthodoxy and slipped into heresy. Tovar, whose career bespeaks concern with religious matters, albeit heterodox, symbolizes this type.

As a probable supporter of Erasmus, Tovar must have been further indicted in the eyes of the Inquisitors. Erasmism had suffered by its unwitting union with the Alumbrados. This fusion had been accomplished by the Enchiridion of Erasmus. Some of the admirers of Erasmus, upon reading the work which spoke of the way to attain to the proper inner spirit, thought they had found this way in the beliefs of the Alumbrados. Erasmus had never advocated the disregard of Church practices, but by 1530 when the three heterodox movements of Erasmism, Illuminism and Lutheranism had been rolled into one, this fact had been obscured.

Perhaps if Lutheranism had not been spreading throughout Europe, the Inquisition would not have become concerned and confused over the beliefs of the Illuminists and the Erasmists. The Church had never denied the presence of divine will in one's relationship with God, but the extreme concern of these men over the complete surrender to divine will presented dangerous problems to the Catholic

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Church. This emphasis on the feeling that God's spirit could directly command one could be the opening wedge to make the individual forget God's intermediary, the Church.

Church. This is a very important point to remember. It is not only the church that is responsible for the spiritual life of the community, but also the individual members of the church. Each individual has a duty to perform, and it is the responsibility of the church to ensure that this duty is fulfilled. The church should be a place where individuals can find spiritual guidance and support, and where they can learn to live their lives in accordance with the teachings of the faith.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

In May 1534, the Spanish humanist expatriate Juan Luis Vives wrote to Erasmus: "We are going through difficult times. One cannot speak or be silent without danger. In Spain Vergara and Tovar are imprisoned, without speaking of other sufficiently intelligent men."¹ This excerpt is a sad but true commentary on the status of intellectualism and the narrowing concept of orthodoxy in Spain. In the 1530's Spain's Inquisitors had begun a series of persecutions against those who were seriously implicated with Erasmism and Illuminism and who were not fortunate enough to escape by fleeing the country or to enjoy the protection of the Emperor. All the leaders of the Illuminist movement, Francisca de Hernández, Antonio de Medrano, María de Cazalla and Tovar were in the Inquisition's jails in Toledo. The Erasmists, Vergara, Pascual and Virués, were being investigated by Spain's Inquisitors. By 1540 the systematic and thorough persecution of Spain's heretics by the watchdogs of orthodoxy had successfully eliminated the threat of a

¹ Allen, Erasmi Epistolae, X, Ep. 2932. The translation is mine.

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In 1937, the first edition of the book was published.

Luis Vives wrote the preface to the book. He said that the book was written for the people of Spain and for the people of other countries.

In Spain Vives was a very famous man. He was a philosopher, a writer, and a statesman. He lived in the 15th century.

and the nation. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

1530's Spain. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

tions against the king. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

Francisco de Vives, another famous man, was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

and for the people of Spain. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

ated by Spain's political system. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

thorough presentation of Spain's history. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

of orthodoxy and conservatism. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

I have been very interested in the history of Spain. He was a very important man in the history of Spain. He was a very famous man in the history of Spain.

widespread Protestant movement in Spain.

Nearly all of Tovar's disciples, particularly the members of the Apostolate, had been seized by the Inquisition. The Inquisitors of Granada had picked up Diego del Castillo, Diego López and Juan López.² Diego del Castillo was reconciled to the Faith in December 1535, and his goods were confiscated.³ Diego López was penanced by 1533.⁴ He enjoyed a happier fate than that of his friend Juan López, who was burned at the stake shortly before September, 1530.⁵ Juan del Castillo had been captured in Bologna in February of 1533 and brought back to Spain as a prisoner of the Inquisition. Sometime during the early months of 1535, Juan too was burned at the stake.⁶ The Inquisition of Toledo had seized Villafañá quite early in their roundup of Alumbrados, but he escaped from the Inquisition jail some time

² Bataillon, Erasmo, II, 63, n. 16; Medrano proceso, 134r, 141r-143v. Extracts of the testimony from the lost procesos of Diego López and Juan López appear in the Medrano trial.

³ Bataillon, Erasmo, II, 63, n. 16.

⁴ Cazalla proceso, 64r.

⁵ Bivar proceso, 8r. Juan López had escaped from the Inquisition jail and gone to Toledo, where he was recaptured and returned to the Inquisition of Granada (Ibid., 19v-20r; Medrano proceso, 136r; Beteta proceso, 38r). The Inquisition usually meted out harsh punishment to those who escaped and were recaptured.

⁶ Longhurst, "Juan del Castillo," 245, 249.

before October, 1530, while his trial was still going on.⁷ Beteta was not jailed until June, 1538, though the Inquisition had begun a proceso against him in 1530. In 1539 he was required to abjure de levi and to perform spiritual penance.⁸

The Erasmist-Alumbrado Miguel de Eguía seems to have been the luckiest of the Apostles, with the exception of Guzmán, who was never questioned by the Inquisition. Eguía was imprisoned some time after November, 1531, and released by February, 1534. The inquisitional investigation apparently did not hinder his later career at all; he settled down to become a gentleman farmer and merchant in Estella and held many respected posts in the community.⁹

Of all Tovar's disciples, the Inquisition dealt most severely with the former members of the Apostolate. The exception to this statement would be the imprisonment of Alonzo Garzón and Gaspar de Lucena, members of Tovar's circle in Alcalá. Garzón was burned sometime in 1531. Diego Hernández had denounced him as a disciple of Tovar and as a Lutheran heretic, but the only other charge to be

⁷ Ortiz proceso, 180v.

⁸ Beteta proceso, passim.

⁹ Vergara proceso, 22v; Goñi Gaztambide, "El Impresor Miguel de Eguía," 52, 58-59, 62.

before the court, but, as the court was not yet organized, the case was postponed until the next session. The court was organized on the 1st of March, 1881, and the case was then heard. The court was composed of the following members: Chief Justice, John B. Gresham; Associate Justices, William B. Brewster, John M. Harlan, and John C. Brewer; and the Clerk, John C. Brewer. The case was decided in favor of the plaintiff, and the judgment was affirmed.

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7. *Ortiz v. Gresham*, 1881, 100 U.S. 100.
8. *Brewster v. Gresham*, 1881, 100 U.S. 100.
9. *Gresham v. Brewster*, 1881, 100 U.S. 100.
10. *Brewster v. Gresham*, 1881, 100 U.S. 100.

found against him, again uttered by Diego, was that Garzón said the Creed was not written by the apostles of Christ.¹⁰ Lucena, arrested in 1532, was finally submitted to torture in January, 1535, and his trial apparently dragged on after that.¹¹ Another associate of Tovar, Juan de Tapia, who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, gained his liberty by the intervention of influential friends. He had to perform no more penance than doffing his ecclesiastical robes and wearing black.¹²

Some of Tovar's associates apparently were never tried by the Inquisition. Martín Laso de Oropesa, Fray Gil de Béjar, Miguel Ortiz, Alonso Frías and Hernando de Mohe-dano were questioned by the Inquisitors about their association with the Illuminists, but they were never imprisoned.¹³

¹⁰ Vergara proceso, 44v.

¹¹ Ibid., 40r, 354r.

¹² Ibid., 98r.

¹³ Ibid., 292r; Medrano proceso, 144r, 150v-152r. Oropesa, after the death of the Archbishop of Toledo in 1534, became secretary to Doña María de Mendoza and accompanied her to Paris and Breda. At the time of his death in 1550 or 1560 he was serving as secretary to a Spanish cardinal in Rome (Bataillon, Erasmus, II, 68, n. 3). Fray Gil continued in his post as preacher to Charles V and was with the imperial court in Belgium in 1532 (Vergara proceso, 48r-v). The later life of Frías is impossible to trace, but at least Ortiz probably stood in a very favorable light with the Inquisition because Vergara named him as one of the Procuradores for his trial (Ibid., 126r).

The Inquisition never detained or questioned Francisco de Torres, Pero Núñez, Fernando de Santo Domingo, Gutierre Ortiz, Miguel de Torres, or Manuel de Miona.¹⁴

Although Vergara had complained against the stigma of an inquisitional investigation at the arrest of Tovar and was subsequently involved with the Holy Tribunal himself, the Vergara family survived this degrading chapter in their lives. Vergara's trial was concluded by November 16, 1535. He appeared at an auto de fe on December 21, 1535, abjured de vehemente, and paid a 1500 ducat fine. Thereafter he continued his career, leading a productive and fruitful life.¹⁵ Isabel and Francisco were never involved with the Holy Tribunal at all.

¹⁴ There seems to be no record of the later careers of Francisco de Torres, Núñez, Santo Domingo and Ortiz. In March, 1534, Vergara refers to a Bachiller Hernando de Mohedano, a fiscal in the Holy Office of Granada, who testified in Tovar's trial (Vergara proceso, 292r). Miguel de Torres and Miona had fled Spain together. Both later became Jesuit followers of Loyola (Bataillon, Erasmus, I, 248, 249, n. 15).

¹⁵ Vergara proceso, 378r-380r.

The Industrial Revolution began in the late 18th century in Britain, and spread to other parts of Europe and North America. It was a period of rapid change, as new technologies and methods of production were developed. The Industrial Revolution led to the growth of factories and the urbanization of the population. It also led to the development of new social and economic structures. The Industrial Revolution was a turning point in human history, as it marked the beginning of the modern era.

15. There seems to be no trace of the Industrial Revolution in the records of the early 19th century. The records show that the population was still largely rural, and that the economy was still based on agriculture. This suggests that the Industrial Revolution had not yet reached the country. The records also show that the population was still largely illiterate, and that the social and economic structures were still based on traditional values. This suggests that the Industrial Revolution had not yet had a significant impact on the country.

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First, I would like to say that I am very pleased to see you here today. It is a great honor to have you with us.

Second, I would like to say that I am very proud of the work that you have done. You have been a great asset to our team.

Third, I would like to say that I am very grateful for your support. You have been a great help to me in many ways.

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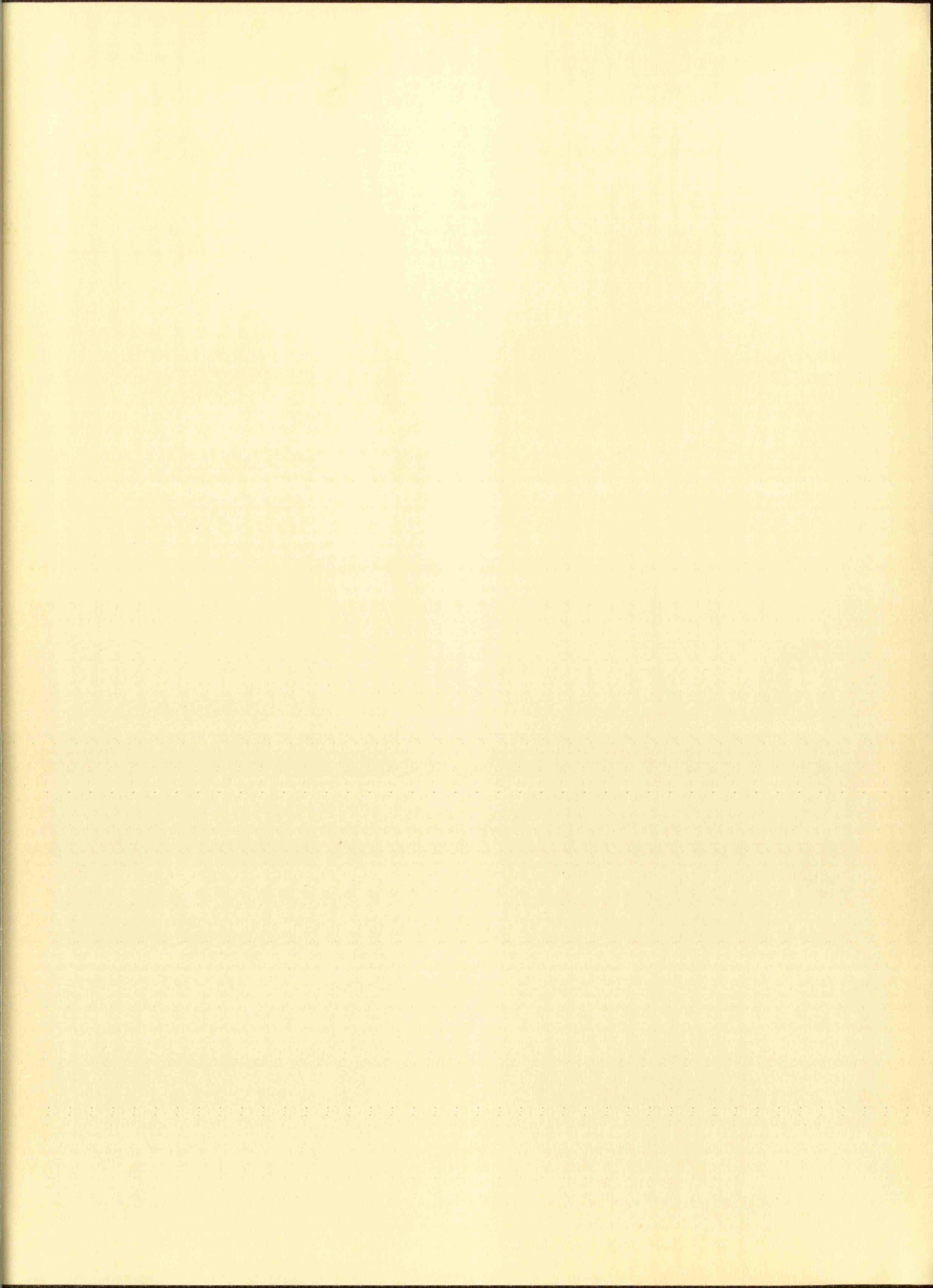
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