A Distorted Mirror: Faith, Race, and Identity as Reflected in Spanish Diplomacy during the Reign of Charles V

by

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ABSTRACT

A DISTORTED MIRROR: FAITH, RACE, AND IDENTITY AS REFLECTED IN SPANISH DIPLOMACY DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES V

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This thesis examines how the ministers and officials of Charles V sought to cultivate a specific state identity that defined Spain and its people against non-Christian 'Others'—namely the Jews, conversos, and Moriscos of Iberia, as well as the Lutheran heretics of Europe. These officials utilised various narratives and policies that emphasised the ideas of Christian purity and crusade, thus building off of the work done by the Catholic Monarchs. Charles V and his ambassadors expressed these narratives on the stage of European diplomacy and projected Spain's state identity abroad. More importantly, this thesis explores how these ambassadors were often challenged in their attempts to define Spain on the world stage, as the foreigners they encountered presented them with counter-narratives that destabilised their image. Such counter-narratives often played upon the contradictions and complexities that were inherent in Spanish society regarding its constructions of religious and 'racial' barriers. The clashes between the Spaniards who sought to defend Spain and its reputation and those who disparaged it demonstrate the weakness of Spanish state-identity during the reign of Charles, as well as the anxieties that Spain's ambassadors often felt when projecting Spain's image abroad.

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Introduction

On March 11, 1521, the College of Cardinals wrote to Charles V (1519-1556)—King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor—on the election of Pope Clement VII. The cardinals told him that his predecessors had earned their "great reputations" by "making war upon the Jews, putting heretics to death, and reducing almost the whole of Africa to the obedience of the Christian religion."[1] This image was exactly how Charles V wanted the world to see his Spanish kingdom. For indeed, *Convivencia*—the idea that Spain was a multicultural society in which the three Abrahamic faiths coexisted in harmony—perished in Spain with the ascension of Charles V's grandparents, Isabella I of Castile (1474-1504) and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1479-1516). The Catholic Monarchs had implemented a policy that marked a crucial break from the past: the rejection of Spain's medieval identity as a multicultural realm.[2] This policy entailed the propagation of rhetoric that defined Spain's subjects against a group of people who had once been seen as cohabitants of the Iberian Peninsula: the Jews and Moors.

In the new construction of Spain that the Catholic Monarchs and their successors propagated via their policies, edicts, and propaganda, to have membership in the state—to be *Spanish*—meant to be Catholic. This new identity was thus grounded in the idea of extreme Christian purity and defined in opposition to non-Christians.[3] Indeed, Spaniards came to

[1] "Spain: March 1524," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 2, 1509-1525*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1866), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol2/pp606-613, accessed 14 April, 2021.

[2] Maria José Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish: Multiple Identities in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 241.

[3] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish," 241, 238; Mercedes Garcia-Arenal, "Creating Conversos: Genealogy and Identity as Historiographical Problems (after a recent book by Ángel Alcalá)," *Journal of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 38, no. 1 (2013): 3; Francisco Bethencourt, *Racisms from the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 143-144; Anthony W. Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 85.

understand the world and their place therein through a fundamentally religious lens during this period, a sense of providentialism having become rampant in their society.[4] A zealous crusading mentality had developed that was founded on a sense that Spain was unique among the nations and that Spaniards were divinely tasked with defending the Catholic faith against any threat.[5]

The Spanish monarchs and elites of this era drew upon and propagated this sort of religious rhetoric in order to support a newly-unified state.[6] Whereas before Spain was divided into many kingdoms, the coming together of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile united Spain not only politically but also ideologically through the monarchs' propagation of this new state identity, which enabled Aragonese, Castilians, and any other 'Spaniard' under their domain to feel a part of this community so long as he was Catholic.[7] Such rhetoric imposed unity that transcended administrative and linguistic boundaries.[8] Indeed, the Catholic Monarch's Kingdom of Spain was the first largescale "proto-nation state" (as historian Anthony Marx terms it) to emerge in early modern Europe in which political centralisation was married with state policies and rhetoric that were aimed at creating cohesion—namely, unification through the elimination of religious difference.[9] This was not a seamless process—indeed, the kingdoms that made up

[4] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish," 244, 239; Michael J. Levine, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 207.
[5] John H. Elliott. "Spain and its Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989) 9; Peter Marshall, "The Other Black Legend: The Henrician Reformation and the Spanish People," *The English Historical Review* 116, no. 465 (2001): 48; Massimo Firpo, "Reform of the Church and Heresy in the Age of Charles V: Reflections of Spain in Italy," trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, in *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion*, ed. Thomas James Dandelet and John A. Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 457; Levine, *Agents of Empire*, 205; Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 45, 49, 86; Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 78.
[6] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish," 237, 250; Rae Heather. *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 57.
[7] Jeffrey Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad: The Jewish Millennium in Spain* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2015), 214.
[8] Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 4, 42, 85, 118.
[9] Ibid, 4-5, 8, 10, 13.

Spain still retained their own laws—but the seeds for an emergent nation based on unity of religion were growing nonetheless. The shared identity established in Spain at this time was fundamentally based upon the exclusion of a common religious enemy or outsider—Iberia's non-Christian minorities.[10] Indeed, the creation of national identity has always depended upon duality: early modern proto-nations required the 'nation' and the 'Other' to emerge.[11] Charles V utilised this narrative that his predecessors had built as the foundation stone for his rule in Spain.

However, this thesis will look beyond Spain's borders in its analysis of the state-sponsored identity that the Spanish Crown promoted during the reign of Charles V. It is important to realise that the stage of European diplomacy is perhaps the most crucial arena for the historian looking at the official narratives of early modern states, for this is where these ideas came into contact with people of other nations. It was on the diplomatic stage that individuals and communities engaged with and observed the 'Other,' and it was in doing so that the observers were able to reinforce their own sense of identity or, alternatively, met challenges to their self-image.[12] The use of the term 'stage' here is deliberate, for there was a good deal of the performative at play in early modern—and particularly Spanish—diplomacy. The early modern ambassador stood as a personification of his kingdom or monarch, and thus sought to project the image said monarchy was fashioning for itself.[13] Indeed, during this period the ambassador's primary role became the projection of state power, and Spaniards understood this principle particularly well.[14] Thus, 'state identities' were incredibly pertinent within the realm of early

[10] Heather, *State Identities*, 59; Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 80.
[11] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish," 249; Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 25, 75.
[12] Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, "A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era," *International History Review* 36, no. 4 (2014): 607.
[13] Catherine Fletcher, "Mere Emulators of Italy: The Spanish in Italian Diplomatic Discourse, 1492–1550," in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, ed. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 12.
[14] Levine, *Agents of Empire*, 7.

modern diplomacy, as demonstrated in the discourse in the famed diplomat Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano,* a work that was read and published widely in the time of Charles V.[15]

Charles V and his ministers promoted a Spanish identity that defined Spaniards in opposition to non-Catholic 'Others.' Their projection of this stalwart Catholic identity was a key diplomatic strategy by which they announced and defined themselves on the European stage. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, there were inherent cracks in this state-sponsored ideology and the Spanish ambassadors faced challenges in their mission to promote an image of Spain's unwavering commitment to religious uniformity. Although Spanish diplomats presented their ruler and countrymen as the 'Defenders of the Faith,' they felt an inescapable insecurity over the surety of their own discourse. These anxieties were born from complexities and contradictions inherent in Spanish culture and society that were often a result of Spain's multi-ethnic heritage, and they destabilised the clear-cut boundaries that the Spanish had drawn to construct their 'imagined community.' This thesis will argue that markers of difference and identity—be they religious or ethnic—were fundamentally unstable constructs, particularly in sixteenth-century Spain.

The ethnic and religious complexities that underlay Spanish society were easy prey for foreigners who sought to disparage Spain on the diplomatic scene. Indeed, not every European official was as willing to accept Spain's official narrative as the cardinals who wrote to the Emperor in 1521. This thesis will thus not only analyse how the ambassadors of Charles V's Spain projected their state-sponsored identity, but also how foreigners challenged this identity on the stage of European diplomacy and how discourse with these foreigners rendered anxiety on

[15] Fletcher, "Mere Emulators of Italy," 12.

the part of the Spaniards by shattering their self-image. Such encounters with outsiders prompted these ambassadors and officials to react with embarrassment and denial, and sometimes spurred them on to even more extreme forms of rhetoric in response. These responses reveal the weaknesses inherent in the official narrative propagated by the Spain of Charles V.

Historical Context

Charles V inherited a Spain that was on the rise in Europe and yet in many ways troubled. It was beset on all sides by enemies: Charles V engaged in a long and bloody war against France in Italy from 1521 to 1528, during which time he needed to commit thousands of troops and ducats to his cause. He frequently fought against the Ottoman Turks as well, capturing Tunis in 1535 in an attempt to halt Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean. Additionally, Spain maintained an uneasy alliance with England during these years, with tension brewing between Charles V and Henry VIII (1509-1547) after the English king's controversial attempts to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, the youngest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs. Even Charles V's position in Spain was not entirely stable: when he inherited the crowns of Aragon and Castile on March 14, 1516, he was declared joint ruler with his mother, Juana I (1504-1555). Moreover, the centralised authority and state-identity that Ferdinand and Isabella had established was beginning to wane at this point: antipathy was growing between Castilians and Aragonese as the centrifugal pull of regionalism grew stronger.[16] Moreover, Charles V occupied a complicated dual position as King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, an office he was elected to in 1519. This meant that he not only ruled over a diverse conglomeration of territories with different laws and customs—he had different priorities and functions to fulfil for each.

[16] I. A. A. Thompson, "Castile, Spain and the Monarchy: The Political Community from *Patria Natural* to *Patria Nacional*," in *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World*, ed. John H. Elliott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 127-128, 133; Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 118.

Indeed, one can question how 'Spanish' Charles V was when he became King of Spain—he grew up outside of Spain and was raised in Burgundian culture, after all. When he first visited Spain in 1517 and a storm forced his flotilla to land near Villaviciosa, the locals even mistook his arrival for a foreign invasion![17] That Charles V was not Spanish enough was certainly a concern of his Spanish ministers initially: the Cortes had to specifically ask that he learn Spanish, and there was general discontent over the monarch's frequent absences from Spain and the use of the title of 'Majesty' (which was not used in Spain), while his favouring of Burgundian ministers also caused widespread displeasure.[18] Indeed, Spain suffered much internal strife during the early years of his reign which could be attributed to discontent over these matters, most dramatically evidenced by the Revolt of the Comuneros (1520-1521), which was primarily driven by anti-Flemish and strong Castilianist sentiments.[19] These factors point towards not only a lack of stability but a lack of a unitary identity within the Spain Charles V inherited.

It is apparent that Charles V came to realise the necessity of drawing upon and projecting a state identity to underpin his rule in Spain. Thus, beginning in 1521, he initiated a period of consolidation of the Spanish state.[20] For one, he began to 'Hispanicise' his court after 1521: he began to only select Spaniards as confessors, for example. More importantly, he made Spanish the official language of his entourage—in 1536, he even rebuked a French prelate in Rome who disparaged him for speaking in Castilian: "Do not expect me to speak any other language but Spanish, which is so noble that it should be learned and understood by all Christian people."[21] But most importantly, the Emperor began to reinforce the idea that his Spain was the unified,

[17] Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 43.
[18] Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict* (London and New York: Longman Inc., 1983), 66; Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 83, 109-110.
[19] Thompson, "Castile, Spain and the Monarchy," 134; Parker, *Emperor*, 109-110.
[20] Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 44.
[21] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 66.

Catholic, crusading state-identity that his predecessors had established, and he assumed their exclusionary policies. This development is especially interesting given that Charles V simultaneously upheld dramatically different ideological policies as Holy Roman Emperor: in Germany, for example, he was quite tolerant of Jews, a policy that would have been unthinkable in his Spain.[22]

Indeed, the most evident exclusionary policies that Charles V maintained from his predecessors were those that were based on the idea that Spain was antithetical to Jews. The Catholic Monarchs had undertaken several actions that were aimed against Spain's Jewish population, the most severe being the issue of the Alhambra Decree, which ordered the expulsion of all Jews from their lands in 1492.[23] The Catholic Monarchs opened the decree by addressing "all the other cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms and domains, and to all the Jews and all Jewish persons in them," which immediately set the Jews apart from the rest of their subjects—they were not Spaniards, but rather other "persons" living amongst them.[24] This act enabled the Catholic Monarchs to seize upon anti-Jewish sentiments that had been brewing for decades in Spain and direct them outwards, thus taking something that could have been destructive to their reign and using it to solidify their legitimacy.[25] The expulsion, more than anything else, was meant to establish the foundations for a unitary state—hence forth, Spain was to be exclusively Christian.[26] As this thesis will show, this sort of rhetoric that defined Jews as antithetical to the Spanish state continued to be very relevant to the state identity that Charles V sought to cultivate

[22] Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1983), 207-209; Rebekka Voß, "Charles V as Last World Emperor," *Jewish History* 30 (2016): 104.
[23] John Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 1999), 79, 87; Heather, *State Identities*, 72.
[24] Ferdinand and Isabella, *Decree of Expulsion of the Jews* (March 31, 1492), *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History*, ed. John Cowans (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 20.
[25] Heather, *State Identities*, 57, 70; Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 80-1.
[26] Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 85.

during his reign. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the Emperor's officials framed the perpetrators of the Comuneros Revolt as Jews.[27]

However, religious delineations in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain were not entirely black and white. If the Spanish of this period wished for a clear boundary between Christians and non-Christians, the existence of the conversos—converts from Judaism who had existed in Spain since the late fourteenth century—challenged this idea. These converts seemingly fit the *religious* criteria of what it meant to be Spanish and thus sought entry into the Spanish imagined community.[28] However, Spanish society cast them as an 'Other' by claiming that they were secret Jews who were still inherently different; despite seemingly living as Christians, the Old Christians figured the conversos' religiosity as an artificial façade and rendered their baptisms invalid.[29] In this case, 'Otherness' came to transcend religious definitions. The Spanish Crown propagated the idea that conversos were spreaders of Jewish heresy through its creation and support of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478. Indeed, the Catholic Monarchs saw the Inquisition as a means of cleansing their realms from the crypto-Judaism that was supposedly rampant among the conversos, which posed a threat to the integrity of Catholic Spain.[30] The Spanish Inquisition would only grow in stature during the reign of Charles V, and, although the number of conversos against which the Spanish Inquisition took action declined

[27] Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 58.
[28] Heather, *State Identities*, 61.
[29] Christina Hyo Jun Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 103; Anna Fox, "*Limpieza* versus Mission: Church, Religious Orders, and Conversion in the Sixteenth Century," in *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Susan E. Meyers and Steven J. McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 303; David Nirenberg, "Enmity and Assimilation: Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain," *Common Knowledge* 9, no. 1 (2003): 138; Geoffrey Parker, "Some Recent Work on the Inquisition in Spain and Italy," *The Journal of Modern History* 54, no. 3 (September 1982): 522; Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 60-61.
[30] Ferdinand and Isabella, *Letter of Commission to Carry Out Inquiries into Bad Christians* (1480), in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History*, ed. John Cowans (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 10.

over the course of the Emperor's reign due to the very success of their campaign in earlier years, the idea that conversos were antithetical to Spain remained a powerful and pertinent idea.[31]

The Moriscos primarily emerged in Spain after the conquest of Granada (1482-1492). After the Moors of Granada were absorbed into the kingdom of Castile, they immediately occupied a similar position to the Spanish Jews and thus became a problem: they were perceived as non-Christian aliens who compromised the integrity of Spain's new Catholic identity. Thus, the Moors were subject to similarly antagonistic policies. Grand Inquisitor Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros launched a vigorous campaign of conversion during the latter years of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, while Isabella issued an expulsion edict in 1502 that provided them with the ultimatum of converting or leaving. In the end, most of the Moors converted and became Moriscos.[32] But the Moriscos—like the conversos—were perpetually maligned by Spanish Old Christians as unfaithful, and the sincerity of their conversion as a group was always put into doubt.[33] They were perceived as a hybrid figure—seemingly Christian but in reality Muslim—demonstrating the same religious discourse of differentiation that the conversos were subjected to.[34] Even the name given to them indicates their Moorish origins.[35] While the conflation of Morisco and Moor was certainly prevalent during the latter years of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, it was Charles V who really took action against such minorities.

The Emperor issued an edict on October 20, 1525, that extended the forced conversions that had occurred in Castile to Aragon and Catalonia; the edict offered the Mudejars (the term given to Muslims who lived under Christian rule), the same choice that Isabella offered those of

[31] Parker, "Some Recent Work on the Inquisition in Spain and Italy," 523.
[32] John Edwards, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (London: Routledge, 2014), 98- 100.
[33] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 140.
[34] Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 330.
[35] Ibid, 143.

Castile—convert or leave. This ultimatum came in spite of the fact that Charles V swore an oath to refrain from converting the Mudejars upon his ascension to the throne of Aragon in 1518 (similar to the one King Ferdinand had sworn in 1510); he had to receive a papal brief from pope Clement VII to relieve him of this oath.[36] In June of the next year, Charles V took actions aimed against the Moriscos: he ordered a *junta* to meet in Granada to investigate the progress of their assimilation. This *junta* produced a mandate that officially banned any expression of Muslim culture and subjected the Moriscos to the Inquisition. The Emperor ultimately agreed to suspend this mandate for forty years in exchange for substantial payments from the Morisco community (which he needed to help fund his Italian campaigns), although in 1528 the Inquisitor General Alonso Manrique de Lara altered the provisions of the 1526 agreement to enable the tribunal to target Moriscos who were suspected of practicing Islam. The Emperor did not object.[37]

However, during the reign of Charles V a unique—and perhaps even more threatening and subversive—religious 'Other' emerged. In the Spanish imagination, the alleged moment Martin Luther nailed his theses to the castle church door in Wittenberg in 1517 marked the moment an irrepressible new foe was born that would define the remainder of Charles V's reign. The Lutheran became a spectre that would emerge again and again in Spain's attempts at European dominion.[38] As the Spanish Crown styled itself as the champion of Catholicism, it assumed the stance that it would strike down the Protestant threat and at last unite Christendom.[39] This idea is reflected in Charles V's statement on Luther, declared in 1521 after

[36] J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 205; Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478-1834* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 244-246; Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 138.
[37] Heather, *State Identities,* 77; Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society,* 247, 261; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 289; Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 139.
[38] Marshall, "The Other Black Legend," 47.
[39] Kamen, A Society in Conflict, 67; Kagan, *Clio and the Crown*, 82.

the Diet of Worms, in which the Emperor announced that the kings of Spain had "always been defenders of the Catholic faith" before stating that he was "determined to maintain everything my ancestors and I have maintained so far;" he then declared that he would take immediate action against the "notorious heretic" Martin Luther and stamp out the wrongs that he had done.[40] The Emperor made good on these words: in 1531 he began preparations for war against the Lutheran Schmalkaldic League of Germany; war began in 1546.[41] Charles V's war against Lutheranism in Germany was in many ways driven by his duty as Holy Roman Emperor; however, the Emperor and his ministers also understood Luther as a direct threat to Spain, as demonstrated by persistent fears of a heretical infection of Spain. Thus, war was not the Emperor's only response to Lutheranism: this thesis will focus on the Spanish Inquisition as an ideological and symbolic weapon against Protestantism. While most historians of the Spanish Inquisition's role in the Counter-Reformation have analysed the events of 1558—when Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés launched a ruthless campaign against Lutheran heresy after communities of mystics called *alumbrados* were discovered in Valladolid and mistaken for Lutherans—this thesis will focus on events that occurred earlier in Charles V's reign.[42]

Historiography

The histories of the reign of Charles V have typically been oriented around the Emperor's political machinations and his military campaigns. Furthermore, the historiography on the Emperor has typically been biographical in nature and based around the question of whether he

[40] Charles V, Statement on Luther (1521), in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History*, ed. John Cowans (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) 49-50; Parker, *Emperor*, 123-124, 519.
[41] Parker, *Emperor*, 311-319.
[42] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 119; Jaime Contreras, "Aldermen and Judaizers: Cryptojudaism, Counter-Reformation, and Local Power," trans. Susan Isabel Stein, in *Culture and Control in Counter-reformation Spain*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 100; John Edwards, "The Spanish Inquisition Refashioned: The Experience of Mary I's England and the Valladolid Tribunal, 1559," *Hispanic Research Journal* 13, no. 1 (February 2012): 41-4.

was a commendable or condemnable person. These histories have concerned themselves with reconstructing the Emperor's personality through his documents.[43] The seminal work that set the stage for this sort of historiography was Karl Brandi's *The Emperor Charles V: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World-Empire* (1939). Wim Blockmans and James Tracy are examples of recent historians who have followed this trend with their *The Emperor Charles V: 1500–1558* and *Emperor Charles V, Impressario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* respectively.[44] A comprehensive biography in this vein was published recently by Geoffrey Parker—*Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (2019). In this work, Parker set out to discern how Charles V made his decisions, what his personality was like, and what degree of personal agency he had in his empire's political shortcomings.[45] Parker primarily utilised the Emperor's diplomatic correspondence and private letters to construct his analysis.

However, these studies have largely neglected Charles V's religious policies (indeed, historians of early modern Spain tend to focus on Ferdinand and Isabella when analysing the Spanish Crown's treatment of Jews and conversos). Moreover, the histories of Charles V that have looked at his religious policies have typically been oriented around the Emperor's campaigns against Protestant Germany and his crusade against the rise of Lutheranism and have generally ignored his simultaneous upholdance of his predecessor's policies regarding the Moors and Jews. Parker's history, for example, ignored Charles V's policies towards Spain's Jews and conversos entirely and only briefly mentioned the Moriscos. Indeed, a comprehensive history of

[43] Parker, *Emperor*, ix-xi.
[44] See Wim Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V, 1500–1558*, tans. Isola van den Hoven-Vardon (London: Arnold, 2002) and James D. Tracy, Emperor Charles V, Impressario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[45] Parker, *Emperor*, xi.

the Emperor's stance regarding the Spanish Inquisition and conversos or his utilisation of religious symbols in the expression of state power is lacking.

Much historiographical work has been done on the subject of the Spanish Inquisition. The first truly comprehensive study of the tribunal was American historian Henry Charles Lea's *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (1906). In this ground-breaking work, Lea shed light on the finances and bureaucracy of the Inquisition for the first time; however, Lea's ultimate goal was to utilise his analysis of the Inquisition to demonstrate how the tribunal was the cause of the economic, political, and social backwardness of the Spain of his time.[46] It was Lea who established the classical historiographical approach towards Spain's treatment of its non-Christian minorities: he depicted a cynical and materialistic Spanish monarchy that utilised the Inquisition to seize the wealth of Spain's Jews. This trend persisted throughout the first half of the twentieth century and gained much traction in the 1960s: historian Immanuel Wallerstein, for example, held that economic interests were key in the Spanish monarchy's Jewish policies. Wallerstein, an economic historian himself, believed that the "world economic system" determined the development of early modern sovereign states; thus, the Spanish Crown's decisions to expel the Jews and establish the Inquisition were a "rationalisation of economic interests."[47] Similarly, a strong Marxist movement emerged in the 1960s, particularly in Portugal.[48] António José Saraiva approached the subject of the Inquisition from such a perspective in his studies of the Portuguese Inquisition; in his 1969 work *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians, 1536–1765*, he argued that the Portuguese Holy Office was driven by financial concerns in its operation, as it invented cases of Jewish

[46] Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1474-1834*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 13.
[47] Heather, *State Identities*, 61.
[48] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 25.

heresy in order to seize the financial assets of the wealthy converso bourgeoise.[49] More recently, historian Norman Roth has taken up this approach and posited that one of the main purposes of the Inquisition was the confiscation of Jewish property.[50]

However, a major change in the historiography of the Inquisition occurred with Julio Caro Baroja and Antonio Dominguez Ortiz's studies in the 1950s and 1960s; they looked not at the tribunal itself but at the minorities they targeted through analysing trial records. These studies demonstrated that Inquisition records could be utilised in new and interesting ways to shed light on various cultural and social topics.[51] Baroja and Ortiz were precursors to a revolution in Inquisition historiography that occurred in the 1970s with the emergence of a new 'Social History'; this trend was initiated by historians Jaime Contreras and Gustav Henningsen, who published a monumental work— "El 'Banco de Datos' del Santo Oficio: Las relaciones de causas de la Inquisicion espahola, 1550-1700"—in 1977 that looked at the inquisition from a strictly objective, analytical perspective. In their work, they analysed tens of thousands of trial cases, using the *relaciones de causas* that were preserved in the Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid, in order to create a "data bank" of the Holy Office, thereby quantifying the tribunal according to punishment, crime, region, etc. Moreover, by comparing district tribunals, Contreras and Henningsen were able to reveal regional variance.[52] This study was one of the first to break away from traditional narratives regarding the tribunal; for example, it proved that the

[49] See António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: the Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians, 1536-1765*, trans. H. P. Salomon, and I. S. D. Sassoon (Leiden: Brill, 2001).
[50] Norman Roth, "The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492," *The Historian* 55, no. 1 (1992): 25-6.
[51] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 17-18.
[52] E. William Monter, "The New Social History and the Spanish Inquisition," *Journal of Social History* 17, no. 4 (1984): 705.

tribunal was not particularly bloodthirsty.[53] This study opened the door to more social and cultural histories that looked at specific facets of the Inquisition.[54]

Henry Kamen's *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1985) was an example of an eminent social history; in this work, Kamen looked at the Inquisition as an extension of Spanish cultural values and ideologies.[55] John Edwards' *The Spanish Inquisition* (1999) looked at the tribunal in its historical context by providing a lengthy analysis of the development of the ideological conditions that allowed the Inquisition to emerge; additionally, his history covered a broad scope, tracing the development of the tribunal from its inception under Ferdinand and Isabella to its abolition.[56] More recently, Francisco Bethencourt has taken an even more all-encompassing approach; in his *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1474-1834* (2009), he eschewed national, regional, or local frameworks and provided a history of each of the Inquisitorial courts of Spain, Rome, and Portugal from their creation to their abolition, comparing and contrasting the tribunals through time and space.[57] Bethencourt looked at the Holy Office as a judicial tribunal and examined its methodology. His study was based on asking the following questions: how did the tribunal survive for so long, how did it entrench itself in society, and what role did it play in "structuring value systems and social configurations"?[58] However, none of these scholars have provided an in-depth look at how the court of Charles V interacted with the Inquisition. Above all, none of these histories have looked at how the figure of the Inquisition appeared in Spanish diplomacy and how Spanish ambassadors sough to utilise the Inquisition as a symbol of their identity.

[53] Monter, "New Social History," 705.
[54] Ibid, 706.
[55] See Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*.
[56] Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 13.
[57] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 1-2.
[58] Ibid, 28.

These social historiographies have typically rejected the economic explanation of Spain's policies towards its religious minorities; Henry Kamen, for example, stated in his *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (1998) that "anti-converso greed" is difficult to accept as a viable motive for the Spanish monarchs.[59] Such historians have proposed several counter narratives. Certain cultural historians during this period have looked at the emergence of racism in early modern Spain. The historiographical school of thought that has looked at early modern Spain as fundamentally racist can trace its roots to Cecil Roth's "Marranos and Racial anti-Semitism: A Study in Parallels" (1940).[60] A very extreme propagator of this theory was Benjamin Netanyahu. In his influential book *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (1995), Netanyahu speculated that European racism arose in the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs. He drew parallels between the conditions that emerged in that kingdom and those that led to the Holocaust in early twentieth-century Germany: in both cases, the doctrine of race replaced that of religion as a justification for discrimination.[61] Netanyahu was firmly convinced that early modern Spain was "sick with an all-pervading hatred for the Jews," and that Spaniards during this period held a "deep-seated hatred—fierce, implacable, and infernal hatred—for everything related to anything Jewish."[62]

Several historians during recent decades have followed upon such studies: Jerome Friedman, for example, posited in a 1987 study that the anti-Judaism of the Middle Ages transitioned into racial antisemitism in early modern Spain, which laid the foundation for modern

[59] Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1997), 61.
[60] David Nirenberg, "Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain," in *Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin H. Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 239.
[61] Heather, *State Identities*, 64; Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 88-9.
[62] Nirenberg, "Enmity and Assimilation," 138-9.

racism towards Jews.[63] Norman Roth also shared the belief in a fundamentally racist Spain: he articulated in his 1992 study "The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492" that the Spanish Inquisition's primary purpose was to destroy as many of the conversos as possible and eradicate them from Spain.[64] David Nirenberg has recently proposed a more nuanced look at the idea of 'race' in early modern Spain: he initiated a reorientation of the historiographical interpretation of conversos by analysing them as an ethnic minority instead of a religious one.[65] In his analysis "Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain" (2009), he disputed both Américo Castro and Michel Foucault's attempts at distancing racism from medieval Spain.[66] He looked at the emergence of notions of *raza*, *casta*, and *linaje* in early modern Spain and posited that legal and religious categories transformed into a "genealogical notion" that conversos were fundamentally of a different 'race' than 'Christians by Nature.'[67]

Other historians have explored alternatives theories to explain Spain's discrimination towards its religious minorities. Henry Kamen stated in his *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* that matters of 'race' in Spain were subservient to questions of power and ideologies.[68] John Edwards has also argued that religion and social status were more important markers of identity than race in early modern Spain in his study "The Beginnings of a Scientific Theory of Race? Spain, 1450-1600."[69] Historiographical works such

[63] Jerome Friedman, "Jewish Conversion, the Spanish Pure Blood Laws and Reformation: A Revisionist View of Racial and Religious Antisemitism," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18, no. 1 (1987): 3.
[64] Roth, "The Jews of Spain," 26.
[65] Susannah Ferreira, "Manueline Marriages: Marriage, Wardship, and the Assimilation of Cristãos Novos in Portugal, 1497–1507," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 51, no. 2 (2020): 324.
[66] Nirenberg, "Was there Race before Modernity?," 236-8, 243-8.
[67] Ibid, 242.
[68] See Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*. See also Henry Kamen, "Limpieza and the Ghost of Américo Castro: Racism as a Tool of Literary Analysis," *Hispanic Review* 64, no. 1 (1996): 20.
[69] See John Edwards, "The Beginnings of a Scientific Theory of Race? Spain, 1450-1600," in *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic History and Culture*, ed. Yedida Kalfon Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (Leiden: Brill, 1999). See also Garcia-Arenal, "Creating Conversos," 14.

as those of Kamen and Edwards reoriented Spanish state-identity around religion and political identity as opposed to race.

Certain scholars have put forward the idea that Spain's policies against the Jews, Moriscos, and conversos were driven by the desire to consolidate a 'state identity,' thereby linking discrimination with the emergence of the early modern Spanish nation state. Rae Heather articulated in her book *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples* (2002) that the process of state-building in early modern Spain incorporated what she called "pathological homogenisation"—a strategy that elites utilised to construct an exclusive imagined community through the exclusion or the elimination of "outsiders." She noted that such "outsiders" had to be targeted by state-builders in order to foster a sense of unity and "shared collective identity" in the remainder of the population.[70] Anthony Marx made a similar argument in his book *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (2003); he posited that Spanish elites facilitated "organized exclusion" against religious minorities in order to symbolically underpin their newly-emergent nation state.[71] Additionally, Francisco Bethencourt argued in his *Racisms from the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* (2013) that the Spanish Crown's discrimination against non-Christians was the result of the "emergence of a political ideology that favoured a centralized government within a religiously homogenous population."[72] The idea of the 'imagined community' is central to Heather and Marx's theories of Spanish identity and the ways in which the Spanish monarchs during this period sought to "homogenise" their kingdom: these scholars have repurposed Benedict Anderson's term for socially constructed communities to describe unified "sovereign [identities]" established by early modern states."[73]

[70] Heather, *State Identities*, 3.
[71] Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 21-24.
[72] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 143-144.
[73] Heather, *State Identities*, 3, 5.

An extensive historiography exists on the conversos of Spain themselves. Much of the early work on the conversos' religious identity has been black and white in nature.[74] Cecil Roth's *A History of the Marranos*, for example, maintains that the conversos were all crypto-Jews who professed Christianity to escape persecution. Many Jewish scholars have since posited the opposite theory—that the conversos were genuine converts who were denied entry into Spanish society by artificial barriers constructed by the Old Christians; Yitzhak Baer, Yosef Yerushalmi, and Yosef Kaplan are examples of such scholars.[75] In contrast, Miriam Bodian offered a more nuanced look in her article "'Men of the Nation': The Shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe" (1994): she argued that converso identity was a "changing cultural construction" that was constantly evolving.[76] More recently, Jonathan Ray has taken a similar approach in looking at the formation of Sephardic identity among the Spanish Jews and conversos in exile. In his *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (2013), Ray deconstructed the historical narrative that the Sephardim were a united group dedicated to the preservation of their Jewish faith and argued that the Sephardic community initially did not envision itself as constituting a "discrete nation"; rather, a sort of group identity developed as a product of various encounters made in exile—encounters between the diverse factions of Iberian exiles and the cultures they came into contact with.[77] Sara T. Nalle has argued that the Spanish conversos were not a monolithic group, and that converso identities were malleable, as they

[74] Miriam Bodian, "'Men of the Nation': The Shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe," *Past & Present* no. 143 (May 1994): 50.
[75] Nirenberg, "Was there Race before Modernity?," 262.
[76] Bodian, "'Men of the Nation'," 50-51.
[77] Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sepharadic Jewry* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 10, 14-16, 57, 145, 158.

could move in and out of Spanish Old Christian society, thus suggesting that the border between Old and New Christian was not as impermeable as scholars have traditionally claimed.[78]

Historiography on the Moriscos has focused on the question of whether they were genuine converts or secret Muslims (or something in between). Brian Catlos's *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, C.1050–1614* and L. P. Harvey's *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614* are two such examples.[79] Catlos looked at the legal status of Islamic converts under early modern European rule and analysed regional variance and conflict between them; meanwhile, Harvey proposed that the Moriscos typically still adhered to Islam and further explored the many connections between the Moriscos and the Islamic world of the Maghreb.[80] There seems to be a general lack of historiographical work that approaches Spanish perceptions of the Moriscos through the lens of cultural history; only one chapter in Catlos' work focuses on how Christians perceived the Moriscos, for example.[81] Barbara Fuchs is an example of one historian who has looked at such matters: in her *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and Construction of Early Modern Spain*, she looked at how Spaniards created a fictive identity in opposition to Moors and examined the complex relationship Spaniards had with their connections to 'Moordom.'[82]

While the subjects outlined thus far have been studied extensively by historians of early modern Spain, few have tied the notion of state identity into the study of Spanish diplomacy. Indeed, historians of early modern Spain have looked at expressions of state ideologies in art and official histories, but there has not been much work done on how such ideas were expressed by

[78] See Sara T. Nalle, "A Minority within a Minority: The New and Old Jewish Converts of Sigüenza, 1492–1570," in T*he Early Modern Hispanic World: Transnational and Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Kimberly Lynn and Erin Kathleen Rowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[79] Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 283.
[80] See Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
[81] Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 326-349.
[82] See Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

Spanish ambassadors and how they circulated on the stage of European diplomacy. Indeed, as historian Diana Carrió-Invernizzi has noted in her study "A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era" (2014), the subject of early modern diplomacy has been critically understudied in cultural and ideological history.[83] Recent developments in this field have started to explore new avenues and nuances regarding the figure of the Spanish ambassador, however: for example, in 2009, historian I. A. A. Thompson explored the importance of reputation in diplomacy, as well as the creation of stereotypes regarding ambassadors.[84] Historian Michael J. Levine has also approached the subject of Spanish ambassadors through a cultural lens; in his book *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (2005), he explored Spanish expressions of power in Italy. His study showed that the Spanish ambassadors of Philip II "discovered the limits of their power" in Italy; they frequently projected an image of a glorious, all-powerful Spain, and yet were rebuked by Italians who threw this narrative and "Spanish claims of pre-eminence" back in their faces.[85] Thus, Levine articulated the notion that Spanish ambassadors were fundamentally filled with anxiety regarding their situation in Italy and approached the Italians with a sense of wariness and exasperation. This sort of cultural approach is precisely what this thesis aims to undertake.

Sources: The Spanish State Papers

In her article "Mere Emulators of Italy: The Spanish in Italian Diplomatic Discourse, 1492–1550," historian Catherine Fletcher spoke of the potential of using the *relazioni* of Venetian diplomats in order to analyse discourses on nation and state identity during this period.[86] This thesis seeks to do the same with the Calendar of Spanish State Papers, a body of

[83] Carrió-Invernizzi, "New Diplomatic History," 605.
[84] Ibid, 609-10.
[85] Levine, *Agents of Empire*, 206-8.
[86] Fletcher, "Mere Emulators of Italy," 13.

diplomatic correspondence between Spanish ambassadors and their monarchs that covers the period between 1485 and 1558. This collection was compiled by historians Gustav A. Bergenroth, Pascual de Gayangos, Martin A. S. Hume, and Royall Tyler in their attempt to study Spanish correspondence with Europe. This collection is made up of the letters of various diplomats that were housed in the archives of Simancas, the archives of the National Library and the Royal Academy of History in Madrid (in addition to the personal collections of de Gayangos), the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, and the Imperial Archives in Paris (as well as other archives in Brussels and Lille). Traditionally, these papers have been utilised by English historians to study how England interacted with Spain during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII; they have typically been ignored by historians of Iberian history.

This thesis will be looking at the correspondence of the reign of Charles V, notably the letters of Martin de Salinas, who served as the Emperor's ambassador to Ferdinand V of Hungary (1526-1564) from 1522 to 1539; Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, who served as an imperial ambassador in Portugal; Don Fernando de Silva, fourth count de Cifuentes and Charles V's ambassador in Rome beginning in 1533; Jehan Scheyfve, imperial ambassador to the English court from 1550 to 1553; and Charles V himself. Details within these pieces of correspondence illustrate the ways in which the ambassadors of Charles V expressed Spanish self-identity to the outside world and reflected upon such notions; moreover, these letters reveal the ways in which ambassadors encountered and dealt with counter-narratives, thereby providing an interesting and revealing look at the frailties and anxieties of the sixteenth-century Spanish mind.[87]

[87] It is important to note that several times this study will analyse the writings of ambassadors who were in the service of Spain were not Spanish themselves, such as the Savoyard Eustace Chapuys. These individuals worked as mouthpieces for the Spanish monarchs just as Spanish ambassadors did, and thus they can be said to be propagators of the same sort of official rhetoric.

This thesis will look at each of the three religious groups that Spain set itself against in its quest for identity during the reign of Charles V. The first chapter will analyse the conversos and Jews of Spain. It will examine how officials during the reign of Charles V utilised symbols established by the Catholic Monarchs—namely the expulsion of the Jews and the Inquisition—in order to define their Spain as still fundamentally antithetical to Jewishness, and how the king sought to project these notions to the outside world via his ambassadors, who not only emphasised Spain's commitment to its role of defending the faith but also disparaged conversos wherever they went. Moreover, Spanish ambassadors would frequently complain of other nations' leniency towards Jews and conversos in their diplomacy in order to portray Spain as unique in its commitment to this divinely mandated role. More importantly, however, this chapter will explore the ways in which this rhetoric was undone on the international stage through foreigners' propagation of anti-narratives that portrayed Spain as a land that was dominated by Jews. This chapter will conclude by analysing how Spanish ambassadors responded to such narratives.

The second chapter of this thesis will address the Moriscos and examine the ways in which Spanish officials during the reign of Charles V cast themselves in opposition to them, namely through the narrative that the Moriscos were traitors to the state. Once again, this chapter will also provide a deconstruction of this Spanish narrative and look at foreign narratives that portrayed Spain as essentially Moorish. In reality, Spain had a good deal of anxiety regarding Moorish influence on its culture, and these anti-narratives thus prompted interesting reactions from Spanish officials that reveal the inherent weakness in Spanish state ideology.

The final chapter of this thesis will look at the figure of the *luterano*. This chapter will discuss how the ambassadors and officials of Charles V portrayed Spain as a kingdom dedicated

to defending both itself and Europe from the Protestant menace and defined itself in opposition to a different sort of religious 'Other'—the *luterano*—through support and defence of the Inquisition, which during the reign of Charles V primarily became a symbol of Spain's dedication to combatting Protestant heresy. However, this chapter will more importantly look at the foreign narratives that arose in concordance with the Spanish ones that deconstructed the idea that the Inquisition was a holy and necessary instrument: these were the seeds of the 'Black Legend,' which even in the years of Charles V were being sown throughout Protestant (and even Catholic) Europe. Finally, this chapter will address how the Spanish responded to these anti-narratives and faced the dread caused by their tribunal abroad; it will look at the various ways in which they defended it or downplayed it according to the situation.

As a whole, these findings reveal that the image of the Spanish state was not as secure as Spanish officials and elites would have liked it to be. Confronting foreign diplomats was like looking into a distorted mirror for Spanish ambassadors during the sixteenth century, and sometimes they did not like what they saw. This is why an analysis of the diplomatic correspondence of the Spanish state papers has the potential to provide such fascinating revelations regarding the fragile construct of Spanish self-identity during this period.

Chapter I: Jews and Conversos during the Reign of Charles V

One of the primary pillars that Charles V's Spain built its identity upon was a sense of antithesis to Jews. Much of the rhetoric of his day drew upon the anti-Judaic symbolism that the Catholic Monarchs had propagated during their reign; for example, Spanish officials during the reign of Charles V frequently harkened back to the expulsion of 1492. The ideology that the expulsion stood for as a symbol of a unified 'Catholic' Spanish identity was very relevant during the reign of Charles V. In 1521, for example, Queen Juana wrote to Charles V on the importance of Spain's heritage of crusade against non-Christians and specifically cited the expulsion of 1492:

> …very great is your obligation as king and lord of these kingdoms, and successor and grandson of those glorious and catholic King and Queen, Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabel, your ancestors, who, as your Majesty knows, from the beginning of their most happy reign, with great diligence applied themselves to the chastisement of heretics, and the rooting out of all kinds of heresy from their kingdoms, instituting to this end the office of the Holy Inquisition. And in order that the mode of life of the Moors and Jews who were in Castile should not pervert the minds of the true Christians, and that they should not receive injury from their damnable conversation, their Highnesses commanded that all the Moors and Jews should be driven away, and drove them out of Castile, consenting to lose a large portion of their royal revenues in order to increase our holy faith, and to put away all that might be a hindrance to the service of God.[88]

This comment reinforced the powerful idea that the expulsion stood for regarding Spain's identity as a crusading nation. Queen Juana portrayed Queen Isabella as a monarch who weighed economic considerations and matters of faith and specifically chose the latter, which reinforced the narrative that the Spanish monarchy prized the purity of its kingdom's faith and the eradication of non-Christians regardless of economic consequence.[89]

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[88] "Queen Juana: April 1521," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain: Supplement To Volumes 1 and 2*, ed. G.A. Bergenroth (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1868), *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/supp/vols1-2/pp376-390, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[89] Heather, *State Identities*, 62.

Additionally, Charles V reinforced the narrative of a Spain defined against crypto-Jewish heresy through his unceasing support of the Spanish Inquisition. In Queen Juana's 1521 letter to Charles V, she urged the Emperor to maintain the support for the Inquisition that the Catholic Monarchs had shown.[90] Her concerns were not in vain: Charles V always staunchly supported the tribunal.[91] In 1518, when the Aragonese disputed the tribunal's arrest of Juan Prat, the notary of the Aragonese Cortes, Charles V let the Cortes know that "you can be sure that we would rather agree to lose part of our realms and states than permit anything to be done therein against the honour of God and against the authority of the Holy Office," thereby aligning the monarchy and its support of the Inquisition with Spain's unique calling to defend the faith.[92] Additionally, in July 1519, Pope Leo X issued briefs to the Tribunal of Saragossa that reduced its powers and revoked its special privileges; in response, Charles V banned the brief's publication in Spain and issued a stern complaint to Rome, eventually forcing the pope to revoke the briefs.[93] In the will that the Emperor sent to Philip II upon his son's arrival in England in 1554, he even implored his son above all to "favour the Holy Office of the Inquisition."[94] Under Charles V, the tribunal became an untouchable testament to Spain's identity as a nation defined by its crusading vigour.

The Projection of the Narrative of Spain's Crusade against Judaism Abroad

The expulsion of 1492 and the campaigns against the alleged infidelity of the conversos were not just statements of Catholic unity directed at the people of Castile and Aragon: they were also meant to be directed outwards towards Europe.[95] Thus, Spanish ambassadors were sure to

[90] "Queen Juana: April 1521."
[91] Alastair Duke, "A Legend in the Making: News of the 'Spanish Inquisition' in the Low Countries in German Evangelical Pamphlets, 1546-1550," *Dutch Review of Church History* 77, no. 2 (1997): 131.
[92] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 59.
[93] Ibid, 56.
[94] Parker, *Emperor*, 454; Marx, *Faith in Nation*, 119.
[95] Mayte Green-Mercado, "Ethnic Groups in Renaissance Spain," in *A Companion to the Spanish Renaissance*, ed. Hilaire Kallendorf (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 128.

emphasise the expulsion and the Inquisition as symbols of Spain's commitment to its mission of crusade in its diplomatic discourse with other nations. This sort of rhetoric had been prevalent since the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, as demonstrated by the diplomacy of Pietro Martire, an Italian historian in the service of Spain who served as the Catholic Monarchs' ambassador to the Sultan of Egypt in 1501. In his account of his embassy—the *Legatio Babylonica*—he described how he made a speech to the sultan justifying the actions of the Catholic Monarchs in expelling the Jews and driving out conversos. When discussing such people, he used incredibly pejorative terms, particularly for the conversos, whom he likened to a "dangerous infection." He told the sultan "Why should you care about Jews, or lawless *neofiti* who are worse? What are they to you? ... If only you knew what disease, what contagious plague are those [people] you were talking about! They infect everything they touch, they corrupt on sight, they destroy by words, they disturb the divine and the human alike…"[96] Martire portrayed the conversos as a dishonest, corrupting presence within Spain, clearly figuring them as a people set apart from true Spaniards, in order to justify the Catholic Monarchs' actions in driving them away (thereby securing the place of the Spanish ambassadors within Egypt and preventing any sort of Egyptian retaliation against Christians in the Holy Land).[97]

Spain's ambassadors continued to propagate this rhetoric during the reign of Charles V. For example, the Burgundian diplomat Simon Renard wrote to Charles V on February 5, 1550, regarding a meeting he had with Anne de Montmorency, the Constable of France. Renard described how he had discussed the diplomatic situation of Europe with the Constable. On the subject of the Emperor, Renard told the Constable that Charles V, in all of his actions and

[96] Nadia Zeldes, "Spanish Attitudes Toward Converso Emigration to the Levant in the Reign of the Catholic Monarchs," *Journal for Balkan, Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian, Middle Eastern, Iranian and Central Asian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2003): 267.
[97] Ibid, 269.

policies, "had the welfare of Christendom at heart," and in order to support this claim and justify the actions of the Spanish monarch, Renard explained how the Emperor "had exposed [his] person and [his] possessions for the spreading of the faith, the expulsion of moors, infidels and barbarians."[98] In this instance, one of Spain's ambassadors utilised the almost mythical status of the expulsion to support Spanish diplomatic interests. The evidence found in pieces of correspondence such as Renard's letter demonstrates that the expulsion of the Jews and the targeting of crypto-Judaism were not covert policies that the Spanish sought to enact and privately reap the benefits from; rather, they were calculated ideological statements that Spain utilised to bolster its sense of identity not just within its own borders but also abroad. This fact suggests that the Spanish Crown was not motivated by the materialistic desire to rob the conversos and was instead concerned about sending a message to its kingdom and to the world at large about Spain's Catholic unity.

The Spanish tendency to negatively depict Jewish converts in their diplomacy is demonstrated by the ambassador Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza. On March 29, 1537, Sarmiento reported to Charles V from Portugal on the arrival of an Abyssinian ambassador to the court of the Kingdom of Portugal. He shared his suspicions that the man was actually a Jew:

> Must say that when he first saw the man, and ever since, the idea struck him that he might be a Jew. Enquiries made about his family and antecedents give rise to suspicion. The more he investigates the man's previous life, the more he believes there is something wrong about him. Has been told by many that the man is a converted Jew (confeso), and that he was held as such at the place where he formerly resided.[99]

[98] "Spain: February 1550," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 10, 1550-1552*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp21-32, accessed 16 March 2021.

[99] "Spain: March 1537," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 5 Part 2, 1536-1538*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no2/pp328-348, accessed 16 March, 2021.

It is interesting that Sarmiento acknowledged the Abyssinian ambassador's conversion and yet persisted in his suspicion, demonstrating how Spanish ambassadors facilitated the notion that baptism was invalid with regard to Jews. Sarmiento went on to describe how he held the convert suspect due to his ethnic practices; what is more, he notified the Emperor that he directly expressed these misgivings to the Portuguese king:

> Said so to the King, and that his impression was that the man's business is more with the Jews and newly converted Moors of this kingdom than any on behalf of Priest John; for he carefully goes through the same practices and ceremonies as that priest, and those who, like him in Abyssinia, profess Christianity, though he attends several others more consonant with Judaism, such as keeping Saturdays as well as Sundays, fasting on certain days, circumcision, &c. True is it that, with regard to the latter practice, the man himself, being questioned by the King, denied being circumcised at all; but as he never has offered to prove his assertion, as he ought to have done, his suspicions are considerably increased.[100]

This discourse demonstrates how the Spanish portrayed Jewish converts as being incapable of entering the Christian community and expressed these ideas abroad. It is also interesting to note that Sarmiento figured the ambassador as being in league with the Jews and Moriscos of Spain, demonstrating the linking of Iberia's religious minorities with external forces.[101] Finally, that Sarmiento felt this incident was worth reporting on demonstrates the importance the Spanish placed on the issue of Jewish converts and how the mere presence of such peoples in Spanish realms (or realms within their sphere of influence) was deemed to be subversive.

Spanish Critiques of Other States' Policies towards Jews and Conversos

Having established how the Spaniards of Charles V's reign defined their identity in opposition to Jews and conversos and expressed such self-fashioning on the stage of European diplomacy, this thesis will now analyse a political narrative that the Spanish utilised to reinforce their exceptionality amongst the European nations regarding their commitment to combatting

[100] "Spain: March 1537."
[101] This is a topic that this thesis will address in the following chapter.

non-Christians. In their correspondence to one another and to foreign delegates, Spanish ambassadors frequently expressed exasperation and frustration with the other European powers regarding the treatment of Jews and conversos. Indeed, a sense of grievance with their allies' lack of support in these matters permeates Spanish diplomatic correspondence.[102] This rhetoric enabled them to position themselves above the other nations of Europe and thus situate Spain as a nation more devoted to upholding Christendom, thereby making Spaniards better Christians.

This trend can be seen first and foremost in the case of Spanish-Italian relations. Over the course of the reign of Charles V, Spaniards often accused the Italians of being too lenient in their policies towards Jews and conversos, who, as the Spanish saw it, lived among them in relative harmony.[103] Such accusations were not entirely the product of Spanish imaginations; indeed, evidence suggests that a different attitude towards Jews and notions of lineage existed in Italy during this period. While sixteenth-century Italian society was not totally free from anti-Jewish tendencies, many Italians did not share the extreme religious bigotry of the Spaniards, which is why Italian authorities—including the papacy itself—tended to be more tolerant of Jews and conversos.[104] The parliament of Palermo's 1513 petition to abolish the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily demonstrates this leniency: one of the Palermitani's primary complaints in this petition was the Inquisition's treatment of the city's converso population.[105] They believed that the Spanish tribunal "proceeded with more rigor than was stipulated by canonical laws and the style of other magistracies of this kingdom," and claimed that the *neofiti*—the Sicilian term for Jewish converts—were being unfairly persecuted as they were "good Christians until the end of their

[102] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish," 241.
[103] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 194.
[104] Kamen, *An Historical Revision*, 309.
[105] Nadia Zeldes, "Incident in Messina: Letters of Ferdinand the Catholic concerning Portuguese conversos caught on their way to Constantinople," *Sefarad* 62, no. 2 (2002): 410.

lives." They went further, claiming that "in this kingdom [the Inquisition] had never been customary to act in this way, even against *neofiti*, miserable persons and foreigners."[106] Through these statements, the Palermitani articulated the notion that the Spanish Inquisition represented a violation of traditional Sicilian policies regarding the treatment of *neofiti*, demonstrating how the radical religious policies of the Spanish Crown were both unwelcome and unwarranted in parts of Italy.[107] The papacy itself was perhaps the most staunch protector of the Jews in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (before the Council of Trent): it frequently opposed the purity of blood laws, condemned forced baptisms, and permitted a significant amount of Spanish Jewish refugees to settle in the Papal States, notably in Ancona in 1547.[108]

Spanish officials framed such actions regarding Jews and conversos as too lenient. Spanish complaints regarding Italian laxity over religious policies were particularly evident in Spain's dealings with the papacy. Conflicts between Spain and the papacy over the Inquisition's rights and jurisdictions, as well as the treatment of Jews and conversos, characterised Spanish-papal relations during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries**.** These clashes can be traced back to the reign of the Catholic Monarchs: on May 3, 1482, Ferdinand accused Pope Sixtus IV of not only being deficient in his service to the cause of Christendom but also of being under the influence of Jews in response to the papal bull Sixtus had proclaimed against the Inquisition.[109] However, such clashes seemed to have grown all the fiercer during the reign of Charles V.

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[106] E. William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: the Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17; Nadia Zeldes, *"The Former Jews of this Kingdom": Sicilian Converts after the Expulsion, 1492-1516* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 157.
[107] Zeldes, "Sicilian Converts," 157.
[108] Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism* (Oxford and Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003), 13; see also Fox, "*Limpieza* versus Mission."
[109] Kamen, *An Historical Revision*, 49-50.

Perhaps the best example of such a clash was the conflict over the Portuguese Inquisition in the 1540s. From 1521 to 1536, the papacy opposed King João III (1521-1557) of Portugal in his attempts to implement a 'Spanish-style' Inquisition in Portugal, and even after the Portuguese king established the tribunal after much difficulty the pope continued to challenge him in his attempts to solidify the position of the tribunal in his realms until 1548. The Spanish sought to aid the Portuguese in these endeavours and were repeatedly frustrated by papal opposition.[110] A particularly exasperating event for the Spanish occurred in 1544. In November of that year, ambassador Lope Hurtado de Mendoza reported how the papacy had dispatched nuncio "Juan de Montepulchano" (Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano) to Portugal: apparently, the pope had sent him against the King of Portugal's consent in order to reign in the severity of the Inquisition in Portugal.[111] The nuncio already in Portugal had received a dispatch directly from the pope that instructed him to notify "the Infante Dom Henrique," who was at that point the Grand Inquisitor of Portugal, of a new papal brief that declared that "all sentences pronounced against newly converted Moors (los confessos) should be delayed, and all legal proceedings against them and the Jews be suspended" until Montepulchano arrived. Montepulchano was to aid the conversos against the Holy Office and "be the judge of the cause and reasons for those sentences or proceedings." Mendoza construed the actions of the papacy in this affair as being in direct opposition to Portugal's Inquisition, and, therefore, the Christian mission that Spain stood for. Just as Ferdinand did in 1482, Mendoza framed the papacy as being too sympathetic to the conversos in this affair: he explained that the brief alluded to was "issued by the Pope at the solicitation and request of the newly converted Moors and Jews," who had complained to the

[110] Saraiva, *Marrano Factory*, 31; James W. Nelson Novoa, *Being in the Nação in the Eternal City: New Christian Lives in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Canada: Baywolf Press, 2014), 117.
[111] Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume III* (New York and London: The MacMillan Company, 1907), 705-6.

pope about the "ill-treatment" they had received from the Portuguese inquisitors. Additionally, just like Ferdinand, Mendoza figured the pope as being "[tricked]" by the New Christians.[112]

This correspondence demonstrates how perceived papal interference in the matter of the Inquisition not only complicated the diplomatic situation between Spain, Portugal, and the papacy but also roused Spanish frustration and ire over a perceived lack of support for their mission against non-Christians. By expressing their indignation over papal actions, Mendoza set Spain apart from the papacy regarding their stance on heresy. Mendoza concluded the letter with the following words:

> The King tells me to write to your Lordship that this is an affair of such paramount importance for the service of God and presses so grievously on his conscience, that the whole must be reconsidered, and weighed by His Holiness before Juan de Montepulchano can set his foot in Portugal, and that, as I bear from His Highness' own lips, will not take place for many a day, unless His Holiness consent to revoke the brief about the New Christians and the Portuguese Inquisition.[113]

These words demonstrate how Mendoza framed this incident as a dire event in terms of its potential religious consequences, clearly situating these papal actions in support of New Christians as against the good of Christendom, which Spaniards such as himself tried so hard to maintain and uphold.

However, Portugal itself was not exempt from Spanish complaints. The relationship between Spain and Portugal regarding the Inquisition and the treatment of Jews and conversos was not always cordial—the Spanish often criticized the Portuguese monarchs over these issues. In these instances, one can see once again how Spanish officials and ambassadors contrasted themselves with other European nations regarding the issue of the defence of the faith. During

[112] "Spain: November 1544, 16-30," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 7, 1544*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos and Martin A. S. Hume (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol7/pp444-463, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[113] Ibid.

the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, thousands of Castilian Jews and conversos had fled to Portugal following the establishment of the Inquisition and, later, the propagation of the Alhambra Decree.[114] This defection to Portugal prompted Ferdinand and Isabella to pressure João II (1481-1495) and later Manuel I (1495-1521) to further expel the Jews from Portugal and remand the conversos to the Spanish Inquisition.[115] Manuel I, however, would prove to be a formidable obstacle in the face of Spanish religious policy in Iberia: from the beginning of his reign he worked towards keeping the Jews and conversos in his kingdom, going so far as to forcefully baptise the entirety of Portugal's Jewish population en masse in Lisbon in June 1497.[116] The Portuguese king knew that the Jews were too important to his economy to let them leave, and so the mass conversion was his loophole of 'freeing' Portugal from Jews while not sacrificing his economic interests.[117] This attitude prompted extreme frustration on the part of the Catholic Monarchs: in 1504 they urgently reminded Manuel I of the bull *Pessimum Genus*, which instructed all Christian rulers to deliver any Castilian or Aragonese "heretics and apostates" to the Spanish Inquisition.[118] Moreover, on October 5, 1510, Ferdinand wrote a letter to the viceroy of Sicily expressing frustration over Manuel I's policy towards the conversos: he blamed the migration of certain conversos to the Ottoman Empire on the Portuguese king's leniency and negligence.[119] By criticizing Manuel I's pragmatic approach to the converso situation, the Catholic Monarchs asserted Spain's dedication to the cause and thus set them apart from the other nations of Europe, thereby reinforcing the narrative of Spanish uniqueness.

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[114] Zeldes, "Incident in Messina," 406; Saraiva, *Marrano Factory*, 8; François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 86, 92-3, 129.
[115] Soyer, *Persecution of the Jews*, 101.
[116] Ibid, 194-5, 219; Saraiva, *Marrano Factory*, 11; Ray, *After Expulsion*, 40.
[117] Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 21, 15-16; Zeldes, "Incident in Messina," 406.
[118] Soyer, *Persecution of the Jews*, 122.
[119] Nadia Zeldes, "Between Portugal and Naples: The Converso Question in a Letter of Ferdinand the Catholic (1510)," *Sefer Yuḥasin* 3 (2018): 109-11; Saraiva, *Marrano Factory*, 14; Zeldes, "Incident in Messina," 406.

Such criticisms of Portugal's religious policies did not abate during the reign of Charles V. The primary concern during the first decades of the Emperor's reign was the lack of an official 'Spanish-style' Inquisition in Portugal until 1536. During these decades, Portugal still had many conversos and Jews within its borders (including many of the exiles from Spain), and the Spanish were evidently still concerned about the situation.[120] Ambassadors and officials frequently construed any incident involving Jews or conversos as resulting from the lack of Inquisition in Portugal or from the leniency accorded to these minorities, thereby portraying Portugal as lax in its contribution toward the cause of Christendom; in such dispatches, the Spanish were always too quick to remind themselves and others of how committed to the cause *they* were. Details within the state papers reveal that such concerns existed throughout the reign of Charles V: on October 10, 1528, for example, the ambassador Martin de Salinas reported that a "Jew had *been allowed* [emphasis added] to preach in Portugal in favour of the religion of Moses, and against our Christian faith. He has also written letters to this kingdom [of Spain], in consequence of which many of his comrades desert their homes and fly to that country."[121] This letter demonstrates how Spanish ambassadors were still greatly concerned by the activities of Jews and the existence of heresy in their neighbouring kingdom, and how they believed that these activities were having an adverse effect on Spain.

More importantly, this letter reflects how Spanish ambassadors framed the Portuguese as too tolerant of such persons—Salinas claimed that the Portuguese "allowed" such Jewish heresies to occur and thus assigned blame to the leaders of Portugal. Salinas even concluded his report by directly blaming the Portuguese king, João III: "The Emperor has written twice to the

[120] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 221.
[121] "Spain: October 1528, 1-20," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 3 Part 2, 1527-1529*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol3/no2/pp805-823, accessed 16 March, 2021.

King on this subject, and the Inquisition is now proceeding against the guilty parties. Cannot tell how the affair will end, but fears that God will in the end chastise the King who tolerates such evil in his estates."[122] This last line directly demonstrates how Spanish ambassadors directly situated Portugal in opposition to Spain by claiming that the Portuguese were not doing enough to combat heresy and thus were not in favour with God.

Furthermore, in 1536 (just before Portugal introduced its own Inquisition, coincidentally) the Spanish were *still* complaining about the situation of the Spanish converso exiles in Portugal. On January 6 of that year, Charles V wrote to Don Fernando de Silva, informing him that due to the "negligence of the Portuguese ambassador," a papal brief in favour of the conversos in Portugal was allowed to be granted. The Emperor feared the dire consequences of this action, as he suspected that many of these conversos may have been exiles from Spain (he explained that "if men who had been converted for years, and had been baptised and openly professed Christianity, whilst secretly remaining Jews, and had perhaps already been condemned and burned in effigy in Spain, were to be thus pardoned in Portugal, heresy would be encouraged and God and his Holy Faith prejudiced"). Once again, the Spanish monarch construed these problems as resulting from the lack of Inquisition in Portugal, as he prompted de Silva to urge the Pope "most urgently to grant to Portugal the same form of Inquisition as that in Spain, and to revoke his brief granting pardon to these reconciled converts, in order that our Holy Faith may be exalted and God's cause served." Importantly, Charles V added the following note at the end of his letter: "Cifuentes is not to leave this affair in the hands of the Portuguese ambassadors, but himself carry on the negotiations about it." [123] This is indicative of the belief that only a Spaniard

[122] "Spain: October 1528, 1-20."
[123] "Addenda: Miscellaneous, 1536," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 8, 1545-1546*, ed. Martin A S Hume (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol8/pp600-604, accessed 16 March, 2021.

could be trusted with these endeavours as both the Portuguese and the Italians constantly proved themselves to be lacking in their zeal or too generous to the New Christians.

Interestingly, the Spanish correspondence surrounding an incident that occurred *after* João III introduced the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536 demonstrates similar ideas. In February 1539, Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza reported on an incident that occurred in several churches in Lisbon involving converso suspects.[124] He wrote: "A most abominable event has occurred here. In three churches of this city placards have been affixed, containing the most detestable heresies that could be imagined. To judge from the scandalous allegations against the Church, the author of the placards must have been a literary Jew." Mendoza went on to note that João III had taken action in search of the culprit and arrested several New Christians, but the placard had already caused such outrage among the local populace that it was all the king could do to stop a massacre from occurring, comparing the situation to that of the 1506 Lisbon massacre that occurred under "Dom Manoel." Thus, Mendoza presented this incident as proof that Portugal still had a converso problem—his report depicted Portugal as overrun by crypto-Jews who were disturbing the peace (the reference to the 1506 massacre reinforces this idea). Mendoza noted that additional placards that had appeared later stated that the initial was the work "not of a Castillian, French, Italian or Portuguese subject, but of an Englishman;" however, this fact did not stop him from persisting in his assumptions that the perpetrator was a converso or Jew.[125]

Ultimately, Mendoza went on to note that "All this proceeds from there not being in Portugal a Holy Inquisition."[126] Mendoza was either ignorant of the establishment of the

[124] Marshall, "The Other Black Legend," 40.
[125] "Spain: February 1539," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 6 Part 1, 1538-1542*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1890), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol6/no1/pp108-119, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[126] Ibid.

Inquisition in Portugal in 1536 or he was referring to the fact that Portugal's Inquisition was currently restricted in its powers, as it was under secular law for the first three years after its establishment.[127] Thus, as Salinas and Charles V himself did, Mendoza placed the trouble caused by New Christians in Portugal squarely on Portuguese shoulders. Mendoza did go on to add that "His Holiness has granted so many breves in favor of the new Christians, and especially the one lately issued, that the King's hands are tied and he can do nothing."[128] Thus, the Spanish ambassador brought the papacy into this problem and assigned to it some of the blame as well. The sort of rhetoric found in these pieces of correspondence figures the Spaniards as the only ones truly willing to put an end to the rampant Jewish/ converso problem that plagued Iberia; this narrative reinforced their self-fashioned image of being unique among the nations of Europe in their divinely sanctioned crusade.

Spanish ambassadors did not only confront Italians and Portuguese over the matter of the Iberian Jews and conversos; they also commented on the treatment of Jews in kingdoms outside of Spain's sphere of influence, such as England. While not much historical research has been done in this area, interesting details can be gleaned from the Spanish state papers that reveal how Spaniards also framed England as too tolerant of Jews. Interestingly enough, this notion often emerged in relation to the controversy over King Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. According to the Spanish correspondence, the English king often sought the advice of Jews in order to justify his divorce. On May 25, 1530, for example, the ambassador Rodrigo Niño wrote to Charles V from Venice, informing him that the agents of Henry VIII in Italy were "continually looking out for people who can counsel in these matters, and there is no Jew or Christian whom they do not solicit and bribe to gain their object." Niño noted how "prothonotary

[127] Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, 688.
[128] "Spain: February 1539."

Casale, the English resident ambassador at this Court" was soliciting the opinions of "all the Jews here and at Bologna." Niño framed this behaviour as unacceptable: it prompted him to write that it was "impossible to find appropriate terms to describe [the English]."[129] On July 23 of that year, Niño sent another letter describing how he had dinner with Casale, and that he had told him that "it was not with Jews and foolish friars" that the Spanish would negotiate with regarding the marriage issue, and that Henry VIII should seek counsel in a manner "befitting such a Christian prince as he was."[130] This rhetoric distanced the Spanish from the English: treating with Jews was something the Spanish would never stoop to resorting to.

Another disturbing issue occurred in 1531, when Henry VIII allegedly sent for a Jew to come to his court to help prove his case in the divorce issue. In a letter Eustace Chapuys—a Savoyard diplomat who served as Charles V's ambassador to England from 1529 to 1545—sent to Charles V in January 1531, Chapuys described the situation: "The Jew, whom this king sent for, as I informed Your Majesty in a former despatch, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by Messire Mai to prevent his passage, arrived here in London six days ago."[131] It is interesting to note here how Miçer Miguel Mai (one of Spain's agents in Rome) had tried to stop the Jew from departing for England, indicating that the Spaniards disapproved of this ploy from the start. Chapuys went on to note that Henry VIII had already received the Jew twice by the time of

[129] "Spain: May 1530, 16-25," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 4 Part 1, Henry VIII, 1529-1530*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1879), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol4/no1/pp543-554, accessed 16 March, 2021.

[130] "Spain: July 1530, 16-25," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 4 Part 1, Henry VIII, 1529-1530*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1879), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol4/no1/pp642-659, accessed 16 March, 2021. "Foolish friars" refers to the eleven Paduan friars that the bishop of London, John Stokesley, had found and persuaded to vote in favour of the Pope being able to dispense of Henry VIII's marriage (apparently for ten ducats each). Niño described this incident in an earlier letter to the Emperor sent on July 18; he mentioned that the friars were illiterate and not of high moral fibre.

[131] "Spain: January 1531, 21-31," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 4 Part* 2, 1531-1533, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol4/no2/pp31-47, accessed 16 March, 2021.

writing: he noted how the Jew had used "Jewish law" to decide on the legitimacy of Henry VIII's proposed annulment and had stated that Henry should "take another wife conjointly with his first" instead of dissolving the marriage with Catherine, to which Henry replied that the Jew had to "devise some other means of getting him out of the difficulty." Chapuys presented this whole incident with an air of outrage: he framed the Jew as "[spreading] his Judaizing doctrines" under "the cloak of charity," thus accusing the English king of not only permitting but encouraging the unforgivable crime of judaizing.[132]

These letters demonstrate how Spanish officials and ambassadors (as well as those employed in the service of Spain) contrasted Spain with its European neighbours regarding the treatment of Jews and New Christians. Spain's frequent clashes with and complaints regarding its allies' perceived tolerance towards Jews and conversos served to strengthen a sense of 'Spanish difference'—they were alone in their complete dedication to the cause of defending the faith. These sorts of thoughts were projected onto the European stage through the complaints of Charles V as well as diplomats such as Mendoza, Salinas, and Niño: these figures let the Italians, Portuguese, and English know exactly what they thought of their perceived leniency, thereby reinforcing their self-identity as a nation defined by its opposition to non-Christians.

Blood Purity and the Question of Jewish 'Race'

The concepts of *raza* and *casta* were some more of the many ways of imaging difference between Spanish Old Christians and converts. In his 1545 report to Charles V on the appointment of a new inquisitor in Seville, the Aragonese inquisitor Dr. Molón listed those reconciled to the Inquisition during the auto-da-fe there and mentioned two men who had remained obstinate: "Francisco de Morales of Toledo, a new Christian of Jewish race, and

[132] "Spain: January 1531, 21-31."

Francisco de la Plata, a silversmith convert of Seville."[1] Here one can see that Dr. Molón not only identified the conversos as still being fundamentally "Jewish"—he believed that this fact set them apart as belonging to a different "race" entirely.[133] Faced with the problem of the conversos, many Old Christians such as Dr. Molón turned to notions of blood and lineage as a way of re-establishing the barrier erected to define Spain's religious identity. This form of exclusion was based on the belief that Jewish blood was inherently degenerate and thus immune to baptism; it would contaminate not only a convert but also his descendants, who would invariably revert to their ancestors' religion.[134] The notion of race manifested itself most clearly in the *limpieza de sangre* statutes: these exclusionary statutes (which emerged when Pedro Sarmiento established the Sentencia-Estatudo at Toledo in 1449) held that descendants of even multiple degrees were still Jews purely based on their blood.

These sorts of views have led certain scholars to speak of a fundamentally racist Spain and posit that both Charles V and his predecessors were driven by a desire to expunge the converso populations from Spain, and that borders between the Old Christians and the conversos were impermeable barriers.[135] However, this view is rather misleading and simplifies the very complex situation regarding fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain's conception of 'race.' The framework through which Spaniards of this era expressed views on race was fundamentally religious. Spanish racialist hysteria was rooted in the belief that Jewish blood was not purified by the Christian grace of conversion because it was permanently stained by centuries of theological

[133] "Spain: June 1545, 21-30," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 8, 1545-1546*, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol8/pp139-152, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[134] Green-Mercado, "Ethnic Groups in Renaissance Spain," 124-126; Friedman, "Jewish Conversion," 16; Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad,* 313.
[135] Roth, "The Jews of Spain," 27.

error and guilt, and it was fueled by suspicions of Jewish cultural practices.[136] Indeed, conversos were often accused and denounced as crypto-Jews for such ethnic practices as using olive oil instead of lard, giving their children Hebrew names, turning towards a wall when hearing of a death, changing their sheets each Friday, and—the most egregious offense—for not eating pork.[137] Indeed, even the 1449 Sentencia-Estatuto of Toledo was grounded in religious discourse: it held that conversos who had "[descended] from the perverse line of Jews" were still Jewish because they kept their original "rites and ceremonies."[138]

Indeed, it is important to note that the Spanish notion that lineages had the potential to become 'tainted' was not limited to ideas of 'race.' Any sort of heresy and not just Judaism was held to cause infamy (*verguenza*) not just for the transgressor but for his family and descendants as well.[139] This socially entrenched belief suggests that the Spanish revulsion towards Jewish blood was rooted more in the grave dread of infamy than any modern sense of racism. This idea is demonstrated by the *limpieza* statute that Archbishop Diego de Deza adopted for the cathedral chapter of Seville in 1515 that excluded from membership of the chapter not just the sons of conversos but those of "anyone who had been burned or reconciled by the Inquisition." This statute did not specifically isolate Jewish descent and was instead concerned with the broader category of infamy.[140] These findings demonstrate that race on its own is not a sufficient concept to define Spain's discrimination against conversos.[141] 'Race' and infamy were closely linked in the notion of tainted genealogies, and the delineation of Spain's population into Old and New

[136] Garcia-Arenal, "Creating Conversos," 2; Barbara Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 95.
[137] Friedman, "Jewish Conversion," 15.
[138] Green-Mercado, "Ethnic Groups in Renaissance Spain," 127.
[139] Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 76.
[140] Stafford Poole, "The Politics of Limpieza de Sangre: Juan de Ovando and His Circle in the Reign of Philip II," *The Americas* 55, no. 3 (1999): 363.
[141] Ibid, 368.

Christians was a way of constructing religious identity. Thus, *raza* in this context was more of an obsession over religiously pure bloodlines and certain ethnic characteristics as opposed to a well-defined categorization. This fact meant that it was merely a construct that was susceptible to challenges and complexities.

The Jewish 'Taint' in Spanish Society: Complexities and Anxieties

Indeed, for all of the Spanish monarchy's projections of an image of extreme Catholic purity and opposition to Jews and conversos, there were inherent contradictions within Spanish society regarding notions of religion and race. Indeed, Spanish discourse on 'lineage,' and 'blood purity' were unstable categories precisely because they were constructs fashioned from an ethno-religious framework. Afterall, the conversos and their descendants looked no different from regular Old Christians: their speech and appearance were outwardly Iberian.[142] Conversos who had baptised long before the 1492 expulsion (*confesos de los antiguos*, as they came to be called) had in fact become almost entirely integrated into Old Christian society by the sixteenth century (they stood in contrast to the more recent converts, who came to be termed *nuevos convertidos de judíos*). While the *nuevos convertidos de judíos* still largely kept to typical 'Jewish' professions like tax collection, the *confesos de los antiguos* actually took professions associated with Old Christians, notably careers in the Church.[143] Studies have shown that distinguished families of converso descent could sometimes buy their way into prominent positions and pass themselves off as Old Christians. This trend was particularly evident in Toledo, where several converso families—notably the Franco, Villareal, Herrera, and Ramirez—came to occupy important posts during this period.[144] Some conversos were even able to establish an illusion of

[142] Bodian, "'Men of the Nation'," 63.
[143] Nalle, "A Minority within a Minority," 92.
[144] Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad,* 326.

nobility by taking up the name of significant noble families—this could be achieved through wealth, political ties, marriage, or connections with influential personages.[145] By the mid-sixteenth century in Sigüenza, for example, approximately six percent of all *confesos de los antiguos* had obtained a noble title such as *Don* or *Escudero.*[146] Indeed, one could even make the case that conversos were running the kingdom during the reigns of the Catholic Monarchs and Charles V: they constituted a pseudo-nobility by serving as influential bankers and merchants and occupied a disproportionate number of roles in the social elite.[147]

Meanwhile, exceptions were made to the blood laws in the universities and in political positions; the Spanish Crown itself often sold offices to known conversos in order to raise funds.[148] John Edwards has even argued convincingly that in the colleges and military orders that did enact the *limpieza* statutes, the question of lineage was not even the deciding factor, with class, nobility, and wealth being more important considerations (this fact meant that exceptions were possible and indeed very frequent).[149] These facts suggest that the delineations between Old and New Christians were unstable constructs. This fact would prove troubling for sixteenth-century Spaniards; indeed, a good deal of anxiety developed regarding the supposed purity of their nation. The idea of a Jewish contamination of Spanish society had existed since the fifteenth century and proved to be disturbing and destabilising during this period: while Spaniards adopted the mindset that only those whose lineages were free from the taint of Jewish blood were true Old Christians, there was not such a clear boundary between Old Christian, New Christian, and Jew as they would have liked.[150] It was precisely this ambiguity that proved so

[145] Bodian, "'Men of the Nation'," 62; Nalle, "A Minority within a Minority," 107, 113.
[146] Nalle, "A Minority within a Minority," 110.
[147] Bodian, "'Men of the Nation'," 61-62; Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 145.
[148] Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad,* 326.
[149] Edwards, "Theory of Race," 193-5; see also Contreras, "Aldermen and Judaizers."
[150] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 115; Bodian, "'Men of the Nation'," 61.

troubling.[151] As the *limpieza* statutes proved to ultimately be fragile barriers, they could only do so much to alleviate these concerns over bloodlines.[152]

This anxiety is demonstrated by various satirical texts that played upon the troublingly persistent question of whether anyone within Spain was free of the Jewish taint.[153] The controversy over the *libros verdes* represents the clearest example of these anxieties, however. *Libros verdes* were catalogues that exposed genealogies with unclean or defective lineages.[154] The anonymous author of *El Libro Verde de Aragón* (1507), one of two extant *libros verdes*, claimed to have written the book to "enlighten those who do not wish to mix their purity with them [the Conversos], that they may know the ancestries of the Jews from whom they descend."[155] Moreover, he claimed that the expulsion "did not remove from [the] memory" of the New Christians "those who were their relatives."[156] This claim is interesting in that the author explicitly stated that the greatest measure the Catholic Monarchs had taken to eradicate the presence of Jews in Spain—the expulsion—was not enough. However, these lineage exposés were problematic in that they revealed troubling findings: namely, that Jewish contamination reached *every* level of Spain, particularly the highest social levels. The *libros verdes* actually specifically targeted the Spanish elite—the people who made up the ruling classes and the court who were supposed by all the realm to be pure.[157] Indeed, the *libros verdes* exposed the contamination of even the Spanish monarchy for all to see, for they revealed that even royal families had converso members: for example, they revealed that Don Alonso Enriquez, the

[151] Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 103; Garcia-Arenal, "Creating Conversos," 2.
[152] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 117.
[153] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 95.
[154] Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 112.
[155] Ibid, 112.
[156] "La expulsion general dellos fecha en España en el año 1492 no quitó de la memoria los que fuesen sus parientes." Translated by the author; in John Beusterien, "Blotted Genealogies: A Survey of the Libros Verdes," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 78, no. 2 (2001): 190.
[157] Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 112.

progenitor of Ferdinand of Aragon, was descended from Jews on one side of his family, thus making both Ferdinand and Charles V of direct Jewish descent.[158]

Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla's *El tizón de la nobleza* (1560) was another prominent *libro verde*. This text described the genealogies of sixty-two of the most prominent houses of Spain.[159] Mendoza's motivation for writing this text was to prove the futility of the obsession with *limpieza*, as literally all of the Spanish nobility was of Jewish descent.[160] Mendoza pointed out that Iberian elites had been practicing mixed marriages since the high Middle Ages.[161] To conclude the text, Mendoza expressed his desire that those who supported *limpieza* statutes be humbled by the revelation that no one was as pure as they believed. He reminded Philip II that those of his court:

> are forgetting their blood blots and erase them, as if they were in fact [non-existent]. But it is by Divine Providence that they [the stains] should be remembered, so that the Lords of the great noble houses and their [purported] unblemished names carry this mark of ash on their foreheads and do not scorn with arrogance the humbler hidalgos – faithful servants of Your Majesty – and no less deserving of having their [high professional] aspirations taken into account.[162]

Though Mendoza wrote the text to prove that pure bloodlines were incredibly rare, the book became a 'book of shame' that Spaniards utilised to attack one another in a vicious cycle of accusation and counteraccusation.[163]

These *libros verdes* became a great source of scandal and anxiety for Spaniards during this period, particularly for those of the nobility, for they exposed to all of Spain that they could not truly claim to be a part of the imagined community that they had formulated. Thus, the books

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[158] Roth, "The Jews of Spain," 23.
[159] Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 115.
[160] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 23; Beusterien, "Blotted Genealogies,"190.
[161] Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 116.
[162] Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, *El Tizón de la Nobleza Española o Máculas y Sambenitos de sus Linajes* (Barcelona: La Selecta, 1880), 173. Translated in Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 116.
[163] Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 117.

came to be attacked by members of the Spanish elite and in many cases banned.[164] The banning of these texts was a denial of this devastating reality. Indeed, such actions point towards the insecurities and weaknesses that were inherent in the official ideology that defined Spain as antithetical to the non-Christian 'Other,' for the books represented nothing less than the shattering of Old Christian Spain.[165] If being a pure-blooded Old Christian was required to have a place in Spain's imagined community, then who could have claimed to truly belong to this Spain when so much of the kingdom was technically infected and thus not in the possession of *limpieza*? Would any Spaniard be safe if they looked deep enough into their family history?

European Anti-Narratives: Spain as a Land of Jews

These 'cracks' within the state-propagated identity were ruthlessly exposed on the stage of European diplomacy, demonstrated by the widespread identification between the image of Spain and an image of Jewishness.[166] Far from accepting Spain's self-assertion that its people were sincere and staunch defenders of the faith and pure 'Old Christians,' foreign visitors, ambassadors, and enemies alike often portrayed Spaniards as being the very thing they defined themselves in opposition to. Indeed, rumours and accusations of Spaniards being secret Jews themselves or being tainted by the blood of Jews circulated throughout sixteenth-century Europe. Thus, Spain's identity as a crusading nation defined by a pure people united in faith was constantly challenged and deconstructed abroad.[167] These anti-narratives reveal just how fragile Spanish state-sponsored identity was precisely at a moment in history when Spaniards tried to project an image of ultimate Spanish glory.

[164] Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*, 117; Beusterien, "Blotted Genealogies," 188.
[165] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 115.
[166] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 160; Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad,* 327.
[167] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 116, 126.

Both travelers and foreign diplomats alike frequently commented on what they perceived as a high presence of Jews or conversos among Spain's population during the sixteenth century. This narrative was common among humanists and Protestants. Erasmus—who once famously quipped "Non placet Hispania [I do not like Spain]"—was perhaps the most well-known propagator of this view: he harshly condemned Spain in 1517 as a nation where "there are scarcely any Christians" after refusing to visit the kingdom.[168] Erasmus even rejected Charles V's invitation to accompany him to Spain because he saw the Spanish court as divided into "factions, with sects of Spaniards, Jews, and Frenchmen."[169] Luther was another detractor: in 1538 he declared that the majority of Spaniards "are *Marranos*, apostates, who believe in nothing."[170] The French Cistercian Claude de Bronseval also claimed that the monasteries of Castile were overrun with Jewish converts.[171] Additionally, in 1506 the Venetian ambassador to Castile Vincenzo Quirini wrote to his masters that "it is estimated that in Castile and other Spanish provinces one-third consists of *Marranos*, that is, one-third of those who are burghers and merchants."[172] It is interesting to note the specific reference to merchants in this claim, which demonstrates the long-standing association between Jews and mercantile activity.

There is a great irony in foreigners' characterization of Spain as a land overrun by Jews, as Spanish officials strove so hard to portray themselves in dialectical opposition to such non-Christians. While Spain framed the great moments of its recent history—the expulsion of 1492 and the establishment of the Inquisition—in light of the idea of crusade, outsiders couched these historical events in a different narrative: they believed that if a Christian nation had to combat

[168] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 119; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 116; Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism, Volume II: From Mohammed to the Marranos* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 220.
[169] Parker, *Emperor*, 82.
[170] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 237; Friedman, "Jewish Conversion," 29; Poliakov, *Mohammed to the Marranos*, 220.
[171] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 220.
[172] Friedman, "Jewish Conversion," 8; Poliakov, *Mohammed to the Marranos*, 219.

non-Christian heretics so vehemently, then surely that nation's faith was not very pure to begin with.[173] Francesco Guicciardini, the famed Florentine humanist, represents an example of this line of thought: in 1512, he stated his belief that the Spanish had to enact the expulsion and establish the Inquisition because Spain had previously been "full of Jews and heretics, and the greater part of the people stained with this depravity. They [the Jews, etc.] held all the main offices and were so powerful and numerous that in a few years Spain might have abandoned the Catholic Faith."[174] In cases such as this, the narrative that Spain put forward was subverted and used against the Spanish by these outsiders, who saw the very existence of such things as the Alhambra Decree and the Inquisition as proof that Jews were and had always been incredibly prominent in Spain.[175] This ironic subversion is also demonstrated by the German Johannes Lange: in 1526, he commented upon the sheer number of *sanbenitos*—penitential garments that the Inquisition used to mark someone as having committed heresy—hanging in the churches of Spain after traveling there and the dubious implications this fact had for the local parishioners.[176] In this case, the very instruments of the Inquisition were used to fuel the anti-image of Spain.

However, a more dramatic subversion of Spanish identity was the conflation of the figure of the Jew with the figure of the Spaniard himself in foreign discourse, with the line between the two—a line that Spaniards worked so hard to uphold and maintain—being blurred or even erased. This conflation was particularly prominent among the Italians and emerged due to the high numbers of Spanish Jews and conversos who migrated to Italy following the expulsion and the emergence of the Inquisition; the Sephardim retained their Spanish language and culture,

[173] Poliakov, *Mohammed to the Marranos*, 219.
[174] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 219.
[175] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 119; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 161, 240; Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad,* 327.
[176] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 220.

after all.[177] The high number of Spanish Jewish exiles planted a firm conviction in Italian minds that the entire population of Spain must have been Jewish.[178] This conflation can be demonstrated by the use of the term *marrano* in Italy during this period. While the term *marrano* (which was believed to have derived from the Latin word for 'pig') was commonly used for Jewish converts in Italy from the late fourteenth century onwards, Italians increasingly came to extend use of the pejorative to Spaniards in general towards the end of the fifteenth century, with it eventually becoming a standard term for Spaniards.[179] For example, the Italian writer Pietro Aretino described how a "suite of 1,000 *Marranos*" accompanied Charles V to Bologna for his coronation in 1529, while another Italian poet wrote in 1540 that the entirety of Italy was subject to the rule of *marranos* under Spanish dominion.[180] Additionally, the Venetian Zuan Negro quipped "Praise be to God that we have escaped from the hands of the Jews" upon leaving Spain in 1528.[181] This trend persisted well into the sixteenth century: in 1573, for example, the Venetian ambassador Leonardo Dona denounced Spaniards as "so many baptized Jews and Moors" in spite of their claims to extreme Catholic purity.[182]

Such insults were not limited by birth or rank: Girolamo Savonarola—the Italian Dominican preacher who called for the expulsion of Florence's Jews in the 1490s—labeled Pope Alexander VI (a Valencian) as a "faithless *Marrano*," while Alexander VI's successor Julius II (a Ligurian) disparaged him as a "circumcised *Marrano*." Additionally, the Italian Pasquino remarked that "I will become a Jew with the Spaniards" in 1521 during the election of Pope

[177] Ray, *After Expulsion*, 139-141.
[178] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 236.
[179] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 119; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 236; Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad,* 327.
[180] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 236.
[181] Ibid, 219.
[182] Levine, *Agents of Empire*, 171.

Hadrian VI, Charles V's former tutor.[183] These attacks demonstrate how rank and religious position did not save Spaniards in Italy from such accusations; indeed, Italians singled out Spaniards in positions of power for ridicule in order to bring down those who subjugated them. The conflation between Spaniard and Jew was not based on any explicit bodily difference and was rather couched in notions of religious taint, just as Spaniards framed differences between Old and New Christians.[184] This anti-narrative was thus a subversion of Spanish discourse on 'difference': as Spaniards declared the conversos as fundamentally 'different' due to perceived ethnic differences, so, too, did Italians declare the Spanish as 'different' due to perceived crypto-Judaism. This anti-image of Spain proved that the self-identity that Spanish officials constructed and projected during this time was evidently not as impervious as they thought.

Spanish Responses: Denial and Embarrassment

The negative opinions of outsiders would inevitably reach the ears of Spaniards, particularly within the arena of diplomacy, which was precisely where Spaniards sought to project their grand image on the world stage. These attacks on the Spanish narrative struck such a sensitive chord amongst Spaniards precisely because of the insecurities inherent in their society. The typical Spanish response in this regard was one of defensiveness and denial. Spanish historian Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, for example, responded with incredulity in 1555: "Foreigners have no right to call all Spaniards *marranos*... for all the Christian nations, there is no one where the origins of nobles of good and pure caste is better known, nor where they are as concerned with the faith; these are all things which remain hidden in the other nations."[185]

[183] Poliakov, *Mohammed to the Marranos*, 219; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 236.
[184] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 119.
[185] Poliakov, *Mohammed to the Marranos*, 221; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 240

Charles V exemplified this confrontation when, in June 1551, he wrote to Jehan Scheyfve regarding a conversation he had with the English ambassador Councillor Wotton on the matter of the treatment of English ambassadors in the Low Countries and their religious practices. Wotton had requested access to Anglican preachers for resident ambassadors. Charles V explained how Wotton had utilised the narrative of Spain's tolerance of Jews in defence of his claims:

> He proceeded to take up the second point, repeating the same reasons given before to see if in the end we would consent that their ambassador in the Low Countries should use their ceremonies, and how the one resident here should demean himself. He reverted to the same comparisons as before, adding that on our own territories we tolerated Jews and their synagogues. He urged us to permit that the ambassadors should at least be allowed to practice secretly.[186]

The Emperor then outlined the staunch rebuttal he had made to this claim:

> We refuted his arguments by the same answers as before; and without making any more definite statement except to go over the reply we had given before as a narrative in the past tense, we came to say that in the matter of the Jews within our territory he was ill-informed, as they were driven entirely out of our patrimonial lands, where they could only go at the peril of their lives.[187]

When faced with the English belief that Spain tolerated Jews and their synagogues, Charles V not only strongly denied such accusations but firmly asserted the opposite—that there were no Jews at all left in Spain as they were "driven out entirely." He thus portrayed his kingdom as entirely pure and purged of Jewish influence.

Moreover, it is interesting to note the Emperor's shifting of the notion of Jewish tolerance from Spain to the Holy Roman Empire: "We admitted that [Jews?] were to be found in the Empire, where they were tolerated in virtue of ancient laws; and it was plain that they were the cause of a part of the troubles that rent the Empire and the whole of Christendom."[188] Here the

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[186] "Spain: June 1551," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 10, 1550-1552*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp299-317, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.

Emperor once again reasserted the idea of Spanish uniqueness: it was the Holy Roman Empire that was not vigilant regarding its dealings with Jews and now suffered as a result of its leniency. Thus, Charles V not only roundly denied the English accusation of Spain's tolerance of Jews—and, by extension, its infestation by Jews—but shifted such accusations elsewhere in an aggressive reassertion of the Spanish narrative. This point also reveals that Charles V publicly asserted that the Jews were partly responsible for causing the Reformation; however, it was the emperor himself who facilitated many of the tolerant policies towards the Jews in the Empire.[189] This fact serves to demonstrate the complicated dual role Charles V held as King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, and how he maintained different ideologies and indeed different images for both.

[189] Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, 207-209; Voß, "Last World Emperor," 104.

Chapter II: The Moriscos and Moors during the Reign of Charles V

Just as the Spanish monarchy reinforced its self-fashioned identity of Catholic unity through policies that cast Jews and conversos in opposition to the Spanish imagined community, so, too, did it target the Moors and Moriscos. And, just as with the conversos, these views were projected abroad on the stage of European diplomacy. Returning to Simon Renard's 1550 letter to Charles V and his claim to the Constable of France that the Emperor "had exposed [his] person and [his] possessions for the spreading of the faith, the expulsion of moors, infidels and barbarians," it is evident that Spain's ambassadors sought to project an image of Spain dedicated to expelling not only crypto-Jewish infidels but Moors as well.[190] Furthermore, on December 2, 1544, Charles V wrote to Juan de Vega, his ambassador in Rome, to instruct him to ask Pope Innocent IX for financial aid in fighting the Lutherans. He demanded that de Vega ask the pope to consider "Our own war labours and the expenses We have undergone in resisting Turks, Moors, and infidels of every description, so as to prevent the utter ruin of Christian religion."[191] Here Charles V utilised Spain's self-fashioned rhetoric of being in conflict with Muslims as a way of propping up Spain's standing on the world stage and thereby justifying his demands.

Moriscos as a Fifth Column

A specific strategy that Spanish officials and ambassadors utilised to reinforce Spain's identity as a unique, crusading nation defined in opposition to Iberia's non-Christians was the propagation of the narrative that Moriscos were traitors to the kingdom.[192] Spanish authorities

[190] "Spain: February 1550," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 10, 1550-1552*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp21-32, accessed 16 March 2021.
[191] "Spain: December 1544," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 7, 1544*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos and Martin A. S. Hume (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol7/pp463-496, accessed 16 March, 2016.
[192] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 223; Garcia-Arenal, "Creating Conversos," 13.

and officials did not only believe that the Moriscos were all secret Muslims; they also figured such people as traitorous subjects who had allied themselves to the Islamic powers of the Mediterranean in order to make war upon both Spain and Christendom.[193] This narrative rendered the Moriscos as a sort of 'fifth column' and positioned them as 'foreign.'[194] This concept demonstrates once more how Spaniards defined themselves in opposition to the religious 'Other'—they construed the Moriscos as not just existing outside the national community but also as politically opposed to them. This sort of rhetoric distanced this minority group and reinforced the sense of 'difference' and 'antithesis' that the Spanish state fostered throughout Charles V's reign.

The Moriscos were framed as being in league with Islamic powers well before the Alpujarras Revolt (1568-1571). Spain had engaged itself in wars with Muslim powers since 1482 with the dawn of the Granada War; these conflicts continued into the sixteenth century with King Ferdinand's conquest of Oran in 1509 and Charles V's protracted wars with the Ottoman Turks, who swept into North Africa and the western Mediterranean in 1532 and continued to be a threat even after Charles V took Tunis in 1535. Throughout this period, corsair attacks from Barbary were frequent; the Ottomans even made corsair leader Hayreddin Barbarossa Grand Admiral in 1533.[195] During such a precarious time, with the threat of Muslim invasion ever-present, the question that plagued the minds of Spaniards was whether the Moriscos would remain loyal if the Ottomans gained control of the Strait of Gibraltar.[196] Fears over Morisco loyalty were not

[193] Green-Mercado, "Ethnic Groups in Renaissance Spain," 134; Heather, *State Identities*, 78-9; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 343.
[194] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 46; Edwards, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 79; Parker, "Some Recent Work on the Inquisition in Spain and Italy," 527.
[195] Andrew C. Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 1 (October 1968): 7-9; Diana Perry, "'Catholicum Opus Imperiale Regiminis Mundi'. An Early Sixteenth-Century Restatement of Empire," *History of Political Thought* 2, no. 2 (1981): 228.
[196] Hess, "An Ottoman Fifth Column," 13; Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish," 240.

entirely the products of Spanish imaginations; the Moriscos did, after all, display some sympathy for fellow Muslims and many still identified strongly with the Muslim world of North Africa.[197]

This association between the Moriscos of Spain and external Muslim threats was reflected in Spanish diplomacy. This rhetoric was demonstrated by Pietro Martire in his 1501 embassy to Egypt. In his account of his embassy, he described how he was denied audience to the sultan for a long time due to collusion between the North African ambassadors and the "Grenadines and the exiled Jews" who sought to sully the reputation of Spain, thereby aligning these Spanish exiles with the foreign North African people, both groups united in their attempts to harm Spain.[198]

More importantly, Spanish officials often acted on these fears. For example, concerns over the Moriscos' loyalties motivated the Spanish to attempt to disarm them.[199] On March 25, 1545, Prince Philip (the future Philip II) urgently wrote to Charles V on the subject of the "Moriscos of Granada" and the "recently converted people of Valencia." The Emperor had recently written to Rome in order to secure papal briefs that would enable "the disarmament of the Moriscos," but such briefs had not arrived yet (and the necessary funds for raising the troops to enact it were not yet available), which evidently caused the prince no small amount of unease: in his letter, he urged the Emperor to write to Rome again and urge the papacy to produce the briefs "without further delay." He described the disarmament as being "of the highest importance in the service of our Lord and the peace of these realms."[200] This letter demonstrates the urgent concern Spanish officials held regarding the Moriscos' loyalty—Prince Philip portrayed the

[197] Heather, *State Identities*, 78.
[198] Zeldes, "Converso Emigration," 265.
[199] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 173.
[200] "Spain: March 1545, 21-31," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 8, 1545-1546*, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol8/pp71-81, accessed 16 March, 2021.

Moriscos as internal enemies within Spain, hence why he thought their immediate disarmament was such a pressing issue. Such concerns are given new significance when viewed against the ominous backdrop of the looming wars with the Ottomans that were raging during this time. Indeed, a little more than a decade later, the inquisitors of Aragon would officially issue an edict banning Moriscos and their descendants from bearing arms: the edict justified this measure by stating that "many times in recent years, fleets of Turks, the enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith, have come to the shores of these kingdoms, and you, the said new converts have celebrated...and desired...to join with them..."[201] Such measures demonstrate the conflation between Iberian Moriscos and foreign Muslim threats.

Thus, Spanish officials and ambassadors portrayed the Moriscos as not only fundamentally distanced from 'true' Spaniards but also as traitors to Spain itself who were aligned with the Muslim powers of the Mediterranean. Even the conversos were sometimes framed as allied to the Ottomans; indeed, there was a persistent belief in Spain during the sixteenth century that those Jews and conversos who had left Spain and Portugal during the late fifteenth century were returning to Muslim lands to not just return to their old religion but to aid the Turks in military endeavours against the Christians (these fears are displayed in the *Alborayque*, a text composed at the end of the fifteenth century that accused Spanish conversos of being complicit in the Ottoman's Sack of Constantinople in 1453).[202] These sorts of narratives served as another rhetorical strategy by which the Spaniards of this time reinforced their identity. The articulation of these ideas through diplomacy, as demonstrated by Charles V and his ambassador Juan de Vega, shows how the Spanish actively sought to cultivate these notions on the European stage and thus project an image of their self-representation abroad.

[201] Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 293.
[202] Zeldes, "Converso Emigration," 269.

Morisco Discrimination and the Question of Race

Notions of 'race' were certainly at play in Spanish society's construction of converts from Islam; however, the idea that there were immutable barriers between Moriscos and Old Christians is too simplistic. This concept is demonstrated by the discourse surrounding Morisco skin colour: documents that inventoried the sale of slaves during the Alpujarras rebellion described enslaved Moriscos as "tawny," "black," "white tending to cooked quince," or even "white."[203] Thus, skin-colour was not a valid way of differentiating the Moriscos from Spaniards: indeed, Spanish writers occasionally portrayed Moorish women as blonde and indistinguishable from classical European beauties.[204] Just as with the Jewish converts, the primary issue at play here was the notion of tainted lineages, which, once again, was fundamentally religious in nature. Indeed, much of the discriminatory hysteria surrounding the Moriscos seemed to be directed against outward ethno-cultural practices instead.[205]

The conflation of 'race' and ethnicity or religion is evident in the Spanish concern over the Moriscos' inheritance of an Islamic ethnic identity. Spanish Old Christians believed that the traditions and cultural practices the Moriscos inherited from Islam—dress, behaviour, and food selection and preparation, which were distinct from doctrinal belief but had nonetheless become ingrained after generations of usage—were indicators of a continued adherence to Islamic faith; in this case, the 'cultural' and the 'religious' had become inseparable.[206] This sort of view was reflected in official decrees; many edicts were issued to eradicate Moorish cultural practices during the reign of Charles V. For example, the mandate that he issued against the Moriscos in June 1526 officially banned any expression of Morisco culture, namely their distinct dress, the

[203] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 95; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 342.
[204] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 95.
[205] Ibid, 95.
[206] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 205; Heather, *State Identities*, 77, 79.

use of the Arabic language, ritual slaughter, circumcision, and even the use of Moorish names.[207] Although the Emperor ultimately agreed to suspend this mandate for forty years after the Morisco community offered to pay a substantial sum, the law nonetheless demonstrates a clear equation between the cultural characteristics of the Moriscos (including things as incidental as their names) and the religion of Islam; these features still designated them as being a part of the 'Other.'[208] The Spanish Inquisition also pursued Moriscos on the basis of cultural practices: for example, in 1538 the tribunal apprehended a Morisco of Toledo who was accused of "playing music at night, dancing the *zambra* and eating couscous." Despite the fact that none of these customs were doctrinal in nature, these were all taken as markers of Islamic faith.[209] In these cases, the possession of Moorish cultural traits was the true marker of adherence to Islam.

Just as with the conversos, Spaniards imagined the Moriscos as a different 'race' due to ethnic characteristics and vague notions of tainted bloodlines. The Moriscos represented an incompatible ethno-cultural identity that was construed as antithetical to what it meant to have membership in the Spanish imagined community. However, since the delineation between Old and New Christians was merely a construction, this meant that the borders between them were not fixed and could be surprisingly malleable. For example, those of Moorish descent could circumvent the idea of 'purity of blood' just as conversos could. Charles V often effaced the taints in certain eminent Moriscos' bloodlines for pragmatic reasons and thus revoked their 'Moorishness.'[210] For example, in 1533 the Emperor granted Pedro de Granada Venegas—a

[207] Green-Mercado, "Ethnic Groups in Renaissance Spain," 133; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 23; Parker, *Emperor*, 162; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 289.
[208] Parker, *Emperor*, 162; "Spain: November 1527, 1-20," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 3 Part 2, 1527-1529*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol3/no2/pp449-460, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[209] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 176; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 289.
[210] Edwards, "Theory of Race," 196; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 127.

knight of Alcantara who had served as the controller of Isabella's household and also happened to be a descendent of the caliphs of Granada—a *cedula real* in order to efface his and his descendants' Morisco origins and thus exempt them from the Holy Office's jurisdiction; the Emperor granted the *cedula* in recognition of his contributions to the conquest of Granada (he had converted beforehand).[211] However, an even more troubling marker of this instability was manifested by the fact that not only the Moriscos but the Spanish Old Christians themselves were influenced by Moorish culture.

Spanish Anxieties regarding Spain's Moorish Heritage

As much as the rhetoric and decrees of Charles V's day stressed Spain's antithesis to its Moriscos and Mudejars, a deep sense of anxiety existed in Spain regarding the nation's Moorish heritage. While fears of Jewish influence in Spain were based on what could not be seen—notions of ancestry and concealed Jewish blood—Muslim influence in Spain was more visible in that it was evident in Spain's culture. Many cultural traits derived from al-Andalus—such as the wearing of the *toca* and the practice of sitting on the floor on cushions and carpets, which was particularly prevalent among Spanish noblewomen—had become central elements of sixteenth-century Spanish culture. The *toca* was a Moorish headdress that was similar to a turban; it had become considered a national headdress in Spain during this era and was widely used amongst the higher classes.[212] Indeed, despite the fact that Spain's official narrative was based on a rejection of Moors, there was actually a strong retention (unconscious or otherwise) of certain Moorish characteristics in Spanish culture, such practices having become fully ingrained and accepted amongst Spaniards over the decades.[213]

[211] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 164.
[212] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 92.
[213] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 100-1; Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 23.

Spain's relationship towards these Moorish traits was remarkably complex and riddled with insecurities and uncertainties.[214] Indeed, many Spaniards felt a good deal of conflict and anxiety regarding their Moorish past and any possible Moorish influence on their culture. This concern was manifested in sixteenth-century studies of the Spanish language. During this period, there was a great surge in interest in the Spanish vernacular, with scholars such as Antonio de Nebrija claiming in 1492 that it was a language that should have a central role in Spanish sovereignty and be exalted by all.[215] Beneath all this glorification, however, linguists and humanists often fixated on the Moorish influence on their language—a troubling indebtedness that could not be ignored. This anxiety is demonstrated by Spanish linguist Juan de Valdés, who lamented the Arabic influences that he found in the Castilian vernacular; he believed that the centuries of Moorish occupation left an unignorable contagion on the language. In his *Diálogo de la Lengua* (1535), Valdés displayed such anxiety:

> During this interval, the Spaniards were unable to preserve the purity of their language from having much of the Arabic mix with it. For although they recovered the kingdoms, cities, towns and villages, the many Moors who remained living within them kept their language so that it lasted until a few years ago, when the Emperor ordered them to become Christians or leave Spain, and speaking among us they have stuck us with many of their words.[216]

While Valdés ultimately accepted Castilian's bastardy, he was nonetheless deeply troubled by the presence of Arabic features, and thus attempted to offer a solution by suggesting Castilian alternatives to any common Arabic-derived words.[217]

Another cultural feature that the Spanish expressed anxiety over was the *juegos de cañas*—a royal jousting game based on Moorish traditions that involved Spanish noblemen

[214] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 11-12.
[215] Ibid, 24.
[216] Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua*, ed. Juan M. Lope Blanch (Madrid: Castalia, 1984), 67. Translated in Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 27-8.
[217] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 28.

dressed in "Moorish" style with "Moorish cloaks and hoods."[218] While these games had become an ingrained part of Spanish aristocratic culture, a great deal of apprehension began to develop surrounding the custom during the sixteenth century, especially as more and more foreigners critiqued it as something distinctly Moorish.[219] Thus, Spanish authors attempted to 'classicise' the games by rooting them in imperial Roman history. Such a trend persisted into the reign of Philip II: Juan Rufo Gutiérrez, for example, wrote in 1571 that "the cavalry, like the Trojans, want to play cañas," thus linking the games to the story of Ascanius. In all their writings, these figures never acknowledged the blatant Moorish origins of the game and instead tied Spain's culture to a Roman origin that was shared by other European nations such as Italy, thus cleansing Spain of its sense of difference.[220] The classicising of the games and the denial of their Moorish origins represents the same sort of cultural silencing as the efforts of Valdés—these rhetorical strategies were a sort of purging of Spain's Moorish heritage. But these attempts nonetheless reveal a deep-seated insecurity that existed within the Spanish national identity, just as the controversy over *limpieza* and the *libros verdes* did.

Sixteenth-century Spanish historians and officials also distanced themselves from any Moorish contamination through the deliberate erasure of Spain's Moorish past in official histories. Spanish historiography during this period attempted to announce a firm severance with all memory of al-Andalus in order to reaffirm the glory of a united, gothic Spain.[221] Historians—especially official historians of the Spanish courts—were careful to close the fissure that existed between the glorified Visigothic past and the present by portraying the continuity of a Christian

[218] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 91- 2; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 90, 94-7.
[219] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 114.
[220] Ibid, 99-100.
[221] Ibid, 17.

Visigothic resistance to Muslim rule during the period of al-Andalus.[222] For example, Ambrosio de Morales pronounced in his *Crónica General* (1577) that a Christian Visigothic presence withstood the Moorish invasion in the northern reaches of Spain under King Pelayo.[223] More importantly, historians claimed that a steadfast community of "many ancient Spaniards" who continued to uphold their faith, culture, and pure lineage survived in the rest of the Muslim-occupied peninsula, thereby maintaining the continuity of the Spanish people even in the darkness of Muslim al-Andalus.[224] This rhetoric is again demonstrated by Morales, who, through his analysis of the early Spanish church and Christian artefacts and graves, proved the existence of a continuous Christian community throughout Muslim-occupied Spain.[225]

While Morales wrote during the reign of Philip II and thus falls slightly outside of the area of focus of this analysis, his views were nonetheless indicative of the mindset of Spanish historians and writers in general during this period. Indeed, the same sort of historical silencing and reaffirmation of the official narrative is demonstrated in Queen Juana's 1521 letter to Charles V. In her plea for Charles V to combat heresy, she evoked the memory of the Catholic Monarchs and proclaimed how "their Highnesses commanded that all the Moors and Jews should be driven away, and drove them out of Castile… to put away all that might be a hindrance to the service of God."[226] In this instance, Queen Juana presented a blatant distortion of historical reality: not all of the Moors were driven away by the Catholic Monarchs, as many converted and remained in Spain as the Moriscos, whose presence was impossible to be ignored. Moreover, Mudejar communities persisted in Aragon until 1609. This rhetorical strategy is thus similar to

[222] Lucia Binotti, *Cultural Capital, Language and National Identity in Imperial Spain* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2012), 133.
[223] Kagan, *Clio and the Crown*, 113.
[224] Ibid, 113.
[225] Binotti, *Cultural Capital,* 141-143.
[226] "Queen Juana: April 1521."

Morales' attempts to purge Spain past and present from any Moorish presence. Sixteenth-century Spanish writers who attempted to attribute an African origin to the Moriscos also demonstrated this sort of discourse; these writers excised this non-desirable Semitic element from Spain and safely distanced it. However, there were always voices of doubt: certain Spaniards even claimed that the Moriscos were originally Christian Visigothic people—much like the Old Christians—who had been converted during the time of Islamic rule in the Umayyad period. The Bishop of Calahorra was one such person, as he claimed in 1543 that "[the Moriscos] are our neighbors and such ancient Spaniards and many of them descended from Christians."[227]

These findings reveal that Spaniards during the reign of Charles V were fixated on their possible Moorish ancestry. Indeed, far from being firm in their belief in the proud Old Christian identity they projected to the outside world, the Spaniards of this era bore a deep-seated uncertainty regarding traces of the Moorish world in their culture and history, and they resorted to various rhetorical strategies in an attempt to deny such disturbing suggestions. However, as the Bishop of Calahorra and Juan de Valdés had to ultimately acknowledge, such links to Moordom were inescapable. Thus, although the Spanish presented a stark definition between their imagined community of gothic Old Christians and the Semitic non-Christians of Iberia, the border was actually quite blurred. Indeed, a clearly defined and separated 'Other' proved to be an unstable construct, as it so often has in the construction of state identities throughout history.[228]

<u>European Anti-Narratives: Spain as 'Moorish'</u>

This thesis has shown how Spanish officials under Charles V sought to not only cultivate an identity based on opposition to Moors and a crusading spirit, but also to project this identity on the stage of European diplomacy. However, in contrast to Spain's best efforts in this regard,

[227] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 117.
[228] Garcia-Arenal, "Creating Conversos," 6.

Europeans frequently saw Spain as essentially Moorish, or at least closely tied to Moordom.[229] Indeed, foreigners did not just disparage Spain for its association with Jews: they exploited Spain's connections to al-Andalus and its cultural links to the Islamic world to construct Spain as a religious 'Other' itself.[230] These foreigners thus seized upon the weaknesses that were inherent in Spanish rhetoric regarding its supposed antithesis to the Moorish world. The view that Spain was fundamentally Moorish—or Jewish for that matter—can be seen as a precursor of the 'Black Legend' that was to develop in the latter decades of the sixteenth century (during which time William of Orange called Philip II a "Moorish tiger-beast" and linked "poperye" with "Maranes [Marranos] and Mahomettes").[231] While the Black Legend was propagated by Spain's political rivals, it is interesting to see in the following examples that such opinions and views were not always born from the enmity of political rivalry during the reign of Charles V—many times such views were expressed by diplomats who were merely visiting Spain and commenting on what they perceived. These views proved all the more troubling for Spaniards and had a noticeable effect on their surprisingly sensitive psyche.

The primary narrative directed against Spain regarding its association with Moors was the idea that the kingdom was until very recently dominated by Muslims. This narrative also entailed the idea that traces of the Islamic past spanned the entire peninsula and not just the former Emirate of Granada.[232] For these foreigners, Moors were not relegated to the past or to a single region. This view is demonstrated by the Italian humanist Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, who claimed in 1504 that the entirety of Spain was subject to Islamic rule "down to our time."[233] The

[229] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 119.
[230] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 92.
[231] Ibid, 94; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 315; Gary K. Waite, "Reimagining Religious Identity: The Moor in Dutch and English Pamphlets, 1550–1620," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (2013): 1262.
[232] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 160-1.
[233] Ibid, 160-1.

Archbishop of Armagh echoed this narrative in 1518: on his passing through Aragon, he commented on the high percentage of Moorish labourers he saw around him, reporting that most of the inhabitants of the kingdom were "Agarenes [Sarracens] and in mine opinion finally shall be so all and sundry." Zuan Negro made similar observations about Granada in 1526.[234]

Furthermore, foreign observers construed many of the cultural features of Spain as Moorish or 'exotic,' which implied the survival of cultural residue from medieval al-Andalus.[235] The exoticization of Spain because of its cultural features is demonstrated by the Flemish nobles who escorted Charles V into Spain in 1517. In his chronicle of the visit, Flemish courtier Laurent Vital described a Spanish man who wore a *toca*:

> This good old man, by his costume, seemed like one of the three kings who came to adore our savior Jesus, so triumphantly was he dressed. His head was covered in the Turkish or Jewish fashion that Turks and Saracens use: it is a headdress wound several times around the head, all made of cloth, such as they used to wear in Castile, but now it is largely abandoned, except for the old people, who regretfully leave their ancient customs and ways of doing things; just as I have seen [in our country]some old people wearing their poulaine shoes, so do some of these with this headdress . . . I have seen many country people wearing them.[236]

In this manner, Vital drew a clear association between Spaniards and oriental peoples (notably Muslims and Jews) and thus distanced them from Europe; he specifically figured the wearing of the *toca* as a custom that had lingered from a distinctly Moorish past and thus served as something of a taint. Vital also commented that the peasant dances of Spain were "Moorish."[237] Another cultural feature that seemed to confirm the Moorish influence within Spain for foreigners was the custom of sitting upon the floor 'Muslim style'; Flemish courtiers, notably

[234] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 219.
[235] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 92; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 119.
[236] Laurent Vital, *Premier Voyage de Charles-Quint en Espagne, de 1517 à 1518, vol. III*; translated in Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 92.
[237] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 79.

Antoine de Lalaing in 1501, framed this practice as setting the Spanish apart.[238] These sorts of constructions of Spanish culture fed into the foreign narrative of an exotic, Islamic Spain.[239]

However, the most powerful narrative that cast Spain as fundamentally Moorish was the direct conflation of Moors and Spaniards. Such a conflation appears to have stemmed in part from the strong association between Spaniards and barbarism that arose in Italy during the Italian Wars and the period of Spanish domination in the peninsula. Italian diatribes against their Spanish conquerors ascribed the label of 'Moor' and 'infidel' to them based on their propensity towards violence during this period. Such was the language used by a poet of Prato following the Spaniards' sack of that city in 1512: he decried them as "rabid dogs, enemies of Christ."[240] This idea is more directly seen in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516), in which he depicted all Spaniards simply as Saracens. Ariosto's Spain was entirely Moorish in character— Christian Spanish champions were entirely absent, as 'Spaniard' simply implied 'Moor' in the world of the epic. Ariosto was not even politically anti-Spanish: Ariosto often sang praises of Charles V and called him to be the leader of Christendom, after all. This demonstrates the existence of an innate negative image of Spaniards as Saracen 'Others' in sixteenth-century Italy.[241]

Thus, for all their attempts to define themselves in opposition to Moors and portray themselves as pure, gothic Old Christians, the Spanish were frequently figured as tainted by Moorish influence by foreigners—enemy and ally alike—during the sixteenth century. Such narratives represent an attempt to use Spain's own discourse of religious difference against it and stigmatise Spain according to its own terms.[242] While more of an emphasis on Spain as

[238] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 14-15.
[239] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 93.
[240] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation,* 119.
[241] Ibid, 101, 119.
[242] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 96.

miscegenated and tainted with Moorish blood developed within England, the Netherlands, and France in the later decades of the sixteenth century—as demonstrated by Antoine Arnauld's *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard*, which labeled Spaniards as "Negroes," and Edward Daunce, who in his *Brief Discourse of the Spanish State* (1590) remarked that "we must not think that the Negroes sent for women out of Aphrick" when commenting on the medieval Moorish occupation—the examples examined here demonstrate that even in the earlier decades of the sixteenth century an idea of Spain as Moorish, oriented around Spain's unique history and notions of Spanish barbarism and cultural exoticism, had developed and was in circulation.[243] Thus, the construction of 'Spain' involved fictive identities that were not just crafted within Spain but also without.[244] Even as Spaniards sought to define themselves against Jews and Moors as religious, cultural, or racial 'Others,' the Europeans who observed Spain during this time defined Spaniards themselves as precisely that—an 'Other'—due to the prevalence of these very minorities amongst them.[245]

Spanish Responses to Foreign Criticisms

Spanish officials often responded to foreign accusations of 'Moorishness' by turning towards a more vehement rejection of Spain's Morisco culture and greater extremes regarding the treatment of Moriscos.[246] Indeed, historian Alain Milhou has intriguingly suggested that Spanish officials' vehement attacks against Moors and Spain's Moorish heritage in general may have in part been fueled by foreign attacks.[247] This idea is reflected in the strong reaction against the tradition of maurophile poetry. Several virulent anti-Moorish romances were written during

[243] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 96-7; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 115-6.
[244] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 138.
[245] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 88.
[246] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish," 241.
[247] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 22; Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 95.

the sixteenth century in response to this genre; their authors were driven by European—and specifically Protestant—mockery in their deliberate avoidance of any sort of discussion of Moors. This concept is demonstrated by the following line from an anonymous Spanish poet of the time: "Has it come to [the maurophile poets'] notice that there are Christians in Spain? Do they want the heretic to say that in our holy faith there is infamy in the names with which we are baptized?"[248] This line specifically demonstrates how Spain's aggressive rejection of Moorishness was partly fueled by their awareness of foreign perceptions. This Spanish writer aggressively reaffirmed Spain's official identity by attacking the source of foreign antinarratives.

This trend is also demonstrated by Charles V's decision to forcefully convert the Moors of Aragon, which was likely influenced by the scorn of Francis I (1515-1547). After Charles V's forces captured Francis I during the decisive Battle of Pavia (1525), the Emperor brought the French king back to Spain, where he was temporarily held at the castle of Benisanó in Valencia. During this time, Francis I was allegedly scandalised at the sight of Mudejar labourers tilling the fields during a religious holiday. While Charles V and his councillors had already considered converting the Moors of Aragon at this point, it is possible that the Emperor was spurred on to immediate action by the mockery of the captive French king.[249] This incident demonstrates once more the great concern the Spanish monarchy felt over the opinions of outsiders that challenged its official narrative; more importantly, it demonstrates their willingness to act in response to such challenges. Queen Isabella had reacted to such challenges in a similar manner. Flemish courtier Antonine de Lalaing described how it was the opinions of Philip the Fair and his retinue that influenced Queen Isabella's decision to expel the Moors of Castile in 1502. Lalaing

[248] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 126.
[249] Ibid, 22-23; Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 81.

recounted how Philip had expressed his "surprise" at the "multitude of white Moors" who resided in Spain and had remarked to the queen that "someday they might do more damage to the realm than their tribute was worth."[250] The official narrative of Spain as a nation of crusaders against infidels was challenged by Philip's disapproval of Castile's apparent coexistence and acceptance of the Moors after the conquest. Thus, in response, Queen Isabella ordered the expulsion of the Castilian Moors; she specifically did this to "please" Philip the Fair, according to Lalaing. The responses of both Charles V and Queen Isabella indicate a fundamental insecurity surrounding Spain's official narrative, as Spain's supposed anti-Moorishness was rendered insufficient by the opinions of outsiders such as Philip the Fair and Francis I. Indeed, these findings suggest that Spain's extreme anti-Moorishness was not just fueled by Spanish ideology but was in part driven by a response to foreign attitudes, which Spaniards self-consciously conceded to all too earnestly.[251]

However, it is interesting to note that Spanish diplomats sometimes compared *themselves* to Moors or Muslims in the context of the violence committed by Spanish soldiers abroad. These sorts of views were occasionally displayed by Spanish diplomats in Italy who reported on the actions of Spain's soldiers during the Italian wars; these figures thus fell in line with those Italians who made the very same comparisons. This idea is best demonstrated following the pinnacle of Spanish brutality during the Italian Wars when even Spain's own diplomats could not but acknowledge the scale of the violence: the infamous Sack of Rome (1527). When Pope Clement VII defied Charles V by joining France and Venice in the League of Cognac with the purpose of driving the Emperor out of Italy, Charles V—who so often proclaimed himself as the

[250] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 21.
[251] Ibid, 22.

defender of Christendom—ordered his army to attack Rome and capture the pope.[252] On May 18, 1527, Juan Perez, First Secretary to the Imperial Embassy in Rome, wrote to Charles V:

> This fear of the citizens was the sole cause of Rome being sacked by the Imperial soldiers, which was done with as much cruelty and wantonness as if it had been plundered by Turks, for neither the churches nor the monasteries were spared, the soldiers taking away the silver ornaments, the relics of the saints, and the very consecrated vessels (*custodias*) containing the host.[253]

Such words betray a similar line of thought to the Italians who framed Spaniards as Moorish to denounce Spanish violence. Perez acknowledged comparisons to the Turks—the great enemies of Christianity—due to the extreme violence and sacrilege committed by the Emperor's soldiers. These comparisons hint at moments of weaknesses in Spain's self-assertion as the defender of Christendom; such comparisons could only be drawn in moments of great shame.

These responses demonstrate Spanish anxieties regarding their state's self-fashioned identity, and how it was often dialogue with foreigners that destabilised this image. Moreover, this analysis has shown that it was the confrontation with the 'Other'—in this case, the 'Other' within—that proved so troubling for these Spaniards; Spanish officials and writers strove so ardently to project an image of themselves as defined in opposition to the Jews, conversos, and the Moors of Iberia, and yet they could not escape the lingering traces of these 'races' within their own imagined community, traces that foreigners derided them for. The Spanish projected a certain image of themselves on the stage of European diplomacy, but in return they were greeted with a misshapen mirror held by foreigners that cast a distorted image back at them.

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[252] Parker, *Emperor*, 171-173.

[253] "Spain: May 1527, 11-20," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 3 Part 2, 1527-1529*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1877), *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol3/no2/pp186-204, accessed 16 March, 2021.

Chapter III: The Figure of the Luterano and the Symbol of the Spanish Inquisition

If the state-identity that the Spanish Crown sought to cultivate and project to the outside world was grounded in religious notions, then the non-Christians of Iberia were not the only figures who the Spanish defined themselves in opposition to. As self-styled 'Defenders of the Faith,' the Spanish cast all heretics against their imagined community, including the Lutherans, or *luteranos*. The figure of the *luterano* was not just a concern of the imperial officials of the Holy Roman Empire—it frequently appeared in Spanish diplomatic correspondence throughout the reign of Charles V, as Spanish officials and ambassadors constructed an image of Spain that was in a constant struggle against Protestant heresy. Perhaps the most important component of this image that loomed ever-present in sixteenth-century Spanish discourse on Protestant heresy was the Spanish Inquisition, which was fashioned into a symbolic sword and shield that would facilitate Spain's mission of Catholic crusade.

The Spanish perceived Lutheran heresy as a threat to Christendom that they had to confront on the European stage as well as a blight that threatened to infect Spain itself.[254] The existence of a heretical threat to their kingdom that needed to be confronted is demonstrated in Queen Juana's 1521 letter to Charles V:

> We desire you to know that through various channels has been forwarded to these your kingdoms and seignories the intelligence of the discord and schism which the heresiarch Martin Luther has sown in Germany amongst the subjects and vassals of your Majesty, which has caused and still occasions to all of us, as Catholic Christians and supporters of the faith and the service and honor of your Majesty, great pain and grief; especially because we have been certified that that seducer, not content with having perverted and deceived Germany, is endeavoring with his

[254] Jaime Contreras and Gustav Henningsen, "Forty-Four Thousand Cases of the Spanish Inquisition (1540-1700): Analysis of a Historical Data Bank," in *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, ed. Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 123.

> malignant and diabolical cunning to pervert and contaminate these your kingdoms and seignories of Spain.[255]

In this letter, Queen Juana placed special emphasis on the threat of Lutheran heresy entering and "contaminating" Spain. It was precisely this fear that made the Spanish Inquisition such a crucial symbol during the sixteenth century; indeed, during the reign of Charles V, the Inquisition came to be perhaps more associated with pursuing *luteranos* than dealing with crypto-Jews due to the decline in converso cases by the 1540s. The development of the Lutheran threat during these years came, in fact, to revitalise the Inquisition.[256] Charles V himself stressed the importance of the Inquisition as a shield in defending Spain's orthodox purity from external heretical threats in a letter he wrote in February 1537 to Alvaro Mendez, his ambassador in Portugal; he noted that the tribunal "saves [João III's] kingdom and Ours from contamination of heresy."[257]

The pall of fear cast on Spain and Spanish officials by the shadow of the Protestant Reformation, the threat of an ideological invasion of Lutheran heresy, and the importance of the Inquisition in combatting these factors reached its dramatic climax with the infamous 1558 trials in Valladolid. Charles V gave his full support to Inquisitor-General Valdés in this campaign, despite no longer serving as King of Spain at this time.[258] The Emperor wrote in a letter to the Regent Juana that such heretics were internal enemies that had to be eradicated as threats to the realm and the security of the state.[259] This incident demonstrates how Charles V framed the figure of the heretic as the national enemy of Spain, and how he understood the Inquisition as his

[255] "Queen Juana: April 1521."
[256] Marshall, "The Other Black Legend," 47.
[257] "Spain: February 1537," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 5 Part 2, 1536-1538*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no2/pp310-327, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[258] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 119; Contreras, "Aldermen and Judaizers," 100; Edwards, "The Spanish Inquisition Refashioned," 41-4.
[259] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 119; Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 75.

primary weapon in combatting them; this was an important development that had been building throughout his reign.

The above letters also reflect another fascinating development in Spanish self-perception during this period: identification in contrast to the Lutheran heretic. The discourse found in Queen Juana's letter, for example, clearly points towards the existence of an 'us versus them' siege mentality that figured the Spanish people as alone in a world overrun by heretics that was always threatening to invade and corrupt. Indeed, the figure of the Lutheran came to be conflated with the figure of the foreigner at this point in time.[260] For example, when the Elector Palatine visited Spain in 1538, a mob of irate Spaniards accosted some of the Germans of his retinue for not kneeling throughout the Mass. The Spaniards proceeded to denounce the Germans to the Inquisition; after the Germans protested that many Spaniards did the same, the inquisitors answered that those from heretical lands needed to be more careful.[261] The Spanish came to associate the figure of the Englishman in particular with the heretic during the Henrician reforms of the 1530s.[262] This idea is reflected in the Spanish state papers: Spanish ambassadors perceived their English counterparts not only as "barbarians" and "insular and barbarous people" but as distinctly ungodly and un-Christian in contrast to the noble Spanish defender of the faith.[263] For example, on October 2, 1554, a Spanish gentleman who had accompanied Prince Philip to England vented his disdain for the "barbarous English heretics" and identified the whole nation as one of apostates, before going on to rant that they were "void of soul or conscience, fear

[260] Marshall, "The Other Black Legend," 47.
[261] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 226.
[262] Marshall, "The Other Black Legend," 46-8.
[263] "Spain: July 1553, 1-10," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11, 1553*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol11/pp69-80, accessed 16 March, 2021; "Spain: September 1554," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 13, 1554-1558*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol13/pp39-55, accessed 16 March, 2021.

neither God nor His saints, and refuse obeisance to the Pope who, as they say, is a man like themselves and has no right to order them to do this or that."[264] The association between foreignness and heresy is demonstrated by the fact that the Inquisition monitored foreign merchants and inspected their cargo, most notably the English, who heavily traded with Spain in the 1530s; the tribunal came to serve as something of a border force for the northern ports of Galicia and Cantabria.[265] These examples demonstrate how Spaniards developed an association between foreigners and heretics during this period. Indeed, there was a strain of nationalistic and even xenophobic tendencies that ran through the cultural veins of Counter-Reformation Spain.[266]

Thus, the Spanish of the sixteenth century came to define their purity and orthodoxy through the identification of a foreign heretical 'Other'—the heretics of Germany, the Low Countries, and England.[267] These nations were construed as the 'enemies' of Christianity, while the Spanish, through their upholdance of the Inquisition, were righteous defenders of the faith. These findings point towards the fact that the figure of the Spanish Inquisition was enormously important as a symbol of Spain's self-construction as a nation perpetually in defence of the Catholic faith. As such, the matter of the Inquisition and the Protestant threat appear time and again in diplomacy with foreign nations.

The Spanish (and those who served them) sought to project an image of Spain that they had constructed since the dawn of the Reformation—that of a kingdom committed in its cause of combatting Protestant heresy—throughout Europe via their ambassadors. In his 1550 letter to Charles V, for example, Simon Renard noted how he had described to the Constable of France

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[264] "Spain: October 1554, 1-15," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 13, 1554-1558*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol13/pp55-71, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[265] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 226; Contreras and Henningsen, "Analysis of a Historical Data Bank," 123-124.
[266] Marshall, "The Other Black Legend," 48.
[267] Ibid, 48.

that the Emperor worked tirelessly "for the restoration and recovery of the Church afflicted and assailed by heresy."[268] More importantly, whenever the matter of the Inquisition came up in discussions with foreign delegates, ambassadors, and monarchs alike, the Spanish were very careful to officially support this instrument of Spanish state-identity and portray it as a holy and essential tool in their mission of defending the faith. This idea is reflected in Charles V's meeting with Thomas Wyatt, Henry VIII's resident ambassador in Paris: after Wyatt complained of the Inquisition's treatment of English merchants, the Emperor replied that his predecessors had established the Holy Office for a good reason that he would not contest.[269] The Emperor told Wyatt "I cannot [prevent] the Inquisition. This is a thing that touches our faith," before adding "I assure you I will not alter my inquisition."[270] In this confrontation, Charles V symbolically reiterated his kingdom's commitment to upholding the Inquisition, thereby affirming its symbolic significance to the identity that Spain sought to project abroad and its central place within Spain's foreign policy. As an ultimate expression of this ideological stance, the Spanish even sought to implement the Spanish Inquisition in various lands under their domain at several points during this period. Charles V attempted to introduce the Inquisition in Naples in 1547 (Ferdinand had done the same in 1510), and he considered introducing a Spanish version of the tribunal in the Low Countries as early as the winter of 1521 (on the suggestion of Alonso Manrique, his Spanish *capellan mayor*).[271]

Not enough scholarly work has been done on the Inquisition as it appeared in Spanish diplomatic correspondence with the outside world during the first half of the sixteenth century. A

[268] "Spain: February 1550."
[269] Gordon Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1975), 110.
[270] Parker, *Emperor*, 519.
[271] Duke, "A Legend in the Making," 131.

careful look at the state papers reveals not only fascinating insights into the ways in which the Inquisition figured in international politics but, more importantly, how the Spanish saw the Inquisition, how they understood it in relation to their identity as defenders against a heretical 'Other,' and, above all, the anxieties that discourse over the matter of the Inquisition with foreigners caused them. For as much as the Spanish tried to present themselves as the defenders of Catholicism in their campaign against Lutheran heresy and the Inquisition as a holy and necessary institution, such self-fashioning often would not hold up on the stage of European diplomacy. Indeed, when Spanish ambassadors (or ambassadors in service to Spain) confronted foreigners on the diplomatic stage over the matter of the Inquisition, they would be presented with a distorted image of themselves: in their very endeavours to style themselves as the defenders of Christianity, Spaniards were rendered as the enemy of Christendom. These insights reveal once more the weaknesses that existed in Spanish official ideology and the anxieties the Spanish exhibited regarding the projection of their identity on the European stage.

The Black Legend Emerges: An Anti-Narrative of Spanish Cruelty and Tyranny

If the Inquisition was meant to be one of the Spanish monarchy's principal symbols that underpinned its identity as the defender of the Catholic faith, its status as such was frequently challenged by the brutal attacks and critiques that came from foreign diplomats or writers that centred around the figure of the Inquisition. The fervent anti-Spanish propaganda that made up the Black Legend centred itself on the Spanish Inquisition and framed the tribunal as a threat to Christianity as well as a danger to human liberty—this was another inversion of the Spanish narrative, just as the accusations of Jewishness or Moorishness were.[272] Most scholarship on the Black Legend has focused on its formation during and after the Dutch Rebellion of the 1560s and

[272] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 252.

the Anglo-Spanish Wars of the 1580s.[273] While it is true that these events were what caused the great pamphlet campaign in Protestant Europe to truly begin in earnest, it is important to remember that the Black Legend did not emerge *ex nihilo*—the seeds for this ideological movement were sown much earlier in the century. As the state papers make clear, the figure of the Inquisition frequently came under attack from foreign diplomats and had accrued a bad reputation much earlier than the 1560s. While Charles V and his officials promoted an image of the tribunal as a holy instrument of prudent investigation that defended the Catholic faith and the Spanish people, a counterimage of the tribunal as an instrument of tyranny characterised by arbitrary action and singular cruelty emerged in the lands of the heretics (and even the lands of other Catholics), and the tribunal quickly developed into something of a dreaded spectre on the international scene.[274]

The roots of this trend can be traced back to the earliest decades of the sixteenth century with Italian (and particularly Venetian) diplomats, whose tendency to perceive Spaniards as cruel and barbaric was centred on criticisms of the Inquisition.[275] While some Italians initially praised Ferdinand and Isabella for their establishment of the Inquisition, the comments of figures such as the Venetian ambassadors Gasparo Contarini and Federico Badoero indicate that this trend was no longer the case by the sixteenth century; the general perception among Italians during this time was that it was an unholy mechanism of power rather than the holy instrument the Catholic Monarchs and Charles V portrayed it as. Indeed, Venetians unfailingly came to depict the Inquisition as a despotic institution that had enslaved a hypocritical nation.[276] Gasparo Contarini

[273] Pauline Croft, "Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition 1558-1625," *The English Historical Review* 87, no. 343 (April 1972): 249; John H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), 27; Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 107.
[274] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 369.
[275] Fletcher, "Mere Emulators of Italy," 22.
[276] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 255.

was one of the first to do so when he described the tribunal as a "true tyranny over the poor New Christians" in 1525 and claimed that the entire population of Spain lived in fear of its shadow.[277] Contarini exhibited the Italian tendency to contrast Italian civility with Spanish backwardness and barbarity when he noted that the tribunal "[proceeded] with [greater] severity, and more terror" than the Venetian Council of Ten.[278] This current of thought continued later into the century among Italians, with Badoero claiming in 1557 that the tribunal's unfair procedure inspired terror in all.[279] Much of the discourse surrounding the Inquisition in Italy was influenced by the perceived hypocrisy that underlay the Spaniards' projected religiosity—indeed, Francesco Guicciardini, the Florentine ambassador to the Catholic Monarchs, described Spaniards as "very religious in externals and outward show, but not so in fact."[280] This line of thinking led such figures as Contarini and Badoero to believe that the tribunal was only created as a pretext to seize the wealth of Spain's Jewish community.[281] These comments and accusations of hypocrisy regarding the tribunal tore up the narrative that Spanish monarchs and officials sought to project regarding this institution. As Michael J. Levine has noted in his study of Spanish ambassadors in sixteenth-century Italy, although the Spanish attempted to project an aura of power and justice in Italy, the Italians were not convinced and were more often than not unreceptive.[282]

This negative perception of the Inquisition—this 'anti-image'—seemingly permeated all the countries in contact with Spain at this time.[283] Even the merest whisper of the Inquisition was enough to cause diplomatic incidents that the Spanish would have to confront. This fact is

[277] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 223; Kamen, *An Historical Revision*, 309; Fletcher, "Mere Emulators of Italy," 18.
[278] Fletcher, "Mere Emulators of Italy," 18.
[279] Kamen, *An Historical Revision*, 309; Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 255.
[280] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 255; Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 128.
[281] Kamen, *An Historical Revision*, 309.
[282] Levine, *Agents of Empire*, 12.
[283] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 369.

demonstrated by the riots that broke out in Naples in 1510 and 1547 after news emerged that the Spanish Inquisition would be instituted there.[284] The Neapolitans already had an Inquisition of the Roman branch and seemingly accepted it without much objection, so the fact that such outcry erupted after this news demonstrates how the Neapolitans had a distinct recognition of a difference between the Roman and Spanish tribunals and a particular objection to and unique dread of the latter. Their southern neighbours the Sicilians were not much more pleasantly disposed towards the Spanish Inquisition (which had been established in Sicily in 1478, as the island was part of Ferdinand's overseas possessions): there were frequent bouts of violence directed against the tribunal throughout the sixteenth century, far more than anything seen anywhere else in Aragon.[285] However, the main arena where the Spanish were forced to confront dread over rumours of the Spanish Inquisition was the Low Countries.

The figure of the Spanish Inquisition frequently cast a shadow over the diplomacy between Spain and the Low Countries well before the Dutch Revolt, as the tribunal already had alarm bells ringing earlier in the century. As previously noted, Charles V considered introducing a form of the Spanish Inquisition in the Low Countries to combat heresy there as early as 1521, and rumours of this plan spread like wildfire whenever the Spanish implemented any sort of religious measures there. In 1540, for example, Charles V implemented an edict in the Low Countries that contained anti-heresy laws; this prompted Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer to describe these measures as "der hispanischen Inquisition," making a connection between a specifically 'Spanish' tribunal and the edict because of its repressive nature.[286]

[284] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 442, 369; Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 255.
[285] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 255.
[286] Duke, "A Legend in the Making," 132.

However, the events that occurred in Antwerp from 1546 to 1550 demonstrate even more vividly this sort of dread. In July 1546, an anonymous informant in Antwerp made claims that there were plans afoot to introduce a "tyrannical inquisition" in the Low Countries to persecute Christians—it was not just any inquisition, however, but the "Sancta Inquisitio Hispanica." This report was the Inquisition's first appearance in Northern European print, predating the vast waves of anti-Spanish propaganda of later decades, and it demonstrated that the Spanish tribunal was already synonymous with religious persecution at this point in time. Already the Protestants attached such dread to the tribunal that the merest mention of it was enough to chill their blood. The report went on to claim that Charles V and the pope themselves were behind this measure, and that arbitrary procedures, secret denunciations, and the confiscation of wealth would characterise the new tribunal, thus displaying many of the negative stereotypes that foreigners accorded to the Spanish tribunal in later years.[287]

A more dramatic incident in this saga occurred in 1550, when an uproar was incurred after the publication of the 'Eternal Edict' in Antwerp; this edict consolidated the various anti-heresy laws existing in the Low Countries into a single placard while introducing several more extreme measures (namely the requirement that all residents be Catholic, the obligation of officers to aid "inquisitors," and the prevention of judges from interfering in the administration of punishments).[288] This placard caused consternation among the magistrates at Antwerp, who concluded that Charles V intended to extend the Spanish tribunal's sphere of influence over the Low Countries. The magistrates complained to Queen Dowager Mary of Hungary (Charles V's governor of the Netherlands) herself about the situation, particularly objecting to the use of the dreaded word 'inquisitors,' which at this point clearly already had very negative connotations in

[287] Duke, "A Legend in the Making," 129-32.
[288] Ibid, 140-1.

association with Spain.[289] Moreover, in July 1550, Jean de Saint-Mauris, Charles V's ambassador to France, reported to Mary of Hungary on the concerns held by an English merchant who had come from Antwerp regarding the placard:

> He also told me, Madam, that he had recently passed through Antwerp on his way to Turnhout, and several English merchants had complained to him that a placard was going to be published in Antwerp on heresy, and that this placard was connected with the establishment of the Inquisition which the Emperor was setting up in the Low Countries. The merchants considered it very strange that they should be used so harshly, for they would certainly have to abandon this country, where they had been in the habit of sojourning and trading with the freedom usually allowed to merchants. This Inquisition would reduce them to a state of servitude which they would never bear, for they did not intend to be subjected to the denunciations their enemies and ill-wishers might lodge against them with the inquisitors. He added, Madam, that he well knew what the Spanish Inquisition was like, and he looked upon the placard as much too harsh. He supposed this Inquisition would also be exceedingly severe, and he thought the merchants ought to be acquainted with the manner in which it was to proceed.[290]

This case presents a diplomat in service of Charles V who was forced to confront the fear foreigners felt regarding the idea of the Spanish Inquisition; Saint-Mauris was forced to acknowledge the tribunal as a figure of international dread, as he specifically mentioned the Englishman's description of it as "exceedingly severe" and his use of the word "servitude." Indeed, the Englishman's claim that he "well [knew] what the Spanish Inquisition was like" and his presentation of the typical accusations that were leveled against the Spanish Inquisition by the propagators of the Black Legend in later decades (namely the problem of arbitrary denunciation from enemies) indicates the existence of this anti-image.

The publication of the 1550 edict would go on to have even larger repercussions in the Spanish diplomatic world; in September of that year, Jehan Scheyfve reported that such

[289] Duke, "A Legend in the Making," 141.
[290] "Spain: July 1550, 16-31," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 10, 1550-1552*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp135-148, accessed 16 March 2021.

complaints had even reached the court of the King of England, Edward IV (1547-1553). On September 1, he reported that the King's Council, after examining the placards, disapproved of them and "pronounced them to be inspired by the Spanish Inquisition, and to surpass it." Scheyfve noted that this incident caused the English to fear that the Spanish would establish the Inquisition in Flanders and that it would "drive [the English] out of the country and deprive them of its trade."[291] Once again, these concerns display a clear association between repressive religious measures and the Spanish Inquisition. The fact that the English immediately were sent into a panic at the thought of the Spanish Inquisition being introduced in Flanders also demonstrates the potent terror mere rumours of the Inquisition would cause in foreign affairs and how such rumours had the potential to spread like wildfire to the great detriment of the reputation of Spain.

Contrary to the intentions of those ambassadors serving the Spanish empire, the Spanish Inquisition developed a terrible reputation that proceeded it in Naples in 1510 and 1547 and in the Low countries in the 1540s and 1550s, which caused political problems and popular backlash before the tribunal was even actually physically present.[292] These responses to sometimes the merest rumour of the implementation of the Spanish Inquisition indicate just how negatively the tribunal was perceived outside of Iberia during the reign of Charles V: it was a dreaded spectre to the English, Flemish, and Netherlandish that the Spanish and their agents dealt with. Thus, the image of the Inquisition was subverted on the stage of European diplomacy. Moreover, the

[291] "Spain: September 1550," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 10, 1550-1552*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1914), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol10/pp167-181, accessed 16 March, 2021.
[292] Edwards, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 107.

frequent reports on these incidents reflect the importance that Spanish ambassadors accorded to such incidents and the anxiety they caused them.[293]

Spanish Responses: Embarrassment, Denial, and Reaffirmation

While the scholarship on Protestant views towards Counter-Reformation Spain is abundant, historical work on Spanish responses to these views is lacking—indeed, there seems to be a Spanish historical 'silence' in this regard. But once again, the state papers provide historians with an opportunity to glimpse how Spaniards reflected on and reacted to the views of foreigners regarding the Inquisition. In these letters, one can see that a response to the Black Legend developed during these years. Spanish ambassadors, as well as ambassadors in the service of Spain, had to confront a reality that clashed with their official narrative when they encountered incidents caused by fear of the Inquisition. These incidents prompted responses that ranged from embarrassment to desperate defensive excuses that utilised their tried and trusted religious rhetoric.[294] However, these answers often rang hollow.

In Saint-Mauris' report on the 1550 placard incident in Antwerp, for example, historians can glean insight into how ambassadors responded to these types of scenarios. Saint-Mauris described his response to the complaints and accusations of the English merchant:

> I answered, Madam, that this placard was the same that had been published here and accepted by all the Estates in his Majesty's presence, and the last one was only intended to repeat and explain the other. His Majesty had been obliged to publish them for the good of his people, the maintenance of the old religion, and the repression of heresy. As for the Inquisition, it was a false invention that stated that the Spanish Inquisition was to be imitated here. Nothing new had been done, but old dispositions, that had long ago been issued here in conformity with the written law of the land, had been confirmed. If the English merchants considered themselves injured by the placard, they might appeal to your Majesty to hear their wrongs. And this, Madam, is all I said on the subject.[295]

[293] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 369.
[294] Ibid, 1.
[295] "Spain: July 1550, 16-31."

Here Saint-Mauris reiterated Spanish aims in terms of stamping out heresy, thus reaffirming Spain's identity on the international stage. But at the same time, Saint-Mauris had to play down the rumours of the supposed introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in response to the pall that it had cast over the English merchants, thereby, in effect, distancing the tribunal from Spain's role as Defender of the Faith. This response displays the underlying anxiety ambassadors in service to Spain suffered regarding the Inquisition's effect on Spain's reputation abroad.

Charles V's ambassadors ultimately responded to the affair of the 1550 edict with embarrassment after the shocking rumours of the Inquisition got out of hand amongst the English and Flemish. Mary of Hungary had to categorically deny that Spain intended to establish a tribunal of the Spanish fashion in the Low Countries.[296] The Spanish promptly published a new edict that substituted the offensive term 'inquisitor' for the euphemistic term 'ecclesiastical judge' and exempted foreign merchants from the requirement to produce certificates of orthodoxy in order to appease the delegates of Antwerp.[297] Meanwhile, Scheyfve responded to the English Council's denouncement of the edict with similar embarrassment. After describing the Council's disapproval of the edicts, he noted how the English were "having them translated and circulated among the people."[298] This remark is included with an air of palpable discomfiture and unease. These sorts of responses represent Spanish confrontation with that which challenged their self-image. Confrontation with the 'Other'—in this case, the English or Netherlandish heretics—did not only reinforce national identity for the Spanish; it also had the potential to generate anxieties, as it destabilised their self-fashioned image.

[296] Duke, "A Legend in the Making," 141.
[297] Ibid.
[298] "Spain: September 1550."

However, if Charles V's ambassadors' confrontation with the shadow of the Black Legend in their dealings with foreign delegates represented something of a crisis to the image that they were trying to project on the international stage, then *Spaniards* who criticized the tribunal abroad represented an even greater threat to that image. Tolerance of what was considered unorthodoxy was not conceivable in Spain during this century, as the greatness of the kingdom was based on its role as defender of the true faith.[299] This ideology made dissidents from within Spain even more problematic than critics from without, as they represented a breakdown of this self-fashioned image. However, as much as Charles V sought to present an image of a kingdom united in defence of one faith and support of the Holy Office to the outside world, Spain could never be entirely monolithic in its beliefs, and Spanish officials inevitably faced those of their own nation who did not conform to the narrative. These dissident voices were actually emblematic of a small—and thus, historically overlooked—tradition of criticism towards the Inquisition and the Crown's policy towards Protestant heretics and Jews that existed in Spain.[300] Writing at the end of the sixteenth century, Jesuit Juan de Mariana noted how there were "differing opinions" regarding the Spanish Inquisition during this period.[301] Negative opinions of the Inquisition permeated all levels of society: for example, in 1528 a man was arrested for propagating a manuscript that accused the tribunal of corruption, murder, robbery, and rape.[302] These examples provide evidence to the small and yet threatening current of distrust and aversion to the tribunal that existed among portions of Spain's population during this time. Additionally, while Protestantism was effectively crushed in Spain before it could blossom as it

[299] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 201.
[300] Henry Kamen, "Toleration and Dissent in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alternative Tradition," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 19, no. 1 (1988): 23.
[301] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 47.
[302] Bethencourt, *A Global History*, 389-90; Kamen, *An Historical Revision*, 284.

did in Germany or France, it was nonetheless inevitable that certain Spaniards would become 'infected.'[303]

Once such dissidents fled Spain and appeared on the international stage, they became particularly problematic for Spanish ambassadors. These dissidents would inevitably disseminate their negative views of the Inquisition when they fled the country, especially as they would be all the more bitter towards the tribunal for ruining their livelihoods. It was not just exiled intellectuals who were a problem, however: there was actually a steady stream of Spanish merchants who would bemoan their experiences with the tribunal once they were outside of its all-pervading domain and more at liberty to speak openly, especially in more tolerant cities such as Antwerp, Basel, or Venice. Indeed, outside of Spain's borders, it was harder to control what was said about the tribunal or Spain in general. The things these Spaniards would say in such places would go on to circulate amongst the local population, feeding into the negative rumours.[304]

An example of such a dissident was the scholar Francisco de Enzinas, who, while not an exile, relocated to the Low Countries in 1536 by his own choice. He bore ill will towards the Inquisition as it had brought shame upon his family by humiliating his uncle—an Erasmian theologian of some renown—by forcing him to make a shameful retraction.[305] These experiences compelled Enzinas to publish a work—the *Historia de statu belgico deque religione hispanica*—that included a condemnation of the Holy Office and of Spanish religion in general; he denounced the inquisitors and Spanish scholastic theologians and accused them of establishing an ecclesiastical tyranny over the kingdom that held all in its thrall. Moreover, Enzinas accused

[303] Kamen, *A Society of Conflict*, 119.
[304] Duke, "A Legend in the Making," 133.
[305] Ibid.

the inquisitors of being motivated by worldly concerns, stating that they targeted the wealthy for their possessions, intellectuals in order to silence opposition, and the successful because they represented competition for power.[306] This work was in fact one of the principal catalysts for the alarm that rang out in the Low Countries and Lower Germany in the late 1540s regarding the rumours of the Spanish Inquisition, as it stoked Protestant fears of the dreadful nature of the tribunal and fostered Hispanophobia; indeed, Enzinas traveled extensively throughout Lower Germany and Switzerland during the years 1545-1546, disseminating his tales of horror and thus spreading the tribunals' sinister reputation far and wide.[307]

Spanish officials and ambassadors fretted over the dissidents and heretics who leaked out of the country, as they were concerned about the effect such slander would have on Spain's international reputation and the image that they were trying to cultivate and project to the outside world. Protestant Spanish fugitives were a particular source of horror, as Spain's national honour did not permit even the possibility of a Spaniard becoming infected with this foreign heresy.[308] This extreme concern is demonstrated dramatically by the case of Alfonso Diaz, a jurist in the Roman Curia. His brother Juan Diaz, a Protestant humanist and friend of Bucer and Enzinas, had left Spain for Germany. In 1546 Alfonso travelled to Augsburg, where Juan was staying at the time, and attempted to convince him to repent his heresy; after Juan refused, Alfonso had him assassinated.[309]

Spanish ambassadors were even more concerned with such dissidents than the likes of Alfonso Diaz. On March 8, 1516, for example, the Bishop of Badajoz, writing from Brussels, reported to Cisneros—then Cardinal of Spain—with great concern that "Some of the Spaniards

[306] Duke, "A Legend in the Making," 133-4.
[307] Ibid, 134-5.
[308] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 124.
[309] Ibid.

who are in Flanders speak badly of the Inquisition, telling horrible things of it, and pretending that it ruins the country."[310] While Spaniards meant to present an image of a kingdom united in defence of the faith, diplomats such as Badajoz had to acknowledge the existence of those from within their own imagined community who went against this narrative—a situation even more disconcerting than being challenged by the religious 'Other.' Already one can see something of a defence being formulated in Badajoz's description: those Spanish dissidents were merely "pretending" that the tribunal ruined the country. This appears as an attempt to distance such dissidents from *true* Spaniards. From this report, one is given to understand that Spanish officials distanced from Spain any Spaniard who spoke ill of the Inquisition.

In sum, the official rhetoric surrounding the Spanish Inquisition was often impossible to maintain on the stage of European diplomacy. While Spanish officials claimed that the tribunal was a holy instrument that was essential in defending the faith, feelings of discontent against perceived Spanish religious tyranny and the cruelty of the Inquisition—real or imagined—had spread far and wide. The dissonance between their rhetoric and the responses they encountered revealed just how weak this narrative actually was. Wherever the Spanish went, the shadow of the Inquisition followed them. While Spain's ambassadors, such as the Bishop of Badajoz and Saint-Mauris, desperately tried to maintain the façade of the state-sponsored ideology in the face of such challenges, the frailties and the cracks were certainly there.

[310] "Spain: 1516," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 2, 1509-1525*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1866), *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol2/pp276-286, accessed 16 March, 2021.

Conclusion

This thesis has deconstructed the image of an impervious Spanish Kingdom at the height of its powers that was utterly sure of itself.[311] The Spanish were not uncontested on the stage of early modern European diplomacy, as their ambassadors were often unable to assert their state's identity abroad. This thesis has shown that Charles V and his elites attempted to project the image that the Spanish state had been fashioning since the days of the Catholic Monarchs—that of a nation defined against non-Christians and perpetually on crusade in defence of the faith—on the stage of European diplomacy in order to bolster Spain's prestige and reinforce its identity, and yet they were met with Italians, Germans, Netherlanders, and Englishmen who derided them with various anti-narratives that denigrated Spain and tore apart the image they sought to project. These anti-narratives played upon weaknesses inherent in the Spanish narrative that were born from the complex religious and racial history of Spain.

While Spanish ambassadors during the reign of Charles V tried to present an image of Spain defined against Jews, the Spaniards of his day were simultaneously secretly fearful of Jewish contamination in their society, as conversos had become ingrained among their elites and could not always be distanced by such constructs as 'purity of blood.' These contradictions were easy prey for foreigners such as Francesco Guicciardini or Zuan Negro, who mocked Spain as a land of Jews, or Councilor Wotton, who threw the idea of a Spain dominated by Jews in the face of no less than Charles V himself. Meanwhile, as Charles V's Spain converted its Moors and discriminated against its Moriscos in its attempt to establish Spain as an anti-Muslim nation, it simultaneously could not escape from the shadow of al-Andalus and the traces that Moordom had left on its culture. Once again, these weaknesses in the Spanish narrative fed into foreign

[311] Levine, *Agents of Empire*, 2-3, 12.

mockery, as figures such as Laurent Vital commented on the Moorishness of Spain's culture and Francis I criticized Spain's tolerance of Mudejars.

Finally, while Spain sought to present itself as perpetually on a divine mission against Lutheran heretics with the Inquisition as its sword and shield, the Protestants within its sphere of influence (and even many Catholics) construed the tribunal as an instrument of Spanish cruelty, forcing the Spanish to confront widespread fear and dread of it. Figures such as the English merchant who complained to Saint-Mauris framed Spanish propagation of the Inquisition as nothing less than antithetical to Christendom, which was supposed to be the very idea that the Spaniards were defending. Thus, this thesis has shown how Spanish markers of religious and 'racial' identity were not stable constructs during the sixteenth century. As much as Charles V attempted to continue the work of his predecessors and define Spain against non-Christians, this rhetoric could not hold up and was easily broken down by foreigners. The boundaries Spaniards raised between themselves and the religious and racial 'Others' of their world were less secure than they wished them to be.

The anti-narratives that these foreigners propagated were a blow to the honour of Spain that Charles V's ambassadors sought to represent, and the ways in which these ambassadors responded in their diplomatic correspondence reveals surprising weaknesses and insecurities in the Spanish mentality. Their responses included vehement denial, as demonstrated by Charles V's response to the English ambassador Councillor Wotton in June 1551, and embarrassment, such as that displayed by Scheyfve in response to the English Council's denouncement of the Eternal Edict of 1550. Other times they responded by aggressively reasserting their narrative, as Charles V did in response to Francis I's remarks, or by reluctantly conceding to their opponents' concerns, as Saint-Mauris did in response to the English merchant's apprehensions over the

supposed introduction of the Inquisition in Antwerp in 1550. Indeed, historians of early modern Spain have always analysed Spanish expressions of official rhetoric, but not enough have looked into the cracks that lay behind this rhetoric and shed any light inwards—into the often conflicted minds of these figures. While historian John Elliott has commented on how the psychology of the Spaniards suffered adverse effects as a consequence of Spain's emergence as a world empire—namely through the development of an intolerable arrogance that caused them to look down upon the rest of the world—this thesis has shown that they suffered a far more negative and crippling effect: insecurity.[312] The findings of this thesis have revealed that the Spanish were not totally firm in their beliefs and that they were not as sure of themselves or uncontested as they wanted to project; rather, they were susceptible to moments of vulnerability.

However, a rather different sort of response—one that was perhaps even more revealing of the frailties of the Spanish psyche during this period—was one of shame. It was an embarrassment that was directed towards Spain itself and its own obsessions over notions of race, religion, and identity. While the majority of Spanish officials, history writers, and ambassadors fretted over Spain's potentially tainted heritage or corrupted identity, various intellectuals were more concerned about the damage that such obsessions were causing to Spain's international reputation.[313] These sorts of individuals took a more dispassionate, detached view of Spain's institutions, policies, and official discourses.[314] Such responses do not appear in official diplomatic correspondence but rather in the private letters of individuals who were not officials, ambassadors, or members of the Spanish court and thus were not invested in projecting Spain's official rhetoric.

[312] Elliott, "Spain and its Empire," 9.
[313] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 127.
[314] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 239.

One example of such a figure was Pedro de Valencia, who claimed that Spain's obsession with tainted lineages was actively harming Spain's international reputation more than anything else: "we have wished to defame ourselves among the other nations of Europe, for though they descend from no less a mix, only the Spaniards are insulted by France and by Italy, and they are right, for infamy is ill fame, and when the fame is gone so is the notice and affront, and they among themselves have covered over the fame, and we preserve it, carefully revealing it".[315] De Valencia claimed that it was Spain's very defensiveness over potential Jewish heritage that stood it apart from the rest of Europe and brought shame upon it—if Spaniards were not so obsessed with such fears then they would not draw attention to them abroad. The Dominican Augustin Salucio hit upon a similar note when he stated that Spaniards deserved to be called *marranos* and that their obsession over *limpieza* made them the laughing stock of Europe; he remarked that Spain's "inhabitants must be vile or mad to dishonor themselves so."[316] Meanwhile, Ignatius of Loyola commonly referred to the *limpieza* cult as "the Spanish humour" (or, perhaps more tellingly, "the humour of the Spanish king and his court"), while Diego Lainez decried the idea of *limpieza* as "the national humour or error," thus figuring the notion of *limpieza* as a shameful blot upon the Spanish reputation instead of a principle Spaniards should be proud of.[317]

However, it was Rodrigo Manrique (the son of Inquisitor General Manrique) who has provided historians with perhaps the most well-known denouncement of the official Spanish narrative, Spanish intellectual and religious intolerance, and Spain's obsession with origins. In 1533, Manrique wrote to Spanish humanist Luis Vives on the subject of Juan de Vergara's imprisonment by the Spanish Inquisition and lamented the current cultural and ideological

[315] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 125.
[316] Gorsky, *Exiles in Sepharad,* 327; Poliakov, *Mohammed to the Marranos*, 221.
[317] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 125-6.

climate of Spain: "You are right. Our country is a land of pride and envy; you may add, of barbarism. For now it is clear that down there one cannot possess any culture without being suspected of heresy, error and Judaism. Thus silence has been imposed on the learned."[318] As an intellectual pursuing his humanist studies in Paris at the time, Manrique clearly had nothing but disdain for the identity that the Spain of Charles V fashioned for itself.

Thus, one can conclude that it was not just ambassadors who felt moments of anxiety regarding the concept of Spanish identity; however, unlike ambassadors, these intellectuals were not propagators of the official narrative and thus did not have to hide behind its façade. Rather, these individuals displayed a weariness with Spain's official narrative instead of a dogged defensive stance towards it. Instead of defending it, they acknowledged that it was Spain's own flaws that brought scorn upon the kingdom. Indeed, these Spaniards asked themselves: what was the purpose of supporting the Inquisition and presenting themselves as defenders of the faith if outside of Spain they were lumped together with the very non-Christians that they defined themselves against?[319] These opinions reflect once more the insecurities in Spain regarding its state-sponsored identity—not everyone stuck to it when it was challenged and threatened due to the frailties that were inherent in it.

Finally, this thesis has shown the merits of utilising the Spanish state papers as a source base for studies on Spanish religious policies and self-fashioning. These letters are not just relevant to the political machinations of the Spanish Crown; a careful reading of the correspondence of various diplomats can shed important light on Spanish mentalities, worldviews, the state-sponsored ideologies of the time, and above all, insecurities. From reading and analysing them, one can gain an understanding of what it meant to be 'Spanish' during the

[318] Kamen, *A Society in Conflict*, 117.
[319] Hillgarth, *Mirror of Spain*, 239.

reign of Charles V. For the Emperor and his officials, this meant “making war upon the Jews” and “putting heretics to death”; however, unfortunately for them, not everyone was as willing to accept this assertion as the College of Cardinals who wrote to him on March 11, 1521.

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