

Dominus Episcopus

Medieval Bishops between Diocese and Court

Editors:

Anthony John Lappin with Elena Balzamo

Konferenser 95



KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH
ANTIKVITETS AKADEMIEN

Contents

General abbreviations	6
<i>Anthony John Lappin</i> : Introduction	9
<i>Martin J. Ryan</i> : Bishops and canon law in pre-Viking England: Ecgerht's <i>Dialogus</i> in context	14
<i>Inka Moilanen</i> : Bishops and pastoral obligations: Ælfric's pastoral letters and preaching in the 11th and 12th centuries	53
<i>Kurt Villads Jensen</i> : Bishops on crusade	83
<i>Emil Lauge Christensen</i> : Justifying episcopal pluralism: The negotiation between suitability and legitimacy in the narrative of Saxo Grammaticus	100
<i>Anthony John Lappin</i> : Bishops and monasteries: York and Selby in the 13th century	131
<i>Reima Välimäki</i> : Bishops and the inquisition of heresy in late medieval Germany	186
<i>Kirsi Salonen</i> : Bishops and bad behaviour: Scandinavian examples of bishops who violated ecclesiastical norms	207
<i>Rosa Vidal Doval</i> : Bishops and the court: The Castilian episcopacy and <i>conversos</i> , 1450–1465	217
<i>Martin Neuding Skoog</i> : In defence of the aristocratic republic: The belligerent bishops of late medieval Sweden	241
<i>Elena Balzamo</i> : Three bishops for a see	253
The Authors	265

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

- APA* Archivio Penitenziario Vaticano.
- ASB* *Gamla papper angående Mora socken*: vol. 2. *Arvid Siggessons brevväxling*, ed. L. Sjödin, (Västerås: Bergh., 1932).
- ASV* Archivio Secreto Vaticano.
- BSH* Styffe, C.G. 1859–1884. *Bidrag till Skandinaviens historia ur utländska arkiver* (5 vols., Stockholm: Norstedt): vol. III. *Sverige under Karl Knutsson och Kristiern af Oldenburg, 1448–1470* (1870); vol. IV. *Sverige i Sten Sture den äldres tid, 1470–1503* (1875); vol. V. *Sverige under de yngre Sturarne, särdeles under Svante Nilsson, 1504–1520* (1884).
- COD* *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, eds. G. Alberigo, J.A. Dossetti, P. Joannou, C. Leonardi, P. Prodi & H. Jedin (2nd edn, Basel: Herder, 1962; 3rd edn, Bologna: EDB, 1973).
- DD* *Diplomatarium danicum*, ed. Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels, 1938–): vol. I.3. *Diplomer 1170–1199 & Epistolæ abbatis Willelmi de Paraclito*, eds. C.A. Christensen, H. Nielsen & L. Weibull.
- DN* *Diplomatarium norvegicum: Oldbreve til kundskab om Norges indre og ydre forhold, sprog, slægter, sæder, lovgivning og rettergang i middelalderen* (23 vols., Oslo: Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, 1849–2011).
- FMU* *Finlands medeltidsurkunder I–VIII*, ed. R. Hausen (Helsingfors: Staatrådets tryckerie, 1910–1935): I. 1400; II. 1401–1430; III. 1431–1450; IV. 1451–1480; V. 1481–1495; VI. 1496–1508; VII. 1509–1518; VIII. 1519–30
- GIR* *Konung Gustav den förstes registratur*, ed. J.A. Almqvist *et al.* (29 vols., Stockholm: Norstedt, 1861–1916), I. 1521–24; II. 1525; III. 1526; IV. 1527; V. 1528; VI. 1529; VII. 1530–31; VIII. 1532–33; IX. 1534; X. 1535; XI. 1536–37; XII. 1538–39; XIII. 1540–41; XIV. 1542; XV. 1543; XVI. 1544; XVII. 1545; XVIII. 1545–47; XIX. 1548; XX. 1549; XXI. 1550; XXII. 1551; XXIII. 1552; XXIV. 1552–53; XXV. 1555; XXVI. 1556; XXVII. 1557; XXVIII. 1558; XXIX. 1559–60
- GL* Gneuss, H. & M. Lapidge, 2014. *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: A bibliographical handlist of manuscripts and manuscript fragments written or owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- HH* *Historiska Handlingar* (40 vols., Stockholm: Kungl. Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1861–1979): vol. VIII, ed. C.G. Styffe (1879).
- HS* Haddan, A.W. & W. Stubbs, eds. 1869–1879. *Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (3 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press).

- HSH* *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* (40 vols., Stockholm: Kungl. Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1816–1860).
- PL* *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: the editor, 1841–1865).
- RPR* *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*. Edidit Philippus Jaffé, 2nd edn, eds. S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbruner & P. Ewald, vols. I & II (Leipzig: Veit).
- S* Sawyer, P.H. 1968. *Anglo-Saxon charters: An annotated list and bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society), revised and updated S. Kelly, R. Rushforth *et al.* <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html>

Bishops and the court:

The Castilian episcopacy and *conversos*, 1450–1465

Rosa Vidal Doval

For all the undoubted importance of bishops in late medieval Castile, they remain curiously understudied as a group. As elsewhere, Castilian bishops were “prelates, magnates, landlords, administrators, statesmen, and saints”—albeit Castile could count few in the last category.¹ They enjoyed an institutionally defined role in the governance of the kingdom that went beyond the pastoral and jurisdictional oversight of their dioceses. By virtue of a social status akin to that of the high nobility, they had privileged access to the royal court and participated in such central institutions of government as parliament (*Cortes*) and the royal council (*Consejo Real*).² Yet outside of a number of studies of individual figures, the role of the Castilian episcopacy in the turbulent events of the period has been only partially explored. Moreover, in most cases, this exploration has disregarded the religious remit of the episcopacy, treating bishops simply as representatives of the noble classes. Bishops, however, had their own distinctive spiritual obligations that could inform their actions at court.³ At issue was the ways in which service at court could be made compatible with the successful discharge of episcopal duties, particularly in a context where bishops were often royal appointees.⁴ Additionally, in an age characterized by conflict between monarchy and nobility, the pastoral concerns of bishops could impact upon their involvement in political factionalism.⁵ This article investigates such ideas through the lens of debates concerning religious orthodoxy, in particular the status of descendants of converts from Judaism or *conversos*. This was by far the most significant religious question of

1 Swanson 2016, 29. Saintly bishops: Vauchez 1981.

2 García de Valdeavellano 1968, 328–329, 416, 458.

3 There is a general discussion of the role of bishops at court in Rurale 1998.

4 A point made with regard to late medieval England by Bernard 2012, 52–53. Royal appointments in Castile: Díaz Ibáñez 2006, 207.

5 Factionalism: Quintanilla Raso 1997, 15–36.

the period and one that offers fertile ground for the study of the interactions between episcopal, noble, and royal power.⁶ Following a brief survey of the origins of controversies about *conversos* this article reviews two case studies: evidence of an anti-*converso* episcopal faction in Alonso de Espina's *Fortalitium fidei*; and the activities of Alonso Carrillo, archbishop of Toledo.

The religious history of 15th-century Castile was shaped by the responses to a series of mass conversions of Jews to Christianity. The first occurred in the aftermath of a series of pogroms that spread throughout the kingdom in 1391. From 1411–1412 there were further waves of mass baptisms after attempts, sponsored by the monarchy and the papacy, to bring about the conversion of the remaining Jews in the kingdom through preaching and the enforcement of restrictive legislation. Although Christianity had long cherished the prospect of the conversion of Jews, the arrival of large numbers of new converts into the main Christian fold proved to be problematic for late medieval Castilian society. The scale of the conversions was such that the New Christians or *conversos* could not be readily assimilated and they remained a distinct group, often in conflict with both their old and new coreligionists. Since baptism conferred full rights upon the neophytes, *conversos* gained access to occupations barred to Jews, to the universities, civil administration, and the church. Although there is evidence of frictions between New and Old Christians in the first half of the 15th century, in the main around the issue of socio-economic competition, integration still seemed a possible prospect.⁷

The situation changed dramatically in the central years of the 15th century, when a series of voices began to offer a systematic challenge to the place of *conversos* in Christian society. In particular, criticisms were aimed at the religious practices of the *conversos*: they were accused of being heretics who practised Judaism in secret, of corrupting their own and others' morals, and of harbouring a hatred towards good Christians that they shared with the Jews. Although these accusations first appeared in the context of a rebellion against royal authority in Toledo in 1449, they soon became the focus of a textual debate about the religiosity of *conversos* and their place within Castilian society.⁸ While discussion took place among different groups in the church—involving particularly mendicants and the episcopate—, both sides appealed to the crown either as a defender of *conversos* against discrimination or as guardian of religious orthodoxy. The royal court was central to these controversies as the scene of some of the debates that would later become written works, as the setting from which policy and legisla-

6 For a wider discussion of the ideology underpinning the relationship between church and monarchy in Castile during this period, see Nieto Soria 1988, 198–204.

7 There are narrative accounts of these developments in Benito Ruano 2001, and Nirenberg 2013, 218–245.

8 Toledo revolt: Vidal Doval 2013b, 215–236 and bibliography therein. Textual debates: Rábade Obradó 1999, 239–272.

tion emanated, and as the very place where some of the most powerful and influential *conversos* operated.

The role of bishops in shaping attitudes towards *conversos* remains understudied. Narrative histories focus primarily on how, acting against the wishes of the crown and the ecclesiastical élites, the mendicants attempted to whip up popular resentment against the descendants of converts from Judaism. The episcopate has been largely understood to be a defender of *conversos* during this period.⁹ Bishops, particularly those in the most powerful and wealthy dioceses, were usually members of the nobility, a group where *converso* extraction was not uncommon.¹⁰ Yet whilst bishops often upheld the values of the noble class to which they belonged and displayed solidarity with their kin groups, they were also church officials with distinct duties and expertise. A study of the episcopate, therefore, should not assume that bishops were always willing to subordinate or neglect their pastoral duties in favour of secular agendas nor that their aims and the means through which they pursued them should necessarily map perfectly onto those of the secular nobility. Likewise, the easy identification of the bishops' aims with the nobility's underplays the existence of sectors of the episcopate hostile to *conversos*.¹¹

The article will reveal the complexity of positions held by bishops with regard to *conversos* in Castilian society in the 15th century. In so doing, it will call into question some of the dominant narratives about the chronology and evolution of the persecution of and discrimination against *conversos*. The main interpretive focus will be the actions of bishops at the royal court, understood as the political space that surrounds the person of the monarch as well as the narrower institutional setting.¹² Study of the interactions of the bishops with royal power allows a richer perspective on the interface between pastoral activities and political actions. Having probed in my earlier work the development of the notion of wholesale heresy and faithlessness among *conversos*, in this essay I will consider instead how such contested notions could penetrate Castilian political life within two decades.

Evidence of anti-*converso* episcopal activity in the 1450s and 1460s reveals the importance of ideology, rather than an increase in instances of violence, to account for the worsening position of New Christians. Likewise, these instances of episcopal activity reveal, first, the importance attached by those with anti-Semitic agendas to obtain full and effective collaboration from the royal government and, second, a symbiotic

9 See, for instance, Netanyahu 2001, e.g. 941–942.

10 Díaz Ibáñez 2006, 199–204.

11 A point only hitherto explored in McKendrick 1987.

12 For a definition and discussion of the late medieval concept of the royal court in Castile, see Nogales Rincón 2013, 304–305. For recent studies on Iberian courts see the special issue *La sociedad cortesana en la Península Ibérica (siglos XIV–XV)*, Beauchamp & Narbona Cárceles 2015.

relationship between bishops and friars. The model put forward in Espina's work is essentially collaborative in nature: all elements of ecclesiastical and royal power are to work to the same end. A study of Carrillo's actions and policies towards *conversos* in the same period offers insight into the shift from pro- and anti-*converso* factionalism to a situation where such boundaries were much less clearly defined. At the same time, it reveals the extent to which the language of exclusion and persecution came to permeate all demands and debates concerning New Christians. Overall, this study will highlight some of the mechanisms whereby solving the problems posed by *conversos* became synonymous with the good governance of Castile.

Episcopal factions in Alonso de Espina's *Fortalitium fidei*

Fortalitium fidei, written between 1458–1464 by the Observant Franciscan Alonso de Espina (d. c. 1466), is one of the central works in the *converso* debate. In it Espina characterizes New Christians as part of an assault on Castile by all enemies of the faith – heretics, Jews, Muslims, demons and witches.¹³ A well-known preacher active at court, Espina enjoyed the confidence of two successive monarchs and used his closeness to Enrique IV to further his vision of religious reform. Taking a hard line, Espina sought to equate New Christians with Jews arguing that the former were heretics who kept practising Judaism in secret and who maintained close ties of solidarity with the latter. His ultimate aim was to eradicate this supposed *converso* heresy and to reduce the Jewish presence and influence in Castile to a bare minimum. In *Fortalitium fidei* he denounced what he perceived to be the status quo and offered remedies to solve the grave religious crisis that engulfed Castile. Through a series of contemporary episodes, Espina painted a picture of *converso* heresy and Jewish criminality that was largely met with disinterest and inaction by the episcopate and the judiciary. To counter the latter he advocated the close co-operation of church and crown, where the former, led by a spiritual élite of preachers such as the Observant Franciscans, would work to eradicate error through inquisitorial activity and enforcement of legislation.

Achieving such co-operation was an arduous task. Espina was clear that many prelates were on the side of *conversos*. He criticized those bishops whose seeming indifference to the *converso* problem amounted to a defence.¹⁴ Worse still were those church-

13 For what follows see Vidal Doval 2013a, and bibliography therein. Now see also Cavallero 2016.

14 Criticism of bishops: Alonso de Espina, fol. 9^v, “intraverunt, Domine, gregem tuum lupi rapaces, quia pauci sunt pastores multi mercennarii, et quia mercennarii sunt non est eis cura de ovibus tuis pascendis sed tondendis; vident enim lupos venientes et fugiunt” (ravens wolves have entered, o Lord, upon your flock, because the shepherds are few and the hirelings many, and since hirelings do not take care to graze the sheep but to shear them, they see wolves come and they flee [all translations are my own]). On Espina's self-portrait as true preacher,

men who, through their writings, actively defended *conversos*. *Fortalitium fidei* offers a reply to their ideas, in particular those of the bishop of Burgos, Alonso de Cartagena (d. 1456) in his *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (1450), Cardinal Juan de Torquemada (d. 1468) in his *Tractatus contra madianitas et ismaelitas* (1450) and, indirectly, to Alonso de Oropesa (d. 1468) in his *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* (1466).¹⁵ Espina offers a series of accounts set in the mid to late 1450s where he had collaborated with certain Castilian bishops to sound warnings against Jews through accusations of heresy and ritual murder. Implicit in these accounts is the issue of existing divisions among Castilian bishops, some of whom aligned themselves firmly with Espina's anti-*converso* stance.¹⁶ Through these episodes he provided a model of episcopal behaviour contrasting to that he maintained was the prevailing one. Bishops ought to be diligent in their canonical duties as guardians of the faith, to conduct regular inquisitions to root out error and to enlist the co-operation of the secular authorities in those tasks.¹⁷ Espina was both constructing a model of the ideal bishop and opposing it to his depiction of a failing Castilian episcopate.

Accounts of *converso* heresy in *Fortalitium fidei*'s Book II highlight these tensions and divisions; decisive action by the episcopate was rare. When it happened, particularly with the support and guidance of figures such as Espina, it resulted in punishment and revealed the extent of error among New Christians. Yet Espina had to acknowledge in his accounts that inquisitorial measures were not universally supported by the faithful. The most relevant example of episcopal intervention is the case brought in front of the bishop of Palencia, Pedro de Castilla (1440–1461) in 1458.¹⁸ It involved a *converso* barber from Frómista, Fernando Sánchez, who stood accused of denying the divinity of Christ and claiming to believe only in God, creator of the universe, and who had only recanted his beliefs for fear of death. Espina had been involved in these inquisitorial proceedings (“inquisicione”) at the behest of the bishop, who had provided him with a notarized version of the documents, so that he would determine the appropriate sentence.¹⁹ Espina had recommended ten years' imprisonment but claims he had to commute the sentence to exile after a popular outcry. In the absence of further details in the text and any other external evidence, there arise questions about the case that cannot be fully answered. These concern, in particular, Espina's involvement and the circumstances surrounding the moderation of the penalty. In the case of the former, it is possible to posit a Franciscan network that may have fought to bring the

opposed to false ones who failed in their duties, see Cavallero 2011.

15 Vidal Doval 2013a, 33–65, 87–145.

16 The discussion that follows is indebted to McKendrick 1987, 125–172.

17 Proposals for inquisitors to investigate heresy: Alonso de Espina 1471, fols. 68^r–70^r.

18 Alonso de Espina 1471, fol. 53^{r-v}. A biography of Pedro de Castilla may be found in Villarroel González 2007.

19 For further examples of this form of inquisition, see Välimäki in this volume.

case to the bishop's attention in the first place and secured Espina's involvement as a well-known preacher and advocate of inquisition. As for the latter, while Espina only speaks of the pressure applied by many ("multorum"), other cases in *Fortalitium fidei* suggest he was hinting at a lobby of powerful *conversos* and their allies amid the local authorities. This case provides a notable contrast with others reported by Espina where no prosecutions were forthcoming.²⁰ For instance, in Segovia in 1459, a local law official (*alguacil*) had witnessed how many *conversos* had attended the synagogue wearing Jewish clothes to take part in the celebration of the Feast of the Tabernacles. Espina introduces a note of frustration into his account when he comments that this eyewitness was prepared to tell his story in public to whomever would listen.²¹ Heretics were acting with total impunity because the ecclesiastical authorities, and particularly the bishops, were letting the testimony of reliable witnesses go unheeded.

If Espina saw the problem of heresy as grave and urgent, he presented the issue of Jewish criminality and *converso* complicity as even more alarming. In some of the best-known and most studied passages of *Fortalitium fidei*, Espina brings forth accusations of ritual murder against the Jews of contemporary Castile. He provides details of three crimes that had taken place in the 1450s alongside earlier testimonies from elsewhere in Europe. Although the details of the episodes were very similar, the outcomes could not be more different: Espina highlights how, in all Castilian cases, the culprits had escaped unpunished. By mustering the accusation of ritual murder, Espina was following a long-established pattern of anti-Semitic agitation whereby intense pressure was brought to bear upon Jewish communities. Such accusations, when successful, could then lead to forced conversions, the worsening of the legal standing of Jews, and even the expulsion of entire communities.

The myth of ritual murder appeared for the first time in the last third of the 12th century in England and France.²² Accusations of blood libel spread through Europe eastwards until prosecutions reached a climax in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire during the 15th and 16th centuries. Although no country was spared, they were more rare in Italy and Spain where most cases were clustered in the 15th century, spurred by the preaching of friars. The blood libel depicted Jews torturing and bleeding children

20 The bulk of Espina's evidence about the heresy of *conversos* comes from an inquiry ("pes-quipiam" *sic*) conducted in Toledo: Alonso de Espina 1471, fol. 52^r. He does not specify its context of production but it is possible that it was related to proceedings conducted during the rebellion of 1449. This was an un-canonical inquest conducted without the authority of the archbishop, Alonso Carrillo, and thus as evidence of correct procedure was problematic: Meyuhas Ginio 1998, 125; Valle Rodríguez 2008, 22–23. For further examples elsewhere, see Välimäki in this volume.

21 Alonso de Espina 1471, fol. 53^r: "omnia predictus algazelus omnibus volentibus audire publice affirmabat."

22 Hsia 1988; Rose 2015.

to death in order to use the blood for ritual, medicinal, or magic purposes. To these narratives of murder there were soon added those of host desecration, where Jews were said to procure consecrated hosts to torture and injure Christ. The motives behind the first documented accusation remain unclear, but the idea that Jews as a collective murdered Christian children proved to be an enduring one. Ritual murder would become the most potent weapon of medieval anti-Semitism. Its power was twofold. First, it fed on the terror associated with child murder. Second, it allowed for criminal charges to be brought against Jews, placing them in particularly vulnerable positions, where blame for specific crimes attached itself not just to unfortunate individuals but to entire communities. Though accusations of ritual murder led to the persecution and even elimination of certain Jewish communities, written accounts of such episodes often advanced wider agendas with authors putting forward overt political messages and striving to shape public opinion. For example, texts produced in 1470s Germany about the murder of Simon of Trent and the host desecration of Passau argued against the toleration of all Jews and even criticized their protectors amongst the ruling élites.²³

A model for Espina's use of accusations of ritual murder comes from the Observant Franciscan Giovanni Capestrano (d. 1456).²⁴ His activities during his preaching tour of Bavaria, Austria and Bohemia of 1451–1454 stand out because they provide an example for Espina's agenda and plan of action.²⁵ As a special papal envoy, Capestrano had the task of reforming and cleansing through inquisition a region where the Hussite Utraquist heresy was seen to thrive. Capestrano's brand of reform brought along significant changes in attitudes towards the Jews: in his wake there were challenges to the legal status of Jewish communities, outbreaks of violence, and expulsions. Perhaps the most notable episode was the host desecration trial in Wrocław (Breslau) in 1453. A thief's confession was the catalyst for an investigation led by Capestrano as inquisitor and assisted by royal and local authorities that supposedly uncovered a wide-ranging Jewish conspiracy including a ritual murder committed decades before. The authorities moved decisively against the Jews, ordering the execution of 44 individuals, the forced baptism of all children under seven, and the expulsion of the remainder of the community.

Espina had similar aims to Capestrano: elsewhere in *Fortalitium fidei* he advocated severely restricting the freedoms and privileges of the Jews, he considered the convenience of forcibly baptizing their children, and he speculated on the possibility of a Castile without Jews.²⁶ Importantly, through his accounts of ritual murder, Espina sought to highlight the ties of solidarity between *conversos* and Jews and their shared aim of

23 Hsia 1988, 42–44, 52–53.

24 On Espina's self-conscious following of the tradition of mendicant charismatic preacher see Vidal Doval 2013a, 26–29. On Capestrano's self-representation see Gecser 2010, 145–159.

25 Rubin 1999, 119–126.

26 Alonso de Espina 1471, fols. 147^r–152^v, 153^v–154^r and discussion in Vidal Doval 2013a, 112–117.

harming Christians. He revealed how *conversos*, whom he had argued were heretics in their greater part, were successful in helping those Jews guilty of the most atrocious crimes evade justice. Although no Castilian *converso* wields the knife in Espina's accounts, many shared in the guilt of murderous Jews. This *converso* complicity in ritual murder operated at the highest levels; counsellors and judges at the *audiencia* (i.e. the royal tribunal in Valladolid) refused to prosecute ritual murder cases and thus failed in their most fundamental duty to protect Christians.

If Espina's censure of prelates and royal officials has an anti-élitist tone, his accounts of ritual murder nevertheless highlight the importance of obtaining the co-operation of the authorities and the centrality of the royal court in bringing about successful prosecutions. Espina's depictions of ritual murder follow the well-established patterns and contain many of the stock characters of such accounts but they are particularly detailed in their discussion of failures to bring any culprits to justice.²⁷ This very fact exposes all the more clearly the fault lines in the relation between the various parties involved in these events. In Espina's accounts bishops endorse and validate the claims of murder and provide examples of clergy willing to take a stance against Jewish and *converso* criminality, even when that happens outside their diocese. The royal court, meanwhile, is the most important arena to bring these cases to justice, and the place where these claims can transcend the local and become national concerns altering the perceptions and attitudes of the ruling élites.

Espina lists two separate reports of attempted ritual murders in Toro in 1457, referred to by "Alonso" (*sic*) de Vivero, bishop of Salamanca, and by a "simple man", respectively.²⁸ In the first and longer account by the bishop, some Jews had attempted to harm two children. In their haste, they had only succeeded in cutting a piece of flesh from the leg of one of the boys, the son of one of the bishop's men, but the Jews had evaded justice by fleeing to Zamora. In the second account, a man described how his son had been abducted by a Jew and had been saved by some passers-by who had heard his cries for help. Despite reporting the attack to the local officials, who had referred it on to the royal council, the case had stalled. Both stories reveal Espina as a gatherer of complaints about breaches of justice concerning Jews and their *converso* sympathizers, and as a figure willing and, to some degree, able to bring new attention to cases that had been deemed of no merit by the authorities. As well as lacking the co-operation of the secular justice, the bishop of Salamanca was unable to act against a crime committed in his diocese when the Jews moved to a neighbouring one, where the diocesan authorities must have seen no merit in the accusations. Meanwhile, the man from Toro

27 For comments about the use and adaptation of stock characters and events, see Rose 2015, 11, and, focused on host desecration accounts, Rubin 1999, 70.

28 Alonso de Espina 1471, fol. 126^v. There is an error in the text: the bishop of Salamanca was Gonzalo Pérez de Vivero (1447–1482). Biography in Martín Martín 2013, 147–162.

had produced a written account of events, probably at Espina's instigation, which the friar intended to lodge at the royal council.

Espina plays a similar but more prominent role in the case of ritual murder uncovered in 1454 in the lands of Luis de Almansa.²⁹ The bishop of Lugo, García Martínez de Bahamonde (1441–1470), together with a local knight, Rodrigo Díaz de Mendoza, reported the events claiming they had received a full account of the episode in a letter from the local lord.³⁰ A chance discovery of a child's shallow grave by dogs had led to an inquest ("diligentem inquisitionem") by Luis de Almansa. After being put to torture, a local, red-haired Jew had confessed to the murder of a child in order to obtain his heart and, as part of a ritual alongside other Jews, drink its ashes mixed with wine. Despite such evidence, the king had ordered in a letter that proceedings be halted, as *Fortalium fidei* implies, after pressure from the local Jewish community.³¹ At this point, Espina seems to have become interested in the case, and he claims to have caused a stir in Valladolid when he preached a sermon criticizing such a flagrant breach of justice. A scandal of sorts seems to have ensued, where, as Espina would have it, *conversos* at the royal chancery (*audiencia*) had the murder suspect transferred to the public prison and the case taken over by the royal tribunal.³² There, through a mixture of bribery and sympathy towards Jews, the *converso* faction that dominated the tribunal conspired in an outcome favourable to the murderer: two of the three judges appointed were *conversos* who succeeded in stalling proceedings.³³

A similar strategy for attracting public attention to a case in one of the key locales of royal justice, such as Valladolid, is behind Espina's report of two cases of ritual murder that had taken place in Italy.³⁴ He claims to have obtained testimony of the murders

29 Alonso de Espina 1471, fols. 125^v–126^r.

30 Biography of Martínez de Bahamonde: Flórez *et al.* 1754–1879, XLI, 136–141. I have not been able to identify either Luis de Almansa or Rodrigo Díaz de Mendoza.

31 Alonso de Espina 1471, fol. 126^r: "Cumque vellet facere iusticiam de eodem, iudei qui non dormiebant velocissime itinerantes a rege literas habuerunt in quibus aduocabat causam ad se et mandabat militi quod non procederet ultra" (When he [Luis de Almansa] wished to bring him to justice [the red-haired Jew], the Jews, who do not sleep, rushed to obtain letters from the king in which he called the case to himself and ordered the knight not to proceed further).

32 Alonso de Espina 1471, fol. 126^r: "Propter quod sic factum est quod iudeus ille ductus fuit ad predictam villam vallisoletanam, procurantibus aliquibus de genere suo, qui pro tunc magnam partem in cancelaria regis habebant, ut colore iusticie ipsum liberarent [...]. Positus ergo est in carcere publico." (Because of this he [the red-haired Jew] was taken to the aforesaid city of Valladolid, and those of his people [*conversos*], who were the greater party at the royal chancery, had him freed under the guise of justice. He was thus placed in the public gaol.)

33 Alonso de Espina 1471, fol. 126^r: "et duo illorum erant de genere illo [...] nichil usque nunc in execucione iusticie factum est" (and two of them [the judges] were of his people [...] and nothing has been done until now to carry out justice).

34 Alonso de Espina 1471, fols. 124^v–125^v.

in 1456 while residing at the Franciscan house in Valladolid from a Jew called Emmanuel who was seeking to convert to Christianity. The figure of the convert who gives an account of the secret activities of his former coreligionists is typical of ritual murder narratives and was seen to provide legitimacy to the accusations. In this instance, Emmanuel revealed how he had learned from his family about the first murder, and confessed to participating, alongside his father and other Jews, in the second. These revelations, which Emmanuel had first made to Espina and another friar, became a public spectacle when he repeated them in front of an audience of ecclesiastical and lay notables. Among these was the bishop of Lugo, García Martínez de Bahamonde, who acted as Emmanuel's godfather, and was a figure clearly sympathetic to Espina's anti-Semitic agenda.

Espina's accounts paint a picture of collaboration with the bishops of Lugo and Salamanca in order to establish the idea that ritual murders were being committed in Castile. This collaboration reveals how preachers and bishops reinforced each other when trying to stir up anti-Semitic feeling and translate it into action. Thus, whatever the motivations behind these bishops' concerns, it is clear that they were seeking Espina's involvement to make these cases well-known in instances where they were not able to act directly—primarily because the crimes had not been committed in their dioceses. In Espina's case, the bishops provided validation to a series of claims about the dangers of the Jewish presence in Castile that had hitherto failed to persuade the authorities. That he was not successful in these instances either is due to the resistance of the king and royal justice to take accusations of ritual murder at face value.³⁵ We can detect a unity of purpose between Espina and the bishops who, through their anti-Semitic agitation, were criticizing a monarchy that they saw as the protector of Jews and *conversos*.

Fortalitium fidei provides an insight into some of the key issues surrounding the discrimination of *conversos* during the 1450s. In particular, it reveals how Espina had failed to activate in Castile the kind of anti-Semitic forces that figures such as Capetrano had employed with dramatic consequences elsewhere in Europe. Although Espina's aims had some supporters amongst the episcopate, at the time of his writing, he had failed in his attempts to persuade the majority of prelates and, in particular, the crown of the *converso* danger and of New Christians' enduring ties with the Jews. In the Castilian church there were, alongside a series of prestigious and influential bishops such as Alonso de Cartagena or Lope de Barrientos, well known for their defence of *conversos*, a number of less influential figures that took the opposite view.³⁶ The model

35 For a brief discussion of the crown's policies towards Jews during this period see, Monsalvo Antón 1985, 308–311.

36 Alonso de Cartagena: see Fernández Gallardo 2002. Lope Barrientos: consult Martínez Casado 1994.

of co-operation proposed by Espina between ecclesiastical and secular authorities was not the current one. Accusations of ritual murder revealed that, if anything, the crown was unwilling to accept ecclesiastical meddling in the affairs of secular justice and the status of religious minorities. Such would change significantly in the following decade.

Alonso Carrillo, inquisitions and political factions

The 1460s were decisive for the hardening of attitudes towards *conversos*. Those years saw the triumph of two associated ideas that cemented the treatment of *conversos* as one of the central concerns in Castilian politics throughout subsequent decades. First, that inquisition was the only solution to the problem of heretical New Christians. Second, that the willingness to tackle this problem was a sign of good secular and ecclesiastical governance. The triumph of these two notions is closely linked to events at the royal court and the development of political factions that sought to challenge and direct the rule of King Enrique IV. In time, these would lead to his deposition in June 1465 and the subsequent civil war.³⁷ Alonso Carrillo, archbishop of Toledo 1446–1482, was a central figure in these events. Seen as a staunch defender of New Christians, his involvement in debates surrounding the status of *conversos* during those years and, in particular, his fostering of inquisitorial activity, offer a means to study some of these key developments.

Alonso Carrillo de Acuña, a younger son from a noble family of middling means, was destined from an early age to a career in the church under the auspices of his uncle, Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz, Cardinal of Saint Eustace.³⁸ Such patronage helped launch a rapid ascent that included his appointment as protonotary apostolic in 1434 and bishop of Sigüenza in 1436. It was, however, the support of Álvaro de Luna, Juan II of Castile-León's powerful favourite, which led to Carrillo reaching the highest ecclesiastical office in Castile as archbishop of Toledo. As Spain's primate, Carrillo remained at the centre of ecclesiastical and political power for nearly four decades. He was a member of the *Consejo Real* and the greatest ecclesiastical landholder in the kingdom. Carrillo remains best known for his central and disruptive role in the turbulent politics of the reign of Enrique IV. A full account of Carrillo's political manoeuvrings exceeds the limits of this study; in a time of shifting alliances and complex political dealings, he remained a critic of the king's government and led efforts to force a series of reforms to curtail the monarch's powers.³⁹ The most enduring result of Carrillo's efforts was Enrique IV's recognition of his half-sister Isabel, the future Isabel I, as heir to the Castilian throne to the detriment of his own daughter Juana.

³⁷ There is an account of the events in Suárez Fernández 1964.

³⁸ Political biography: Franco Silva 2014.

³⁹ Franco Silva 2014, 57, 67, explains Carrillo's hostility towards the king as the result of political motivations and a wish to regain influence and power at the court.

Carrillo's role as archbishop—both in its pastoral and administrative elements—has been much less studied. Even the religious element of his enmity towards Enrique remains under-recognized and under-studied.⁴⁰ The best-known element of Carrillo's religious agenda has been his firm defence of New Christians.⁴¹ As archbishop of the city where the greatest disturbances involving *conversos* had taken place, Carrillo had no choice but to seek to eliminate a major cause of conflict.⁴² His interests in the issue, however, did not restrict themselves to Toledo or to a narrow understanding of the problems surrounding the assimilation of *conversos* into society. A particularly notable example of his wider interests is his literary circle, a group that formed under Carrillo's patronage around 1460 and remained active until around 1474.⁴³ This group of humanist writers, many of them *conversos*, produced a series of works that advanced further the defence of New Christians started by the authors of an earlier generation such as Alonso de Cartagena. Writers in Carrillo's circle such as Gómez Manrique, Juan Álvarez Gato, Rodrigo Cota or Pedro Guillén de Segovia argued for the equality of Old and New Christians while offering a sustained critique of the increasing persecution of *conversos*. More widely, the ideology underpinning this circle's literary production has been seen to reflect one of the central elements of Carrillo's political positioning, where he sought to assert the independence of the church against encroachment by royal power.⁴⁴

Carrillo's stance as a defender and patron of *conversos* in Toledo is seemingly at odds with his actions at national level as leader of the nobles' uprisings of the 1460s against Enrique IV. Previously, calls for inquisition had been made by those opposed to *conversos* and by factions that asserted the existence of widespread heresy amid New Christians. Carrillo was embracing elements of the language of his supposed opponents. Such positioning is not just the result of the adoption of pragmatic policies by Carrillo and the rebel party; instead it should be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to shape the religious policy of Castile to conform to the bishops' own pastoral concerns. A study of Carrillo's handling of disputes around *conversos* in the years 1460–1465 helps to reveal how a socio-religious problem became one of the central issues in Castilian politics.

While inquisitorial activity around *conversos* in the 1450s was linked to hard-line approaches, the 1460s saw the adoption of inquisition as a solution by those proposing moderate positions. The question became not whether an inquisition was appropriate

40 There is a summary in Liss 1992, 51.

41 Gil Ortega 2015, 138–155.

42 For an overview of anti-*converso* conflicts in Toledo see Benito Ruano 1961.

43 Kaplan 2002, 64–73.

44 Gil Ortega 2015, 141–142. On the political activities of Carrillo's circle see also Round 2013, 149–174.

but what type was most suitable.⁴⁵ Should bishops order that inquests be conducted in their sees or should the pope be petitioned to appoint judge delegates (*inquisitores hereticae pravitatis*) to investigate the heresy of *conversos*?⁴⁶ A case in point comes from the demands at court for an inquisition in 1460 that would lead in the following year to the first series of co-ordinated efforts to offer a judicial response to the problem of *converso* heresy. This episode has obscure origins; in particular there is doubt concerning which specific event may have triggered this petition.⁴⁷ But the episode reveals the existence of three different views of the nature and functioning of an ecclesiastical tribunal with the task of investigating heresy; and these differing views were largely the expression of a desire to control the proceedings and the remit on the part of their instigators.

In 1460, a group of Observant Franciscans that included Alonso de Espina had alerted Enrique IV to the grave peril posed by Jews and Muslims living unhindered amid Christians and by the growth of *converso* heresy.⁴⁸ They had requested the king enforce segregationist legislation and act against heretics through an inquisition “akin to that operating in France.”⁴⁹ Such precision points towards the Franciscans’ preferred shape for the proceedings: they were most likely referring to a tribunal led by papal appointees, and thus operating beyond direct episcopal control. That arrangement would allow mendicants to direct the tribunal’s workings and to circumvent those bishops they perceived as hostile to their purificatory agenda. The king had originally been receptive to such a request but, in time, had demurred. The following year, the Franciscans hoped to reignite the issue by enlisting help from the Hieronymites. Whilst the latter agreed to support this petition, the two groups appeared at court separately, and do not seem to have held a common position.

The Franciscans’ intervention at court was nothing short of disastrous; the brand of anti-Semitic agitation that Espina had essayed throughout the kingdom proved unacceptable to Enrique IV. A member of the delegation, Hernando de la Plaza, claimed in a sermon to have evidence of widespread circumcision amid *conversos*, in the form

45 On these debates see Pastore 2003 and 2010.

46 The two options are often referred to as episcopal and papal inquisition respectively, although this terminology is problematic, and 15th-century Castilian sources tend not to draw this distinction. Discussion of terminology: Peters 1989, 67–68. Inquisitorial activity in late medieval Spain: Kamen 1998, 43.

47 Coussemacker 1993, 110 n. 2 observes that an unedited Hieronymite source (Juan de La Cruz, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, 1591) speaks of clashes between Old and New Christians in Toledo in 1460. No other document records such events.

48 The fullest account appears in a 17th century work: Sigüenza 2000, I, 430–435. For a briefer but contemporary account, see *Crónica del rey don Enrique*, 130.

49 Sigüenza 2000, I, 431: “se haga inquisicion en este reino según como se hace en Francia y en otros muchos reinos y provincias de cristianos” (that an inquisition be made in this kingdom as it is made in France and in many other Christian kingdoms and provinces).

of the foreskins of many male children born to New Christian parents. When he was unable to furnish the king with this evidence, the Franciscans were evicted from the court. The more moderate Hieronymites, led by Alonso de Oropesa, prevailed, and were able to advance their understanding that episcopal tribunals were the appropriate means to hinder factionalism.⁵⁰ The king then asked Oropesa to oversee a kingdom-wide investigation of all heretical practices that was to be conducted by the bishops.⁵¹ Carrillo, keen to close the rift between Old and New Christians in Toledo, delegated the inquisitorial task to Oropesa and the bishop of Coria, Íñigo Manrique. After an investigation that lasted until 1462, the inquisitors allocated blame to both parties: if New Christians were guilty of faithlessness, Old Christians indulged in intolerance. They also identified two aggravating factors in the polluting presence of Jews living amid Christians and the intransigence of Franciscans, who had done much to inflame public opinion. Carrillo understood formal investigation, carried out under circumstances that allowed for a degree of his supervision, to be a necessary step in healing those rifts. This measure, applied in the primatial city, would serve not just to address a local conflict but also as an example for other bishops in Castile. Nonetheless, the archbishop must have recognized the need to counter the arguments made by extremists such as the Franciscans. Thus, he encouraged Oropesa to complete a work in defence of *conversos* that the Hieronymite had begun in 1449. Oropesa's treatise of 1466, *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, would be the most thorough and theologically far-reaching of all the texts produced in the *converso* debate.⁵²

The events of 1461 helped persuade Enrique IV of the potential for the *converso* problem to be subject to factionalism and manipulation as well as the utility of controlling and guiding the actions of inquisitors. With such aims in mind, in December 1461 he requested from Pope Pius II that the papal nuncio Giacompo Antonio Venier (Jacobo Antonio de Veneris) and the bishop of Cartagena Lope de Rivas, alongside other inquisitors, be given authority to act in Castile.⁵³ The terms of the petition reveal that the monarch had intended this to be a tribunal that would be significantly different from both papal and episcopal tribunals. In effect, Enrique IV wished to create a new body, under close royal supervision, where ecclesiastics chosen and appointed by the crown investigated lapses in Christian doctrine under a secular legal framework.⁵⁴

50 Sigüenza 2000, I, 433, which highlights Oropesa's view that bishops were the only legitimate judges on matters of faith. See also Pastore 2003, 10–19 and, for an alternative interpretation of this episode, Liss 1992, 54–55.

51 Sigüenza 2000, I, 433–434. See Coussemaeker 1993, 109–112 for an account based on alternative unedited sources.

52 For an introduction to the *Lumen* and its inception see Vidal Doval 2013a, 39–41 and bibliography therein.

53 For this and what follows see Nieto Soria 1996, 214–219.

54 Enrique IV's petition to the pope speaks of inquisitors "de consensu expresse ejusdem regis

The papacy was unwilling to relinquish such levels of control over inquisitorial activity and, in a bull of 1462, presented the crown instead with a fully ecclesiastical tribunal staffed with papal appointees. Since such a structure could not fulfil Enrique's expectations, it was never implemented. If the inquests of 1461 did not mark the birth of the Spanish Inquisition, nevertheless that year proved a watershed in the adoption of repressive measures against *conversos* across Castile. The next step took place with the events surrounding the noble uprising against Enrique IV that began in 1464 and would culminate in his deposition in 1465.

These revolts would add a new element to the discourse of political rebellion. From this point onwards, good governance in Castile was inextricably linked with solving the problems presented by *conversos*. Beginning in 1462 there were increasing signs of noble discontent that, two years later, crystallized into a rebellion led by Archbishop Alonso Carrillo, the Marquis of Villena Juan Pacheco (d. 1474), and his brother Pedro Girón (d. 1466).⁵⁵ Around this triumvirate formed a noble league that would, by the time of the king's deposition, include the larger part of the magnates (*grandes*), including the most powerful and influential prelates. Although presenting itself as a challenge to the monarch and his new favourite, Beltrán de la Cueva, the rebellion is best understood as an instance of noble resistance to the centralizing and absolutist tendencies of the late medieval Castilian monarchy.⁵⁶ Against a background of the loss of some traditional roles at court in favour of functionaries (*letrados*) who were often *conversos*, the nobility was re-stating its claim to participate in government, to be defenders of the realm and the king's counsellors.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, the rebel party was unable to offer a fully coherent position: the pursuit of individual and familial advantage trumped any kind of collective interests.

Throughout the rebellion, texts were deployed to make demands on the king and to ratchet up pressure on him.⁵⁸ The production and dissemination of documents were integral parts of a rebellion where the noble league sought a radical change in government to place royal rule under noble tutelage. The sequence of texts opens with the 'Manifiesto de Alcalá de Henares' (16 May 1464), the record of a confederation among

eligantur [...] in omnibus et per omnia procedant secundum juris communis" (Beltrán de Heredia 1961, 45; chosen with the express consent of their king [...] so that they proceed in and through all cases according to common law).

55 There is an analysis of the events in Suárez Fernández 2001, 265–342.

56 Quintanilla Raso 2005, 543–546. Parsing the full background and development of events goes beyond the remit of this study. The crisis happened against a context of economic difficulty, with the rapid rise of inflation, and was further aggravated by the interference of King Joan II of Aragon: Suárez Fernández 2001, 266–267.

57 According to Quintanilla Raso 2005, 547, the *grandees* were losing "la batalla de la competencia técnica" (the battle of technical competence).

58 There is an outline of the contents and an analysis of each of these texts in Quintanilla Raso 2005, 550–555. See also Franco Silva 2012.

Carrillo, Pacheco and Girón that put forward the need for the king to rule with the agreement of the *grandes*.⁵⁹ Their demands served as the rallying point for the formation of a noble league that, in September 1464, presented Enrique IV with a proposed programme of reform, the ‘Pronunciamiento de Burgos’, that contained a list of strongly worded accusations against the king and his rule.⁶⁰ Alongside demands for the monarch to exile from the court his favourite Beltrán de la Cueva and other questions that concerned primarily the interests of the nobility, there were accusations that Enrique was neglecting his duties as Christian ruler. The ‘Pronunciamiento’ cast him as a protector of heretical *conversos* and an oppressor of the church.

The end result of the pressure exerted on Enrique by the rebels through the ‘Pronunciamiento’ and the threat of military action was capitulation. The king agreed to remove his favourite from the court, to hand over Prince Alfonso to the rebels, and to establish a commission to set out a new form of government where the king would operate under the tutelage of the *grandes*. The commission, formed by two representatives of the nobility, two of the king, and Alonso de Oropesa as arbiter, produced in January 1465 the ‘Sentencia de Medina del Campo’.⁶¹ This document has been described as a Magna Carta of sorts, since it limited and altered significantly the system of royal government. It also defined the monarchy as a fundamentally Christian institution and the kingdom as the community of the baptized, and sought to establish the church as totally independent from secular power.⁶² Enrique’s ultimate rejection of the ‘Sentencia’, which contained an implicit threat of deposition should its premises be rejected, would lead to his overthrowing by the noble league at the so-called ‘Farsa de Ávila’ on 5 June 1465.⁶³

Both the ‘Pronunciamiento’ and the ‘Sentencia’ contain prominent demands about *conversos* and inquisition.⁶⁴ The former depicts a court dominated by individuals who are Christians only in name; they deny the afterlife and blaspheme against God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints.⁶⁵ In failing to punish these heretics, Enrique

59 Full text in *Memorias*, II, 302–304.

60 Suárez Fernández 2001, 289. Full text in *Memorias*, II, 327–334.

61 *Memorias*, II, 355–479.

62 Suárez Fernández 2001, 298–299.

63 On the ‘Farsa’ see most recently Devaney 2015, 32–37, and bibliography therein.

64 *Memorias*, II, 328–329, 366–367 §4–5.

65 *Memorias*, II, 328: “aver personas en vuestro palacio é cerca de vuestra persona infieles enemigos de nuestra santa fe católica é otras aunque cristianos por nombre, muy sospechosos en la fe, en especial que creen é dicen é afirman que otro mundo non aya si non nascer é morir como bestias” (to have people at your palace and near your person who are infidels, enemies of our holy Catholic faith and others who, although Christians by name, are very suspect in their faith. Particularly they believe, they say, and hold that there is no afterlife, other than to live and die as beasts). For a discussion of the accusation that many *conversos* did not believe in the afterlife, see Márquez Villanueva 1994, 273–293.

was gravely neglecting his most fundamental duties as king. By virtue of the oath taken at his enthronement, he had pledged to protect and to defend the Christian faith. In addition, since heresy was a source of corruption for the entire kingdom, Enrique was endangering the entire body politic.⁶⁶ The ‘Sentencia’ treated New Christians as one of the most urgent problems facing the kingdom; in a document organized in 129 chapters, the remedies for the *converso* issue occupy chapters four and five. It proposed that inquests be carried to seek out and punish those it calls “bad Christians, suspect in their faith”, who keep the ceremonies of unbelievers against the faith and its sacraments.⁶⁷ The king was to request that the episcopate conduct inquisitions throughout the kingdom. He was also to facilitate the punishment of those found guilty and to put their confiscated property to appropriate use, namely funding the crusade against Granada or redeeming Christian captives from Muslim hands. The text also insisted on the role of ecclesiastics, noting particularly the need for the three archbishops to lead the inquisitorial efforts.⁶⁸ Perhaps more surprising for a document produced under such strained circumstances, the ‘Sentencia’ highlights the need to avoid investigations becoming a cause for factionalism. It specifically instructs archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical authorities to conduct inquests impartially and to allocate

66 *Memorias*, II, 329: “la abominación é corrupción de los pecados tan abominables, dignos de non ser nombrados, que corrompen los aires é desfasen la naturalesa humana son tan notorios que por non ser punidos, se teme la perdición de los dichos regnos” (the abomination and corruption of such abominable sins, unworthy of being named, that corrupt the air and destroy human nature, are so notorious that, unless they are not punished, they risk the loss of said kingdoms [Enrique IV’s]). Franco Silva (2012, 87–88) reads this passage as a warning that heresy engenders sodomy which, in turn, endangers the kingdom.

67 *Memorias*, II, 366: “malos cristianos é sospechosos en la fe”. Gil Ortega 2015, 147, suggests that the deliberate avoidance of the term *conversos* is a trace of Oropesa’s non-factional approach. Although the ‘Sentencia’ insists that all instances of heresy ought to be investigated, its language leaves no doubt that *conversos* were the primary targets of the inquests: “fagan la dicha inquisición [...] do sopieren que hay algunos sospechosos é defamados de heregia, é non viven como cristianos católicos, é guardan los ritos é ceremonias de los infieles contra nuestra santa fe católica é contra la santa madre iglesia é contra los sacramentos de ella” (that they may conduct said inquisition [...] anywhere they know there are those suspected of heresy or infamous as heretics; that they do not live as Catholic Christians and keep the rites and ceremonies of the infidels against our holy Catholic faith, and against the holy mother church, and against her sacraments) *Memorias*, II: 366. Cf. the references to *conversos* in ‘Pronunciamiento’, above, note 64, and ‘Peticiones originales hechas al señor rey D. Enrique IV por diferentes Arzobispos, Obispos, Caballeros y Grandes de estos reinos. Cigales 5 de diciembre de 1464’, in *Colección*, XIV, 372.

68 *Memorias*, II, 366: “é esortamos é encargamos á los señores Arzobispos Metropolitanos que con toda diligencia entiendan cerca de la orden é forma que se ha de tener en la inquisicion é pugnacion” (and we exhort and entrust their lordships the metropolitan archbishops that they concern themselves with the utmost diligence about the order and means of the inquisition and punishment).

blame and punishment fairly in order to avoid public scandals and discrimination.⁶⁹ Likewise, it forbade any attempts by ecclesiastics or the laity to hinder investigations as a result either of bribes or of their own personal sympathies.

Although the ‘Pronunciamiento’ and the ‘Sentencia’ had turned the *converso* issue into a “matter of state” the reasons why this occurred remain underexplored.⁷⁰ Complaints about the presence of *conversos* at court can be readily understood as self-serving, where noblemen were seeking to eliminate certain rivals from key posts on the basis of their alleged heresy.⁷¹ The idea that demands for an inquisition served to widen the appeal of these documents beyond the narrow confines of the noble élite into the sphere of popular concerns seems plausible.⁷² Yet it is insufficient to explain the precise remit of the proposed inquisition. The language of the ‘Sentencia’, with its insistence on an operation that avoided factionalism and discrimination, recalls the approach taken by Oropesa in Toledo in 1461–1462. It is possible that, persuaded of the relative success of that inquest, Carrillo may have wished to employ the same method elsewhere in the kingdom to thwart extremist positions and attempt to solve the problem of the on-going discrimination of *conversos*. Within the logic of the ‘Sentencia’, inquisition and good governance were synonymous.

Enrique IV may have approved of the shape and aims of the proposed inquisition, for they were similar to the one he had ordered in 1461, but the rebels’ demand for such inquisition was a central strategy of their challenge to the legitimacy of his rule. As early as 1462, there existed the idea that the monarch could be deposed if he failed to reform his government; such a notion underpins the ‘Sentencia’ as the alternative to the programme it proposes.⁷³ The *converso* problem becomes a central element with which to challenge the monarch’s authority. Accusing a king of consorting with heretics provided one of the few legitimate means to contest his right to rule; canon law stipulated that a temporal ruler who failed in his duty to punish heretics forfeited the loyalty of his vassals.⁷⁴ But the accusation that Enrique tolerated heretical *conversos* in his court also amounted to a suggestion that he was “Jew-loving”, a well-worn trope

69 *Memorias*, II, 366: “con toda diligencia pospuesto todo amor é afición é odio é parcialidad é interese fagan la dicha inquisición [...] é si algunos estan errados en ella sean pugnidos é corregidos, é los que non son culpantes, non sean infamados nin vituperados nin maltratados, nin entrellos se sigan robos nin escándalos” (that they conduct said inquisition with all diligence renouncing all love and affection and hatred and bias and personal interest [...] and if any err in their [faith] that they may be punished and corrected, and those who are not guilty they may neither be defamed nor vituperated nor mistreated, nor amongst them should follow thefts nor scandals).

70 Suárez Fernández 2001, 289: “razón de Estado”.

71 Franco Silva 2012, 109.

72 See, for example, Phillips 1978, 78.

73 Suárez Fernández 1964, 253; 2001, 299.

74 See for example Mansi 1759–1798, XXII, 986–990.

of political rebellion with a long history in Castile. In seeking to undermine the monarch's position, the rebels had adopted a language similar to that employed by those who had risen against Juan II and *conversos* in 1449 in Toledo.⁷⁵ A letter from the Toledan rebels to King Juan of May 1449 had described heretical New Christians in similar terms to those of the 'Sentencia' and had invoked their continuing toleration as the reason to withdraw the city from royal obedience.⁷⁶

By 1465, many of the premises held by the anti-*converso* party had become widely adopted. Thus the 'Sentencia', a document endorsed by two figures known for their moderate stance such as Carrillo and Oropesa, could rely on some of the same notions and textual strategies that had been first used by those who had taken an openly anti-*converso* approach. Definitions of what it meant to be a supporter of *conversos* had moved significantly from their meanings in the previous decade. The debate was not so much centred on the role of *conversos* within the church and Christian society but rather on the ways and means to punish those who would not comply with the precepts of the faith. Such questions were no longer the province of ecclesiastics but became firmly and permanently associated with political discourse and notions of just rule.

Conclusion

The events and disputes at court in the late 1450s and early 1460s reveal a shift in the ideology underpinning secular and ecclesiastical treatments of *conversos*. Some of the positions associated with those who had been more hostile to New Christians came to dominate debates, notably the need for thorough and frequent inquisitorial activity and its identification with good governance. Such notions triumphed because those who held more moderate positions accepted them, seemingly for pragmatic reasons. Less successful were the attempts to conflate *conversos* and Jews, presenting both as two sides of the same problem. In this instance, the moderate party did not adopt these views while the Jews could count on the protection of the crown.

More widely, these case studies reveal the importance of bishops in driving some of these changes and the depth of their collaboration with other groups within the church. These collaborations particularly highlight how the friars were not the dis-

75 Vidal Doval 2013b, 222. See also Nirenberg 2006, 421–422.

76 *Conversos* as heretics: "conuersos de linaje de los judíos [...], los quales por la mayor parte son fallados ser ynfeiles e erejes, e han judaizado e judaizan, e han guardado e guardan los más dellos los ritos e cirimonias de los judios" ('Suplicación e requerimiento' in Benito Ruano 1961, 188; converts of Jewish descent [...], whom in their greater part are found to be infidels and heretics, who have judaized and judaize, and have kept and keep in the majority the rites and ceremonies of the Jews). Withdrawal of obedience: 'Suplicación e requerimiento' in Benito Ruano 1961, 189–190.

ruptive outsiders that they often depicted themselves to be but rather agents working in agreement with existing ecclesiastical powers. Finally, the court appears not simply as a political arena but also as an essential stage for the pursuit of the pastoral aims of bishops. In this environment, bishops could align themselves with noble factions not merely to safeguard familial or economic interests but also in pursuit of specifically ecclesiastical objectives.

In the short term, the agendas pursued by Espina and Carrillo failed. In the case of the former, the crown did not implement his demands for reform, as presented in 1464 in *Fortalitiium fidei*, while the interest of ecclesiastical authorities in the alleged *converso* heresy remained uneven. Carrillo's attempts at erasing the divisions between Old and New Christians were unsuccessful. In 1467 there was an anti-*converso* riot in Toledo that revealed the extent of the animus between both groups of Christians and led to a further deterioration of the socio-religious climate in the city. Elsewhere in Castile, violence against *conversos* and the rise of factionalism continued and even worsened in the 1470s until the Catholic monarchs, circumventing the episcopacy, instituted the Spanish Inquisition in 1480 in a vain attempt to put an end to a problem that was nearly a century old.⁷⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary texts

Alonso de Espina. 1471. *Fortalitiium fidei* (Strasbourg: Jean Mentelin).

Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, ed. F. Navarrete et al., 112 vols. (Madrid: Viuda de Calero, 1842–1895).

Crónica del rey don Enrique el Cuarto, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. C. Rosell, 3 vols. (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1875–1878, III: 101–222).

Mansi, Joannes Dominicus. 1759–1798. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence: Antonium Zatta).

Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla: Contiene la colección diplomática del mismo rey compuesta y ordenada por la Real Academia de la Historia, 2 vols. (Madrid: Fortanet, 1835–1913).

Secondary literature

Beauchamp, A. & M. Narbona Cárceles, eds. 2015. *La sociedad cortesana en la Península Ibérica (siglos XIV–XV): Fuentes para su estudio (= Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez 45:2)*, (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez).

⁷⁷ I am grateful to Elena Carrera, Trevor Dadson, and Martin J. Ryan for their comments and observations.

- Beltrán de Heredia, V. 1961. 'Las bulas de Nicolás V acerca de los conversos de Castilla', *Sefarad* 21, 22–47.
- Benito Ruano, E. 1961, *Toledo en el siglo XV: Vida política* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales).
- Benito Ruano, E. 2001. *Los orígenes del problema converso* (2nd rev. edn, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia).
- Bernard, G.W. 2012. *The late medieval English church: Vitality and vulnerability before the break with Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Cavallero, C. 2011. 'Miles Christi: La construcción del *ethos* en el *Fortalitium fidei* de Alonso de Espina (Castilla, Siglo XV)', *Estudios de Historia de España* 13, 149–198.
- Cavallero, C. 2016. *Los enemigos del fin del mundo: Judíos, herejes y demonios en el "Fortalitium fidei" de Alonso de Espina (Castilla, siglo XV)* (Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila).
- Coussemaeker, S. 1993. 'Alonso de Oropesa et Fernando de Talavera: Deux hiéronymites du XVe siècle au service de l'État', in *Recherche sur l'histoire de l'État dans le monde Ibérique (XVe–XXe siècle)*, ed. J.-F. Schaub (Paris: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure), 103–127.
- Devaney, T. 2015. *Enemies in the plaza: Urban spectacle and the end of Spanish frontier culture, 1460–1492* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Díaz Ibáñez, J. 2006. 'Iglesia, nobleza y oligarquías urbanas', in *La monarquía como conflicto en la Corona castellano-leonesa (c. 1230–1504)*, ed. J.M. Nieto Soria (Madrid: Sílex), 197–252.
- Fernández Gallardo, L. 2002. *Alonso de Cartagena (1385–1456): Una biografía política en la Castilla del siglo XV* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura).
- Flórez, H., et al. 1754–1879. *España sagrada: Theatro geográfico-histórico de la Iglesia de España*, 51 vols. (Madrid: Miguel Francisco Rodríguez).
- Franco Silva, A. 2012. *Los discursos políticos de la nobleza castellana en el siglo XV* (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz).
- Franco Silva, A. 2014. *El arzobispo de Toledo, Alonso Carrillo: Un prelado belicoso del siglo XV, apasionado por la riqueza y el poder* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz).
- García de Valdeavellano, L. 1982. *Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas: De los orígenes al final de la Edad Media* (1st edn: Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968; Madrid: Alianza Editorial).
- Gecser, O.S. 2010. 'Preaching and publicness: St John of Capestrano and the making of his charisma north of the Alps', in *Charisma and religious authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim preaching, 1200–1500*, eds. K.L. Jansen & M. Rubin (Turnhout: Brepols), 145–159.

- Gil Ortega, C.C. 2015. 'Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña: Un arzobispo proconverso en el siglo XV castellano', *eHumanista/Conversos* 3, 138–155.
- Hsia, R.P. 1988. *The myth of ritual murder: Jews and magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Kamen, H. 1998. *The Spanish Inquisition: A historical revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Kaplan, G.B. 2002. *The evolution of converso literature: The writings of the converted Jews of medieval Spain* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida).
- Liss, P. 1992. *Isabel the queen: Life and times* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Márquez Villanueva, F. 1994. "'Nasçer e morir como bestias'" (criptoaverroísmo y criptojudaismo), in *Los judaizantes en Europa y la literatura castellana del Siglo de Oro*, ed. F. Díaz Esteban (Madrid: Letrúmero), 273–293.
- Martín Martín, J.L. 2013. 'Un prelado medieval y su corte: Gonzalo de Vivero (Salamanca, 1447–1480)', in *El historiador y la sociedad: Homenaje al profesor José María Minguez*, eds. P. de la Cruz Díaz, F.L. Corral & I. Martín Viso (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca), 147–162.
- Martínez Casado, A. 1994. *Lope de Barrientos: Un intelectual en la corte de Juan II* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban).
- McKendrick, G. 1987. *The Franciscan Order in Castile, c. 1440–c. 1560*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- Meyuhas Ginio, A. 1998. *La forteresse de la foi: La vision du monde d'Alonso de Espina, moine espagnol (?–1466)* (Paris: Cerf).
- Monsalvo Antón, J.M. 1985. *Teoría y evolución de un conflicto social: El antisemitismo en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno).
- Netanyahu, B. 2001. *The origins of the Inquisition in fifteenth century Spain*, (2nd edn, New York: New York Review of Books).
- Nieto Soria, J.M. 1988. *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla, siglos XIII–XVI* (Madrid: EUEDEMA).
- Nieto Soria, J.M. 1996. 'Enrique IV de Castilla y el pontificado (1454–1474)', *En la España Medieval* 19, 167–238.
- Nirenberg, D. 2006. 'Figures of thought and figures of flesh: "Jews" and "Judaism" in late-medieval Spanish poetry and politics', *Speculum* 81, 398–426.
- Nirenberg, D. 2013. *Anti-Judaism: The Western tradition* (New York: Norton).
- Nogales Rincón, D. 2013. 'Los escenarios del pacto y de la negociación política: La Corona de Castilla (1369–1506)', in *Pacto y consenso en la cultura política peninsular, siglos XI al XV*, eds. J.M. Nieto Soria & O. Villarroel González (Madrid: Sílex), 283–318.
- Pastore, S. 2003. *Il vangelo e la spada: L'inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura).

- Pastore, S. 2010. *Una herejía española: Conversos, alumbrados e Inquisición (1449–1559)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons).
- Peters, E. 1989. *Inquisition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press).
- Phillips, W.D. 1978. *Enrique IV and the crisis of fifteenth-century Castile, 1425–1480* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America).
- Quintanilla Raso, M.C. 1997. 'Facciones, clientelas y partidos en España en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la modernidad', in *Poder, economía, clientelismo*, ed. J. Alvarado (Madrid: Marcial Pons), 15–50.
- Quintanilla Raso, M.C. 2005. 'Discurso aristocrático, resistencia y conflictividad en el siglo XV castellano', in *Coups d'état à la fin du Moyen Âge?: Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe occidentale. Colloque international, 25–27 novembre 2002*, eds. F. Foronda, J.-P. Genêt & J.M. Nieto Soria (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez), 543–573.
- Rábade Obradó, M. del P. 1999. 'Judeoconversos e inquisición', in *Orígenes de la monarquía hispánica: propaganda y legitimación, ca. 1400–1520*, ed. J.M. Nieto Soria (Madrid: Dykinson), 239–272.
- Rose, E.M. 2015. *The murder of William of Norwich: The origins of the blood libel in medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Round, N.G. 2013. 'Gómez Manrique's *Exclamación y querrela de la gobernación*', in *Medieval Hispanic studies in memory of Alan Deyermond*, eds. A.M. Beresford, L.M. Haywood & J. Weiss (Woodbridge: Tamesis), 149–174.
- Rubin, M. 1999. *Gentile tales: The narrative assault on late medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Rurale, F. 1998. 'Introduzione', in *I religiosi a corte: Teologia, politica e diplomazia in Antico Regime. Atti del seminario di studi Georgetown University a Villa "Le Balze", Fiesole, 20 ottobre 1995*, ed. F. Rurale (Rome: Bulzoni Editore), 9–50.
- Sigüenza, J. 2000. *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, rev. A. Weruaga Prieto, 2 vols. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura).
- Suárez Fernández, L. 1964. 'Los Trastámaras de Castilla y Aragón en el siglo XV (1407–74)', in *Los Trastámaras de Castilla y Aragón en el siglo XV*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe), 219–318.
- Suárez Fernández, L. 2001. *Enrique IV de Castilla: La difamación como arma política* (Barcelona: Ariel).
- Swanson, R.N. 2016. 'Apostolic successors: Priests and priesthood, bishops, and episcopacy in medieval Western Europe', in *A companion to priesthood and holy orders in the Middle Ages*, eds. G. Peters & C.C. Anderson (Leiden: Brill), 4–42.

- Valle Rodríguez, C. 2008. 'La rebelión de Toledo, 1449', in *Díaz de Montalvo, La causa conversa*, eds. M. Conde Salazar, A. Pérez Martín & C. del Valle Rodríguez (Madrid: Aben Ezra Ediciones, Ayuntamiento de Arévalo), 13–68.
- Vauchez, A. 1981. *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge: D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École Française de Rome).
- Vidal Doval, R. 2013a. "Misera Hispania": Jews and "Conversos" in Alonso de Espina's "Fortalitium Fidei" (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature).
- Vidal Doval, R. 2013b. "Nos soli sumus christiani": *Conversos* in the texts of the Toledo Rebellion of 1449', in *Medieval Hispanic studies in memory of Alan Deyermond*, eds. A.M. Beresford, L.M. Haywood & J. Weiss (Woodbridge: Tamesis), 215–236.
- Villarroel González, Ó. 2007. 'El reflejo léxico de las posturas políticas: Vaivenes políticos de un prelado de sangre regia', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III, Historia medieval* 20, 265–287.