ILLUMINATING HERETICS:

ALUMBRADOS AND INQUISITION IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY CUENCA

by

JESSICA FOWLER

(Under the Direction of Benjamin Ehlers)

ABSTRACT

This thesis delves into two cases of alumbradismo brought before the Spanish Inquisition in the archbishopric of Cuenca, during the 1590s. The fact that the cases of Juana Rubia and Francisco de los Reyes exist breaks with historiographical understandings of alumbrados and thus forces historians to reconsider the heresy at large.

INDEX WORDS: Alumbrados, Cuenca, Spanish Inquisition, Heresy, Spain

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JESSICA FOWLER

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JESSICA FOWLER

Major Professor: Benjamin Ehlers

Committee: Pamela Voekel
Michael Kwass

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2009

DEDICATION

To my mother, Jackie Fowler, who would support me even if I said I wanted to fly to the moon.

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Increasingly I have come to realize that no academic work springs from a single hand. This thesis would be both unimaginable as well as impossible without the assistance of a number of individuals. First, I would like to thank Dr. Benjamin Ehlers for his consistent support. His patience was unfailing as I delved into both the paleography as well as the writing of this project. He looked over more paleography and thesis drafts than he likely ever cared to. In general, I could not have asked for a better advisor. Also at the University of Georgia I would like to thank Pamela Voekel for teaching me not only how to use theory in the abstract but also how to embrace it in my own work, and Michael Kwass, whose subtle insights always cultivated a refinement in the way I thought about these cases. Additionally, Ed Behrend-Martinez's encouragement and advice was pivotal to this work. Under his direction, I began work on the alumbrados years ago. Behrend-Martinez 's insistence was also the only reason I

chose to visit the archives of Cuenca, though I don’t think even he had any idea of just how fruitful that would turn out to be.

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INTRODUCTION

> **"…que la Inquisición también sirvió como un órgano para trasmitir ideologías, y más importante aún, para crear y validar aquellas que difundiría. Así, la Inquisición no solo reprimió, sino que a través de ello produjo ideas y realidades."[1]**

The Spanish Inquisition, founded in 1480, acted as an agent of royal control over religious orthodoxy. Because of this charge, the inquisition held the responsibility of classifying, defining, and judging beliefs and practices from the local level and fitting them into a dichotomous schema of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The motive for creating the institution was to curb and eradicate heresies, not to define and then, in turn, propagate them. However, this is exactly what happened in the case of the heretics that came to be known as alumbrados.

Beginning in 1525, after the first arrests of suspect individuals, inquisitors began defining what it meant to be member to this 'new' heresy, classifying it as heterodoxy and thus simultaneously re-iterating a standardized orthodoxy for the community of believers. At this moment, the inquisition was in a period of transition, searching out a reason for its continued existence despite the decline of crypto-Judaism, its original raison d'être. Thus, these individuals, eventually defined as alumbrados by inquisitors, despite never self-identifying with this title, appeared in a period where the inquisition sought out new heresies with which to concern itself. The institution needed a reason to justify its continuation. Trumping the importance of the accusation's initial appearance

[1] Elia Nathan Bravo, "La Inquisición como generadora y trasmisora de idolologías" in *Inquisición Novohispana*. Vol. I. eds. Noemi Quezada, Martha Eugenia Rodríguez, and Marcela Suárez, 273-286 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), 273.

is the fact that the charge continued into later centuries, throughout the empire, indicating its long-term importance to Spanish as well as inquisitorial history.

The historiography of alumbrados, though of great breadth, often lacks significant depth. The heresy was important enough to garner at least some attention, sometimes only a paragraph to a few pages, from books written on the inquisition in particular, or Early Modern Spain more generally. Monographs on alumbrados specifically are much less frequent, and seem to have passed out of vogue in more recent years. Despite frequent mentions of these heretics and the handful of works available, the historiography is in no way complete. Most of the acknowledgments of the heresy expend extensive energy on debating its origins, explanations of its persecution, and questions of who the defendants were. Additionally, these discussions disproportionately focus on the first manifestation of alumbrados in Toledo with significantly less written about other occurrences within the Peninsula, or even the Empire for that matter. What the historiography lacks is a closer look at later occurrences of alumbradismo. Most historians dismiss these as 'outbreaks', implying that the inquisitors used the term haphazardly as a catch-all accusation. However, considering the large number of defendants eventually charged as alumbrados, numbering in the hundreds, and the longevity of the accusation, as late as the eighteenth century, it seems that greater nuance is warranted. However, in assessing the heresy as a panorama, instead of individual portraits, it becomes clear that the charge was not elastic, but rather it evolved. Though the historiography on the alumbrados is sizeable, each author continues to ask similar questions about the heresy and thus finds similar answers. Therefore, new questions are necessary.

The origin of the alumbrado movement, first appearing in 1525, has sparked an ongoing historical debate. Answers have been sought as far as India or as close as Spain's own religious reform. The question of genesis remains pivotal as historians seek to understand what precedents the inquisitors looked back to when assessing this 'new' heresy. In general the historiography concurs that alumbradismo did not arise spontaneously, nor were its beliefs particularly novel for that matter. In fact, the extensive debate over origins signals the impossibility of such a conclusion.

Foreign influences posited as possible sources of origin for the alumbrado heresy range widely from Hindu Brahmanism, Greek Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism, to the heresies of the Beghards, Albigensians, and Martin Luther.[2] Such an approach seems almost grasping for a way to discuss alumbrados as anything but the "single native heretical movement" of Spain.[3] Although recent scholarship has largely discredited the alumbrado-Lutheran nexus, the subject remains in contention due to the 1525 Inquisitorial Edict's acknowledgment of a Lutheran connection.[4] Though Luther's true influence remains questionable, one stimulus that remains largely recognized by historians is that of Erasmus of Rotterdam. This humanist enjoyed wild popularity in Spain at the turn of the sixteenth century, but his favor suffered rapid decline with the

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[2]Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1965), 210-212.

[3] Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth Century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 1.

[4] With great nuance Henry Kamen addresses this subject, "it was not until Lutheran influences penetrated Spain that the first moves were made against them." Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* 2nd Ed. (London: Longman, 1991), 115. See also Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition, A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 87. Among the works arguing against the connection with Luther are Melquiades Andres Martin, *Nueva Visión de los "Alumbrados" de 1525* (Madrid: Fundacion Universitaria Española, 1973), 33; Jose C. Nieto, *Juan de Valdes and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation* (Geneve: Librairir Droz S.A., 1970), 59; John Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation State to World Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 89. For the other side of the debate see Antonio Marquez, *Los Alumbrados: Orígenes y Filosofía, 1525-1529* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, S. A., 1972), 70; Cecil Roth, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1964), 184.

outbreak of the Lutheran Reformation. This growing alarm led to inquisitorial anxiety about the persistence of Erasmianism in Spain that manifested itself in the persecution of his followers, among them the earliest alumbrados.[5] Though Erasmus' influence appears of ever decreasing importance to the later manifestations of alumbradismo, the connection with Erasmus is difficult to deny among the earliest group, which, in the end, shaped inquisitorial conceptions of alumbradismo long-term.

Despite the various potential foreign influences, two native to Spain also remain prominent in the debate: the reforms of both Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros and the Franciscan order. Cisneros, one of the great patrons of Spanish humanism, founded the University of Alcalá in 1508 as a center of humanist thought and learning and thus fostered an environment of religious reform. Equally important were the reformers of the Franciscan order who began to emphasize mystical prayer and a personal relationship with God as superior to doctrine.[6] In this atmosphere of openness and modification, along with patronage from important Old Christians, the movement of alumbradismo grew forth.[7] Numerous recent historians choose to locate at least part, if not all, of the precedents for alumbradismo within this Spanish moment of reform.

It seems most plausible that a number of factors led to the development of alumbradismo and its particular form of mysticism and spirituality. Antonio Márquez in his review of the historiography sums it up best: "que ninguna de estas explicaciones

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[5]For more information on Catholic Spain's judgment of Erasmus see Lu Ann Homza, "Erasmus as Hero or Heretic? Spanish Humanism and the Valladolid Assembly of 1527." *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, (1997): 78-118 . To explore the connections of alumbrados to Erasmus see, J. H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (England: Penguin Books, 2002), 217; Andres Martin, *Nueva Vision*, 35; Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 34.

[6] Mary E. Giles, *Women in the Inquisition, Spain and the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1999), 11.

[7] Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 86-89; Andres Martin, *Nueva Vision*, 35-36; Nieto, *Juan de Valdes*, 59; Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598*, 88; Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 1, 7.

puede ser exclusive."[8] Likely, it was the particular climate of Spanish religiosity at this moment that cultivated a spiritual environment that allowed for the easier infiltration of other influences. While the debate continues about the exact nature of precedents leading up to alumbradismo, the reason for their persecution by the Spanish Inquisition, at least in the earliest occurrence, remains significantly more transparent, focusing on issues of gender, class and race.

Characteristics of the first alumbrado community dictated inquisitorial understandings of the heresy that pervaded long after the early sixteenth century. During the first arrests, there existed in Spain a mounting suspicion of female religiosity, and of beatas specifically.[9] Perhaps unsurprisingly, the leaders accused during the Toledo persecution were overwhelmingly women, and their male followers.[10] Another characteristic augmenting inquisitorial suspicion was the seemingly misplaced literacy of these individuals. Reading was an ability, at least in theory, reserved for the clergy, the social and economic elite, and occasionally a woman confined to the convent, none of which described the earliest alumbrados.[11] Therefore, their literacy, in some ways, brought into question class hierarchies in a world of closely guarded social boundaries. A frequent reoccurrence of conversos among the accused further heightened inquisitorial

[8] Marquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 99.
[9] For discussion of the changing roles and place of beatas especially in the post-Tridentine period see Elizabeth Lehfeldt, "Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a Tridentine Microclimate," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Winter, 1999); Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly*: *The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento In Colonial Lima* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 29,35, 207.
[10] See occurrences in Extremadura and Mexico as examples. For the former see Alvaro Huerga's work entitled *Historia de los Alumbrado, (1570-1630),* Vol. I, *Los Alumbrados de Estremadura* (Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1978). For the latter see Nora Jaffary's *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).
[11] Jaffary, *False Mystics,* 96. See Gordon A. Kinder, "'Ydiota y sin letras': Evidence of Literacy Among the Alumbrados of Toledo." *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, Vol. 4 (1996), as well as Ortega-Costa's *Proceso de la Inquisición contra María de Cazalla* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1978). This literacy, which included reading and interpreting the Bible for themselves, reeked of Lutheranism, and thus fostered a concern about the potential of a literate laity.

anxiety. To be a converso was to be member to an inherently suspicious racialized cultural category, consisting of those whose ancestors converted from Judaism to Catholicism.[12] These features of the earliest group informed initial inquisitorial understandings of alumbrados writ large. However, yet to be undertaken by historians is an empirical assessment of the validity of these precepts in later manifestations of the heresy.

The historiography of alumbradismo has focused not only on particular characteristics of these heretics but also on very specific locations. Huerga argues that "La verdad es que se pueden y deben distinguir cinco grupos, separados por cronología y aun por tipología."[13] Most historians place the greatest import on the earliest manifestation of the heresy, beginning in Toledo in the 1510s and 1520s, while relegating later occurrences in other locales as simply 'outbreaks' of some bastardized form of the heterodoxy. These later occurrences, as presented in the historiography, appear in Extremadura in the 1570s, Alta Andalusia between 1570 and 1590, in the Spanish holdings in the New World from 1570 and into the last years of the eighteenth century, and Seville between 1605 and 1630.[14] This taxonomy of alumbradismo informs most

[12] In positing a racialized understanding of conversos I am looking to the ways in which 'race' and religion became intertwined in the Spanish mind of this period. Laura Lewis argues that by the early seventeenth century those individuals with Jewish or Moorish 'blood' were considered distinctive *razas*. "As raza became associated with Jewish and Moorish 'blood'-an immutable and undesirable substance- it thus came to also signify the religions that challenged Spanish Christianity." Laura Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 22-25. Additionally, "The concept of honour, pride, and reputation was tending to become chauvinistic and exclusivist. In the fifteenth century it was felt by some that the honour of faith and nation could be preserved only be ensuring that one's lineage was not contaminated by Jews and Muslims…With this we have the beginnings of a new stress on racial purity and the consequent rise of the cult of *limpeza de sangre*." Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 231.

[13] Alvaro, *Historia de los Alumbrados, (1570-1630)*, Vol. V, *Temas y Personajes* (Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1994), 39.

[14] This classification of the later 'outbreaks' follows Alvaro Huerga's classification of these groups. Ibid, 39-40. However, the appearance of alumbrados in the New World extended into the very end of the

recent scholarship on the topic. However, in some of the older historiography there is mention of other groups that do not fit within this oft cited chronology of 'outbreaks.' For example, Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo notes the occurrence of alumbradismo in Madrid whereas Antonio Marquez points to the fact that charges of alumbradismo ranged "por Levante hasta Cuenca; por Poniente, a Madrid."[15] Sara Nalle briefly mentions two cases of alumbradismo in Cuenca but treats them only in passing.[16] Overall, the historiography largely has ignored the alumbrado trials of the Archdiocese of Cuenca.[17]

The value of studying the inquisitorial tribunal in Cuenca specifically stems from the fact that its extant inquisition documents are among the most complete in Spain, perhaps preceded only by the tribunal of Toledo. This makes the Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca an invaluable resource that remains largely untapped because the materials have remained independent of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. For better or worse, most historians of alumbrados, and the inquisition more generally, spend all of their time in Madrid at the National Archive where the remaining remnants of *most* of the inquisitorial tribunals' documents are held. However, with the exception of the Toledo tribunal, what remains is far from complete. The Archdiocese of Cuenca, on the other hand, has been able to keep its largely intact archives within its own city, thus offering

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eighteenth century. See Nora Jaffary, *False Mystics*. Also, based on my own research, accusations of alumbradismo continue in Spain throughout the seventeenth century.

[15] Menendez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos*, 250; Marquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 61.

[16] Sara T. Nalle, *God in la Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 19, 77.

[17] The exception to this is the work of Sarrion who treats the alumbrados of Cuenca as part of her larger interest in studying beatas and endemoniadas. In her work she emphasizes the alumbrados anti-institutional character and the role of women as spiritual teachers as fundamental to inquisitorial concerns, however she avoids in-depth research or conclusions regarding this particular heterodoxy. Adelina Sarrión. *Beatas y endemoniadas: Mujeres heterodoxas ante la Inquisición siglos XVI XIX* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, S. A., 2003).

the historian willing to leave Madrid a wealth of possibilities, in this case, to study occurrences of alumbrados overlooked by other historians.

I propose to explore two particular occurrences of alumbradismo that do not fit into the traditional taxonomy of 'outbreaks.' Instead, the two cases occur in the Archdiocese of Cuenca, in the years between the accusations in Alta Andalucía and Seville. Strictly based on chronology and geography, these two trials lay outside the customary framework of alumbradismo. The cases of Juana Rubia, in 1592, and Fray Francisco de los Reyes, in 1596, shed light on this heresy within a more localized context and defy the conception of alumbradismo as a strictly communal movement. This is not to say that these are the only cases of this heterodoxy in Cuenca. However, not at this moment, or any other in the history of this archdiocese, are enough individuals swept up in activities of questionable orthodoxy to warrant the term 'outbreak,' which seems to carry certain numerical implications. Additionally, by isolating two occurrences, unrelated in their principal characters, but occurring in such close proximity, I hope to be able to delve into the local context of a single decade within which these cases were forged. Exploring Cuenca in the 1590s, both as a town and archdiocese, reveals the context in which comparatively isolated cases of alumbradismo could occur.

The extant documents of these two cases are predominantly witness testimony, about the words and deeds of these two individuals, given before the inquisitorial tribunal. Such sources inherently raise a number of issues for the historian. Perhaps first among these entails the "context of power in which these texts were produced."[18] Inevitably, these witnesses sought to please inquisitors who ultimately determined if they would be the next defendant before the court. A second issue is the problems created by

[18] Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors*, 43.

the use of any witness testimony. Personal vendettas or grudges, consciously or unconsciously, could slip into evidence as easily as blame could be diverted from oneself to others with the flash of a tongue. However, the Spanish Inquisition remained cognizant to this fact and held the right to dismiss denunciations that appeared petty. Another concern, though of perhaps minimal legitimacy in the context of inquisitorial documents, was the mediation of all testimony through a notary. Inquisition notaries were known for their accuracy, going so far as to read aloud the testimony and having the witness ratify their statements, even if taken under torture. Therefore, despite the fact that an illiterate witness would be unable to read the transcription of their statement it seems unlikely that notaries possessed any motive to deviate from the stated testimony considering the documents were only for the eyes of inquisitors anyway. The final problem, particular to these documents, is the fact that none of the witnesses classified either Juana Rubia or Francisco de los Reyes as alumbrados. Instead, this charge is found on the cover page of their procesos, created by the tribunal. This creates a further complication in the use of these documents as the historian must attempt to tease out how this definition of heterodoxy was assigned by the inquisitors to the particular forms of beliefs and actions described by the witnesses. Inquisitorial classifications of heterodoxy reveal how inquisitors conceptualized the deviancy presented to them by witnesses. Inquisitors filtered what they heard and recreated it by classifying it as a specific heresy as opposed to a conglomeration of various, perhaps questionable, occurrences or beliefs. Though these documents have their methodological complications, used advisedly, these sources can still provide an array of information about the world in which they were constructed, in both what they say as well as their silences.

In placing the cases of Juana Rubia and Fray Francisco de los Reyes in the most local of contexts, this thesis will also address a number of related issues. Perhaps the most important of these is how these two cases fit into an evolving understanding of the charge itself. Elia Nathan Bravo posits that, "Ante todo hay que notar que la herejía tuvo un proceso evolutivo distinto."[19] Though perhaps such an assertion seems logical, historians of heresy rarely take into account the change over time that occurs in regards to mentalities about heresy. Patricia Seed refers to this as "the problem of language." The historiography of alumbradismo has largely failed to address "the history of change in socially constituted meanings of words, concepts and languages," in this case, the very language of the charge under study.[20] Those very few historians who do deal with the evolution of the charge mention it only in passing. Adelina Sarrión acknowledges this fact in her brief discussion of "la evolución del termino 'alumbrado.'"[21] J. Martinez Millan acknowledges that "Las características de esta secta-como es lógico-evolucionaron."[22] Both of these historians, however, fail to follow through on such assertions with a discussion of the exact ramifications or nature of such an evolution. With these few exceptions, most historians simply assume that the charge of alumbradismo is thrown around as a catch-all accusation after the 1525 manifestation. Thus, in studying the cases of Juana Rubia and Fray Francisco de los Reyes I will place these individuals in a moment in the evolution of the definition of alumbrado, between

[19] Nathan Bravo, "La Inquisición como generadora y trasmisora de idolologías," 286.
[20] Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 9.
[21] Sarrión, *Beatas y Endemoniadas*, 67.
[22] J. Martinez Millan, "Fuentes y técnicas del conocimiento histórico del Santo Oficio, las fuentes impresas," in *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América, I, Las estructuras del Santo Ofici*,. eds. Joaquin Perez Villanueva, and Bartolome Escandell Bonet, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Inquisitoriales, 1993), 159.

two major ‘outbreaks,’ and analyze how the traits described in the Cuenca trials fit between their antecedents and what will occur after.

Choosing to study these two cases has a number of advantages. First, they allow an original contribution to the field of alumbrados, as well as inquisition studies at large, because of their status as previously disregarded or overlooked. Secondly, by studying cases that lie outside the traditional taxonomy of alumbrados, this new perspective will allow new questions to come to the fore as well as challenge old assumptions. According to the oft-cited framework of alumbradismo and its manifestations, these cases should not exist. However, the fact that they do requires a re-thinking of alumbrados and their place within the history of Spain.

CHAPTER 1- Precedents

Toledo

The heterodox individuals known as alumbrados first emerged in Toledo during the 1510s and 1520s. The leadership consisted predominantly of beatas, frequently with a converso ancestry, who lacked formal education but who nonetheless were literate. This proved a potent combination in a Spain searching for ways to counter the heresy of Protestantism abroad as well as crypto-Judaism at home. It was these anxieties, along with related concerns about the potential of a literate laity, humanism, and fears of an increasingly interior spirituality and the role women would play in it, which pressed inquisitors into the pursuit of a movement that seemed to encompass all of their greatest concerns of that moment. These earliest defendants, and the Edict of Faith under which they were pursued, illuminate the concerns of inquisitors as they developed their understandings of the 'nature' of alumbrados. The inquisitors who handled later 'outbreaks,' in both Estremadura and Andalusia, demonstrated both continuities and alterations to this earlier definition as they applied the charge of alumbradismo beyond the bounds of Toledo.

The arrests of alumbrados began with Isabel de la Cruz in 1524. At that time, the beata, member to the tertiary order of St. Francis, was preaching in the Guadalajara region where she had garnered a following of disciples.[23] Only a few excerpts of her trial remain but nonetheless most historians agree on her role as "la principal promotora y madre" of the movement.[24] Cruz was arrested along with one of the few men involved in the leadership of the alumbrados, Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, an obstinate converso lay

[23] Roland H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation: From Spain to Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977), 18.
[24] Andres Martin, *Nueva Visión,* 22.

preacher and avid reader of devotional literature. Cruz was suspect not only due to her status as a beata but also due to her converso heritage. A persistent fear over the truth of New Christians' conversion haunted Spain for centuries and both conversos, those converted from Judaism, and moriscos, those converted from Islam, remained dubious figures whose duplicity was often assumed in the Old Christian mind. Complementing these concerns over the person of Cruz was her literacy. "An enthusiastic reader and expounder of the Bible," she owned as well as lent books, and participated in correspondence.[25] As one of the earliest arrests, Isabel de la Cruz conditioned inquisitors to be receptive to the possibility that these attributes were emblematic of the movement as a whole. The testimony of both Cruz and Alcaraz set the tone and direction of the first inquisitorial Edict of Faith treating alumbrados.

Francisca Hernández, another prominent figure among the first generation, garnered inquisitorial attention as early as 1519, though her seizure came only on 31 March 1529.[26] Despite the fact that her trial documents no longer exist, her active participation as a witness in other trials provides for a rough understanding of her life and influence.[27] The poverty of her Old Christian family thwarted her childhood ambitions to join a convent and thus relegated her to the life of a beata, first in Salamanca and later in Valladolid.[28] She was also known to be literate, participating in extensive correspondence, "ella escriviendo a muchas personas."[29] The inquisition's initial interest

[25] Kinder, "'Ydiota y sin letras,' 37, 39.
[26] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 52 and Lu Ann Homza ed., *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006) 93.
[27] Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 72. Mary E. Giles, "Francisca Hernandez and the Sexuality of Religious Dissent." *Women in the Inquisition.* ed. Mary E. Giles. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 79.
[28] Giles, "Francisca Hernández," 75; Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 86; Bainton, *Women in the Reformation*, 28.
[29] AHN, Inq., leg. 106-5, fols. 277r-280v. Cited in Kinder, "'Ydiota y sin letras'" 39, fn. 5.

in Hernández stemmed from her suspected illicit relations with one Antonio de Medrano, a priest accused of "scandalous remarks and lascivious acts."[30] Many people suspected that Hernández had fallen into the stereotype of beatas, having "much freedom and little modesty" and being easily tempted by "the devil, the world, and their own flesh."[31] The fact that men predominated in Hernández's following, including nobles and clergy, only augmented this suspicion.[32] History often portrays Francisca Hernández as the harlot of the early alumbrado movement. Though some historians would argue against such an interpretation,[33] the inquisitors seemed keen to determine her purity, though ultimately failing to discover any "corrupción de su persona."[34] In this manner, inquisitors investigating the alumbrados developed the notion that illicit sexual relations could be, if not characteristic, at least a potential source of concern among the group. Ironically, considering the absence of this sort of behavior in the other major figures' trials, this

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[30] The priest Antonio de Medrano was ordered by the Inquisition as early as May of 1519 to sever all connections with Hernández and to live at least five leagues from her. The Inquisition, as well as many others, suspected that they were lovers. They boldly defied the Inquisitorial order and continued meeting until both were under investigation in Valladolid. He suffered at least two orders of exile for his "scandalous remarks and lascivious acts." During the course of his trial Medrano claimed that he was capable of lying in bed with a woman without desire and that he often did so with Hernández. He claimed that she received grace and enjoyment from his embraces. He also asserted that devotees could fondle each other, male or female, without clothing, without qualms, as long as they had the correct intention. Under torture he admitted that his relationship with Hernández had been carnal though a physician confirmed that it must have stopped short of intercourse because Hernández was still a virgin. During this period, though, such tests were far from reliable. Upon questioning by the tribunal about her relationship with Medrano, Hernández denied that she consented to any contact with him after the Inquisition's order. She carefully answered questions in such a way to deflect all the guilt of their relations on him. Additionally, Medrano may have have been related to María de Cazalla, in which case his arrest speaks to the interconnectedness of the leaders of the earliest alumbrados. Giles, "Francisca Hernández," 77, 90; Roth, *Spanish Inquisition*, 186-187; Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 84; Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 108.

[31] The contemporary, Diego Pérez de Valdivia, faculty at the University of Barcelona, accused many beatas of, having "much freedom and little modesty" and being easily tempted by "the devil, the world, and their own flesh" in his *Aviso de gente recogida* (1585). Translate and quoted in Stephen Haliczer, *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 111.

[32] Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 87.

[33] For the argument against such an interpretation see Giles, "Francisca Hernández," 94-97.

[34] "Dicho en otras palabras, Francisca era virgen y ello había sido determinado por el Santo Oficio mediatne un examen medico….No sabemos si tal examen médico era rutina inquisitorial, o si sólo se hacía en ciertos casos, cuando el ser o no ser virgen formaba parte esencial de la evidencia a favor o en contra de una persona." Angela Selke, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, Proceso de Fr. Francisco Ortiz (1529-1532)* (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1968), 207-208.

aspect of sexual deviancy had a potent and lingering effect on conceptualizations of alumbrados.

Of the earliest alumbrados, the last prominent figure arrested was María de Cazalla in 1532. Born to baptized Jews, Cazalla's parents faced the inquisition on charges of judaizing.[35] It is even possible that at the time of her trial Cazalla's grandparents were still practicing Jews due to her claim not to know anything about them.[36] By the time of her arrest, Cazalla had developed a strong following in Alcalá. Due to her brother's position as a bishop, she had connections in high-ranking circles of politicians, academics and ecclesiastical officials, including some of the greatest scholars at the University of Alcalá. Such connections granted María access to ideas and reading material that may have not otherwise have been available to her. Her proceso details activities such as owning books, writing letters, and the creation of a bound collection of correspondence, supposedly outlining her alumbrado beliefs.[37] Making her literacy even more suspicious was her admitted affection for the humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam, particularly his *Enchiridion*, a Christian guidebook that downplayed formal liturgies. She went so far as to state that "the words of Erasmus, after those of St. Paul, were the most consoling she had read."[38] Cazalla's opinion of Luther also left her open to charges of heresy as she admitted that she had thought he was religious until he used his criticisms of the clergy to "say bad things."[39] Although such a statement treated Luther as problematic, it was not

[35] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism,* 67.
[36] Angel Alcalá, "María de Cazalla: The Grievous Price of Victory," in *Women in the Inquisition,* ed. Mary E. Giles. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 105.
[37] Ortega-Costa, *Proceso de la Inquisición Contra María de Cazalla,* 31-32, 73-75, 110, 114 , 118.
[38] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism,* 34, 87.
[39] Discussing María's opinion of Martin Luther: "With respect to Luther, in the beginning she had heard he was very religious, but she attributed to him only the appearance of being religious because when he criticized vices and disorders among prelates and ministers of the church, he had used the occasion to say bad things." Alcalá, "María de Cazalla," 106.

the vehement denunciation the inquisition was likely seeking. Thus, María Cazalla embodied the potential threats of a literate laity as she praised both an intellectual, of now questionable orthodoxy, and failed to denounce a schismatic heretic. Thus, her charges included alumbradismo as well as being a follower of Luther and Erasmus.[40] Add this to her suspicious ancestry and it is unsurprising that she would find herself before the Holy Office.

A distinctive characteristic of the Toledo alumbrados was the predominance of women in leadership roles, the exception to this rule being Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz. By both their gender and their actions, these women challenged the religious authority of the Church, as well as defied gender conventions**.** Women's assumption of authoritative religious roles would be something the Catholic Church would attempt to rein in with the Council of Trent's order to cloister all beatas.[41]

To understand these earliest alumbrados individually sheds light on a number of the concerns that inquisitors were attempting to address. However, these were not unrelated persons. In fact, the main characters of this group were all well acquainted through various social networks. The leaders even shared disciples on a regular basis, among them a large number of Franciscans.[42] On a more personal level, though the leaders often knew each other, these acquaintances often suffered from a certain amount of tension and even animosity. Isabel de la Cruz garnered both Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz and María de Cazalla from a rival beata, Mari Núñez, from whom the very first denunciations of alumbradismo stemmed; Núñez had been a disciple of Cruz's "before a

[40] Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 88.
[41] See Lehfeldt, "Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage."
[42] Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 81.

rupture in their friendship."[43] Alcaraz, who considered Cruz to be "his spiritual mother," used his travels to search out rival groups such as Francisca Hernández and her followers. In an effort to get rid of this "threatening competition" he traveled to Valladolid to convert Hernández only for her to refuse to see him. This outraged Alcaraz and left a smoldering animosity between the two that would reappear under inquisitorial questioning.[44] Cazalla, on the other hand, remained closely connected to Cruz even after her family left Guadalajara, arranging for Cruz to educate her daughters. Before the tribunal, though her relationship with both Cruz and Alcaraz had by then cooled, Cazalla would still admit to thinking well of them both.[45] Francisca Hernández was familiar enough with Cazalla by the time of her trial to testify against her. This familiarity stemmed not only from the connection to Cruz but also from Hernández's stay with members of the Cazalla family in Valladolid. Hernández also testified against her rival Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, with whom a continued animosity remained. In turn, members of the Cazalla family, along with Alcaraz, were among the first to denounce Hernández. [46] Ultimately, it was the persecution of these individuals as a 'movement' that united them, in contrast to the contentious relationships that previously had divided them. The fact that persecution actually lent the adhesive to the group demonstrates just one more way in which the inquisition was able to not only prosecute but also assist in the creation of heterodox sects.

Despite the nature of the personal associations, ranging from reverent to incendiary, all of these earliest alumbrados, Cruz, Cazalla, Hernández and Alcaraz, knew

[43] Alcalá, "María de Cazalla," 100, 117.
[44] Giles,"Francisca Hernández," 92-93.
[45] Alcala, "María de Cazalla," 101, 106.
[46] Giles, "Francisca Hernández," 77, 92-93.

each other well. They acted as key figures within a far-reaching spiritual web that would eventually result in the accusations of a number of other individuals, at times only tangentially involved with this core group. Among them were Antonio de Medrano, perhaps the closest of Hernández's disciples, and Francisco Ortiz, a Franciscan held in esteem by the highest realms of Spanish bureaucracy.[47] Additionally, one of the most prestigious intellects and humanists of the period, Juan de Vergara, faced charges due to his half-brother Bernardino de Tovar's association with not only Hernández but also Cruz and Cazalla.[48] In this manner, as a function of inquisitorial procedure, a number of defendants came before the inquisition charged as alumbrados, largely due to their connections to the spiritual network fostered by these leading figures.

The 1525 Edict of Faith outlined the specific heretical propositions that the inquisitors perceived among the earliest alumbrados. Of the forty-eight propositions, the inquisitorial condemnations ranged from heretical, false and erroneous, to Lutheran, blasphemous, scandalous and even pagan. A recurring theme among the propositions was a denial of the necessity of exterior acts of piety, among these penance, confession, the adoration of images, and external prayer, which was "irrelevant and unnecessary." Such assertions denied the validity of intercessors in an individual's relationship with God, arguing instead that "After someone abandoned himself to God, this abandonment alone was enough to save his soul."[49] The alumbrados also denied the occurrence of transubstantiation, thus robbing the clergy of another of its functions as an intermediary necessary for salvation: "When it came to the application of practical ecclesiastical

[47] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 84.
[48] Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 1, 8.
[49] Homza, *Spanish Inquisition*, 85.

authority, the sacraments constituted the central arena for the interaction of priests and laity."[50] Such beliefs bucked both Catholic orthodoxy and hierarchy. In place of this, the alumbrados advocated for internal or mental prayer as they sought to abandon themselves to the love of God at which point they would no longer be capable of sin. Though the Edict of Faith outlines a heterodoxy focused on interior piety, other concerns cropped up as well. For instance, the last proposition proposes a rejection of scholasticism, a sentiment echoed by many humanists of the period. The inquisitors also classified the propositions rejecting confession, the doctrine of the saints and papal bulls, as reeking of Lutheranism. Complementing the concern of alumbrados' potential Lutheran leanings was their rejection of the monastic lifestyle, claiming "it was not good for men to become monks." Inquisitors hinted at their concerns about the sensual nature of the group in the claim that "They did not have to renounce temptations and evil thoughts, but rather should embrace them and take them as a burden, and walk onward with this cross."[51] In the future, some of these ideas and themes would prove recurring while others fell by the wayside in later 'outbreaks.' However, the associations that the inquisitors drew between the alumbrados and other anxieties, such as Lutheranism and Erasmianism, provide an indication of the concerns of inquisitors in this period. Thus, the fact that the presence of these connections waned over time speaks as much to the changing anxieties of inquisitors as to changing religious practices among these heterodox individuals.

In the end, none of the defendants discussed suffered excessively for their crimes against the faith. A brief period of confinement in a convent was the punishment for

[50] Homza, *Religious Authority*, 114.
[51] Homza, *Spanish Inquisition*, 84, 88, 91.

Hernández while Cazalla faced public as well as monetary penance.[52] Cruz suffered being paraded through the streets as well as an appearance at the auto de fe in 1529 along with "perpetual reclusion," though her release from this 'perpetuity' came only a few years later. Alcaraz received the harshest treatment, suffering flogging and 'perpetual' reclusion lasting until 1539. [53]

One of the major contributions of this earliest manifestation was to set the precedent for all future 'outbreaks' of alumbradismo. The Toledo group set the baseline by which inquisitors would, from that time forward, perceive and prosecute suspected alumbrados. In this vein, the prosecution of the second manifestation of alumbrados proceeded from these earliest understandings. If the Toledo episode ended the history of alumbradismo it would be a much simpler task to define and classify what this heterodoxy was and what it meant. Instead, alumbradismo would continue to haunt Spain, and its colonies, even as late as the end of the eighteenth century. However, the accusation and charge faced re-creation as each 'outbreak' occurred in locations and times distinct from 1520s Toledo. The second occurrence of the heresy was in the region of Estremadura in western Spain during the 1570s. This group was fitted under the classification of alumbradismo shortly after their discovery by fray Alonso de la Fuente, a self-appointed crusader against heretics. It was through his persistence that this group came to be recognized as alumbrados and in this manner, he assisted the Suprema in manufacturing a refurbished understanding of what it meant to be an alumbrado. In this re-creation, such factors as the Council of Trent, with its reformist impulses, as well as

[52] Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition,* 88; Giles, "Francisca Hernández," 94; Alcalá, "María de Cazalla," 114-115.
[53] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism,* 39, 61; Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition,* 86, 88.

the establishment of the Society of Jesus, played into the new conceptualizations of alumbradismo.

Estremadura

A concerned Dominican, Alonso de la Fuente, born in 1533, was the first to identify the appearance of heterodox individuals in Estremadura in the 1570s. It was with the assistance of his Provincial in Seville, Juan de Ochoa, that Fuente came to describe these individuals as alumbrados. As soon as this identification was established, Fuente reported the group he discovered, at the encouragement of Ochoa, to the Suprema of the Inquisition.[54] In the end, Fuente inspired the Suprema to action by depicting the alumbrados of Estremadura in terms similar to those found in the 1525 Edict of Faith. Looking to this earlier document allowed Fuente to glean precedents for trends he noticed in Estremadura, such as the involvement of Franciscans and conversos, characteristics of the earlier trials. Validation for his position and concerns came in 1574 when the Suprema decided to issue a new Edict of Faith against the heresy, its greatest influences being Fuente's *Memoriales* and the earlier 1525 Edict. Ultimately, the combination of Fuente's conceptualization of alumbrados and the characteristics of the defendants would

[54] Ochoa's ability to perceive parallels with the Toledo alumbrados stemmed from his experience investigating important Spanish humanists during the 1530s as part of the shift in spiritual climate post-Cardinal Jiménez Cisneros. His experience included the qualification of propositions against Juan de Vergara, a Spanish humanist also accused of alumbradismo, as well as being summoned to judge the orthodoxy of the writings of Bartolomé de Carranza in 1570. Ochoa was highly respected for his knowledge of theology and his ability to discern heterodoxy, even amongst the most seemingly innocuous figures. Specifically his work with the Vergara case acquainted him with the specific charges leveled against the Toledo alumbrados and it is from this experience that he suggested the comparison to the nonstandard individuals uncovered by Fuente: "para más seguridad de mi conciencia, me fui a Sevilla a mi Provincial y di cuenta de lo que pasaba en Estremadura. Mostré mi libro al Provincial, al maestro fray Juan de Ochoa…Este me dijo que la doctrina contenida en el *Memorial* era un retrato de lo que enseñaban los Alumbrados de Toledo, y que luego, sin me detener, diese cuenta de ello al Consejo de Inquisición." Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe II*, 1575. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 340.

dictate the ways in which inquisitors understood the alumbrados in Estremadura in the 1570s.

Hernando Alvarez, considered to be "el capitán del secta," "el principal y cabeza de toda esta secta," and one of the "grandes maestros de los alumbrados de Extremadura," faced arrest in early November of 1573.[55] As in the Toledo cases, the earliest arrests and testimonies contributed mightily to inquisitorial understandings, later to be codified in the 1574 Edict of Faith. The prosecution of Alvarez reified old concerns about alumbrados while also demonstrating new characteristics. In the person of Alvarez the concern over New Christian spirituality reappeared since the "maestro de los alumbrados de Extremadura" was a converso.[56] However, Alvarez and other leaders of the new group were priests, thus adding a certain clerical legitimacy, at least in the eyes of their followers, which the beatas of Toledo were unable to claim, though this distinction would do them little good before the tribunal.[57] In the case of Extremadura, many of the priests involved also garnered flocks of female disciples around them, inverting the gender order that had persisted in the Toledo case of Francisca Hernández.

According to the accusation, Alvarez committed a number of doctrinal crimes including his condemnation of both the married as well as monastic life for his female followers, insisting instead that the best state for a Christian life was that of a beata. Such an assertion was increasingly unorthodox after the Council of Trent ordered the cloistering of all beatas. True to the alumbrado roots of Toledo, Alvarez encouraged contemplation over vocal prayer; moreover, he believed that such strenuous meditation

[55] Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 117, 136, 224, 252.
[56] Ibid., 263, 643.
[57] *Relacion de las causas de cada uno de los alumbrados o congregados de Llerena y los errores y doctrina que enseñaban, con sus sentencias.* AHN, Inq., legajo 3716, expediente n.º 14. Reprinted in Ibid., 532-539.

required his followers to eat meat, even on prohibited days.[58] The inquisitorial tribunal also expressed concern about the ways in which they believed that "orgía sexual era la desembocadura de aquel adoctrinamiento y ejercicio de contemplación, excitador de pasiones."[59] This charge, combined with the tales of confessional solicitation, "tocamientos deshonestos y besos y abrazos," and Alvarez's admittance "que cometió deshonestidades con sus beatas," led historian Alvaro Huerga to classify the Estremadura 'outbreak' as "alumbradismo sensual."[60] Additionally, the followers of Alvarez experienced "visiones de perros, gatos, cabras, y otra visiones espantables, y oían espantosos ruidos y voces."[61]

The inquisition gathered testimony from three hundred and forty six witnesses, both against as well as in favor of Alvarez**.** Despite his supporters he received a sentenced to spend a four year stint in the King's galleys at the Llerena auto de fe of 14 June 1579. This penance, essentially a death sentence, was significantly harsher than any received by the Toledo group, and was one he shared with four other members of the clergy. In total, of the nine members of the clergy sentenced at the auto de fe, five received sentences ordering them to the galleys. On the other hand, none of the other penitents, those outside the institutional Church, received such harsh penances though the shoemaker Joan Bernal was threatened with galley service if he did not avoid discussing

[58] Ibid.
[59] Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 263.
[60] *Relacion de las causas de cada uno de los alumbrados o congregados de Llerena y los errores y doctrina que enseñaban, con sus sentencias.* AHN, Inq., legajo 3716, expediente n.º 14. Reprinted in Ibid., 534; Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. V, 57.
[61] *Relacion de las causas de cada uno de los alumbrados o congregados de Llerena y los errores y doctrina que enseñaban, con sus sentencias.* AHN, Inq., legajo 3716, expediente n.º 14. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 532-539.

alumbradismo in the future.[62] Based on the conclusion of these cases at the Llerena auto de fe it appears that the inquisitorial tribunal, at least in the case of Extremadura, sought more strident penalties for clergymen willing to dabble in heterodoxy. Such deviance, by those so closely affiliated with the Church, likely posed an even greater affront to Catholic orthodoxy and thus, especially in a period of clerical reform such as that following the Council of Trent, such behavior demanded pitiless recompense.

Though historian Alvaro Huerga argues that among the Estremadura group "No hay indicios de que hunda sus raíces en el toledano," it seems that such an assertion fails to grapple with the similarities, despite the more obvious differences, of the two groups. Alumbradismo in Estremadura continued to emphasize mental over vocal prayer, which many historians would concede to be foundational of the alumbrados of Toledo. In addition, a continued connection with conversos, as well as a resentment of the monastic lifestyle also carried forward into the later group. What changed was the authority structure, with men, often priests, now leading as opposed to beatas, and an increasingly sexualized conception of the group. This sensual nature of alumbrados was not however novel; it was simply more prominent and more controversial in this later manifestation occurring within a post-Tridentine climate when such behavior weighed heavier on inquisitor's minds.

Another example from the 1570s demonstrated similar concerns as the charge of alumbradismo was again adapted to address contemporary concerns. The case of Pedro Miguel de Fuentes, a Jesuit, in Lima in 1576 shows just how widely the ideas of the 1574 Edict had disseminated. The Spanish Inquisition was in operation in the Viceroyalty of

[62] *Relacion del auto publico de la fee, que se celebro en la inquisición de Llerena domingo de la Trinidad, catorce de junio de mil y quienentos y setenta y nueve años.* AHN, Inq., legajo 1988, expediente n.º 12. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I., 487-514.

Peru by the 1570s, largely due to the work of viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Some historians argue that the impact of the institution was minimal on the colonial world. However, the inquisition's appearance and functioning did signal, "an important change in the sphere of religion, for it was part of a package that included the introduction of reforms decreed in Europe by the Council of Trent."[63] Thus, a more institutionalized Church, by both its inquisition and its decrees, came to bear on those already in the colonies.

Miguel de Fuentes' accusation included twenty propositions, thirteen recorded as characteristic of alumbrados. Of those, however, only six are directly traceable, via the language utilized, back to the understanding of the heresy dictated by the 1574 Edict. Half of these deal with the proposition from that Edict that demanded complete submission to whomever the followers pledged obedience to.[64] This emphasis on demanding strict obedience from his penitents even extended to a demand that his penitents swear an oath "prometiendo a Dios de no confesare con otro sino con él."[65] These accusations set Miguel de Fuentes apart from the earliest alumbrados in both principle and practice. The Toledo group featured a great amount of interchange, as beatas often shared disciples.[66] Additionally, the 1525 Edict clearly states a disdain for intermediaries between the individual and God, including confessors:

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[63] Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became A World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 193.
[64] "o que algunas personas hayan pedido a otra la obediencia y, habiéndosela dado, hayan mandado a las personas que la dieron que no hagan cosa alguna, aunque sea obra pía y virtuosa y de precepto, sin su licencia y mandado." *Edicto de la fe.* AHN, *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. 1574. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.
[65] *Voto de los calificadores del proceso contra Pedro Miguel de Fuentes.* AHN, Inq., legajo 1647, expediente n°. 2, ff. 56r-63r. Reprinted in Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados: Alumbrados de Hispanoamérica (1570-1630)* Vol. III (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1986), 493.
[66] Homza, *The Spanish Inquistion,* 81.

> Que el subdito debaxo del Prelado no tiene que dar cuenta a dios ni a nadie de su alma que ni más ni menos el que estaba en este dexamiento no tiene que dar cuenta a dios de su alma ni de nada.[67]

However, the addition of this principle of strict obedience into the 1574 Edict contributed mightily to the condemnation of Miguel de Fuentes as an alumbrado.

The other major similarity between the Edict of 1574 and Miguel de Fuentes' accusation is the mention of visions and raptures. One of the accusations details a vision that the Jesuit supposedly had in which he saw Jesus Christ walking the Earth, after which Miguel de Fuentes experienced "unos temblores."[68] Another accusation recounts a vision in which he saw "que su alma vía a Dios y que le temblaba el cuerpo."[69] Such experiences coincide with how the 1574 Edict related that alumbrados suffered "ciertos ardores, temblores, dolores y desmayos que padecen son indicios del amor de Dios que por ello se conoce que están en gracia y tienen el Espíritu Santo."[70] A handful of other propositions from the 1574 Edict also crop up in the accusations against Miguel de Fuentes, such as the claim that he instructed his penitents to avoid marriage and the convent in favor of the life of a beata. Furthermore, Miguel de Fuentes' accusation

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[67] Marquez, *Los Alumbrados: Orígenes y Filosofía*, 276.

[68] *Voto de los calificadores del proceso contra Pedro Miguel de Fuentes.* AHN, Inq., legajo 1647, expediente n°. 2, ff. 56r-63r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. III, 493.

[69] Ibid.

[70] In highlighting this fact, though, it is important to note that even in Fuentes' accusations an explicit point is made that the experience of these visions occurred "no con los ojos corporales sino con la imaginación" and that he had doubts "si eran ilusiones y cosas del demonio o cosas de Dios." Such specifications allowed Fuentes a certain amount of room to maneuver before the Inquisition. For example, the emphasis on the fact that his visions were in his mind, as opposed to before his eyes, was a critical differentiation before an inquisitorial tribunal that could then dismiss them as a deceptive imagination, a significantly lesser crime than heresy. Similarly, Fuente's openness to the possibility that his visions may have resulted from either divine or demonic influence facilitated an impression of willingness to submit to inquisitorial judgment about the origin of his visions. These qualifications within the individual accusations allowed Fuentes an amount of leeway when facing the inquisitors who would ultimately determine his fate. *Voto de los calificadores del proceso contra Pedro Miguel de Fuentes.* AHN, Inq., legajo 1647, expediente n°. 2, ff. 56r-63r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. III, 493; AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. *Edicto de la fe*, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.

mentions a time in which he cut the hair of one of his penitential daughters. This may seem a bizarre incident to highlight, but by this time, a very similar proposition existed in the 1574 Edict stating that "que corten los cabellos por cima de la frente."[71] The accusation in Lima does not divulge details of the haircut, but the fact that the inquisitorial tribunal found this tidbit important enough to include in their formal accusation speaks to the import of the latest Edict on understandings of alumbradismo, even across the Atlantic.

Similar to the case of Alvarez in Estremadura, the most repeated concern the inquisition expressed in the trial of Miguel de Fuentes dealt with charges of solicitation and inappropriate relations with his penitential daughters. Such allegations, reiterated in five different accusations against him, equaled one fourth of the total charges. The indictments ranged from the priest speaking "muchas palabras de amores," to "que cada vez que la confesaba le decía el dicho padre que la quería mucho."[72] These two examples, though included in the accusation, were not cited as characteristic of alumbradismo by the tribunal. On the other hand, the inquisitors viewed other similar, if not more scandalous, accusations as direct links to the alumbrado heresy. The thirteenth charge of the accusation outlines one such example; "estando fuera de la ciudad el padre Fuentes, vino una noche a su casa de esta testigo y con gran secreto se encerró en su casa y estuvo allí dos noches y un día, y la hizo echar consigo en la cama vestidos."[73] Another charge details how Miguel de Fuentes embraced and kissed another of his female penitents. Though these incidents were obviously inappropriate for a man of the

[71] *Edicto de la fe*, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.
[72] *Voto de los calificadores del proceso contra Pedro Miguel de Fuentes.* AHN, Inq., legajo 1647, expediente n°. 2, ff. 56r-63r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. III, 491.
[73] Ibid., 492.

Jesuit's station, what made both of these acts characteristic of alumbradismo was his denial that they constituted mortal sin.[74] It was this assertion that assisted in transforming these accusations from simple solicitation in the confessional into markers of alumbradismo. In explaining away such actions by declaring that once an individual achieved a certain state of perfection that they could no longer sin, Miguel de Fuentes hit on a clear tradition from both the 1525 and 1574 Edicts of Faith that the inquisitors quickly recognized.[75] The former characterized the alumbrados as believing that "if someone sinned who had already abandoned himself to God, he did not lose his soul, nor must he account to God for the sin."[76] The latter Edict speaks to a similar sentiment, claiming that a person in a state of abandonment can do whatever they wish, but it does not explicitly deal with whether or not such acts did or did not constitute sin.[77] The accusation that Miguel de Fuentes believed inappropriate relationships with his penitents were not sinful tied him directly to understandings of alumbradismo codified in both 1525 and 1574.

This growing concern over the sensual nature of the alumbrados related to the increased role of the priest as confessor in the post-Tridentine era. The Council of Trent, and the institutional Church after Trent, encouraged more frequent confession in an effort to ensure the masses were prepared to receive regular communion, previously perhaps only an annual affair. Regular confession "had become so widely accepted among ordinary Catholics that they tended to view anyone who questioned it with suspicion,"

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[74] Ibid., 491-492.
[75] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.
[76] Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 85.
[77] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.

given the sacrament's status as "an essential part of the new Counter-Reformation spirituality and one of the keys to Catholic revival." [78] However, the growing import of confession greatly augmented the role of the priest, many of whom were uneducated and unprepared for the reforms coming from the institutional Church. Thus, as cases of confessional solicitation began to emerge, the Catholic hierarchy feared that if "this abuse were allowed to go unchecked, the popular masses might become alienated from the sacrament and the Protestant attack on it would gain credibility."[79] Therefore, when priests such as Hernando Alvarez and Miguel de Fuentes began participating in doctrines of interior piety as well as confessional solicitation, the inquisitors were primed to identify a continued thread of sexual deviancy, from the case of Francisca Hernández, and place it at the fore of concerns in both Estremadura and Peru. In this way, the increasingly sexualized nature and understanding of the Estremadura group, as well as other contemporary cases, demonstrates, not its distinctiveness from those in Toledo, but instead the changing concerns and anxieties of inquisitors. No longer was the Spanish Inquisition hell-bent on uncovering Lutherans and Erasmians; rather, they sought to prosecute any priests who threatened the purity of the penitents. Thus alumbradismo, as a charge, evolved to accommodate the new concerns of inquisitors while continuing to draw from its precedents.

Alonso de la Fuente

Clear connections emerge in the changing concerns of inquisitors, as demonstrated by the persons accused, from the Toledo to the Estremadura groups of alumbrados. However, another factor contributing to the later persecution was the

[78] Haliczer, *Sexuality in the Confessional*, 22-24, 28.
[79] Ibid., 41.

zealous work of Alonso de la Fuente and his efforts to construct a new understanding of alumbradismo for the inquisitors. He lays out his perception of alumbradismo and its adherents most explicitly in his various *Memoriales.*[80] His most temperate accusations describe practices of utilizing prayer to achieve divine perfection, as the only way to obtain the grace and effects of the Holy Spirit, and as the key to the spiritual life.[81] His more dramatic allegations, on the other hand, involve pacts with the devil and tales of solicitation.[82] He proclaims that "tienen pacto con el demonio," and that "el demonio entra en parte en las obras carnales."[83] Also, Fuente stated that the alumbrados "en el acto sacramental tratan cosas abominables, peores que [las de] Sodoma y Gomorra."[84] Though Fuente's accounts provided a number of innovations to the charge of alumbradismo a number of his assertions closely followed the mold provided by the earlier 1525 Edict.

Fuente's *Memoriale*s frequently reference 'teatinos.' The most literal translation of the word would indicate that Fuente was referring to the Theatines, a religious order founded in Italy in 1524 with the intent of returning the clergy to an edifying life and instilling virtue back in the laity.[85] It would seem that Fuente used the term, at times, to designate Jesuits specifically; in his *Memorial* to Cardinal Infante Don Enrique he

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[80] The recipients of these include Philip II, the Suprema, the inquisitors of Lisbon, Cardinal Infante D. Enrique, and Estevão Leitão. *Memorial en que se trata de las cosas que me han pasado con los alumbrados de Extremadura desde el año de [15]70 hasta el fin de este año de [15]75; Alonso de la Fuente, nueve memoriales para el Consejo de la santa y general inquisición sobre los alumbrados de Extremadura,* AHN., Inq. legajo 4443, expediente n.º 24; *Alonso de la Fuente, carta y memorial para los inquisidores de Lisboa*, ARSJ., Hisp. 144, ff. 172r.-175v; *Alonso de la Fuente, memorial para el Cardenal Infante D. Enrique¸* ASV., Nunz. di Spagna, tomo 14, ff. 245 r.-247v; *Alonso de la Fuente, memorial para Estevão Leitão,* ASV., Nunz. de Spagna, tomo 14, ff. 242r.-244v. All reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 330-473.

[81] Documents reprinted in Ibid., 452, 448, 407-11, 331.

[82] Documents reprinted in Ibid., 453, 446,. 395-6, 434-9, 333, 373-4.

[83] Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe II.* Reprinted in Ibid., 373-374.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ragonesi, Franciscus. "Theatines." The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 14. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14557a.htm> (accessed March 11, 2009).

claimed that "es doctrina que mana de los Teatinos, que por otro nombre se llaman de la Compañía de Jesús."[86] At other points, he uses the term more broadly to reference any practitioner of contemplation. Though Fuente uses the term 'teatino' variously, he does clearly implicate the Jesuits as participants, and even teachers of the alumbrado doctrine. Fuente alternately accuses them of communicating the doctrine[87] and as architects of the movement.[88] His initial discovery of alumbrados in Estremadura actually occurred upon his introduction to a number of beatas who were the disciples of a 'teatino' priest, Gaspar Sánchez. Therefore, Fuente quickly came to associate the Jesuits with the alumbradismo he believed they created, taught, patronized, and spread. This constituted, however, an original contribution to ideas about alumbrados since the founding of the order occurred only in 1540, years after the Toledo persecution. However, after Fuente's intervention, a thread of concern about the role Jesuits may play in this heretical sect weaved itself into the braid of understandings of alumbrados though it failed to garner official codification in the Edict of 1574. Fuente was not the first to concern himself with the innovative educational and religious practices of the Jesuits, who had faced criticism since their founding, especially for their spiritual exercises. Through Fuente's efforts alumbrados, previously more closely linked to the Franciscans, became informally linked to the Society of Jesus, an association that would reoccur in later manifestations, especially in the New World, as evidenced by the case of Pedro Miguel de Fuentes of Lima, though the long-term import of this addition is questionable.[89] Despite Alonso de la Fuente's

[86] Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial para el Cardenal Infante D. Enrique*. ASV., Nunz. di Spagna, tomo 14, ff. 245 r.-247v. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 452.
[87] Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe II*. Reprinted in Ibid., 333.
[88] Alonso de la Fuente, *Carta para los inquisidores de Lisboa*, ARSJ.; *Hisp.* 144, ff. 172 r.-175 v. Reprinted in Ibid., 445.
[89] Pedro Miguel de Fuentes was a Jesuit arrested in Lima on charges of alumbradismo in 1576. See Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados* Vol. III.

elaboration on the connection with the Jesuits, the previous association with Franciscans remained as well.

The Toledo alumbrados had been closely linked to Franciscan spirituality, their ideals often classified as part of the reform movement within the order. Similarly, Fuente found strong links in the Estremadura group, claiming that the discalced Franciscans were "grandes amigos de los Alumbrados y que muchos de ellos comunicaban en su doctrina."[90] Specifically, fray Pedro de Santa María faced prosecution and condemnation as an alumbrado.[91] He was a member of the discalced Franciscans of the Provincia de san Gabriel, and he was not the only target. At least two other Franciscans from san Gabriel, fray Martin de la Higuera and fray Angelo de Badajoz, faced accusations of confessional solicitation, a charge previously foreign to the understandings of alumbradismo in Toledo but which quickly became associated with the Estremadura group.[92] Fuente attempts to clarify the accusations against the Franciscans of san Gabriel by proclaiming that there are really only two types of friars at this monastery, those that are alumbrados, and those that are against alumbrados.[93] As early as 1575 Fuente was aware of the enemies he had made and warned Philip II in a report to ignore the

[90] "En este tiempo se comenzaron a manifestar los Alumbrados del monasterio de La Lapa, de la Orden de san Francisco, frailes descalzos y grandes amigos de los Alumbrados y que muchos de ellos comunicaban en su doctrina." Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe III*, 1575. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 349.
[91] *Relación del Auto Publico de la Fe, que se celebro en la Inqyisicion de Llerena Domingo de la Trindad, catorce de junio de mil y quinientos y setenta y nueve años*, AHN.; *Inq*., legajo 1988, expediente n.º 12. Reprinted in Ibid., 498 & Bernardino Llorca, *La Inquisición Española y los Alumbrados (1509-1667)* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontifica, 1980), 108.
[92] *Relación del Tribunal de Llerena al Consejo, 18 Noviembre 1576*, AHN., *Inq*., legajo 1988, expediente n.º 11, ff. 14 v.- 16 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 481.
[93] "Los frailes descalzos de la Provincia de San Gabriel estaban divididos en dos parcialidades: unos eran Alumbrados y de la misma opinión de los clérigos de este nombre; y otros eran no Alumbrados, a los cuales llamaba el bando contrario de los Alumbrados, los relajados." Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe II*, 1575. Reprinted in Ibid., 349.

preaching of Franciscans against him since they did so only because of his attacks on their order.[94]

Alonso de la Fuente also perceived a connection between conversos and the Estremadura group that was in no way novel to the conception of alumbradismo fostered by the Toledo trials. Fuente relates that in Zafra, a town forty kilometers to the northwest of Llerena, where he preached against alumbradismo, "todos son conversos por la mayor parte, y si no son Alumbrados, son al menos parientes y amigos de ellos." He goes on to allege that this same town is the base of seventy priests, but "los sesenta son judíos."[95] These strong statements indicate the connection, likely influenced by the Toledo precedent that Fuente perceived between conversos and alumbrados. However, it equally demonstrates the contemporary concerns of the inquisition as it returned to the persecution of judaizers, this time often of Portuguese descent, in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[96] It is unclear how accurate Fuente was in his assessment of the population of Zafra, or if these were even conversos, or even Portuguese. However, his anxieties about an alumbrado-converso nexus dovetailed nicely with contemporary inquisitorial concerns about the continued practice of Mosaic Law among Portuguese conversos. Interestingly, eight of the nineteen individuals sentenced at the 1579 auto de fe as alumbrados were listed as vecinos of Zafra. They stood with nine other individuals who received penance for being suspected of guarding the Law of Moses, and three

[94] "Esta es la causa porque los descalzos y otros que les imitaban osaban decir y predicar contra mí," Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe II*, 1575. Reprinted in Ibid., 350-351. Also mentioned later where Fuente states that "acudió un fraile Francisco a predicar contra mí." Ibid., 360.
[95] Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe II*, 1575. Reprinted in Ibid., 363.
[96] Homza, *Spanish Inquistion*, 257.

others reconciled as judaizers.[97] These numbers speak not only to the continued anxiety regarding an alumbrado-converso nexus, but also to a sustained concern over the purity of converso religious orthodoxy. Whether the individuals accused from Zafra were actually conversos is really a secondary concern to the fact that they were perceived as such by Fuente, the man who brought the Estremadura alumbrados to the attention of the inquisition. In this way, Fuente participated and aided in the propagation of an understanding about alumbradismo that facilitated its continued association with conversos.

To grasp the 'official' understanding of the Estremaduran alumbrados, what the Suprema was willing to sanction as facets of this heterodoxy, the historian must move away from the *Memoriales* of Fuente and instead look toward the publicly read Edict of Faith of 1574 released by the Suprema. While the *Memoriales* of Fuente shaped the inquisition's understanding of this heterodoxy, the Suprema did not slavishly follow his recommendations in crafting the Edict of Faith of 1574. Comparing this with the 1525 Edict reveals the effect of this earlier document on the later decree, as well as the Suprema's willingness to adopt *some* of the ideas that fray Alonso de la Fuente put forth as characterizing the movement. The Suprema accepted the aspects of Fuente's definition that best conformed to the 1525 Edict, thus sanctioning his analogy between the Toledo and Estremadura groups. Moreover, while the inquisitors rejected many of his allegations that deviated from this model, they did include some new developments, indicating that they were willing to re-define the heterodoxy of alumbradismo in ways

[97] *Relacion del auto public de la fee, que se celebro en la inquisicion de Llerena domingo de la trinidad, catorce de junio de mil y quinientos y setenta y nueve años.* AHN.; *Inq.*, legajo 1988, expediente n^{o} 12. Reprinted in Ibid., 494-507.

that accounted for the ever-changing apprehensions of those attempting to regulate orthodoxy.

The most obvious difference between the two Edicts stems from their disparity in length. Whereas the earlier Edict contained forty-eight different propositions, the one issued in 1574 can be broken down into just over twenty. Also notable in the 1574 document is the lack of any mention of Jesuits, teatinos, confessional solicitation, or pacts with the Devil, all prevalent in Fuente's account of the movement. Weber highlights these disparities and the "Suprema's selective interpretation of Alonso's reports," for instance choosing to ignore his theories of demonic heresy.[98] In the end, she insists that he failed in his attempts to mount a widespread persecution of alumbrados because he was discordant with contemporary popular piety and that the Suprema by this time was more interested in sexual misconduct as opposed to the demonic possession posited by Fuente to describe alumbrados.[99] What did make its way into the later Edict was largely material from the 1525 document, specifically its concern with mental prayer, perfection, the rejection of the monastic lifestyle and external acts of piety. Interestingly the later Edict does not include propositions regarding confessional solicitation, despite the fact that it did occur, such as in the case of Hernando Alvarez. Perhaps the Suprema was unwilling to equate the earliest arrests in Estremadura, those that most influenced the 1574 Edict, as indicative of the group as a whole. However, more likely was that the Suprema hesitated to advertise the fact that such deviance was profaning the sacrament of confession and thus perhaps discourage congregants from attending : "Apart from

[98] Alison Weber, "Demonizing Ecstasy: Alonso de la Fuente and the Alumbrados of Estremadura," in *The Mystical Gesture:Essays on Medieval and Early Modern Spiritual Culture in Honor of Mary E. Giles*, ed. by Robert Boeing, 141-158 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2000), 148.
[99] Ibid., 148, 153, 156-157.

ignorance, the most important reason given for abstention from the sacrament, revealed in the inquisitorial trials of the early sixteenth century, was distrust of the clergy, specifically in sexual matters."[100] Whatever the reason, the failure to codify the sensual nature of the Estremaduran alumbrados does not mean that this conceptualization failed to be branded onto inquisitor's minds. Instead, though it remained unwritten, the sexual deviance of Estremadura would bleed into inquisitorial understandings of future manifestations of alumbradismo, not as a necessity but as a likelihood among such heterodox individuals.

The 1574 Edict also draws directly from Alonso de la Fuente's *Memorial* to the Suprema. The first thirteen propositions in the 1574 Edict echo the opening section of this document, entitled "Las Propocisiones que tienen los Alumbrados." Of these propositions found in the *Memorial*, five of them appeared verbatim in the 1574 Edict while the other eight possessed only very slight changes, sometimes as minimal as a word or two.[101] This particular *Memorial* goes on to discuss various issues of "Tocamientos Libidinosos" that were not recreated in the Edict. On the contrary, the propositions from the *Memorial* most carefully re-created in the Edict of 1574 are also the points where this document most overlapped with the earlier Edict of 1525. This suggests that when writing this particular *Memorial* Fuente probably wrote with this earlier Edict either in mind or perhaps even by his side. Trained in the intellectualism of the Dominicans, and the legalistic procedures of the inquisition, it is unsurprising the he would consult this earlier text. Fuente knew that the inquisitors would approach the subject of these 'new'

[100] Haliczer, *Sexuality in the Confessional*, 3.
[101] Alonso de la Fuente, *Alonso de la Fuente, Nueva Memoriales para el Consejo de la Santa y General Inquisición sobre los Alumbrados de Estremadura,* AHN.; *Inq.*, legajo 4443, expediente n.º 24. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 382. The Edict of 1574 can be located in AHN., *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. or in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 148-149.

alumbrados in this manner, with reference to precedent, and thus he catered his *Memoriales* to assure that the dictators of orthodoxy would recognize the Toledo precedent for this latter group.

Returning to a comparison of the Edicts of Faith, an analysis of their content reveals a number of similarities. For instance, proposition eleven of the 1525 Edict states that once a person abandoned themselves to God they have no need to complete other works such as fasts or works of mercy.[102] The 1574 Edict similarly states that "los perfectos no tienen necesidad de hacer obras virtuosas."[103] In addition, just as the earlier Edict stated the alumbrados' disdain for oral prayer, advocating instead for internal or mental prayer, the later Edict proclaimed that these individuals believed that "la oración mental es la que tiene este valor y que la oración vocal importa muy poco."[104] The 1574 Edict also mentions, multiple times and in various ways, a renunciation of external ritualistic acts of piety, discounting the closing of one's eyes when the Eucharist was raised, viewing images, listening to sermons or the word of God, essentially rejecting the need for any corporeal exercises typical of the Catholic faith.[105] This echoed the precedent of the 1525 Edict which stated that venerating images such as the Virgin and the Cross, acts such as fasts and abstinence, and ritual signs, such as standing for the Gospel reading, "no era otra cosa sino jugar con el cuerpo en la yglesia."[106] Another aspect of the heresy, particularly disconcerting to the Catholic Church, was the proposition of disobedience to the clergy. The 1525 Edict expressed the belief that

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[102] Marquez, *Los Alumbrados,* 276.
[103] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,; *Inq.*, lib, 578, ff 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 148-9.
[104] Marquez, *Los Alumbrados: Orígenes y Filosofía,* 278 & AHN,; *Inq.*, lib, 578, ff 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Ibid.
[105] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,; *Inq.*, lib, 578, ff 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,*Vol.I, 148-9.
[106] Marquez, *Los Alumbrados,* 276-278.

alumbrados taught that there was no need for an intermediary between the individual and God.[107] The 1574 Edict would echo a similar sentiment, allowing for the disobedience of any preacher or prelate who attempted to interrupt the hours that these people spent in mental prayer and contemplation.[108] Both Edicts also stress the alumbrados' disdain for the monastic lifestyle.[109] These similarities speak to a particular thread of concern regarding the alumbrado heterodoxy in both 1525 and 1574. Anxiety over their diminution of Church ritual and hierarchy in favor of a more internal piety threaded these two Edicts together along with the common concerns of these different eras.

The 1525 Edict set the precedent for all later documents against the alumbrados. However, the 1574 Edict lacked the niceties of ideology addressed in its precedent. The reason for this could stem from a number of variables. Perhaps the Estremadura group possessed a less cohesive or developed ideology or perhaps the Suprema was only concerned with particular types of ideas, specifically suspicious threads, instead of the details of the group. One vitally important addition to the 1574 Edict was a proposition regarding the later alumbrados' tendencies to experience visions and raptures, something foreign to the 1525 document but which would pervade nearly all future occurrences of alumbradismo. Though Fuente argued that these were cases of demonic possession, the Suprema felt no need to emphasize that in the Edict of Faith.[110] Instead, the Suprema elected to focus on issues more tied to the rejection of external acts of piety in favor of mental prayer, characteristic of the earliest alumbrados, but also the novel description of

[107] Ibid., 276, 281-282.
[108] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,; *Inq.*, lib, 578, ff 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*,Vol.I, 148-9.
[109] Marquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 280 & Ibid.
[110]This hints at the Suprema's unwillingness to disregard all forms of ecstatic piety as cases of possession. Weber, "Demonizing Ecstasy", 156.

"ciertos ardores, temblores, dolores y desmayos que padecen son indicios del amor de Dios."[111] The post-Tridentine era saw a greater scrutiny of all forms of mysticism, similar to the increased concern about sexual deviancy and cloistering also occurring at this time, and it was these anxieties that influenced the changing concerns outlined in the Edicts of Faith against the alumbrados.

Though the Suprema did not blindly accept all the assertions of Fuente, the Edict of Faith does demonstrate, at the very least, a nexus of interests between the two parties. The Suprema did not reiterate Fuente's concerns about the potential of demonic possession amidst a more ecstatic spirituality, but the inquisitorial body did share his anxieties about the manifestations of such forms of piety, as demonstrated by their concern over Hernando Alvarez. Despite their refusal to liken possession and mysticism, the Edict demonstrates the Suprema's concern with the possibility of the dismissal of the rituals of the Catholic Church and its institutions in favor of such forms of piety. Though Fuente's *Memoriales* expressed a characterization of the alumbrados that seemed extreme, the Suprema did recognize enough of its own concerns, especially in a post-Tridentine climate, to adopt aspects of Fuente's charges and place them within an official Edict of Faith.[112]

It was through the act of constructing documents, such as the Edict of Faith of 1574, that the inquisition dictated orthodoxy by codifying heterodoxy. Edicts of Faith

[111] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.

[112] Alison Weber argues that the Suprema only became interested in Fuente's charges after he added an aspect of confessional solicitation to his ideas about demonic possession. She attributes this to the Suprema's 'current agenda' which lacked interest in pursuing possession but was instead increasingly attempting to pursue 'bad deeds,' or sexual delinquency. If this is the case though, it is not presented in the Edict of Faith of 1574 which does not mention such acts, but this in no way dismisses Weber's argument that demonic possession had been relegated to a second-rate concern by this time in the century, and that perhaps it was the sexual deviancy that perked the Suprema's interest after various other times when they had dismissed Fuente's concern. Weber, "Demonizing Ecstasy," 156-8.

"were at least partially responsible for creating deviancy itself."[113] Lu Ann Homza discusses the interplay between the actions of inquisitors to define acceptability and the ramifications this had for the unacceptable in the case of witchcraft: "ultimate responsibility for the existence and persecution of witches finally lay with the intellectuals who invented witchcraft as a heresy and promoted it as an indictable transgression…they outlined the orthodox by diagramming its opposite."[114] Despite the fact that Homza emphasizes a different charge, the exact same can be said of alumbradismo. After all, in all historical contexts,

> Rather than unchanging absolutes, orthodoxy and heterodoxy were mutually reinforcing constructions, only ever identifiable in contrast to one another and existing in a state of constant reformulation in response to the changing historical circumstances in which they exist.[115]

The process by which the inquisition, its advisors, and its defendants contributed to the 1574 Edict reveals the ability to re-define the charge of alumbradismo. By entwining more typical characterizations of alumbrados with a novel proposition regarding mystical raptures, absent from the earlier Edict, the inquisitors adjusted their conceptualization of alumbradismo. However, the failure to codify the sensual nature of the Estremadura group, despite the presence of such illicit behavior among those accused, speaks to the ways un-codified understandings prevailed and paralleled those that actually appeared in the Edicts. Thus, it was due to the efforts of both Fuente and the Suprema, as well as the changing nature of the accused, that the definition of an alumbrado evolved, helping it toward becoming one of the most misunderstood terms in

[113] Jaffary, *False Mystics*, 23.
[114] Homza, *Religious Authority*, 177.
[115] Jaffary, *False Mystics*, 174.

Spanish historiography.[116] Inquisitors utilized the accusation of alumbradismo to respond to shifting concerns in the broader Tridentine reform movement, as well as to shifts in the accusations against defendants, thus modifying their definition of alumbradismo to proceed with the trials. However, alumbradismo was not simply a catch-all accusation, and the confusion about the evolving nature of the charge can be resolved by examining its application in various contexts to demonstrate both modifications as well as connecting threads.

Alonso de la Fuente's anti-alumbrado crusade did not end in Estremadura. He, along with Juan Lopez Montoya, the same inquisitor sent to address Fuente's concerns in Estremadura, remained the key protagonists in rooting out alumbradismo in Andalusia between 1575 and 1590.[117] Though this 'outbreak' is typically considered distinct from the Estremadura group in the historiography, at the time it was understood that, "algunos de los maestros de la dicha doctrina, que están presos (en Llerena), han tenido mucha amistad y correspondencia en diversas partes de la Andalucía."[118] However, the Suprema released no new Edict of Faith to counter this new manifestation. Instead, the Andalusia group faced the standards outlined in the 1574 Edict whose manufacture was bred out of the circumstances of Estremadura. If historian Alvaro Huerga is correct that the Andalusia group was the "hermano gemelo" of those in Estremadura, then the

[116] Weber, "Demonizing Ecstasy," 141.
[117] While in pursuit of the Estremaduran alumbrados Fuente was paid a regular salary to accompany the inquisitor Montoya: "para el gasto de su persona, al dicho fray Alonso de la Fuente tres reales y medio por día todo el tiempo que asistiere con el dicho inquisidor." Letter from the Suprema to the receiver of the Llerena tribunal, AHN: *Inq.*, libro 578, f. 301 v. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 575. Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. V, 66. The joint work of Montoya and Fuente has been described as "la vista de los Alumbrados" AHN, Inq., legajo 4573/3: Libros de cuentas 1572-1576, pliego 11: "Gastos diferentes hechos en la vista de los Alumbrados que hizo el inquisidor Montoya." Reprinted in Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados: Los Alumbrados de la Alta Andalucia, 1575-1590,* Vol. II (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Espanola, 1978), 288.
[118] AHN, Inq., libro 579, f. 101 v. Cited in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. II, 31.

continued utilization of the 1574 Edict seems appropriate.[119] Because of the continued prosecuting presence of Fuente and Montoya, as well as the use of the same Edict, many of the concerns and characteristics of Estremadura were present in Andalusia as exemplified by the case of Gaspar Lucas.

Andalusia

Gaspar Lucas was a converso priest and the prior of san Bartolomé in the city of Jaén. By inquisitorial standards, he was also 'maestro' of the alumbrados of the same town. Among his charges were accusations "que tenía muchas beatas, sus hijas de penitencia, a las cuales en el púlpito y en el confesonario dogmatizado y enseñaba en cosas de la secta de los Alumbrados." The story of a priest with beata followers resonated with familiarity as he confessed to "haber tenido tocamientos torpes" with these women. Thus, like Hernando Alvarez, Lucas profaned the sacrament of confession by soliciting his penitents: "que, a la sombra y título de comuniones cotidianas y frecuencia de sacramentos, tenía con ellas tratos torpes y deshonestos y se encerraba en sus casas a solas con ellas muchos ratos de día y de noche." Additionally, he reported the experience of his beatas having visions and revelations, also like the Estremadura group. Unsurprisingly, Lucas additionally faced charges for praising the Law of Moses, thus continuing the concern over a converso-alumbrado nexus. Lucas appeared in the auto de fe of Córdoba on 21 January 1590 at which time he was

[119] Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. V, 66.

sentenced to ten years reclusion in a monastery, suspended of his priestly duties and exiled in perpetuity from the bishopric of Jaén.[120]

After the cases in Estremadura, those of Alta Andalucía must have seemed familiar to inquisitors. Similar issues as well as prosecutors, namely Montoya and Fuente, were at the forefront of both manifestations. Additionally, the inquisitors in Alta Andalucía tried the cases under the 1574 Edict of Faith, as would the tribunal in Cuenca in the immediate future when alumbrados appeared within their jurisdiction. Thus, the 1574 Edict remained the most recent codified inquisitorial understanding of alumbradismo as the cases of Juana Rubia and fray Francisco de los Reyes came before the inquisition of Cuenca.

All of these earlier cases and Edicts assisted in the creation of an understanding of alumbradismo, both codified and un-codified, that dictated the ways in which alumbrados would be confronted in Cuenca at the end of the 1590s. In terms of the codified conceptualizations, the 1574 Edict remained the most current official understanding of the heterodoxy as the Cuencan alumbrados faced the tribunal. However, the official Edicts left other important understandings unwritten. This is especially true of the increasingly sensual nature of the two previous manifestations that was not included in the Edict but obviously pervaded inquisitorial concern on the issue based on the defendants accused of alumbradismo. The mingling of codified and un-codified inquisitorial understandings would influence the prosecution of Juana Rubia and fray Francisco de los Reyes in Cuenca. In these trials, questions about the continuance and change of the charge once again came to the fore, as the inquisitors

[120] *Relacion de las causas que se han despachado en el auto publico de la fee que se celebro en el Cadahalso del Campillo desta ciudad de Cordoba, domingo 21 de enero de 1590 años.* AHN, Inq., legajo 1856/1, s.f. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. II, 617-618.

strove to adapt their received ideas to the demands of both the local as well as historical moment.

CHAPTER 2-Context

On the hooves of the wool trade Cuenca gained importance in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Spain. Its key location in the transhumant migration of sheep afforded it both economic as well as political influence.[121] Garnering one of the eighteen votes on the Cortes, Cuenca also became home to an episcopal see as well as one of the earliest inquisitorial tribunals. The town even boasted a royal Corregidor as well as mint.[122] However, its fortunes changed beginning around the middle of the sixteenth century, at which time the town began to tumble from its pinnacle of prosperity into a Castilian backwater.

Population decline began earlier than the last decade of the sixteenth century but would not bottom out until the middle of the seventeenth century. Historians debate the exact chronology of this decline. Carla Rahn Phillips points out that a government survey in the years 1575-1578 indicated overpopulation in New Castile, a trend that faced impending Malthusian correction.[123] David Rehr asserts that population began rapidly declining as early as 1550 with a brief upward spike in the 1580s.[124] Sara Nalle on the other hand claims that population in the Cuencan diocese reached its peak between 1560 and 1580 but that as early as 1575-1579, one third of towns complained of population

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[121] David Rehr, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain: Cuenca, 1550-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 16.

[122] The importance of Cuenca during this period can be assessed by the other prestigious towns granted the distinction of a vote at Cortes, among them Burgos, Soria, Segovia, Avila, Valladolid, León, Salamanca, Zamora, Toro, Toledo, Guadalajara, Madrid, Seville, Cordoba, Jaén, and Murcia. John Edwards, *Spain of the Catholic Monarchs 1474-1520* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 49. Carla Rahn Phillips emphasizes the power of the cities represented in the Cortes: "Much of the political power in Spain resided in the eighteen cities and towns of central Castile represented in the parliament (Cortes)." Carla Rahn Phillips, "Time and Duration: A Model for the Economy of Early Modern Spain, "*The American Historical Review*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (June 1987), 535.

[123] Indications of overpopulation included "the exhaustion of firewood, the plowing of formerly common land, and the insufficiency of pasture." Phillips, "Time and Duration," 541.

[124] Rehr, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain*, 15, 18, 24, 38.

decline.[125] Several factors contributed to this demographic decline. Rehr argues that 1585 proved to be a year of high mortality induced by epidemic disease, principally the plague.[126] Nalle, on the other hand, places the burden on the plague and its sweep across Europe between 1596 and 1602. Further contributing to the demographic decline were plummeting birth rates in the years between 1592 and 1596. Villages in the diocese reported an average decline in births ranging from one-third, in locations such as Motilla del Palancar and Belmonte, to two-thirds in El Cañavate and Barajas de Melo.[127] Between the years of 1591 and 1624, the diocese of Cuenca lost forty percent of its population while the city itself showed a loss of sixty percent of its inhabitants.[128] Rehr points out, "It has often been said that the major mortality crisis of the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century played a decisive role in the downfall of Castile."[129] Nalle adds, "In a matter of two generations, the diocese of Cuenca suffered a demographic crisis similar to the one that occurred in Spain following the Black Death of 1348."[130] Despite the variance in dates, historians largely accept the fact that the population of Cuenca, both the city and the region, was on a sweeping downward trend by the late sixteenth century:

> It seems clear that Castile was approaching a crisis during the 1570s before a series of harvest disasters struck…the best estimate is that the decline in Castilian population began about 1580, when a crisis in the rural economy brought the sixteenth-century population rise to an end.[131]

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[125] Nalle, *God in la Mancha,* 171.
[126] Rehr defines crises mortality based on an average of twenty-five years around the actual year of crises. "Only years in which mortality at least doubled the average will be considered as years of true crises. This will eliminate the random variations so characteristic of small populations like Cuenca's." He also places 1599 as a year of crises mortality as well. Rehr, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain,* 152. Nalle, *God in La Mancha,* 173.
[127] Nalle, *God in La Mancha,* 173.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Rehr, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain,* 61.
[130] Nalle, *God in La Mancha,* 174.
[131] Phillips, "Time and Duration," 541.

Recovery from this precipitous demographic decline would take almost a century, occurring only in the 1680s.[132]

To further worsen the situation, the previously virile textile industry also went into crisis by the 1590s or perhaps even earlier.[133] Previously an industrial center, comparable to Segovia or Zamora, Cuenca followed suit as "large concentrated industries such as that in Segovia vanished."[134] In the past, the woolens of textile centers such as Cuenca had been "of high quality and sold well in the colonial markets and Portugal as well as at home."[135] However, the success of the industry faltered as the sixteenth century waned. A city representative first reported the decline of the textile industry in Cuenca to the Cortes in 1576. Nalle suggests that immediately thereafter "the bottom must have fallen out" though J. I. Israel places this date as late as 1595.[136] Rehr attempts to explain such a crash from the perspective of textile manufacturers in the town who believed, according to him, that a "lack of capital investment by people who now preferred to invest in royal credit or rural rents, together with a diminishing market, were the keys to a depression."[137] In the case of Cuenca, "having an economy almost entirely dependent on the wool industry, textile production, and an ever-growing population to buy its products, became a liability during the seventeenth century."[138]

The fall of Cuenca, and the majority of Castile, by the turn of the seventeenth century "could probably have been predicted as early as 1580 had anyone had a mind to

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[132] Ibid., 549.
[133] Rehr, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain*, 61.
[134] Phillips, "Time and Duration," 547.
[135] J.I. Israel, "The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth?," *Past and Present*, no. 91, (May 1981), 173.
[136] Nalle, *God in La Mancha*, 171, 173, 174. Israel, "The Decline of Spain," 175.
[137] Rehr, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain*, 31.
[138] Ibid., 48.

do so."[139] Stark declines in both demographic and economic terms were not unique to Cuenca but instead emblematic of the decline of all of urban Castile, with the exception of Madrid. Carla Rahn Phillips argues that historians' discussion of the seventeenth century as a 'time of crisis' is misleading. Instead, she prioritizes economic and demographic factors, as opposed to political ones, claiming, "seventeenth-century Castile experienced a long, slow, and painful adjustment to the crisis of the sixteenth century."[140] After the abrupt end to Cuenca's prosperity at the turn of the century, the city was never able to regain any significant economic role in the region, or nation, and thus, to this day, remains largely relegated to the backwaters of the history of Castile.[141]

It was such moments of societal crisis, which often also saw an increase in popular religious sentiment. In speaking specifically about epidemics, Rehr claims "aspects of religious fervor fulfilled a very important psychological need for populations besieged by an unseen enemy."[142] Nalle, who demonstrates conquenses "enormous investment in heavenly protection," also documents such a shift. As evidence, she points to the one hundred and fifty new shrines in the diocese, a re-orientation of devotions, and the haphazard 'shopping' among the cult of saints.[143] Such actions in the face of difficulties**,** however, were in no way unique to Cuenca. William A. Christian Jr. highlights the fact that religious remedies were a common means for attempting to deal with various tribulations in the fragile and insecure lives of most of the population of Spain: "Individuals and communities patiently searched for divine helpers and set up

[139] Ibid., 61, 67.
[140] Phillips, "Time and Duration," 545.
[141] Rehr, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain,* xiii, 7, 18, 56, 57.
[142] Ibid., 169.
[143] Nalle, *God in La Mancha,* 174-179.

contracts with saints to ward off present and future dangers."[144] It was in such moments of crisis that accusations against individuals within the community often began to fly. For example, Merry Wiesner-Hanks indicates that witchcraft accusations often occurred after climatic disasters.[145] If moments of crisis in society led to increased popular religiosity as well as accusations of deviancy, especially against those claiming to mediate between the worldly and divine, then the inquisition was perfectly placed to hear charges of crimes against the faith that could arise out of such an environment. Amid this climate of anxiety, charges of alumbradismo may have represented one example of a heterodoxy that became more fathomable in such times of crisis.

Manifestations of alumbradismo would eventually occur in various locations across Spain as well as within the Spanish Empire until the last years of the eighteenth century. Despite the amount of interaction among individuals within each isolated manifestation, little evidence exists for such connections between the various 'outbreaks.' One possible exception to this generalization was the potential connection between the accused in Estremadura and those in Alta Andalucía. When the Suprema sent Don Francisco de Soto Salazar to Llerena to investigate the 'outbreak' of alumbrados there he reported that "Y porque algunos de los maestros de la dicha doctrina, que están presos [en Llerena], han tenido mucha amistad y correspondencia en diversas partes de la Andalucía." He went on to caution "conviene ir con gran cuidado de saber y averiguar si esta doctrina la han sembrado en aquellas partes." [146] Additionally, historian Alvaro Huerga describes the Alta Andalucía cases as "hermano gemelo del de Extremadura,

[144] William A. Christian Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 23-28, 29.
[145] Merry E. Wienser-Hanks, *Cambridge History of Europe: Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 392.
[146] AHN, Inq., libro 579, f. 101 v. Cited in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. II, 30-31.

desde donde al parecer, se propagó la epidemia."[147] Despite the connection between these two groups, such a relationship acted as the exception rather than the rule. Most of those accused and convicted as alumbrados were not traveling widely in Spain proselytizing. The idea that the movement spread through its adherents becomes even less fathomable as alumbrado cases begin to appear in Peru, Mexico, Santiago de Chile, Guatemala, and even Manila. Therefore, the alumbrados themselves were not passing on their ideas and practices throughout the Spanish Empire via evangelization or writings, though these methods may have played some role within each individual 'outbreak.' Instead, it was the inquisitors and ecclesiastical intelligentsia, those who created and maintained definitions of this heresy as well as branded these multifarious groups as alumbrados, who proved to be the ultimate propagators of the heresy.

Unlike those before the inquisition, it was inquisitors, and their elite social webs, that tapped into extensive intellectual and cultural networks facilitating the transference of information regarding heresies over great distances. The bureaucratic nature of the inquisitorial institution alone led to extensive correspondence between individual tribunals and the Suprema, not to mention inter-tribunal communication as the inquisitors referred back to earlier cases in an effort to make sense of new ones. These are only examples of the networks within the inquisition that these men were privy to, taking no account of the contacts they would have had in the highest reaches of the university system as well as with the other various officials within the Catholic Church.

It is possible, at the very least, to trace ecclesiastical understandings of alumbradismo from the earliest manifestation in Toledo, throughout the Peninsula and into Mexico. The chain of arrests that resulted from the Toledo alumbrados eventually

[147] Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. V, 66.

included the renowned humanist Juan de Vergara, who faced charges not only for alumbradismo but also as a Lutheran and Erasmian.[148] The inquisition brought in Juan de Ochoa to qualify the propositions against Vergara. Ochoa also assisted in judging the orthodoxy of Bartolomé Carranza in 1570. Thus, it is evident that Ochoa was highly respected for his knowledge of theology and his ability to discern heterodoxy, even amongst the most seemingly innocuous highly placed figures. His experience, specifically with the Vergara case, prepared him to recognize and identify the nonstandard individuals discovered by Alonso de la Fuente in Extremadura as alumbrados. When Fuente brought his accounts of this group to his Provincial, Juan de Ochoa, it was the latter that identified them as alumbrados.[149] Thus, the great crusader of alumbrados, Fuente, identified the heretics he found as alumbrados only with the assistance of his Provincial Juan de Ochoa.

Fuente, though not an inquisitor himself, began writing prolifically to the Suprema and Philip II about the alumbrados he had uncovered in Estremadura at the urging of Ochoa. Only after Fuente actually visited Madrid did the Suprema dispatch inquisitor Juan Lopez Montoya to address these individuals. Despite the presence of the inquisitor, Fuente received a salary of three and a half reales daily to accompany Montoya, "¿Quién mejor que él para acompañar al novicio inquisidor, para aconsejarlo en la difícil tarea, para predicar el 'edicto' de la fe?"[150] Both Montoya and Fuente, after

[148] Homza, *Religious Authority*, 30.

[149] Fuente states that "para más seguridad de mi conciencia, me fui a Sevilla a mi Provincial y di cuenta de lo que pasaba en Extremadura. Mostré mi libro al Provincial, al maestro fray Juan de Ochoa…Este me dijo que la doctrina contenida en el *Memorial* era un retrato de lo que enseñaban los Alumbrados de Toledo, y que luego, sin me detener, diese cuenta de ello al Consejo de Inquisición." Alonso de la Fuente, *Memorial a Felipe II*, 1575. Reprinted in Huerga, Vol. I, 340.

[150] Huerga, Vol. I, 64. The accompaniment of Montoya by Fuente is documented in a number of correspondences; "llevando en vuestra compañía a fray Alonso de la Fuente…necesario para la verificación de los negocios…la cualificación que el dicho fray Alonso de la Fuente hizo de la carta que escribió el

the end of their crusade in Estremadura, would carry on their quest against alumbrados in Alta Andalucía armed with the renewed definition of the heresy from the 1574 Edict.[151] Not only did Alonso de la Fuente affect the pursuit of alumbrados in Andalusia, but the ramifications of his crusade also reached across the Atlantic, embodied by Dionisio Castro.

In 1593 Castro, a Dominican friar**,** made the first denunciations of alumbrados in New Spain, claiming his knowledge of the heresy from his experience in Estremadura: "porque huele y parece mucho al de los Alumbrados que hubo en España en la tierra de Extremadura, contra quien yo prediqué y me hallé presente a sus prisiones y castigo."[152] The fact that Castro preached against alumbrados in Estremadura insinuates a close connection with Fuente, the great proponent of alumbrado suppression in that region not two decades earlier. One historian has gone so far as to label Castro the "protégé" of Fuente though evidence of such a close relationship is only circumstantial.[153] What is provable is that Fuente and Castro both attended the Colegio de Santo Tomás of Seville, and that both took their habit at the prestigious Dominican convent of San Pablo de Seville. In fact, based on Castro's statements, it seems that Fuente may have taken habit just three years prior to Castro. In addition, both men were *naturales* of Estremadura.[154]

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arzbispo de Valencia a los Alumbrados." Letter from the Suprema to inquisitor Juan Lopez de Montoya, 28 Feburary 1575, AHN; *Inq.*, libro 578, f. 274 r. Reprinted in Huerga, Vol. I., 572-573. A letter to similar effect repeating the order that Fuente accompany Montoya was also sent by the Suprema to the Tribunal of Llerena, 28 February 1575, AHN; *Inq.*, libro 578, f. 274 r.v. Reprinted in Huerga, Vol. I, 573.

[151] "No he visto los que se usaban en la inquisición de Córdoba, en cuyo distrito bregaron a caza y exterminio de los Alumbrados los dos protagonistas de la tala de los extremeños: Juan Lopez Montoya, el inquisidor, y fray Alonso de la Fuente, el empecinado alanceador." Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. V., 66.

[152] *Primer memorial de fray Dionisio de Castro contra Juan Plata y Alonso de Espinosa.* AGN, Inq., 180, 1, ff. 10r-15r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. III, 798.

[153] Jaffary, *False Mystics*, 32.

[154] *Primer memorial de fray Dionisio de Castro contra Juan Plata y Alonso de Espinosa.*. AGN, Inq., 180, 1, ff. 10r-15r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. III, 804 & Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 50-51.

Therefore, the denunciation by Castro in New Spain provides at the very least a direct link with the cases in Estremadura, and likely Alonso de la Fuente more specifically.

Though these connections are both enlightening and fascinating in themselves, the question remains whether it is possible to demonstrate such links for the appearance of alumbrados in Cuenca. Though the associations are a bit circumstantial, it is provable that two inquisitors of Cuenca, Alvaro de Reinoso and Alonso Jiménez de Reinoso, were aware of the crime of alumbradismo just two decades before the trials of Juana Rubia and Francisco de los Reyes. With the 'outbreak' of alumbrados in Alta Andalucía the Suprema decided that the gravity of the matter required additional personnel and thus augmented the number of inquisitors and officials at the tribunal of Córdoba, where the alumbrados would face trial. Cordoba requested that an "inquisidor extraordinario" be sent to handle the heretical contagion that had infiltrated their jurisdiction; "La elección recayó en Alvaro Reinoso, inquisidor de Cuenca."[155] Reinoso acted as the 'presidente interino' of the tribunal of Cordoba from early July 1575 until the end of March 1576.[156] Juan Lopez de Montoya, known for his previous work in Estremadura, was also among those chosen to preside in Cordoba for these cases. However, Reinoso failed to be the crusading figure against alumbrados, as Alonso de la Fuente might have hoped. By the end of July Reinoso wrote the Suprema describing what he found in Cordoba, but it was not alumbrados: "De cosas de Alumbrados no hallé en él rastro ninguno. Si en esta material hay algo, hasta ahora no se sabe más que la sospecha." He did go on to discuss the need to inquire in Estremadura if there was any communication or relationship between the alumbrados there and those in the jurisdiction of Cordoba. However, the

[155] Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. II, 74.
[156] Ibid., 191.

failure of such an inquiry to produce results led him to believe that "no sé si sería negocio importantísimo."[157] A few months before leaving Cordoba, the 'extraordinary inquisitor' requested permission to return to his seat in Cuenca because he claimed "ya no es de provecho" for him to remain in Cordoba any longer.[158] Thus, Reinoso's return to Cuenca, despite his unwillingness to expend extensive energy seeking out alumbradismo in Alta Andalucía, would nonetheless have facilitated an exchange of ideas about the heterodoxy. Being in Cordoba, Reinoso would have been familiar with the propositions attributed to alumbrados even if he had been unwilling to apply the term to any and all suspected heretics.

Alvaro Reinoso was not the only inquisitor from Cuenca who joined the Cordoba tribunal during this alumbrado 'outbreak.' Later Alonso Jiménez de Reinoso also held a seat in this augmented tribunal arriving in February of 1590.[159] His tenure in Cordoba lasted at least until the end of 1592 when he, along with a handful of other inquisitors, reported to the Consejo about the thirteen penitents sentenced at the auto de fe on December 13 of 1592.[160] However, from this point it is unclear what became of Jiménez Reinoso and if he remained in Andalucía or returned to the tribunal from whence he came, Cuenca. Due to his presence at the Cordoba auto de fe Jiménez Reinoso would not have returned to Cuenca, if he returned at all, in time to handle the case of Juana Rubia. However, the possibility remains that he may have returned to his post by 1596 when Francisco de los Reyes came before the tribunal. If he did return to Cuenca, which seems

[157] AHN, Inq., legajo 2393/2. Reprinted in Ibid., 75-78.
[158] AHN, Ing., legajo 2392/1. Reprinted in Ibid., 82.
[159]" Carta de 22 de febrero de 1590 al Consejo," AHN, Inq., legajo 2395, s.f. Reprinted in Ibid., 34.
[160] AHN, Inq., legajo 1856/1, s.f. Reprinted in Ibid., 331.

a definite possibility, Jiménez Reinoso would have brought with him an understanding of alumbradismo cultivated during his tenure persecuting them in Alta Andalucía.

Though definitive connections with either Alvaro Reinoso or Alonso Jiménez Reinoso cannot be ascertained among printed sources, the fact that both were from Cuenca and asked to assist in Cordoba speaks to the ecclesiastical networks that Church officials in this archdiocese were member to. When an 'inquisidor extraordinario' was needed, the Suprema turned to Cuenca, for Alvaro Reinoso as well as an additional ecclesiastical official, Alonso Jiménez Reinoso, to stand in judgment of what was feared to be a "herejía contagiosa" and a serious threat to Catholic orthodoxy.[161] Augmenting the ecclesiastical prestige of Cuenca in this period was the promotion of its bishop, Gaspar de Quiroga, to the post of Inquisitor General in 1573. Granted, Quiroga had only garnered the position in Cuenca the year before, but nonetheless, his appointment along with those of the inquisitors, demonstrated that Cuenca was an important player in the ecclesiastical networks of Spain in this period.[162] Tapping into such networks allowed for the dissemination of mentalities about heretical practices to infiltrate locales otherwise untouched by such beliefs. This becomes even more true when inquisitors are chosen from such a location to participate in the persecution of heretics in another jurisdiction only to return home later, better informed about the particular aberrant beliefs, whether they actively pursued them or not. Though an indisputable connection between Cuenca and other manifestations of alumbradismo through the religious elite is absent, a strong case can be made that the inquisitors of Cuenca, through the ecclesiastical connections of individuals such as Reinoso and Jiménez Reinoso, were

[161] Ibid., 30.
[162] Helen Rawlings, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 156.

well- informed of the propositions of alumbrados by the time Juana Rubia and Francisco de los Reyes faced the tribunal.[163]

Though it seems most likely that alumbradismo's spread was the result of inquisitors and learned ecclesiastics it seems foolish to neglect the potential exposure of the popular classes to alumbrado precedents or ideas. Nalle asserts that "Readers in Cuenca could acquire many of the most famous examples of this new spirituality, which placed great emphasis on mental prayer, love, and self-knowledge." In 1545, an inventory of Guillermo Remón's bookstore in Cuenca demonstrated how true this was. His selection of reading material included various types and copies of books of hours, in both the vernacular and Latin, vernacular ascetic works such as the *Contempus Mundi* and *De Imitatione Christi*, and even the works of Erasmus, which continued to sell well in mid-century Cuenca despite the inquisition's hostility. The outgrowth of Spanish mysticism also appeared on Remón's shelves, including nine copies of García de Cisneros' *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual,* and, more importantly to this study, fifteen copies of Juan de Cazalla's *Lumbre del Alma*, published in Valladolid in 1528.[164]

Juan de Cazalla was a Franciscan bishop who, shortly after joining the order, moved through the ranks to garner the position of chaplain to Cardinal Cisneros and eventually visitor to the archbishopric of Toledo. Working at the right hand of Cisneros, Cazalla believed himself to be on the forefront of the reform of Christendom.[165] In many ways he embodied the new humanist learning that was sweeping Spain at the time under the patronage of Cisneros and his University of Alcalá, both of which he was closely

[163] It is likely that the a more clear timeline of the two Reinosos could be charted after further research among the correspondences of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, however, the trail of information about the specific movements of these men after Cordoba is lacking among secondary sources.
[164] Nalle, *God in La Mancha*, 144-145.
[165] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 27, 46-47.

associated. According to Marcel Bataillon, "Erasmo no tuvo más ardientes aliados en España que un Fr. Juan de Cazalla, un Fr. Dionisio Vázquez o un Fr. Alonso de Virués."[166] Despite his, at the time, orthodox reforming tendencies, Juan de Cazalla was eventually denounced to the inquisition on charges of alumbradismo along with his sister María de Cazalla. According to Bataillon, "María Cazalla…ha tomado parte activa en la propaganda iluminista antes de 1524, en íntima conexión con su hermano el Obispo."[167] The denunciations of the Cazallas stemmed from Francisca Hernández as well as Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, both of whom pinned the entire alumbrado movement on the siblings.[168] At various times the bishop had joined the followings of Mari Nuñez, the beata who first denounced the alumbradismo of Isabel de la Cruz, as well as Francisca Hernández, though when his reverence for the latter passed he took his sister, María, previously a follower as well, with him.[169] Nonetheless, during his trial Alcaraz denounced Hernández's "pernicious influence" over the bishop.[170] At some time, Juan de Cazalla may also have fallen into the following of Isabel de la Cruz though it seems any admiration he had for her was fleeting. He eventually reported to Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz that her teachings "savored of heresy." Thus, Cazalla was acquainted with and tied to the key figures of the alumbrados of Toledo, potentially even acting as their link to the learned circles of Alcalá. However, the bishop avoided facing the tribunal; he died in 1530 just as proceedings were being prepared against him.[171]

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[166] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI* (México: Fundo de Cultura Económica, 1950), 342.
[167] Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, 244.
[168] Alcalá, "María de Cazalla," 103.
[169] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 46-47.
[170] Giles, "Francisca Hernández," 92.
[171] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 46-47.

The publication of Juan de Cazalla's *Lumbre del Alma*, in 1528 Valladolid, occurred with the approval of Cardinal Cisneros. Written as a dialogue in the vernacular, in true humanist fashion, the devotional work discussed the gift of free will, given to man by God, emphasizing "the divinity of the love of God in man."[172] In 1545, this book was available to the reading public of Cuenca for fifteen maravedis, less than one day's wages for a skilled laborer and thus economically accessible to the general population.[173] The ability to read the work, however, would limit its circulation. Though in the sixteenth century "more Castilians than ever were learning to read" the literacy rates in Cuenca between 1540 and 1600 hovered around thirty-five percent for men and eight percent for women.[174] However, among these readers, devotional literature was the most popular during the middle of the sixteenth century and Nalle argues for the continuity of this trend throughout the rest of the century:

> Perhaps the most important use of popular literacy in sixteenth-century Castile was to facilitate private religious devotion…in Castile booksellers and readers preferred ascetic and contemplative works that developed an even more personal religion. Indeed Castilians' appetite for these books seemed insatiable.[175]

Therefore, based on the inventory of one bookstore, obviously catering to public consumer habits, and the trends in popular literacy, it seems viable that Cazalla's *Lumbre del Alma* did receive some amount of circulation in Cuenca. However, the Index of Prohibited Books, released in 1559 by Fernando de Valdés, ended such availability, or at least forced it underground, due to its prohibition of all devotional works in the vernacular. This Index condemned not only Cazalla's *Lumbre del Alma* but also Luis de

[172] Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism*, 48.
[173] Nalle, *God in la Mancha*, 145; Sara T. Nalle, "Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile," *Past and Present,* no. 125, (Nov.1989), 82.
[174] These statistics are based on inquisitorial trials. Nalle, "Literacy and Culture," 68, 76.
[175] Nalle, "Literacy and Culture," 84, 90.

Granada's *Book of Prayer* and Juan de Avila's *Audi, Filia.*[176] Before this prohibition, like all works in this period, Cazalla's had been approved by the inquisitorial censor. Thus it seems impossible that three years after the publication of the 1525 Edict of Faith that inquisitors would have approved a work spouting beliefs they already codified as heretical. Therefore, the presence of Cazalla's work on the Index speaks more to a change in religious climate in Spain than to the particular orthodoxy of the work. By the late sixteenth century, any circulation of Cazalla's work was illegal. Nonetheless, potentially a whole generation of readers in Cuenca had exposure to the work of a man eventually suspected as an alumbrado. Thus, the presence of this work in Cuenca remains an important factor to consider in the possible dissemination of ideas of alumbradismo through the popular classes.

By the time Francisco de los Reyes and Juana Rubia would face the tribunal all of these factors would be in play. The inquisitors who tried the defendants were not the same men who had participated in the earlier trials in Alta Andalucía, however, the knowledge they may have returned to Cuenca with would have been an inheritance passed on to those inquisitors who came after them, likely to the very men who sat in judgment of Reyes and Rubia. Add this inquisitorial knowledge, with a helping of the circulation of a popular devotional work by an alumbrado, into the maelstrom of a crashing economy and population that affected all classes of society, with the result of the creation of a moment when classifying heterodox individuals as alumbrados became feasible. The breakdown of family and community bonds in such moments of crisis created an atmosphere where liminal figures, such as Reyes and Rubia, could attempt to distinguish themselves as providers of stability or even consolation. The inquisitors'

[176] Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 109-110.

decision to label Rubia and Reyes as alumbrados did not spring from some haphazard or elastic use of the term. Looking to the context of the moment helps the historian to discern how the charge had evolved since its precedents, hinting at the changing concerns and anxieties that helped mold the charge's evolutionary path. Inquisitors continued to find alumbradismo an appropriate accusation for individuals who neither self-identified nor were denounced as such, thus continuing the propagation of the heresy.

CHAPTER 3-Juana Rubia

The widow Juana Rubia, from Valera del Abajo, came before the Holy Office based on charges from the governor and justice, Tomas Carrasco, who claimed that she was spreading falsehoods and lies: "Juana Rubia mujer pobre de esta villa ha dicho muchos embaimientos." After an extended absence from her childhood home, Rubia returned to the village, approximately forty kilometers south of the town of Cuenca, from Valencia on the day of Corpus Christi 1592. Rubia's return to Valera was not coincidental. Her husband, the recently deceased Pedro Lopez, had been a vecino of the village and thus, upon being widowed, Rubia returned to her childhood home though it is unclear why she ever left. In this period, "people became widowed at all ages, and might easily be widowed several times during their lives."[177] For women, this state could often bring financial hardship due to the loss of their link to the working world and they often found themselves depending on public or ecclesiastical charity. Additional ties to Valera del Abajo for Rubia included her sister, Catalina Rubia, who continued to reside there and would provide Juana Rubia with a place to stay. Roughly four months after her return, at the end of September of 1592, the inquisition would begin gathering testimony against Rubia inquiring about a number of her statements as well as actions, eventually identifying her as an alumbrada. Rubia never identified with this term. However, during the moment of crisis, in which she appeared, she did attempt to distinguish herself as figure who could mediate between the struggling of the worldly and the consolation of the divine.

Upon her re-appearance in Valera del Abajo Rubia appeared to be a cripple and paralytic, making the use of a walking stick mandatory. However, this would change on

[177] Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 65.

the fateful night of 26 September 1592. On this evening, a number of women, predominantly widows, were gathered at the church around midnight, likely observing some sort of vigil, though the local priest was absent. Such gatherings attracted the suspicion of at least one witness, María de Asensio, who testified that she questioned Rubia if she and the other women were whipping themselves while the friars were absent to do the same. Rubia's response, "hermana por dios más habemos de hacer," led Asensio to conclude that her supposition was correct. However, Asensio was not present at the church and thus her testimony stemmed solely from her own assumptions.[178]

On the other hand, a number of the witnesses questioned by the tribunal were present at the church on 26 September and recounted a seemingly miraculous series of events. While all the women were gathered at the church, Juana Rubia began to complain that her crippled leg was causing her great pain. As if in a trance, she looked to the altar of the Holy Mother and then collapsed on the shoulder of her sister, half-dead. In this reclined position, she began laughing, showing her face to all those present and then she raised herself onto her feet saying "Ay, ay, ay" and then began to shake and tremble, falling from one side to the other. After this, she climbed the steps to the main altar at which time she "andando por sus pies muy bien como mujer sana y sin palo" and began to pray to the crucifix, giving thanks to God and praising Nuestra Señora del Rosario for her miraculous healing. Rubia went on to explain to her audience that her leg had been cured by the Virgin Mary, whom she had seen walking through the church accompanied by a procession of eleven thousand virgins, all holding candles. Rubia would eventually hand out the wax drippings of the candles from her vision to people in the village as relics. Before the inquisition, the witnesses claimed that they knew it was a

[178] ADC, Inq., legajo 332, nº 4735 s.f.

trick from the beginning, "todo esto es embaimiento y mentira." However, it seems the villagers were willing to take the wax drippings at the time. Later Rubia would even instruct villagers to create devotional images out of this same wax, claiming that if they carried these in their pockets that they could do no wrong. Again though, faced with the tribunal, one witness subsequently claimed that the wax just smelled like animal fat so she knew Rubia was lying.[179]

The nature and circumstance of Rubia's 'healing' provided the inquisition with ample fodder to classify her as an alumbrada. The novel propositions in the 1574 Edict of Faith included one which outlined "que ciertos ardores, temblores, dolores y desmayos que padecen son indicios del amor de Dios."[180] Therefore, the shaking and trembling experienced by Rubia fit easily within the current conceptualizations of the alumbrado heterodoxy. Though there is no mention in the Edict of healing or curative reactions to these 'fits,' such as the curative intercession of the Virgin Mary that Rubia claimed, the corporeal manifestations she demonstrated were anything but novel to the most recent Edict. Augmenting the relationship of the 'curing' to alumbradismo was the lack of any mediation by sanctioned church authorities. This miraculous encounter with divine power occurred directly through Rubia lacking any sort of ecclesiastical intercessor. This occurrence pointed to the fact that Rubia claimed the ability, personally, to access the divine. Flaunting the need for sanctioned intermediaries to mediate between the individual and the divine was a foundational tenant of alumbradismo as outlined in the 1525 Edict. As codified in this earlier document, alumbrados believed that, "After someone abandoned himself to God, this abandonment alone was enough to save his

[179] Ibid.
[180] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.

soul," thus circumventing the various points of mediation proscribed by Catholic orthodoxy in the quest for salvation.[181] Though the 1574 Edict lacked such a concise statement on this tenet, the document as a whole did speak to the fact that there was no need to see images, hear sermons, do virtuous works or corporeal exercise, or even listen to *anyone* who would interrupt their mental prayers and meditation.[182] Thus, both Edicts of Faith spoke to the rejection of intermediaries between the self and the divine. The fact that Rubia's miraculous healing did the same not only bucked Catholic orthodoxy but also facilitated her classification as an alumbrada.

It was clear that Rubia's curing was less than orthodox, but the claim that a procession of eleven thousand virgins entered the church was part of an understood, and at the time, widely accepted Catholic legend about St. Ursula and her virgin martyrs. This piece of Catholic tradition, carved into a stone in Cologne in the fourth or fifth century, recounts the tale of Ursula, the daughter of the Christian king of Great Britain. A pagan king asked for her hand in marriage but Ursula desired to remain a virgin and so delayed the marriage for three years. She, and ten young noblewomen, all enjoying the accompaniment of one thousand virgins each, set sail for the duration of the three years, remaining off the coast of England. When the time came for Ursula's marriage, however, a wind blew the ships from English shores sending the virgins to Cologne where the Huns would eventually slaughter them all for their Christian faith. These events supposedly took place sometime between the third and fifth centuries, though the pious romance with which the account gained celebrity dates to the ninth century. Despite the potentially dubious reality of the account, relics of these martyrs from Cologne spread

[181] Homza, *Spanish Inquisition*, 85.
[182] AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.

across Christendom in the twelfth century, reaching as far as China and India. A number of artists from Cologne also depicted the virgin martyrs in various media. Most contemporary with the case at hand, the founding of the counter-reformation Order of Ursulines in 1535 spread both the name and the cult of St. Ursula even more widely.[183] However, by the end of the sixteenth century the influence of the order on Spain is questionable, despite the fact that the Ursulines were present in every major Italian city, as well as parts of France by that time.

If it seems unlikely that the Ursuline Order had significant influence on Rubia's understanding of the legend of St. Ursula, then it is necessary to consider other possible sources, such as "an encounter between the printed page and the oral culture," which may explain Rubia's understanding of the tale of the virgins.[184] In this period "Visions to members of religious orders, theological visions, those of ghosts, and miracles at major shrines were all included in collections of exempla, or sermon illustrations."[185] This type of literature circulated widely in most parts of Christendom after the establishment of the printing press. With the sixteenth century not only literacy but also the ownership of books had spread to include all strata of society in both the rural and urban settings.[186] An inventory of the Toledo printer-publisher Juan de Ayala demonstrated that in his effort to cater to the mass market, over one-third of his inventory consisted of devotional writings, especially the lives of saints.[187] Such religious literature would have been

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[183] Albert Poncelet, "St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins." The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 15. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15225d.htm> (19 Mar. 2009).
[184] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne Tedeshi (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1980), 33.
[185] William Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 7.
[186] Nalle, *God in la Mancha*, 147.
[187] Nalle, "Literacy and Culture," 83.

easily accessible, in both circulation and price, to most of the Spanish population by the end of the sixteenth century as proven by the case of Bartolomé Sánchez.

A poor wool carder from Cardenete, in the bishopric of Cuenca, Sánchez was nonetheless able to purchase a Spanish book of hours, "among the most common and affordable in the marketplace" by the middle of the century.[188] From this single work, this largely uneducated laborer interpreted a woodcut of the Conception of Our Lady as "a representation of the true Trinity: God the Father, the Son, and the Mother, united in purpose by the Holy Spirit."[189] Sánchez used this misinterpretation of the woodcut to confirm his belief that a vision he had previously experienced truly was from God. He so treasured this piece of devotional literature that by the time he was before the inquisition he could quote parts of it by heart.[190] This example confirms that it was very possible that Rubia, by the end of the century, potentially obtained her knowledge of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins through printed materials. Though books of hours, printed sermons or exempla collections failed to treat "local Spanish miracles or village apparitions, they did provide preachers and their audiences with patterns and motifs that seem to have been incorporated into the plots of local visions."[191]

Just as a literature on the saints' lives circulated in print, so too an oral culture of Catholic lore received dissimilation from both the pulpit as well as among the masses. The utility of this discussion of church tradition stemmed from its ability to influence and inspire the laity, especially those in the rural areas, to piety.[192] Perhaps influencing a

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[188] Sara T. Nalle, *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 64.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, 7.
[192] Ibid.

propensity to discuss St. Ursula and her virgins in this period was the recent acquisition of relics relating to the tale. In 1574 two heads of the eleven thousand virgins found their way from Flanders to the province of Guadalajara, brought by an army officer to his home town of Uceda, one hundred and sixty three kilometers from Valera del Abajo. He acquired the relics from the nuns and abbess of a Carmelite monastery in Flanders because "he had saved the convent and its relics from fire and theft by heretics." Both Pope Pius V, as well as the letter of donation from the abbess and nuns, confirmed the authenticity of these holy bones. After acquiring these sacred artifacts, the town of Uceda took these two virgins as their patron saints.[193] These relics' recent arrival in Spain would have resulted in an increased discussion of both the legend and nature of the virgins' martyrdom, among both popular and ecclesiastical figures.[194] Such increased circulation of the ideas of the cult of St. Ursula and the virgins would only have increased the already strong likelihood of Rubia familiarity with these figures.

Ultimately, the exact source of Rubia's knowledge of the eleven thousand virgins, whether from oral or print sources, is a secondary concern. Of greater import is the fact that in this period this Catholic lore was in wide circulation as well as widely accepted, thus Rubia's familiarity with it was probable. It was through this exposure that she was able to identify the exact number of virgins in her vision, walking in procession behind the Virgin Mary, since her actually counting out that many thousands seems unlikely. The accompaniment of Mary by the Eleven Thousand Virgins seems like a disjunct

[193] Juan Catalina García, Manuel Pérez Villamil, *Relaciones topográficas de España* (*Memorial histórico español*, XLI, 1903; XLII, 1903; XLIII, 1905; XLV, 1912; XLVI, 1914; XLVII, 1915). Quoted in Christian, *Local Religion*, 137.

[194] Uceda was not however the only local village to hold such relics. Palomares/Campo was also known to posses relics from the lore of St.Ursula though it is unclear the nature of these or their arrival date though it seems to have been some time during the sixteenth century. Additionally, based on Philip II's questionnaire, it appears that at least three other locales in New Castile claimed to have heads of the Eleven Thousand Virgins as well. Christian, *Local Religion*, 134, 218.

considering the latter were associated with Saint Ursula. However, the virgins lacked the curative powers understood as inherent in Marian figures. In fact, the foremost Marian miracle reported by towns and villages in New Castile in this century was the healing of cripples.[195] Thus, Rubia's vision demonstrates the extent to which visions, as William Christian argues, are "a recombination of known elements, with a moderate touch of novelty."[196] Neither the lore of the Eleven Thousand Virgins nor the healing powers of the Holy Mother were especially novel, though the combination of these two within a single vision was innovative.

The fact that Rubia's vision also left behind drippings of wax, which she distributed among the community, drew her even further into heterodoxy. Catholic orthodoxy firmly believed in the divine power of relics. Rubia's claim that relics could protect people was orthodox. However, her declaration, inherent in her act of giving away the wax, that she could decide what constituted a sacred object, was heterodox. Acting on the complaints of reformers regarding the traffic of unverified relics, the Council of Trent "required stricter procedures (if not standards) for the certification of relics."[197] Though the parishioners of various localities were quick to assert the powers of their unique local relics, traditionally their veneration considered evidence of divine favor, after Trent it was ultimately the decision of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and eventually Rome more specifically, to authenticate all such items, in spite of popular support. Thus regardless of the fact that "the influx of relics in the sixteenth century was

[195] Ibid. 95.
[196] Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, 208.
[197] Christian, *Local Religion*, 137, 171.

welcomed, indeed provoked by the people," the Council of Trent denied these same people the ability to authenticate such holy artifacts.[198]

In the post-Tridentine era, even the strident support of high-ranking members of the clergy was not enough to validate the holiness of relics. One such example occurred with the plomos of Granada discovered at the end of the sixteenth century. Despite the unwavering belief of Granada's archbishop, Pedro Vaca de Castro y Quiñones, the Papacy nonetheless demanded the relics sent to Rome for authentication. Castro and those of a similar mind were able to thwart the Papacy's persistent challenges for nearly fifty years. Castro went so far as to take the plomos with him when he became the archbishop of Seville but after his death the relics first returned to Granada, only to then be relocated to Madrid in 1632 only to finally be turned over by Philip IV to Rome in 1641.[199] As this example demonstrates, the authentication process after the Council of Trent rested nearly all the powers of accreditation almost strictly in Rome despite the point of origin within Christendom of the object in question. Thus just as the popular classes held little sway in the verification procedure, the local and even national ecclesiastical networks too became increasingly estranged from this process. Within this increasingly centralized schema, Rubia's attempt to peddle her wax drippings as relics would have seemed self-aggrandizing, essentially claiming that she held the rights to not only identify but also distribute relics, an ability increasingly held only by the Pope and the very highest reaches of the Catholic hierarchy.

Rubia not only claimed to be able to see processions of virgins but she also asserted that she had the ability to see the souls of the dead. At least a third of the

[198] Ibid., 138-139.
[199] Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 40-45.

witnesses mentioned Rubia's discussion of Bautista Montejano, a recently deceased vecino, and the state of his soul. Numerous witnesses testified that they heard Rubia claim that Montejano's soul was walking outside purgatory and that four masses were required for his entrance. However, Rubia also seems to have told one witness, María Cabera, the sister-in-law of the deceased Montejano, that "el ánima de Bautista Montejano difunto su hermano que anda en la procesión con nuestra señora y sus vírgenes." At the time of this vision, the same one that she claimed healed her, Rubia did not mention Montejano's attendance to the audience immediately present. Therefore, it seems that Rubia may have been 'enriching' her claims about who she saw in her vision based on whom she was speaking to. After all, Cabera was the closest relative of Montejano that testified before the inquisition and perhaps this relation to the deceased spurred Rubia on to make claims about the soul's presence to Cabera, despite her failure to do so previously. Such a circumstance seems to make this particular assertion seem dubious, or suspicious at best though Rubia does mention later that Montejano's soul "esta en purgatorio porque ya se había hecho lo que se había de hacer."[200]

The soul of Montejano, however, was not the only spirit that Rubia was in contact with. Similar to the previously mentioned case, according to Rubia, the soul of Pedro Sant Roman was also wandering outside purgatory. The defendant related this to the brother of the deceased, Gonçalo de Sant Roman, as well as Isabel Rentera, claiming that Pedro requested nine masses so that he could enter purgatory. Eventually Rubia would go so far as to request first seven and a half and then another nine reales for these masses. However, there is no indication that Rubia claimed to sing these masses herself. Instead, the implication of her request was that she would use the money to pay the priest to

[200] ADC, legajo 332, expediente 4735.

complete the mass, thus placing herself as an intermediary between the Church's monopoly on salvation and the laity. Despite the fact that paying for priests to sing masses was orthodox, the filtration of such currency through an intermediate was less so. When testifying, Rentera stated that she did not give Rubia the money.

The fact that Rubia could see the souls of the deceased was not particularly uncommon. In the sixteenth century both amateur as well as professional religious women would be consulted "on such varied matters as one's personal state of grace, whether one will have children, the appropriateness of a prospective spouse, and the destination of particular souls after death."[201] What was innovative about Rubia's claim was that she saw souls wandering outside purgatory. Purgatory was the intermediate location between death and heaven for the purification of souls before their ascension to God. In medieval Spain "theologians accepted that souls could visit the earth in visible form," though typically, they visited from purgatory and with a purpose, such as seeking assistance in their passage to heaven from relatives, or expressing displeasure with the dispersal of their patrimony. Therefore, "generally the ghostly messages and appearances were of significance only to the families involved."[202] Thus, Rubia's vision of deceased souls requesting masses fit a common motif for such apparitions despite the fact that these souls' failure to be confined to purgatory did not.

Saying masses for the dead was perhaps the most important duty of the family for the deceased in their efforts to move their beloved's soul to Heaven. For sixteenth-century Madrid, the work of Carlos Eire documents an inflationary spiral in the number of masses requested in wills in an effort to secure a speedy trip through purgatory for the

[201] Christian, *Local Religion*, 185.
[202] Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, 6-7.

deceased. In the 1520s, the average number of masses was ninety but by the 1590s, this number had skyrocketed to seven hundred and seventy seven, the most intense inflation occurring in the last decades of the century: "As the number of masses requested grew larger and larger, the value of each individual mass became smaller and smaller."[203] Thus, perhaps Rubia, by her claim that these souls required more masses, was tapping into a growing concern over the efficacy of masses and the number required, an anxiety that would have likely been familiar to most Spaniards in this period. Eventually Rubia reports to witnesses that Montejano's soul did eventually enter purgatory and later that his soul was finally with God. The final state of Sant Roman's soul goes unmentioned. In speaking to the families about the state of their deceased relative's soul, Rubia placed herself as a direct intermediary between the living and the dead. However, she did not completely circumvent Catholic orthodoxy. Masses were the prescribed means to move a soul through purgatory, but her personal ability to know the state of the soul in question pulled her closer into heterodoxy. Rubia's claims braided together accepted aspects of Catholicism with her own attempt to place herself as a mediator between the rituals of the Church and the needs and concerns of a populace in crisis.

Juana Rubia also claimed to have the power to locate people. The recurring example given by various testimonies dealt with locating the husband of Ana Gonçala. With the burning of a candle Rubia claimed to know he was in Granada tending oxen. Though the nature of this sort of divination was questionable in itself, Rubia went on to insinuate that Ana Gonçala was making a cuckold of her husband; speaking of her vision Rubia asked her sister, Catalina, "Can't you see the horns?" To the modern reader such a

[203] Carlos Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 176-177, 180, 222.

reference may seem logical; the man was tending oxen after all. However, to an early modern audience such a statement would have been a clear insinuation of an unfaithful wife.[204] This example again highlights the various ways in which Rubia claimed unique access to the supernatural, this time through her powers of divination. Such episodes demonstrated both her desire and willingness to attempt to carve out a niche for herself as an independent source of knowledge in the community.

To better understand the case of Juana Rubia, it is helpful to view it through the lens of 'false sanctity,' despite the lack of a specific charge to that effect. Based on the witness testimony it seems that Rubia easily fits under such a categorization. Andrew W. Keitt notes that in such cases the typical vocabulary includes "terms such as fingir (to feign or dissimulate), embuste (a trick or a fraud), impostura (imposture), and embaucar (to fool or deceive.)"[205] Despite the fact that the witnesses did not necessarily couch all their accusations in such language, the essence of this vocabulary pervades the case as witnesses claimed that they knew it was all a trick from the beginning. In the initial accusation, on multiple occasions, the terms "mentira" and "muchos embaimientos" occur. Keitt argues that,

> Inquisitors investigating reports of questionable visions, raptures, and revelations were not dealing with those who rejected the teachings of the church but rather with those who claimed to be holy persons, and if anything, displayed an excess of pious zeal and an exaggerated enthusiasm for the rituals of baroque Catholicism.[206]

Validating the use of the feigned sanctity lens is Rubia's confession before the inquisition, in which she admitted that all her claims were false. She disclosed that her

[204] ADC, legajo 332, expediente 4735.
[205] Andrew W. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Boston: Brill, 2005), 1.
[206] Ibid., 6.

miraculous healing in the church was "mentira y embaimiento" that she enacted in the hope of garnering charity in the form of alms, nothing more. Her claims about the soul of Montejano she also admitted as "embaimiento y mentira." Rubia clarified that the reason she knew the location of Ana Gonçala's husband was not due to her ability to tap into the supernatural, but rather that two years before she ran into him in Granada and thus her knowledge "no por hechicería ni por otra cosa y que esto es la verdad." It seems that before the inquisition Rubia was willing to renounce all of her claims to divine access or authority. She confessed, with minimal prompting, before the questions of the inquisitors.[207]

Gillian T. W. Ahlgren provides insight into the possibility that what most offended inquisitors about Juana Rubia, and other women like her, specifically those accused as alumbradas, was their spiritual pride. Ahlgren points to the fact that at the end of the sixteenth century the persecution of alumbradismo revolved around two key issues, "the discernment of true visions and the delicate balance between humility and prophetic authority."[208] She goes on to discusses how religious women appropriating religious authority outside convent walls often ran into accusations of alumbradismo and how at the heart of many such charges lay an implicit condemnation of spiritual pride, "when women believed in the visions they experienced and even manifested them publicly in a prophetic role."[209] If Ahlgren is correct in her assessment, then spiritual pride is just one more reason that the inquisitors' categorization of Rubia as an alumbrada is unsurprising. After all, Rubia flaunted the need for the mediation of the institutional church, instead

[207] ADC, legajo 332, expediente 4735.
[208] Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, introduction to *The Inquisition of Francisca: A Sixteenth-Century Visionary on Trial,* edited and translated by Gilliam T. W. Ahlgren, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 20.
[209] Ibid., 34.

placing herself as the key intercessor between the worldly and divine. She also was more than willing to share the tales of her gifts, and even hand out relics from them, to the village. Thus, Rubia was nothing if not prideful about her religious experiences; however, this pride ultimately led her to fall off the high wire between orthodoxy and heterodoxy and land her securely in the camp of the heretical alumbrados.

Just as an element of spiritual pride pervaded Rubia's trial, an equally important component of the case was the gendered nature of not only of the defendant but the witnesses as well. Of fifteen witnesses who testified before the tribunal, all but one of them were female. To some degree this can be attributed to the fact that the inquisition sought out all the women who had been present at Rubia's curing, between seven and eight depending on which testimony is consulted. However, most of the other female witnesses, if not at the curing, had also played audience to Rubia's various claims about the dead, the missing, or the power of her relics. Therefore, considering the people with whom Rubia interacted amidst her various heterodox actions, predominantly women, it seems logical that this gender also constituted the majority of the witnesses. However, the question remains, why did Rubia seek out specifically women with whom to share her experiences and divine knowledge? The answer lies at the intersection of gender and religion, and the entwining of the two in the early modern mind.

Women, long viewed as the weaker sex, both physically as well as spiritually, were thus assumed to be more emotional, sometimes more religious, but always more likely to be deceived. The very earliest manifestation of this tradition regarding the inferiority of women in Christian doctrine stemmed from the Fall of Man in which the woman was considered ultimately culpable; after all, Eve seduced Adam into taking the

fruit. This inferiority gained reification by humoral theories of the period about the very nature of the female body: "Women were thought to be especially prone to false revelations because of their presumed suggestibility, and by virtue of the more 'humid' humoral compositions of their bodies."[210] The Council of Trent, concluded in 1563, only reinforced this prevailing conceptualization of women in the Church. Thus, the image of women during this period was one of mistrust and doubt resulting in them being "more likely to be charged with feigning raptures and revelations because of ingrained cultural assumptions about female duplicity."[211]

Cases like Rubia's acted as a paradigm of such fraudulence as she confessed that it was all 'embaimientos y mentira' before the inquisitors, thus only reifying the stereotype. However, it is important to consider possible motives Rubia had for capitulating before the inquisitors. Perhaps she feared the repercussions of continuing her claims to the divine. She was likely aware, as most individuals would have been at the time, of the basic workings of the inquisition. As an institution, reconciliation to the Holy Church was the primary concern, therefore to claim error was a significantly more expedient, as well as safe option for the accused; cases such as those of Domenico Scandella, or Menocchio, of the Friuli and Bartolomé Sánchez of Cardenete attest to this fact.[212] Therefore, it is possible that Rubia's retraction of her earlier claims was a conscious decision. Rubia perhaps sensed, and rightly so, that deception for the simple motive of economic gain would lead to a lighter sentence than obstinate claims of sanctity: better a charlatan than a heretic, better a simpleton than a theological innovator.

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[210] Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 60.
[211] Ibid., 5.
[212] Both of these cases are discussed in-depth in their respective micro-histories; Nalle, *Mad for God*, and Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms.*

Nonetheless, the capitulation of Rubia does not account for the fact that she did target women as her audience. In this period Spanish women acted informally as the religious representative for their household; "Day to day religion was women's business."[213] William Christian explains that in this role women could be easily convinced to gather 'relics' and visit locations where supposed apparitions occurred. In fact, "total belief was unnecessary." Instead, "the women would have gone even if there was only a slight chance that it was true" because this chance, though slight, was still a chance of an important spiritual occurrence. Village visions would wane after the beginning of the sixteenth century as part of a growing climate of disbelief among both the laity and the inquisition: "The less exceptional visions became, the more suspicions they would arouse."[214] However, long after such apparitions failed to carry significant weight among the populace at large, when they were no longer respectable and it was suspicious to believe in them, much less to have them, women remained a ready constituency for such visions. While "the cultural form of public, lay visions itself may have worn out," the dismissal of such apparitions tended to originate from those in positions to deem acceptability, generally men. Thus, those visionaries that continued plying their abilities after the turn of the century tended to have visions predominantly addressed to women as individuals.[215]

Rubia's case speaks to this gendered component of lay visions at the end of the century. Her healing in front of an all female audience, as well as her ability to counsel women about their deceased loved ones and missing husbands, accentuates the ways in which Rubia addressed both herself and her abilities to women. As if that were not

[213] Christian, *Apparitions in the Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, 181.
[214] Ibid., 184.
[215] Ibid., 183, 184-185.

enough, the vision she had consisted of the very paradigm of womanly virtue in Catholicism, the Virgin Mary, who was accompanied by none other than eleven thousand other women also in the virginal state. Thus, in viewing the case, it seems clear that Rubia's visions were not only by a woman, but also of women and for women. Interestingly, the gendered nature of this case is accentuated by the almost out of place discussion of a run-in Rubia had with a group of female pilgrims. Mentioned only once, but apparently pertinent enough to come up at all, this episode discusses how Rubia ran into these romericas who traveled to visit a sick woman and pray to Santa Ana and that in passing them she had gotten her sleeve wet from the water they were sprinkling.[216] Again, as in the case of the Rubia, this serves as another example of the actions and devotions of the feminine religious for a feminine community though the mediation of a sacred female figure. Similarly, Rubia sought to provide female solutions and consolations to the women in her community through orthodox Catholic channels, in some ways paralleling the goals of the romericas. Rubia attempted to address religious issues, but in a manner that was distinctly more feminine than could be provided by an inherently masculine clergy. In this particular case, the legacy of the Toledo alumbrado outbreak with its predominantly female leaders re-emerges. However, just as there exists cases that reify this gendered understanding of the charge, so too are there cases that flaunt it such as that of fray Francisco de los Reyes who will be discussed in the next chapter.

After Rubia testified before the inquisitors it seems that she briefly disappeared. Initially the governor, Tomas Carrasco, had chosen not to imprison Rubia assuming that because she was "natural de aquí" that she would not flee. However, sometime between

[216] ADC, legajo 332, expediente 4735.

29 September, when she gave her testimony, and 9 October when Carrasco wrote to the inquisition, the defendant had gone missing. She must not have gotten very far, for just a month after her testimony a doctor reported on her ill health in the inquisitorial prisons. It is unclear whether Rubia attempted to flee persecution by the tribunal or if the inquisition just became unsure of her whereabouts in the process of her case. Either way, once she was located the response was to assure her continued presence by putting her under lock and key. This decision eventually proved detrimental to the defendant's health. On 29 October, the doctor Miguel Lopez diagnosed some form of malady affecting her lower body, from her feet to her waist, which the doctor claimed she had acquired from the floor and that was incurable in the prison cell. He even warned that without treatment this sickness could result in "una pestilencia." Additionally, the doctor reported cysts on her throat. This ill health proved ultimately fortuitous for Rubia. The following day the inquisition ordered her taken to the local Santa Lucia hospital for treatment.[217]

Thus, with her sentencing to the hospital, the case of Juana Rubia ends. The inquisition produced no formal judgment of her actions or deeds and proscribed neither penance nor punishment. Perhaps the inquisitors did not expect her to survive her ills. Nonetheless, her release from the prisons to the hospital is the closest the historian comes to a conclusion to the case, albeit one more related to her corporeal as opposed to spiritual fitness.

Though lacking a formal sentence it appears such a step was unnecessary for the inquisitors to identify the heresy of Juana Rubia. Listed on the front cover of her proceso

[217] Ibid.

was their verdict "alumbrada."[218] Considering the various aspects of the testimony given such a label is unsurprising. Rubia did claim a certain amount of spiritual authority for herself at the expense of the traditional mediating rituals of the Catholic Church and its hierarchy, a characteristic that was paradigmatic of the earlier alumbrados. Additionally she asserted that she experienced the visions and raptures more closely associated with the manifestation of the heresy in the 1570s. Thus, her classification as an alumbrada, despite the fact that neither she, nor the witnesses identify her as such, speaks to the typical conduct of the inquisitors as they looked back to precedents, as the institution of the inquisition expected them to, in order to classify the heterodox individuals whom community denunciations brought before their tribunal.

[218] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4-Francisco de los Reyes

Almost exactly four years after the trial of Juana Rubia, Fray Francisco de los Reyes faced the inquisition. The context of rural Cuenca remained largely the same as it had during Rubia's trial, if anything, life was perhaps worse. Like Rubia though, nowhere in the case proceedings was Reyes referenced as an alumbrado, he too was assigned this charge by inquisitors. The gathering of testimony against Reyes began at the end of October 1596. The accused lived in the Franciscan convent of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles in the village of Escamilla, a town of 382 households in 1591, located roughly 85 kilometers northwest of the town of Cuenca.[219] The initial petition against Reyes stemmed from Juan de Rojas who claimed that Reyes was setting "algunos malos ejemplos," especially in the village of Pareja, about 11 kilometers to the west. Rojas based this complaint on the testimony of the priest Gabriel Calvo and fray Blas Fernández, of the same convent, who testified that "el dicho fray Francisco de los Reyes habia escandalizado y dado mal ejemplo en Pareja." The denunciation went on to list four primary transgressions, the calming of a storm, Reyes' claim that he could see the dead in church, his mysterious curing of two ill women, and his deception of a maiden.[220]

Perhaps the most mundane of Reyes' transgressions was his attempt to secure himself a wife, or perhaps just a dowry, through a complex web of lies. Reyes met an poor unmarried girl from Pareja and told her that she should marry his brother, a handsome young man of some means. Unfortunately for the young woman, the man Reyes introduced as his brother was actually just a well-dressed man he had met at a local

[219] Nalle, *God in la Mancha*, 176.
[220] ADC, Inq., legajo 344, nº 4895 s.f.

fair. Nonetheless, Reyes continued the deception by requesting the maiden to gather a dowry and send it to him, which despite her poverty she did. Eventually, however, the young woman found out the truth and confronted Reyes, asking why he had deceived her. He admitted that it was actually he that wanted to marry her and stated that he had a papal bull releasing him from his vows of chastity as long as he was not ordained to say mass by a certain time. Additionally he promised that "que antes de quince días le verían en habito seglar." He sweetened the proposal with the assertion that as an only child his mother would leave all of her money to him.[221] Though the lengths Reyes went to in an attempt to secure a wife were impressive, the story was an old one. Clergy in this period were notorious for not respecting their vows of chastity. It was not uncommon for a priest to have his progeny and mistress housed in the very village where he preached, and often priests even "celebrated mass with their 'family' present and attended their children's weddings."[222]

According to the 1525 Edict alumbrados believed "Que no estaba bien que los hombres se metiessen frayles." A contributing factor to this idea was the their supposed belief "Que casados estando en el acto del matrimonio estaban más unidos a dios si estubiesen en oración."[223] However, these inquisitorial conceptualizations of alumbrado views of marriage, sexuality, and religious vows evolved by the publication of the 1574 Edict of Faith. Nonetheless, an impulse to reject the monastic lifestyle remained; "los maestros de la dicha doctrina aconsejan y mandan generalmente a todos sus discípulos

[221] Ibid.
[222] Nalle, *God in la Mancha*, 27.
[223] Edicto de los Alumbrados de Toledo, 23 de septiembre de 1525. Reprinted in Marquez, *Los Alumbrados*, 273-283.

que hagan voto de no se casar."[224] Fray Francisco de los Reyes failed to fit neatly within either the classification of the 1525 or the 1574 Edict. The possibility remains, that perhaps Reyes was not actually seeking a wife but instead simply attempting to weasel money from a young maiden. Though the breaking of clerical celibacy was anything but novel, this deception could have corresponded in the inquisitorial mind with the broadening image of alumbrados as engaging in sexual license, a trend appearing increasingly during the Extremadura trials, though this alone would not have been enough to define Reyes by this heresy.

With the Council of Trent, concluded mid-century, bishops gained the authority to try to end the all too frequent breaches of clerical celibacy. The charges against Reyes suggest that his attempt to flaunt his vows of celibacy was the most recent occurrence before his denunciation. Thus, based strictly on chronology, and despite the numerous other concerns expressed by witnesses, his deceitful attempt to marry seems to have provided the impetus for his denunciation. Sara Nalle argues for the success of the Tridentine reforms, in turn demonstrating "the success of a national church and its centralized policies."[225] The denunciation of a priest attempting to either deceive a maiden or break his vows of celibacy, depending on whether he exerted the effort for the woman or the dowry, supports Nalle's point about the success of reform in Cuenca, such actions now warranted denunciation. Old Christians demonstrated no aversion to utilizing the inquisition and actually desired to obey the religious injunctions it, as well as the Catholic Church, set forth. Therefore, the Old Christian population often acted as willing denouncers, for a number of reasons, some of the most common motives being

[224] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.,* lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 148.
[225] Nalle, *God in la Mancha,* 132-133.

fear of spiritual punishment, sincere contrition, or as a way to maintain accepted moral and social standards within the community:

> The Inquisition did not have to seek out its Old Christian 'victims;' depending on their motives, villagers presented themselves and their neighbors for either penancing or punishment. Institutional control from above was indeed reinforced by popular participation from below.[226]

Though the participation of the masses was always critical to the continuance of the inquisition, at this particular moment it particularly highlighted the ultimate success of Tridentine reform.[227] No longer was the laity willing to stand by and watch the knowing corruption of the sacerdotal vocation. Instead, they used the instance of Reyes' pursuit of a maiden as grounds to initiate proceedings before the Holy Office. Though a number of other charges would eventually fill witness testimony, it seems that all of these were of minor concern until Reyes initiated his marriage deceptions. Thus, Tridentine reforms penetrated Cuenca, teaching the people not only their prayers and catechism, but also what they should expect from their priests.

Through the course of his trial, Reyes also faced eyewitness accusations of various practices likened to witchcraft, such as exerting control over the natural world, as well as healing and curative powers. Such 'folk magic' or 'white magic' was anything but uncommon in the early modern world, however, the participation of a priest in such matters reeked of heterodoxy despite his use of orthodox elements. In the first case, the summer before, Reyes went to bathe at the headwaters of the Tagus River with some other young men. These boys entered the water while Reyes remained on the shore where he removed his habit just as a storm began developing. The boys were troubled,

[226] Sara T. Nalle, "Inquisitors, Priests, and the People During the Catholic Reformation in Spain," *Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 13, No. 4, (Winter 1987), 582.
[227] Ibid.

believing that they would drown, until Reyes said, "Espera, espera." Pulling a parchment from his habit he read some "cock-eyed" lines, and the storm calmed as if by his command. Another testimony recounts that Reyes also "sacó una cruz de madera y con unas horas comenzó a rezar el frayle los salmos penitenciales mostrando cristiandad." Despite the variation in testimony, the witnesses agreed that after the storm ceased, the frightened boys went to Reyes' side, and finding him unconscious, splashed water on him from the river. He regained consciousness but the boys "quedaron escandalizados temiéndole como a hechicero." This summary of events, prepared after the fact by the prosecution, demonstrates that a number of witnesses testified to the series of events, indicating that the boys present at the river appeared before the inquisition.[228]

The ability to stop a storm, and the rains, or perhaps even hail, which it potentially held, was a capability assigned to both holy intercession as well as folk magic, entities that the early modern populace at large did not assume to be distinct. Thus, Reyes' calming of a storm situates itself at the intersection of Catholic orthodoxy and popular religiosity. The orthodox response to an approaching storm prescribed the following:

> the clergy should enter the churches, followed by the leading men and women of each parish; once there, a rush of activity should ensue, as candles were lighted, the missal was placed on the altar and opened to the Gospel, and relics were lifted from their repositories and positioned around the Eucharist. Ecclesiastics then would kneel on the altar steps, laypersons would prostrate themselves on the ground, and everyone would beg God collectively to dissolve the wicked cloud through His infinite power: they would supplicate Him 'to deliver that family and the lands of that place from the damage that storm will be able to produce.[229]

Orthodoxy further dictated that the people should turn to Saint Christopher or Saint Florian for protection from floods. Saint Christopher received particular veneration along

[228] ADC, Inq., legajo 344, nº 4895 s.f.
[229] Homza, *Religious Authority*, 191.

the Danube, Rhine and other riverbanks that faced frequent damage from flooding.[230] Alternatively, observances of the Feast of the Visitation or the days of Saints Cosmas and Damian could also ensue as reactions to floods.[231] In the event of hailstorms, Saints Agatha, Bridget, and George acted as protectors.[232] However, despite these prescribed reactions to such events, numerous clerics "assumed the roles of cloud conjurers."[233]

Reyes' reaction to the storm was not completely unorthodox. The institutional Church did participate in appeals to change the weather, via intercessors, though this was not quite the same as Reyes' evident ability to stop the storm single-handedly. Lacking relics and the Gospel, Reyes settled for reciting the psalms and holding up a wood cross, at least gesturing to aspects of the prescribed procedure that he could enact at a moment's notice on a riverbank with what was available. Stopping a storm, though perhaps appearing more closely related to folk magic than Catholic orthodoxy, actually proves to be a mystifying example of the ways in which what we would consider popular magic was nonetheless underpinned by Christian conceptualizations, such as the use of Catholic prayers and images during instances of questionable practice. Ultimately, the Reyes case demonstrates the ways in which "lay religion could be learned and learned religion could be popular."[234] In the end, "The Castilian peasant, like all of history's agriculturists, spent much of his time worrying about the weather. It seemed that he was always either praying for rain, or praying the rains would stop."[235]

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[230] Francis Mershman, "St. Christopher." The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 3. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03728a.htm 1 Mar. 2009.
[231] Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 34.
[232] Ibid., 71.
[233] Homza, *Religious Authority*, 181.
[234] Ibid., 181-182.
[235] David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 197.

The "cruz de grande estima," which played a lead role in the cessation of the storm in one account, reappears later in the same testimony, along with other unspecified relics. These objects included a ring that Reyes claimed allowed him to see things and divine because he was a 'zahorí,' an Arabic word meaning occultist, "Persona a quien se atribuye la facultad de descubrir lo que está oculto, especialmente manantiales subterráneos."[236] This claim arose after Cristóbal Martínez mockingly asked Reyes to predict what was in a particular cave on their return from the monastery of Monsalud. According to another witness, because of his various paraphernalia, Reyes had the ability to accurately predict sudden downpours. Such a capability followed on the heels of a number of bad harvest years. The years 1589 and 1590 suffered excessive rainfall that proved detrimental to crop yields. The years 1591 through 1594 also experienced bad harvests throughout Old Castile, for varying reasons.[237] The staple crop in the region was grain. Wheat comprised nearly two thirds of all grain produced but planted alongside it was rye, barley and oats. By the last decades of the sixteenth century crop yields were declining. David E. Vassberg cites a number of reasons for this decline, including the placing of marginal lands under plow due to the necessity of the cultivator for sustenance, the decline in the productivity of the better lands due to improper farming techniques, and the lack of available fertilizer due to the decline in the pastoral economy. The increasingly weighty tax burden the peasants suffered under only added to their misery. By the end of the sixteenth century, over half of a peasant's harvest went into the pockets of the non-peasant classes. David Vassberg sums it up best, "The last two decades of the 1500s were full of doom and despair, of crop failures, devastating tax

[236] Real Academia Española, http://www.rae.es/rae.html.
[237] Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile,* 199.

increases, and virulent epidemics."[238] Under these conditions, the ability to predict downpours would have held a certain cultural weight in a community so dependent on the appearance of rain. After all, failed harvests were "cataclysmic events to those living through them."[239]

Thus, Reyes' various claims to supernatural power, in a number of instances, stemmed from particular objects he possessed. Catholicism esteemed relics and similar paraphernalia with particular authority in certain realms so it was not a completely unorthodox claim on Reyes' part. The difficulty, though, lay in the fact that the power he claimed for these objects was neither sanctioned nor validated by the Church. Instead, it seems that he took mundane items and claimed for them extraordinary authority, thus circumventing the institutional church's process of certification of such objects, similar to the issues raised by Juana Rubia with her wax.

The other accusation labeling Reyes a witch stemmed from his ability to heal. When two women complained of not being able to do anything taxing because they were unwell, he informed them that after he confessed on Wednesday, presumably at Wednesday evening services, then the women would be better by the next day. By Thursday, as predicted, the women could rise and were better. Blas Fernández, one of the original denouncers of Reyes "decía que no podía ser menos de que el dicho fray Francisco hechicero." Juan Martínez, son-in-law and husband to the afflicted women, testified that Reyes had used witchcraft on him and his family. However, Martinez was not the only witness to mention the healings. Again, this accusation would re-appear from the mouths of various witnesses as the tribunal gathered testimony. In fact,

[238] Ibid., 201, 203-204, 229.
[239] H. G. Koenigsberger, *Early Modern Europe 1500-1789* (London: Longman, 1987), 98.

Martínez's mother-in-law Ysabel Parraga herself testified about the events. In her testimony, she recounts how Reyes overheard her complaining to her daughter about her malady and promised her that after he confessed she would be healed. However, according to Parraga, she brushed off Reyes' comment and distanced herself from him. If this was true, or simply for the benefit of the inquisitors, remains questionable. Either way, it does seem that her malady did disappear as Reyes claimed it would. Blas Fernández heard of the supposedly miraculous healing and warned Reyes' provincial to deal with this matter or risk a denunciation of Reyes to the inquisition.[240]

Reyes' powers over healing and health could take on a more prophetic character as well. One testimony asserts that Reyes warned Juan Martínez that he would suffer ten days of fever after the saint's day of San Francisco. Martínez's rebuttal was that if this were true he would turn Reyes into the Holy Office. Martínez eventually turned into a key witness relating the curative powers of Reyes to the tribunal despite the fact that it is unclear whether or not he did actually fall ill.

Just as the Church prescribed means for dealing with impending storms there were certain rules to be followed when utilizing the sacred to heal. During the Counter-Reformation the institutional Catholic Church sought to "define and regulate" access to supernatural curative powers by not only the laity but the clergy as well: "All channels to the sacred and the sources of healing it provided were now being increasingly regulated and controlled by the Church in order to combat heresy and incorrect belief."[241] Reyes' ability to use his own confession, a sacrament of the Catholic faith, to heal the two women placed him as a pivotal intermediary between the suffering of the people and the

[240] ADC, Inq., legajo 344, nº 4895, s.f.
[241] David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 156, 167.

healing powers of the sacred via orthodox rituals. Even before the Council of Trent, the inquisition was able to expand its jurisdiction to seemingly unorthodox healings as their focused shifted from persecuting strictly conversos and judaizing, to Old Christians and a significantly wider range of crimes. Thus, the inquisition was already in a position to police this type behavior when the Council of Trent sought to further curb the powers claimed by such questionable healings, and the figures enacting them, in an effort to reassert control and the Church's sole access to the divine.

The accusations of witchcraft against Francisco de los Reyes present an intriguing twist on the typically sexed understanding of that charge. Carol Karlsen claims that the "story of witchcraft is primarily the story of women" and that "especially in its Western incarnation, witchcraft confronts us with ideas about women, with the place of women in society, and with women themselves."[242] In Europe, women did predominate, as both the accused and the accusers, in large part due to the ways that the typical actions of witches most often intersected with the women's sphere or played into gendered stereotypes about women.[243] The publication of the *Malleus maleficarum* in 1486 only further incriminated women as likely suspects. Based on the statistics of Merry Wiesner-Hanks, the climax of witchcraft trials occurred in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

[242]Carol Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), xii. Laura Apps and David Gow argue against this perception of witches, "The male witch suggests that biological sex was not, at the conceptual level, the primary characteristic of the witch; gender was," while criticizing the historiography of witches for its treatment of male witches "as anomalous, even impossible." Laura Apps and David Gow, *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 3, 13.

[243] Examples of intersections with the women's sphere includes harming children, curdling milk, preparing food, caring for new mothers as well as caring for animals. Other reasons for the predominance of women include ideas about women as the weaker sex and therefore more prone to the devil's temptations, as well as women's greater association with "nature, disorder, and the body, all of which were linked with the demonic." Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 386-387,390. Lyndal Roper has gone so far to claim that fears of witchcraft "were linked to sets of fantasies which clustered around the human body itself. In particular, these fantasies concerned mothers and wombs." Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 177.

century. Across Europe between 100,000 and 200,000 trials resulted in 40,000 to 60,000 executions. Of those executed, between 75% and 85% were women. Wiesner-Hanks asserts that by the late sixteenth century, understandings of witchcraft in general became more closely tied to the devil and the demonic.[244] However, the accusation against Fray Francisco de los Reyes does not cohere with such conceptualizations of witchcraft in this period, his gender being the most obvious difference. Additionally, in the witness testimony there is no evidence that either witnesses or inquisitors suspected Reyes of any actions tied to the demonic. Instead, it appears that, as Gustav Henningsen argues, "the belief in witchcraft in its theological form…was so irrelevant to the functional popular belief in witches that it did not become a permanent tradition."[245] Reyes' witch-like transgressions revolve around controlling nature and healing sick villagers rather than any pacts with the demonic.

However, Reyes did dabble in a handful of other activities that, though not denounced as witchcraft, could be considered 'low white magic:' "theoretically unsophisticated, it was a magic rooted in folk traditions" and utilized for non-malicious means.[246] For instance, Reyes claimed to know how to find hidden treasure, a classic example of white magic.[247] Vecino Cristóbal Martinez recounts how he and his brother, Juan Martínez, along with Reyes, went searching for treasure in a valley, "el dicho frayle le había dicho que había en un tesoro, yendo este testigo delante y el frayle detrás

[244] By the sixteenth century "…popular denunciations for witchcraft in many parts of Europe involved at least some parts of the demonic conception of witchcraft." Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 386-388.
[245] Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate; Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609-1614)* (Reno: University of Nevada, 1980), 390-391.
[246] Geoffrey Scarre, *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1987), 4, 6.
[247] "Even so, the focus in the trials was not on maleficium but on the so-called white magic of healing, recovering lost treasure, or performing love magic." Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, Magic, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 149.

mirando en un libro." In the end though, the party returned without any treasure. Cristóbal apparently also told others of his treasure hunting adventures with Reyes. A second witness recounts an event, told to him by Cristóbal, about how Reyes claimed that he knew there was treasure in Robregordo but that at the moment there was no time to retrieve it. Another testimony also recounts the fact that Reyes claimed to be able to see treasure, "vey a muchos tesoros," which the witness assumed to be indicative of Reyes' power as a diviner.[248] Despite the connotations such actions could have to the occult and supernatural, these instances seem to have been of minor concern to the witnesses. Only two witnesses mentioned Reyes' search for treasure. This lack of redundancy, present regarding some other of Reyes' accusations, indicates that witnesses likely remained unconcerned with these forms of 'low white magic.' Such practices were rooted in folk traditions that eventually the institutional Church would attempt to rein in. For now though, the laity did not view such actions as indicative of witchcraft, hence their refusal to equate them in testimony, but instead viewed them as part of ongoing village traditions, nothing terribly aberrant or out of the norm.

In a similar vein, Reyes also faced the accusation that "en el dicho lugar de Pareja por que an oído decir al dicho fray Francisco de los Reyes que no va a la iglesia de buena gana porque es zahorí y ve todos los muertos que están en las sepulturas y que de aquel miedo anda descolorido y que no es de enfermedad." When testifying, Bartolomé Martínez recounted how Reyes asserted that "porque soy zahorí y veo los cuerpos de los muertos" that he did not like to go to Church.[249] In this instance, Reyes insinuates that his powers of divination are especially attuned to the actual corpses buried in the Church,

[248] ADC, Inq., legajo 344, nº 4895 s.f.
[249] Ibid.

the physical bodies that lay within this sacred space. Though using the claim of seeing the dead to avoid church was not typical of alumbrados, the avoidance of outward piety, such as expressed within church was not. The 1525 Edict stated that the alumbrados did not want intermediaries between themselves and God and that external acts of prayer, like those which would have occurred in church, were irrelevant and unnecessary. The Edict goes on to specifically outline that "to pray in church was an earthly shackle," and that "To stand up at the Gospel reading, and perform similar signs and acts of humility, was nothing more than playing with the body in Church."[250] By 1574, alumbrados were even understood to teach that one should close their eyes at the raising of the Eucharist.[251] Therefore, though the excuse was original, the avoidance of intermediaries, such as the church, was paradigmatic of alumbradismo.

Church, however, was not the only location in which Reyes encountered the dead. Cristóbal Martinez recounted how one evening at midnight, Reyes claimed "desde allí que pasaba por la calle una cosa de la otra vida y que sentía grande pesadumbre cuando ve ya aquellas cosas."[252] Thus, according to Reyes, the dead not only haunted the church but the streets as well. However, he does not seem to have avoided the avenues of Escamilla in the same way he avoided the church. Nonetheless, his encounters with the dead speak to his own direct connection to the supernatural in a way that scoffed at the need for intermediaries, again, paradigmatic of alumbradismo.

Though Reyes' ability to see the dead can be fitted into understandings of the heresy for which he is accused, what remains perplexing is the fact that such stories,

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[250] Homza, *Spanish Inquisition*, 80-92.
[251] *Edicto de la* fe, 1574. AHN,: *Inq.*, lib. 578, ff. 235 v-236 r. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. I, 148.
[252] ADC, Inq., legajo 344, nº 4895 s.f.

through resulting in accusations of witchcraft from the witnesses, failed to convince the inquisition of the importance of such a charge. Reasons for this could be varied. Perhaps due to the nature of the claim, after all how can you verify whether or not someone can actually see the dead, as opposed to his curing and storm stopping which were widely witnessed. Again, the fact that only two witnesses even mention the matter makes its appearance much more questionable than those accounts reiterated by numerous witnesses. Either way, Reyes' glimpses of the dead failed to garner further charges of witchcraft, despite the fact that this was the most likely arena in which he could have encountered the diabolical of all the accusations against him.

Eventually the accusations of witchcraft, from the witness testimony, faced the inquisitorial filter and were ultimately siphoned off as a secondary concern to Reyes' alumbradismo. Luckily for him, the Spanish Inquisition, as an institution, tended to view witches more as victims than criminals, more likely "superstitious and ignorant peasants who should be educated" rather than "diabolical devil-worshipers."[253] Because of this conceptualization, the inquisition executed few witches over its long tenure. In the tribunals of Cuenca and Toledo, there exist three hundred and seven known cases of witchcraft. Of these, none were executed and very few faced torture.[254] Castile faced practically no mass arrests of witches, witnessing instead the persecution of individuals for crimes ranging from practicing love magic, seeking treasure, and damaging crops to killing children.[255] In Cuenca, the tribunal averaged roughly two cases a year of magic, about two percent of the annual workload, but increasingly in the sixteenth century,

[253] Joseph Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition*, trans. Janet Lloyd, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 79; Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 390.
[254] Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 82.
[255] Homza, *Religious Authority*, 178.

"inquisitors in Cuenca refused to convert folk magic into diabolism."[256] In the inquisition at large, and especially in the case of Francisco de los Reyes, the main crime of witchcraft "was not heresy, but rather undermining the Church's monopoly on supernatural remedies…inquisitors set witchcraft within the context of false magical and spiritual claims, rather than within the context of heresy and apostasy."[257]

Popular conceptions of witchcraft in early modern Europe brings images of numerous women being burnt alive to mind. The historiography also tends to reiterate this conception by its focus on 'witch crazes' as opposed to individual witches. Gustav Henningsen makes the important distinction between 'witchcraft' and a 'witch craze.' Only when "the traditional witchcraft of the villages and the demonological witchcraft theories of the intellectuals" collided was a 'witch craze' possible: "The danger appeared when the priest from the pulpit or the judge in court tried to apply learned theory to the concrete cases which occurred in daily life."[258] Thus, in light of this distinction, it becomes logical that the accusations against Reyes as a witch actually remained distinct from demonological charges. After all, it was the witnesses charging him with witchcraft, *not* the learned theologians of the inquisition. Therefore, the absence of associations with the Devil, initially puzzling, brings to the light the differing understandings of witches and witchcraft held by popular and learned society. This,

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[256] Nalle, *God in la Mancha*, 180. Lu Ann Homza argues that "Spanish inquisitors took part in a literary and theological culture that did not distinguish between superstitious and diabolical rites. They recognized that witchcraft involved potential infidelity toward God, whether the rituals at hand concerned love magic or the actual invocation of demons." This explanation would prove more gratifying to the blanket use of the charge of 'witchcraft' in this case except for the fact that it was the witnesses who claimed Reyes was participating in witchcraft, not the inquisitors. However, it can be assumed that a certain amount of this 'literary and theological culture' had to filter down into more popular understandings and thus, the fact that this distinction did not exist in 'high culture' leads the historian to question how strongly it could have existed in popular mentalities. Homza, *Religious Authority*, 181.
[257] Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 390.
[258] Henningsen, *Witches' Advocate*, 391.

combined with the general skepticism of the inquisition regarding witches, resulted in the concerns of the witnesses, about Reyes' witchcraft, falling to the wayside before the inquisitorial tribunal.

Despite all of these accusations, fray Francisco de los Reyes managed to avoid ever facing the inquisitorial tribunal. Instead, he escaped, leaving town before the inquisition called him to testify. He remained a fugitive at the closing of the proceedings against him. Cristóbal Martínez, the brother of Juan Martínez, acted as Reyes' key accomplice in this escape as well as the sole source of the escape narrative. According to his testimony, Cristóbal secured a mule under the pretense that he wanted to go visit his sister-in-law, but then helped Reyes break out of the monastery prison and return to the home of Martínez's father, Bartolomé. In this household, Reyes slipped into the clothes of a servant and he along with Cristóbal headed off to Madrid together. On the way out of town, the pair spotted a local vecino so Reyes quickly changed back into "su abito de frayle" so as not to raise suspicion about why he would be clothed as a servant. From there the two continued on to Madrid, thus allowing Reyes to dodge his day before the inquisition.[259]

Reyes' escape likely proved troubling to inquisitors, however, it proves equally disappointing, to the historian who, due to Reyes' fugitive status, fails to have any testimony from him as a defendant. Would he, like Juana Rubia, have claimed it was all lies? Would he have denied everything? Alternatively, would he have admitted his mistakes and submitted to inquisitorial judgment? Lacking Reyes' defense of himself leaves the historian with a number of questions. However, the fact that he felt the need to flee from the tribunal indicates the severity, at least in his own mind, of his offenses.

[259] ADC, Inq., legajo 344, nº 4895 s.f.

Thus, just as the defendant was lacking, so too is a final sentence on his actions. Though it is clear that the inquisitors classified Reyes as an alumbrado there exists significantly more ambiguity as to how they would have handled the case and the particular offenses within it, thus leaving the historian the ability to discern inquisitorial classification of heterodoxy while its corrective remains at large.

Reyes' case, upon first glance, does not leap out as one of alumbradismo, however, upon closer scrutiny certain themes appear in the trial which indicate the validity of such a charge. Ultimately, Reyes' sought to circumvent the traditional role of the Catholic Church as the sole mediator to the divine and this was heresy, alumbradismo to be exact. Like Juana Rubia just a few years earlier, he too utilized Catholic rituals and paraphernalia in unorthodox ways to harness the power of the divine for himself. Thus, in both cases there existed an intriguing mingling of heterodox belief with extra-ecclesiastical understandings and uses of orthodox ritual. Therefore, though Reyes fails to conform exactly to either the 1525 or the 1574 Edicts of Faith, he nonetheless broached the issue of placing himself as mediator to the powers of the divine and in doing so circumventing the authority traditionally reserved for the Church. Additionally, inquisitors may have recognized in him various other similarities to alumbrado precedents. His swoon after stopping the storm may have been reminiscent for the inquisitors of the more mystical trances of the Extremadura group. His attempt to deceive a maiden into marrying him perhaps hinted at his willingness to partake in sexual license. His use and presentation of his powers of divination as divine, with a certain amount of spiritual pride, demonstrated his attempt to elevate himself as a spiritual authority, going so far as to avoid the physical church, obviously believing it

unnecessary. In these ways, Reyes fit into the mold of alumbradismo which inquisitors held by the 1590s. He was not flippantly assigned this charge, but instead inquisitors stepped back from the particulars of the case and looked at the larger themes presented, only to find alumbrado overtones pervading and braided through the majority of the details.

CONCLUSION

The cases of Juana Rubia and Francisco de los Reyes provide a still-life portrait in the evolution of alumbradismo, a charge and heresy that was in a constant process of adaptation. By looking to these cases, it is possible to pinpoint how the Spanish Inquisition was amending its understanding of alumbradismo to accommodate their contemporary concerns. These defendants also allow the historian to take pause and reconsider the validity of assumptions about the nature and characteristics of alumbrados at large. The sheer appearance of Rubia and Reyes provides reason enough for reconsideration of the historiography; the traditional narrative does not account for the appearance of alumbrados in Cuenca in the 1590s**.** However, various aspects of these cases also suggest a number of other points in need of potential re-examination. Most historians regard the earliest alumbrados of Toledo as the paradigm of the heterodoxy writ large.[260] This tradition associates the alumbrados with conversos, women, and perhaps entanglement with Lutheran or Protestant leanings, though many historians would suggest that the latter was more of a misunderstanding on the part of inquisitors. Nonetheless, historians have often taken for granted that these characteristics encapsulate very particular concerns relevant to the 1520s. Thus, how closely later 'outbreaks' both follow, as well as deviate from this mold, points to the very specific ways in which alumbradismo evolved.

Before moving on to how these defendants fit within the historiography of alumbradismo it is important to look first at the ways in which they break the mold. Based on the evidence presented in the testimony, it does not appear that either Juana

[260] The major exception to this would be Alvaro Huerga who instead privileges the Extremadura occurrence as the model of alumbradismo.

Rubia or Francisco de los Reyes were conversos, nor do any of their practices specifically relate to Judaism. None of the witnesses regarded them as such and the inquisition failed to explore the issue, indicating they were not concerned about it. Sara Nalle claims, "by the end of the fifteenth century, Cuenca's conversos seem to have integrated more successfully into Christian society than in other regions," going so far as to express their "conversion by striving to become more Christian than their neighbors."[261] However, forty-five conversos were burned in Cuenca between 1489 and 1491. Initially this number may seem contradictory to the supposed assimilation of conversos, but considering the fact that other tribunals, specifically Toledo and Valencia, averaged roughly similar numbers for the period, Cuenca was a moderate when it came to issuing death sentences to conversos at the end of the fifteenth century.[262] By the middle of the century, converso trials still accounted for a higher percentage of cases before the inquisition in Cuenca than other tribunals. But even as the absolute number of conversos before the inquisition actually fell, by the later part of the century, the tribunal of Cuenca remained a leading prosecutor of conversos.[263] This trend extended into the years between 1570 and 1625 when ten judaizers were put to death in Cuencan autos de fe. However, by this period this was typical considering that the inquisition at large was

[261] Nalle, *God in la Mancha*, 13, 129.
[262] Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 265, 268. These numbers are based on the table provided by Roth who admits the numbers are estimates. By taking the number of conversos burned and dividing it by the number of years presented by each tribunal the numbers arise for a very rough yearly rate. This rate obviously does not take into account the ebb and flow of accusation over time but nonetheless helps to conceptualize the numbers Roth presents in a manner that takes into account the different periodizations of each tribunals' statistics. The following are the rough yearly estimates of conversos burned by tribunal; Toledo-15.6, Zaragoza-7.3, Valencia-16.4, Barcelona-2.3, Mallorca- .5, Jaén-46.7, Cuenca- 15.
[263] "It is difficult to tell how general was the decline in persecution of Judaizers which can be seen in the Aragonese Secretariat. The only Castilian tribunals with large collections of preserved trials show radically different patterns for these decades. At Toledo, trials of Judaizers dropped even more sharply than they did in Aragon; but at Cuenca, conversos continued to monopolize maor inquisitorial punishments in the 1540s and 1550s." William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 37.

handling an increased number of judaizers, typically of Portuguese descent. Though ten corpses may seem a low body count, considering the fifty-five year span, in actuality this accounted for nearly one-fifth of conversos put to death in all Castilian tribunals in this period. In fact, the converso death toll in Cuenca, though matched by Cordoba, was surpassed only by Granada with twelve. These statistics indicate that if either Juana Rubia or Francisco de los Reyes were judaizing, then the tribunal of Cuenca would have been ready and willing to prosecute on such grounds. The fact that this did not occur makes it likely that a converso ancestry or judaizing were absent, thus differentiating these alumbrados from their earliest precedents in Toledo, and to some degree even the cases in Extremadura. Though Alonso de la Fuente continued to claim a connection between conversos and alumbrados, it was less demonstrable as characteristic of the group as a whole compared to Toledo.

In the same years that saw the burning of ten conversos, the tribunal of Cuenca sentenced no Lutherans to the flames. This was typical of the period. The tribunals of Llerena, Murcia, and Cordoba demonstrated a similar lack of charred Lutheran corpses.[264] Sara Nalle states that of 2,500 cases before the Cuencan tribunal between 1556 and 1585 the charge of Lutheranism appeared in only seventy-one: "The majority of the defendants were foreigners, and all of the accused were of humble social and intellectual backgrounds. Virtually none of the supposed heretics had very sophisticated knowledge of any Protestant sect."[265] Between 1561 and 1576, of the forty-six 'Lutherans' arrested over half were French. As far as sentencing, only one Lutheran was burned in person, while three others were burned in effigy, all French. Lutheranism was

[264] Ibid., 48.
[265] Nalle, *God in la Mancha*, 63.

obviously a heresy most often associated with foreigners. Considering the tribunal had experience with Lutheran cases in the past it seems that they were capable, at least in their own minds, of handing down sentences to such heretics. However, the fact that they did not in the cases of Rubia and Reyes, suggests that these later manifestations of alumbrados had lost the Lutheran connection attributed to their Toledo precedents though largely missing in Extremadura and Alta Andalucía, as well as Cuenca. This suggests that the fear of an alumbrado-Lutheran connection had receded to the background of inquisitors' minds by the 1590s when seeking out characteristics of these heterodox individuals.

Perhaps the most common misconception among historians about alumbrados is that they were almost all women, alumbradas. However, such a view neglects later cases. In the Toledo outbreak, this was largely true. A number of men faced arrest but the leaders of the movement were nearly all women. However, the cases in Extremadura demonstrated a growing presence of male leadership, often members of the clergy, who suffered severely for their alumbrado teachings. Of the nineteen "Penitenciados por la secta y doctrina de alumbrados" in the 1579 auto de fe in Llerena, ten were men and all but one of these was identified as "sacerdote predicador," "clérigo presbítero," "clérigo presbítero predicador," or "fraile."[266] This trend would continue into New Spain. Of the eight defendants accused by the close of the sixteenth century, half were men. Looking at the total cases from New Spain, the region with the largest number of cases outside the Iberian Peninsula, ranging from 1593 until 1799, of the fifty-three accused thirty-one

[266] *Relacion del auto public de la fee, que se celebro en la inquisicion de Llerena domingo de la trinidad, catorce de junio de mil y quinientos y setenta y nueve años.* AHN.; *Inq.*, legajo 1988, expediente n^{o} 12. Reprinted in Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados,* Vol. I, 494-507.

were men, mostly priests and friars, accounting for 58% of the total.[267] Thus, the cases of Rubia and Reyes, one male and one female, point to the changing gender dynamic of the charge and the fact that not only were men frequently involved in the movement in their right, but that these same men also tended to be members of the clergy.

The ways in which the cases in Cuenca do not mesh with the historiography present reason enough to re-consider alumbradismo with new eyes. However, what is perhaps most important about these cases is their existence outside the standard taxonomy of the heresy. Rubia and Reyes fail to fit into the understood 'outbreak' schema that claims alumbradismo appeared on the Iberian Peninsula in Toledo in the 1520s, Extremadura in the 1570s, in Alta Andalucía in the 1580s and 1590s, and then in Seville in the early decades of the seventeenth century. There are also numerous cases of alumbrados outside of Spain, in New Spain, Santiago de Chile, Peru and even Manila, though these garner significantly less attention from historians as well. Even if the study of alumbradismo is limited to Spain, however, the cases in Cuenca break with the recent historiographical tradition in both period and place, as well as in the very limited number of the accused. These are likely not the only cases that break with this oft-cited taxonomy. There are other cases of alumbradismo in Cuenca throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century that also fail to conform to this time and place taxonomy and which never seem to cross the numerical threshold into an 'outbreak.' It seems almost arrogant**,** however**,** to assume that the tribunal of Cuenca would provide the only exceptions; further research may provide a wealth of such individual cases outside of the 'outbreak' schema. Inquisitors were not so bogged down by precedents to refuse the possibility that alumbrados could occur as individuals, without followings or disciples.

[267] Jaffary, *False Mystics*,177, 10.

Instead, inquisitors believed that such a charge was appropriate for anyone taking on spiritual authority irrelevant of whether or not they belonged to a practicing community of alumbrados. To accommodate such cases the historiography should remain fluid enough to factor in occurrences such as Rubia and Reyes, where individuals were just as likely alumbrados in inquisitors' eyes.

After discussing the various reasons that these cases fail to fit within the current historiography, it is important to emphasize the ways that they were very much a part of the inquisitorial understandings of the heresy and how they did fit logically between both their precedents and what would follow. The designation of both of these defendants as alumbrados fits neatly within inquisitorial conceptualizations of an evolving charge. Alumbradismo was not an accusation that remained dormant and static between each major 'outbreak.' Instead, the cases in Cuenca point to a dynamic understanding that underwent constant scrutiny and adjustment in order to encapsulate changing contemporary concerns. Thus, the cases of Rubia and Reyes act as a moment in a dynamic evolution that can hint at the various ways in which alumbradismo, as a charge, was evolving conterminously with the inquisitorial mind and its ongoing revisions of definitions of heresy to fit the local level.

One of the most interesting differences to note between the cases which preceded and those that followed Rubia and Reyes was the move toward what Alvaro Huerga has called "alumbradismo barroco," or "alumbradismo teatral," in some ways paralleling more orthodox religious trends at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[268] The beginnings of such a shift appear vividly in the two cases at hand. Both perform their

[268] Alvaro Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. IV, *Los alumbrados de Sevilla, (1605-1630)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1988), 8. Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. V, 71.

respective roles with the divine, in the case of Reyes with his stopping of the storm and Rubia with her healing, in front of an audience. Both go out of their way to advertise their particular abilities, whether it be seeking out hidden treasure or knowing the location of a deceased's soul. Rubia's extravagant vision of thousands of virgins in procession with candles perhaps takes on more baroque characteristics than those related to Reyes; however, both cases have performative flashpoints that encapsulate various aspects of these individuals' heterodox practices and beliefs. Such theatrical episodes seem lacking from earlier cases of alumbradismo; however, with Seville, and even many of the cases in the New World, such performances increasingly become characteristic.

In a similar vein, Huerga also addresses the appearance in Seville, though equally true of New Spain, of "mística-ficciónes."[269] A *Memorial* written about the Seville group describes this tendency: "Increíble es la inmensidad de embustes y revelaciones fingidas, locuciones, visiones corpóreas, imaginarias y intelectuales, inteligencias y inspiraciones y instintos divinos que los Alumbrados de Sevilla fingen para acreditar su santidad y doctrina y afianzar sus intereses." The *Memorial* goes on to mention that of these "hay algunas y muchas ilusiones del demonio."[270] In the cases of Rubia she did admit to having visions that she later confessed to be feigned, at least giving the appearance of 'místicia-ficciónes.' It would also seem likely that the same categorization could be used to describe the more theatrical aspects of Reyes case as well, such as the calming of the storm, with his escape and disappearance suggesting deceit. However, neither of these cases resulted in charges of the demonic. Thus, these defendants act as a stepping-stone toward the more performative religiosity demonstrated by later 'outbreaks,' in both Spain

[269] Huerga, *Historia de los Alumbrados*, Vol. IV, 214.
[270] *Memorial de la secta de alumbrados de Sevilla y sus doctrinas y delictos y de la complicidad que en ella se ha descubierto.* AHN, Inq., legajo 2962 s.f. Reprinted in Ibid., 469.

and the colonies, without the inquisition of Cuenca tying such behavior to the influence of the Devil.

Perhaps the longest standing legacy of the Toledo alumbrados was their attempts to co-opt spiritual authority for themselves, often at the expense of the institutionalized Church. If the Toledan alumbrados acted as the template, despite the various manners in which the charge evolved, this aspect survived. The circumventing of traditional Catholic influence began in Toledo, continued into Extremadura, pervaded both of these two cases in Cuenca, and would continue into the majority of the other 'outbreaks' in the empire. Bringing into question traditional religious authority was one of the foundational elements of the heresy that is traceable throughout the charges' nearly three hundred year history. Though the exact means by which this would happen varied, alumbrados, as a whole, tended to see themselves, and present themselves, as mediators between the worldly and divine though often through the utilization of orthodox rituals and ideas in heterodox ways. Rubia used masses and church vigils while Reyes focused on things such as confession and images, in an effort to place themselves as mediators via specific aspects of traditional Catholic practice. However, just as Reyes and Rubia demonstrate this trend so too do they exemplify the spiritual pride and feigned claims of sanctity that came to the fore in many of the trials after Toledo: "Imposters were quintessential borderline entities, and consequently the prosecution of feigned sanctity functioned as an exercise in categorization."[271] However, it is imperative to keep in mind that not all such 'imposters' were classified as alumbrados. The inquisition had a host of other charges by which they could categorize such individuals, such as 'embustera,' 'revelaciones falsas,' 'hipócrita,' and 'ficciones.' However, inquisitors increasingly associated the charges

[271] Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred*, 9.

with those purposefully challenging Church authority and who rather placed spiritual authority in their own hands, whether that be through means of deception or in sincere belief.

Ultimately studying the cases of Juana Rubia and Francisco de los Reyes is more than just a study in local minutia. As members to the long-standing and widespread alumbrado heresy, these cases force the historian to reconsider understandings about both the nature and taxonomy of alumbradismo. Rubia and Reyes can also provide insight into more than just the history of alumbrados. Katie Harris acknowledges, "The historian who focuses his studies on a specific place in time runs the risk of becoming lost in Marc Bloch's 'maze of little local facts'; but it is local facts that inform and shape local identities."[272] In looking to the cases before the tribunal of Cuenca, one tribunal in the massive bureaucracy that was the inquisition, the historian grasps the more local context under which charges of alumbradismo could be propagated. The inquisitors of Cuenca were aware of previous edicts against the alumbrados, but part of the 'local' dimension of these cases was the willingness of these men to apply this term to isolated individuals who did not fit the mold of 1525, or even 1574, neatly. Inquisitors nonetheless saw enough resonance with alumbrado precedents to identify these, despite the failure of either the witnesses or the defendants to identify with such a term. Thus, the inquisitors of Cuenca participated in the evolution of the term by applying it to cases where no one else, so far as we know from the record, was invoking either the charge, similar precedents or the edicts against alumbrados in an effort to define the heterodoxy they located in their communities.

[272] Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, xix.

Additionally important in trying to grasp the 'local' is an understanding of the context from whence it sprang forth. The diocese of Cuenca was a region in turmoil by the end of the sixteenth century, balancing the disasters of a crashing population and economy. In a moment of such scarcity, and likely desperation, people such as Rubia and Reyes emerged in an effort to provide guidance, consolation, and perhaps even some control, within an otherwise seemingly chaotic system. However, such a role was the private domain of the Catholic Church. Despite their integration within their communities, and despite their use of particular Catholic rituals, both Reyes and Rubia were liminal enough to be vulnerable to suspicion. Their attempts to exercise their supposedly divine powers, often for the community at large, led them to be marginal figures claiming spiritual authority. Such behavior made them quintessential alumbrados.

Local understandings of alumbradismo help to tease out the ways that social and cultural history intersect with the inquisition as both a religious and legal institution, but also as an intellectual network that pervaded the entire Spanish Empire. Thus, these two cases, perhaps seemingly trivial on their own, actually lie at the nexus of intellectual, religious, legal, and cultural histories that hold the potential to trace the phenomenon of alumbradismo within a study of the empire writ large. These two cases of alumbrados prove illuminating, not just in their titles, but also in their significance for the study of the boarder themes that they embody.

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