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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Susana Joy Kenyon entitled ""Wolves in Sheep's Clothing": Dissimulation within Sixteenth-Century Castile's Luterano Community." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

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“Wolves in Sheep's Clothing”:
Dissimulation within Sixteenth-Century Castile's *Luterano* Community

A Thesis Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Susana Joy Kenyon

May 2020

Abstract

This thesis examines the role double lives played in sixteenth-century *luteranismo* in the Spanish city of Valladolid. *Luteranismo*'s existence in Valladolid and surrounding Castilian towns was fleeting. The Spanish Inquisition discovered the evangelical network within a couple years of its emergence and began a vigorous campaign to identify all its adherents and completely eradicate heresy. Why did *luteranismo* remain undetected as long as it did in a society closely monitored by the Inquisition? In this thesis, I argue that *luteranismo* owes its existence - albeit a brief one - to the fact that its adherents led double-lives. *Luteranos* in Castile took pains to keep their true beliefs and religious practices secret. They were guarded in their conversations and interactions with outsiders and only openly expressed their beliefs in the privacy and security of their homes. On the other hand, *luteranos* maintained a guise of Catholic orthodoxy by continuing to perform Catholic religious practices in public. The *luterano* community found itself exposed to the Inquisition's scrutiny once some of its members let the façade of Catholic orthodoxy slip and began to imprudently share their heterodox views with outsiders. In 1559, the Inquisition publicly condemned members of the *luterano* community as "wolves in sheep's clothing," an allusion to the double lives they had led in order to survive as a heterodox religious group in sixteenth-century Spain.

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Table 1. Key <i>luterano</i> converts			
<i>Individual</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Locale</i>	<i>Description</i>
Pedro Cazalla	33	Pedrosa	Parish priest who was at the head of the <i>luterano</i> community in Pedrosa. He was the brother of Agustín Cazalla and Francisco de Vivero.
Bachiller Antonio Herrezuelo	45	Toro	Lawyer and <i>luterano</i> convert who was friends with Seso.
Carlos Seso	-	Logroño/Toro	Italian nobleman who moved to Spain and married there; after a trip to Italy c. 1550, he brought evangelical literature to Spain and in time began to share books with friends. He is considered the founder of the <i>luterano</i> network in Castile.
Fray Domingo de Rojas	36	Palencia	Dominican friar and <i>luterano</i> convert who had been school friends with Pedro Cazalla. His father was the Marquis de Poza.
Dr. Agustín Cazalla	-	Valladolid	<i>Luterano</i> convert who was also a preacher for the Spanish king. Pedro Cazalla and Francisco de Vivero were his brothers.
Cristobal Padilla	-	Zamora	<i>Luterano</i> convert who tutored the Marchioness de Alcañices' children for ten years.
Francisco de Vivero	-	Valladolid	<i>Luterano</i> convert and member of the clergy. He was the brother of Pedro Cazalla and Agustín Cazalla.
Isabel de Estrada	35/36	Pedrosa	<i>Luterano</i> convert who had a close friendship with Pedro Cazalla.
Catalina Roman	28	Pedrosa	<i>Luterano</i> convert who was friends with Isabel de Estrada.
Juan Sánchez	-	Pedrosa	Pedro Cazalla's sacristan who left Pedrosa when Pedro criticized him for being too open about his <i>luterano</i> beliefs.

Introduction

In the pre-dawn hours of October 8, 1559, Valladolid's Plaza Mayor was already teeming with activity. Around five or six o'clock, a procession began to emerge from the sinister interior of the Inquisition's prison.¹ The secular authorities headed it, followed by clerics bearing a cross and the Inquisition's standard.² Behind them came the effigy of Juana Sanchez, a heretic who had died after trying to commit suicide in prison.³ A group of about thirty individuals trailed behind, holding candles in their hands and dressed in yellow *sanbenitos*, penitential garments draped over one's head and clothing.⁴ Some had a large red cross painted on their *sanbenito* to demonstrate their repentance and reconciliation to the Church. A few less fortunate ones, in turn, had images of dancing devils and flames painted on their *sanbenitos* as ominous indicators of their fiery fate. A mob of monks, priests, friars, and other inquisitorial assistants hemmed in the penitents, possibly to deter any attempted escapes *en route* to the plaza, but largely to provide spiritual support during the *auto-de-fe*.⁵ More officials made up the rear. Great crowds packed the Plaza Mayor as the procession arrived and the penitents filed onto the stands that had been set up for the *auto-de-fe* in May.⁶ The men condemned as heresiarchs occupied the highest places where spectators could see them best, while penitents accused of slighter offenses sat on the lower stands.⁷ The inquisitors already occupied their spots on a different stand nearby, while

¹ Ernst H.J. Schäfer, "Informes, cartas y actas breves de 1558-1588," in *Protestantismo Español e Inquisición en el Siglo XVI*. Volume III, Part A., trans. Francisco Ruiz de Pablos. (Seville : Editorial MAD, 2014), p. 65 ; hereafter, *PEISXVI*.

² Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 66.

³ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 66.

⁴ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 66.

⁵ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 66.

⁶ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 66.

⁷ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, pp. 66-67.

King Philip himself, prince Don Carlos, princess Dona Juana, and their entire court of nobles and ladies looked on at the spectacle from their seats of honor.⁸

Why so much ado in Valladolid on that fall morning in 1559? Who had sparked such attention from the Spanish Inquisition, monarchy, and populace? During Lent 1558, the Spanish authorities were alarmed to discover that *luteranos* existed in Valladolid and some of the surrounding Castilian towns. In a letter written to the pope in September 1558, the Inquisitor General noted that, out of all the kingdoms in Christendom, Spain had long been the least defiled by Protestant heresy due to the Inquisition's watchfulness.⁹ Yet, in recent months, inquisitors had uncovered circles of *luterano* heresy in Sevilla, the kingdom's most vital port, and, more disturbingly, in Valladolid, home of the Most Catholic King of Spain.¹⁰ About a month after the first arrests of *luteranos* around Valladolid, a frail but hardened Charles V wrote to his daughter Juana, regent of Spain during her brother Philip's absence.¹¹ He advised her to deal harshly with the heretics and withhold mercy from them because they would only return to their errors.¹² Charles spoke from personal experience. In his youth as the new ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, he had condemned Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms only to grant him safe conduct home to Wittenberg. He now expressed remorse at his earlier actions, wishing he had uprooted the source of heresy when it had been in his power to do so before it spread out of control.¹³ He had no intention of committing the same mistake with the *luteranos* in Castile. When their

⁸ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 66.

⁹ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 141.

¹⁰ Henry Kamen, "Excluding the Reformation," in *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, 4th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 103.

¹¹ Kamen, "Excluding the Reformation," pp. 103-104.

¹² Kamen, "Excluding the Reformation" pp. 103-104.

¹³ Kamen, "Excluding the Reformation," p. 103.

existence came to light in 1558, the Inquisition counted on both papal and royal support to demolish heresy to its very foundation.

Heresy's infiltration in Castile was not apparent to the inquisitors and Spanish monarchy before Lent 1558. According to evidence from inquisitorial trial records, the first hints of heresy emerged around 1550, although a *luterano* network only properly appeared in the four years preceding 1558.¹⁴ How did *luteranos* evade detection during the period between 1550 and 1558, and why were they subsequently discovered? I argue that they eluded the Inquisition's notice as *crypto-luteranos* who hid their Protestant leanings by continuing to outwardly live dutiful Catholic lives. *Luteranos'* survival in Catholic Spain became impossible, however, once any of them abandoned this double lifestyle. *Crypto-luteranismo* was thus a community endeavor.

The *luteranos* of Castile were neither the first nor only group of heterodox Christians to lead double lives in a Catholic society. Since the 1540s, various Protestant reformers found it necessary to denounce so-called "Nicodemites," Protestants who hid their religious convictions from their Catholic neighbors.¹⁵ John Calvin proved to be one of Nicodemism's most vocal critics, penning multiple anti-Nicodemite works in Latin and French, including "*De fugiendis impiorum illicitis sacris*" (1536), "*De sacerdotio papale*" (1536), "*Petit traicté monstrant que doit faire un homme fidele*" (1543), "*Excuse à messieurs les Nicodemites*" (1544), "*Quatre sermons*" (1552), and "*Response à un certain holandois*" (1562).¹⁶ These works appeared primarily in the context of Huguenots' increased religious persecution in Catholic France during

¹⁴ *Procesos de Protestantes Españoles en el Siglo XVI*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo. (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1910), p. 96; hereafter, *PPESXVI*.

¹⁵ Nikki Shepardson, "The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Anti-Nicodemite Discourses in France, 1550-1570." *Renaissance and Reformation*, New Series, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Summer 2003): 42; Frans Pieter van Stam, "The Group of Meaux as First Target of Farel and Calvin's Anti-Nicodemism." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, T. 68, No. 2 (2006), p. 253.

¹⁶ Carlos Eire, "Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring 1979): 45.

the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁷ According to Calvin in his “*Petit traicté*,” the Nicodemites among the French Huguenots were those individuals who chose to “simulate” Catholic beliefs in order to avoid suffering.¹⁸ Calvin condemned the practice of dissimulation among French Huguenots and exhorted them to opt for one of two alternative courses: perseverance in the midst of persecution even to the point of martyrdom, or political exile to a place where they might freely exercise their religious beliefs.¹⁹ Calvin had chosen the path of exile for himself when he fled to Geneva from France, and many members of his congregation there were similarly religious refugees. For those Protestants who remained in Catholic France either by choice or obligation, however, dissimulation or persecution were the only available options.

Certain parallels can be drawn between the circumstances faced by French Huguenots and Spanish *luteranos*. Although a significantly smaller and more short-lived movement, *luteranismo* emerged in Spain during the 1550s, at the same time the Huguenots were struggling against Catholic persecution in France. In both instances, a heterodox minority sought to exercise its religious convictions in a predominantly Catholic society that enjoyed the monarchy’s hearty support. Like their Huguenot counterparts in France, *luteranos* in Spain had three possible options in the face of persecution and the threat thereof. While not the predominant solution, some *luteranos* fled Spain to avoid capture and punishment by the Inquisition. The most notable example is a group of approximately a dozen monks who fled from the monastery of St. Isidore near Seville.²⁰ Among these religious refugees were Casiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera,

¹⁷ Van Stam, “The Group of Meaux as First Target of Farel and Calvin’s Anti-Nicodemism,” p. 253; Shepardson, “The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Anti-Nicodemite Discourses in France, 1550-1570,” p. 54.

¹⁸ Shepardson, “The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Anti-Nicodemite Discourses in France, 1550-1570,” p. 48.

¹⁹ Kenneth Woo, “The House of God in Exile: Reassessing John Calvin’s Approach to Nicodemism in Quatre sermons (1552).” *Church History and Religious Culture*, Vol. 95, No. 2/3 (2015): 223.

²⁰ Kamen, “Excluding the Reformation,” p. 102.

who together completed the first full translation of the Bible into Spanish while in exile in northern Europe.²¹ Not all escape attempts were as successful as Reina's and Valera's, however. In 1558, Carlos Seso and Fray Domingo de Rojas tried to flee the country following the Inquisition's discovery of the Valladolid *luteranos*.²² Their escape floundered when they were detained in Navarre before crossing into France and imprisoned by the Inquisition.²³ About the same time, Juan Sánchez attempted to flee to Germany, but his flight was also cut short before he was able to reach his final destination.²⁴ Nevertheless, the majority of *luteranos* stayed in Spain instead of becoming religious exiles. Since the Spanish Inquisition and monarchy made it a priority to suppress any form of heterodoxy, open expression of *luterano* beliefs was an impractical option. In order to avoid the Inquisition's scrutiny and discipline, including conceivably martyrdom, most *luteranos* in the region surrounding Valladolid turned to the only remaining possibility – dissimulation. Like the Huguenots Calvin criticized in his anti-Nicodemite works, the Valladolid *luteranos* found it was necessary to adopt double lives to cope with the pressures of a dominant Catholic society.

Despite their misleading name, the *luteranos* of Valladolid and Castile were not Lutheran in an absolute sense. Mention in the trial records of works by Martin Luther, such as *On the Freedom of a Christian*, demonstrate that Luther did play a role in *luteranos*' doctrinal formation. Their mention alongside numerous works by John Calvin and other reformers,

²¹ Kamen, "Excluding the Reformation," p. 114.

²² Frances Luttikhuizen. *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain: A Much Ignored Side of Spanish History*. (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), p. 128.

²³ Luttikhuizen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain*, p. 128.

²⁴ « Le Premier Grand Auto-da-fe de Valladolid : Contre les Protestants d'Espagne jour de la Trinité, 21 Mai 1559. » *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (1852-1865), Vol. 11, No. 9-10 (Sep - Oct 1862) : p. 342.

however, suggests that Luther was neither the sole nor primary influence on the heretics in Castile. Statements gathered from the *luteranos*' testimonies before the Inquisition also seem to indicate certain adherence to Calvinistic doctrines such as predestination. For these reasons, the *luteranos* of Valladolid cannot be termed either Lutherans or Calvinists in a strict sense. Their doctrinal confessions as well as the books at their disposal instead suggest that they were a hybrid evangelical sect that drew on many and sometimes contradictory reform movements. For the purposes of this paper, the term "evangelical" best describes the Valladolid *luteranos*' confessional identity due to their emphasis on Scripture. Despite the fact that the Valladolid evangelicals were a religious community of their own, however, the Spanish crown and Inquisition persistently associated them with "Luther and his henchmen" and categorized them as Lutheran heretics.²⁵ The Valladolid *luteranos* found it necessary to lead double lives due to this imagined participation in the German Lutheran reformation. Early modern Iberian society showed little tolerance to those outside the Catholic Church. Consequently, the *luteranos* continued to live outwardly Catholic lives to the extent possible even as they inwardly and privately embraced Protestant beliefs and practices.

The source basis for this thesis is the two-hundred-page trial record detailing Pedro Cazalla's process before the Spanish Inquisition between April 1558 and October 1559. According to his first audience in Valladolid, Pedro was a thirty-three-year-old parish priest in the small town of Pedrosa.²⁶ He had grown up in Valladolid, however, where his mother Leonor de Vivero and some of his nine siblings still lived.²⁷ Pedro's trial record is written in sixteenth-century Spanish and seems to be a compilation of multiple documents copied into a single

²⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 197.

²⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 95.

²⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 95.

dossier after the fact. The various denunciations made against Pedro, extracts from other defendants' testimonies, Pedro's own confessions, and the inquisitors' judgments comprise the whole. A rich yet by its nature also perplexing source, the trial record provides a window into the life and interrogation of Pedro Cazalla and, by extension, the *luterano* movement in sixteenth-century Castile. Despite the existence of inquisitorial sources, the historiography on the Protestant Reformation in Spain is limited. Two of the earliest works on the subject were published during the 1820s. In 1823, the Spanish historian Juan Antonio Llorente published *A Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain*, while the Scottish historian Thomas M'Crie wrote *Reformation in Spain* a few years later in 1829.²⁸ Even though writing on the Inquisition from a Spanish perspective, Llorente is surprisingly sympathetic to the Valladolid *luteranos* by acknowledging the Inquisition's manipulation of trial procedures to trap their victims.²⁹ Whereas Llorente studied the Spanish Reformation as part of the broader history of the Spanish Inquisition, M'Crie's primary focus is the rise and fall of the Spanish Reformation. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, another Spanish historian, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, wrote on the Spanish Reformation from a decisively Catholic perspective in his eight-volume work *A History of the Spanish Heterodox*.³⁰

Arthur Gordon Kinder led the most recent wave of scholarship on the Spanish Reformation during the 1990s. He published most of his research in article format instead of a complete monograph, although one of his valuable contributions was a bibliography published in

²⁸ Juan Antonio Llorente. *A Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain [1823]*. Williamstown, M.A.: The John Lilburne Company, 1967; Thomas M'Crie. *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century [1829]*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1971.

²⁹ Juan Antonio Llorente. *A Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain [1823]*. (Williamstown, M.A.: The John Lilburne Company, 1967): pp. 199-200, 202, 208, 417.

³⁰ *Procesos de Protestantes Españoles en el Siglo XVI*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo. Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1910.

1983 on sixteenth-century Spanish Protestants and reformers.³¹ His articles deal primarily with Spanish Protestant exiles in northern Europe as well as foreigners tried in Spain by the Inquisition. The most recent monograph written exclusively on the topic of the Spanish Reformation is Frances Luttikhuisen's *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Much Ignored Side of Spanish History*, published in 2016.³² In her book, Luttikhuisen provides a survey of the Spanish Reformation with the aim of dismantling the assumption that it was short-lived.³³ There have also been recent scholarly contributions from the Spanish-speaking world. One such example is *La Reforma en España: Origen, naturaleza y creencias* by Manuel Díaz Pineda.³⁴ This work too is primarily an overview of the relevant historiography, ideology, and various communities of Spanish Protestants. As far as can be ascertained, no in-depth scholarly research has made Pedro Cazalla and the Castile *luterano* community its focal point.

In contrast, the historiography of the Reformation in sixteenth-century England, France, Germany, and Switzerland is abundant. Among the reformers, John Calvin stands out as a prominent figure. Although much has been written by historians about Calvin, it is his anti-Nicodemism that is of relevance to the present study. The label “Nicodemite” was given to Protestants, normally French Huguenots, who chose to dissimulate rather than openly live out their faith in a hostile Catholic environment. The term itself originally refers to Nicodemus, a Jewish Pharisee, who according to John's gospel came to visit Jesus secretly at night to avoid persecution by fellow religious leaders. As Frans Pieter van Stam points out in his article “The

³¹ Gordon A. Kinder. *Spanish Protestants and Reformers in the Sixteenth Century: a bibliography*. London: Grant & Cutler, 1983.

³² Frances Luttikhuisen. *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain: A Much Ignored Side of Spanish History*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016.

³³ Luttikhuisen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain*, p. 15.

³⁴ Manuel Díaz Pineda. *La Reforma en España (Siglos XVI-XVIII): origen, naturaleza, creencias*. Barcelona: Editorial CLIE, 2017.

Group of Meaux as First Target of Farel and Calvin’s Anti-Nicodemism,” Calvin had a notoriously stringent stance against dissimulation and strongly believed that Protestants should make a clean break from the Catholic Church.³⁵ In his book *War Against the Idols*, Carlos Eire argues that Calvin’s uncompromising stance against Roman Catholicism and Nicodemism paved the way for political rebellion among French Protestants later on.³⁶ In a separate article titled “Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal,” Eire also claims that the label “Nicodemite” was applicable to other dissimulating groups besides the French Huguenots.³⁷ Perez Zagorin shares this perspective since his book *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* includes separate chapters on Nicodemism in France, Italy, and England.³⁸ In his article “The House of God in Exile,” Kenneth Woo portrays a more sympathetic image of Calvin’s anti-Nicodemism as a call for political exile that mirrors the believer’s spiritual exile during his life on earth.³⁹ Although each of these works ignores Spain, the scholarship on Calvin’s anti-Nicodemism provides a valuable lens through which to examine the *luteranismo* movement in Castile.

It is inconceivable to study the Reformation in Spain without also considering the historiography of the Inquisition. As Werner Thomas explains in “The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition, 1520-1648,” the Spanish Inquisition underwent significant transformations over the course of its existence.⁴⁰ Initially created in 1478 to investigate and punish crypto-Jews,

³⁵ Frans Pieter Van Stam. “The Group of Meaux as First Target of Farel and Calvin’s Anti-Nicodemism.” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, T. 68, No. 2 (2006): 253-275.

³⁶ Carlos Eire, “Calvin against the Nicodemites,” In *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship From Erasmus to Calvin*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): pp. 274-275.

³⁷ Eire, “Calvin and Nicodemism: A Reappraisal,” p. 69.

³⁸ Perez Zagorin. *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

³⁹ Kenneth Woo. “The House of God in Exile: Reassessing John Calvin’s Approach to Nicodemism in Quatre sermons (1552).” *Church History and Religious Culture*, Vol. 95, No. 2/3 (2015): 222-244.

⁴⁰ Werner Thomas, “The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition, 1520-1648.” In *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

also known as *conversos* or *marranos*, the Inquisition subsequently turned its attention to *alumbrados* and Erasmians between 1520 and 1540.⁴¹ Muslim converts, or *moriscos*, did not become their target until the 1560s.⁴² Recent monographs offer a glimpse at individual cases tried by the Spanish Inquisition. For example, in *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Richard L. Kagan examines the case of a young woman whose prophetic dreams brought her under the Inquisition's scrutiny in 1590.⁴³ *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, a volume edited by Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer, offers insight into the various charges that could bring individuals before the Inquisition.⁴⁴ Patrick J. O'Banion follows a similar approach in his book *This Happened in My Presence: Moriscos, Old Christians, and the Spanish Inquisition in the Town of Deza, 1569-1611*.⁴⁵ These monographs suggest an interest among scholars of early modern Iberia in writing microhistories on inquisitorial cases as modelled by Carlo Ginzburg in *The Cheese and the Worms*.⁴⁶

While this thesis does not pretend to present a microhistory of the *luterano* movement in Castile nor even of Pedro Cazalla's life, its intention is to provide a closer examination of *luteranismo*'s survival and eventual demise in sixteenth-century Catholic Spain. In a similar manner to the French Nicodemites Calvin rebuked, the *luteranos* in Castile chose to conceal their heterodox beliefs through continued participation in the mass and other Catholic practices. The

⁴¹ Werner Thomas, "The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition, 1520-1648." In *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 222.

⁴² Thomas, "The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition," p. 224.

⁴³ Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.

⁴⁴ Richard L. Kagan & Abigail Dyer, ed. *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews & Other Heretics*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

⁴⁵ Patrick J. O'Banion, Ed. and Trans. *This Happened in My Presence: Moriscos, Old Christians, and The Spanish Inquisition in the Town of Deza, 1569-1611*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

⁴⁶ Carlo Ginzburg. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Trans. John and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

relative protection afforded by dissimulation was short-lived, however. Without the entire community's commitment to a double lifestyle, however, the Inquisition caught word of their heterodox views and took swift action to suppress the movement, culminating in the Valladolid *autos-de-fe* of 1559. In Catholic Spain, dissimulation proved to be an effective strategy for survival only if the entire community engaged in it.

Chapter 1: Crypto-luteranismo

The Valladolid *luteranos* had every reason to try to keep their heterodox religious life a secret. Over the course of the previous decades, the Spanish monarchy had been steadily forging a homogenous Catholic kingdom. In 1478, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella established the Spanish Inquisition to prosecute relapsed *conversos*, Jewish converts to Catholicism. In 1492, the Catholic monarchs conquered Granada, the last standing Islamic kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula, and expelled all Jews who refused to convert. *Alumbrado* mystics and Erasmians became the Inquisition's next target during the 1520s and 1530s due to their unconventional spirituality and humanist teachings.⁴⁷ In a similar spirit as their ancestors, Ferdinand and Isabella's grandson Charles V and Charles' son Philip II continued to foster Spain's Catholic homogenization into the mid-sixteenth century. *Luteranismo*'s unorthodox doctrines and religious practices posed a threat to their agenda.

Pedro Cazalla's trial records indicate that most of the evangelicals in Valladolid and the surrounding towns were aware their beliefs and practices did not conform with established Catholic orthodoxy and took pains to conceal them. In an audience before the Inquisition, Bachiller Antonio de Herrezuelo, a leading *luterano* from the town of Toro, confessed that he believed that purgatory did not exist.⁴⁸ He maintained, however, that he had not shared this doctrine with others "because he [knew] how scandalous it [was], since the whole Roman church is founded on it."⁴⁹ Belief "in the matter concerning purgatory" and "in the matter concerning justification [by faith alone]" appear in the trial records as defining doctrines of *luteranismo*, both of which were offensive to the Roman Catholic church. Herrezuelo was well aware that

⁴⁴ Thomas, "The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition," p. 222.

⁴⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 89.

⁴⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 89.

many Catholic doctrines and traditions depended on belief in purgatory, so a rejection of purgatory implied an assault on the church. Similarly, belief in justification by faith alone represented a threat to ecclesiastical authority because the Council of Trent had anathematized it in 1547. When Herrezuelo admitted that he had discussed the topic of justification with others, the inquisitors asked him whether he had read Trent's decision on justification, to which he answered yes.⁵⁰ The inquisitors next asked him whether they had discussed justification as determined by the Council of Trent, but Herrezuelo shrewdly replied that he was not a theologian and could not answer that question with particulars.⁵¹ Both before and after his imprisonment by the Inquisition, Herrezuelo seemed to believe that the best strategy for avoiding trouble was silence. By keeping quiet, one avoided provoking scandal among faithful Catholics who might feel convicted to denounce heretical opinions. Once captured, silence was still a useful strategy because it prevented inquisitors from gathering additional incriminating evidence.

Sometimes the Castilian *luteranos* found it necessary to warn their co-religionists against proselytization. Isabel de Estrada, a *luterana* from Pedrosa, recounted in her testimony that "Herrezuelo and Pedro de Cazalla told everyone to be quiet and to hold [their beliefs] secret so that they would not be captured by the Holy Inquisition."⁵² Relations between Pedro and his sacristan Juan Sánchez seem to have grown particularly tense on account of this matter. Isabel had persuaded Pedro to tell Juan that purgatory did not exist, an opinion which Juan apparently picked up with enthusiasm since he soon began to frequently discuss it.⁵³ Pedro, annoyed at his sacristan's imprudence, grumbled to Isabel, "God forgive you that you made me talk to Juan Sánchez because he makes himself out to be a great preacher, because since I told him there is no

⁵⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 89.

⁵¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 89.

⁵² *PPESXVI*, p. 32.

⁵³ *PPESXVI*, p. 33.

purgatory, he has made himself a preacher saying there is no purgatory.”⁵⁴ Pedro’s harsh criticism eventually became unbearable for Sánchez, who left Pedro’s household and service.⁵⁵ Pedro, according to his own testimony before the Inquisition, was gladdened by Sánchez’s departure, presumably because there had been real friction between the two men, although he may also have taken advantage of the incident to show the inquisitors that he had tried to curb heretical preaching.

Juan Sánchez made at least one disciple before leaving Pedrosa, however. Cristobal Padilla, tutor to the Marchioness de Alcañices’ children, later recounted before the Inquisition that he had visited a church in Pedrosa, where he had heard Juan Sánchez talk about purgatory.⁵⁶ Padilla believed Sánchez’s claim that purgatory was an eleventh-century Catholic invention, and he soon also became a passionate proponent of *luterano* beliefs.⁵⁷ Both Pedro Cazalla and Antonio Herrezuelo expressed concern over Padilla’s audacious proselytization. Pedro later claimed that he had begged him to stop, and Herrezuelo harshly reprimanded Padilla for talking about such matters since “he was an unlettered man and did not understand what he was saying correctly and what he was saying incorrectly.”⁵⁸ Padilla’s testimony before the Inquisition confirms the rebukes he received from his co-religionists. He stated that Pedro and Agustín Cazalla told him to be quiet since the teachings they held were “not for everyone.”⁵⁹ Although Padilla claimed to have believed that *luteranismo* was a “more perfect doctrine” not meant for everyone, he continued to zealously share this “secret” with others.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 33.

⁵⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 97.

⁵⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 44, 47.

⁵⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 48.

⁵⁸ *PPESXVI*, pp. 41, 87, 97.

⁵⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 46.

⁶⁰ *PPESXVI*, pp. 46-47.

As the evangelical network spread across Castile, *luteranos* had to worry about guarding other forms of communication besides personal interactions. The towns of Pedrosa, Toro, Palencia, and Zamora each lay between fifty and a hundred kilometers from Valladolid, although the two farthest locations – Palencia and Zamora – lay at a distance of approximately one hundred twenty-five kilometers from each other. Travel would have taken days, limiting visits between *luteranos* in the different towns. Communication between *luteranos* thus often took place via letters. The trial record provides strong evidence of steady correspondence between Pedro Cazalla, Antonio Herrezuelo, Cristobal Padilla, Carlos Seso, and Agustín Cazalla.⁶¹ At least some of these letters dealt with faith matters. On one occasion, Pedro sent a letter to his brother Agustín in Valladolid with Padilla as the messenger and in the letter informed Agustín that it was safe to discuss their beliefs with Padilla.⁶² Presumably, however, most letters were not carried by personal friends and fellow *luteranos*. It was therefore wise to practice discretion in writing, since it was impossible to know into whose hands one’s letter might fall along the way or even after delivery. In his confession of October 3, 1558, Pedro admits that he, Seso, Herrezuelo, and Agustín only tacitly discussed their beliefs in their correspondence with one another.⁶³ Some individuals seemed not to understand the need to be discrete in writing. For example, in his testimony Pedro mentions correspondence he received from María de Miranda and Margarita de Sant Esteban, nuns at the convent of Belén in Valladolid.⁶⁴ Pedro refused to respond, except for four lines he once wrote back to María.⁶⁵ Instead, he sent them word to stop sending him letters since “he did not want to write to them.”⁶⁶ Although additional reasons are

⁶¹ *PPESXVI*, pp. 31, 45, 47, 87, 135.

⁶² *PPESXVI*, p. 47.

⁶³ *PPESXVI*, p. 135.

⁶⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 135.

⁶⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 135.

⁶⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 135.

entirely possible, Pedro may have felt unease about corresponding on sensitive topics with individuals outside his intimate circle and thus individuals whom he could not fully rely on. Letter-writing among *luteranos* thus demanded much tact and care.

As a result, discussions about spiritual matters were best carried out in person rather than in writing. Yet, *luteranos* also had to be guarded in their face-to-face interactions if outsiders were present. On one occasion, Padilla came to Pedrosa in order to meet Pedro, and Pedro took him to Isabel's house to meet her and Catalina Roman, another *luterana*.⁶⁷ They were unable to talk about any of their shared beliefs during the visit, however, since Isabel's mother was present.⁶⁸ It was only at the end of the visit when they had walked to the door that the small group felt it safe to let their guard down and openly rejoice in their common beliefs.⁶⁹ On a different occasion, Pedro made Isabel swear not to breathe a word about their religious convictions in the presence of his brother Agustín, since at that time he still found them scandalous.⁷⁰ Daily conversation among Castilian *luteranos* were thus altered by the presence of outsiders who might not approve of their unorthodox views.

It was nevertheless possible to discuss *luterano* doctrines in regular conversations through creative means. The Castile evangelicals that appeared before the Inquisition sometimes admitted to having discussed their beliefs with others but added that they had talked about them in such a furtive manner that only another *luterano* would have detected their heterodox undertones.⁷¹ Fray Domingo de Rojas, a friend of Pedro's, told the inquisitors that he once talked in front of a mixed group in Pedrosa "about indifferent matters about justification, in such a

⁶⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

⁶⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

⁶⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 41.

⁷⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 33.

⁷¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 185.

manner that those who did not understand the source of my language would not be able to understand me.”⁷² Rojas likewise mentioned in his confession that Pedro had told him that Doctor Egidio, Doctor Constantino, and Doctor Vargas, *luterano* leaders in Seville, used code names to discuss the Protestant reformers in front of others without fear of incrimination.⁷³ They called Luther “the doctor” since he had held a doctorate in theology and Philip Melanchthon “the black” as an allusion to his last name.⁷⁴ These tactics helped Spanish *luteranos* communicate their heterodox opinions more freely with one another while still maintaining a shroud of secrecy.

On certain occasions, however, *luteranos* chose to clearly verbalize their beliefs, but this only occurred with trusted individuals, normally family members, in a one-on-one context. Pedro Cazalla came from a family of ten children.⁷⁵ His mother Leonor de Vivero, a widow, lived in Valladolid, where some of Pedro’s other siblings continued to live as well.⁷⁶ Leonor and her daughter Beatriz de Vivero seemed to share Pedro’s evangelical leanings, although the extent of Leonor’s understanding is questionable since she was reportedly deaf.⁷⁷ One night alone in the safe haven of Leonor’s home, Beatriz decided to share her views on “the sincere soul” with her brother Francisco de Vivero.⁷⁸ Alarmed to hear his sister deny the existence of purgatory and embrace the doctrine justification by faith alone, Francisco protested that that “she should not say that” because she had always been a “good Christian.”⁷⁹ He continued to mull over Beatriz’s

⁷² *PPESXVI*, p. 18.

⁷³ *PPESXVI*, p. 24.

⁷⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 24.

⁷⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 95.

⁷⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 121,

⁷⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 20, 67, 121.

⁷⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 67.

⁷⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 67.

words for the next few days until Pedro arrived from Pedrosa for a visit.⁸⁰ Francisco pulled him aside into his room and related everything that had occurred between himself and Beatriz.⁸¹ Pedro, characteristically cautious, replied that their sister should never have addressed that topic with him and that he would rebuke her for it.⁸² A few days later as Francisco and Pedro made the return journey to Pedrosa, however, Francisco brought the matter up again and pressed Pedro to explain it to him “since they were brothers.”⁸³ His previous wariness cast aside, Pedro capitulated and laid out his views on justification, purgatory, bulls, indulgences, and the sacraments.⁸⁴ Although initially still skeptical, within a couple days of his arrival in Pedrosa, Francisco had adopted his brother’s views.⁸⁵ One of the first individuals to learn about Francisco’s conversion was Juana de Silva, his brother Juan de Vivero’s wife. She came into the room where he was staying in Pedro’s house, concerned he was unwell.⁸⁶ While they were alone in the room, Francisco disclosed his new beliefs regarding justification and purgatory to her.⁸⁷ Francisco’s revelation was such an unexpected shock, however, that Juana fled the room in tears believing he had gone crazy.⁸⁸

This episode demonstrates how *luteranos*’ first confidants were often trusted family members. These conversations did not always go as planned, as in the case of Juana de Silva, but the privacy in which they took place and the strong bonds tying both parties together meant they were also unlikely to result in denunciation to the Inquisition. For this reason, *luteranos*’ surest

⁸⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 67.

⁸¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 67.

⁸² *PPESXVI*, p. 68.

⁸³ *PPESXVI*, p. 68.

⁸⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 68.

⁸⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 68.

⁸⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 35.

⁸⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 35.

⁸⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 35.

strategy for spreading their beliefs was to initiate private conversations with close family members. Consequently, we often see multiple members from the same families within the Valladolid *luterano* network, the Cazalla family being the prime example. In addition to their mother Leonor de Vivero, five of the Cazalla siblings – Pedro, Agustín, Francisco, Juan, and Beatriz – professed *luterano* beliefs, albeit to varying degrees. Incriminating secrets such as heterodox beliefs could be better kept within family circles where all members had an interest in preserving the family's fortune, reputation, and well-being.

Luteranos were most at ease to freely share their doctrinal views when they were solely in the company of other *luteranos*. To this end, they gathered in private homes throughout Castile. In Valladolid, Leonor de Vivero's home seems to have been the focal point of *luterano* activity. Agustín de Cazalla was a frequent guest at his mother's house, where he would discuss *luterano* doctrines with individual co-religionists, such as Fray Domingo de Rojas, or teach to a small group.⁸⁹ The trial records also indicate that Pedro, Bachiller Antonio de Herrezuelo, and Doctor Egidio met on at least one occasion at Carlos Seso's house in Toro and discussed their beliefs.⁹⁰ Herrezuelo also lived in Toro, and the testimony of his wife Leonor de Cisneros strongly suggests that their home often served as the site of private conversations between Herrezuelo, Seso, and Pedro.⁹¹ Leonor recalled before the inquisitors that her husband and his friends "never kept it from her when they talked about these things."⁹² According to Leonor, during these visits Seso expounded doctrine while Herrezuelo then examined what his books said on the matter.⁹³

⁸⁹ *PPESXVI*, pp. 19, 20, 23.

⁹⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 91.

⁹¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 61.

⁹² *PPESXVI*, p. 61.

⁹³ *PPESXVI*, p. 62.

The *luteranos* in Pedrosa also met together to discuss their beliefs, occasionally over a meal. The core group in Pedrosa consisted of Pedro, his brother Juan de Vivero, his brother's wife Juana de Silva, and two women named Isabel de Estrada and Catalina Roman. On one occasion, Juan and Juana invited the others to a meal at their home.⁹⁴ This occasion marked the first gathering where the five of them openly acknowledged their heterodox views to each other.⁹⁵ The regular meeting place in Pedrosa, however, was Pedro's parish house. The meetings at Pedro's house were often characterized by a shared meal but also included theological conversations and readings. Isabel de Estrada recalled before the inquisitors that a group of people at Pedro's house had discussed how to properly receive the eucharist.⁹⁶ Visiting Pedro in his home on a couple different occasions, Cristobal Padilla had similar conversations with him regarding the mass.⁹⁷ Isabel noted in her testimony that the Pedrosa *luteranos* had gathered on multiple occasions at Pedro's house and that Pedro had read to them "a book, she did not remember whose nor by whom it was, and that it seemed to her to be sheets bound in parchment."⁹⁸ Pedro's house was thus regularly frequented by other *luteranos* wishing to further explore their beliefs in a safe environment.

Pedro's house was also a favorite among *luteranos* visiting Pedrosa from out of town. Visitors would spend the night at Pedro's house, often for several days. Regular guests included Fray Domingo de Rojas; Pedro's brothers Francisco de Vivero and Agustín Cazalla; Bachiller Antonio de Herrezuelo; Cristobal Padilla; and Carlos Seso, the group's founder.⁹⁹ Visits from out of town sparked a flurry of excitement within the local *luterano* community in Pedrosa. As

⁹⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 36.

⁹⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 36.

⁹⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 41.

⁹⁷ *PPESXVI*, pp. 48-49.

⁹⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 76.

⁹⁹ *PPESXVI*, pp. 17, 31, 39, 44.

previously noted, when Padilla first visited Pedrosa to make Pedro's acquaintance, Pedro took him to meet Isabel de Estrada and Catalina Roman.¹⁰⁰ On a different occasion, Isabel and Catalina were summoned in the dead of night to go to Pedro's house because Carlos Seso and Bachiller Herrezuelo had arrived on a visit.¹⁰¹ Anton Dominguez and Juan Sanchez, other *luteranos* living in Pedrosa, were also present for the nighttime meeting.¹⁰² A similar group – comprised of Pedro, Isabel, Catalina, Anton Dominguez, Juan Sanchez, and Daniel de la Cuadra – assembled at Pedro's house on the occasion of another visit by Herrezuelo and his wife Leonor de Cisneros.¹⁰³ In her testimony, Isabel recalled that everyone was rejoicing because they all shared the same views on justification and purgatory.¹⁰⁴ This special sense of spiritual community inspired each of the individuals gathered to confide in the rest how they had come to accept *luterano* teachings, something that would have been impossibly risky in any other setting.¹⁰⁵ At Pedro's house among other professing *luteranos*, however, adherents of evangelical doctrine were safe to momentarily let down their guard and bare their innermost convictions, secrets, and thoughts.

Pedro's house was also a haven where *luteranos* clandestinely practiced their heterodox beliefs. During Lent 1558, Fray Domingo de Rojas visited Pedrosa and spent five or six days as a guest at Pedro's house.¹⁰⁶ He announced Sunday night before dinner that he wished to administer communion "like Christ [did] to his disciples."¹⁰⁷ Those present- Pedro, Isabel, Catalina, Juan de Vivero, Juana de Silva, Francisco de Vivero, and Herrezuelo- gathered in an upstairs room of the

¹⁰⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

¹⁰¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 39.

¹⁰² *PPESXVI*, p. 39.

¹⁰³ *PPESXVI*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

house, where a table without altar cloths had been set with wine and bread.¹⁰⁸ Domingo consecrated the elements with the same words Christ had said at the Last Supper.¹⁰⁹ He then, contrary to Roman Catholic practice, administered both elements to each of the individuals present.¹¹⁰ Monday morning before breakfast, Domingo decided to once again administer communion before departing from Pedrosa that same morning.¹¹¹ On this occasion, Pedro, Isabel, Catalina, Juan de Vivero, Juana de Silva, and a carpenter named Anton Dominguez were present and followed Domingo upstairs.¹¹² A slight dilemma arose, however, when Anton pointed out that Isabel's sister Ana de Estrada was downstairs and intended to join them, although she did not espouse their beliefs.¹¹³ Pedro addressed the crisis by instructing Anton to let her come up anyways "because she is quiet."¹¹⁴ After delivering a sermon on the Last Supper, Domingo once again blessed the bread and gave it to the others, saying, "this is truly my body – receive it."¹¹⁵ He then blessed the wine and gave it to them to drink, saying, "this is truly my blood – receive it."¹¹⁶ Each of the individuals knelt to receive both elements, after which they spread out to different corners of the room crying.¹¹⁷

This scene is perhaps one of the most remarkable and most described moments narrated in the trial records. Witness after witness refers to it in their testimonies before the Inquisition, suggesting that the Pedrosa *luteranos* attributed it special significance. It was, in fact, a unique event in the *luterano* community's existence that demonstrates the extent to which *luteranos*

¹⁰⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 27, 71, 92, 131.

¹⁰⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 71.

¹¹⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 71.

¹¹¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

¹¹² *PPESXVI*, p. 38, 50, 65, 73-74, 85, 131.

¹¹³ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

¹¹⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

¹¹⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

¹¹⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

¹¹⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

went to hide their heterodoxy from the Catholic authorities. While the Church restricted the element of the wine to clergymen only, Protestants demanded the eucharist be served to clergy and laity alike *sub utraque specie*, that is, under both elements of the bread and wine. Thus, while Fray Domingo's addition of the word "truly" to the statements "this is my blood" and "this is my body" suggests he continued to believe in the Real Presence, he broke with Catholic tradition by offering both elements of the sacrament to lay individuals. Since the Inquisition would have found communion patterned after Lutheran practices in Germany problematic, Domingo and his co-religionists were shrewd to do so clandestinely.¹¹⁸ Limiting admission to *luteranos* and individuals such as Ana de Estrada who were unlikely to denounce them was part of their secrecy strategy. Yet, once communion ended, emotions faded, and Domingo had departed, reality began to sink back into the minds of the individuals gathered in the upper room. Catalina, visibly disturbed, turned to Isabel and said, "Do you know what this looks like to me? Like when Christ did the supper with his disciples and he went to pray, and after the prayer they seized him and all the disciples were scandalized."¹¹⁹ In response, Isabel said, "You will see how this will end," implying that just as Jesus was seized after the Last Supper, their good fortune might run out and they also might be seized.¹²⁰ Perhaps the *luteranos* in Valladolid and the surrounding region were beginning to realize that it was not possible to keep their heterodox beliefs and practices secret forever after all.

¹¹⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 71.

¹¹⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

¹²⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 38.

Chapter 2: Catholic Orthopraxy

In the meantime, the *luteranos* persevered in covering their unorthodox beliefs and practices with a mask of Catholic orthopraxy. Throughout the course of their existence, the *luterano* network in Valladolid, Pedrosa, Toro, and the other Castilian towns continued functioning within a fully Catholic Spanish environment. Unlike Protestants in other European regions, they did not publicly announce their separation from the Roman Catholic Church nor noticeably abandon their Catholic lifestyle. The reason for this was that the *luteranos* recognized, as previously mentioned, that their belief in justification by faith alone and their denial of purgatory would produce scandal if disclosed. Denunciation to the Inquisition was closely associated with scandal, as Pedro noted in his refutation of an accusation made against him. He told the inquisitors, “Neither do I confess what [the witness] says against me, because I do not remember having ever quieted any person that was scandalized and desirous of denouncing another.”¹²¹ He went on, saying that the witness contradicted herself “because [she] first says that [she] believed there is no purgatory and then says that she wanted to denounce the person that had taught her it, and that she had been scandalized; if she believed [the *luterano* doctrine regarding purgatory], why was she scandalized?”¹²² Although the veracity of Pedro’s remarks is questionable, they do reveal that *luteranos* recognized scandal as a precursor to denunciation. Not all individuals scandalized by the *luteranos* reported them to the Inquisition, but all denunciations were triggered by scandal. Consequently, *luteranos* took great pains to curtail scandal. As previously noted, they partly accomplished this aim by keeping their true beliefs as secret as possible.

¹²¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 167.

¹²² *PPESXVI*, p. 167.

However, another major strategy the *luteranos* employed to evade scandal was dissimulation as devout Catholics. Since Catholic religious life revolves around the mass, the Valladolid *luteranos* continued attending mass to avoid rousing suspicions of heresy. In her testimony, Herrezuelo's wife Leonor de Cisneros claimed that "[she] and the aforementioned Bachiller Herrezuelo confessed themselves to the priest whenever they were to receive communion."¹²³ Although Catholic tradition only demands Catholics receive communion once a year, Leonor made it clear that she and her husband received it "many times" because, as Herrezuelo allegedly said, "receiving communion was very good."¹²⁴ Whether or not the inquisitors believed Leonor's claims is uncertain, but it is evident that Leonor hoped her professed adherence to Catholic religious practices would sway the inquisitors.

Other accounts from the trial records also suggest that the *luteranos* continued to regularly attend mass, if not also to receive communion and go to confession. On the same morning Francisco de Vivero admitted to his sister-in-law Juana de Silva that he had adopted *luterano* beliefs, Isabel de Estrada asked Juana de Silva if she wanted to accompany her to mass.¹²⁵ This is a curious incident, considering that Isabel was a dedicated member of the *luterano* community in Pedrosa by this point. Whether she attended mass sincerely or simply out of duty and necessity, it is impossible to know for sure. The casualness with which the comment appears in her testimony, however, suggests that attending mass might have been a regular part of Isabel's life as a *luterana*. This assumption is furthermore plausible because Catalina Roman in her testimony states that Isabel talked to her about justification by faith on many occasions over the course of three years, and that "these conversations occurred many times in the church

¹²³ *PPESXVI*, p. 61.

¹²⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 61.

¹²⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 35.

of Santa Cruz in Pedrosa, or on the way there.”¹²⁶ It seems likely, therefore, that Isabel, like Catalina who was still Catholic at the time, frequented her local parish church for mass even after embracing *luterano* beliefs such as justification by faith.

The *luterano* community included clergymen who found it necessary to carry on with their religious duties despite their skepticism regarding the Catholic Church’s sacraments. Pedro Cazalla served as parish priest at the church of Santa Cruz in Pedrosa, and his brothers Francisco de Vivero and Agustín Cazalla were similarly clergymen.¹²⁷ Fray Domingo de Rojas was a Dominican friar.¹²⁸ Pedro’s trial record provides evidence that at least Domingo, Francisco, and Pedro continued offering mass, although it is also highly probable that Agustín did as well. Domingo declared before the Inquisition that, after learning *luterano* doctrines from Pedro, Francisco, Herrezuelo, and Sesó, “I did not stop saying mass nor did I say it out of compliance, nor did I stop believing that I consecrated.”¹²⁹ He confessed, however, that he had stopped saying *requiem* masses for the dead and that he said the commemoration of the dead for those who would die rather than for the dead.¹³⁰ He also determined to focus on imitating the saints rather than praying to them during the invocation of the saints.¹³¹ Finally, Domingo claimed he had begun to offer the sacrifice of the mass “out of gratitude for the first sacrifice” and as a “representation of the Lord’s Supper” as Sesó had told him to do so.¹³² Pedro allegedly disapproved of Domingo’s actions and pushed him to adopt a more radical stance against the mass, but Domingo protested that he “could do no less so as not to scandalize.”¹³³ Domingo’s

¹²⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 75.

¹²⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 12, 80.

¹²⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 63, 98.

¹²⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 22.

¹³⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 22.

¹³¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 22.

¹³² *PPESXVI*, p. 22.

¹³³ *PPESXVI*, pp. 22-23.

case demonstrates that *luteranos* belonging to the Roman Catholic clergy felt great pressure to continue outwardly performing their priestly duties, even if it meant finding ways to rationalize how their behavior fit with their new beliefs.

Ironically, we know Francisco de Vivero continued offering Catholic masses precisely because he confessed to having administered the eucharist *sub utraque specie* to his co-religionists.¹³⁴ On three or four occasions in the church of Santa Catalina in Valladolid, he administered communion in this manner to his sisters Beatriz de Vivero and Constanza de Vivero, Doña Ana Enriquez, Doña Catalina de Ortega, Juan Sanchez, and Beatriz' maid Isabel.¹³⁵ He similarly administered communion in the church of Santa Isabel to his mother, Beatriz, Doña Ana, and Juan Sánchez.¹³⁶ According to Francisco's own account, "after the mass [was] finished he would pour wine and a drop of water into the chalice and he would consecrate it again."¹³⁷ The implication here is that he first offered a regular Catholic mass before afterwards administering communion "according to Luther's doctrine" to a select group of individuals. The sources unfortunately say little else that would help us understand precisely how Francisco was able to administer both elements of the sacrament inside a Catholic church, but it is clear that he continued to perform his priestly duty of offering the Catholic mass.

Despite his criticism of Fray Domingo, Pedro Cazalla himself continued offering mass at the church of Santa Cruz in Pedrosa and performing the various other duties of a Catholic priest. In his defense before the Inquisition, he declared that he "did not cause scandal...[because he] never stopped doing everything which according to the ordination and commandment of the

¹³⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 70.

¹³⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 70.

¹³⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 70.

¹³⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 70.

church [he] was obligated [to do].”¹³⁸ He continued saying mass, including the part for the commemoration for the dead, as well as *requiem* masses.¹³⁹ Furthermore, Pedro declared that he had continued to confess his parishioners, grant absolution for sins, and administer penance.¹⁴⁰ As for himself, he also went to confession before celebrating mass.¹⁴¹ In his sermons, he preached on Catholic topics such as purgatory, souls of the dead, limbo of infants, and limbo of the patriarchs.¹⁴² Through these instances of Catholic orthopraxy, Pedro attempted to convince his accusers that he also held to Catholic orthodoxy.

During his trial, Pedro took pains to back up his claims of orthopraxy and, hence, orthodoxy with external evidence. As part of the inquisitorial process, defendants were permitted to name witnesses to vouch for them. In December 1558, Pedro drew up a list of nine witnesses and five questions for the inquisitors to ask each one of them.¹⁴³ The first question asked the witness whether he knew Pedro Cazalla, as well as the Bachiller Hieronimo Ramírez, his prosecuting attorney before the Inquisition.¹⁴⁴ This procedure established the witnesses’ credentials by indicating for how long and in what manner they had known Pedro Cazalla.

In the second question, Pedro appeals to his chosen witnesses, asking them to testify whether or not he had “always been a good Christian and feared God and his conscience.”¹⁴⁵ Pedro here defines “a good Christian” as one who goes to confession and receives the Church’s sacraments at “the times good, faithful and Catholic Christians are used to and accustomed to

¹³⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 98.

¹³⁹ *PPESXVI*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁴⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 98.

¹⁴¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 99.

¹⁴² *PPESXVI*, p. 99.

¹⁴³ *PPESXVI*, p. 172-173.

¹⁴⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 172.

receive them and during illnesses.”¹⁴⁶ Being a good Christian looks slightly different after assuming the priesthood. A faithful Christian priest was one who, according to Pedro, daily offers mass with the proper personal preparation.¹⁴⁷ Additionally, he ought to preach the gospel and Christian doctrine “with all sincerity and simplicity” and keep all the Church’s fasts, as well as encourage his parishioners to do the same.¹⁴⁸ Pedro likely hoped that the witnesses’ response to this second question would prove to inquisitorial authorities that he not only kept the Church’s established customs but that he also performed them at the properly indicated times.

The third inquiry called witnesses to testify that Pedro exhorted his parishioners to faithfully observe church practices. Pedro claimed that as parish priest he had preached in support of papal bulls and jubilees and had encouraged his parishioners to take advantage of them for the benefit of their souls and their loved ones in purgatory.¹⁴⁹ He similarly contended that he had urged his congregation to attend confession and receive the eucharist during Lent and other feast days.¹⁵⁰ Affirmation of these claims by outside witnesses was important in a couple ways. In the first place, it would help prove that Pedro was not the deceiver of Catholic souls the inquisitors had tried to portray him as. Second, it would indicate that Pedro adhered to the doctrine of purgatory, which was taught by the Catholic Church and vigorously refuted from an evangelical or Protestant viewpoint. Through these testimonial interviews, Pedro hoped to convince the inquisitorial court that he had not strayed from the Church’s fold nor incited others to do so.

¹⁴⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 172.

¹⁵⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 173.

In the next question, Pedro requests the witnesses substantiate the claim that he has “always been very devoted to the Most Holy Sacrament.”¹⁵¹ Pedro then details the various means by which he has previously proven his devotion to the eucharist. He identifies himself as the founder of Pedrosa’s confraternity of the holy sacrament.¹⁵² Furthermore, he personally financed extravagant curtains made from satin, velvet, and gold cloth to adorn the host in Santa Cruz, his parish church.¹⁵³ As the “most holy sacrament,” the eucharist is central to the beliefs and religious practices of the Catholic Church, and offering up the host during the mass was a key part of a priest’s duties. By providing evidence of his profound reverence for the host, Pedro perhaps hoped to persuade the Inquisition that he had never strayed from the Church nor neglected his vocation as a priest. After all, an adherent of Protestant heresy would not conceivably demonstrate such devotion to the object most central to Catholic worship and spirituality. Such an act would be considered tantamount to idolatry by many Protestants.

Finally, Pedro inquires of his witnesses whether all the claims he has made about his life are common, public knowledge. This appears as an attempt on his part to obtain Pedrosa’s communal support, not just the testimony of a few personal witnesses, as proof of his orthodoxy. As parish priest, Pedro would have been a familiar figure to the inhabitants of Pedrosa, and he would have likely known many of them personally. The list of witnesses also indicates Pedro’s effort to procure the backing of well-respected and well-educated community members in particular. Among the witnesses were a Dominican friar by the name Juan de la Peña, a cleric by the name Torquemada, a certain Francisco de Fonseca, someone by the name Canseco, a cleric by the name Francisco Gomez, another cleric by the name Alonso Carrasco, a scribe by the name

¹⁵¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 173.

¹⁵² *PPESXVI*, p. 173.

¹⁵³ *PPESXVI*, p. 173.

Francisco Ramos, a certain Baltasar Carrillo, and a certain Francisco Ramos the Elder.¹⁵⁴ While the precise identity of several of these individuals is undiscernible, the group seemed to be primarily comprised of men whose religious and erudite status might lend greater credence and weight to their testimonies. Pedro likely clung to the slightest possibility that the inquisitors would duly receive the words of such well-respected citizens and acquit him of the charges levied against him.

For unknown reasons, only five of the witnesses were actually summoned and had their testimonies incorporated into the file of Pedro's trial. Of these, Fray Juan de la Peña was the only one to appear in Valladolid before the Inquisition.¹⁵⁵ When he was summoned on January 3, 1559, he swore the required oath and informed the inquisitors that he was forty-four years of age before responding to the set of questions predetermined by Pedro.¹⁵⁶ He confirmed in the first place that he knew both Pedro as well as Ramírez, the prosecuting attorney.¹⁵⁷ To the second question Peña replied that he had known Pedro for "many years" before he became a parish priest.¹⁵⁸ He noted that Pedro had gone to him for confession on a number of occasions and that from their interactions he had judged Pedro to be a "virtuous youth" and, subsequently, "a good clergyman."¹⁵⁹ Despite the length of their acquaintance, Peña's answer to the third question on the preaching of bulls and jubilees betrays a distant, impersonal relationship between the two men. Peña told the inquisitors that he did not have anything to say in response except that he had once, when passing through Pedrosa eight years prior, heard Pedro talk well about bulls and

¹⁵⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 173.

¹⁵⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

jubilees.¹⁶⁰ This remark, paired with the fact that Peña was not interviewed in Pedrosa along with the other witnesses, strongly suggests that he did not live there. The testimony he presented before the Inquisition is therefore suspect since it is primarily based on knowledge of a younger, pre-luterano Pedro. This suspicion is reinforced by the fact that Peña could not provide any additional information for questions four and five. Peña's distance may have worked to the advantage or disadvantage of Pedro's case. On the one hand, his lack of detailed knowledge about Pedro's life in recent years meant he could not present any incriminating evidence against him. On the other hand, the inquisitors would likely have picked up on this temporal gap and remained unsatisfied with Peña's seemingly satisfactory report about Pedro.

The other four witnesses – Francisco Ramos, Baltasar Carrillo, Alonso Carrasco, and Francisco Gomez – were interviewed in Pedrosa.¹⁶¹ The inquisitors in Valladolid sent the notarial secretary Eusebio Arrieta to Pedrosa with a written command for Fray Francisco Carrasco, prior of Castronuño.¹⁶² The written order enlisted his assistance in individually and secretly interrogating each of the witnesses, a request with which Carrasco complied, although how voluntarily he did so it is impossible to ascertain.¹⁶³

The first individual Fray Francisco Carrasco interrogated was Francisco Ramos, a fifty-two-year-old scribe from Pedrosa. Ramos, like the other three witnesses interviewed in Pedrosa, stated he did not know Ramírez, the prosecuting attorney.¹⁶⁴ At the same time, however, he claimed he had known Pedro for six years.¹⁶⁵ Ramos testified that Pedro had served as parish

¹⁶⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁶¹ *PPESXVI*, pp. 173-178.

¹⁶² *PPESXVI*, p. 171.

¹⁶³ *PPESXVI*, p. 171-173.

¹⁶⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁶⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

priest during the entire course of their acquaintance and that, as such, he had seen him say mass “many and diverse times,” go to confession before saying mass, and preach the gospel “catholically.”¹⁶⁶ Ramos could not say, however, whether Pedro kept Catholic fasts because he was “not in his house.”¹⁶⁷ Thus, while vouching for Pedro’s catholicity, Ramos still left open the possibility that he could have acted otherwise in private. In response to the third question, Ramos answered that he had seen Pedro preach on bulls and jubilees, exhorting the people to buy them because they were “the treasure and blood of Jesus Christ.”¹⁶⁸ Similarly, Ramos attested that Pedro was devoted to the eucharist because he had accompanied it in its feast-day processions and bought candles at his own expense for those feast days.¹⁶⁹ He also confirmed that Pedro had made curtains for the eucharist, but he did not know whether he had paid for them himself.¹⁷⁰ Lastly, Ramos added that, despite Pedro’s proven devotion to the eucharist, the confraternity had such a long-standing past in Pedrosa that Pedro had not been its founder as he claimed.¹⁷¹ After providing his personal testimony, Ramos concluded by affirming that what he had said was “public and evident and common knowledge and fame and truth.”¹⁷²

The second witness Prior Carrasco summoned for interrogation was a fifty-five-year-old man from Pedrosa named Baltasar Carrillo. Like Ramos, Carrillo had also known Pedro for the span of six or seven years.¹⁷³ His response to the second question regarding the mass was nearly identical to Ramos’. He testified that, since he met Pedro, Pedro had always gone to confession,

¹⁶⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁶⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 174.

¹⁶⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 174-175.

¹⁶⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷² *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷³ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

said mass, and weekly preached the gospel according to Catholic teaching.¹⁷⁴ He could not say whether Pedro fasted or not, however.¹⁷⁵ The following question about Pedro's support of papal bulls and jubilees proved easier to answer in detail. Carrillo recalled an occasion two years prior when a jubilee had been proclaimed in Pedrosa and Pedro had preached in its favor from the pulpit.¹⁷⁶ According to Carrillo, Pedro carefully instructed his parishioners how to purchase the jubilee, offer alms, and go to confession in order to obtain merit for themselves and the dead.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, Carrillo had similarly seen Pedro offer support for a bull of the crusade.¹⁷⁸ In response to the question of eucharistic devotion, Carrillo agreed with Ramos that, although Pedro had not been the confraternity's founder, he was nonetheless "very devoted to the Most Holy Sacrament."¹⁷⁹ In that spirit, he had organized a procession with candles around the church at his own expense.¹⁸⁰ Carrillo could not confidently vouch for Pedro's claim that he himself had provided expensive curtains for the eucharist, however.¹⁸¹ Carrillo, like Ramos, also claimed that the contents of his testimony were public knowledge.¹⁸²

The next individual summoned was Alonso Carrasco (not to be confused with the prior by the same last name), a clergyman in Pedrosa. A young man of twenty-eight, Carrasco had known Pedro for over seven years and was thus likely in many ways the thirty-four-year-old parish priest's peer.¹⁸³ Carrasco had only known Pedro since he moved to Pedrosa to take up his post at the church of Santa Cruz, but Carrasco claimed that he had considered him a "good and

¹⁷⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸² *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸³ *PPESXVI*, p. 95, 176.

God-fearing Christian” and “good priest” who went to confess and said mass.¹⁸⁴ Carrasco’s assessment is therefore consistent with earlier testimonies in portraying Pedro as an orthodox Catholic and priest. When asked whether Pedro preached in favor of bulls and jubilees or founded the eucharistic confraternity, Carrasco was unable to substantiate the claims.¹⁸⁵ Like Ramos and Carrillo, however, Carrasco too remarked on Pedro’s active involvement in eucharistic processions.¹⁸⁶ His account provides further detail than the earlier testimonies, specifying that the procession took place “every evening” during the octave of Corpus Christi.¹⁸⁷ Confirmation of Pedro’s claim that he had paid to have the curtains for the eucharist done remains elusive, however. Carrasco agreed with Ramos and Carrillo that Pedro was responsible for having them made, but he could not say whether Pedro had shouldered the cost itself.¹⁸⁸ His testimony thus concluded, Carrasco affirmed before the prior that the information he had shared was publicly known.¹⁸⁹

The fifth and final witness called in by Prior Carrasco for interrogation was Francisco Gomez, another clergyman from Pedrosa.¹⁹⁰ Gomez stands out for a couple reasons. First, he claimed to have known Pedro for eight years, longer than any of the other witnesses except for Peña who had known him before his ordination as priest.¹⁹¹ In second place, Gomez had the advantage of also living in Pedrosa, where he likely worked alongside Pedro in ecclesiastical ministry. As a result, Gomez was better positioned than Peña to offer insightful observations about Pedro’s religious practices. At forty-nine years old, Gomez was also both Pedro’s and

¹⁸⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 176.

¹⁸⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 176 -177.

¹⁸⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

Alonso Carrasco's senior colleague.¹⁹² He therefore may have felt particularly qualified to offer a report of his younger colleague due to his own seniority and the experience associated with it. It is quite possibly for these reasons that Gomez' testimony is the most detailed and revealing of the five.

Gomez agreed with the earlier consensus that Pedro was a "good and God-fearing Christian" and that kept his priestly duties of going to confession and saying mass.¹⁹³ Yet, Gomez offered this affirmation of Pedro's orthopraxy with a caveat. He noted that, from 1550 to approximately 1555, Pedro went to confession and said mass "very frequently."¹⁹⁴ However, something changed after 1555, Gomez pointed out, because "although he has seen him go to confession and say mass, it has not been as frequent as in the aforementioned earlier time."¹⁹⁵ Without providing any further explanations or speculations, Gomez moved on to say that he had seen Pedro keep fast days in his home, eating fish and other appropriate foods instead of meat.¹⁹⁶ Gomez also affirmed the claim that Pedro urged his parishioners to go to confession during Lent, take communion, and purchase bulls of the crusade.¹⁹⁷ Like each of the other witnesses from Pedrosa, Gomez alluded to Pedro's involvement in Corpus Christi festivities as evidence of his commitment to the eucharist and Catholic orthodoxy. According to Gomez' testimony, during the octave of Corpus Christi, Pedro not only participated in daily processions around all the churches of Pedrosa but also bought a great number of candles that were used in them.¹⁹⁸ Gomez also concurs with previous testimonies that Pedro ordered the making of ornamental curtains for the

¹⁹² *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹³ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 177.

¹⁹⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 178.

eucharist, but he is not able to confirm either whether Pedro paid for them himself.¹⁹⁹ Overall, the account presented by Gomez matches the evidence presented by other residents of Pedrosa. Yet, his testimony is unique in that it marks 1555 as a pivot point in Pedro's religious practice. Interestingly as well, Pedro likely encountered and began to embrace *luterano* beliefs around that time.

Generally, however, these testimonies suggest that Pedro led a relatively successful double-life as Catholic priest and *luterano* leader for approximately three years. Multiple individuals who likely saw him on a daily basis in Pedrosa vouched for his Catholic orthopraxy and, by extension, orthodoxy. The content and message of their accounts was largely consistent – Pedro Cazalla was in the eyes of the people of Pedrosa a good, dutiful Catholic man and priest. He regularly confessed and said mass, participated in Catholic feast days, exhorted his parishioners to observe fasts, and preached on papal bulls and jubilees. Somehow, at the same time Pedro also convened small groups of *luteranos* in his home, where they read and discussed Protestant doctrines and performed their own version of the Last Supper. The *luteranos* in Valladolid, Pedrosa, Toro, and other Castilian towns led double lives in order to evade the Inquisition's probing. Not all *luteranos* embraced the double life ideal to the same extent, however. Pedro Cazalla, for example, may have been the *crypto-luterano par excellence*. On the one hand, he was the spiritual founder and head of the *luterano* community in Pedrosa. Yet, on the other, as a parish priest, he also served as a local leader of the Roman Catholic Church. Instead of trying to resolve this paradox, Pedro chose to embrace it. In the privacy of his home among family members and fellow *luteranos*, he was a

¹⁹⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 178.

staunch proponent of evangelical doctrine. Yet, as the testimonies gathered by prior Carrasco indicate, he continued to live as a Catholic priest in public.

Chapter 3: Double Lives Exposed

Maintaining a convincing façade of Catholic orthodoxy was a community effort. A few members in leadership positions such as Pedro Cazalla took up the responsibility of training the rest regarding the necessary precautions. They reminded their fellow *luteranos* of the importance of discretely discussing their heterodox beliefs with others. It was dangerous to publicly express *luterano* views such as justification by faith and purgatory's invented papal origins. One should never mention them in the presence of outsiders without great tact and discernment.

Proselytization attempts were best made in one-on-one settings with trusted family members or friends. Complete freedom of expression was only safely possible within the bounds of the community, often private homes such as Pedro's where they met to share meals, read different reformers, and discuss their doctrines. Pedro and other *luterano* leaders similarly set an example of Catholic orthodoxy for their followers by continuing to go to confession, attend mass, and perform priestly duties. In order to keep their new confessional ties clandestine, the Valladolid *luteranos* had to keep up an outward performance of Catholic orthodoxy that corresponded to their prior beliefs. Although *luteranos* in positions of influence like Pedro might offer warnings of discretion and model double lives, their actions were pointless unless the entire *luterano* community also participated, including male and female, erudite and illiterate, noble and common. One small breach in the wall was enough to make the complete façade crumble.

Just as Nikki Shepherdson demonstrates that persecution and the threat of martyrdom helped fashion a strong communal identity among sixteenth-century French Huguenots, fear of discovery by the Spanish Inquisition and the threat of punishment served as a coalescing factor

among the Valladolid *luteranos*.²⁰⁰ Members risked their social standing, material possessions, and very lives when they adopted *luterano* beliefs. As a result of these dangers and sufferings, *luteranos* saw themselves as distinct from the rest of Spanish society. At a time when the Spanish monarchs were making efforts to create a homogenized Catholic Spanish identity, the Valladolid *luteranos* stood apart as a distinct community united in its rejection of Catholic doctrine, embrace of evangelical views, and participation in shared difficulties.

Yet, there were challenges to the creation of a cohesive *luterano* community. Relationships among the various *luteranos* were tenuous. As the trial records indicate, certain bonds were strong. Pedro Cazalla, for example, enjoyed close relationships with his brothers Dr. Agustín Cazalla, Francisco de Vivero, and Juan de Vivero, often corresponding with them or visiting them. Pedro also maintained an active relationship with other *luteranos* such as Fray Domingo de Rojas, Antonio Herrezuelo, and Carlos Seso. Yet, his friendships with Domingo de Rojas and Carlos Seso were unique because they preceded his conversion to *luteranismo*.²⁰¹ As these examples illustrate, Pedro's *luterano* contacts hardly extended beyond his own family members, close friends, and the handful of other *luteranos* in Pedrosa. Beyond this limited circle, personal relationships with the other *luteranos* in Castile were few. Distance was a major factor. Instead of being consolidated in a single city such as Valladolid, the *luterano* network stretched out across Castile. Pedro Cazalla's parish was in Pedrosa, Antonio Herrezuelo lived in Toro, Carlos Seso was a magistrate in Logroño, Agustín Cazalla resided in Valladolid where his mother Leonor de Vivero still lived, Fray Domingo de Rojas lived in Palencia, and Cristobal Padilla came from Zamora. Most of these men had a small following in their hometowns. These

²⁰⁰ Shepherdson, "The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Anti-Nicodemite Discourses in France, 1550-1570," p. 43.

²⁰¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 19, 98.

local *luterano* communities hardly interacted with one another, however, beyond correspondence and occasional visits between their leaders. Travel between towns required time, energy, and resources that were not freely disposable to all. Thus, the *luterano* movement in Castile is more accurately characterized as a loosely linked network of local “conventicles” rather than a single, tightly banded community. The independence members within the *luterano* community exercised would ultimately bring about the entire movement’s downfall.

On the Wednesday following Easter Sunday 1558, Cristobal Padilla showed up in Toro on Antonio Herrezuelo’s doorstep while he was eating his meal.²⁰² Visibly distressed, he informed Herrezuelo that he feared he had been identified as a heretic.²⁰³ On Tuesday, Padilla continued, the prior of Santo Domingo had preached a sermon in which he said that there was a heretic in Zamora.²⁰⁴ Padilla told Herrezuelo that he supposed that the prior had been referring to him after certain local women exposed him.²⁰⁵ Despite Pedro’s earlier warnings to the contrary, evidence from Padilla’s testimony before the Inquisition indicates that he had continued his proselytization activity in the five months prior to showing up at Herrezuelo’s house.²⁰⁶ Padilla claims to have shared his doctrinal beliefs with “many good people of good lives,” but his main audience seems to have been religious women.²⁰⁷ He conversed with the prioress of the convent of Santa Paula and a nun named Catalina de Mercado from the convent of Santa Isabel, among other nuns.²⁰⁸ These nuns used to gather with other local women, including a woman named Saavedra, her daughter, two of her maidservants, and a shoemaker’s wife named Leonor de

²⁰² *PPESXVI*, p. 87.

²⁰³ *PPESXVI*, p. 87.

²⁰⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 87.

²⁰⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 87.

²⁰⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 44.

²⁰⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 44.

²⁰⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 44.

Toro.²⁰⁹ It is unclear from the testimony's wording whether Padilla himself engaged in direct or indirect conversation with these other women, but the point nevertheless comes across that Padilla discussed his beliefs "with many other people in Zamora."²¹⁰

After hearing Padilla's startling announcement, Herrezuelo made him pause and offer further clarification. He asked Padilla what remarks the prior of Santo Domingo had made regarding the supposed heresy, to which Padilla replied that he had mentioned the teaching that "in the passion of Jesus Christ, our Lord, was our salvation alone."²¹¹ Herrezuelo then questioned Padilla whether he had in fact discussed that belief in his conversations with others.²¹² Padilla responded with the complaint that the women with whom he had talked had misinterpreted his words.²¹³ Herrezuelo advised him not to flee in the face of the accusations but rather to consider returning to Zamora and presenting himself to the bishop in hopes that he might show him leniency.²¹⁴ Padilla accepted Herrezuelo's counsel and returned to Zamora.²¹⁵ There he went to the bishop, to whom he made two confessions seeking "mercy for his error."²¹⁶

About the same time, Francisco de Vivero, Pedro Cazalla's brother, took flight from Valladolid and came to Pedrosa.²¹⁷ Pedro, surprised by his brother's sad and pained demeanor, inquired what had occurred.²¹⁸ Francisco's response was that he believed a certain lady by the name of Doña Juana de Fonseca had denounced him in Valladolid.²¹⁹ Their brother Dr. Agustín

²⁰⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 44.

²¹⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 44.

²¹¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 87.

²¹² *PPESXVI*, p. 87.

²¹³ *PPESXVI*, p. 87.

²¹⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 39, 87.

²¹⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 39.

²¹⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 44.

²¹⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 71.

²¹⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²¹⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 40, 71, 86.

Cazalla had caught hint of the denunciation while at a dinner party thrown by the Count of Osorno.²²⁰ There, Doña Juana's brother-in-law had announced that "there were *luteranos* in Valladolid and that his sister-in-law Doña Juana had denounced him."²²¹ At first uncertain about the denounced *luterano*'s identity, Agustín confided in Pedro, whereupon they surmised the denunciation had been made against their brother Francisco.²²² In Pedrosa, Pedro tried to console Francisco about his apparently dire circumstances, reminding him that "it was already done and God had wanted it to be his will."²²³

The situation began to turn from bad to worse, however. After Padilla's visit to Toro on Wednesday, officials came to Pedrosa in search of him.²²⁴ Pedro and Isabel took note with concern and sent a letter to Herrezuelo seeking an explanation.²²⁵ Herrezuelo replied with the alarming news that, not only had Padilla been denounced and returned to Zamora to appeal for mercy, but that he had also been subsequently captured and imprisoned.²²⁶ In her testimony, Isabel Estrada described the blow this news, coupled with Francisco's troubles, was to Pedro.²²⁷ Saturday evening, Pedro announced he wished to preach the following day.²²⁸ When he went to bed that evening, however, he began to weep so loudly and uncontrollably to the point that the others came to see what had happened.²²⁹ With great sadness, he confessed that he was afflicted by the thought of never getting to preach again.²³⁰

²²⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 71.

²²¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 71.

²²² *PPESXVI*, p. 71-72.

²²³ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²²⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 39.

²²⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 39.

²²⁶ *PPESXVI*, p.39-40.

²²⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²²⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²²⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²³⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

By this point, Pedro seems to have realized that discovery of the *luterano* community was inevitable. It would just be a matter of time. By the sixteenth century, the Spanish Inquisition had established an effective system of social control whereby it could track down heretics and their accomplices.²³¹ The so-called edicts of faith were an essential component of this surveillance system. Each year during Lent, these edicts of faith were publicly read in every parish church, outlining possible heresies and calling good Catholics to denounce any individuals who might have committed those offenses.²³² There was great religious pressure within society to denounce individuals who transgressed the Catholic church's teachings. Willful withholding of information regarding heresy and heretics meant exclusion from absolution, a necessary preparation to celebrate Easter Sunday.²³³ Denunciations incited by edicts of faith therefore were invaluable to the inquisitors as indicators of underlying heresy within society. After identifying a single offender, it was possible to extract additional information that would lead to the discovery and incrimination of his accomplices. Coercion – psychological, emotional, and physical - was frequently employed to get offenders to implicate their collaborators, including family and friends. Thus, one single denunciation could generate an entire string of denunciations.

Such was the situation the *luteranos* of Castile found themselves in. The timing of the denunciations is telling. Padilla and Francisco both learned about them within a few days of Easter Sunday, suggesting they had been made during the Lenten season of repentance and self-examination. It is also most likely that the accusers were women in both instances, although it is difficult to identify the specific individual who denounced Padilla. As was customary in sixteenth-century Spain, these women had likely heard their local priest proclaim the edict of

²³¹ Thomas, "The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition, 1520-1648," p. 214.

²³² Thomas, "The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition, 1520-1648," p. 213.

²³³ Thomas, "The Metamorphosis of the Spanish Inquisition, 1520-1648," p. 213.

faith at mass during Lent, which charged all faithful Catholics to examine their ranks for traces of heresy. Juana de Fonseca and Padilla's accuser had presumably also recently participated in confession, where they were expected to expose all areas of wrongdoing in anticipation of Easter. It was presumably within this context that they felt the need to denounce Padilla's and Francisco's heterodox teachings.

Yet, why were Padilla and Francisco the first *luteranos* denounced? There were other members of the *luterano* network whose profile made them more likely targets. Individuals such as Carlos Seso, Pedro Cazalla, Antonio Herrezuelo, Fray Domingo de Rojas, and Dr. Agustín Cazalla acted as the community's leaders. They read books by Calvin, Luther, and other reformers and shared what they learned with their followers.²³⁴ Additionally, several of these men had been acquainted with *luterano* beliefs significantly longer. During inquisitorial proceedings, Francisco and Padilla claimed to have accepted *luteranismo* three months and two years prior, respectively, although Padilla's energetic proselytization was circumscribed to merely the previous five months.²³⁵ On the other hand, Carlos Seso was the community's founding father. He had introduced Protestant beliefs to Castile around 1550 after returning from a trip to Italy with a collection of books by various reformers.²³⁶ Pedro, one of his converts, claimed that he had stopped believing in purgatory around 1554 or 1555.²³⁷ On multiple counts, therefore, it is exceptional that Padilla and Francisco were the first *luteranos* pursued by the Inquisition.

²³⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 26, 62, 76, 91, 129-130, 134.

²³⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 44, 67.

²³⁶ Luttikhuisen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain*, pp. 106-108.

²³⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 100.

At the same time, however, it was not entirely unexpected. Padilla and Francisco had notoriously disregarded Pedro's and Herrezuelo's warnings against openly sharing their dissident religious views. Moreover, in Padilla's case at least, his proselytization activities had been a conscious choice rather than an unintentional blunder. Interestingly, both men directed their conversion efforts towards women with whom they did not share any longstanding family or friendship ties. The women with whom Padilla had contact, for example, belonged to a variety of walks of life. One was the prioress of Santa Paula, Catalina de Mercado and others were nuns, Saavedra was a wife and mother, her daughter Doña María was also a married woman, and Leonor de Toro was a shoemaker's wife.²³⁸ It is unclear from the trial records whether the women's participation in the discussions was mutual or imposed upon them by an overly zealous Padilla. Regardless, there is no evidence to suggest any strong ties of loyalty to him. As a result, there would have been relatively few deterrents to reporting Francisco to the religious authorities if any of the women found his message offensive.

The relationship between Francisco and Doña Juana de Fonseca was similarly non-familial. Given her title and her brother-in-law's socializing with the count of Osorno, Doña Juana was presumably a member of Valladolid's aristocracy.²³⁹ This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that her testimony identifies her as the wife of Álvaro de Lugo, lord of Villalba.²⁴⁰ She apparently developed a friendship with Francisco and his sister Beatriz, but no close family bonds existed between them demanding her loyalty.²⁴¹ Consequently, on April 19, 1558, Doña Juana visited one of the Theatine monasteries in Valladolid in search of the

²³⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 44.

²³⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 71.

²⁴⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 13.

²⁴¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 13.

inquisitor Licenciado Guigelmo.²⁴² In her deposition, she mentioned not only Francisco but also Beatriz, Pedro, and Pedro's brother Juan de Vivero and sister-in-law Juana de Silva who also resided in Pedrosa.²⁴³ Thus, due to Francisco's indiscreet proselytization to acquaintances beyond his inner circle of family and friends, the Inquisition received notice of the *luterano* network's presence outside Valladolid.

The fact that multiple members of the *luterano* community in Castile had been identified meant that the Inquisition would soon be able to close in on the rest. In her testimony, Isabel de Estrada recalled how, when Herrezuelo sent word to Pedro saying that Padilla had been imprisoned, he added that he "would trust nothing from [Padilla]," ominously implying that Padilla would eventually give his captors information regarding his co-religionists.²⁴⁴ Realizing that their cover of Catholic orthopraxy had been detected, Pedro and Francisco decided to take action to protect themselves from the Inquisition's clutches. They did not attempt to obtain mercy by turning themselves in to the religious authorities, having learned from Padilla's own experience that it would not be granted. As a result, Francisco refused to return to Valladolid because he feared being captured there.²⁴⁵ He instead took flight once more, this time to Fray Domingo de Rojas in Palencia.²⁴⁶ He left Pedrosa with a gold medal worth seven ducats he had asked his sister-in-law Juana de Silva for.²⁴⁷ She additionally gave him "a coral rosary with gold extremes, each of which might have weighed four *reales*, with a gold jewel and a little image,

²⁴² *PPESXVI*, p. 13.

²⁴³ *PPESXVI*, p. 13.

²⁴⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²⁴⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 86.

²⁴⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 86.

²⁴⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 86.

that all together weighed about twelve ducats.”²⁴⁸ Francisco presumably wanted these two items to help cover his expenses during the eighty-kilometer trip to Palencia.

On the Monday after his sermon, Pedro too left Pedrosa, conscious that his double life was crumbling around him.²⁴⁹ Unlike his brother, however, Pedro directed his steps towards Valladolid.²⁵⁰ The following week’s timeline is difficult to trace with precision, and the trial record does little to shed light on Pedro’s decision to place himself in greater proximity to his pursuers. Whatever Pedro’s reasons for going to Valladolid, however, it seems clear that they were connected to the fact that his family lived there since one testimony reports that he went to his mother Leonor de Vivero’s house.²⁵¹ Presumably soon after his arrival there, Daniel de la Cuadra, a laborer Pedro knew from Pedrosa, showed up with a letter for Pedro and a twenty-five-pound bundle of books that Pedro had left in the care of his brother Juan de Vivero.²⁵² Pedro received the books and then took them to the house of his sister Constanza de Vivero, who also lived in Valladolid.²⁵³ He instructed her to burn the bundle but did not tell her about its contents, which included works by reformers such as Martin Luther, Andreas Musculus, and Johannes Brenz as well as a polyglot Bible by Robert Etienne.²⁵⁴ Even though the Inquisition had already been warned about his heterodox leanings and would soon be on his tracks, Pedro made every effort to preserve his image as a faithful Catholic by burning his collection of forbidden Protestant literature before the inquisitors could lay their hands on it.

²⁴⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 86.

²⁴⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²⁵⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 40.

²⁵¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 63.

²⁵² *PPESXVI*, p. 57, 63.

²⁵³ *PPESXVI*, p. 63.

²⁵⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 134.

At the same time, however, Pedro seems to have had second thoughts about the point in trying to evade the Inquisition at all costs. After leaving the books with Constanza to be burned, he decided to return to Pedrosa, disheartened by the situation to the point that he had decided to “persuade certain people [i.e., the *luteranos* in Pedrosa] to declare themselves and confess the aforementioned opinions [of *luteranismo*].”²⁵⁵ His sister Beatriz, however, alerted their brother Agustín regarding Pedro’s intentions.²⁵⁶ Agustín was angered when he heard about Pedro’s plan to convince the entire *luterano* community in Pedrosa to hand themselves in.²⁵⁷ He wrote Pedro a letter and sent it to him by messenger before he was able to make any hasty decisions.²⁵⁸ In the letter, he urged Pedro to desist from confessing before the Inquisition and to “dissimulate instead.”²⁵⁹ By dissimulation, Agustín was referring to the double lives they had previously practiced. They had led successful lives as crypto-*luteranos* for some time, continuing to attend mass and confession while secretly meeting to discuss works by Luther and Calvin. Perhaps Agustín hoped that it might be possible to maintain that way of life and let the storm of denunciations blow over, or at least defer their effect for as long as possible. To turn oneself over to the Inquisition now would mean to unequivocally admit one’s fault and submit to the appropriate judgment. Their survival thus far in Spanish society had been due to their ability to lead double lives as secret evangelicals. Their escape from the Inquisition’s search might also depend on continuing to outwardly live as Catholics while holding Protestant views in private.

This was not to be the case, nevertheless. The cover of crypto-*luteranismo* under which the Castile *luteranos* had concealed themselves for several years had been irreparably blown by

²⁵⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 170.

²⁵⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 26.

²⁵⁷ *PPESXVI*, p. 26.

²⁵⁸ *PPESXVI*, p. 170.

²⁵⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 170.

Padilla's and Francisco's indiscreet behavior. Even though Padilla and Francisco had enjoyed a close relationship with the rest of the *luterano* community in Castile, they neglected Pedro's advice for preserving the community's safety and in so doing had brought disaster upon everyone. In recent months, Padilla had developed a habit of publicly discussing his heterodox views. Furthermore, he had been indiscriminate in his choice of audience by conversing with a diverse group of women in Zamora and its surroundings. More dangerous, however, was the fact that his conversations with them had taken place in groups instead of in a private one-on-one setting where he could more carefully gauge his listener's reaction. Although not quite as heedless in his proselytization, Francisco had also demonstrated ill-advised judgment when he confided in Doña Juana even though she was not a close relative or family friend. For reasons not easily gleaned from the trial records, Padilla and Francisco chose not to live out double lives to the same extent some their co-religionists like Pedro did and recommended the others do. Instead, inner convictions dictated their behavior even in circumstances where to do so put the entire *luterano* community at peril.

On Wednesday, April 26, 1558, the inquisitors in Valladolid issued the following order:

“We, the Inquisitors against heretical depravity and apostasy, in the kingdoms of Castile, Leon and Galicia and the Principality of Asturias, who live in the very noble city of Valladolid, by the apostolic authority, etc., we send to you, noble Juan Velazquez de Ortega, bailiff of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of this aforementioned city, and to you, Antonio Ortiz Espadero, neighbor of this aforementioned city, and to each one and whichever one of you, that you take into custody Pedro de Cazalla, clergyman, brother of Doctor Cazalla, neighbor of this aforementioned city, the aforementioned Pedro de

Cazalla who lives in Pedrosa, near Toro, removing him from any church or monastery or privileged or sacred place; and having been placed in good safe-keeping, that you hand him over to the mayor of this Holy Office, so that he may put him in the prisons thereof; and that you take away all his goods, personal property and lands, placing them in secret and deposit in the power of accredited persons, according to law.”²⁶⁰

Pedro was presumably back in Pedrosa by the time his arrest warrant was issued. The Inquisition’s written records do not describe the events that unfolded in the following days, but neither do they offer any evidence to suggest that Pedro turned himself in along with his band of followers in Pedrosa. Following the arrest order, Pedro’s trial record simply continues, “In Valladolid, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of April of the year 1558, Pedro de Cazalla, clergyman, priest of Pedrosa, was brought captive to the prisons of this holy office, as the mayor said.”²⁶¹ There is a disappointing lack of detail in this brief account of Pedro’s capture. We do not know whether violence was employed, whether he was found in his home or hiding elsewhere, or any other particulars. What we do know for a certain fact is that he was not the only one imprisoned. Before long, the rest of the *luteranos* – individuals such as Francisco de Vivero, Antonio Herrezuelo, Agustín Cazalla, Isabel Estrada, and Catalina Roman – also found themselves within the walls of the Inquisition’s prisons. Individual decisions whether to lead a double life as a crypto-*luterano* had clear repercussions for the entire community. Together they maintained a façade of Catholic orthodoxy or fell into the Inquisition’s hands if the cover slipped.

²⁶⁰ *PPESXVI*, p. 94.

²⁶¹ *PPESXVI*, p. 94.

Conclusion

Pedro Cazalla's entry into the Inquisition's prisons in Valladolid on April 26, 1558, was only the beginning of a lengthy judicial process. On the afternoon of May 2, he made his first appearance in court before the inquisitors Francisco Vaca and Guigelmo.²⁶² During this hearing, the inquisitors asked him to provide information regarding his provenance, age, parentage, siblings, and religious background.²⁶³ When asked whether he knew the reason for his imprisonment, Pedro responded that he did and agreed to write out a confession of his errors.²⁶⁴ This confession did little to expedite the trial, however, as it dragged on for months as the inquisitors further interrogated him and the other imprisoned *luteranos*. The most common questions pertained to the transmission of *luterano* beliefs. Who did you learn them from? Who else might have overheard your conversation? Who did you teach them to? Who was present at the *luterano* gathering? These questions indicate that the inquisitors in Valladolid were alarmed by the fact that a heretical sect such as *luteranismo* could have spread right under their noses. Consequently, they were persistent in their efforts to trace it back to its source. As long as its members maintained a carefully manicured double life, the *luterano* network in Castile continued to enjoy slow yet continuous growth. As soon as some among their ranks discarded this lifestyle, however, the entire *luterano* community was exposed to the Inquisition's scrutiny and further uncovering of their religious duplicity.

On February 22, 1559, a committee of inquisitors and other authorities convened to reach a decision regarding Pedro Cazalla's case. They unanimously voted "that the aforementioned

²⁶² *PPESXVI*, p. 95.

²⁶³ *PPESXVI*, p. 95.

²⁶⁴ *PPESXVI*, p. 95.

Pedro de Cazalla be defrocked of the religious orders he holds, and relaxed to justice and the secular arm, in regard to and along with the confiscation of goods and the privation of offices and benefits.”²⁶⁵ In a separate statement, they charged Pedro as a “heretic, apostate, obstinate *luterano*, and dogmatizer of the aforementioned ruined sect.”²⁶⁶ The Inquisition had seen past Pedro’s guise of Catholic orthopraxy to his private heterodox beliefs and decided to mete out the appropriate punishment.

Some of the sentences were publicly announced at the first *auto-de-fe* held in Valladolid on May 21, 1559. Other verdicts, including Pedro’s, were postponed until a second *auto-de-fe* held on Sunday, October 8. After processing from the Inquisition’s prison to Valladolid’s main plaza, the penitents were seated on large stands before the royal court, inquisitors, and populace.²⁶⁷ A crucial component of the day’s spectacle was a sermon delivered by the bishop of Cuenca, Pedro de Castro, and titled “Beware of false prophets.”²⁶⁸ According to a Catholic observer’s summary of the sermon, Castro portrayed the present *auto* as a foreshadowing of the future final judgment.²⁶⁹ He went on to describe heresy as a “contagious disease” and “cancer” that infected society.²⁷⁰ Moreover, heretics were “false prophets” since they “falsified Holy Scripture by declaring it falsely, for example by translating it incompletely and declaring it through their own understanding and opinion in opposition to the understanding of the sacred text declared by the church and councils.”²⁷¹ Castro’s condemnation of the *luteranos* did not end there. He lumped them into the same category as Jews by stating that both groups interpreted

²⁶⁵ *PPESXVI*, p. 190.

²⁶⁶ *PPESXVI*, p. 193.

²⁶⁷ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 66.

²⁶⁸ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 67.

²⁶⁹ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 67.

²⁷⁰ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 67.

²⁷¹ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 67.

their scriptures as they felt a want to.²⁷² Jews and heretics were both “thieving wolves in sheep’s clothing” that threatened the faithful from within Spanish society.²⁷³ The Catholic church and pope were the “shepherd and captain” provided by God to protect his flock from the attack by the wily “wolves in sheep’s clothing.”²⁷⁴ The common people could also rely on the inquisitors and prelates who “defeat and defend their sheep by determining the truths relating to faith and declaring as heretics those who wear sheep’s clothing and are wolves who help themselves by misinterpreting the Holy Scriptures.”²⁷⁵

Castro’s sermon at the *auto-de-fe* on October 8 is replete with metaphors that underscored the Castile *luteranos*’ duplicity. The sermon’s title itself, “Beware of false prophets,” for example, insinuates that the *luteranos* posed a danger precisely because they had the deceptive appearance of piety. Just like the false prophets of the Old Testament, they claimed to proclaim the word of the Lord, although, in the eyes of the Catholic church, they only corrupted it. The *luterano* network had also stealthily spread its tentacles across Castile in the same way disease unsuspectingly jumps from one individual to another within a community. Perhaps the most vivid comparison, however, was of the *luteranos* as ravaging wolves disguised in sheep’s clothing. By employing this metaphor, Castro emphasized the *luteranos*’ guile as well as their threat to Castilian society. Pedro and his co-religionists had been successful in leading others astray from the Church because they posed as faithful Catholics and blended in with the rest of the flock. Since they deceived unsuspecting laypeople, heretics within the Church were particularly dangerous and could not be tolerated. It was important for laypeople to flee from

²⁷² Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 67.

²⁷³ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 67.

²⁷⁴ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 67.

²⁷⁵ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 68.

these ravenous wolves and seek protection from the preachers, prelates, and inquisitors.²⁷⁶ As shepherds placed over the flock's care, these religious authorities were equipped to pick out those within the community – *luteranos* in this particular case – who were false prophets and wolves disguised in sheep's clothing.²⁷⁷

The evangelical community in Castile, as in other European lands where Catholicism maintained a strong foothold, only prospered as long as it remained underground. The *luterano* movement's origins around 1550 when Carlos Seso smuggled Protestant literature into Spain were inconspicuous.²⁷⁸ Seso largely refrained from proselytization during the first few years, but around 1555, Pedro also adopted similar beliefs, and slowly others joined the growing *luterano* community.²⁷⁹ The group was scattered across Castile in Valladolid but also smaller towns such as Pedrosa, Toro, Palencia, Logroño, and Zamora. The number of *luteranos* was small within each locality, and interactions with outside *luteranos* were generally limited to the community leaders who corresponded with and made occasional visits to one another. Yet, most of these interactions were discrete, in order to avoid unwanted attention from neighbors or religious authorities. The *luteranos* gathered in private homes during the middle of the night and held one-on-one spiritual conversations behind closed doors. Letters did not openly discuss their religious convictions in case they were intercepted. Proselytization attempts were guarded as well, meaning that the newest adherents were primarily family members or close friends. At the same time, the *luteranos* in Castile continued to participate in Catholic practices and rituals such as confession, mass, and Corpus Christi processions. This façade of orthodoxy was necessary to

²⁷⁶ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 68.

²⁷⁷ Schäfer, *PEISXVI*, p. 68.

²⁷⁸ Lutikhuisen, *Underground Protestantism in Sixteenth Century Spain*, pp. 106-108.

²⁷⁹ *PPESXVI*, p. 100.

evade the persecution and punishment that would follow if their actual convictions were laid bare.

Nevertheless, maintaining this consistent façade of orthodoxy was not a simple task. The *luteranos* in Castile better fit the description of a loose network than a tight-knit community given their geographic distance and theological disparity. One subsequent implication is that members often acted independently of each other, making different decisions regarding the dissimulation of their religious beliefs. Yet, in order to be effective, the effort to conceal heterodox leanings had to be communal. Shortly after Easter 1558, the Inquisition received denunciations regarding certain individuals whose deportment towards outsiders had become lax. Although the denunciations were targeted at Cristobal Padilla and Francisco de Vivero, they triggered a domino effect of additional denunciations that impacted the entire community of *luteranos* in Castile. Individuals such as Pedro Cazalla who were implicated in the heresy were also seized by the Inquisition, imprisoned, and interrogated over the course of over a year. When the two *autos-de-fe* were held in Valladolid in 1559, the *luteranos*' previously concealed double lives were exposed in the sight of all Spain – from the king down to the city's poor. They were punished with the stake, confiscation of personal goods, loss of reputation, and imprisonment. Those fortunate enough to keep their lives did so by professing repentance from their former heretical views and a penitent return to the Church. Consequently, *luteranismo* was practically extinguished in Castile after 1559. Its demise can largely be traced to *luteranos*' failed double lives. While certain individuals such as Pedro adeptly juggled their parallel lives as *luterano* leader and Catholic priest, others such as Cristobal Padilla were reluctant to wholly embrace that lifestyle. While *luteranismo*'s survival in sixteenth-century Castile was a community endeavor, members' autonomy eventually brought about its tragic downfall.

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Vita

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