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The whole scene is strikingly suggestive of the somewhat later action of the Israelites in the wilderness, when they thought they had lost Moses, in making and worshipping a calf, and it shows from what the Israelites needed to be delivered. The main chamber in the Eyuk sanctuary is 21 by 24 feet square—a size comparable with the rooms of the Israelite tabernacle. Neither could contain a worshipping congregation, but only the ministering priests. A Hittite tablet from Boghaz-keuy—unpublished at the time this is written—gives the name of the god Khiba, who, it appears from the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence, was worshipped about the same time in Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>: "Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite" (Ezek. xvi. 3, 45). When Professor Winckler deciphers and publishes his great store of Hittite literature from Boghaz-keuy, other interesting comparisons and contrasts between the early Hittite and Hebrew religions are to be expected.

It is well to bear in mind the proverb, "Truth is stranger than fiction," in following that literature, bewildering in its extent, that is being offered in exposition of the Old Testament. Many things which, because they seemed strange, had been set aside by some critics as fiction are being given back to us as true, and the lines of substantial history are being carried ever farther and farther back.



## The Inquisition and Spanish Protestantism.

BY THE REV. THOMAS J. PULVERTAFT, M.A.

THE Holy Office of the Inquisition has been the object of more obloquy than any other organization of ancient or modern times. Rightly described as the most terrible engine devised by the wit of man for the destruction of civil and religious liberty, ecclesiastical controversialists have tried to transfer the shame of its existence and of its persistent cruelty from the

<sup>1</sup> Exactly and remarkably confirming the words of the prophet.

Roman Church to the Spanish State. Hefele, the historian of the Councils, in his life of Cardinal Ximenes, has defended the Roman See in an unconvincing manner, and Ranke is called in support of his conclusions. These great names have won sympathy among many who have not investigated the matter for themselves. Cautious skill in one domain of history does not guarantee trustworthy opinions in another. No longer are the apologists of the Roman Church able to rely upon the obscurity of the evidence, or the feeling that it is incredible for the Church to have participated in such infamies, as proofs that the State was responsible for the proceedings of the Inquisition. During the last thirty years the archives of Simancas and Madrid have been thrown open to examination. The writer has passed many hours collating some of the manuscripts, which still have the sand glistening upon the handwriting of the Inquisitors. The penmanship is often cramped, and as contractions are frequent, decipherment, even in the brilliant Southern sunlight, is by no means easy, and historians owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Schäfer and Dr. Lea for enabling them to form a true judgment on the origin, character, and work of the dread tribunal.

The obvious carelessness of Llorente has made his monumental work suspect, but recent research has proved him to have honestly used documents, although inaccurate in his generalizations from their contents. Schäfer has written with characteristic German thoroughness the story of Spanish Protestantism in the sixteenth century, and he gives us, either in the original Spanish or in an excellent German translation, the documents on which he relies. His book is a valuable storehouse from which students can gather the needed information on any point, for nothing seems to have escaped him during the years he spent in Spanish libraries. His opinions may at times appear open to question, but this is of little importance, for the evidence on which the opinions are formed is before the reader, who can always check the character of the conclusions by weighing the premises.

Dr. Lea, whose work on the early Inquisition and the

celibacy of the clergy places him in the front rank of historians, now gives us the standard work on the Spanish Inquisition. The four volumes supply a thoroughly competent account of its establishment, procedure, and relation to Church and State. No aspect of its operations fails to pass under review, and the calm, judicious weighing of evidence stamps the writer as a man who strives to get at truth, and to avoid partial and one-sided statements. He is as familiar with modern literature as he is at home with the documents; he can duly appreciate the brilliant work of Menendez y Pelayo, and make the necessary deductions from the exaggerated statements of Spanish writers. We do not know if he has ever lived in Spain, but no one who is familiar with Spanish life and thought can fail to see that he knows the Spanish character, and this knowledge enables him to write with a sense of proportion and insight which is sadly lacking in the sciolists who have generalized from mere book knowledge of the scenes of inquisitorial activity. Those who wish to study the subject have a wealth of material placed in their hands, which will enable them to form a competent opinion. The book is a great one, and adds to the reputation of the octogenarian author.

It can no longer be doubted that the Inquisition was an ecclesiastical institution. Menendez y Pelayo boldly acknowledges the fact; Schäfer declares it to have been thoroughly ecclesiastical; and Dr. Lea shows that it owed its privileges to Papal authority, and asserts that the right of the Crown to select the Inquisitor-General was never officially recognized by the Popes, whose commissions to the successive nominees bore the form of a *motu proprio*, the spontaneous act of the Holy See by which, without reference to any request from the Sovereign, the recipient was created Inquisitor-General of the Spanish Dominions, and was invested with all the faculties and powers requisite for the functions of his office. The Kings always addressed the Inquisition "*por ruego y encargo*" (by request and charge), and never "*por mandamiento*" (by command). The absolute Spanish monarchs dared not command their

subjects, who were Inquisitors ; they asked and charged them to condescend to help and facilitate their wishes. It is impossible for any candid mind to contend that the Spanish Inquisition was a secular tribunal. No institution was more calculated to come into conflict with the normal government of the Church. It had powers over the Bishops and the religious Orders ; it could and did bring the Primate of Spain to his knees, and it continually interfered with the authority of the Bishops. Accordingly, we find disputes between Kings and Popes, Bishops and Inquisitors, but we nowhere come across any disavowal of the religious character of the Inquisition, all of whose high officers were ecclesiastics. Their nominations never called them royal, and until the modern effort was made to remove the brand of cruelty from Papal history, no one ever questioned the close association between the Church and the Holy Office. In contemporary Spain, sighs for its re-establishment are occasionally heard, and these aspirations always come from the lips of the clergy and their friends, who desire to obtain religious unity by the exercise of its dread powers. Every chapter in the four volumes is a proof that Hefele and Ranke have grievously erred in their protest against the traditional view of the Inquisition.

The peculiar atrocity of the Holy Office lay in its secrecy. The torture and sufferings of the accused were part of the usual criminal procedure of the time. On occasion the Inquisitors were more tender-hearted than the secular judges, but its denial to the accused to know the names of their accusers, and its terrible powers over those who violated the oath of secrecy, made it an object of dread and hatred. No one was safe : parents were urged to inform against their children, brothers were enticed to lay charges against their sisters, wives were tempted to denounce their husbands, and the printed volumes of the records of the trials show the indescribable horror-stricken state of those who came under its authority. Accused of crimes, committed in unnamed places, testified to by unnamed individuals, the victims very often were the unwilling means of incriminating others by their wild guesses as to the source of

the accusations. The documents show a subtle—almost diabolical—skill employed in dragging out evidence against a familiar friend falsely suggested as the cause of accusation, and no one can wonder that when the Holy Office was mentioned Spaniards were silent. “As to the King and the Inquisition, hush!” is a Spanish refrain, which expresses only too well popular feeling. The Inquisitors knew that its secrecy preserved the power, authority, and reputation of all who served it. It was the soul of the Inquisition. Shielded thereby from responsibility, there was scarcely any injustice which could not be safely perpetrated, and perjured witnesses could gratify with ease their bitter spite. As Dr. Lea says, “the secrets of those dark prison-houses will never be known even by the records, for these were framed by those whose acts they recount, and they may be true or falsified.”

The Holy Office had done its evil work against Jews and Moors when the Reform movement appeared in Europe. It had removed from Spain the classes on which the industry and the prosperity of the nation depended. The passion for religious unity was the power which worked this evil. Philip II. was on the throne when it was whispered that Spain was tainted with heresy. The Emperor Charles was in retirement in his monastery in San Yuste, bitterly repenting that he had not broken his safe conduct to Luther, as, by so doing, he would have freed Europe from his religious teaching. His daughter Juana was acting as Regent, in the temporary absence of the King, when she received a letter from the Emperor urging her to proceed against the Valladolid Reformers, for “if this evil be not suppressed at the beginning, I cannot promise that there will be a King hereafter to do it.” So great was the dread of Lutheranism in Spain that Paramo wrote: “Had not the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to those preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wildfire, people of all ranks and of both sexes having been wonderfully disposed to receive it.” Paramo is, however, an unsafe guide, for he declares that in 150 years 50,000

heretics were burnt in Spain, and this burning saved the world ; whereas even Llorente, whose figures are much inflated, only charges the Tribunal with having burned, during its three centuries of existence, 34,568 persons.

Exaggeration was natural when heresy was so greatly feared, and until recently it was generally believed that the Spanish Reformation movement had thousands of adherents from among all social classes. McCrie states : " Perhaps there never was in any other country so large a proportion of persons illustrious, either from their rank or their learning, among the converts of a new and proscribed religion." The high position of so many of the Reformers, according to him, helped the 2,100 members of the groups to escape detection for so long a time. This is the view generally held in this country, but it can be held no longer, for the cold light of the documents shows clearly there was not anything like 2,000 native Protestants in Spain in the sixteenth century, and that the followers of the Reformed Faith embraced very few members of the upper classes. The few great names attached to the martyred groups have given a social position to the plain men and women which they did not possess, and Protestant and Roman Catholic writers have unduly increased their numbers.

Dr. Schäfer has gone through the records with exhaustive care. He arrives at the conclusion that about 2,100 persons were accused of Protestantism in the latter half of the sixteenth century, of whom 220 were burned in person and 120 in effigy. Nearly all those who were burned in effigy, and the majority of those burned in person, were foreigners. In the great *autos da fé* of Valladolid and Seville, seventy persons were burned in person and thirty in effigy. Of the 1,995 cases of so-called Lutheranism, carefully collected and described by Dr. Schäfer, 1,640 were foreigners and 355 were Spaniards. Even all of those were not real Protestants, for the majority—judging from the reports of their trials—were only Protestants in the imagination of their judges. Protestants were punished with exceptional severity, and it is probably within the mark to assert that in the sixteenth

century there were not more than 150, if so many, real convinced adherents of the Reformed Faith among the Spanish people. This conclusion is arrived at independently of Dr. Lea's investigation, and was reached after a study of Llorente. It is confirmed by Dr. Wilkins, and proved by Dr. Schäfer.

Dr. Schäfer points out that this number represents a very small proportion of the 10,000,000 Spaniards, and is convinced that outside the groups of Seville and Valladolid Protestantism found no footing in Spain. Maurenbrecher accurately describes the character and extent of Spanish Protestantism in the sixteenth century. "That handful of Spanish Protestants which lived in the last years of Charles V. and the first days of Philip XI. was thoroughly destroyed by the energy of the Spanish State and the power of the Spanish Church; their appearance has remained a unique occurrence without any connection with the spiritual life of Spain, and has had no influence on national development, and has left no permanent mark on its history."

Many causes contributed to this result. The might of the Inquisition made the continued existence of Protestantism an impossibility. Out of Spain the Spaniards showed their power of receiving the teaching of the Reformation, and their literary work has value even at the present day. Reading the records of the examination of the Reformers before the Inquisitors, one is struck by the almost complete absence of organization. Irregular meetings were held in Seville and Valladolid, but it cannot be said that the Reformers were accustomed to worship in common, and no regular ministry existed. In fact, they had no time to develop an organization, for secrecy was the essence of their existence, and they were never numerous enough to become duly organized congregations with a regular ministry. It is easy for present-day Protestants to find fault with them, but their position was exceptional, and the candid student must be surprised that they existed so long without being detected. Their protection was largely due to the conviction that no Spaniard could accept the Reformed Faith, and there seems to



have been no regret expressed at their extermination. The Inquisitors in destroying Protestantism acted in agreement with public opinion.

It is remarkable that the foreign Protestants appear to have had no connection whatever with the native Reformers. We have gone through the records with a view to discovering any trace of co-operation or common worship, and have not found a single instance. Possibly Spanish exclusiveness may have had something to do with this, or it may be that the Reformers feared to compromise themselves by mingling with their foreign brethren. It is, however, more likely that the foreigners condemned as Lutherans were in no sense propagandists, and were therefore not thrown in the way of meeting their Spanish brethren. Even when Spaniards were condemned at the same *auto da fé*, there is no connection between the native and foreign martyrs.

Protestantism was thoroughly crushed in Spain, but the seed was sown which now bears fruit. The Spanish Bible comes from the sixteenth century. The Inquisition prohibited the reading of the Bible in the vernacular. Even a Spanish Duchess could only receive a licence to read the Bible in Italian for one year. All fragments and extracts in Spanish were forbidden, with the object either of keeping the unlearned ignorant of the existence of the Bible, or of making them understand it was a forbidden book. Spanish refugees translated the Bible; the copies that reached Spain were ruthlessly destroyed, but the translation survives, and the words of the sixteenth-century version are circulated in Spain to-day. It has its mission to fulfil, and no country needs it more, for, in the words of Dr. Lea, "the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself: he may inflict misery, but in due time that misery recoils on him or on his descendants, and the full penalty is exacted with interest; and never has the attempt been made so thoroughly or continuously, or with such means of success, as in Spain, and never has the consequent

retribution been so palpable and so severe. The sins of the fathers have been visited on the children, and the end is not yet."



### Literary Notes.

AMONG the many great authors of the present day, few—indeed, if any—have lived so thoroughly in harmony with the high precepts which they have taught as the venerable Count Tolstoy. It is undoubted that his personality is as great, excepting perhaps that of our revered King, as any other person living throughout the whole world, and more particularly in Europe. The active and world-wide interest taken in the coming autumn celebrations to honour him go to prove how very deeply rooted his influence has been upon modern thought. This interest will undoubtedly be increased by the appearance in September of the official "Life of Tolstoy." The author chosen for this important task is Mr. Aylmer Maude, whose prolonged personal acquaintance with Tolstoy and twenty-three years' residence in Russia enable him to thoroughly understand his subject. Mr. Maude's previous short biography of Tolstoy elicited the latter's warm approval. Being English, he endeavours to make Tolstoy's life and teaching as intelligible as he possibly can to English readers. The "Life" will be a straightforward account of the man who stands easily first among the writers of his country and his age.



In the *Periodical*, a little literary journal published by the Oxford University Press, some very interesting statistics are given concerning the Oxford Dictionary. Mr. Falcolner Madan, in his brief and capital account of the Press, which was recently published, says that the Dictionary is the greatest literary work ever produced in Oxford; and the interesting facts bear this statement out. The scheme was started in 1888, and 1912 should see the completion of it! Truly a prodigious undertaking. This colossal publication and the "Dictionary of National Biography" are literal monuments to the enthusiasm and the genius of their founders, the late Mr. G. M. Smith and Sir James Murray. Some interesting calculations have been made as to the contents of the Dictionary up to and including the last published portion. There are over 154,000 main words, the special contributions explained under main words 29,534, and subordinate words 41,317—total being nearly 225,000. The illustrative quotations exceed one million. So far there are 9,431 pages; and it is said that if one were to read such portions as are already published at the moderate rate of one page per day, it would cover a period of twenty-six years. The total number of columns are 28,273, each 10½ inches long, allowing for short columns. These columns of type, the article continues, end on end, 2½ inches wide, would stretch over four miles. The printed matter thus arranged would be fifty-three times as high as the Great Pyramid. This reading matter would go