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CHAPTER TWO

EARLY JESUIT PRO-CONVERSO POLICY (1540–72)

We [Jesuits] take a pleasure in admitting those of Jewish ancestry.
Jerónimo Nadal, S.J., 1554

The history of Jesuits of Jewish ancestry in the sixteenth century mirrors the earlier converso history in fifteenth-century Spain that we have traced in Chapter One: from the initial acceptance of “New Christians” and the rise of their influence and power to the consequent deep resentment of “Old Christians,” who had made increasing efforts to curb and possibly eliminate the converso presence first in the civil and then ecclesiastical institutions. Escaping from the persecuting civil society, a significant number of conversos had filled ecclesiastical ranks in Spain during the fifteenth century.¹ By the mid-sixteenth century, however, a number of Iberian church communities had closed their doors to them, especially the Order of the Jeronimites, which was characterized by its converso pro-Erasmist and *alumbrado* openness. Consequently, many conversos, who were rejected or feared that they would be discriminated against, found at least a temporary haven in the Society of Jesus, a new appealing religious order² that initially objected to lineage discrimination and whose spirituality in some aspects seemed akin to the Iberian movements of Erasmists and *alumbrados*, which had attracted many conversos.³ Additionally, the Jesuits opened many new remote frontiers for missionary activities that often became to conversos and/or their superiors a veiled opportunity to avoid intolerance at home.

¹ See Rey, “San Ignacio de Loyola y el problema de los cristianos nuevos,” pp. 173–5.

² For an analysis of different motives by which the conversos may have been driven to enter the Jesuits, see Rastoin, “Les chrétiens d’origine juive,” pp. 357–63.

³ See DHCJ 1:86. Kevin Ingram characterized the *alumbrados* as those who “rejected Catholic dogma for mystical and quietist religious practice” (see Ingram, ed., *Conversos and Moriscos*, p. 5), but their spirituality and doctrine was much more complex. See, for example, Pastore, *Un’eresia spagnola: spiritualità conversa, alumbradismo e inquisizione*.

This chapter shows why and how conversos played a key role in the Society of Jesus from its inception in 1540 through the generalates of Ignatius of Loyola, Diego Laínez, and Francisco de Borja. Historians have been aware of the presence of conversos in the Jesuit ranks (in the converso historiography fewer than five names of Jesuits of Jewish ancestry are usually quoted), but it has been insufficiently shown to what extent the early Jesuits richly, knowingly, and strategically benefited from their converso confreres. The presence of a prominent minority of Jewish ancestry in the Order was not always a peaceful *convivencia*, and its influence was periodically resented; furthermore, scholarship on early Jesuit history has minimized the importance of the internal struggle between “new” and “old” Christians in the development of the Society that reached its peak after the death of Borja in 1572. A key to comprehending the “Jewish question” in the Jesuit Order is first to be found in the approach to Jews and conversos of its founder, Ignatius of Loyola.

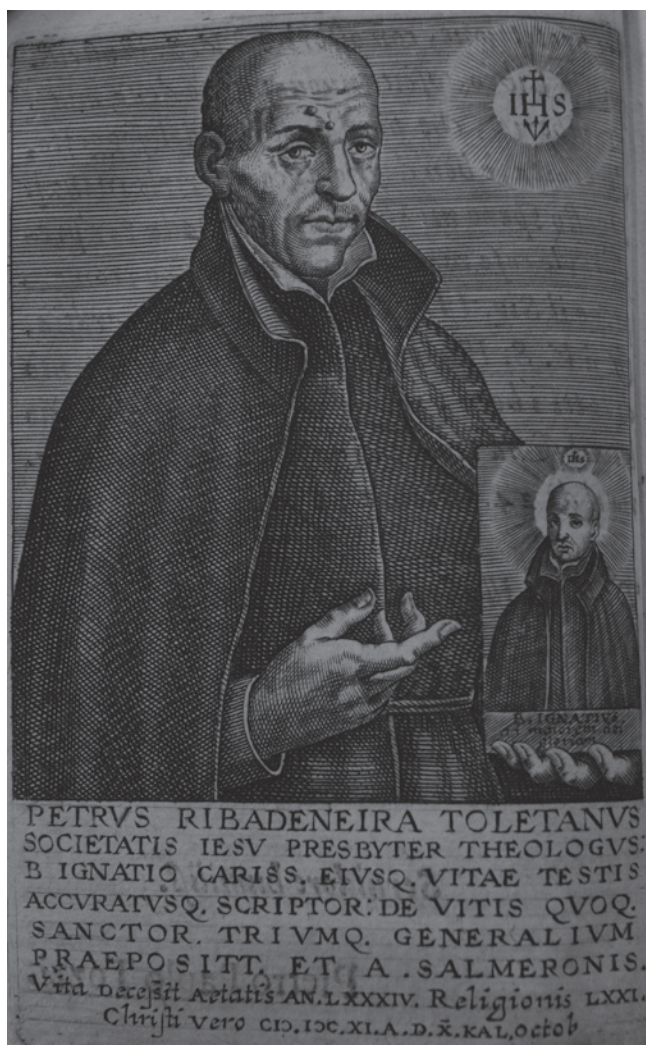
Ignatius of Loyola as a “deep spiritual Semite”

It is now a cliché to begin an account of Loyola’s Judeo-philia by quoting the testimonies of Pedro de Ribadeneyra about Ignatius’s desire to be an ethnic Jew. These testimonies come from a closet-converso Jesuit—a revealing detail that other scholars have often failed to point out—who may have been interested in spreading this information and concealing other information (as he not infrequently did on other occasions).⁴ It will be helpful, therefore, to briefly introduce to the reader the author of these accounts.

Pedro Ribadeneyra, whose name derives from the Galician town of Riva de Neira in the province of Lugo, was born on 1 November 1527 to the converso Álvaro Husillo Ortiz de Cisneros (grandson of Queen Isabella’s page and later governor of Toledo, Hernando Ortiz de Cisneros), a legal of the city council in Toledo, and Catalina de Villalobos y Ribadeneyra.⁵ As in the case of other converso Jesuit

⁴ See below our discussion on the censorship of Ribadeneyra’s biography of Laínez. See also Bataillon (*Erasmus y España*, p. 217), who argues that Ribadeneyra falsified the account of Loyola’s judgment on Erasmus’s *Enchiridion*.

⁵ See Gómez-Menor, “La progenie hebrea del padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra,” pp. 307–32.



Source: Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Della religione del principe christiano* (Bologna, 1622).
 Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 1. Pedro de Ribadeneyra as *the* biographer of Ignatius of Loyola. Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526–1611) from Toledo was the author of the first official biography of the Jesuit founder, Ignatius of Loyola, which has had numerous editions in various languages. The caption reads that Ribadeneyra was Ignatius’s accurate biographer. However, the French contemporary historian Marcel Bataillon charged Ribadeneyra with “the crime of the hagiographic deformation.” Indeed, Ribadeneyra, who was a closet-converso, concealed the fact that the Inquisition in Alcalá had accused Loyola of being a crypto-Jew.

Modern scholarship has established Ribadeneyra’s Jewish genealogy.

families, some of his siblings became men and women religious: his brother Alfonso de Villalobos, for instance, entered the Benedictines in Valladolid. After his studies of grammar under the masters Cedillo and Venegas at Toledo, in May 1539 Pedro de Ribadeneyra followed the opulent court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), Pope Paul III's nephew, the future intermediary between the papacy and the Society, and its major benefactor. Pedro's widowed mother hosted him at the occasion of the funeral of Charles V's wife, Isabella of Portugal (1503–39). Watched by his converso uncle, Pedro de Ortiz, the emperor's ambassador in Rome, Pedro stayed at Farnese's Roman palace for fourteen months. Fearing punishment for an unrevealed transgression, he secretly escaped from there and found a refuge in Loyola's loving paternal arms,⁶ despite his young age of thirteen. After having raised this charming yet restless lad in Jesuit spirituality for two years, Ignatius planned that Pedro should study in Paris (1542), but he ended up in Spanish Flanders (Leuven) due to the Franco-Imperial War. After having founded a college there, he returned to Rome with the Valencian Juan Jerónimo Doménech⁷ in 1543. Subsequently, Ribadeneyra studied for four years in Padua (1545–9), where he became a friend of Juan Alfonso de Polanco,⁸ whom Loyola later recommended supervise Pedro.⁹ As Ignatius informed Ortiz about his protégé's progress, Pedro at Padua gained a solid foundation in the humanities.¹⁰ Thereafter, he was ready to be sent to the newly opened college in Palermo, where he taught rhetoric (1549–52). He also preached in Sicily, even though

⁶ Polanco testified to Loyola's special feelings towards Ribadeneyra: "El Padre Maestro Ignacio, por quererle tanto, no quiso determinar por sí acerca de sus cosas, y así las cometió al Padre Laínez y a mí" (*Mon Rib.* 2:264). See also John W. O'Malley and James P.M. Walsh, *Constructing a Saint Through Images: The 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius of Loyola* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2008), pp. 12–3.

⁷ Juan Jerónimo Doménech: *1516 Valencia; SJ 1539; †1592 Valencia; priest in 1538; professed in 1555. His father, who was an affluent pharmacist, helped found the Jesuit College in his native city. He was active mostly in Sicily as its threefold provincial, where he also became the confessor of Viceroy Juan de Vega. In the meantime he was rector of the Roman College after the removal of Vázquez. Mercurian sent him back to Spain in 1576. His role in the vocations of Nadal and Miró was also pivotal. He was one of the major promoters of the Morisco apostolate and Arabic studies in the Society (see *DHCJ* 2:1135–6).

⁸ Juan Alfonso de Polanco: *1517 Burgos (Spain); SJ 1541; †1576 Rome; priest in 1546; professed in 1549. Palmio considered him the leader of the converso inner circle, and much space, thus, will be dedicated to him below.

⁹ See *Mon Ign.* 1:519–26.

¹⁰ See *Mon Ign.* 1:359.

he was still a student. Upon his return to Rome, where he was called to teach rhetoric at the newly opened Roman College and complete his studies there, he was ordained priest in 1553 and sent again to Flanders, with the mission to deepen the roots of the Society there by seeking the royal support of the Jesuit-averse Prince Philip,¹¹ who remained impressed by Ribadeneyra's oratory. There, he received the sad news about his spiritual father's death. In his *Confessions*, Pedro described the feelings that arose in him that day: "Oh, my beloved Father Ignatius. Yes, I call you my, for—even though you have been the father of the entire Society—you've been especially of mine, because you generated me in Jesus Christ."¹²

Among many episodes of his spiritual father's life he collected for Ignatius's hagiography, Ribadeneyra recounted that

One day when many of us were dining together, [Ignatius] speaking of himself about a certain topic, said that he would take it as a special grace from our Lord to come from Jewish lineage; and adding a reason, he said: "Why? Imagine that a man could be a kinsman by blood [*secundum carnem*] of Christ our Lord and of our Lady the glorious Virgin Mary!" He spoke those words with so much emotion that tears welled into his eyes. This is something that deeply impressed everyone.¹³

On another occasion, Loyola's hagiographer observed that

On hearing our Father make the same statement, which I recounted above, he crossed himself and exclaimed: "A Jew?!" And he spitted on the ground at this name. Our father said to him: "Now, Señor Pedro de Zárate, let us be reasonable. Listen to what I have to say." And then he gave him so many reasons for this that he really persuaded him to wish to be of Jewish lineage.¹⁴

¹¹ See ARSI, *Inst.* 117a, f. 159^v.

¹² "Oh, mi querido Padre Ignacio! Sí, os llamo mío, pues aunque Padre de toda la Compañía, habéis sido más particularmente mío, pues me engendrateis en Jesu-Cristo" (*Mon Rib.* 1:197). I modernized spelling and interpunction in this and following quotations from the MHSI.

¹³ See *Mon Rib.* 2: 375; and *Fontes Narr.* 2:476: "Un día que estábamos comiendo delante de muchos, a cierto propósito, hablando de sí, dijo que tuviera por gracia especial de nuestro Señor venir de linaje de judíos; y añadió la causa, diciendo:—¡Como! ¡Poder ser el hombre pariente de Cristo N[uestro] S[eñor] *secundum carnem*, y de nuestra Señora la gloriosa Virgen María!—Las cuales palabras dijo con tal semblante y con tanto sentimiento que se le saltaron las lágrimas y fue cosa que se notó mucho."

¹⁴ "¿Judío?—y escupiendo a este nombre, nuestro Padre le dijo:—'Aora, S[eño]r Pedro de Zárate, estemos a razón: óigame V[uestra] M[er]ce[d.]d.—Y que le dio tantas razones para esto, que verdaderamente le persuadió a desear ser de linaje de judíos" (*Fontes Narr.* 2:477).

A much less-known confirmation of Ignatius's desire to be of Jewish stock comes from the testimony of Diego de Guzmán (about whom much will be told below), which was included in his letter to Claudio Acquaviva.¹⁵ He refers there to a Jew who served Pope Paul III and later entered Loyola's community of catechumens, where he established a friendship with Ignatius:

Chatting with him one day, he told him: "I, my father Ignatius, would prefer, if God were served, not to be born of this lineage, for these people persecuted and crucified Jesus Christ our Lord." And our father answered him, "Do you want me to say what I feel about this? To tell you the truth, if our Lord would like me to choose this lineage to be born of, I would not choose other than yours. And the reason for this is that the Lord himself wanted to choose this lineage for him and to be son of Abraham and David and other patriarchs and kings; and of them was his most holy Mother, Virgin Mary, with her husband Saint Joseph, whom he used to call 'My Father.' And also the glorious Virgin, his mother, told him when they found him in the temple, 'Your father and I were looking for you with pain.'" And hearing this response from our blessed father Ignatius, the New Christian remained very surprised and greatly consoled.¹⁶

These expressions of Loyola's Judeophilia are usually juxtaposed with an account of an interrogation by the vicar general of the diocese of Alcalá, who suspected Íñigo of crypto-Judaism, most likely because

¹⁵ Claudio Acquaviva: *1543 Atri (Italia); SJ 1567; †1615 Rome; priest in 1574; professed in 1576. Pius IV appointed him *cameriere segreto partecipante* at the papal curia. Mercurian made him rector of the Roman College and of the college in Naples. In 1576 he was appointed provincial of Naples and in 1579 of Rome. General Congregation 4 (1580) elected him superior general at the age of thirty-seven. Under his generalate, anti-converso measures were adopted; we shall analyze them in the next chapter.

¹⁶ "Habiéndose catequizado en nuestra casa profesa (según entiendo), donde estaba nuestro padre, quedó con grande amistad y agradecimiento con nuestro padre y, hablando un día con el le dijo, 'Yo, padre mío Ignacio, no quisiera, si Dios fuera servido, haber nacido de este linaje por haber esta gente perseguido y crucificado a Jesús Cristo nuestro Señor.' Y le respondió nuestro padre, '¿Queréis que os diga [...] lo que yo siento en esto? Yo os digo [...] y de verdad que, si nuestro Señor quisiera darme a escoger este linaje yo quisiera nacer, no escogería otro sino este vuestro; y la razón es por haber querido el mismo Señor escogerlo para si y ser Hijo de Abraham y de David y de los otros patriarcas y reyes; y de ellos nació su santísima Madre la Virgen María con su esposo el Santo José al cual llamaba 'el Padre mío': y también la gloriosa Virgen, su madre, le dijo cuando lo halló en el templo, 'Tu padre y yo os buscábamos con dolor.' Y oyendo esta respuesta de nuestro bendito padre Ignacio, el nuevo cristiano quedó muy maravillado y con gran consolación" (ARSI, *Instit.* 186e, f. 355^{r-v}).



Source: *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome, 1609), plate 36 (the engraving is most likely by Peter Paul Rubens). Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 2. Ignatius of Loyola incarcerated by the Inquisition in Alcalá
The caption reads: *Compluti primum, postea Salamanticae, calumnias pro Christo et carcerem passus, ex ipso etiam carcere animas lucratur magnoque spiritus fervor seccensus. Non tot inquit in hac urbe sunt compedes quin plures ego Christi causa percipiam* (“First in Alcalá, and then in Salamanca, having suffered calumnies and prison for Christ, from the same prison [Ignatius] gains souls and is inflamed with great fervor of spirit. He said that there were not enough shackles in that city that he would not desire still more for the sake of Christ”). Loyola was incarcerated because the vicar general of Alcalá suspected him of crypto-Judaism, most likely due to his numerous contacts with *alumbrados*/Erasmists who often were of converso background.

of his numerous contacts with *alumbrados*/Erasmists there.¹⁷ Loyola's converso secretary, Polanco, retrospectively narrated that

When, after the time described, the Vicar Figueroa came to question him, and among other things asked him if he recommended observance of the Sabbath, he replied, "For Saturdays I recommend special devotion to our Lady, and I know of no other observances for Saturday. Moreover, in my country there are no Jews."¹⁸

This text often has been interpreted as a testament to Íñigo's Basque pride in his blood purity (*vizcaino* unfairly became a synonym of the Old Christian) and an expression of his "sixteenth-century Guipuzcoan soul,"¹⁹ which later would be spiritually transformed into Ignatius's desire to be a Jew by blood.²⁰ That conversion would occur as a result of the close friendship Loyola established with the converso Diego Laínez²¹ (and Nicolas Bobadilla)²² during their encounter at the University of Paris, where all moved after their studies at the Renaissance-influenced University of Alcalá de Henares that was founded in 1499 by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, the Inquisitor General.

Some authors also have suggested that Íñigo's *methanoia* was due to his lack of contact with Jews.²³ This might be true, if one does not take into consideration crypto-Jews and conversos (who were commonly still considered Jews)—Loyola was born just before 1492, the *terminus*

¹⁷ See Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 203–44; John E. Longhurst, "Saint Ignatius at Alcalá. 1526–1527," *AHSI* 26 (1957): 252–6; idem, *Luther's Ghost in Spain (1517–1546)* (Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1964), pp. 103–16; and *DHCF* 1:86. Interestingly enough, some historians omitted the question posed by the vicar general in their detailed accounts of Loyola's trials in Alcalá. See, for example, Paul Dudon, *St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1949), pp. 139–60; and Astrain, *Historia*, 1:49–55. The suspicion of Íñigo's converso background was raised not only by Vicar General Juan Rodríguez Figueroa but also by the inquisitors during Loyola's first trial on 19 November 1525. For the minutes of the interrogation by the Franciscan Francisco Ximénes, who testified in the process, see *Mon Ign. (Scripta)*, 1:600.

¹⁸ See *Fontes Narr.* 2:548; *Chron.* 1:37.

¹⁹ See Rey, "San Ignacio," p. 177; Reites, "St. Ignatius and the Jews," p. 2; and idem, *St. Ignatius and the Peoples of the Book*, pp. 122–3. To Rey's list of anti-Jewish legislation in the Basque country, Medina adds another document, but he doubts whether Loyola was representing the same mentality ("Ignacio de Loyola," p. 3). For an interpretation of the statutes of Guipúzcoa by Américo Castro, see Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition*, p. 4.

²⁰ See Rey, "San Ignacio," pp. 178–9; and Reites, *St. Ignatius and the People of the Book*, p. 99.

²¹ See Reites, *St. Ignatius and the People of the Book*, pp. 123–7.

²² See Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola," p. 3.

²³ See Rey, "San Ignacio," pp. 177–8; and Reites, "St. Ignatius and the Jews," p. 6.

post quem no Jews were allowed in Spain. However, in his story of Loyola's interrogation in Alcalá, Polanco may have employed a rhetorical device aimed to suggest such a development to his fellow Jesuits, from whom he suffered discrimination because of his own converso background, as we shall see below. Indeed, Polanco wrote this text during the last two years of his life, after he was removed from his office in 1573 as part of Mercurian's anti-converso "house cleansing."²⁴ It contains Loyola's purity-of-blood-pride answer that is missing from both the paragraph describing the same episode in Polanco's much earlier *Summarium Hispanum* (c. 1548) and in what Loyola would narrate shortly before his death in 1556 to his note-taker, the converso-phobic Gonçalves da Câmara.²⁵ A similar rhetorical rather than fact-based defense of Ignatius's purity of blood was made by Jerónimo Nadal in his *Apologia pro Exercitiis S. P. Ignatii* (1554):

Ignatius is a Spaniard from the foremost nobility in the province of Guipúzcoa in Cantabria. In this province the Catholic faith has been preserved so uncontaminated and its peoples' zeal and constancy in faith have been so great from time immemorial that they do not allow any neophyte to live there. There is no record from the very beginnings of Christianity of anyone who was minimally suspected of heresy. This should have been enough to ward off any suspicion from Ignatius.²⁶

²⁴ Everard Mercurian: *c. 1515 Marcourt; SJ 1548; †1580 Rome. 1552–7: rector of Perugia; 1558–65: provincial of Flanders; 1565–72: assistant general for Germany; 1573–80: superior general. For his most recent biographical sketch, see Fois, "Everard Mercurian," pp. 1–33. One of the early Mercurian's biographers was Antonio Possevino, who most likely was of Jewish origin (see below). The text has remained unpublished (ARSI, *Vita* 142, ff. 1–15). Mercurian's election and anti-converso policy will be subject of the next chapter.

²⁵ The main source of the *Summarium* (see *Fontes Narr.* 1:146–256) is Láinez's letter-biography requested by Polanco, which does not mention, however, the question about the observance of the Sabbath (see Robert Maryks, ed., *Giacomo Láinez. Prima biografia ignaziana* [Naples: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1996], pp. 33–4). Loyola's so-called *Autobiography* dictated to Câmara mentioned briefly that the vicar interrogated him about many things, even whether he "had observed Saturday" (see *Acta* [61], in *Fontes Narr.* 1:448). While writing the *Summarium*, Polanco was Loyola's secretary and likely gathered this information from Ignatius himself. Ribadeneyra, who was accused by Bataillon of "the crime of the hagiographic deformation" (*Erasmus*, pp. 207–8), concealed in his official biography of Ignatius this episode by reporting that nothing heretical was found during the process. Additionally, in 1585 Ribadeneyra censored this part in Maffei's *Vita S. Ignatii*, which made Acquaviva happy (see *Fontes Narr.* 3:220). For the immense printing success of Ribadeneyra's *Vita* and its numerous translations, including the Spanish one by Ribadeneyra himself, see O'Malley and Walsh, *Constructing a Saint Through Images*, pp. 14–5.

²⁶ *Mon Nadal* 4:825–6: "Est Ignatius hispanus, e prima nobilitate totius provinciae hipuscuae [sic] in Cantabria, in qua provincia adeo incontaminata fides catholica

Whatever the motive was for defending Loyola's purity of blood by his two closest converso associates, Ignatius's positive attitude towards judeo-conversos—developed by numerous contacts with them before being processed at Alcalá—seems to be irreconcilable with the image of Íñigo being proud of his pure-blood lineage.

Struck by the supposedly unusual benevolence of a Basque towards Jews and conversos,²⁷ some scholars even speculated about the potential converso background of Loyola himself. Kevin Ingram has hypothesized in his recent Ph.D. dissertation the converso origins of Íñigo's maternal grandfather, Dr. Martín García de Licona, who “was not just a merchant, [but] a man of letters and a financial advisor at court—that is to say his profile is very much that of a converso merchant professional.” Consequently, Íñigo too would be considered a converso.²⁸ More well documented is Ingram's claim about the converso stock of many individuals who surrounded Loyola in his “pilgrim years”: the *alumbrado* sympathizer of possible converso background, Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar (d. 1517)—chief treasurer (*contador mayor*) of King Ferdinand of Aragon (1479–1516), at whose court in Arévalo Loyola served as page for twelve years (1505–17); I[g]nés Pascual from the Barcelonese merchant family and her pious circle that supported Íñigo's stay in Manresa, Barcelona, and Paris;²⁹ his two roommates at Alcalá, Lope de Cáceres and Calixto de Sá [Saa],³⁰ the *alumbrado*-Erasmist friends there, his confessor Manuel Miona and the pub-

conservatur, antiquissime ea fidei constantia ac zelo sunt homines, ut nullum admittant neophytum, qui inter eos habitare possit, nullus post christianorum memoriam ex illis hominibus de minima haeresis suspicione sit notatus. Hinc fuit consequens nullam debuisse surripere suspicionis opinionem de Ignatio.” For the negation of the myth claiming there were no Jews or conversos in Guipúzcoa, see José Luis Orella Unzué, “La Provincia de Guipúzcoa y el tema de los judíos en tiempos del joven Íñigo de Loyola (1492–1528),” in Plazaola, ed., *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, pp. 847–68; and idem, *Las raíces de la hidalguía Guipuzcoana. El control de los judíos, conversos y extranjeros en Guipúzcoa durante el siglo XVI* (San Sebastián: Universidad de Deusto, 1995).

²⁷ See Rey, “San Ignacio,” pp. 177–8.

²⁸ See Kevin Ingram, *Secret lives, public lies: The conversos and socio-religious non-conformism in the Spanish Golden Age*. Ph.D. Thesis (San Diego: University of California, 2006), pp. 87–8.

²⁹ Along with Inés Pascual, it was Isabel [Ferrer] Roser (future first female Jesuit) and her husband Pere Joan Roser, a merchant from Barcelona, who took care of Íñigo's financial needs. See ACA, DIVERSOS, Monistrol, Pergaminos, núm. 1043; and Polanco, *Summarium Hispanum*, 2:45.

³⁰ One wonders whether he was related to the converso brothers whom Loyola would later admit to the Society, Manuel and Gaspar de Sá (Saa).

lisher of Erasmus, Miguel Eguía;³¹ and his financial patrons during the Parisian period, Juan de Cuéllar in Antwerp and Gonzalo de Aguilera in Bruges.³² Apparently, the court of the Duke of Nájera and Viceroy of Navarre, Antonio Manrique de Lara (r. 1516–21), whom Íñigo served until his accident-turned-conversion at Pamplona in 1521, also had converso ties.³³

The *alumbrado* environment of Loyola's sojourn at the Complutensian University (which he later denied)³⁴ was more extensively studied by Ignacio Cacho Nazábal in his *Íñigo de Loyola el heterodoxo*—without assigning it a specifically converso character, however.³⁵ Besides pointing out the *alumbrado* sympathies of the Duke of Nájera and analyzing the close relationship that Loyola established with the Erasmists, Miona and Eguía, Cacho has noticed the ramifications of the connections that the converso brothers Ortiz (who were related to Ribadeneyra) had with the *alumbrado* circle at Alcalá. The accomplished Parisian and Salmantican biblicist, Pedro Ortiz (d. 1548), had defended his Franciscan brother, Francisco,³⁶ from the Inquisition's accusations in Alcalá that stemmed from the latter's intimate spiritual relationship with the *beata* Francisca Hernández.³⁷ She had found protection at the court of Velázquez de Cuéllar, where Íñigo had served as page a few years earlier, before his arrival in Alcalá. In this town, Francisca Hernández had numerous followers, whom Loyola met. It

³¹ See also Loyola, *Autobiography* [57]; Ignacio Cacho Nazábal, *Íñigo de Loyola el heterodoxo* (San Sebastián: Universidad de Deusto, 2006), pp. 155–6; Longhurst, “Saint Ignatius at Alcalá,” pp. 254–5; and Bataillon, *Erasmus*, pp. 215–7. Manuel de Miona (c. 1477–1567) from Algarve (Portugal) followed Loyola to Paris and became his confessor there. He eventually entered the Society in Rome in 1544 and worked later with Juan Jerónimo Doménech in Sicily (see *DHCF* 3:2683). Miguel de Eguía y Jassu's brothers, Diego and Estéban, befriended Loyola in Alcalá and joined the *íñigistas* group in Venice in 1537. They were from Estella (Navarra) and related by blood to the Jesuit Francis Xavier. Diego (c. 1488–1556) later became Ignatius's confessor (see *DHCF* 2:1220–1).

³² See Ingram, *Secret lives, public lies*, pp. 98–9.

³³ See Ingram, *Secret lives, public lies*, pp. 88–9.

³⁴ See his letter to King John III of Portugal from 1545 in *Mon Ign.* 1:296–7.

³⁵ See especially pp. 149–91.

³⁶ Francisco, Pedro, and Juan (the secretary of Admiral of Castile, Farique Enríquez) were born to Sancho Ortiz e Ysabel Yáñez of Toledo. Francisco entered the Franciscans in 1521, where he achieved notoriety, but as a result of the endorsement of the purity-of-blood legislation by his Order in 1525, he suffered discrimination.

³⁷ See Angela Selke, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición. Proceso de Fr. Francisco Ortiz (1529–32)* (Madrid: Ed. Guadarrama, 1968); and Camilo M. Abad, “Unas ‘Anotaciones’ del doctor Pedro Ortiz y de su hermano fray Francisco sobre los Ejercicios espirituales de san Ignacio,” *AHSI* 25 (1956): 437–54.

was Pedro who accused Íñigo before the Inquisition in Alcalá and who would accuse him again of seducing students (his relative, Pedro de Peralta, among them)³⁸ at the University of Paris, but he later would become Loyola's defender and the Society's benefactor in Rome, where he functioned as the ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to the pope. Indeed, in 1537 he introduced Ignatius's companions to Pope Farnese (Paul III), who gave his blessing for their never-to-be-accomplished proselytizing mission in Jerusalem. In 1538, Ortiz secluded himself with Loyola for forty days in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino to make the Spiritual Exercises, but he eventually discerned not to enter the Society.³⁹ Nevertheless, he advised his younger relative, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, to do so. Years later, Pedro Ortiz's homonymous nephew also entered the Society.⁴⁰

If we combine the results of the aforementioned studies with those of Francisco de Borja Medina—virtually the only Jesuit historian who has explored the socio-ethnic background of the early Jesuits—we can tentatively reconstruct a large web of Loyola's converso connections. Medina, for instance, pointed out the interdependence among the cities of Burgos, Segovia, and Medina del Campo that Ignatius visited while serving at the peripatetic court of King Ferdinand (and, thus, his treasurer Velázquez) and his financial supporters during the Parisian studies: Aguilera, Cuéllar, and Cuadrado.

Gonzalo de Aguilera from Burgos was one of the major merchants and ship-owners in Bruges (the Spanish Netherlands). During his business trips to Paris, Loyola hosted him in his own room. A few decades later Aguilera would financially support the foundation of the Jesuit College in Bruges. When Loyola, in turn, went to Bruges in 1529 to seek money for his bed-and-board expenses in Paris, he dined with the renowned converso humanist from Valencia, Joan Lluís Vives, who was living next to Aguilera's home (Hôtel den Pynappel on Langhe Winkle Street). It is interesting to note that the account of this meeting comes from the Jesuit Juan Alfonso de Polanco via his friend and Vives's disciple, Álvaro de Maluenda (from the converso clan in Burgos, to which Polanco's grandmother and her ancestors belonged), who

³⁸ One wonders whether this Peralta is the later converso master of the cathedral school in Toledo, one of the principal opponents of the *Silíceo* statues, decried by Samson in his "The *adelantamiento* of Cazorla," pp. 823 and 832–3.

³⁹ See Loyola, *Autobiography* [96].

⁴⁰ See ARSI, *Hisp.* 116, ff. 129–30.



Source: *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolæ Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome, 1609), plate 38 (the engraving is most likely by Peter Paul Rubens). Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 3. Íñigo accused of seducing students at the University of Paris

happened to be also Loyola's acquaintance in Paris. Aguilera's wife, Ana, was closely related to Juan de Castro, one of the first roommates and disciples of Íñigo in Paris (before forming the future nucleus of the Society). After earning his doctorate, Castro moved back to Burgos and entered the Vall de Cristo *Cartuja* near Segorbe, where Loyola visited him during his last trip to Spain in 1535.⁴¹

During another fund-raising trip to Flanders, this time to Antwerp, Ignatius was hosted in the house Den Roozenkrans of Juan de Cuéllar from Segovia, who had moved to Antwerp and had become one of the most affluent merchants in town. He was likely related to Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, chief treasurer of King Ferdinand of Aragon, to whom Íñigo had lent his services.⁴² The *contador's* family was known for his *alumbrado/converso* ties, as we have seen above. In the house of Juan de Cuéllar, Loyola was introduced to another merchant, Pedro Cuadrado from Medina del Campo, who years later would provide for the foundation of the Jesuit College in his native town, where the converso Jesuits, the brothers Loarte,⁴³ the brothers Acosta,⁴⁴ Baltasar de Torres,⁴⁵ Gregorio de Valencia, and José de San Julián⁴⁶ also were born.⁴⁷

⁴¹ See Francisco de Borja Medina, "Íñigo de Loyola y los mercaderes castellanos del Norte de Europa. La financiación de sus estudios en la Universidad de París," *AHSI* 51 (1999): 177 and 189.

⁴² See Medina, "Íñigo de Loyola y los mercaderes," p. 186.

⁴³ For more on him, see below.

⁴⁴ José de Acosta: *1540 Medina del Campo (Valladolid); SJ 1552; †1600 Salamanca; priest in 1566; professed in 1570. He was one of five sons of a converso merchant from Medina del Campo who entered the Society. In 1572 he reached Lima, where he became superior provincial (1576–82) and wrote important works on Amerindians. Acosta died in Salamanca in 1600. See *DHCJ* 1:10; *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 1:228–30. For the discussion of Acosta's Jewish ancestry, see Claudio M. Burgaleta, *José Acosta, S.J. (1540–1600). His Life and Thought* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1999), pp. 126–7. He played an important role in the convocation of General Congregation 5 (1593), as we shall see below.

⁴⁵ Baltasar de Torres: *1518 Medina del Campo (Valladolid, Spain); SJ 1553; †1561 Naples; priest in 1553 (see *DHCJ* 4:3818).

⁴⁶ José de San Julián: *c. 1544; SJ 1561 Salamanca; priest 1569 Loreto; professed 1570 Messina. He was dismissed by Acquaviva in 1589 (he belonged to the *memorialistas* movement), but later readmitted. He died in Naples on 29 April 1605 (see *DHCJ* 2:2616).

⁴⁷ On other conversos who received training from the Jesuits of the town but returned to Judaism, see Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), p. 58.

In the context of the converso background of so many individuals by whom Ignatius was surrounded until his sojourn in Paris, Loyola's acceptance of Bobadilla, Rodrigues, and especially of Laínez into the group of disciples whom he attracted at the University of Paris seems to be quite logical, unless his disciples' converso ancestry was absolutely unknown to him. That may have been true with respect to Simão Rodrigues [de Acevedo], whose possible Jewish ancestry still needs to be explored, but Bobadilla's and especially Laínez's converso origins were fairly known.

Had Loyola's mythic anti-Jewish Basque pride been real, it is unlikely that the twenty-one-year-old Laínez would have followed Loyola up to Paris by way of Almazán and thoroughly submitted to his spiritual guidance and apostolic plans of proselytizing among Muslims in the Holy Land. To the contrary, even though Íñigo had already left Alcalá by the time Laínez arrived there,⁴⁸ Laínez must have heard about Loyola's troubles with the Inquisition, his forty-two-day imprisonment, his interrogation by the diocese's vicar general who suspected Loyola of marranism, and the contacts he had established at the university with so many *alumbrados* and/or Erasmists. Laínez chose to study theology not in Alcalá but in Paris, for he was driven by Loyola's "mysterious fluid"—his name only sounded like a challenge.⁴⁹ With his best friend, Alfonso Salmerón,⁵⁰ he joined Loyola's group (composed

⁴⁸ See Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier; His Life, His Times* (Rome: The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973), vol. 1, p. 205.

⁴⁹ See Scaduto, *Governo*, pp. 125–6; Cereceda, *Laínez*, 47–8; and James Brodrick, *The Origin of the Jesuits* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1960, 1940), p. 1.

⁵⁰ Alfonso Salmerón: *1515 Olías (Toledo); priest in 1537, professed 1541; †1585 Rome. Son of Alonso Salmerón and Marina Díaz, he was a close friend of Laínez from adolescence, with whom he studied in Sigüenza, Alcalá, and Paris. He was the brother of the Jesuit Diego Salmerón and was probably related also to the Jesuit Baltasar Salmerón. Together with Laínez and Favre, he participated in the Council of Trent. He was the first provincial of Naples (1558–76) and vicar general during Laínez's absence in Rome in 1562. He eagerly supported the converso lobby during General Congregation 3, as we shall see below. He authored eleven volumes of commentaries on gospels. Some scholars have claimed that had converso ancestry: see Friedman, "Jewish Conversion, the Spanish Pure Blood Laws and Reformation," p. 3; Gómez-Menor, "Lo progenie hebrea del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira," p. 308; and José Gonçalves Salvador, *Cristãos-novos, Jesuítas e Inquisição (Aspectos de sua atuação nas capitánias do Sul, 1530–1680)* (São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editora, 1969), p. 3.



Source: *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome, 1609), plate 39 (the engraving is most likely by Peter Paul Rubens). Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 4. *Īnigistas* in Paris: the nucleus of the future Society of Jesus
 The caption reads: *Iuvenes ex Academia Parisiensi novem eligit ac socios consilij sui destinat* (“[Ignatius] chooses nine young men from the University of Paris and makes them companions of his project”). Loyola’s first nine companions in Paris became the nucleus of the future Society of Jesus (among them Favre, Xavier, Láinez, Bobadilla, and Rodrigues). Nadal and Polanco, Ignatius’s future closest collaborators, did not join the group at that time, despite being in contact with the *Īnigistas* during their studies in Paris.

until then of Pierre Favre⁵¹ and Francis Xavier⁵² in 1533, after having made the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises under Loyola's direction.

Although we can only speculate about it, it is quite unlikely that Laínez would have not revealed his Jewish ancestry to Loyola, with whom he established such an intimate relationship.⁵³ Laínez's family from Castilian Almazán (Soria) had been Christian already for four generations, but the awareness of its crypto-Judaic elements must have been vivid in Diego's mind, for his father's sister, Luisa Laínez, was tried by the Inquisition of Cuenca still in 1537,⁵⁴ and quite a number of his other relatives were actually sentenced for judaizing,⁵⁵ a fact that Jerónimo Nadal may have not known (or concealed) when he defended Laínez's family as exemplary Christian:

Our Father [Laínez], even though he comes from that lineage, he knew his parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents as good Christians and noble in the world; their customs, life, and privileges were such that his family was never known for the mark of its lineage or for the danger of inconsistency in the faith.⁵⁶

Certainly, the Parisian companions must have had a better knowledge of Laínez's family: Loyola paid a visit to Diego's father, Juan, in Almazán, and his schoolmaster in Sigüenza, Dr. Gasca, where he traveled from his native Guipúzcoa at the end of 1535;⁵⁷ and Favre

⁵¹ Pierre Favre: *1506 Villaret (Savoie); †1546 Rome; priest 1534 Paris; professed 1541. After a short period of ministries in Italy, he accompanied Pedro de Ortiz (see below) to Worms and Ratisbone, and then to Spain, where they laid foundations for a number of Jesuit colleges. Subsequently he worked in German lands, Portugal, and Flanders. Destined to participate in the Council of Trent, he died prematurely in Rome at the age of forty (see *DHCJ* 2:1369–70).

⁵² Francis Xavier: *1506 Javier (Spain); †1552 Shangchuan Island (South China Sea); priest in 1537; professed in 1541. Sent by Loyola to India in 1541, he operated also in Indonesia (1542–9) and Japan (1549–51). On his policy towards conversos, see below.

⁵³ Possevino makes this argument in his *Bibliotheca selecta* (Cologne: apud Joannem Gymnicum sub Monocerote, 1607), Liber IX: "De Iudaeis, et Mahometanis, ac ceteris gentibus iuvandis," pp. 436–41.

⁵⁴ See Carrete, *Judeoconversos de Almazán*, p. 136.

⁵⁵ See Enrique Sanz, "Los Laínez y la limpieza de sangre," *Perficit* 17 (1993): 65–71.

⁵⁶ "Nuestro Padre [Laínez], aunque venga de dicho linaje, conoció sin embargo a sus padres, abuelos y bisabuelos buenos cristianos y nobles según el siglo, y en sus costumbres, vida y privilegios, tales, que nunca su casa tuvo nota alguna por parte de su linaje por el peligro de inconstancia en la fe" (*Mon Laínez* 8:831). See Rey, "San Ignacio," pp. 187–8, where he insists very much on the "cristanía" of Laínez by quoting the above text of Nadal.

⁵⁷ See Loyola, *Autobiography* [90].

visited Laínez's family in Almazán in 1542.⁵⁸ There, Loyola and Favre encountered, among others, Diego's two younger brothers, Marcos and Cristóbal, who would later enter the Society. Perhaps at those occasions they also met Diego's sister, María Coronel, who later married Juan Hurtado de Mendoza—a member of one of the most prominent families in Seville—and bore him two sons who would follow their uncle Diego's vocation in the Society.

We possess very little information about these Jesuit relatives of Diego, except for Cristóbal (born in 1528), who entered the Jesuit Order no fewer than three times and often was of embarrassment to his distinguished older brother. Loyola admitted him to the Order in Rome on 27 December 1547. Restless and inconstant, Cristóbal moved from one Jesuit house to another: from Rome to Venice, to Padua, to Bologna, to Loreto, to Florence, and back to Rome. In spite of Diego's negative judgment about his poor scholastic and spiritual proficiency, Cristóbal was ordained priest in Palermo in April 1556, but his own brother, now in the role of superior general, dismissed him three years later.⁵⁹ Even though to Nadal he was a buffoon and to Salmerón he was staining the good memory of his older brother, Borja readmitted him in 1567, only to dismiss him four years later. Finally, Claudio Acquaviva—despite his anti-converso policy—let Cristóbal reenter for the third and last time in 1582. He eventually died as a Jesuit in 1592, just a year before Acquaviva's anti-converso decree was promulgated.

Cristóbal Laínez's case shows that to the early Jesuit leadership the most important criterion for admitting a candidate was his spiritual and educational suitability, regardless of his lineage, even though the question of the converso background of Jesuit candidates was, of course, relevant to Loyola (and any Iberian of the time)—he would later insert it in the *General Exam*, which describes the admission of Jesuit candidates, as we shall see below. In this perspective, Loyola's request that Diego Laínez preach at the baptism of the first converted Jew from the catechumen house (*Casa dei Catecumeni*) he had founded can be seen as a public confirmation of his incontrovertible sympathy for the converso background of Laínez, or any other New Christian, Jesuit or non.

⁵⁸ See *Mon Fabri*, pp. 152 and 435; and Cereceda, *Laínez*, p. 87.

⁵⁹ See William V. Bangert, *Claude Jay and Alfonso Salmerón: Two Early Jesuits* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), pp. 262–3 and 320; and Scaduto, *Governo*, p. 124.



Source: Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita P. Jacopo Laynis* (Cologne, 1604). Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 5. Diego Laínez (1512–65), the most prominent converso Jesuit. The converso-phobic Italian Jesuit Benedetto Palmio portrayed Laínez as “an Israelite indeed—as he admitted publicly—but in whom there was no deceit” (see Appendix I, *Memorial* [6]). Unlike Sacchini’s, Ribadeneyra’s biography of Laínez, from which this portrait comes, silenced his Jewish ancestry. Modern scholarship has established Laínez’s Jewish genealogy, which had been already known to his contemporaries.



Source: *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome, 1609), plate 66 (the engraving is most likely by Peter Paul Rubens). Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 6. Ignatius of Loyola converting a Jew

The caption reads: *Obstinatum Iudaeum tribus hisce verbis conuertit: Mane nobiscum Isaac* (“With these three words [Ignatius] converts an obstinate Jew: ‘Stay with us, Isaac’”). One of the first foundations of Loyola in Rome was the House of Catechumens (*Casa dei Catecumeni*), which hosted Jews willing to convert. The first Jew of that community who was baptized on Sunday, 18 September 1541, was a wealthy thirty-two-year-old man of “nice appearance and good habits,” just as the Jew represented in the center of this engraving. The two Jesuits in the rear might be Diego Laínez, who preached at the baptism, and Alfonso Salmerón, who administered the sacrament.

The Jew who was baptized by Laínez's teen-friend, Salmerón, was a wealthy thirty-two-year-old man of "nice appearance and good habits." The circumstances that led to his conversion were quite intriguing. He was dating for several weeks a Christian prostitute, who—charged with mingling with a Jew—was put into jail. The man himself avoided arrest by hiding in the Jesuit house for catechumens. When the Jesuits learned about his misfortune, they were able, with a support of influential people, to get the poor woman out of jail within five hours and put her into the community that Loyola ran for Roman prostitutes—St. Martha House. Soon the couple expressed their desire to marry, and the Jesuits set up a wedding that would immediately follow the baptism of the Jew. The ceremony that was held on Sunday, 18 September 1541 (not even one year after the official approval of the Society), was the kick-off event for Loyola's earliest project of proselytizing among Roman Jews. It was celebrated with fanfare—among the guests who attended the ceremony were not only their *Madama*, Margaret of Austria (the wife of the pope's grandson Ottavio Farnese),⁶⁰ who gave her soul to the project, but also the cardinals of Santiago and Burgos, the ambassadors of the emperor [Charles V] and of Portugal, and many bishops and nobles. Loyola reported these facts two days after the event in a letter to Favre, who was accompanying the converso Imperial Ambassador Pedro Ortiz on his mission to Worms and Ratisbone.⁶¹ The latter's nephew, Ribadeneyra, who was present in Rome in those years and likely at the baptism-matrimony ceremony itself, was happy to narrate in his later biography of Loyola the development of the project that regarded the coreligionists of his ancestors:

Many Jews, moved by the love of our fellow Jesuits or the good example of some of their own who were already baptized, were converted to our faith. Among them were some of the most respected Jews who were highly important for converting others because they could clearly and forcefully persuade the other Jews, showing them from Scripture that Jesus Christ our Lord is the real promised Messiah.⁶²

⁶⁰ For her portrayal and correspondence with Loyola, see Hugo Rahner, *Saint Ignatius Loyola. Letters to Women* (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), pp. 75–92.

⁶¹ See *Mon Ign.* 1:181–4. From there Favre accompanied Ortiz to Spain, where the latter helped the former found the Jesuit colleges in Barcelona, Saragossa, Medinaceli, Madrid, Ocaña, and Toledo (see *DHCJ* 2:1369).

⁶² See Polanco, *Vita* 3:9; and *Fontes Narr.* 4:404.

This family chain of conversions worked, for example, in the case of a twenty-five-year-old Jewish man who had been imprisoned. His mother (who had been Christian for four years), excusing her son, asked the Cardinal of Trani [Giovan Domenico de Cupis] to give her a hand in getting her son out of jail. The cardinal turned to Ignatius, who offered a sly solution: the young Jew would be freed, if he promised to have his two-year-old son baptized and his teenage brother catechized. The promise was kept: the Jew left the prison and subsequently entered the Jesuit community of catechumens, where his son already was being prepared for baptism. Additionally, as a circular letter to all Jesuits from 1544 related,⁶³ the young man's wife, his sister-in-law with her husband, and his mother-in-law also promised to convert. Loyola's secretary concluded the letter by asking God to "illuminate all other infidels, so that they abandon the darkness and receive the true light."⁶⁴

One way to illuminate the Jews was to herd them forcefully into a church and preach to them, a practice that would be legally reinvigorated by Gregory XIII's bull *Vicus eius nos* in 1577.⁶⁵ In response, the Jesuits provided preachers at the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, where Roman Jews were forced to attend sermons. One of them would later become Antonio Possevino, who after his appointment as secretary of the Society (1573) was actively engaged in the *Casa dei Catecumeni*.⁶⁶ His predecessor, Polanco, wrote a circular letter to the Society in 1561, in which he reported that the vicar of Rome ordered all Jews to attend the two-hour-long sermon preached by Láinez. The latter's zeal in converting the coreligionists of his great grandfather also was witnessed in his sermon at an auto-da-fé celebrated in Palermo.

In order to make his apostolate among Jews more successful, Loyola pressed Pope Paul III to change the papal policy towards converted Jews and to issue in 1542 the bull *Cupientes Iudaeos*, which allowed catechumens to retain their property after their conversion.⁶⁷ Through

⁶³ See *Mon Ign.* 1:288–9.

⁶⁴ "Nuestro Señor le dé gracia para ello y a todos los otros infieles se digne iluminar para que, dejadas las tinieblas, reciban la verdadera luz" (*Mon Ign.* 1:289).

⁶⁵ Pope Gregory XIII (1502–85), born Ugo Boncompagni, was pope from 1572 to 1585. Much on his role in the Society's affairs below. On his relation with the Jesuits, see also *DHCJ* 3:2974–5.

⁶⁶ See Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino and Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry," p. 6.

⁶⁷ See Reites, "St. Ignatius and the Jews," p. 12. For the text of the bull, see *Bullarium Romanum* (Turin: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo editoribus, 1890), vol. 6, pp. 336–7.

another bull, *Illius qui pro dominici*, the same pope officially established on Loyola's request the Confraternity of San Giuseppe, which—made up of twelve priests with Giovanni da Torano as their head—would financially support the House of Catechumens. In its seat, the San Giovanni del Mercato church (today nonexistent), the Jesuits—urged on by some prominent patrons and by the Roman synagogues themselves from which Pope Julius III (1550–5) requested an annual tencucat contribution—gave them bed, board, and instruction. By 1558 the Confraternity was sustaining nearly 200 catechumens and neophytes.⁶⁸

As James Reites has observed,⁶⁹ Loyola's open-mindedness towards Jewish converts must be contrasted with his support of the anti-Jewish papal legislation during the pontificate of the feared and disliked (by the first Jesuits) Pope Paul IV. Indeed, Loyola had many copies of Carafa's most discriminatory bull, *Cum nimis absurdum* (1555), shipped to Jesuit houses, and he ordered that it be observed.⁷⁰ Among the many economic and religious restrictions for Jews in the Papal States, the pope's document established the first Roman ghetto and forced Jews to wear a distinctive yellow hat (males) or kerchief (females), for "it is completely senseless and inappropriate to be in a situation where Christian piety allows the Jews (whose guilt—all of their own doing—has condemned them to eternal slavery) access to our society and even to live among us."⁷¹

Loyola, despite his reservations, obeyed the Vicar of Christ unconditionally, but the logical consequence of his acceptance of Jewish converts into the Catholic Church was his non-discrimination policy towards candidates of Jewish origin who desired to join the Jesuit Order. It seems that Loyola's firm refusal to incorporate the Iberian purity-of-blood concept into the Jesuit *Constitutions* was the result of a long discernment. Laínez's report of Ignatius's pro-converso policy in the Society may suggest such a progress: "The reason why we cannot exclude them is that, if you remember, Your Reverence wrote about

⁶⁸ On the further development of this project, see Lance Gabriel Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2005), especially pp. 112–8.

⁶⁹ See Reites, "St. Ignatius and the Jews," pp. 13–7.

⁷⁰ See *Mon Ign.* 1:351, 362–3, 374, 385, 388, 455, 463, and 544. See also Reites, "St. Ignatius and the Jews," p. 10.

⁷¹ See Keneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555–1593* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1977).

this to our Father [Ignatius], and then our Father, *after carefully considering the matter and recommending it to our Lord* [emphasis mine], decided against it [the exclusion], and this is what he put into the *Constitutions*.⁷²

The Jesuit historian Francisco Borja de Medina brought to light a couple of Loyola's early instructions given to his companions that confirm an evolution of the Jesuit superior general's thought on the matter.⁷³ In 1545 (just five years after the Society's papal approval), he ambiguously wrote to one of his first Parisian companions, Pierre Favre, that the question of accepting some New Christians is being cautiously evaluated in Rome, for the Society is called to edify everybody, a goal that requires people who are not "on the files" [of the Inquisition], so that the Order's spiritual outcome remain uncompromised:⁷⁴

As far as accepting New Christians, what we do here is as follows: we take well into account that the Society's aim is to be able and to know how to edify all persons in all things. This requires people free from any mark [*nota*], which could hinder the spiritual fruit. However, they might do this with much more glory, talent, mortification, and good example of life. All of this would make up for and even clear up the defect [*falta*], and in some ways would give even greater glory to God our Lord.⁷⁵

Favre was given much freedom, however, in making his choices according to the local circumstances. Nine years later, Polanco (himself a converso) wrote to Diego Mirón, the Spanish superior of the Portuguese province, that Loyola was reminding him that being of New Christian lineage is not an impediment that would exclude a man from the Society, for there is no distinction between Jews and Greeks

⁷² Laínez to Araoz, in Reites, "St. Ignatius and the Jews," p. 33.

⁷³ See Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola," pp. 6–7.

⁷⁴ In another text, Loyola explained the reason for the Society's caution—"por la enfermedad humana y tanta indisposición de los que deben recibir la palabra divina" (*Const.* [250–1]).

⁷⁵ "Cuanto al aceptar algunos cristianos nuevos lo que acá hacemos es bien mirado que la Compañía es para en todo poder y saber edificar a todos, por lo cual requiere personas ajenas de toda nota que impida el fruto espiritual, y esto máxime en las partes donde han de fructificar, bien fuese ya con mucha mayor gloria, talento, mortificación, y ejemplo de vida, lo que supliría y esclarecería la falta, y antes en alguna manera daría más gloria a Dios N.S., etc. Podréis hacer en esto como os parecerá según las costumbres de la tierra y condición, etc. que lo que hiciéredes y como sintiéredes ser mayor, aquello mismo tendremos por bien" (*Mon Ign.* 1:334–6).

united in the same spirit of the divine service,⁷⁶ even though one must be more cautious in receiving New Christians, because they are usually difficult men. Loyola advised additionally through his secretary that subjects of this kind should not be overwhelmed by too much interrogation about their lineage, and if there was local difficulty in accepting them, they could be sent elsewhere, provided they were good subjects.⁷⁷

Loyola's instruction was originated by the case of Enrique Enríques [Henrique Henríquez],⁷⁸ who entered the Society in 1552. He was born in Oporto (Portugal) to the physician Simão Lópes and Isabel Enríques, who both converted from Judaism. Like Ribadeneyra's brother, he reversed the order of his paternal and maternal names, a standard converso practice in the sixteenth century aimed to conceal the converso identity.⁷⁹ Indeed, his brothers, Manuel and Baltasar, who also entered the Society, bore the name of their father (Manuel was able to become the superior provincial of Toledo until Mercurian's anti-converso conspired election). Diego Mirón followed Ignatius's non-discrimination instruction—since Enrique had no impediment, he was kept in the Society but sent to Spain, where he became a leading professor of casuistry and authored the first Jesuit manual of moral theology, *Theologiae moralis summa* (Salamanca, 1591). Difficulties with its approval by General Congregation 5 in 1593 (the same assembly

⁷⁶ See Paul's Letter to Galatians 3:27–9, which was abundantly quoted in the pro-converso writings, as we have seen in the previous chapter.

⁷⁷ “Y advierta V[uestra] R[everencia] que el ser de linaje de cristianos nuevos no es impedimento que excluya de la Compañía, aunque hace abrir los ojos más para el recibir los tales con pruebas suficientes, por lo que suele muchas veces hallarse en semejantes hombres, que es ser difíciles; y desto en fuera, en la Compañía *non est distinctio jud[a]ei et gr[a]eci, etc.*, cuando son unidos en el mismo espíritu del divino servicio con los otros. Y advierta V.R. que es notado de mirar mucho en esto, o por mejor decir, de tratar dello algo más que convendría al descubierto, lo cual sería para desconsolar y aún tentar no ligeramente algún bueno supósito, a quienes toca algo desto. Es verdad que, si por la disposición de los ánimos de una tierra no fuese cosa edificativa aceptar alguno tal, diestramente se podría enderezar a otra parte, si fuese buen supósito” (*Mon Ign.* 12:569).

⁷⁸ Enrique Enríques: *1536 Oporto, †1608 (Tivoli). See AHN, Inquisición, lib. 580, f. 147^r; *DHCJ*, 1:1900–1; Robert A. Maryks, “Census of the Books Written on Sacramental Confession (1554–1650),” *Annali di storia moderna e contemporanea*, anno X (2004): 460–1; Astrain, *Historia*, 3:370–2; and *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07220a.htm>).

⁷⁹ See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, “Los conversos de origen judío después de la expulsión,” in Carmelo Viñas y Mey, ed., *Estudios de historia social de España* (Madrid: Instituto Balmes de Sociología. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1955), p. 375.

that issued the anti-converso decree) caused Enríques's temporary transfer to the Dominicans. Upon his return to the Society and with the support of his former converso disciple, Francisco Suárez,⁸⁰ and Gregorio de Valencia,⁸¹ he participated in the Iberian separatist movement against Superior General Acquaviva known as *memorialistas*, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The most irresistible example of how much credit Loyola gave candidates of Jewish ancestry was his decision to admit in 1551 Giovanni Battista Eliano (Romano), the grandson of the famous grammarian and poet Rabbi Elijah Levita (1468–1549) who settled in Venice, whose older brother, Vittorio, also converted to Catholicism and became a censor of Jewish books in Cremona.⁸² He entered the Society at the age of twenty-one, just three months after his baptism,⁸³ which had been administered by the renowned Jesuit humanist, André des Freux, or Frusius (c. 1515–56).⁸⁴ After ten years of training, he was ordained priest and was given one of the most delicate ecumenical missions that the sixteenth-century papacy arranged—to the Copt patriarch in Cairo, Gabriel VII (r. 1526–69), and to the Lebanese Maronites. The former mission took place in 1561–2 under Laínez, who—probably bearing in mind the Mediterranean Jewish network—chose Eliano to accompany Cristóbal Rodríguez, a converso Jesuit from Hita in

⁸⁰ Francisco Suárez [de Toledo]: *1548; †1617. For more on him, see below.

⁸¹ Gregorio de Valencia: *1549 Medina del Campo; SJ 1565; †1603 Naples. He had been a renowned theologian in Ingolstadt, Dillingen, and Rome. See *Elogia virorum insigniorum Germ. Sup. S.J. 1552–1651*, in Arch. Prov. Germ. Sup., Mscr. V, 57, ff. 57–8; Jozsef Fejér, *Defuncti primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1982), 2:236; and *Mon Nadal* 4:726–7.

⁸² See Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Jews in the Duchy of Milan. A Documentary history of the Jews of Italy* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), pp. 1324–5 and 1354.

⁸³ See ARSI, *Vitae* 15, f. 7^v.

⁸⁴ André des Freux entered the Society after having made his Spiritual Exercises together with his close friend Polanco under the guidance of Laínez. With Nadal and Palmio, he was part of the first Jesuit group to found the College of Messina. As a renowned Latinist, he rendered Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* from the Spanish original into Latin. He edited (1558), among others, the Roman poet Martialis—the very first book printed by the Jesuits in Rome (see *DHCJ* 2:1537).

For the instrumental role of Freux and Polanco in the conversion of Eliano, see Guzmán's letter to Acquaviva (ARSI, *Instit.* 186e, f. 354^v): “[...] el Padre Bautista Romano, el cual se había convertido y bautizado en Venecia muy poco antes que lo recibiesen; y los padres que estaban allá que fueron el medio de su conversión eran el Padre Juan de Polanco y Padre Andrea Frusio de nación francés, los cuales escribieron a Roma a nuestro Padre Ignacio sobre su conversión y vocación a la Compañía y así lo llamó a Roma y luego lo recibió.”

Guadalajara who had earned his doctorate in theology at Alcalá and had been rector of the College of Gandía founded by Borja.⁸⁵ The second mission took place in the late 1570s at the request of Gregory XIII. Because of his linguistic acumen (he was a professor of Hebrew and Arabic at the Roman College), Eliano was commissioned to translate the documents of the Council of Trent into Arabic and was appointed—as were many of his converso confreres—a member of St. Peter’s Penitentiary. Eliano narrated in his autobiographical letter to Claudio Acquaviva, composed in Italian, many colorful details of his first mission to Cairo, where he went *incognito* because of the fear of Jews that prevailed there.⁸⁶ The most intriguing episodes—picked up by the Jesuit historian Sacchini in his history of the Society⁸⁷—concern the encounter with his mother, who lived in Cairo as a Jewish woman. During the encounter, she expressed her disappointment with her son’s conversion, arguing that he was too educated and good to let the Christians deceive him. Helpless to change her son’s mind and crying, Eliano’s mother let him go, but—he suspected—subsequently caused him many troubles through the Jews she knew in Alexandria, where Eliano headed after his sojourn in Cairo. As a result, the two Jesuits had to escape from Egypt, Eliano covering his face with a handkerchief so that the Jews could not recognize him.⁸⁸ As Ribadeneyra put it evocatively, Giovanni Battista Romano “was a servant of God who worked and suffered a lot for the Society and God’s Church.”⁸⁹ Guzmán, in his letter to Acquaviva, underscored a similar idea of distinctiveness of this Jew-turned-Jesuit:

[Giovanni Battista Romano] came out so distinctive with all his virtues, especially in the zeal to convert and win the souls of infidels as well as Christian sinners, and with so much fruit in all his endeavors, that they used to call him in Rome a portrait of St. Paul the Apostle. Fascinatingly, our Lord converted through him an entire nation of schismatics called Maronites (from the name of one whose name was Marón who perverted

⁸⁵ See more on Rodríguez below.

⁸⁶ See José C. Sola, S.J., “El P. Juan Bautista Eliano, un documento autobiográfico inédito,” *AHSI* 4 (1935): 191–221. See also *DHCJ* 2:1233–4; *Mon Rib.* 2:279; and Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord*, pp. 118–25.

⁸⁷ See Francesco Sacchini, *Historiae Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: Ex officina filiorum Martini Nutii, 1620), vol. 2: [Layne]. I have used the edition printed in Rome (Typis Dominici Manelphii, 1652), p. 252.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 131–6.

⁸⁹ See *Mon Rib.* 2:379.

them with a special appearance of holiness; these were under the rule of Turks). And our Lord gave Father Bautista Romano such a grace that by his doctrine and persuasion all converted to the obedience of the Apostolic See. And he brought to Rome some of them, elderly and children, in time of Pope Gregory XIII, who founded a school for them, which was entrusted to the Society (and later was confirmed by Pope Sixtus V). I could say many other things about this blessed father, but suffice to know that he eventually died in Rome in a holy manner, always engaged in these and other holy works.⁹⁰

Another example of the boundless trust that Loyola gave to converso Jesuits was the appointment of his and the Society's secretary, Juan Alfonso de Polanco, who became Ignatius's "memory and hand" until the latter's demise. He was born 24 December 1517 in Burgos (Castile) to Gregorio, *regidor* of the city, and *doña* María de Salinas. Polanco bore the name of his paternal grandfather Alfonso (d. 1491), who married Costanza de Maluenda (d. 1520).⁹¹ The latter was a daughter of Juana García de Castro and Martín Rodríguez de Maluenda (1454–1530), whose homonymous father (1387–1476) was a cousin of Juan Garcés Maluenda, who married María Nuñez (d. 1423), the sister of the rabbi-turned-bishop of Burgos, Salomon ha-Levi/Pablo de Santa María, and aunt of Alonso de Burgos, whose writings we have studied in Chapter One.⁹² As in the case of Diego Láinez and Francisco Suárez, most of his sisters were nuns, but Juan Alfonso was the only male to choose an ecclesiastical career. With this goal in mind, he studied humanities and philosophy in Paris (1535–8) under his converso fellow countryman, Dr. Francisco de Astudillo,⁹³ who had met Ignatius there in previous years. In Paris, Polanco lived in the same college as Martín de Olave (1507/8–56), who had met Loyola at Alcalá and later would become his close friend and future Jesuit collaborator.⁹⁴ There he also met the

⁹⁰ See ARSI, *Instit.* 186e, f. 354^v.

⁹¹ The tombs of both parents and grandparents of Juan Alfonso are located in the St. Nicolas Church in Burgos (see *Mon Polanci* 2:836 and M.^a Jesus Gómez Barcena, *Escultura gótica funeraria en Burgos* (Burgos: Diputación Provincial de Burgos, 1988), pp. 151–4.

⁹² On Polanco's Jewish ancestry, see Baroja, *Judíos en la España*, p. 233 (quoting Sicroff's *Les controversies*, pp. 271, 273, 278, and 279–80); Jean Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography* (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1995), pp. 161–76; DHCJ, p. 1004; and Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos*, p. 403.

⁹³ See Ricardo García Villoslada, *Universidad de París durante los estudios de Francisco de Vitoria O.P. (1507–1522)* (Rome: apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1938), pp. 379–86.

⁹⁴ See *Chron.* 1:34.

ñigistas, but—like Nadal—did not join the group. Instead, a few years later he went to the papal court in Rome to work as a notary (*scriptor apostolicus*). Through his fellow countryman, Francisco de Torres, he met *in Urbe* Laínez and, after making the Spiritual Exercises with him, Polanco entered the Society in August 1541. After a few years of studying theology in Padua (where he met Pedro de Ribadeneyra), his sacerdotal ordination in 1546, and subsequent ministries in Tuscany, he was summoned by Loyola to Rome and appointed in 1547 secretary of the Society of Jesus, an office that he would hold for twenty-six years. In that position he built an efficient Jesuit web of communication between the Roman headquarters and the provinces around the world. More than 20,000 letters on behalf of Loyola, Laínez, and Borja were written by his ink-stained fist.⁹⁵ He scrupulously filtered, summarized, copied, and catalogued outgoing and incoming letters and other pertinent documents in the curial archives.⁹⁶ *Padre Cobos*—as he was nicknamed after the converso royal secretary, Francisco de los Cobos y Molina (d. 1547)—became the best informed and, thus, most influential Jesuit in the Society. As Ribadeneyra put it, Polanco “seemed to sustain on his shoulders the entire Society.”⁹⁷ Some fellow Jesuits would later resent the power of this short but strong man, and during General Congregation 3 they would conspire successfully to deprive him of his governmental posts, as we shall see below.

As soon as he was appointed secretary, Polanco began collecting information from the first companions (especially Laínez), and probably Loyola himself, about the life of the Jesuit founder and the origins of the Society. He used this information in his *Summarium Hispanum* that, thirty years later, would be partially incorporated into his “extremely prosy but invaluable” *Chronicon*.⁹⁸ On almost 5,000 pages it tells the story of Ignatius and his first companions from their arrival to Venice in 1537 until Ignatius’s death in 1556. Polanco also

⁹⁵ See Scaduto, *Governo*, p. 183.

⁹⁶ On the duties of the secretary, see Polanco’s own treatise, *Del officio del secretario* (Mario Scaduto, “Uno scritto ignaziano inedito. Il ‘Del officio del secretario,’” *AHSI* 29 (1960): 305–12; and idem, *Francesco Borgia*, pp. 65–7).

⁹⁷ See Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Catalogus scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam & filios Io. Moreti, 1613), p. 154.

⁹⁸ See Brodrick, *Origin of the Jesuits*, p. 97.

helped to compose the Jesuit *Constitutions*⁹⁹ and was commissioned by Loyola to translate them into Latin.

Another commission that Loyola gave Polanco and his confreres in the *casa professa* in Rome was to write a compendium for Jesuit confessors. *Breve directorium ad confessari ac poenitentis recte obeundum* was first printed in Rome and in Leuven at the very beginning of 1554. It was the only book on the Jesuit preeminent ministry of sacramental confession for twenty years—until 1574, when the first Jesuit manual for penitents, the converso Gaspar de Loarte’s “Comfort of the Tormented,” was published in Rome. The *Directory* had its publishing boom in the 1570s and its decline in the 1590s, when it was replaced by the works of another two converso Jesuits: Manuel de Sá’s *Aphorisms* (80 editions) and Francisco de Toledo’s *Instruction for Priests and Penitents* (166 editions) at the end of the sixteenth century. The *Directory* was the fourth most published Jesuit book on confession, with at least seventy-six editions (reprints and translations included). It was the only book translated into Illyrian and Slovenian, and one of the only two Jesuit confessional manuals translated into Portuguese. Ignatius of Loyola wanted every Jesuit confessor to have a personal copy of it. True, the manual was subsequently used in Jesuit ministries and even in lectures on cases of conscience. An influential *Directory to the Spiritual Exercises* (1555) by the converso Juan Alonso de Vitoria¹⁰⁰ recommended Polanco’s text as useful in preparation for general sacramental confession. However, it is to be noted that the exclusivity of the *Directory* on the Jesuit penitential book market ceased in 1573 with the election of the Walloon Everard Mercurian, when Polanco was removed from the government, along with other converso Jesuits. It is not unreasonable to infer, then, that the publishing success of the *Directory* may well have been related to Polanco’s position of authority rather than to the manual’s intrinsic usefulness to confessors or students of cases of conscience. Indeed, even though the *Directory* was designed to be just a compendium to accommodate

⁹⁹ See *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana [DEI]* (Madrid: Manresa/Sal Terrae, 2007), pp. 1464–5.

¹⁰⁰ Juan Alonso de Vitoria: *1538; SJ 1558; †1578. He was rector of the college in Vienna and procurator general. For a study of the conversos of Vitoria, from where the famous founder of the School of Salamanca, Francisco de Vitoria, came, see Rosario Porres Marijuan and Teresa Benito Aguado, “El Estatuto de limpieza de sangre y sus repercusiones en Vitoria en tiempos de Felipe II,” *Hispania* 60/2, núm. 205 (2000): 515–62.

the needs of the first Jesuits who were too busy with their ministries to dedicate much time to academic activities, it lacked a basic awareness of important shifts operative during that century. Consequently, the official edition of the *Directory to the Spiritual Exercises* from 1599 suggested a non-Jesuit contemporary text: *Enchiridion* by Martín Azpilcueta (1493–1586). The popular and authoritative *Navarrus*, as it was briefly called, was more comprehensive and reflected important socio-economic changes brewing in the sixteenth century. The Jesuits, who were consulted about the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599), overwhelmingly called for a new manual that could be used in the Society for lectures on cases of conscience. This time, Francisco de Toledo's *Instruction*, rather than Polanco's *Directory*, would be the answer to that need. Even though the Polish Jesuits would reprint the *Directory* more than 300 years later, by the end of the sixteenth century it was already outdated. Indeed, it employed the conservative Tutorism of major thirteenth-century scholastics, which the Jesuits abandoned in the last quarter of the sixteenth century by enthusiastically espousing Probabilism, which a new generation of converso Jesuits would make the Jesuit ethical system throughout the next century.¹⁰¹

In spite of these many duties, Loyola put on Polanco's shoulders an additional responsibility towards the end of his life (1555)—that of assistant general. This endorsement would make Polanco the key person in the transition of power after Loyola's death, as we shall see below. In the last stage of his acute illness, Loyola put his life in the hands of a converso physician despite the widespread diffidence in Christian circles toward doctors of Jewish lineage.¹⁰² The physician's name was Baltasar de Torres,¹⁰³ and he had been physician to the viceroy of Sicily, Juan de Vega, before entering the Society after making his *Spiritual Exercises* with the viceroy's Jesuit confessor, Juan Jerónimo Doménech. Polanco obtained for him a special dispensation from the papal curia¹⁰⁴ so that he could practice as physician even after his ordination to priesthood (which was prohibited by canon law).

¹⁰¹ For the detailed analysis of the *Breve directorium*, see Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*, pp. 49–58.

¹⁰² See, for example, Diego de Simanca's *Defensio statuti Toletani*, ff. 5^v–6, which we have analyzed in the previous chapter; and Sicroff, *Estatutos*, p. 129.

¹⁰³ See his biographical note above.

¹⁰⁴ See ARSI, *Inst.* 187, f. 362.

Loyola's trust in conversos apparently was not shared by the superior provincial of Portugal and one of Loyola's first companions, Simão Rodrigues. Rodrigues wrote an instruction to his subjects, *Modo que se ha de ter nos collegios da Companhia en o receber dos estudantes d'ella* (1546–50), which in its third paragraph asked them to refuse to admit New Christians or those who had been publicly suspected of heresy.¹⁰⁵ Yet the evidence shows that Rodrigues, himself likely a descendant of the converso clan of Acevedo (probably blessed Ignacio de Acevedo included),¹⁰⁶ followed the practice suggested by Loyola in the aforementioned letter to Mirón. A number of Portuguese conversos were admitted by him into the Society and/or sent to the Far East. Among them were: Anrique Anriques who—despite his juridical impediment of being earlier a Franciscan—entered the Jesuits in 1545 and was sent to Pesquería via India, where he worked for fifty-five years and composed the first grammar of Tamil;¹⁰⁷ Afonso de Castro, who was born to an affluent jeweler from Lisbon and sent in 1547 to Xavier in India, from where he was dispatched to the Moro Islands, a mission that concluded a decade later with his death by crucifixion and decapitation;¹⁰⁸ the expert in canon law, Antonio Gomes, who in 1548 was

¹⁰⁵ “3. Se por alguma via descende de cristãos novos. Se há tido alguma opinião, polla qual aja sido reprovado por herege o conhecido publicamente portal” (*Mon Broet*, p. 861).

¹⁰⁶ See below.

¹⁰⁷ Anrique Anriques: *1520 Vila Viçosa (Évora, Portugal); SJ 1545; †1602 Punnaikayal (India); priest in 1551; professed in 1560. Received in the Society by Rodrigues in 1545, he was sent to India, from where Xavier destined him for Pesqueria. After the death of Antonio Criminali in 1549, he was elected superior regional but his appointment was opposed by Antonio Gómes because of his Jewish ancestry. His grammar of Tamil is lost (see *DHCJ* 1:178; and Medina, “Ignacio de Loyola,” pp. 5–6).

¹⁰⁸ Afonso de Castro: *1520 Lisbon; SJ 1547; †1558 Hiri (Moluccas, Indonesia); priest in 1549; professed in 1552. As a young man he began to converse with Simão Rodrigues and Xavier before the latter's departure for India. Later he became a Franciscan, but he was not fully accepted into the Order because of his origins. Therefore, he embarked in 1547 for India, where Xavier admitted him into the Society. Destined for the Moluccas, he arrived there as priest in 1549. In 1551 he was sent to the Moro Islands, where he succeeded in 1555 the superior of the mission, Juan de Bera. There, he faced conflict with Antonio Vaz, whom he expelled from the Society. In December 1557, while navigating from Moro to Ternate he was captured by the natives of Ternate, who crucified and decapitated him a few weeks later on the island of Hiri (see *DHCJ* 1:706–7). On his missionary activities, see Hubert Jacobs, ed., *Documenta Malucensia* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974–84); Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Memorias para a historia de Portugal, que comprehendem o governo del rey D. Sebastião, unico em o nome, e decimo sexto entre os Monarchas Portuguezes* (Lisbon: na Officina de Joseph António da Sylva, 1736), vol. 1, pp. 159–67;

sent by Rodrigues to India and perished in the sea near Madagascar six years later;¹⁰⁹ Baltasar Gago, who same year was sent from Lisbon to Goa with Gaspar Berze;¹¹⁰ and Manuel de Távora from Coímbra, who, admitted by Berze in 1552, worked in the Moluccas and then passed to Brazil.¹¹¹

In the Far East, an ambiguity similar to Rodrigues's can be traced in Xavier's approach to the vexed converso question. On the one hand—as in Rodrigues's case—we have a written testimony from 1552 that Xavier advised debarring candidates of “Hebraic lineage”; on the other hand there is evidence that he actually did accept such subjects. Not only did the aforementioned Anrrique Anrriques (Enrique Enríquez)¹¹² and Afonso de Castro enter the Order, but also many others, among them Gaspar Rodrigues, who—in spite of being a former Dominican—entered the Society in 1548 in Goa,¹¹³ where Miguel da Nobrega also joined in 1550;¹¹⁴ Pedro de Alcáçova, who had left

and John Villiers, “Las Yslas de Esperar en Dios: The Jesuit Mission in Moro 1546–1571,” *Modern Asian Studies* 22/3 (1988): 593–606.

He should not be confused with another converso Jesuit, Alonso de Castro: *1552 Seville; SJ 1566; †1637 Seville; priest in 1579; professed in 1589. He was born to Hernando de Castro and Juana de Aranda, benefactors of the Jesuit College of Seville. His two brothers, Gaspar and Melchor, also entered the Society. He worked as confessor and preacher in Jérez de la Frontera (1585, 1587) and Malaga (1591, 1593). In 1596 he functioned as vice-rector of Jérez and 1596–9 as vice-rector and rector of Trigueros. He participated in the defense of Cádiz, which was attacked by the English. Alonso built a church in Trigueros, designed by the Jesuit Bartolomé de Bustamante. That project produced a conflict with Acquaviva, who removed him from office in 1598/9. Consequently he moved to Montilla, Cordova, and Seville (see *DHCJ* 1: 707–8).

¹⁰⁹ Antonio Gomes: *c. 1520 Isla de Madeira; SJ 1544; †23 April 1554. He entered the Society in Coímbra after having earned his doctorate in theology. Xavier nominated him rector of the college in Goa, the government of which produced much controversy. Therefore, Xavier fired him in 1552 and sent him back to Rome, where he never arrived (see *DHCJ* 2:1771).

¹¹⁰ Baltasar Gago: *c. 1518 Lisbon; SJ 1546 Lisbon; †9 January 1583(?) Goa. He entered the Society as priest and was sent to India in 1548. He accompanied Viceroy Noronha as military chaplain in his expedition to Sri Lanka in 1551. Javier appointed him to Japan, where he joined the Jesuit Torres and helped to compose the Japanese catechism. He returned to India in 1562 (see *DHCJ* 2:1549–50).

¹¹¹ Manuel de Távora: *1534; SJ 1552 Goa; dismissed in 1578 (see Wicki, “Cristãos-Novos,” p. 348; Medina, “Ignacio de Loyola,” p. 83; and Mario Scaduto, *Catalogo dei Gesuiti d'Italia, 1540–1565* [Rome: IHSI, 1968], p. 144).

¹¹² See Medina, “Ignacio de Loyola,” pp. 5–6.

¹¹³ Gaspar Rodrigues: SJ 1548; †1552. He was a lay brother working as missionary in Goa (see Fejér, *Defuncti*, 2:200; Wicki, “Cristãos-Novos,” p. 347; and Medina, “Ignacio de Loyola,” p. 588).

¹¹⁴ Miguel da Nobrega: SJ 1550; †1558 (see Fejér, *Defuncti* 2:161; and Wicki, “Cristãos-Novos,” p. 348).

the Society in Portugal but was readmitted by Xavier;¹¹⁵ Gomes Vaz (whose grandparents the Inquisition burned in Serpa), who spent his energies as missionary in Goa;¹¹⁶ and Antonio Dias, who worked in Goa for thirty years.¹¹⁷

In Medina's view, Xavier's ambivalence may have originated from his uncertainty—perhaps because of Rodrigues's instruction that could have been brought to him by one of the many Jesuits who traveled from Portugal to Asia—above what Loyola had decided in respect to converso candidates. At any rate, except for minor incidents, the openness towards converso candidates continued after Xavier's death. For example, in 1556 Luis de Almeida, a merchant and surgeon from Lisbon, joined the Jesuit mission in Funai, where he founded a hospital and worked later in other parts of Japan, as several monuments to him testify today in the cities of Nagasaki, Hondo, and Oita;¹¹⁸ Fernão de Narbona was admitted in 1557 and worked as a pharmacist in Goa;¹¹⁹ in 1561 Antonio Belo entered the Society in Goa and became a renowned professor of music;¹²⁰ beginning in 1565 Gabriel Oliveira operated the Goan mission;¹²¹ in 1569 (the year of death of his converso relative, Juan de Ávila) Antonio Francisco de Critana was admitted and destined for the Philippines, where he perished in the sea four decades later;¹²² Baltasar Dias traveled from Coímbra to the Moluccas

¹¹⁵ Pedro de Alcáçova (Alcáçeva, Alcaçava): SJ 1543. His converso ancestry might be suggested by his name and vocation story. See *DHCJ* 1:39; Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, ed., *Documentos del Japón (1547–1562)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1990–5), vol. 1, p. 429 (letter of Pedro de Alcáçova to the Jesuits of Portugal, Goa, March 1554).

¹¹⁶ Gomes Vaz: *1542 Serpa (Beja, Portugal); SJ 1562; †1610 Lisbon; priest in 1568; professed in 1584 (see *DHCJ* 4:3910).

¹¹⁷ Antonio Dias: SJ 1551; †1581 (see Fejér, *Defuncti* 2:61; and Wicki, "Cristãos-Novos," p. 350).

¹¹⁸ Luis de Almeida: *1525 Lisbon; SJ 1556; †1583 Kawachinoura (Kumamoto, Japan). See *DHCJ* 1:81–2.

¹¹⁹ Fernão de Narbona: *c. 1536; †1579 (see Wicki, "Cristãos-Novos," p. 350).

¹²⁰ Antonio Belo: *1523; SJ 1561 Goa; †1571. (see Wicki, "Cristãos-Novos," p. 351; and Fejér, *Defuncti*, 2:25).

¹²¹ Gabriel Oliveira: *c. 1534 Plasencia; SJ before 1564; professed 1584; †1599 (see Fejér, *Defuncti* 2:164; and Wicki, "Cristãos-Novos," p. 351).

¹²² Antonio Francisco de Critana: *1548 Almodóvar del Campo (Spain); SJ 1569; †1614 in the sea in front of Luzon (the Philippines); priest in 1573; professed in 1592. After he had studied Japanese in Yamaguchi, he worked in the college Todos los Santos in Nagasaki (1598–1614), from where he was expelled by the Japanese government. He embarked on a small ship towards the Philippines and perished at sea. His body was transferred to the San Ignacio College in Manila. His beatification process was opened in 1901 (see *DHCJ* 2:1005).

before 1559 and worked for ten years in India and Malaysia;¹²³ and in 1570 Pedro Ramón from Saragossa entered the Society to become a missionary in Japan, where he died as martyr.¹²⁴

It cannot be denied, however, that there was a certain ambivalence among the early Jesuits that testifies to their unease over the converso question that the young Society of Jesus unavoidably had to face. The assurance of Loyola's true spirit that inspired the Jesuit practice comes from the most authoritative legal Jesuit document, the *Constitutions*, which he composed over time almost until his death in 1556. In this he was assisted by his secretary Polanco and frequently consulted his trusted converso companions Nadal, Cristóbal de Madrid, and Manuel de Sá.¹²⁵ The part that addresses the question of converso admissions is contained in the *General Exam*. Contrary to the interpretation given to this text by the converso-phobic Italo-Portuguese lobby in the twenty-year period between General Congregations 3 and 5 (1573–93), the jurist García Alarcón argued (as we shall see in the last chapter) that being of Jewish origin did not constitute a legal impediment for Jesuit candidates and that the goal of the question inserted into the *General Exam* was merely to supplement the information about the candidate. Indeed, this text is found not in the section on impediments but in the one that lists questions that should be asked by the candidate's examiner.¹²⁶ Moreover, Medina pointed out that in the 1550 version of the text on which Loyola was working, such a question was taken out, probably at the request of Alfonso Salmerón.¹²⁷ Just before his death, however, Loyola added the question again (this is in the so-called text B of 1556), with a slight change of wording but without changing its non-discriminatory intent: "si viene de christianos antiguos o modernos."¹²⁸

If anybody had doubts about how to interpret the converso question in the Jesuit *Constitutions*, which were not binding until their

¹²³ Baltasar Dias: *c. 1508 Portugal; SJ 1549 Coímbra; priest before 1549; professed 1559 Moluccas; †21 August 1571 Goa (*DHCJ* 2:1112).

¹²⁴ Pedro Ramón: *1549; SJ 1570; †1611 (see Fejér, *Defuncti*, 2:190; *DHCJ* 4:3289; and Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino," pp. 10–1). His Jewish ancestry was revealed by Possevino in his memorial to Acquaviva (see *AHSL, Inst. 184/II*, f. 351^r).

¹²⁵ On Sá and Madrid, see the following paragraphs in the text.

¹²⁶ See *ARSI, Instit. 184 I*, ff. 304^{r-v} and Reites, "St. Ignatius and the Jews," p. 180.

¹²⁷ "Véase si aquella demanda (si viene de cristianos viejos o nuevos) se ha de dejar" (see Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola," p. 7).

¹²⁸ In Medina's opinion, this formulation would differentiate now between the candidates coming from all non-Christian religions and not just from Judaism.

promulgation in 1558, Loyola—physically stuck to his chair at the Roman curia—made clear its meaning through his envoys to the Jesuits in the provinces across Europe, most of whom had never met Loyola in person. The most prominent among them was Ignatius’s plenipotent commissary, Jerónimo Nadal Morey.

Jerónimo Nadal’s opposition to the purity-of-blood legislation

The Jesuit career of the Majorcan Jerónimo Nadal is fascinating, so let us emphasize in this paragraph those biographical details that help us understand his support of Loyola’s pro-converso policy.¹²⁹ For twenty years before his decision to become a Jesuit he resisted Loyola’s efforts to make him part of the *ínigistas* group in Paris: “The fish escaped his hook,” as he put it in his *Diary*.¹³⁰ Nadal resisted Loyola’s indirect and direct attempts to win his commitment due to his fear that he would be reported for heresy in his native city of Majorca (later called Palma),¹³¹ a fear that had kept him far from Loyola already during his studies at the University of Alcalá nine years earlier (1526–7). Nadal’s fears were not allayed even after a personal meeting with Loyola in Paris, during which he was told a story of Loyola’s trial by the Inquisition of Salamanca: waving the New Testament in his hand, Nadal made himself aloof from Loyola and his group.

The reasons for this fear that Nadal provided in his diary are incongruous.¹³² On the one hand he denied that he avoided Loyola because of his troubles with the Inquisition in Salamanca, but on the other he confessed that he feared being reported at home by a Franciscan friend from his native Majorca, who was living in Paris. Nadal’s decision to join the Jesuits only after he learned that the Holy See legally recognized them would suggest that he feared being denounced to the Majorcan Inquisition for being part of a group that had no official approval and was tainted by Loyola’s contacts with (converso) *alumbados*/Erasmists. One is impelled to ask, however, why Loyola’s com-

¹²⁹ See Robert A. Maryks, “Abnegación en los escritos de Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580),” *Manresa* 73 (2001): 87–96; and “Jerónimo Nadal” in *DEI*, pp. 1315–9.

¹³⁰ Jerónimo Nadal, *Chronicon* [39], in *Mon Nadal* 1:14: “Itaque elapsus est ab eius hamo tunc piscis” (the numbers between the brackets refer to editor’s paragraphs).

¹³¹ Nadal, *Chronicon* [10]: “Sensus animi mei sic fuit: nolo his me adiungere: quis scit an incident aliquando in inquisitores?”

¹³² See Nadal, *Chronicon* [1], [8], and [10].



Source: Alfred Hamy, *Galerie Illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), #144. Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 7. Jerónimo Nadal (1507–80)—Loyola’s plenipotentiary emissary. Initially Jerónimo Nadal [Morey] was suspicious of Ignatius’s orthodoxy and he refused to join his group in Paris but a decade later he became one of Loyola’s most influential collaborators. Invested with delegated power, he traveled throughout Europe, explaining the Jesuit Constitutions. He stressed that they did not discriminate against candidates of Jewish ancestry and thus adamantly opposed the purity-of-blood policy of Archbishop Silíceo. Most probably Nadal was a descendant of Majorcan Jews.

panions did not share Nadal's fear. Indeed, the first *inígitas* whom Loyola sent to Nadal's in Paris were Manuel de Miona and Laínez,¹³³ who may have had more reasons to fear accusations of heresy, as we have seen earlier.

Due to the anti-Spanish atmosphere in Paris, Nadal departed for Avignon (1537), where he received his doctorate in theology and was ordained priest (1538).¹³⁴ From there he finally returned to his native Balearic island, where he experienced a long spiritual crisis that was deepened by an uneasy relationship with his wealthy family and the death of his mother.¹³⁵ Once Nadal was assured by a circular letter from Francis Xavier that the Society of Jesus was formally recognized by the papacy, he decided to go to Rome (1545), where one of the first Jesuits he met was Diego Laínez, whom he had dismissed ten years earlier in Paris. The latter did not become any less adamant and tried again to convince the former to make Spiritual Exercises in order to discern his vocation. In his unyielding efforts, Laínez was aided by Alfonso Salmerón, who may have shared with Nadal his excellent knowledge of Hebrew that the former learned as a boy in his native Toledo (perhaps in the same Judeo-converso community where his future close friend and biographer, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, had been born eleven years later).

Nadal did not appreciate Laínez's and Salmerón's dogged determination, yet the persistence of another Jesuit, a son of a wealthy pharmacist from Valencia, Juan Jerónimo Doménech, who was Loyola's secretary at that time and with whom Nadal could speak in his native Catalan, led him to meet Loyola again. Four months later, Nadal gave up his resistance by engaging in the Spiritual Exercises, during which he eventually decided to enter the Jesuit Order (November 1545).

¹³³ See Maryks, *Giacomo Laínez. Prima biografía ignaziana*, pp. 38–40.

¹³⁴ See Gabriel Codina Mir, "La ordenación y el doctorado en teología de Jerónimo Nadal en Aviñón (1537–1538)," *AHSI* 36 (1967): 247–51.

¹³⁵ Nadal, *Chronicon* [19–20]: "No me encontraba bien con mi tío Morey. Murió mi madre y me vieron en un luto indecoroso por ella. Mi hermano se casó no solamente sin que yo lo supiese y sin consultarme, sino que tampoco me invitó" (translation from Latin into Spanish is mine). On the nobility of Nadal's family, see Joaquin Maria Bover, *Nobiliario Mallorquin* (Barcelona: José J. De Olañeta Editor, 1983), pp. 258–9. J.N. Hillgarth in his *Readers and Books in Majorca 1229–1550* (Paris: CNRS, 1991), vol. 2, p. 700, published an inventory of the rich library of Nadal's father, notary Antoni Nadal. For the association of various Nadals with the profession of notary public, see ACA, Diversos, Monistrol, Pergaminos, núm. 0629, 0632, 0703–5, 0710–2, 0721–2, and 2055.

After just four months, Loyola appointed Nadal minister of the Jesuit headquarters (which in Jesuit jargon means the person in charge of the administrative-economic care of a community), and as such he had to bury Pierre Favre (August 1546), who had tried after Laínez to convince Nadal to join their group in Paris. Some months later (March 1547), Nadal welcomed to the community the new secretary of the Society, Juan Alfonso de Polanco, who had entered the Order just a few years earlier.

Nadal got to know Polanco well during one year of daily meetings that were held in the Jesuit headquarters, but then he was appointed the superior of a group destined to open the first Jesuit school in Messina, and he left Rome on 18 March 1548. After four years of work in Sicily, Nadal returned briefly to Rome to take his solemn religious vows. Those four years had been a period of intensive work on the Jesuit *Constitutions* by Loyola and Polanco. Nadal received the task of explaining them upon his return to Sicily in May 1552, but especially upon his appointment to the Commissary for the Iberian Jesuit provinces a year later (1553). This appointment made him the most authoritative interpreter of the Jesuit way of proceeding to Jesuits who had never met Loyola in person. And Nadal had been a Jesuit for only eight years.

It is during this one-year mission to Iberia that Nadal had to face the issue of admitting Judeo-conversos into the Order. Upon his arrival in June 1553 at Alcalá, Nadal met a Jesuit for whom he—and Polanco—had little respect but who was the first superior provincial of Spain and a relative of Loyola: Antonio de Araoz.¹³⁶ Loyola himself knew about Araoz's questionable demeanor and especially his love for the courtly life (he used to spend more time at court than in his provincial office), yet he judged it necessary to keep Araoz in charge precisely because of his good contacts with the Spanish courts—which were vital in order to support the Society's expansion in the region.¹³⁷ (Only Loyola's successor Laínez would suggest, in a letter written by his secretary Polanco to Nadal, that Araoz should be removed from his office.)¹³⁸ From that court, and especially from his penitent, the Prince

¹³⁶ On Araoz's anti-converso sentiments, see Medina, "Ignacio de Loyola," pp. 8–9.

¹³⁷ Nadal wrote in his report to Loyola on 14 May 1554: "El doctor Araoz restará en su provincia, y spero en el Señor nuestro mirará más a los particulares que antes, y se apartará más de negocios seculares que trata muchos" (*Mon Nadal* 1:252).

¹³⁸ See *Mon Nadal*, 1:786 (where Polanco sarcastically calls Araoz "el amigo"); see also *ibidem*, p. 470.

of Éboli, Ruy Gómez de Silva (c. 1516–73), Araoz heard voices increasingly requesting that the Society refuse candidates of Jewish ancestry, and he made himself the Jesuit harbinger of the Iberian policy of *pureza de sangre*. The Basque Jesuit viewed the Jesuit leadership's pro-converso policy as poison,¹³⁹ and it disturbed him so much that at some point he was close to leaving the Society.¹⁴⁰

Replying to Araoz, Loyola's converso secretary wrote:

About not accepting New Christians, our Father is not persuaded that God would be served this way. But it seems good to him that one ought to be more circumspect with them. If over there [in Spain] the attitudes [*humores*] of the court or of the king are against admitting them, send them here if they are worthy candidates, as we have written other times. Here one does not look at the matter so closely in the light of what is the race of one who is seen to be a good person, just as nobility does not suffice for admission if the other qualifications are lacking.¹⁴¹

Araoz's anti-converso attitude was stubbornly rebutted by Nadal. In Spain, he received much support in his objections to Araoz's anti-converso campaign from Francisco de Borja, whom his assistant Benedetto Palmio would accuse of excessive love for and credit to New Christians, as we shall see below.¹⁴² This conflict—underestimated by the Italian Jesuit historian of the period, Mario Scaduto¹⁴³—can be well observed in the case of admission to the Society of two disciples of Juan de Ávila, who himself was of Jewish ancestry: the converso

¹³⁹ “Father, until the Society is somewhat better known and established in Castile, it would seem very appropriate to think over the matter of receiving New Christians [*gente verriac*], for, in the opinion of many, this alone is a poison” (see *Epp. Mixtae* 1:241).

¹⁴⁰ See Miguel Mir, S.J., *Historia interna documentada de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Imprenta de J. Ratés Martín, 1913), vol. 1, p. 333.

¹⁴¹ See *Mon Ign.* 5:335. Loyola's opposition to Araoz's discrimination against converso candidates became a weapon in Jesuit pro-converso writings. See, for example, Guzmán's letter to Acquaviva (ARSI, *Instit.* 186e, f. 354r): “Saber que el espíritu y el sentimiento de nuestro Bendito Padre Maestro Ignacio de su santa memoria fue muy continuo a esto, lo cual se sabe evidentemente por claros testimonios. Uno es que escribiéndole sobre ello el Padre Antonio de Araoz (el cual era entonces único provincial en toda España fuera de Portugal) por alguna duda que el tenía, le respondió tan sacudidamente, diciéndole: ‘*Absit*, Dios nos guarde de pensar tal cosa,’ como si le propusiera una cosa contra la fe católica; y así también se confirma esta su voluntad y sentimiento.”

¹⁴² See ARSI, *Instit.* 106, f. 102.

¹⁴³ See Scaduto, *Azione*, pp. 617–9.

Dr. Gaspar de Loarte (d. 1578) from Medina del Campo;¹⁴⁴ and Don Diego de Guzmán (d. 1606) from the high nobility of Seville.¹⁴⁵ From a report Nadal sent to Loyola in July 1553 we learn that Francisco de Borja eagerly admitted the two,¹⁴⁶ but somehow secretly—they were working for the bishop of Calahorra, Juan Bernal Díaz de Lugo, but nobody knew of their affiliation. Araoz insisted that they had to be expelled¹⁴⁷ and was supported in it by another Jesuit official, Bartolomé de Bustamante (1501–70),¹⁴⁸ who talked about the issue to Don Diego de Tavera, an inquisitor and relative of Guzmán, arguing that the latter should not belong to the Society because of “that imperfection [*tacha*].”¹⁴⁹ Guzmán objected that there was no reason to refuse their admission and that the Jesuits would act wrongfully if they expelled the two men. Nadal ordered Bustamante not to take any decision until he received further instructions. As he informed Loyola, his plan was first to show a chapter of the Jesuit *Constitutions* to the Inquisition’s Council, or to explain them orally, so that Guzmán could remain in the Society. And Loarte made it clear that if Guzmán could not stay in the Society, neither would he.

Nadal was following here what Ignatius had expressed in a letter addressed to the Jesuit Francisco de Villanueva (whom Silíceo considered a converso):¹⁵⁰ in no way would the Jesuit *Constitutions* assimilate

¹⁴⁴ As were the mentioned earlier families Acosta, Torres, Valencia, and San Julián.

¹⁴⁵ Guzmán was the son of Don Rodrigo Ponce de León (Count of Bailén) and Doña Blanca de Sandoval (ARSI, *Hist. Soc.* 177, 284^r–287^r). See also *Chron.* 2:328, 420, 647; 3:340 and 345; *Litterae Quadr.* 4:645, and Fray Luis de Granada de la Orden de Santo Domingo, *Vida del Padre Maestro Juan de Ávila y las partes que ha de tener un predicador del Evangelio* (Madrid: Edibesa, 2000), p. 153.

¹⁴⁶ After they did their Spiritual Exercises with Borja at the end of 1552 in Oñate (see *Mon Borgia* 3:132; *Chron.* 3:331, 340; *Epp. Mixt.* 3:123). Borja also received there another one of Ávila’s disciple, Antonio de Córdoba, the son of Marquise de Priego.

¹⁴⁷ See Scaduto, *Azione*, p. 617.

¹⁴⁸ Before entering the Society he was secretary to the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, Juan de Tavera (see *DHCJ* 1:580).

¹⁴⁹ It seems that the same reason made Bustamante begrudge Ávila’s admission to the Society. Bustamante’s judgment suggests Guzmán’s converso lineage, even though it has been doubted by the majority of experts who wrote on this episode (see, for example Rey, “San Ignacio,” p. 184; and Medina’s article on Guzmán in *DHCJ* 2:1857–9).

¹⁵⁰ See Reites, “St. Ignatius and the Jews,” p. 25. Silíceo’s claim was probably not groundless. Francisco de Villanueva (1509–57) from Villanueva de Placencia (Cáceres) entered the Society in Rome in 1541. Loyola employed him in the affair of the converso Juan de Ávila’s entrance to the Society. See Baldomero Jiménez Duque, “Juan de Avila en la encrucijada” *Revista Española de Teología* 29 (1969): 445–73; M. Ruiz

the policy of the archbishop, who should take care of his own business rather than interfere with the internal issues of the Society.¹⁵¹ The problem was that the flourishing College at Alcalá—a hotbed of Jesuit (converso) vocations—was located within Silíceo’s diocesan jurisdiction. Ironically enough, it was Francisco de Villanueva, together with the converso Manuel López and Maximiliano Chapelle,¹⁵² who inaugurated this college in 1546, and Beatriz Ramírez and Mencía de Benavente—the old *alumbrado* friends of Loyola from Alcalá—had financially supported its foundation.¹⁵³

This part of Nadal’s report to Loyola is of extreme importance in the history of Jesuits of Jewish ancestry, for it confirms what we have observed above: according to Loyola, Nadal, and later on Ribadeneyra, Possevino,¹⁵⁴ Guzmán, Mariana,¹⁵⁵ and Alarcón—and contrary to the anti-converso party that would prohibit the admission of conversos forty years later¹⁵⁶—the Jesuit *Constitutions* did not consider Jewish ancestry an impediment for admission to the Society.¹⁵⁷

Jurado, “San Juan de Ávila y la Compañía de Jesús,” pp. 153–72; and *DHCJ* 4:3976–7, where the article’s author, M. Ruiz Jurado, avoids the true motive of the conflict between the Society and the Inquisitor.

¹⁵¹ [Rome], 2 January 1552, in *Cartas de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 1874–89), vol. 3, pp. 13–21.

¹⁵² Perhaps it is Maximilián Capella, who pronounced his four vows in January 1566 (ARSI, *S. Andr. Germ.* 1, ff. 34–5), who represented the Lower German Province at the Congregation of Procurators in 1568 and took part in General Congregation 3. Sometimes his name has a French form, Maximilien de la Chapelle, and he is said to be originally from Lille (Fois, “Everard Mercurian,” p. 10) or from Flanders (*DHCJ* 4:3977). Palmio mentions in his memorial a certain Capilla [16], but it is uncertain whether the two are the same Jesuit.

¹⁵³ See also an unpublished text related to the College of Alcalá composed by Ribadeneyra, *Vida de doña María de Mendoza, fundadora del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Alcalá de Henares*.

¹⁵⁴ Ribadeneyra, “De Prognatis genere Hebraeorum Societatis aditu non excludendis,” in *Mon Rib.* 2:374: “Es contra nuestras constituciones, las cuales non excluyen a los tales, ni por impedimento esencial, ni por secundario ser de tal o tal generación.”

¹⁵⁵ Juan de Mariana: *1536 Talavera de la Reina; SJ 1554 Alcalá de Henares; †16. xi.1624 Toledo; priest in 1562; professed in 1564 (*DHCJ*, 3:2506–7). We shall analyze Ribadeneyra’s, Possevino’s, Guzmán’s, García de Alarcón’s, and Mariana’s texts in Chapter Four.

¹⁵⁶ In his letter to General Congregation 5 asking for the exclusion from the Society of subjects of Jewish ancestry, Manuel Rodrigues, an assistant general for the Province of Portugal and a leader of the anti-converso party (see Chapter Three), argued as follows: “Petitur a Congregatione ut decretum conficiat, quo statuatur ut confessi (id est homines qui ex Iudaeorum sanguine emanant) in Societatem admitti non possint. Quam [...] haec petitio sit, constare ex eo potest quod confessorum admissio pugnat cum bono Societatis nomine, cum realitate ista atque cum Constitutionibus” (ARSI, *Inst.* 184/II, f. 356).

¹⁵⁷ See Rey, “San Ignacio,” pp. 181–2.

The final solution Nadal adopted in this case was what Loyola boldly suggested for other morasses of the kind: to object to the discriminatory anti-converso policies in Iberia by sending converso candidates to Rome, where—as Polanco proudly stressed in a letter commissioned by Loyola—such discrimination did not exist:

As to your suggestion to our Father to remove the distinction between New and Old Christians in the Society, he had already removed it, for those who are good and suitable to our institute are accepted here without distinction; but there in Spain, being things of the Society still tender, in order not to excite many contradictions, which impede foundations and the course of the divine service, it is necessary to use somehow these distinctions, not being clarified outside what is clear inside, that is, that there is no favoritism of peoples or lineages. However, we have written there, and this is the intention of our Father, not to bar any good subject because of his descent from Jews or Moors; and if an outrage is feared in one place, the subject can be moved elsewhere; and if he does not fit well in Spain, send him to us in Italy, where there are not such biases, which certainly seem unworthy of such good and intelligent Christians who are in Spain.¹⁵⁸

Nadal explained this Jesuit policy to the converso-phobic Archbishop Silíceo,¹⁵⁹ who was willing to burn all Jesuits for their alleged converso

¹⁵⁸ “Quanto al quitar nuestro Padre la distinción de christianos nuevos y viejos en la Compañía, ya la tiene quitada, porque sin distinción se aceptan por acá los que son buenos y aptos para nuestro instituto; pero allá en España, por ser las cosas de la Compañía aún tiernas, por no excitar tantas contradicciones, que impidan las fundaciones y el curso del divino servicio, es menester usar así algún modo de estas, no se aclarando tanto en lo de fuera, cuanto se siente en lo de dentro, que no hay aceptación de personas ni linajes [Romans 2:11]. Todavía se ha escrito allá, y esta es la intención de nuestro Padre, que no se deje de aceptar ningún buen supósito por descender de moros o judíos; y si se teme desedificación en una parte, que le muden a otra; y no cabiendo bien en España, nos los envíen a Italia, donde no hay esos respectos, que, cierto, parecen bien indignos de christianos tan buenos y de tan buenos entendimientos como los hay en España” (*Mon Ign.* 9:150).

See also Guzmán’s letter to Acquaviva against the 1593 decree: “Pues vimos los que nos hallamos en su tiempo que se recibían en Roma algunos sujetos sin hacer dificultad ninguna el ser de este linaje, por muy cercano o fresco que fuese antes en cierta manera por ellos, los recibían más fácilmente, si tenían las otras partes convenientes para ser recibidos” (*Instit.* 186e, f. 355v) and Ribadeneyra’s opinion on the issue in *Mon Rib.* 2:279: “Entre los hombres más insignes en santidad, letras, prudencia y raros dones de la Compañía, algunos ha habido deste linaje.” Alarcón, Guzmán, and Ribadeneyra follow here an old argument that had been made in the fifteenth-century pro-converso writings by, for example, Alonso Díaz de Montalvo and Alonso de Cartagena, as we have seen in Chapter One.

¹⁵⁹ See *Chron.* [501].

background,¹⁶⁰ when the two reluctantly met head-on in Toledo in February 1554.¹⁶¹ In his much later letter to Acquaviva against the 1593 decree, Guzmán would remind him that Silíceo had offered Nadal a sly deal: “If you bar in your Constitutions the converso candidates, I shall build you a great college.” Accosting the archbishop, Nadal had abjured it as contrary to Ignatius’s will and intention.¹⁶²

Consequently, Nadal sent a message to Medina [del Campo], where Loarte’s family lived, inviting Loarte and Guzmán to come with him to Rome, after having pronounced their first religious vows. Nadal justified his decision in his report to Loyola in May 1554: neither Loarte nor Guzmán had any impediment. Furthermore, he expressed his hope that the Lord be served not only in Spain by their spiritual work but also in Rome by their financial support for the Jesuit projects there—Guzmán and Loarte were carrying with them 300–400 ducats and held approximately 9,000 *maravedies* of benefits.¹⁶³

Nadal’s wish was fulfilled. Loarte, who was already fifty-six when he entered the Society and who died after twenty-four years of working mostly in Italy, became one of the most prolific, published, and translated spiritual writers of the first generation of Jesuits. He was particularly interested in writing on the distinctive aspects of Catholicism: Christ’s passion, devotion to Mary Mother of God, and sacramental confession. He published *Esercizio de la vita Christiana* (Genoa, 1557), *Instuttione et avisi, per meditare la Passione di Christo* (Rome, 1570), [*Trattato*] *delli rimedii contr’ il gravissimo peccato della bastemia* (Venice, 1573), *Istruttione e avvertimenti per meditar i misteri del Rosario* (Rome, 1573), *Conforto de gli aflitti* (Rome, 1574), *Trattato delle sante peregrinationi* (Rome, 1575), *Antidoto spirituale contra la*

¹⁶⁰ See *Mon Nadal* 1:233: “El arzobispo dice que todos somos cristianos nuevos”; and a letter to Loyola by Francisco de Villanueva from 1551, quoted by Astrain, *Historia*, p. 353: “[Silíceo] comenzó a decir que nos quemaría a todos.”

¹⁶¹ At the occasion, Nadal delivered in Toledo some letters to the converso family of Pedro de Ribadeneyra.

¹⁶² “Y por proseguir esta razón de la intención y voluntad de nuestro bendito padre Ignacio acerca de este punto se confirma con lo que sucedió al padre Jerónimo Nadal cuando vino a España a publicar las Constituciones por orden de nuestro padre, que fue cuando el arzobispo de Toledo Silicio se mostró contrario a la Compañía, especialmente porque entendió que se recibían también los de aquel linaje como los demás; y dijo al padre Nadal lo cual yo se lo oí, ‘Haced constitución de no recibirlos y yo os fundaré un gran colegio de vuestra Compañía.’ Y le respondió el padre Nadal, esto no se dará en ninguna manera, entendiendo que tal cosa sería contra la intención y voluntad de nuestro padre Ignacio” (ARSI, *Instit.* 186e, ff. 354^v–355).

¹⁶³ See *Mon Nadal* 1:257.

peste (Genoa, 1577), and *Avisi di sacerdoti et confessori* (Parma, 1579).¹⁶⁴ He was followed in the Society by his brother Baltasar, also a disciple of Juan de Ávila, who left Nadal a telling auto-biographical note: “I have [also] two widowed sisters in Medina and two married brothers in Granada, all rich. [...] I had a very good library that I left to the Society, in which I studied the Scripture and sacred doctors.”¹⁶⁵

Diego de Guzmán, after being trained by Loyola in Rome, where he was immediately named minister of the *casa professa* (1554–5), became a confidant of Leonora Álvarez de Toledo (1522–62), Duchess of Tuscany,¹⁶⁶ while taking care of the Jesuit College in Florence. In 1562 he replaced his old friend Loarte as rector of the college in Genoa. Subsequently, he taught catechism in many parts of Italy. Based on this and prior experience with Juan de Ávila, Guzmán wrote *Modo per insegnar con frutto la dottrina christiana* [A Way of Teaching Christian Doctrine Successfully] (1585).¹⁶⁷ He desired to go to Brazil as a missionary, but because of his impaired hearing and ignorance of the local language, Borja instead required his presence in Rome (1567), where he directed the House of Catechumens. Twenty years later he returned to Seville, where he spent the last two decades of his life. Guzmán would oppose the anti-converso decree of 1593 in an unpublished letter to Ribadeneyra that we shall analyze in Chapter Four.¹⁶⁸

Nadal was so far from discriminating against Judeo-converso candidates that, after Loarte and Guzmán, he admitted other disciples of Juan de Ávila, removing in this way the last doubts of the latter that the anti-converso policy of Iberian Jesuits was contrary to the course of Loyola and the Jesuit *Constitutions*. Nadal reported to Loyola from Valladolid in March 1554 that after he and Ávila met in Cordoba, Father [Diego] Santa Cruz from Lisbon,¹⁶⁹ Father [Cristóbal] Carvajal from Valencia,¹⁷⁰ and another two of Ávila’s unnamed disciples

¹⁶⁴ See *DHCJ*, 3:2402–3.

¹⁶⁵ See *Mon Nadal* 1:605.

¹⁶⁶ See Scaduto, *Governo*, pp. 579–82.

¹⁶⁷ See ARSI, *Opp. NN.* 55, ff. 135^v–137.

¹⁶⁸ “Después que hay este decreto, se han retirado muchos sujetos que tienen partes muy esenciales y de grande estimación y que fueran muy estimados y de gran fruto en la Compañía” (Diego de Guzmán, “Las razones que hay para que el decreto de la Quinta Congregación General se haya de abrogar y deshacer que determina que no sean recibidos los que son de linaje de Judíos o de Moros,” in ARSI, *Inst.* 186e, ff. 353–8).

¹⁶⁹ He was born in Granada in 1518 and died in 1594.

¹⁷⁰ He was born in Talaván in 1518 and died in Placencia in 1557.

entered the Society.¹⁷¹ One of the latter was taken by Nadal, together with Loarte and Guzmán, to Rome, and from a joyful letter by Polanco to Francisco de Borja one infers that his name was Manuel de Sá.¹⁷² He was born in 1528 into a converso family from Villa de Conde (Portugal). Still as a novice, Sá was asked by Loyola to examine the Jesuit *Constitutions* before their promulgation. As a professor of theology and exegesis at the *Collegio Romano* (1556–72) he contributed with the converso Diego de Ledesma¹⁷³ to the elaboration of the *Ratio Studiorum*. Like his other converso confreres (Loarte, Polanco, and Toledo), he became a prolific author of manuals for confessors: his *Aphorismi Confessariorum* (Venice, 1592) had at least eighty editions, including its Japanese translation issued in Nagasaki in 1605.¹⁷⁴

No doubt, Nadal was sincerely convinced that Jewish ancestry was not an impediment for Jesuit candidates.¹⁷⁵ In a passionate discussion over the admission of a converso candidate by the name of Santander,¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ See *Mon Nadal* 1:226–7. M. Ruiz Jurado, in his “San Juan de Ávila,” p. 158, lists twenty-eight of Ávila’s disciples who entered the Society. One of these two must have been either Luis de Santander or Alonso Ruiz, about whom much will be said below.

¹⁷² “La presente es para hacer saber a V[uestra] R[everencia] que el P[adre] M[aestro] Nadal llegó con sus tres compañeros, el D[octo]r Loarte, D[on] Diego y M[aestro] Manuel a Roma, sanos todos por la gracia divina. Hémonos consolado mucho en el Señor nuestro con ellos, y con las buenas nuevas que de allá traen del divino servicio, por ministerio de la Compañía...” (*Mon Nadal* 1:269).

¹⁷³ Diego de Ledesma: *1524 Cuéllar (Segovia); SJ 1556; †1575 Rome; priest in 1557; professed in 1560. For more on him, see below.

¹⁷⁴ See Maryks, “Census,” pp. 483–91.

¹⁷⁵ A further confirmation of Nadal’s view on the issue is his letter to Loyola about the acceptance of Ávila himself to the Society: “El P. Doctor Torres se ha partido para Córdoba... Va animado mucho con esperanza que el Mtro. Ávila mismo ha de entrar en la Compañía, y yo le dije que me parecía bien, habida la dispensación, porque ha sido fraile, y no he sabido aún si profesó. Hanme movido a conceder esto dos cosas. Lo uno lo que me dicen Villanueva y otros, que ha deseado V[uestra] P[aternalidad] traerle cuando le mandó visitar, etc.; la otra el juicio de D. Antonio, que muy especialmente lo desea, y también el P. Francisco y el doctor Torres, todos lo tienen por gran cosa que entrase: por el contrario, hay el impedimento dicho, ser viejo y enfermo, *cristiano nuevo*, y perseguido en tiempo pasado por la Inquisición, aunque claramente absuelto; y después de los suyos ha tomado la Inquisición algunos, no sé si de todo absueltos. [...] Tiene grandes partes, gran entendimiento, mucho espíritu y letras muchas, y talento grande de predicar y conversar, gran fruto, especialmente en Andalucía, y está en gran crédito de todos” (*Mon Nadal* 1:249). Pedro Ribadeneira in his stubborn criticism of the Jesuit anti-converso policy brought an example of Ávila: “El P. Mtro. Ávila dijo que por dos cosas se podría perder la Compañía: la primera, por admitir a ella mucha turba; y la segunda por hacer distinción de linajes y sangre” (*Mon Rib.* 2:381).

¹⁷⁶ It must have been Luis (Diego) de Santander (1527–99) from Écija (Seville). Like Loarte and Guzmán, he was a disciple of Juan de Ávila. With Baltasar Piñas, he

he replied: “We [Jesuits] take a pleasure in admitting those of Jewish ancestry.”¹⁷⁷

In this context, a narrative of Nadal’s alleged strong anti-Jewish sentiments reported by his secretary Diego Jiménez in the *Commentary on the life and virtues of Fr. Nadal*, written in the 1560s, must raise historians’ eyebrows. Jiménez naively recounts that during his stay in Avignon, Nadal was offered a position of chief rabbi by the Jewish community there, for he knew Hebrew so well. But he categorically refused the offer with indignation by calling the Jews “marranos,” and “diabolical spirits and heretics in the Law of Moses.” The French soldiers, hearing Nadal arguing with the Jews in Hebrew, called Nadal himself a “marrano.”¹⁷⁸ However, in his personal diary, Nadal presented a quite different version of this episode. He narrated that during the turmoil that resulted from the war between France and Spain, one of the French soldiers took Nadal, who was holding in his hand a Hebrew Pentateuch, by his beard and exclaimed: “You, Jewish dog!” Nadal did not report that he responded to that offence.¹⁷⁹

It is, thus, hard to reconcile Nadal’s supposed Judeo-phobia, as portrayed by his secretary Jiménez, with his alacrity to admit into the Society candidates of Jewish ancestry, as portrayed in his own writings.¹⁸⁰ What was Jiménez’s purpose, then, in informing his Jesuit readers

worked with *moriscos* (see Medina, “La Compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca,” *AHSI* 57 (1988): 3–136) and was confessor of the converso Teresa de Ávila, whom he helped found her convents in Medina del Campo (1567) and Segovia (1574), where he was rector of the first Jesuit college. Alonso Rodríguez was his disciple in Valencia. Santander was an outspoken opponent of the anti-converso decree, whose consequences he personally experienced—Baltasar de Santofimia (likely himself a converso) opposed his appointment as rector of the college in Écija, and Cristóbal Méndez contested his nomination as rector in Seville. Also his two brothers, Jerónimo (1541–74) and Antonio (b. 1539), entered the Society (see *DHCJ*, pp. 3499–500).

¹⁷⁷ “Disputavi etiam acriter contra opinionem Soti, quod ordo correptionis evangelicae non esset servandus in crimine haereseos: conquestus est apud me quod non reciperemus, qui ducunt a judaeis originem; se id scire de Araozio et Mirone. Respondi ita non esse; sed habere nos delectum in illis recipiendis” (*Mon Nadal* 2:21). This and other stories show clearly that the early Jesuit leadership’s opposition to the converso discrimination was one of principle, for it was against the Jesuit Constitutions, contrary to what Foa suggests in her “*Limpieza versus Mission*” (pp. 307–8).

¹⁷⁸ See *Mon Nadal* 1:29–31.

¹⁷⁹ See *Mon Nadal* 1:4–5.

¹⁸⁰ Jesuit documents on the subject show that Jesuit Judeo-phobia and converso-phobia, as well as Judeo-philea and converso-philea, went hand in hand, even though one could object that a converso-phobe could be at the same time a Judeo-phile, or vice versa. Apparently it was not so among early Jesuits, because of the common genealogical identification of conversos with Jews.

about Nadal's anti-Jewish invectives in Avignon, the veracity of which cannot be uncritically accepted, although a few historians who commented on it do consider Jiménez's version reliable?¹⁸¹ Is it possible that Jiménez's account was an attempt to assure his Jesuit confreres that Nadal himself was not of Jewish descent? One way of answering that question is by exploring Nadal's likely converso background. In addition to the connection made earlier, there are a number of additional hints that might point to Nadal's Jewish origins, which he, as almost all other converso Jesuits, may have kept strictly undisclosed.

The first tip comes from the topography of the city of Majorca. Nadal's native home and that of his mother's family were located next to the church of Santa Eulalia—the center of the converso (*chueta*) quarter in the City of Majorca throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁸² Still today, the two streets in that neighborhood, Carrer Pare Nadal and Calle Morey, testify to Jerónimo Nadal's family roots.¹⁸³

The second hint comes from the archives of the Spanish Inquisition. At least four conversos who bore the name of Nadal were tried by this tribunal at the end of the fifteenth century (Gaspar in 1489, the dyers Pablo and his wife Martina in 1497, and Pau, who was a tailor),¹⁸⁴ and

¹⁸¹ See William Bangert, *Jerome Nadal, S.J. 1507–1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), p. 1; O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 190; Codina Mir, "La ordenación y el doctorado en teología de Jerónimo Nadal," p. 247; Joan Nadal Cañellas, *Jerónimo Nadal Morey, la seva vida i la seva contribució a la cultura europea del s. xvi* (Palma de Mallorca: Promomallorca Edicions, 2002).

¹⁸² The *chueta* quarter is to be distinguished from the Jewish one that was adjacent to it, even though both pertained to the same parish of St. Eulalia. I personally confused the two quarters in my "Jerónimo Nadal" (*DEI*, p. 1315), following M. Ruiz Jurado in his "Jerónimo Nadal" (*DHCJ* 2:2793).

¹⁸³ In the past, there was another street in the Santa Eulalia quarter, Calle de Nadals (today Calle de la Campana), named after the family of Nadal, who owned a house there in the second half of the sixteenth century: "El Magnífico Antonio Nadal, Ciudadano militar, que fue el último poseedor de la casa, la vendió a Bernardo Barrera [...] en 10 de mayo de 1599. El Antonio Nadal citado, las había adquirido de Pedro Jerónimo Nadal [...] en 4 de Julio de 1563, y este a su vez por compra a la Magnífica Beatriz Dezcallar [...] en 24 octubre de 1560" (Diego Zaforteza y Musoles, *La ciudad de Mallorca. Ensayo histórico-toponímico* [Palma de Mallorca: Ajuntament, 1960], vol. 4, pp. 321–2). I have not yet been able to establish the connection of these Nadals to Jerónimo. When the latter departed from Majorca in 1545, he left on the island his only brother, Esteban Nadal (see Nadal, *Chronicon* [35]: "Navegué solo hasta Barcelona, dejado el cuidado de los asuntos familiares a mi hermano Esteban, bajo la supervisión de mi tío Morey"). At any rate, this information indicates the bond of various Nadals with the *chueta* quarter of the city.

¹⁸⁴ See Lorenzo Pérez, ed., *Anales Judaicos de Mallorca* (Palma de Mallorca: Ripoli, 1974), p. 237; and Pérez, *Inquisición de Mallorca, Reconciados y relajados, 1488–1691* (Barcelona: [M. Perdigó], 1946), Index.

at least one in the seventeenth century (Rafael Nadal Pomár de Benito in 1679).¹⁸⁵

The third hint involves possible converso associations of the surname Nadal.¹⁸⁶ Bishop Bernardo Nadal Crespi (bishop 1794–1818) was the first head of the Majorcan Church to allow *chueta* candidates to enter the priesthood. Jaume Nadal, together with the well-known prominent converso families of Valls, Aguiló, Fuster, Pomár, and Segura, in 1672 was a co-founder of the Majorcan Sociedad de Seguros de Transportes Marítimos.¹⁸⁷ With such strong circumstantial evidence, little doubt remains about Nadal's Jewish ancestry.

Nonetheless, when the life of Ignatius of Loyola began reaching its zenith, the professed Jesuits in Rome elected Jerónimo Nadal vicar general, as soon as he returned from his trip to Spain, accompanied by Diego de Guzmán, Gaspar de Loarte, and Manuel de Sá (November 1554). Because he was often away visiting the Jesuit provinces across Europe, the daily duties of the government were fulfilled by his converso collaborators, Polanco and Madrid.

The latter was born in 1503 to a converso family of Daimiel near Toledo. He arrived in Rome as a theologian of Cardinal of Trani, Giovan Domenico de Cupis (1493–1553), who would become one of the major supporters of Loyola's apostolate with Roman Jews. Remaining the cardinal's guest and associate, Madrid began collaborating in the Jesuit project for the Roman prostitutes, the St. Martha House. In 1550, his brother Alfonso entered the Society, and Cristóbal followed suit in 1554. Only one year later Loyola appointed him his assistant general for Italy, while entrusting him with the care of the *Casa Professa* and the supervision of colleges, even though he had not yet pronounced his final vows and thus was not *de iure* a full Jesuit. These numerous duties did not prevent Madrid from fulfilling Ignatius's request (which Salmerón and Andrés de Oviedo had failed to fulfil)¹⁸⁸ to compose

¹⁸⁵ See AHN, Inquisición, lib. 364, f. 249^r and Leonard Mutaner i Mariano, ed., *Ralación de los Sanbenitos 1755* (Mallorca: Miquel Fonf, 1993), pp. 20–1. Note that the surname Pomár is a typical name among Majorcan *chuetas*, who practiced endogamy. Thus, it is very unlikely that Raphael's mother, Pomár, would have married a non-*chueta*.

¹⁸⁶ See *Dicionário Sefaradi de sobrenomes* (Rio de Janeiro: Fraiha, 2003), p. 337.

¹⁸⁷ Gabriel Cortés Cortés, *Historia de los Judíos Mallorquines y de sus descendientes cristianos* (Miquel Font: Mallorca, 1985), vol. 1, p. 182; and Cortés Cortés, *Origen Genealógico de algunos Apellidos existentes en Mallorca e Historia de los Judíos de España* (Valencia: Ediciones Franva, 1965), Index.

¹⁸⁸ For more on Oviedo, see below.

a kind of Eucharistic directory, *Libellus de frequenti usu sacramenti Eucharistiae*. Its first anonymous edition appeared in Naples already in 1556, and the official one was printed by the Jesuits in Rome in 1557. Later editions of Madrid's booklet were often bound with Polanco's *Breve directorium* that we have analyzed above. Cristóbal de Madrid was one of the only two Jesuits (the other one was André de Freux) who were present at Ignatius's death 31 July 1556.

The converso triumvirate: the election of Diego Laínez

When Ignatius died, his vicar general, Nadal, was far away in Spain—the news about Loyola's death, transmitted by Ribadeneyra, reached Nadal only in September 1556 at Alcalá. It was his task now to organize a general congregation that would elect a new superior general of the Society. However, according to the Society's secretary Polanco, Nadal's appointment expired with Loyola's death. Thus, Polanco informed Nadal that the professed Jesuits in Rome had congregated and elected a new vicar general, Diego Laínez. Even though Nadal may have had some legal ground to claim that he still had the right to exercise his office, he embraced and recognized immediately the election of Laínez. He rushed back to Rome by horse to support the latter in his difficult task of convoking the congregation—a task that would be delayed for two years due to the war being waged between King Philip II and Pope Paul IV. During this interregnum period, the Society was governed by Laínez and his devoted collaborators Polanco, Nadal, and Madrid.

The accumulation of power in the hands of these few was profoundly resented by one of Ignatius's early companions, the eccentric Nicolás Bobadilla. He campaigned against the triumvirate at the papal court and elsewhere, arguing that Laínez was being manipulated by his associates. He also claimed that the Jesuit *Constitutions* had to be approved by the ten founding fathers (and not just by Ignatius, whom he accused of being a "malign sophist"),¹⁸⁹ and that until then the three men had no legal authority. In his memorial to the governor of Loreto, Gaspare de' Dotti, sent from Rome in 1557, Bobadilla wrote: "Laínez is good, but he allows himself to be governed by his two sons, who have fallen

¹⁸⁹ See *Mon Nadal* 2:53.

into many errors, as you will see in the attachment.”¹⁹⁰ The attached document is Bobadilla’s *Disordini fatti in poco tempo in questo malo loro governo* [Disorders made in a brief time in this bad government of theirs]. Among the thirteen accusations, its author wrote in the first paragraph that “the three, Laínez, Polanco, and Nadal [...] secluded themselves for many days and discussed among them certain things and not in public with the [general] congregation.”¹⁹¹ It is interesting to note that this accusation is similar to what Benedetto Palmio would write later about the role of conversos during General Congregation 3, as we shall see below.

Bobadilla’s argumentation was harshly criticized by Nadal, who accused him of being ambitious, worldly, seditious, and an unquiet soul (these epithets are typical in the anti-converso writings of the period, as we have seen in the previous chapter). Then Bobadilla reached for another type of weapon. Benedetto Palmio suggested that Bobadilla, in his attempt to dismantle the New Christian “triumvirate” in Rome,¹⁹² pointed out to Pope Paul IV (who was known for his antipathy toward Jews and Spaniards and, therefore, also toward Laínez)¹⁹³ that Laínez and many of his collaborators were of Jewish lineage, even though Araoz and Palmio claimed that Bobadilla himself belonged to the same stock. Perhaps Bobadilla made these charges in order to veil his own *Morisco* background.¹⁹⁴ A hint that this is so is that Bobadilla was not Nicolás’s real name. His family name was Alonso y Pérez, and Bobadilla [del Camino] was a town in Placencia where he was born c. 1509. This “rough and rustic like his native land”¹⁹⁵ Spaniard studied rhetoric and logic in Valladolid and then philosophy at the University of Alcalá, where he earned his baccalaureate. There, like Laínez and Salmerón, he must have heard of Ignatius. Subsequently

¹⁹⁰ “Laínez è buono, ma lasciarsi governare di due figliuoli suoi, i quali l’hanno precipitato in tanti errori, come vedrà per l’allegata” (*Mon Nadal* 4:105).

¹⁹¹ “Li tre, Laynez, Polanco et Natal [...] si separorno per parecchi giorni, et trattavano tra loro le cose, et non in publico con la congregazione” (*Mon Nadal* 4:105–6).

¹⁹² To my knowledge, Palmio’s memorial is the only document that interprets the crisis after Loyola’s death in terms of the converso conflict. On different interpretations of Bobadilla’s discontent, see *DHCJ* 1:464–5; and Scaduto, *Governo*, pp. 45–7.

¹⁹³ See Scaduto, *Governo*, pp. 31–2.

¹⁹⁴ See S. Pey Ordeix in his *Historia crítica de San Ignacio de Loyola... Estudio analítico de la vida e historia del santo fundador de la Compañía hecho directamente sobre los documentos de los archivos nacionales y extranjeros, especialmente de los secretos del Vaticano, de la inquisición y de la Compañía* (Madrid: Impr. de A. Marzo, 1916), p. 222; and ARSI, *Vitae* 164, f. 17^{r-v}.

¹⁹⁵ See Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, p. 207.



Source: Alfred Hamy, *Galerie Illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), #313. Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 8. Nicolás Bobadilla (c. 1509–90)—the converso opponent of the “converso triumvirate”

he began studying theology, first in Alcalá under Juan de Medina and then back in Valladolid under Diego de Astudillo (both masters were of probable converso ancestry), but he eventually followed the fame of Loyola up to Paris, where he joined the *ínigistas*. In the context of his anti-converso conspiracy at the papal court, which—according to Benedetto Palmio—was the beginning of how “the worms infested the apple,”¹⁹⁶ one ought not be surprised to learn that Bobadilla eagerly assisted at the burning of the Talmud (“and other heretic”) books in Ancona in 1554.¹⁹⁷

In spite of Bobadilla’s conspiracy, however, the pope was assured through his envoys, Cardinal Alberto Pio di Carpi and Cardinal Michele Ghislieri, that all Jesuit priests in Rome, except for Bobadilla and his French confrere Ponce Cogordan (1500–82), recognized Laínez’s authority as vicar general. In addition, Nadal successfully persuaded the papal circles that Loyola’s *Constitutions* did not contain any error. Subsequently, Laínez called for the congregation to meet in June 1558. Now the provincial congregations had to elect their delegates according to the rule established by Polanco and Nadal (superior provincial plus two elected professed delegates).¹⁹⁸ The first to do so was the Italian province. Not surprisingly, Laínez, Polanco, and Nadal were chosen to represent it.

As the assembly gathered, Laínez wanted to prevent the election of any ambitious person and for that purpose composed a document consisting of twelve canons.¹⁹⁹ Nadal objected to it by arguing that those were not part of the Jesuit *Constitutions*.²⁰⁰ Nadal’s criticism resulted in a rumor that he was conspiring to become superior general, but Polanco’s investigation, requested by Laínez, proved the rumor to be false. With the papal blessing obtained by Laínez and Salmerón, the First General Congregation began. In the room where Ignatius died, on 2 July Laínez was elected Loyola’s successor with thirteen out of twenty votes. Nadal received four votes, and three other candidates

¹⁹⁶ See ARSI, *Vitae* 164 f. 17^r.

¹⁹⁷ See *Mon Ign.* 1:569 (a letter to Mirón from 5 April 1554); and Keneth R. Stow, “The Burning of the Talmud in 1553, in the light of the Sixteenth-Century Catholic Attitudes Toward the Talmud,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme and Renaissance* 34 (1972): 435–59.

¹⁹⁸ See Scaduto, *Governo*, p. 94.

¹⁹⁹ See ARSI, *Congr. I*, f. 3^r; and *Inst.* 222, f. 210^r.

²⁰⁰ See *Mon Nadal* 2:59–60.

(Broet, Lanoy, and Borja) received one each.²⁰¹ Polanco reported in a letter to Oliviero Manareo that the results of voting brought much joy and consolation to all but Laínez.²⁰² Neither for the electors nor for the Judeo-phobic Pope Paul IV, who approved the election with a moving speech,²⁰³ was Laínez's converso lineage—that he made public at the occasion—²⁰⁴ any impediment to his election to the highest administrative post in the Society of Jesus, despite the discontent of the Spanish court and attempts of later Jesuits to conceal it.

One of the earliest Jesuit historians who adamantly opposed these attempts to falsify Laínez's ancestry was the Italian historian Francesco Sacchini (1570–1625). When his *History* containing the information about Laínez's Jewish background appeared in 1622, many Spanish Jesuits overwhelmed Superior General Mutius Vitelleschi (1563–1645) with requests to delete it:

The Province of Toledo, united in a congregation, unanimously petitions our Reverend Father General to see to it that what is written in the second volume of the *History of the Society* about the ancestry of Father James Laynez is deleted. We beg for the removal of so great a slur on the sweet memory of so great a Father. Let there be no mention of it whatever in the second edition, and in this first we ask that Father General would immediately cause the page containing this foul blot which damages the whole Society to be cut out and replaced by another asserting the purity and nobility of the Father's lineage. We give a few of the many reasons which may induce his Paternity to grant the petition. First, what the *History* discloses about the birth of this great man is false, as witnesses of the utmost probity who have investigated the matter testify. Secondly, even if true, it would serve no useful purpose but cause the greatest harm and be downright sinful to brand a General of the Society and one of its founders with that infamy. Thirdly, the vile imputation is not confined to our Father Laynez alone but reflects on all his kin... Among others, the Marquis of Almazán who is not ashamed to count the Father among his relatives is deeply offended by it...

²⁰¹ See *Mon Nadal* 2:62.

²⁰² See *Mon Laínez* 3:394–7.

²⁰³ See *Mon Laínez* 3:398–9 and 8:665–9. Possevino claimed that Paul IV wanted to make Laínez a cardinal and that some cardinals wanted him to be elected as pope after the former's death (see AHSI, *Inst.* 184/II, f. 351^v).

²⁰⁴ See Possevino's memorial (AHSI, *Inst.* 184/II, f. 350^v): "P. Giacompo Laínez nato però in Almanzano di padre quale si sa. Il quale P. Lainez eletto poi in generale, et esso ricusandolo con accennar anco ingenuamente il suo nascimientto, la congregazione, unita di quei primi padri che [sono] venuto [e] avevano il sincero spirito della Compagnia, giudicò nel cospetto di Dio frivola ogni obiezione, la quale nascesse dalla consideratione di simili rispetti del mondo." See also Possevino's letter to Sacchini in AHSI, *Vitae* 162, ff. 59–60^r.



Source: Alfred Hamy, *Galerie Illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), #111. Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 9. The Italian Jesuit historian Francesco Sacchini (1570–1625)

Sacchini, whom the Toledan Jesuits asked to be punished, straightforwardly replied:

Verily I am a luckless miserable fellow and scarcely could there be a more wretched creature, for who will spare a little sympathy for one who manages to offend everybody? Many a year now have I been sweating over my books, fondly hoping by my labors and torments to please God in the first place, then our fathers now in Heaven with Him, and after that the present and future Society, as well as my neighbor in general. And behold the result, the evil fruit of my honest endeavors. I have gravely offended God, villainously degraded and disgraced a most eminent and saintly man now reigning with Him, wounded the Society itself by fixing on it a foul blot and dishonor, and even contaminated my neighbor with infamy.... O Father of mercies, in Thy infinite goodness forgive me! And may the good fathers of Spain listen with patience to what their wicked son, if son he may be called, has to say in his own defense, so that though condemned unheard, he may be not punished without a hearing.... I therefore declare that what is revealed in the *History* is so certain as to leave no possible room for doubt in the mind of any prudent man acquainted with the proofs on which it rests. The first proof is that the fact was known throughout the Society from the beginning. I have been hearing of it for thirty-five years, and never until now have I come upon anyone who doubted it. Many of our older fathers have read my *History* and not a man of them regarded the statement about Laynez as news to him. Indeed, I have been widely congratulated for not having passed it over. Cardinal Bellarmine and his confessor, Father Fabius, together with five former assistants to the General, all men well versed in the study of our origins, had not the slightest doubt about the truth of the story. Nor had the assistants who revised the *History* nor Father General himself. Father Antonio Possevino expressly asserts its truth, and Father Ribadeneyra plainly signifies the same in several places. While Father García Alarcón, an assistant, was on a visitation of the provinces of Castile and Toledo he addressed to Father General a memorial giving reasons why the decree about the non-admission of New Christians should be modified. In this he wrote as follows: "Our holy Father Ignatius admitted men of Jewish extraction who by their sanctity and learning have rendered our Society illustrious and at the Council of Trent preserved its institute inviolate."²⁰⁵ None but Láinez can be in question here, for though there were other fathers at Trent on him alone fell the responsibility of defending the Society in the Council. Let the older fathers still happily among us be asked for their opinion and I guarantee that they will answer in my sense. Why, the Province of Toledo itself at a former congregation held in the year 1600 signified the same thing when petitioning for a modification of the decree about New

²⁰⁵ We shall analyze Alarcón's memorial in Chapter Four.

Christians! Who, then, will believe that a story so old, so widely known, and so consistent is wholly without foundation? Why should it be told of Laínez rather than another unless it be true of him? Why if false has no one ever taken the trouble to confute it? [...] The fathers of Toledo contend that by revealing the Jewish origin of Laínez I have inflicted a wound on the whole Society. How so, pray, when none but themselves felt any wound? My book has been circulated in all our provinces and read at table in many refectories, but only from Spain has come so much as a syllable of complaint. And where, anyhow, is this infamy of which they speak? St. Epiphanius, that great light of the Church and opponent of heresy, was a Jew on both sides. So was St. Julian, archbishop of no less a place than Toledo itself, and still its patron. And how many saints and doctors besides were of that same blood of the Saint of Saints? The Church glories in such men and so should we glory in our Laínez, whose so-called stain is an ignominy only to vulgar and prejudiced minds. It is our duty to make war on such prejudices and destroy them. Why this fear where there is no cause for fear? Is it an ignominy to find Christ our Lord, however late in the day? What stain remains in the new man who has put on Christ and become a temple of God, a son of God, an heir of God and co-heir of Christ? Must we blush to have the same mind as Apostle of the Gentiles? It is he who forbids the wild olive to boast against the broken branches of the true olive, into which through no merit of their own the alien shoots have been grafted. Armed with this thought, how can any man who loves Christ be offended by the return to Him of His own racial kith and kin? But I am not pleading the cause of the New Christians. I merely wish to indicate that I in no way repent what I wrote about Laínez. As a Christian, his Jewish blood was not an ignominy but ennoblement, for he was not a wild shoot, as each of us is, but a fallen branch of the good olive grafted again sweetly and fitly into the parent stock.²⁰⁶

Interestingly enough, the same kind of petition was sent to Rome by the Provincial Congregation of Toledo in 1649, requesting this time that the information about the Jewish ancestry of Polanco be deleted from Sacchini's *History*.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ See James Brodrick, *The Progress of the Jesuits (1556–79)* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986), pp. 314–21. See the original in *Mon Laínez* 8:833–55.

²⁰⁷ See ARSI, *Congr.* 74, ff. 79–80. Sacchini's text in question was the following: "Eo demum descendit Pontifex, ut libera Congregatio esset: cum eo tamen, ut si forte Hispano homini munus imponeretur, ante promulgationem sibi significarent. Quod plerique, coniectura haud dubia, repellendo Polanco accipere: sive is Neophytus, ac favere Neophytis putaretur, sive etiam a quopiam timeretur, ac praesertim ab Edmundo Augerio, qui ad eum ex Hispania redeuntem cum Borgia, de nimio inter cetera Nationum studio delatus fuerat" (Sacchini, *Historiae Societatis Iesu*, vol. 4 [Everardus], liber 1, pp. 6–7).

The quoted words of Sacchini reflect the spirit of Loyola that the delegates of General Congregation 1 wished to preserve. They decided that the *Constitutions* written by Ignatius could not be altered, for they believed—to use García Alarcón’s later observation—that he probably had received their substantial points from God himself.²⁰⁸ Thus, Loyola’s non-discrimination policy towards candidates of Jewish ancestry was sanctioned. The Congregation subsequently approved the Latin official translation of the *Constitutions* rendered by Polanco, who took into consideration the notes suggested to Loyola by himself, Madrid, and Nadal. The latter was commissioned by the assembly to write a commentary that, under the title of *Scholia in Constitutiones*, would be recommended as normative by the following General Congregation 2 (1565).²⁰⁹

The authority of the “converso triumvirate” was also upheld at the administrative level. General Congregation 1 elected them as assistants general to Diego Laínez—Madrid for Italy and Sicily; Polanco for Spain; and Nadal for Germany, Flanders, and France. Additionally, Madrid continued to be minister of the *casa professa*, Nadal to supervise the Roman College, and Polanco to head the secretariat, exercising also an office of the *admonitor* to the superior general.²¹⁰ Nadal requested from the congregation that the assistants general be given the right to vote *ex officio* and to keep their offices until the election of the next superior general.²¹¹ Remembering clearly the lack of full comprehension of the vicar general’s function after Loyola’s death (Nadal vs. Laínez), a Congregation’s committee that included Polanco and Nadal—without having enough time to redact a document—declared that the vicar general had the function not only to convoke a general congregation to elect a new superior general but also to replace the superior general during any absence from Rome. That was a prescient clarification, for Laínez would be absent from his headquarters quite often. The longest absence was due to his (and Polanco’s) participation in the colloquy of Poissy (1562) and in the last session of the Council of Trent in

²⁰⁸ “[...] quod nos a Patre nostro Ignatio accepimus eumque probabiliter credimus illud a Deo immediate recepisse quoad omnia substantialia” (ARSI, *Inst.* 184-I, f. 304).

²⁰⁹ See Scaduto, *Governo*, p. 109; and idem, *Francesco Borgia*, p. 53.

²¹⁰ The *admonitor*’s job was to “admonish the general with due modesty and humility about what in him he thinks would be for the greater service and glory of God” (*Const.* [770]).

²¹¹ See ARSI, *Congr.* 20a, ff. 10 and 176.

1563. They were accompanied there by Nadal, who joined them on his way back from Spain, from where, in spite of being entrusted with Láinez's powers, he was forced to leave on request of the converso-phobic royal official, Ruy Gómez, a penitent of the Jesuit Antonio de Araoz. Cristóbal de Madrid was appointed vicar general in Rome for that period, temporarily flanked by Ribadeneyra.

Ribadeneyra continued to enjoy much influence during Láinez's generalate. With Salmerón he was entrusted with another mission to Flanders in 1557, where he accompanied Cardinal Carlo Carafa (1517–61).²¹² From there he flanked Count of Feria in his embassy to the dying “Bloody Mary,” Queen Mary I Tudor (1516–58). Taking advantage of this opportunity to travel to London, Ribadeneyra was asked to explore the possibility of establishing the Society there, but the rise in power of Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) forced the young Jesuit to return hastily to the Continent. This brief yet memorable visit to England influenced Ribadeneyra's later work on the ecclesiastical history of the English Reformation, *Historia eclesiástica del cisma del Reino de Inglaterra*. In 1559, Láinez summoned him to Rome, where Ribadeneyra was given supervision of the *Germanicum* College and became visitor of the colleges in Amelia, Perugia, and Loreto. After the latter mission Láinez admitted him to the solemn profession in September 1560 and promoted him to the post of superior provincial of Tuscany, arguing that “the new provincial has a talent of preaching, of doctrine, and of spirit. Besides, he is a prudent person, trained to deal with important affairs in his many years in the Society from its beginning, and very familiar with our Father Ignatius.”²¹³ In 1561 Láinez made him an associate of Salmerón, who was nominated vicar general during Láinez's and Polanco's trip to France and Trent.

Upon his return from this exhausting journey, the fifty-three-year-old Diego Láinez died at dawn on 19 January 1565, Francisco de Borja present at his deathbed.²¹⁴ Polanco flanked the latter, who—elected vicar general—was now in charge of preparing the Second General Congregation that met on 21 June 1565. The assembly of delegates elected Borja as the new superior general on the first ballot, with thirty-one

²¹² See *Mon. Rib.* 1:241–3.

²¹³ See *Mon Rib.* 1:xi.

²¹⁴ See *Mon Borgia* 3:727.

out of the thirty-nine votes, many of which must have been cast by conversos, whom—according to Palmio—he loved unconditionally.

Francisco de Borja's infinite love of conversos

Among the participants in the congregation were, of course, Bobadilla, Madrid, Nadal, Polanco, Ribadeneyra, and Salmerón, but other converso or pro-converso Jesuits also were electors. Ignacio de Azevedo, Juan Gurrea, Diego de Guzmán, Gaspar de Loarte, Manuel López, Cristóbal Rodríguez, Manuel de Sá, and Juan Alonso de Vitoria. Also Bartolomé Hernández, Diego Miró, Juan de Montoya, Alfonso Román, Juan Suárez, and Marcelo Vaz may have shown their pro-converso sympathy, given that each one of them may have had a converso background.

We have already followed the career of Manuel de Sá and the Siamese friends, Guzmán and Loarte; and the relation of the Toledan provincial, Manuel López, to the Salmantican moral theologian Enrique Enríquez has already been mentioned. But the careers of Ignacio [Inácio] de Azevedo and Cristóbal Rodríguez were no less remarkable. Azevedo came, like López, from Oporto (Portugal), where he was born in 1526 to a former priest, Manuel de Azevedo, and a former nun, Francisca de Abreu, and perhaps was related to the prominent Jesuit Simão Rodrigues [de Acevedo]. Ignacio's maternal converso grandfather, João Gomes de Abreu (married to Joanna de Mello), was a famous poet and navigator. His younger brother, Jerónimo, was captain-general of the island of Ceylon [Sri Lanka] (1594–1612), where he welcomed Jesuit missionaries. Azevedo entered the Society in Coimbra in 1548 and subsequently was named rector of the Jesuit College at Lisbon and provincial of Portugal. Borja would appoint him the first visitor of the new Jesuit province in Brazil,²¹⁵ where he would spend three

²¹⁵ The beginnings of the Jesuit presence in Brazil are marked by the work of José de Anchieta Llarena (1534–97) from San Cristóbal de la Laguna (Tenerife, Canary Islands). He was born to a rich landowner who was originally from the Basque Country, Juan López de Anchieta (related to Ignatius of Loyola), and was a descendant of one of the conquerors of Tenerife, Mencia Díaz de Clavijo y Llarena, who was of Jewish ancestry. He co-founded the cities of São Paulo (1554) and Rio de Janeiro (1565) and is also considered the first Brazilian writer.

Related to him was also another Jesuit, Luis Anchieta (1652–83) from La Orotava (Tenerife). He was born to María Ana de Abreu and Juan de Anchieta. Under the

years. On his second trip to Brazil in 1570, his flotilla *Santiago* was captured on 15 July near the Canary Islands by the Huguenot pirates led by Jacques Sourie. He and his thirty-nine young companions were stripped down, chopped in pieces, and thrown into the sea.²¹⁶ Among them was a nephew of Teresa of Ávila, the Jesuit novice Francisco Pérez Godoy (b. 1540). The pope in 1854 beatified these forty Jesuits, known as the martyrs of Brazil, even though the efforts of the beatification had already begun with Antonio de Vieira (1608–97) in the seventeenth century.

Cristóbal Rodríguez²¹⁷—who is mentioned in Palmio’s memorial as part of the converso circle—after his doctorate in theology at Alcalá was appointed rector at the College of Gandía that had been founded by Borja. He accompanied Borja during his visit to Valladolid, and during the absence of Araoz, Rodríguez was named rector and vice-provincial of the two Castilian provinces (1559). As noted before, Rodríguez was sent with Giovanni Battista Eliano on a papal mission to the Copt patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt. Inquisitor Ghislieri would employ him also in the mission to the Valdese in southern Italy (1563), and Borja would choose him to govern the newly created Jesuit province of Rome (1567). On 7 October 1571, he would be one of the seven Jesuits present at the battle of Lepanto, where he accompanied don John of Austria (1547–78), at the pope’s request. Towards the end of Borja’s term, he would be appointed rector of the St. Peter Penitentiary in Rome. At the very conclusion of Laínez’s mandate (1565), he was appointed provincial of Tuscany, and as such he participated in General Congregation 2. (Rodríguez’s military courage was characteristic also of another converso Jesuit, Hernando de Torres, who died as a chaplain in the Great Armada in front of the Irish coast.)²¹⁸

pseudonym of Christóbal Pérez del Christo, he published a work on antiquities of the Canary Islands (see *DHCJ* 1:158).

²¹⁶ See Polanco’s letter to Vázquez in *ARSI, Ital.* 68, f. 193^v.

²¹⁷ Cristóbal Rodríguez: *1521 Hita (Guadalajara, Spain); †1581 Naples; SJ 1554; priest before 1554; professed in 1559. See *DHCJ* 4:3395; Scaduto, *Catalogo*, p. 127; and Mario Scaduto, “La missione di Cristoforo Rodríguez al Cairo (1561–1563),” *AHSI* 54 (1958): 233–78.

²¹⁸ Hernando de Torres: *1537 Portugal; SJ 1569 Cádiz; †1588. He had relations with the Jews of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), who offered him a reward for marrying a Jewish woman, which he refused. In turn, he took with him a rabbi’s son and made him Christian in Rome. See *DHCJ* 4:3821; and Francisco de Borja Medina, “Jesuitas en la armada contra Inglaterra,” *AHSI* 58 (1989): 35.



Source: Alfred Hamy, *Galerie Illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), #182. Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 10. Bl. Ignacio de Azevedo (1526–70)—the martyred missionary of Brazil

After the choice of the new superior general, General Congregation 2 also elected *in absentia* an assistant to Francisco de Borja for Spain, Antonio Araoz, even though his own province had not chosen him as elector for that assembly. A moving letter from Borja to Araoz sheds some light on the reason why the converso Jesuits must have voted unanimously for this controversial relative of Loyola, whose blatant converso-phobic policy Benedetto Palmio juxtaposed in his memorial to the pro-converso openness of Borja:

Your Reverence must not be surprised that no letters have come from me recently, since with my new cross the burden of my work increases. But now that this morning the general congregation elected you assistant by a majority of all except one or two votes, Joseph is unable to restrain himself any longer from congratulating his dearest brother [*Genesis* 43:30]. He entertains a good hope that your arrival here will mean great service to God through your advice and aid in the affairs of His new plant, the Society of Jesus, of which *you were among the first members after the original ten fathers*. [...] Your Reverence knows my unflinching love for you, and that many waters cannot extinguish it. Come, then, Father, in that same spirit of affection with which you are desired, so that it will be possible to say truly of us two in our measure, “*sicut in vita se dilexerunt ita in morte non sunt separati...*” *Pater carissime*, pray for me and let me know the day of your departure [*Italics mine*].²¹⁹

Polanco,²²⁰ Ribadeneyra, and Salmerón²²¹ wrote letters that were similarly friendly in tone,²²² but Araoz interpreted his election as an attempt to remove “from Spain a terrible person, feared by some as a plotter and by others as an obstacle to the despoiling of the country of money for Rome and of men for Italy,”²²³ and, doggedly supported by his royal-courtier protector, Prince Ruy Gómez, he never showed up in Rome, excusing himself—as he had done seven years before—on the grounds that the heat of Rome was harmful for his health.²²⁴ When Araoz failed to take up his office after three years, Borja replaced him with Nadal. Benedetto Palmio, who—together with Diego Miró

²¹⁹ See *Mon Borgia* 4:28–30. Quoted in Brodrick, *Progress of the Jesuits*, pp. 178–9.

²²⁰ See *Mon Borgia* 4:28.

²²¹ See *Mon Salmerón* 2:25–6.

²²² See Bartolomé Alcázar, *Chrono-historia de la Compañia de Jesvs en la Provincia de Toledo, y elogios de sus varones illustres, fundadores, bienhechores, fautores, e hijos espirituales* (Madrid: Juan Garcia Infançon, 1710), vol. 2, pp. 96–9.

²²³ For the interpretation of this election by Sacchini and Astrain, see Astrain, *Historia*, 2:225.

²²⁴ See *Mon Borgia* 4:28 and Astrain, *Historia*, 2:225–30.

(Portugal) and Everard Mercurian (Northern Europe)—was chosen to be a new assistant general by the Congregation, lost, in turn, the chance to have Araoz in Rome to do battle against Borja's predilection for conversos.²²⁵ His main targets were especially Polanco, who was reappointed secretary of the Society for the third consecutive time and *admonitor* to the general for the second time, and Ribadeneyra, who was appointed visitor in Lombardy (1569) and assistant general for Spain (replacing Araoz) and Portugal (1571). Among other converso Jesuits who—to the dismay of Palmio—would fly to Borja like the proverbial bees to the flower, were Francisco de Toledo, Pedro de Parra, Diego de Ledesma, Alonso Ruiz, Hernando de Solier, Dionisio Vázquez, and Gaspar Hernández.

Francisco de Toledo Herrera was born on 4 October 1532 to Alfonso de Toledo, an actuary in Cordova, and Isabel de Herrera. His Jewish ancestry became notorious during the inquisitorial process of the converso Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, whom Toledo (and Borja) tenaciously defended.²²⁶ At this occasion, Inquisitor Matías de Hinestrosa requested Toledo's exclusion from the process because of his Jewish lineage—his grandfather had been tried for judaizing²²⁷ and his grandmother and great grandparents had been burned at stake.²²⁸ He studied philosophy first in Valencia and then under Domingo de Soto (1494–1560) at Salamanca, where he became a professor at the age of twenty-three. Influenced by the preaching of the converso Jesuit, Antonio de Madrid,²²⁹ Francisco entered the Society

²²⁵ See ARSI, *Vitae* 164, f. 20^v.

²²⁶ See Scaduto, *Francesco Borgia*, p. 34. Carranza came from the Peñalosa family of Seville.

²²⁷ Benedetto Palmio in his autobiography mentioned that his and other relatives' *sanbenitos* were hanged in [the cathedral of] Cordova: "L'Ambasciatore di Spagna [Juan de Zúñiga] sentendo questi ragionamenti sparsi per la Corte disse al Papa che quest'huomo era novissimo cristiano et che erano in Cordova abitelli dell'Avo et [di] altri suoi parenti" (ARSI, *Vitae* 164, f. 24).

²²⁸ See Astrain, *Historia*, 2:64–5. Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras has established in his "Censura inédita del Padre Francisco de Toledo, S. J.," *Revista Española de Teología* 29 (1969): 15–9, that the document quoted by Astrain is extant in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid (*Inquisición*, libro 597, f. 43): "Este Maestro Francisco de Toledo es de linaje de judíos mui baxos y notorios de Córdoba, hijo de Alonso de Toledo, escrivano público, cuyo padre fue por judaizante reconciliado y truxo sanbenito, y creo que fueron quemados la madre y abuelos; y en resolución es de este linaje y casta notoria verisimamente."

²²⁹ Antonio de Madrid: *1520 Cádiz; SJ 1555; †1563 (see Fejér, *Defuncti*, 2:132; Astrain, *Historia*, 2:505–7; and *Mon Nadal*, 2:541).



FRANCISCVS CARD. TOLETVS
creat. an.^o 1593, mort 1596

Source: Alfred Hamy, *Galerie Illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), #112. Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 11. Francisco de Toledo [Herrera] (1532–96)—the first Jesuit cardinal

in 1558. The following year Nadal sent him to Rome, where Láinez appointed him as master of novices and professor of philosophy and theology at the Roman College. Ten years later the pope named him as apostolic preacher (an office that he would hold for twenty-four years) and theologian of the Apostolic Penitentiary. Several popes sent him on diplomatic missions to Austria, Poland, Germany, Bavaria, France (the reconciliation of King Henry IV), and Flanders (the retraction of Michael Baïus) and engaged him in the revision of the *Vulgata* text. In recognition of his services to the Apostolic See, he was the first Jesuit to be created cardinal (17 September 1593), titular of S. Maria in Transpontina. As we shall see in the next chapter, he would play an important role in the conflict between Superior General Acquaviva and the Spanish provinces at the dawn of General Congregation 5. Toledo's position in this affair provoked much anger in Benedetto Palmio, who disparaged his Jewish ancestry and called him a "monster" in his autobiography.²³⁰ He died in 1596 and was buried in a monumental tomb in the patriarchal Liberian Basilica in Rome. Toledo's posthumous *Instruction for Priests and Penitents* (1596) had the largest editorial success among Jesuit books on sacramental confession, reflected by at least 166 editions published before 1650—an average of three per year.²³¹

Cardinal Francisco de Toledo was followed in the Society by his two nephews, Baltasar and Francisco [Vázquez] Suárez [de Toledo]. Their other siblings—as in the case of other converso families—also entered the religious life: Pedro became a priest, and Marcelina, Inés, and María entered the Jeronymite convent of Santa Paula in Granada. Other two siblings married: Juan Vázquez Suárez de Toledo married Antonia Vázquez de Gumiel y Medina, and Catalina Utiel de Toledo became the spouse of Juan Trillo y Armenta. This numerous offspring has been born to Gaspar Suárez de Toledo, an attorney who had married Antonia Vázquez de Utiel, Cardinal Toledo's sister. As a child he had moved from his native Toledo to the newly reconquered Granada (1492) with his parents, Alonso de Toledo (the majordomo of the

²³⁰ ARSI, *Vitae* 164, ff. 22–5, 45–6.

²³¹ See Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 14: "Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion, 1200–1650: Catholic Restoration of Wars of Religion" (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 11–2. *DHCF* 4:3807; *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. Biographical Dictionary*: <http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1593.htm>); Maryks, "Census," 494–514; and Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*, especially pp. 9–11, 42–7, and 61–4.

Catholic kings, whose father, the *jurado* Alonso Suárez de Toledo, had served King Enrique)²³² and Leonor de la Torre, and two siblings, Juan Suárez de Toledo who would become a priest and Gaspar Suárez who would become a military officer. Some of the relatives of this Toledan converso family of Suárez Vázquez de Toledo, whose ancestors came from León to Talamanca near Toledo after the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212,²³³ were: Álvarez de Toledo, the archbishop-cardinal of Burgos; don Francisco de Toledo, viceroy of Peru; and the Jesuits Cipriano Soárez and Juan de Mariana.²³⁴

Francisco Suárez's brother, Baltasar, was among the first Jesuits to be sent to the Philippines, but he died exhausted by travel conditions en route there in 1581.²³⁵ Francisco himself exceeded the fame of his maternal uncle as one of the most influential Jesuit theologians. He was born in 1548 in Granada. Following his father's profession, he studied law at Salamanca since 1561, and there he entered the Society in 1564. As a Jesuit he continued his studies of philosophy and theology in Salamanca. Ordained priest in 1572, he taught theology at Ávila, Segovia, Valladolid, Rome, Alcalá, Salamanca, and Coimbra. He published, among other works, *De Incarnatione* (1590), *De mysteriis vitae Christi* (1592), *De Sacramentis* (1595), *Disputationes Metaphysicae* (1597)—the main expression of his philosophical thought—*De Poenitentia* (1602), *De auxiliis* (1603), *De virtute et statu Religionis* (1608–9), *De Legibus* (1612)—for which he is considered the father of international law—and *Defensio fidei catholicae* (1613).²³⁶ His contribution was important to the development of Probabilism—the main ethical system of the Society since the latter quarter of the sixteenth century.²³⁷ The *Doctor Eximius*, as Suárez was called, extensively wrote on the legal aspects of the 1593 decree *de genere*, arguing that, without any

²³² See the letter of the Catholic kings to Francisco Suárez's grandfather, Alonso de Toledo quoted in Raoul de Scorraille, *François Suarez de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1912), p. 8.

²³³ See DHCJ 4:3654; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (Bilbao: Espasa Calpe, 1927), 70 vols, vol. 57, p. 1412; and Scorraille, *François Suarez*, pp. 3–12.

²³⁴ See José de Dueñas, "Los Suárez de Toledo," *Razón y Fe* 138 (1948): 91–110 and José Gómez-Menor, *Cristianos Nuevos y Mercaderes de Toledo* (Toledo: Librería Gómez-Menor, 1970), p. xlv. On Juan de Mariana, see Chapter Four.

²³⁵ See H. de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 6.

²³⁶ See DHCJ 4:3654–62.

²³⁷ See Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*, pp. 125–7.

doubt whatsoever, General Congregation 5 had the power to amend the Jesuit *Constitutions* by adding the impediment of origin (barring converso candidates from entering the Society).²³⁸ Rather than an expression of his racism,²³⁹ Suárez's endorsement of Acquaviva's anti-converso legislation was probably a way of concealing his own Jewish ancestry.

Toledo's and Suárez's inclination towards casuistry was also characteristic of Pedro de Parra, who was born in 1531 in Sanlúcar la Mayor (Seville); he entered the Society in 1553, was ordained priest in 1559, and was admitted to the solemn profession by Borja in 1566. He taught at the Roman College: philosophy (1560–3), Scripture (1573–6), and theology (1564–76). Like Francisco de Toledo, he was appointed to the committee to revise the *Vulgata*. Afterwards, he replaced Sebastião Morais²⁴⁰ in teaching moral theology at the College of Brera (Milan), where his converso fellow, Manuel de Sá, was also a professor. He authored the unpublished *De casibus conscientiae summa* and *In Evangelium Ioannis*. The Jesuit historian Scaduto considered him one of the most excellent professors in Rome. Indeed, his pupil from the Roman College, Silvio Antoniano, lauded him in a letter to Cardinal Borromeo: "He has from God this particular talent of easiness and clarity in teaching, and he is especially well trained in cases of conscience."²⁴¹

Parra's colleague at the Roman College was Diego de Ledesma. Born in 1524 in Cuéllar (Segovia), he changed his name from Villafanna (Villa Cuéllar) as he entered the Society in 1556 under the sway of Ribadeneyra, whom he had met in Leuven.²⁴² Just one year after his admission he was ordained as priest in Rome, where he led the works of a committee dominated by his converso fellows—Francisco de Toledo, Manuel de Sá, Pedro Parra, Diego de Acosta,²⁴³ and Pedro

²³⁸ See Francisco Suárez, *Tractatus de religione Societatis Jesu* (Brussels: Greuse, 1857), p. 84.

²³⁹ Munitiz, "Francisco Suárez," p. 340.

²⁴⁰ Sebastião Morais: *c. 1535 Funchal (Isla de Madeira); SJ 1550 Coimbra; priest 1560 Évora; professed 1569; †19 August 1588, Mozambique (see *DHCJ* 3:2737).

²⁴¹ "Ha da Dio singolare talento della facilità e chiarezza all'insegnare, e soprattutto bene esercitato e risoluto nei casi di coscienza" (Scaduto, *L'opera di Francesco Borgia*, p. 328). One wonders whether he was related to the venerable Juan Sebastián de la Parra (1546–1622), a Jesuit missionary in Peru (see *DHCJ* 4:3542–3).

²⁴² See *Mon Rib.* 1:64–5.

²⁴³ Diego de Acosta (1535–85) was one of the five sons of a converso merchant from Medina del Campo (Valladolid) who entered the Society (the most famous of



Source: Francisco Suárez, *Opera omnia* (Venetiis, 1740–1751), t.p. portrait. Courtesy of John J. Burns Library at Boston College.

Figure 12. Francisco Suárez [de Toledo] (1548–1617)—the converso supporter of the anti-converso legislation

Perpiñan²⁴⁴—with the goal of producing a uniform pedagogical code for Jesuit schools, the *Ratio studiorum*. As a preliminary text for this project, he composed *De ratione et ordine studiorum Collegii Romani* (1564–5). He also can be considered the author of the decree issued by Borja, *De opinionibus in philosophia et theologia tenendis* (1565). Ledesma also produced a Latin grammar (Venice, 1569) and a catechism (1571) that was rendered into many languages. In 1566, together with Nadal, he was appointed pontifical theologian for the Diet of Augsburg. With Ribadeneyra he was visitor of the province of Lombardy that had been governed by Benedetto Palmio. The latter resentfully wrote of Ledesma in his memorial that “if Father Ignatius were alive, he wouldn’t keep him in the Society for one hour, judging him an enemy of the Society and exterminator of peace and union” [8].

No less versed in classics was Cipriano Soáres, who—in spite of his Castilian origins—entered the Society in Lisbon because of his converso origins from both sides. He was related to the Toledan clan of Suárez de Toledo, whose descendant was the aforementioned Francisco Suárez. His *De arte rhetorica* was the most published Jesuit manual on the subject and was used in Jesuit colleges for more than two hundred years.²⁴⁵

Another one of Borja’s protégés, Dionisio Vázquez (1527–89) from Toledo—the main target of Palmio’s memorial and the future leader of the *memorialistas* movement—studied theology at Gandía after joining the Jesuits in 1550 and accompanied Commissary Borja in his

them was José, mentioned earlier in this chapter). After his return to Spain, Visitor García de Alarcón appointed him rector of the College in Seville (1578) and provincial of Andalusia (1581). For a description of his character, see Astrain, *Historia* 3:82.

²⁴⁴ Pedro Perpiñan: *1540 Elche (Valencia); SJ 1551 Coimbra; priest 1564 Évora; †28 October 1566 Paris. He was born to Melchor Perpiñan and Eleonora Clapés and had three siblings (Bernardo, Melchor, and Luis) who also entered the Society in Coimbra. His Sephardic family name (see Pere Bonnín, *Sangre Judía: españoles de ascendencia hebraea y antisemitismo cristiano* [Barcelona: Flore del Viento Ediciones, 1998], Index) and the typical converso names of his father and brother may suggest Jewish ancestry. He taught rhetoric at the Roman College 1561–5 and was considered one of the major European orators of the period. See Scaduto, *Catalogo*, p. 114; Bernard Gaudeau, *De Petri Ioannis Perpiniani vita et operibus* (Parisi: Retaux-Bray, 1891); and Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*, pp. 101–6.

²⁴⁵ Cipriano Soáres [Suárez]: *1524 Ocaña (Toledo, Spain); SJ 1549; †1593 Placencia; priest in 1553; professed in 1564 (see *DHCJ* 4:3593; Nadal’s questionnaire in ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 77/1, f. 352; and Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*, especially pp. 97–8 and 103–4).

travels through Spain.²⁴⁶ The latter convoked him to Rome in 1566 to support Polanco in the secretariat of the Society for the Spanish provinces.²⁴⁷ Against Palmio's advice, Borja appointed Vázquez rector of the Roman College in 1568, visitor in Naples in 1570, and vice-provincial in Naples in 1571. Vázquez participated in General Congregation 3 as an elected delegate of the Neapolitan province.²⁴⁸

Gaspar Hernández (1528–75) was Vázquez's fellow countryman. He entered the Society in 1554, and Borja admitted him to the profession in 1563; just one year later Borja appointed him rector of the College of Naples. With Polanco, Hernández accompanied Borja in his last visit to Iberia (1571–2).²⁴⁹ In a letter to Borja, Salmerón offered accolades of his aptitude for government affairs:

One doubts whether anybody else could come here to fulfill his duties with more attention. He is well known out of house and much loved by illustrious and important people who chose him as their spiritual father with much advantage.²⁵⁰

Nevertheless, Mercurian would send him back to Spain and later dismiss him from the Society.

Hernando de Solier (1526–1603) from Segovia received his doctorate *in utroque iure* from the University of Bologna and entered the Society as priest in 1555 under the sway of Borja. In 1566 the latter named him procurator general of the Society before admitting him to the solemn profession (1569). Pius V appointed him, together with Francisco de Toledo Herrera, an examiner and the first rector of St. Peter Penitentiary (1570–3). Mercurian would send him back to Spain with Ribadeneyra, a close friend of his and of Luis de Santander.

²⁴⁶ See *Mon Borgia* 3:311, 314, 321–2.

²⁴⁷ Palmio claimed in his autobiography that “contese [*sic*] fra Dionisio e Polanco fu grande” (ARSI, *Vitae* 164, f. 25^v).

²⁴⁸ Acquaviva would commission him to write Borja's biography, which was nevertheless prohibited from being printed and remains unpublished (ARSI, *Vitae* 80). See *DHCJ* 4:3911 (where Dalmases does not mention his Jewish ancestry); Scaduto, *Catalogo*, p. 151; idem, *Francesco Borgia*, pp. 57, 70, 75, 77–8, 87–8; Fois, “Everard Mercurian,” pp. 21, 28; and John W. Padberg, “The Third General Congregation,” in McCoog, *Mercurian Project*, p. 50.

²⁴⁹ See Scaduto, *Catalogo*, p. 75 and 164, where there is no mention of his dismissal; and idem, *Azione*, p. 363.

²⁵⁰ “Si dubita che possa venire qui un altro che disimpegno più acuratamente il proprio ufficio...; è molto conosciuto fuori di casa e molto amato da persone illustri e di qualità che lo hanno preso come padre spirituale con notevole profitto” (*Mon Salmerón* 1:566–9).

(The troika would be charged by the provincial of Toledo, Antonio Cordeses, with composing a *memorial* against some practices in the Society to the nuncio Nicolás Ormanetto, as we shall see in the next chapter.) Solier's homonymous uncle was an archpriest and canon of the cathedral of Segovia. Upon his death in 1592, he left to the Jesuit college in the city an inheritance, which the superior general ordered managed not by his Jesuit nephew but his relative, Doña Antonia de Solier.²⁵¹

Alonso Ruiz, who began his Jesuit career as novice master in Granada (1562–4),²⁵² was summoned by Borja to do the same job in Rome, where he introduced to the Jesuit life the future foremost Polish Jesuits: St. Stanisław Kostka (1550–68) and Piotr Skarga (1536–1612); the anti-converso superior general, Claudio Acquaviva; and his martyred nephew, Rodolfo. Borja admitted Ruiz to the profession of four vows with Pedro de Parra. During the Third General Congregation, in which he would take part as superior of the Roman province, he was responsible for the redaction of the *Ordo Novitiatus*.²⁵³ He was superior of the Roman province 1571–4 and, after his removal from Rome, rector of the colleges in Granada and Oviedo. In 1580, together with Baltasar Piñas, he went as missionary to Peru, where—after being rector of the college in La Paz (Bolivia), vice-provincial of Quito, and visitor of Panama, he died back in Peru.

Benedetto Palmio harshly criticized Ruiz's and his patron Borja's spirituality. He argued in both his memorial and autobiography²⁵⁴ that “the excessive credit and favor” given by Francisco de Borja to converso Jesuits was due to the monastic influences by which he had been affected before becoming a Jesuit. That impact would have inclined Borja to a spirituality that—according to Palmio—was alien to the spirit that God had communicated to Ignatius and resulted from Devil's deceit:

²⁵¹ See pertinent documents in ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico 1591-II*, doc. 20–2. See also *DHCJ* 4:3603–4; Scaduto, *Catalogo*, p. 139; and Josef Wicki, “Le Memorie dei penitenti gesuiti di S. Pietro,” *AHSI* 57 (1988): 263–313.

²⁵² Alonso Ruiz: *1530 Hita (Cordova); †1599 Arequipa (Peru); SJ 1554 Cordova; priest 1555; professed in 1566.

²⁵³ See *DHCJ* 4:3434–5; and Scaduto, *Catalogo*, p. 132. Juan de Santiváñez in his *Historia de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Compañía de Jesús* (ARSI), pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 2, mentions Italian Jesuits' resentment against him. On his contributions to the formation of the Jesuit novitiate, see M. Ruiz Jurado, *Orígenes del noviciado en la Compañía de Jesús* (Rome: IHSI, 1980), pp. 212–5.

²⁵⁴ See ARSI, *Vitae* 164, ff. 33sqq.

Even though Borgia was a good and saintly person, he did not conform to the spirit of Ignatius, having been trained by Fra Giovanni [Juan de Tejada],²⁵⁵ and so he had learned many things from other men religious, with whom he was acquainted for a long time, rather than from Ignatius. This was clearly seen during Borgia's generalate, because he would have introduced many new things, if he could, and actually he did introduce some, for he believed Ignatius did not have a good knowledge of religious institutes. Borgia thought this way, for he did not know, nor had he reached the high of Ignatius's spirit and of what he understood in the Society.²⁵⁶

The spiritual figures that exercised their authority on the Duke of Gandía were Salvador de Horta, Pedro de Alcántara, and the Franciscan Juan de Tejada, who claimed to have prophetic visions of Borja as an angelic pope destined to reform the Church. Tejada exercised influence on some Jesuits in Gandía, where he was a guest in the Jesuit college, most notably on its rector, Andrés de Oviedo, with whom Borja did his novitiate. This "solitary sparrow on the roof," as Borja dubbed him, was likely—as was Tejada—of converso background. He was born in Illescas in 1517 and entered the Society in Rome (1541) already as priest. He earned his Master of Arts in Alcalá and became a doctor in theology at Gandía. He was renowned in the Society for his monastic inclinations (disappointed with too little time dedicated to prayer in the Society, he unsuccessfully asked to spend seven years in the desert), but his influence in the Society was virtually eliminated by his appointment in 1555 as auxiliary bishop of the Jesuit patriarch of probable converso lineage, Melchor Nuñez Barreto, in Ethiopia, where he died in solitude and poverty in 1577.²⁵⁷ Perhaps under the sway of Oviedo and the converso Luis de Granada, Borja—who was also fascinated by the Carmelite spirituality of Teresa of Ávila—sent to General Congregation 1 (which he could not attend) a memorial proposing to extend time for prayer and to impose as mandatory certain penances in the Society.²⁵⁸ These monastically inclined proposals did not arrive on time, but the newly elected Superior General Laínez refused Borja's

²⁵⁵ See Melquiades Andrés Martín, *El misterio de los alumbrados de Toledo, desvelado por sus contemporáneos (1523–1560). Discurso de apertura de curso 1976–1977* (Burgos: Facultad de Teología del Norte de España, 1976), p. 43.

²⁵⁶ See ARSI, *Vitae* 164, f. 18^r.

²⁵⁷ Manuel Ruiz Jurado, "Un caso de profetismo reformista en la Compañía de Jesús. Gandía 1547–1549," *AHSI* 43 (1974): 217–66.

²⁵⁸ See *Mon Borgia* 3:347–8.

suggestions later, anyway. Once elected general, Borja was empowered by the congregation to lengthen the time for prayer, with the condition that he take into account the differences between regions and persons.²⁵⁹ Cristóbal Rodríguez and Miró also seemed inclined to the cloister.²⁶⁰ By this charge, Palmio suggested in his memorial ([7]) that Borja and his converso protégés created a sort of a religious order within the Jesuit Order, more similar in its spirituality to monks or Carthusians. At the same time, Nadal and Polanco persistently opposed this kind of asceticism.²⁶¹

As during Láinez's generalate, Polanco accompanied the Jesuit superior general on his trips outside Rome: to Florence in 1567, where Pope Pius V—to whom Polanco was already lending his services to reform the papal *Dataria*²⁶²—employed the Jesuits in negotiating an agreement with Cosimo de' Medici (1519–74); and to Iberia and France in 1571, where the two supported Cardinal Michele Bonelli (1541–98) in his political negotiations with the respective monarchs. Before his departure, Borja named Nadal vicar general of the Society.

In France, Polanco was caught by fever, and Borja continued traveling to Italy without him. When Polanco eventually caught up with Borja in Ferrara in June 1572, the latter, in turn, fell ill. At the beginning of August, the physicians allowed Borja to continue his journey, however. He departed from Ferrara on 3 September towards Loreto. There, the physicians were consulted again, and they consented to allow Borja to proceed to Macerata, where Polanco had to remain because he fell ill again. Borja continued his trip without Polanco and arrived in Rome on 28 September. Two days later he died. Even though Palmio accused Polanco of forcing the general, who was presumably dying, to continue his return trip to Rome (so that he would die and be replaced), the professed fathers of Rome elected Polanco as the new vicar general, even before he arrived back in Rome, while he was

²⁵⁹ See *Decretum* 29 in Padberg, *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 120; and Scaduto, *Francesco Borgia*, pp. 97–8.

²⁶⁰ See Scaduto, *Francesco Borgia*, pp. 100 and 102.

²⁶¹ See Scaduto, *Francesco Borgia*, pp. 98–104; and Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits*, especially pp. 77 and 96–7.

²⁶² *Dataria* is an office of the papal chancery from which are given (Lat. *data*) graces or favors, recognizable in *foro externo*, such as benefices, etc. Polanco's engagement in this office was likely due to his expertise of *scriptor apostolicus* that he had acquired prior to his entrance to the Society, perhaps at the University of Bologna.

recovering from his illness in Macerata.²⁶³ Juan Alfonso de Polanco had to recuperate and focus his energies as quickly as possible, for he was about to face the most challenging storm of his Jesuit career.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown why and how the Jesuits of Jewish lineage played a key role in the Society of Jesus and how the early Jesuits richly, knowingly, and strategically benefited from their converso confreres. I have argued that the key to understanding why the Jesuit Order became a haven for conversos is to be found in the approach to the “Jewish question” of its founder, Ignatius of Loyola, who had numerous contacts with the converso spiritual and merchant network *before* he founded the Society. His adamant stress on the constitutional principle of non-discrimination in accepting candidates regardless of their lineage, as far as they were suitable for the Jesuit life, was supported by his close converso collaborators, especially Jerónimo Nadal and Juan Alfonso de Polanco—the key figures in the institutional and spiritual development of the early Jesuits. Loyola’s non-discrimination legacy became an integral part of the converso policy of his two successors, Diego Laínez—who himself was a converso—and Francisco de Borja. The period of *interregnum* after the death of Loyola in 1556 and the election of Laínez in 1558 was a time of political crisis, during which anti-converso resentments emerged and were manipulated for the first time. Contained by the protector of conversos, Francisco de Borja, this animosity exploded after the latter’s death in 1572, shifting the Society’s policy towards its converso influential minority. The following chapter will explain why and how it happened.

²⁶³ See Scaduto, *Francesco Borgia*, pp. 62 and 403–6.

