

breaking with the notion that the pre-Mosaic age was a period of animistic worship of trees, stones, and wells, totemism, ancestor-worship, etc. (p. 107).

It will probably appear to most readers that the book is not unduly conservative; but it is amusing to note that a writer in the *Expositor*<sup>1</sup> ingenuously tells us that "it will be viewed with mixed feelings," because, "if modern criticism has belittled the religion of the early Hebrew tribes" (p. 79), or "has regarded the monotheism of the patriarchs as due to later theory (p. 53) . . . this is precisely what has been repeated frequently by those who are not literary critics."

It is certainly pleasant to reflect that a member of the Wellhausen school has made some attempt to think for himself; but the thoughtful reader will rise from the perusal of the book with the conviction that in his main thesis—the endeavour to bring Hebrew monotheism into connexion with the religious tendencies of the ancient East—Professor Baentsch's efforts have been directed to the exploration of a cul-de-sac.



## The Commercial Side of the Spanish Inquisition.

By G. G. COULTON, M.A.

THE three volumes already published of Dr. Lea's monumental "History of the Spanish Inquisition" supply abundant food for thought in many directions; of which not the least interesting is the intimate connexion between finance and intolerance. His first chapters bring out with startling clearness the natural tendency of the Spaniards, even in the Middle Ages, to accept religious differences almost as philosophically as they are accepted in our own day. It needed the constant efforts of the clergy to keep Christian, Jew, and Moor from fraternizing together. There were, of course, periodical massacres of the

<sup>1</sup> *Expositor*, Seventh Series, No. 11, November, 1906, p. 478.

Jews everywhere throughout the Middle Ages; but here and there a frank chronicler will avow plainly that this was less a matter of religion than of money. Much capital is made by modern Romanist apologists out of the fact that the Jews were often protected from popular fury by Popes; but the Papacy shared this honour with Princes and nobles whom their worst enemies would not have accused of religious enthusiasm; and the same medieval annalists who record the facts frequently give the obvious explanation. The Jew was too valuable a chattel to be left to popular pillage; and the protective interference which is invoked nowadays to arouse the admiration of Protestants was ascribed by orthodox contemporaries, in so many words, to Papal avarice. Apart from such anti-semitic ebullitions, Dr. Lea traces the final success of the Spanish clergy in separating Christian from non-Christian to the spirit aroused by the Oriental and Albigenian crusades. These holy wars themselves, in spite of the real religious fervour which often animated the combatants, especially at first, always owed much of their success to the opportunities of licence and plunder which they offered both to the leaders and to the common soldiery. Many Popes before Urban VI. had discovered the truth which Froissart so frankly formulates: "This Pope Urban . . . knew well the nobles of England, for all his absolutions, would not ride forth in war without money; for men of war live not by pardons, nor they set not much thereby, but in the article of death." Even the great Innocent III., as his own letters show, had to busy himself not only with the saving of souls but also with exploiting systematically the financial resources of the territory conquered by his crusaders from the Albigenes; and the Inquisition, that terrible institution which was the logical outcome of this crusade, rested directly or indirectly on the same financial basis. From the very beginning of these religious campaigns the system was adopted which Napoleon so clearly described and practised so steadily later on: "War must pay its own expenses." Religion by itself would never have sufficed to keep the Inquisition going. It was indeed possible for centuries

to raise enormous sums for a crusade in Palestine, which was always impending and never took place ; but that was a war against unknown infidels, whose devilish nature was portrayed to the people with every device of rhetorical exaggeration ; and the *quid pro quo* was a liberal indulgence for past sins.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the Popes could, by similar means, have raised plenty of money to keep the Inquisition going ; but all that could thus be raised was needed for their own purposes, on which they regularly spent even the crusade money, to the continual scandal of Christendom. The Inquisition was therefore left to be paid mainly by those who shared with the Pope in the profitable confiscations ; by the Princes on whose territories it worked,<sup>2</sup> or by the Bishops whose official duty it had always been to suppress heresy. This led inevitably to a commercial view of what ought to have been a purely religious institution. But no form of Christianity (even if the Catholicism of the thirteenth century had been farther removed from Apostolic Christianity than in fact it was), could by itself have long supported so inhuman a system, with all the butcher's work to which it inevitably led. Even fanatics must sometimes have paused to reflect ; consistent badness is as difficult as consistent goodness, and human kindness would have got the upper hand but for the fatal arrangement which, by giving everybody concerned an interest in the spoils of imprisoned heretics, enlisted vast forces of greed which gave coherence and commercial stability to the impulses of fanaticism. This came out clearly enough in Dr. Lea's earlier work on the Medieval Inquisition (vol. i., chap. xiii.). We read there how regularly the Inquisition flourished among rich populations and languished among the poor ; how even a Pope recognized the power of money in stimulating his Bishops to the work of persecution ; how frequent embezzlement became among even the highest officials,

<sup>1</sup> It is true that confession and repentance were always theoretically required for the validity of those indulgences ; but orthodox writers assure us plainly that such theological distinctions were often too subtle for the mass of the people.

<sup>2</sup> In some countries, *e.g.*, France, the Princes took nearly all confiscations.

and how early began the practice of dividing the spoils before the poor wretch had been condemned. Before the Albigensian Crusade, the Bishops of Toulouse were poor, though the laity of their diocese were among the richest in Europe. A hundred years after the Crusade, citizens and country-folk were reduced to poverty, but the bishopric had waxed so fat on confiscations that its excessive revenues compelled the Pope to carve it out into eight separate sees!

The Spanish Inquisition tells the same tale almost more clearly. When Ferdinand and Isabella began to reign, the Inquisition was generally moribund for lack of funds. The South of France was sucked dry; rich cities like Florence and Venice had restrained the worst abuses of commercialism within their territories by making separate bargains with the Papacy; and, though there was still plenty of heresy in Europe, it was nowhere organized, except in lands too poor to support any Inquisition which would pay its way. In the greater part of Spain the Inquisition had never yet existed; in the other, it was almost defunct. The "most Catholic Kings," with Papal sanction and help, revived the dying embers of persecution in Aragon, and kindled the flames in Castile, in order to deal with the Jews, who still flourished in the Peninsula after centuries of persecution. Then came the turn of the Moriscos, who had rivalled the Jews in diligence and commercial prosperity and thrift; and here again we have the same story as in Provence. It took little more than a century to ruin Spain commercially, and to impoverish even the Inquisition which had sucked the country dry. If the Holy Office still survived in Spain, this was due partly to the fact that it had secured considerable and permanent endowments, partly because the total expulsion of the Jews and Moriscos had added to religious differences the bitterest racial antipathies, and exalted purity of blood, however imaginary, into the first article of the Spanish national creed.

Dr. Lea shows plainly how great a part pure greed played from a very early stage of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. The latter, indeed, was an almost undisguisedly com-

mercial transaction, by which Popes and Princes fleeced the Jews in turn. The Holy Office of Spain, much as it owed at first to the sincere religious convictions of Ferdinand and Isabella, Torquemada and Ximenes, rapidly contracted the same taint. Ferdinand, though unusually just for his age, made no scruple of appropriating his own share of the booty even before the victims had been condemned; and he, with his grandson Charles V., lavished the spoils of heretics upon unworthy courtiers almost as unblushingly as Henry VIII. squandered the revenues of the monasteries. It is natural enough under these circumstances that the Barcelona Inquisition should have been at work twelve years before it granted its first "acquittal,"<sup>1</sup> and that the secret records of the courts show a constant series of peculations, regularly hushed up to avoid scandal among the laity. We find the Inquisition trading on a great scale with its capital, like the Salvation Army, and lending out its savings at interest, in spite of the fact that all usury was theoretically a mortal sin. It even drove a lively trade in bill-broking, buying bad debts at a cheap rate, and then using its sacrosanct authority to enforce payments where no civil court would have succeeded. Its offices were sometimes put up to public sale, and Charles V. vainly attempted to substitute a fixed salary for the iniquitous system by which they were paid according to the value of the confiscations. On one occasion, at least, the informer, whose denunciation led to the conviction of a wealthy heretic, received a handsome pension for life. The courts did not blush to confiscate the estates of a ten-year-old child who was accused of unorthodoxy; and one of the most illuminating chapters is that in which Dr. Lea records, not only the vast sums thus secured, but also the manner in which they were collected, embezzled, and spent (book v., chap. i.). The shoals of officials were treated out of the common funds to frequent and costly bull-fights, with all luxuries of choice sweet-

<sup>1</sup> Acquittal in the strict sense was unknown to the Inquisition: the accused might be tried *ad infinitum* for the same offence, so that the most favourable verdict was simply a "not proven."

meats and cooling drinks, and to gorgeous trappings at the *autos-da-fé*. On the night before these solemn executions the poor wretches who next day (as it was believed) were to pass through earthly fire into the undying flames of hell, were pestered by the official confessors "to reveal any portion of property that might have escaped previous investigations." The "pious uses" to which confiscated property was always in theory applied might include a dowry for an official's daughter. Moreover, Pope and Inquisitors alike might be found openly abandoning their professed principles for a sufficient temporal consideration. At a very early age of the Inquisition the Papal penitentiary contracted the habit of selling "confessional letters," which would have shielded the purchasing heretic altogether but for Ferdinand's and Torquemada's resolute repudiation of the authority of Christ's Vicar in this particular matter: upon which the Pope dropped his customers as unscrupulously as he had taken them up. He did, indeed, save his face by thundering in a special Bull against all who should hold the "sacrilegious" opinion that he had no right to sell letters overriding the laws of Spain; but in practice he settled the matter by selling fresh letters of indulgence, which empowered any confessor to absolve its possessor "for killing or despoiling those seeking the Roman court, or for preventing the execution of Papal letters." It was a masterpiece of commercial genius to sell with one hand letters of protection to suspected heretics, and with the other to supply the persecutors with fresh and remunerative letters practically annulling the first. The trick, of course, proved suicidal in the long run; but poor Trust is long-lived—to the eternal credit of humanity be it said—and it takes a great deal of bad pay to kill him. Moreover (apart from the fact that dishonesty was then taken for granted at the Papal and the Royal Courts), in those days of rare communication it was difficult for men to put two and two together, and to mark contrasts which at once strike the modern reader. In 1537, for instance, the authorities of the Inquisition replied that it would be "a disservice to God" to accept a regular tribute of 400 ducats a year from the Moriscos

of Valencia instead of confiscating the goods of heretics ; but in 1571 they accepted 2,500 ducats for a similar composition, God or no God, and only salved their consciences by breaking the bargain after the money had been paid. " There was a long dispute between Rome and Madrid over two cargoes of alum which the Papal camera was sending to England, when the ships were seized and the cargoes sequestered by the tribunal of Seville on the ground that the English crews were heretics." Moreover, though the Inquisition existed in theory merely for the salvation of souls, this theory was often cynically disregarded for money or money's worth. Jews and heretics were not suffered to flee from the land which regarded their presence as a defilement, until they had been duly punished in person and goods ; and, though some logical excuse may be found for this, none can be pleaded for the tribunal which " in 1574 condemned to reconciliation and lifelong galley-service Jean Moreno, a Frenchman, resident in Malaga, because he had warned some Protestant sailors not to enter the port of Almeria." With the Moriscos, again, although the Inquisitors were only too ready to baptize them wholesale and by force, and then to burn, banish, or rob them for defective orthodoxy, yet there was no serious effort to give any systematic Christian education to these hundreds of thousands who had been brought up in the faith of Mahomet ; and meanwhile a series of terrible punishments was imposed on the ignorant, culminating in " 100 lashes and four years at the galleys. The severity of this latter provision shocked even the Town Council of Córdoba, which had shown itself by no means favourable to the exiles. It presented to the alcalde that God alone could enable them to speak a language of which they were ignorant, especially as the alguaziles were constantly arresting and punishing them, and it begged that action should be suspended until schools could be organized for their instruction ; but the alcalde replied that he had no choice, and must execute the edict." The only explanation which can be offered of such open injustice is the obvious fact that the religious education of the Moriscos would seriously have taxed

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the finances of the Inquisition, while, on the other hand, every punishment to which they were sentenced meant a possible commutation for money. Indeed, the terrible gulf between inquisitorial theory and practice could not have been caused altogether by mistaken religious zeal, however strong that might have been. No theory of religion will explain why, while the inquisitorial censors laboured to suppress free-thought, they constantly allowed mere indecencies to pass; or, again, why, although the Visitation of 1544 showed that all but two of the subordinates at Barcelona were "defamed for improper relations with women," yet not one was dismissed. No doubt the Inquisition did owe its origin mainly to religious zeal, though from the first this was strongly alloyed with self-interest. But its development followed the lines on which so ill-matched a team must always run. Fanaticism still continued to supply much of the motive power, though less and less; while the direction which the movement took was more and more definitely determined by unblushing commercialism.



### The Discrimination of Christ.

AN EXPOSITORY STUDY ON LUKE IX. 57-62.

BY THE REV. HARRINGTON C. LEES, M.A.

OUR Lord's methods of dealing with the multitude are an inspiring lesson in width of religious outlook. His intercourse with the individual is an instructive study in depth of spiritual insight. It is with the latter that we are here concerned—Christ's dealings with three single personalities—the men to whom He used the illustrations of the fox-hole, the graveyard, and the straight furrow.

Two preliminary points are worth noting—the context of the story, and the typical nature of the characters.

I. These three men are mentioned by St. Luke in connexion with the enlistment of the seventy disciples, whose wider