

\* THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD \*

# Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos

## Visions of Christianity and Kingship

Grace Magnier



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BRILL

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Catholic Apologists of the  
Expulsion of the Moriscos

# The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World

(formerly Medieval Iberian Peninsula)

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Pedro de Valencia (by an anonymous artist): Instituto Valencia de Don Juan.

# Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos

Visions of Christianity and Kingship

*By*

Grace Magnier



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For David, Aifric and Ciara and  
in memory of Suanaoibhe

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BAC</i>	<i>Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos</i>
<i>BAE</i>	<i>Biblioteca de Autores Españoles</i>
<i>BAH</i>	<i>Boletín de la Academia de la Historia</i>
<i>BH</i>	<i>Bulletin Hispanique</i>
<i>BNE</i>	Biblioteca Nacional de España
<i>BNP</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris
<i>BRAE</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia Española</i>
<i>BRAH</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i>
<i>CEAI</i>	Congreso de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos
<i>CEROMDI</i>	Centre d'Études et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information
<i>CSIC</i>	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
<i>FTERSI</i>	Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information
<i>KCLMS</i>	<i>King's College London Mediaeval Studies</i>
<i>MEAH</i>	<i>Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos</i>
<i>NBAE</i>	<i>Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles</i>
<i>NRFH</i>	<i>Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>RABM</i>	<i>Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos</i>
<i>RAH</i>	Real Academia de la Historia
<i>REE</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios Extremeños</i>
<i>RFE</i>	<i>Revista de Filología Española</i>



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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- Jerusalem and Toledo: R. de Yepes, *Historia de la muerte y martyrio del Sancto Innocente, que llaman de la Guardia* (1583 [84]), BNE, R/30981, fols 26<sup>v</sup>–27<sup>r</sup>
- Santiago and the Lead Books: *Relacion breve* (1705): BNE, R/17948, frontispiece
- “El Hercules español vence a la Hidra infiel”: D. Fonseca, *Ivsta expulsion* (1612): BNE, R/11918, frontispiece
- El maestro Juan de Avila: L. Muñoz, *Vida [...] de Juan de Avila* (1635), BNE, 2/57807, preliminary pages
- Benito Arias Montano: *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemeritum effigies XLIII* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1572), BNE, ER/389 (11)
- Alonso de Cartagena: *Retratos de los Españoles Ilustres con un epítome de sus vidas* (1791), BNE, ER/303, (102)
- Hernando de Talavera: P. Gonzalez de Mendoza, *Historia del Monte Celia de Nuestra Señora de la Salceda* (1616), BNE, ER/1376, p. 79



## INTRODUCTION

In the city of Valencia, on 22 September 1609, town criers proclaimed the edict of expulsion for the Moriscos of that kingdom. The king, Philip III, had resolved that:

[...] all Moriscos be taken from this kingdom and be expelled to Barbary.<sup>1</sup>

In the edict, the king explained that he was expelling the Moriscos because all attempts to convert their minds and hearts to true belief in Christianity had failed but also because he feared that they were in league with his enemies the Turks, both those of the Ottoman Empire and those in the Magreb.

The Moriscos were those *cristianos nuevos*, or New Christian converts from Islam, who, during the sixteenth century, had ceased, officially, to be Mudejars, that is Spanish Muslims living in Christian territory.<sup>2</sup> The conversions had been, in most cases, involuntary, as from 1526 the choice had been between conversion and exile.<sup>3</sup> That was the year when the last Mudejars, those of Valencia, had converted to Christianity. The expulsion of the Moriscos began in Valencia in 1609 and continued in other parts of the country until 1614. Henri Lapeyre's figures for the numbers expelled are generally accepted as accurate. R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco & E. Císcar Pallarés take Lapeyre's

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<sup>1</sup> “[...] he resuelto que se saquen todos los moriscos desse Reyno, y que se echen en Berbería” Bando de expulsión de los moriscos de Valencia: P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, I (Valencia: F. Vivés y Mora 1901), p. 191; M. García-Arenal, *Los moriscos* (Madrid: Nacional, 1975), p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> L. P. Harvey argues that the term Morisco gives rise to misunderstandings and is anachronistic when used to describe converts from Islam to Christianity in the early sixteenth century: the early converts were called ‘nuevos convertidos de moros’ (new converts from Islam): L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 3–6. While accepting fully the validity of Professor Harvey's reservations, I have decided to use the term Morisco as the use of Muslim excludes the possibility that some of the new converts were sincere Christians.

<sup>3</sup> A. Domínguez Ortiz, & B. Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), pp. 24–25.



figure of 272,140 and round it off as 300,000 to include the incomplete studies and those who escaped clandestinely.<sup>4</sup> In Valencia, six Morisco households from each hundred were to remain in order to cultivate the land. The lords would decide which households could stay. Preference was to be given to older agricultural labourers provided that they did not have married children. Those who had lived for two years among *cristianos viejos* (Old Christians) or those who were on record for receiving the Eucharist were also excluded from expulsion. Some other categories of Moriscos were to be exempted, but not many; the families of children under four and mixed marriages with children under six also had the option of staying.<sup>5</sup> Later edicts in 1610, for Castile, Extremadura, Andalucía, Aragón, and in 1613 for Murcia, added further exemptions.<sup>6</sup>

This expulsion cannot be compared with that of the Jews in 1492; then the *conversos*, or converts from Judaism, had been exempted and only the orthodox Jews expelled. Such a block banishment of baptised Christians was unprecedented and had been undertaken without the support of the Cardinal and former Inquisitor General, Don Fernando Niño de Guevara (1599–1602).<sup>7</sup> Nor can one hold the Inquisition responsible for the final decision,<sup>8</sup> although the current Inquisitor General in 1609, Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, had voted in favour of expulsion at the meeting of the Council of State on 4 April 1609.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> H. Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1959); R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco & E. Císcar Pallarés, *Historia de la iglesia en España*, IV, ed A. Mestre Sanchís (Madrid: RAE, Editorial Gredos, 1979), p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, pp. 252–255.

<sup>6</sup> A. Galmés de Fuentes, “Los que se quedaron. Significado e influencia de los moriscos conversos que no siguieron en el exilio”, in *Congrés Internacional: 380<sup>e</sup> Aniversari de l'a expulsio de los Moriscos* (Catalunya: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994), p. 173. The Morisco servants of grandees were at times allowed to stay; those of the Duke of Medina Sidonia probably were. However, the king's own Morisco violinists, who were spared initially, were expelled in the end: J. B. Tueller, “Moriscos who Stayed Behind or Returned”, *Los moriscos. La expulsion y después*. Congreso Internacional, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 3 & 4 de septiembre de 2009 (4 September).

<sup>7</sup> Niño de Guevara had sent a memorial to the Council of State in 1600 in which he rejected expulsion as unjust and futile and urged a continuation of gentle methods of evangelization: Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos*, I, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> J. Pérez Villanueva & B. Escandell, *Historia de la Inquisición en España II* (Madrid: BAC, 1984), p. 910.

<sup>9</sup> M. Danvila y Collado, *La expulsión de los moriscos españoles. Conferencias pronunciadas en el Ateneo de Madrid* (Madrid, 1889), pp. 281–282.

The Pope, Paul V, had not given his approval either,<sup>10</sup> nor had many members of the Spanish hierarchy.<sup>11</sup>

### *Expulsion*

Since Danvila y Collado first mentioned that, on 4 December 1581, a committee in Lisbon had suggested expulsion, which the Council of State formally recorded on 19 September of the following year, many have seen that date as significant. Danvila believed that expulsion from then on had been an option that emerged from time to time, yet that, in spite of this decision, Philip II had never dared to carry out this extreme measure. Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco disputes this interpretation: on 4 December 1591 the committee had not discussed expulsion but a memorial on the evangelization of the Moriscos. The issue of expulsion was discussed in late summer 1582 when a new committee decided to expel the Valencian Moriscos to North Africa. According to Benítez, Philip II rejected or modified all the points made at the council and, by excluding his confessor Chaves from the final discussions, made it impossible for a definitive decision to be made.<sup>12</sup> Benítez gives an explanation of Philip II's attitude on the expulsion, which offers a solution to a conundrum that has long puzzled historians. In their seminal work on the Moriscos, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, in the chapter describing the events that led up to the expulsion, raised the following questions. Why did Philip II, whom many considered inflexible and concerned to

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<sup>10</sup> C. Pérez Bustamente, "El pontífice Paulo V y la expulsión de los moriscos", *BRAH*, CXXIX (1951), 219-233. The pope left nothing in writing about his attitude to the expulsion. Philip III, in a letter of 1610 to the Spanish ambassador at the Vatican, Don Francisco de Castro, gave examples of apostacy among Moriscos who had gone to Algeria and urged Don Francisco to inform the pope so that "[...] se digne reformar el concepto erroneo que havia hecho" ([...] so that he deigns to change the wrong impression that he had formed): S. Pastore, "La posición del Vaticano frente a la expulsión", *Los moriscos. La expulsión y después*, BNE, 3 September. The pope's attitude was ambivalent: he asked the Catholic Apologist Damián Fonseca to remove a passage from his book which claimed that the pope had approved of the expulsion, yet his nuncio had attended a mass held in Madrid in 1610 to celebrate the event. See Part I, Chapter 1, p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Domínguez Ortiz, & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 160-161.

<sup>12</sup> R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones. La Monarquía Católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magànim/ Diputació de València, 2001), pp. 325-326; 346-347.

make his kingdoms religiously unified, not expel the Moriscos? Why, instead, was the expulsion undertaken by his son, Philip III, whose nature was reputed to be gentle and benevolent?<sup>13</sup> Benítez argues that Philip II did not procrastinate on carrying out the expulsion as he had never favoured it: from 1564 he had always advocated gentle methods of evangelization of the Moriscos to wipe out the ‘original sin’ of the forced baptisms carried out by his father, the emperor Charles V.<sup>14</sup>

The direct influence of the Duke of Lerma, *privado* or favourite of Philip III, was also a factor in bringing about the expulsion<sup>15</sup> and the first of the expulsions took place in the same year that a truce was signed with the Protestants of the Netherlands. John Lynch has pointed out that the very unpopular Truce of Antwerp was signed on 9 April 1609, the very same day that the final decision was taken to expel the Moriscos.<sup>16</sup> The truce, together with peace with England (1604), solved logistical problems by making available ships and troops for the transportation of the Moriscos. To expel a group who had, in the mind of most people, long resisted Catholic orthodoxy compensated, in some way, for the failure to impose such orthodoxy on the rebel Protestants of the Low Countries.<sup>17</sup> Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent also consider other possible reasons why the expulsion was undertaken: what influence did the Church<sup>18</sup> and the Council of State exercise and

<sup>13</sup> Domínguez Ortiz, & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, p. 160.

<sup>14</sup> Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*, p. 318. Ambiguity about Philip II’s attitude may be due to inaccurate information being given to Philip III by royal councillors who had also served his father, as Philip III is reported as stating that his father had resolved to expel the Moriscos: “[...] lo cual mi Señor y Padre tuvo resuelto veinte y siete años ha” (which my Lord and father had decided 27 years ago): Pastore, “La posición del Vaticano frente a la expulsión”, *Los moriscos. La expulsión y después*, 3 September, 2009.

<sup>15</sup> D. de Guzmán, *Reyna Católica. Vida y muerte de D. Margarita de Austria, Reyna de España. Al Rey D. Felipe III, N S. D. Diego de Gvzman, Patriarcha de las Indias, Arçobispo de Tyro, del Consejo de su Mag<sup>d</sup> y del supremo de la S<sup>ta</sup> Inquisio<sup>n</sup> su Capellan y Lismosnero mayor Maestro de la Christianis<sup>a</sup> D. Ana Reyna de Francia y de las Serenis<sup>mas</sup> Infantas D. Maria y D Margarita* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1617), fols 192<sup>r</sup>–192<sup>v</sup>; B. Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos. Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568–1614* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 143.

<sup>16</sup> J. Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs*, I (London: Basil Blackwell, 1965), pp. 44–45.

<sup>17</sup> Statements which the Duke of Lerma made in 1617 link the Netherlands’ truce and the expulsion of the Moriscos: A. Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III 1598–1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 204.

<sup>18</sup> Ongoing research on the attitudes of the religious orders finds it difficult to establish what were the official positions of the religious orders. Even the position

to what extent was Philip III affected by the attitudes of those close to him? The Council of State feared greatly foreign intervention in Spain by the Turks. This fear was accentuated by the fact that Moriscos had been fleeing to Morocco since 1570; they had intervened in the civil war there and encouraged the sultan of Morocco to invade Spain.<sup>19</sup> Hostility to the Moriscos had, of course, increased greatly after the second Revolt of the Alpujarras or *guerra de Granada* (1569–1571), put down with great ferocity by Don Juan of Austria. Bernard Vincent considers that the ensuing distrust of the Moriscos gave rise, at times, to some fraudulent accusations of conspiracy against the Moriscos, in the period leading up to the expulsion.<sup>20</sup>

Queen Margarita's hostility to the Moriscos was also undoubtedly a factor: She had grown up in Graz, in Austria, rather too close for comfort to the Ottoman Empire, which may have influenced her attitudes. Her hostility to the Moriscos is confirmed by the Catholic Apologist Pedro Aznar Cardona: "Finally, I invoke the late most serene majesty, our mistress Doña Margarita of Austria, who from Heaven is aiding us with her declared patronage against the infidel Moors".<sup>21</sup> The Catholic

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of the Jesuits, who had evangelised the Moriscos since their foundation, is uncertain. Some disapproved of Ignacio de las Casas, the Morisco Jesuit whose ideas are discussed below: P. Broggio, "Las posturas conflictivas o convergentes de las diferentes órdenes religiosas: jerónimos, dominicos, jesuitas frente a la expulsión", *Los Moriscos. La Expulsión y después*, BNE, 3 September, 2009.

<sup>19</sup> M. García-Arenal & G. Wieggers, "La expulsión en Marruecos", *Los moriscos. La expulsión y después*, BNE, 4 September 2009. Fear of invasion from Morocco, where there was conflict between two pretenders to the throne, Muley Zidan and Muley Xequé, preoccupied the Council of State in the years preceding the expulsion. Benítez argues that the arrival in Spain of Muley Xequé in mid March 1609 caused the Council to decide on expulsion: Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*, p. 393. M. A. de Bunes Ibarra refers to the common belief that the Moriscos were collaborating with the Turks, who had allied with the French, English and Dutch against Spain: M. A. de Bunes Ibarra, "La expulsión en el contexto de la política mediterránea de Felipe III", *Los moriscos. La expulsión y después*, BNE, 3 September 2009. This fear was given dramatic form in the anonymous play *Los moriscos de Hornachos* (1609). (See bibliography and footnote 4 in the Conclusion.)

<sup>20</sup> B. Vincent, "El río morisco", in *Los moriscos: una minoría marginada*, *Actas del Congreso Internacional Granada 13–16 de mayo de 2009*, Pabellón de al-Andalus y la Ciencia. At press.

<sup>21</sup> "En fin yo me hago a la parte de la quondam serenissima Reyna, nuestra señora, doña Margarita de Austria, q̄ desde el Cielo nos ayuda con su patrocinio declarado contra los infieles Moros": P. Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles y suma de las excelencias christianas de nuestro rey D. Phelipe, tercero de este nombre* (Huesca: Pedro Cabarte, 1612), fol. 118<sup>r</sup>. Aznar Cardona seems to confer on the queen saintly status as he also calls upon St. Vincent Ferrer, Blessed Luis Beltrán and others.

Apologists of the expulsion were a group of writers who, in the years immediately after the expulsion, wrote to justify the event and to exonerate Philip III from all blame.<sup>22</sup>

Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620), Royal Chronicler (for Castile) and for the Indies of Philip III (1607–1620) was concerned about the influence on the king of those in favour of expulsion. In his *Treatise Concerning the Expulsion of the Moriscos* he urged the king to exercise the most important kingly virtues of courage and good judgement<sup>23</sup> and not be swayed by those who disguise expediency as piety and religious concern. He saw the King as an Under Shepherd, who will have to give an account of his rule to Christ, the Head Shepherd; Divine Providence will punish kings who abuse their power and put self interest before the welfare of their subjects.

Let's look briefly at the arguments of those who were unambiguous in their support of the expulsion and of those who were equally unequivocal in their opposition: the latter group felt that the Moriscos should be gently weaned away from their loyalties to Islam by appropriate evangelization, good example and a strict curtailment of the powers of the Inquisition; the former group believed that the Moriscos were irredeemable heretics and apostates who should be expelled *en masse* for the protection of good Christians. In subsequent pages these opposing attitudes will be explored in detail and we will attempt to reconstruct the *weltanschauung* of each group. Thus, in Part I of this book, there are studies of the Catholic Apologists' common arguments and their sources and these will be juxtaposed with those of Pedro de Valencia, whose ideas are analysed in Part II. The comparison between the ideas of Valencia and those of the Apologists reveal such fundamental differences that they have inspired part of the title of this book; Valencia and the Apologists were truly *Worlds Apart* in their analysis of 'el problema morisco'.

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<sup>22</sup> Jaime Bleda was a Dominican and the graduate Pedro Aznar Cardona was acting as amanuensis for his uncle, Fr. Gerónimo Aznar, Prior of the monastery of St Augustine in Huesca. Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier was a Carmelite and came from Zaragoza and Blas Verdú and Damián Fonseca were Dominicans like Bleda.

<sup>23</sup> These are the primordial kingly virtues according to Dio Chrysostom, whose ideas on kingship influenced greatly those of Pedro de Valencia: see the Chapter on *el rey pastor* (the shepherd king), note 13.

*Archbishop Juan de Ribera*

Philip III, in the expulsion edict for Valencia, had expressed his disappointment that all attempts to evangelize the Moriscos had failed. He wrote of his fear that God would punish Spain for the sins of heresy and apostasy committed by the Moriscos and wrote that ‘learned and holy men’ had advised mass expulsion. Certainly Archbishop Juan de Ribera (c. 1532–1611), Patriarch of Antioch and Archbishop of Valencia, had been advocating expulsion since 1582<sup>24</sup> and had been pressing for this measure since 1601.<sup>25</sup> In his later memorials to the king, Ribera quite despaired of any true conversion of the Moriscos. In fact, according to his first biographer, he went so far as to urge Philip III to expel the Moriscos under pain of mortal sin.<sup>26</sup> Ribera’s early enthusiasm for the evangelization of the Moriscos and the establishment of a network of parishes had faded by the 1590s. By then there were enough parishes and rectors, but he no longer believed that religious instruction would make any difference and so was exerting pressure for expulsion.<sup>27</sup> Philip III, however, did not heed Ribera’s advice initially. When he summoned Cortes in Valencia in 1604 he did not wish to discuss the Morisco problem with Ribera but received instead Don Feliciano de Figueroa, Bishop of Segorbe and former secretary of Ribera, who was opposed to the expulsion.<sup>28</sup>

Juan de Ribera provided Philip III and the Duke of Lerma, with the theological arguments needed to justify the expulsion and some of these are used by the Catholic Apologists.<sup>29</sup> The providentialism of the King’s remark cited above expresses the Archbishop’s own belief.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*, p. 350.

<sup>25</sup> Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos*, I, pp. 34–40; F. Escrivá, *Vida del ilustrísimo y excellentísimo don Juan de Ribera, patriarca de Antioquia y arzobispo de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1612), pp. 349–363, 366–400.

<sup>26</sup> Escrivá, *Don Juan de Ribera*, p. 396. There is an interesting study of Ribera by Francisco Márquez Villanueva in which he shows Ribera to be a complex character, who suffers scruples following the decision to expel the Moriscos: F. Márquez Villanueva, “El *nunc dimittis* del Patriarca Ribera”, in *El problema morisco desde otras laderas* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1991), pp. 196–318. This idea is also developed at length by Benjamin Ehlers in his book.

<sup>27</sup> Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 148–150.

<sup>28</sup> Domínguez Ortiz, & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, p. 168.

<sup>29</sup> Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, p. 143.

<sup>30</sup> In his triumphalist sermon *Nunc dimittis servum tuum* [Now you may dismiss your servant], given in the Seo of Valencia on 27 September 1609, Ribera makes Philip III a providential instrument of the divine will: “Lo que yo creo es que la providencia

Ribera's long term as Archbishop of Valencia, where there was the largest concentration of Moriscos in Spain, and his own personal commitment to evangelization at the beginning of his ministry, both invite an analysis of his attitudes.

Imbued with reforming zeal, Ribera had sought initially to carry out the dictates of the Counter Reformation, which relied on bishops resident in their dioceses for their implementation. For his first decade in Valencia, Ribera believed that he could bring about a true conversion of the Moriscos. He attempted to reorganize Morisco parishes and provide them with competent priests, at times spending his own personal wealth to finance these efforts. Aware that the Inquisition complicated relations with the Moriscos, he supported the Concordat signed by the King and the Inquisitor General, Gaspar de Quiroga, on 12 October 1571. This granted specific immunities to the twelve Morisco communities in exchange for an annual subsidy of 50,000 *sueldos*. At this stage, Ribera shared Quiroga's belief that the Moriscos could be persuaded to abandon their Islamic practices and beliefs once the Inquisition was taken out of the equation. In 1575, Ribera sent extra funding to the Morisco school and appointed a more active rector when the previous one, who had held the office for thirty years, retired.<sup>31</sup>

The Archbishop had a keen interest in the evangelization of other countries and was in close contact with the Jesuits in Valencia: his library had geographical treatises and accounts of Jesuit missions to China and Japan and other works on the evangelization of the Protestants. Ribera believed in the power of the word and both sent Jesuits to preach to the Moriscos and he himself dedicated three months a year in the visitation of his parishes, including Morisco parishes in his itinerary.<sup>32</sup> By the 1580s Ribera's initial enthusiasm for the expansion, reform and unification of the Church among his flock had diminished: the hostility of the Valencian clergy, who regarded him as an interfering Castilian, and the continuing apostasy of the Moriscos made

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divina tenía guardada esta importantissima empresa para [...] el Rey Nuestro Señor" [I believe that Divine Providence had kept this most important enterprise for [...] the King, our lord]: Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*, p. 413.

<sup>31</sup> Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 84, 86.

<sup>32</sup> Gaspar Aguilar, in his play, *El gran patriarca don Juan de Ribera*, shows the Moriscos rejecting out of hand Ribera's preaching in one such visit. The Moriscos were locked in the church so that they were forced to attend the sermon: *Poetas dramáticos valencianos*, II, *El gran Patriarcha don Juan de Ribera* (Madrid: RAE, 1929), p. 280.

him lose heart.<sup>33</sup> His increasing disillusion over time is reflected in his sermons: there he likens preaching to unreceptive Moriscos to casting seeds over thorns or rocky ground.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, Ribera came to believe that he could only pursue his aim of a united Christian community by letting the Moriscos go: he would sacrifice their salvation for the good of Old Christians.<sup>35</sup> The medical and biblical imagery which he used to express this purification of the body politic is used extensively by the Catholic Apologists.

### *Ribera's catechism*

Ribera's harsh attitudes towards the Moriscos in the latter half of his rule can be seen in his catechism: *Catechismo para instrucción de los nvevemente convertidos de moros*.<sup>36</sup> He claimed that it was merely a reorganization of the *Doctrina christiana en lengua árabe y castellana* (Valencia: Juan Mey, 1566) of one of his predecessors, Bishop Martín Pérez de Ayala (1564–1566), who had had the catechism prepared when he was bishop of Guadix and then printed it in Valencia.<sup>37</sup> Ricardo García Carcel disagrees: the tone is different, as are the readers to whom it is directed: Ayala's catechism was aimed at the Moriscos themselves whereas Ribera's was directed at rectors and priests.<sup>38</sup> Ayala's work contains the most common prayers, the commandments and precepts of the Church and a guide to the physical responses and gestures used at mass. It is bilingual, in Castilian with interlinear Arabic, and is written in simple language. (The translation is, however, apparently poor, and was probably misunderstood and ridiculed by

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<sup>33</sup> Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, p. 86.

<sup>35</sup> Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, p. 150.

<sup>36</sup> J. de Ribera, *Catechismo para instrucción de los nvevemente convertidos de moros. Impreso por orden del Patriarcha de Antiochia, Arçobispo de Valencia, Don Juan de Ribera* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1599).

<sup>37</sup> M. Pérez de Ayala, *Doctrina Christiana en lengua Arabiga y Castellana* (Valencia: Juan Mey, 1566), 2nd. ed. facsímil R. Chabás (Valencia: Hijos de Vives Mora, 1911). Ribera succeeded to the see of Valencia in 1568, just two years after the death of Pérez de Ayala.

<sup>38</sup> R. García Cárcel, "Estudio crítico del catecismo de Ayala-Ribera", *Les Morisques et leur temps*, ed. L. Cardaillac (Montpellier: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), pp. 159–168.



the Moriscos).<sup>39</sup> The tone of the Prologue, however, reveals Ayala's warmth and apostolic zeal: "Receive, beloved children in Christ, from your Pastor and spiritual father (who desires your salvation with all his heart) this brief summary of Christian doctrine, that for your benefit, we have brought together and had translated into the colloquial Arabic of this kingdom".<sup>40</sup> Ayala was a pre-Tridentine reforming ecclesiastic whereas Ribera embodied the ideals of the Counter Reformation. Unlike Ayala, he opposed the use of preachers with knowledge of Arabic. When Ayala arrived in Valencia in 1565 he requested that Fr. Jerónimo Mur, the Morisco Jesuit, return from Rome to undertake evangelization of the Moriscos in Arabic. However, when Ayala died in 1566, this initiative was shelved.<sup>41</sup> The Jesuits continued to urge the use of Arabic but with little success. It was not until the final decades of the sixteenth century that the use of Arabic in the evangelization of the Moriscos was once again put forward energetically by the Morisco Jesuit, Ignacio de Las Casas (1550–1608), who himself preached in Arabic to the Moriscos of Valencia (1587–1590). Las Casas's conviction of the importance of using Arabic in the attempts to convert the Moriscos of Valencia is evident in the long document in which he sets out his arguments in favour of this policy and which he sent to the Jesuit Provincial for Castile, Cristóbal de los Cobos.<sup>42</sup>

In Part I of his *Catechismo* (1599), Ribera uses many of the arguments common to the *antialcoranes*, those anti-Islamic polemical works written as an aid in the evangelization of the Moriscos. For example in Book 1, Dialogue 13, the subject is the vicious life of the legislator of Islam, Muhammad; the common criticism of the Prophet's lack of chastity features here as does the accusation of being a willing cuckold when he tolerated 'Āisha's adultery (pp. 81–95); Dialogue 15 concerns the errors, lies and fables of the *Qur'ān* (pp. 106–120) and Dialogue 18 decries the weakness and falsehood of Islam, as it allows dissimulation (pp. 132–139); Parts Two to Four treat of Faith, Hope and Charity and Part Five is about Obedience. In spite of Ribera's assertion, there is absolutely no similarity between Pérez de Ayala's and Ribera's cat-

<sup>39</sup> Ayala, *Doctrina christiana*, p. vi.

<sup>40</sup> "Recebid, hijos muy amados en Christo, de vuestro Pastor y padre espiritual (que de todas entrañas desea vuestra saluacion) esta breue Summa de la doctrina Christiana, q̄ para vuestro prouecho hemos recogido, y mādado traduzir en la lēgua Arauiga vulgar deste Reyno", Ayala, *Doctrina christiana*, fol. A<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> F. Borja de Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, LVII (1985), pp. 39–40.

<sup>42</sup> I. de las Casas, MS 10 238, BL, fols. 188<sup>r</sup>–199<sup>r</sup>.

echism. The Patriarch's *Catechismo* is much closer in format and tone with the *Antialcorano* of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón (b. 1488–1493? and d. 1556?), whose dialogic format it follows.

Ribera opposed the use of Arabic for evangelization purposes as he felt that it could not express the subtleties of Christian doctrine and, together with other members of the *junta* (committee) set up in Valencia by Philip III (November 1608–March 1609), rejected this proposal in the memorial presented by Fray Ignacio de Las Casas.<sup>43</sup> Benjamin Ehlers adds a further reason: [Ribera said that] “Arabic is of no use in the instruction of the Christian faith, and even causes the Moriscos to perpetuate their errors, because it gives them new pride in their sect”.<sup>44</sup> The Jesuit Father General Claudio Aquaviva had wanted Las Casas to represent the Jesuit order at the *junta* but unfortunately he died in July 1608.<sup>45</sup>

### *Opposition to the expulsion*

Las Casas's memorial and those of the Englishman Fray José Cresuelo SJ (Joseph Cresswell) and Jaime Palafox all made two key points which gave rise to much opposition from the members of the *junta*: the use of Arabic as mentioned above and criticism of the methods of evangelization. The *junta* took personally the criticism of methods of evangelization. The clash between the *junta* and Las Casas illustrates graphically the difficulty of communication between two different mindsets, incapable of dialogue.

Opposition to the expulsion came also from the Inquisition. In the last year of the sixteenth century an Inquisition lawyer from Valladolid called Martín González de Cellorigo published a memorial, in which he was openly critical of the means taken to evangelize the Moriscos.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, p. 124; “No convendría enseñarles en aquella lengua por falta de términos para manifestar los principales misterios de nuestra fe, y ellos que se buscan equivalencias por circunloquios no sólo no explican la fuerza, pero las más de las veces dicen errores en nuestra religión, Lo que fue causa que yo desistiera de aprender arábigo”: García Cárcel, “Estudio crítico del *catecismo*”, p. 164.

<sup>44</sup> “[El árabe] no solo [no] sería útil para la instrucción de la fe christiana, pero que causaría en los dichos moriscos nueva reputación y estimación de su secta, y que los actuaría más en sus errores”: Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, p. 155.

<sup>45</sup> Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, p. 125.

<sup>46</sup> M. González de Cellorigo, *Memorial al Rey sobre asesinatos, atropellos e irreverencias contra la religion cristiana, cometidos por los moriscos por el licenciado Martín*

One cannot fail to say there have been in Spain some ecclesiastics, upon whom it was incumbent to take greater care with these people [the Moriscos] than they did, specially the prelates, to whom one cannot fail to attribute certain negligence for the carelessness which they seem to have shown towards these their sheep. Even though the latter were ill, it was incumbent on the prelates to heal them with their doctrine (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>).<sup>47</sup>

If the Moriscos had been properly instructed, they would have seen the light and converted to Christianity:

There is no doubt that, if these people had had teachers to illuminate them with the truths of our faith, their natural intelligence would have removed the blindness of their false sect (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>).<sup>48</sup>

Although Cellorigo believed in the importance of attracting the Moriscos to Christianity through grace and love (fol. 9<sup>r</sup>) he still saw a role for the Inquisition (fol. 8<sup>r</sup>). Cellorigo's emphasis on the superiority of persuasion over coercion and the realisation that many prelates had neglected the Moriscos was shared by Pedro de Valencia.

#### *Don Feliciano de Figueroa*

In the years immediately preceding the expulsion, its strongest opponents were the Bishop of Segorbe, Don Feliciano de Figueroa (1541–1609), former secretary of Ribera, the Morisco Jesuit Ignacio de Las Casas, and Pedro de Valencia. Figueroa, who had been involved personally in the evangelization process, sent a memorial to the king, which Boronat and Barrachina dates between 1601 and 1604. Figueroa's recommendations include removal from Morisco areas of the *alfaquíes*, or Qur'anic scholars, the banning of Arabic and Islamic

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Gonzalez de Cellorigo (1597). It follows the *Memorial de la politica necesaria, y util restauracion de la republica de España, y estados de ella, y del desempeño universal de estos reynos* and is bound in the same volume (Valladolid: Juan del Bostillo, 1600), BNE, R. 9267.

<sup>47</sup> “No puedo no dezir que ha auido en España algunas personas ecclesiasticas, a quien ha tocado el tener más cuydado, de el que con esta gente se ha tenido, especialmente los prelados a quien no se puede dexar de atrubyr vn tanto de niglegencia [sic] por el descuydo, que con estas quejas parece se ha tenido, que aunque enfermas, a ellos incumbe el curarlas con su doctrina”.

<sup>48</sup> “[...] no se puede poner duda, sino que si esta gēte vuiera tenido quien les alumbrara las verdades de nuestra fe, su entendimiento natural los vuiera sacado de la ceguedad de su falsa secta”. This argument is common among the *antialcoranes*.

dress and the use of sterner measures by the Inquisition (the edict of grace granted by the pope in 1601 had curtailed the Inquisition's powers). He also advised that primary teachers, both male and female, be sent to the *aljamas*, or Morisco quarters. The other suffragan bishops of Valencia, Balaguer of Orihuela and Manrique of Tortosa, did not support the expulsion either.<sup>49</sup> Remember that it was Figueroa and not Archbishop Ribera whom the king interviewed, after the Cortes in Valencia in 1604.

Figueroa continued to instruct the Moriscos. He preached personally each Sunday and holy day, visited Morisco parishes to check the competence of the rectors and tried to get the *aljamas* (also a local Morisco assembly) to pay the female primary teachers. Similarly, he attempted to stamp out Islamic practices by sending ministers to Morisco households at midday during Ramadān to see if they were eating.<sup>50</sup> Ultimately, Figueroa's good will towards the Moriscos was undermined by his confusion of religious and cultural practices. This confusion was commonplace. (The Jesuits, however, did realize the importance of familiarizing themselves with Islamic culture in order to evangelize the Moriscos more effectively.) In spite of limited success, Figueroa still believed in the possibility of evangelization and continued to oppose the expulsion. In a letter to the Franciscan Fray Antonio Sobrino on 10 March 1609, he wrote: "I have come to think that the king, our lord, cannot expel from Spain the baptised Moriscos of this kingdom, knowing full well that they will go to Africa and become manifest apostates of their baptism".<sup>51</sup>

### *Fray Ignacio de las Casas*

The Morisco Jesuit, Ignacio de Las Casas, as mentioned above, had also been personally involved in the evangelization of the Moriscos of Valencia. In the years preceding the expulsion, another Jesuit, the

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<sup>49</sup> M. de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), p. 122.

<sup>50</sup> P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* II (Valencia: F. Vivés y Mora, 1901), pp. 440–442.

<sup>51</sup> "E sido de parecer que el Rey nuestro S' con buena conciencia no puede mandar echar de España los moriscos deste reyno que están baptizados, sabiendo con evidencia que se an de passar en África a ser manifestos Apóstatas del baptismo": Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, p. 505.

Englishman Joseph Creswell (1556–1623), who was superintendent of the English colleges in Spain, also campaigned against the expulsion.<sup>52</sup> The Jesuits, from a few years after their foundation (1540), had undertaken the instruction of Morisco communities.<sup>53</sup> The first three Father Generals of the Society, Loyola, Laínez and Aquaviva, were deeply committed to the conversion of the *nuevos convertidos de moros*. An early project, which seemed very successful initially, was the primary *convictorio* set up in the Albaicín in Granada.<sup>54</sup> A founding member was the Morisco Jesuit, Fr. Juan de Albotodo (1527–1578). It was to this school that the fatherless Ignacio de Las Casas came in 1562 and stayed there until 1567. He then went on to the Jesuit school in Montilla (1567–1568) and to that of Córdoba (1568–1570). Both these schools had been founded by the noted mystic, preacher, writer, and educator St. Juan de Ávila (c. 1499/1500–1569), called in his lifetime Maestro Juan de Ávila, Apostle of Andalucía, who later handed his schools over to the Jesuits.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting to note that Pedro de Valencia also attended the same Jesuit schools in Montilla and in Córdoba (1567/1568–1570/1572) as Las Casas, schools which, at that time, were still imbued with the spirit of Maestro Ávila.<sup>56</sup>

Las Casas, both as a Morisco and as a Jesuit, was deeply concerned to improve the methods of converting the Moriscos. He was sent to Valencia in 1587 and quickly realized that evangelization there would have to be in Arabic. He makes this point many times in his report of 1605.<sup>57</sup> The first Archbishop of Granada, the Hieronymite friar Hernando de Talavera (1428–1502) had also realized the importance of Arabic. Talavera was the earliest exponent of conversion by persuasion and attraction in Spain in the early modern period. He set up a seminary and both sought Morisco seminarians and had Arabic taught to

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<sup>52</sup> Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, p. 121. The colleges of St. Alban in Valladolid and St Gregory in Seville were set up by Robert Parsons. Creswell was in charge of the colleges from 1597 to 1614: A. J. Loomie, “A ‘Leader’: Lady Jane Dormer”, *The Spanish Elizabethans* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), pp. 191–228.

<sup>53</sup> Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, pp. 3–136.

<sup>54</sup> A *convictorio* was a Jesuit boarding school.

<sup>55</sup> St. Juan de Ávila (1499/1500–1569) was a charismatic preacher and an esteemed writer on spirituality in the sixteenth century. He was an important influence on Pedro de Valencia: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 20. There is an assessment of his life and work in Part II, Chapter 7.

<sup>56</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 24.

<sup>57</sup> Las Casas, MS ADD 10238, BL, fols 16<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>.

the *cristianos viejos* who attended. He arranged for an Arabic grammar and lexicon to be published to facilitate this task.<sup>58</sup>

Once Las Casas realized the importance of Arabic for the conversion of the Moriscos of Valencia he immersed himself in studies of Islamic culture, particularly the *Qur'ān*, in order to be able to engage in disputation with *alfaquíes* and educated Moriscos. The Jesuit Father General, Claudio Aquaviva, was of the same mind as Las Casas yet, apart from Fr Albotodo, the only other Jesuit to preach in Arabic was Jerónimo Mur. Las Casas worked as a censor and interpreter with the Inquisition but also continued his studies and work of conversion. At the behest of the papal nuncio, Domenico Ginnasio (1600–1605), he wrote a detailed report on the Moriscos in 1605, which was intended for Pope Clement VIII. However, on the death of the pope in March 1605 and the recall of Ginnasio he sent a *resumé* to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition.<sup>59</sup> A report of 1607 on the controversial *plomos* of Granada, was written at the behest of another nuncio, Decio Carafa (1607–1612), and sent to Clement's successor, Paul V. In this second report Las Casas gave his views on the *plomos*, or Lead Books of Granada, which he considered to be Morisco forgeries.<sup>60</sup>

Las Casas' ideas on conversion are similar in some ways to those of Pedro de Valencia, whose *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* was written either late in this same year of 1605 or in early 1606. (The accompanying letter to Philip III's confessor, Fray Diego de Mardones, is dated 26 January 1606.)<sup>61</sup> Las Casas opposed the Edicts of Grace granted by the pope, as penitents were obliged to reveal to the Inquisition the names of crypto-Muslims, even if they were family members.<sup>62</sup> He later suggested to the Grand Inquisitor of Valencia that Edicts of Grace could give the usual private absolution instead of public confession, but without the obligation to inform on apostates. However, the Inquisitor rejected the idea.<sup>63</sup> He opposed the *estatutos de limpieza de*

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<sup>58</sup> P. Alcalá, *Arte para saber ligeramente la lengua arauíba* (Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, ¿1506?); *Vocabuista arauígo en letra castellana* (Granada: iuan varela de salamãca, 1505).

<sup>59</sup> R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "De Paulo a Saulo: traducción, crítica y denuncia de los libros plúmbeos por el P. Ignacio de las Casas, S. J. *Al-Qántara*, XXII, 2 (2002), p. 406; Las Casas, MS 10238, fols 161<sup>r</sup>–187<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*, pp. 403–436.

<sup>61</sup> All Philip III's chaplains were Dominicans and all opposed the expulsion.

<sup>62</sup> Las Casas, MS 10238, BL, fol 25<sup>v</sup>. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Borja de Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca", p. 125.

*sangre*, or Purity of Blood Statutes, laws that excluded those of Moorish or Jewish ancestry from public office and from the religious orders. He desired that the Moriscos be fully integrated into Spanish society through mixed marriages, which he urged the pope to endorse.<sup>64</sup> In fact, he went so far as to ask the pope to prohibit marriages between Moriscos. In his *Información* for Clement VIII, in the section on the Moriscos of Castile, he proposed radical measures for the ending of the whole concept of *cristiano nuevo*:<sup>65</sup> the term should cease one hundred years after the baptism of an ancestor and then the Inquisition should burn both all legal proceedings against the family and any *sanbenitos*, the ignominious garment worn by the accused at an *auto de fe*: “What everybody desires is that your Holiness should command that all the proceedings of all the Inquisitorial courts be burned, and all the *sanbenitos*, and that one could not call or hold people to be New Christians a hundred years after the baptism of their ancestors”.<sup>66</sup> Aquaviva supported Las Casas’ campaign for the setting up of an Arabic academy for seminarians.

Las Casas, in his various reports, urged that the minds and hearts of the Moriscos be won over by respect and good example: “It is obviously very important for our attempt [to evangelize them] to treat them well in word and deed”;<sup>67</sup> to bestow human honours in accordance with their merits is to implement the teachings of the Gospel;<sup>68</sup> their financial burdens should be the same as those of the *cristianos viejos*;<sup>69</sup> disinterested rectors of good life and well educated both in Christian and Islamic theology should be sent to Morisco parishes;<sup>70</sup> priests, rectors and preachers should tailor their evangelization to the

<sup>64</sup> Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, 21.

<sup>65</sup> Las Casas, MS 10238, BL, 52<sup>r</sup>–52<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> “Lo que tanto se desea de todos es que mandasse V. S<sup>d</sup> quemar todos los procesos de todas las Inquisiciones y todos los sambenitos [sic] y que no se pudiesen llamar ni tener por christianos nuevos los que passassen de cien años despues del baptismo de sus pasados.”: Las Casas, MS 10238, BL, fol 52<sup>r</sup>; Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, p. 21.

<sup>67</sup> “[...] el trattallos bien de palabras y con obras se ve claro quanta importancia es para nro intento”: Las Casas, MS 7187, fol. 42<sup>r</sup>; P. de Valencia, *Humanistas españoles: Pedro de Valencia, Obras completas*, IV/2, *Escritos sociales, Escritos políticos*, Estudio introductorio por Rafael González Canal, Rafael Carrasco & Gaspar Morocho Gayo, ed. R. González Canal & H. B. Riesco Álvarez (León: Universidad de León, 1999), pp. 116–117.

<sup>68</sup> Las Casas, MS 7187, BNE, fol. 42<sup>v</sup>; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 123–124.

<sup>69</sup> Las Casas, MS 7187, fol. 42<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Las Casas, MS 7187, fols 28<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup> and 58<sup>r</sup>.

needs of the catechumens.<sup>71</sup> He criticised the ‘diabólica cudicia’ (diabolical greed) and the negligence of rectors.<sup>72</sup> He reminds the reader that Christ died also for these ‘almas miserables’ and that to deny their children baptism, as some recommended, was to lose many souls for Christ.<sup>73</sup> Although he admitted that many Moriscos were crypto-Muslims, some were also good Christians: “[...] there have been, and there are to-day everywhere, many of these [who are] very good Christians [...] There lives in the kingdom of Valencia many of these who are learned priests [...] many who have given and give good example of their faith”. As God converted these “we must trust that he will convert the rest”.<sup>74</sup> In the case of those suspected of apostasy they must not be so named until judicially convicted of offences against the faith: “We cannot and must not judge him or condemn him [the Morisco] on a matter as serious as apostasy, if he is not specifically and judicially convicted of it”.<sup>75</sup>

*Pedro de Valencia: the ‘Tratado acerca de los moriscos’  
and its sources*

Towards the end of 1605 or in early 1606, the year before Las Casas sent his second report to Paul V, Pedro de Valencia, later Royal Chronicler (for Castile) and Chronicler for the Indies (1607–1620) of Philip III, who was a jurist, a biblical scholar, humanist and sceptic philosopher and a prominent member of those who opposed the expulsion, wrote his treatise on the Moriscos: *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* (*Treatise Concerning the Moriscos of Spain*). Like Ignacio de Las Casas, Valencia criticized the methods of evangelization of the Moriscos; as a lawyer he felt that Moriscos suspected of apostasy

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<sup>71</sup> Las Casas, MS 7187, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>; 92<sup>r</sup>; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 116.

<sup>72</sup> Las Casas, MS 7187, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>; fol. 24<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Las Casas, MS 7187, fol. fol. 35<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> “[...] a auído y ay oy muchos destos muy buenos Christianos en todas partes [...] viuen en el reyno de Valencia muchos sacerdotes destos muy letrados [...] muchos que an dado y dan buen exemplo de su fe” [...] “[...] emos de confiar que convertirá a los demas”: Las Casas, MS 7187, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 10.

<sup>75</sup> “[...] no podemos ni debemos juzgarle ni condenarle en material tan graue como la Apostacia si juridicamente no es convencido en particular della”: Las Casas, MS 7187, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>.



should be tried individually;<sup>76</sup> like Las Casas, he argued that, before sending missionaries to the Far East, the mission on their own doorstep should be undertaken;<sup>77</sup> he opposed the Purity of Blood Statutes and argued indirectly against these discriminatory laws in the *Tratado* and in his commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistle to the Galatians*. He showed how the hierarchical system within Judaism had ended with the coming of Christ.<sup>78</sup> In the *Tratado* he also encouraged mixed marriages, or *permixción*, between Moriscos and Christians, he pointed out that a similar system of intermarriage had existed in ancient Rome, which gave open access to citizenship, and where one's origin was forgotten and subsumed into Roman citizenship. He thus argued that this practice would bring to an end the whole concept of New Christian<sup>79</sup> Like Las Casas he believed that Moriscos should be treated with respect and given access to the same honourable positions within society that were then open only to *cristianos viejos*.<sup>80</sup> Valencia, however, had no toleration for 'la secta de Mahoma' or Islam; he knew that many Moriscos were crypto-Muslims but, as an idealistic Christian humanist, believed firmly that they could be won over to true belief in Christianity by gentle means.

Pedro de Valencia was born in Zafra and was probably of *converso* (Jewish convert to Christianity) background.<sup>81</sup> His father Melchor was a *letrado* in the household of the House of Feria. Valencia's use of scripture to argue against the two-tier society created by the Purity of Blood Statutes follows in the tradition of noted fifteenth-century *conversos* such as Hernando de Talavera, Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456) and the Father General of the Hieronymites, Alonso de Oropesa (1457–1468), who were studied in detail by Albert Sicroff in his seminal work

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<sup>76</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 89, 97–103. The Catholic Apologist, Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier, made this point in the context of his justification of the expulsion. He went on to say that this was not the case in the matter of the expulsion: the Moriscos had been expelled because of their treacherous conspiracy against Spain: "[...] a V. M. le comete y le obliga el derecho natural y divino librar sus reynos de evidentes peligros y hechar de ellos los que causan daño público y grave": Guadalajara y Javier, *Memo-rable expulsion*, fol. 155<sup>v</sup>. Cited in S. Pastore, "La posición del Vaticano frente a la expulsión", *Los moriscos. La expulsión y después*, BNE, 3 September, 2009.

<sup>77</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 115.

<sup>78</sup> P. de Valencia, *Para declaración de vna gran parte de la Estoria Apostolica en los Actos, y en la epistola ad Galatas advertencias de Pedro de Valencia varon doctissimo, y en todo genero de letras muy eminente*, MS 464, fol 76<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 59, pp. 118–127.

<sup>80</sup> Valencia, MS 464, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. xxi–xxii.

*Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles.*<sup>82</sup> Valencia's view of an inclusive, seamless Christianity derived from scripture and in particular from his reading of the *Epistle to the Galatians* and the *Acts of the Apostles*. In the tradition of the *Philosophia Christi* of Erasmus<sup>83</sup> he sought guidelines for the ethical, social and political problems of his time in a careful interpretation of the Bible, which he read in the original Hebrew and Greek of the *Biblia regia* and the Vulgate. In all his writings, Valencia sought to marry reason and faith. Like Erasmus he moderated faith with readings from the classics, in particular the works of Cicero, Socrates (through Plato) and the writings of the Stoic Epictetus, the Stoic-Cynic Dio of Prusa or Dio Chryostom (40 CE–after 112 CE) and the political orator Demosthenes (384–348 BC). Fragments of his translations from Greek into Spanish remain and, in later chapters, there are references to renderings of his from Epictetus, Demosthenes and Dio Chryostom.

*Influences: Desiderius Erasmus, St Juan de Ávila and the  
'Dictatum christianum'*

Although Erasmus had been on the Index of Prohibited Texts since 1559, his works were still well known in Spain and were to be found in many libraries. In fact, the biblical scholar Arias Montano (1528–1598), teacher and mentor of Valencia, had some volumes in his own personal library, to which Valencia had access and many volumes of which he inherited.<sup>84</sup> Marcel Bataillon considers Arias Montano to be one of those who carried some of Erasmus's ideas into the era of the

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<sup>82</sup> A. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Didier, 1960), trans. M. Armiño, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII* (Madrid: Taurus, 1979).

<sup>83</sup> M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, trans. A. Alatorre, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), pp. 75–76.

<sup>84</sup> The collection with the Castilian title of *Obras de Erasmo en nueve cuerpos* mentions the publisher J. Froben of Basle. Rodríguez Moñino suggests the following works: *Des. Erasmi Roterodami in novum Testamentum Annotationes* (Basle: Frobenius, 1527) and *Tomvs Primvs paraphaseon D. Erasmi Roterodami in nouum Testamentum uidelicet in quatuor Euangelia et Acta Apostolorum* (Basle: Frobenius, 1532), etc. The other collection is merely called *Opera Erasmi in novem tomus*. The references come from two separate lists, that made in 1548 in the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Alcalá de Henares, and that of 14 March 1553 was perhaps compiled in the village of Castaño del Robledo in Seville, to which Arias Montano was sent as parish priest. The two references probably refer to one set of books: A. Rodríguez Moñino, "La biblioteca de

Counter Reformation. For Bataillon, Arias Montano's *Dictatum christianum* followed in the tradition of the *Philosophia Christi*: to read the scriptures with a pure heart and faith brought true wisdom, that of Christ. Thus when Valencia translated the *Dictatum* into Spanish as *Lección cristiana*, he was continuing the Erasmian wish that scripture be translated into the vernacular for popular use (there are many passages from the Bible in the *Lección*, which Valencia translates). The virtues of charity, penance and fear of God are the central themes of the *Dictatum*, which was used by Valencia as a textbook in the school in Zafra in which he taught. It was also on the curriculum in the school of La Peña de Aracena, where Arias Montano had his country retreat.

However, Spanish scholars have pointed out that there had been a reform movement that predated Erasmus in the Spanish Church since the fifteenth century.<sup>85</sup> Erasmus' study of scripture in Greek and his emphasis on St. Paul merely continued in Spain the same practices carried out in fifteenth-century by the *converso* members of the so called School of Burgos.<sup>86</sup> The first Polyglot Bible, sponsored by Cardinal Francisco de Cisneros (1515–1522) was enriched by the biblical scholarship of *conversos*, who brought their knowledge of Jewish scripture and biblical languages to their studies.<sup>87</sup>

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Benito Arias Montano. Noticias y documentos para su reconstitución (1548-1598)", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Extremeños*, II (1929), pp. 565, 581.

<sup>85</sup> T. de Arzona, "El tipo ideal de obispo en la iglesia española antes de la rebelión luterana", *Historia Sacra*, XI (1955), pp. 22–64.

<sup>86</sup> G. Morocho Gayo, "Hermetismo y cabala cristiana en la Corte de Carlos V: Egidio de Viterbo, Dionisio Vázquez, Cipriano de la Huerga", *La Ciudad de Dios*, CCXIII (2000), p. 823. The former rabbi Pablo de Santa María and his son Alonso de Cartagena were notable members of the School of Burgos. Cartagena will be mentioned in the context of those who opposed the *limpieza de sangre* (Purity of Blood) statues in a later chapter.

<sup>87</sup> The *conversos* Pablo Coronel and Alfonso de Zamora collaborated with Cisneros and Zamora became the first Professor of Hebrew in Alcalá (1512–1544). The Augustinian Dionisio Vázquez (1480–1539), also probably of Judaic extraction, was a skilled Hebrew and Greek scholar. A student of both men, Cipriano de la Huerga (1510–1560), succeeded him in the chair of Hebrew. Huerga, as well as being a theologian and Hebrew scholar was also a classicist and he used all his knowledge in his exegesis of the Bible. Valencia's mentor, Benito Arias Montano, studied under Huerga and this complex method of exegesis was that passed on to Valencia: P. de Valencia, *Humanistas españoles: Pedro de Valencia, Obras completas*, IX, 2, *Escritos espirituales. La Lección cristiana de Arias Montano Estudio introductorio por Jesús Luis Paradinas*, ed. A. M<sup>a</sup> Martín Rodríguez (León: Universidad de León, 2002), pp. 52–54.

J. L. Paradinas Fuentes, in the Introduction to the León edition of the *Dictatum christianum* and Valencia's translation *Lección cristiana*, argues very persuasively against previous interpretations of this text: he refutes the assertion that it is an Erasmian manual; that it is a handbook for the *Familia Charitatis*, the Dutch ecumenical sect that both Arias Montano and Valencia had been associated with, and instead proposes that it was intended as a humanistic education treatise or handbook. He declares that Montano's inspiration was not Erasmus but rather St Juan de Ávila, the 'Apostle of Andalusia', who was responsible for the setting up of *colegios menores* for young boys and *colegios mayores* for the education of the laity and for future priests. In a letter of 1553, the number of Ávila's educational establishments was fifteen. Ávila had promoted education as a primary means of reform and evangelization, making local communities responsible for its provision. He wrote a catechism for young children called *Doctrina cristiana*, which was published in Valencia in 1554, which was much used in Jesuit schools.<sup>88</sup> Ávila stressed that the religion teachers should have qualities that endeared them to their pupils and also that they should accommodate what they taught to their circumstances. This advice is echoed in Pedro de Valencia's pedagogical suggestions for the evangelization of the Moriscos. Ávila also encouraged the writing of other catechisms in his treatise *Memorial segundo para el Concilio de Trento*, which inspired Arias Montano to write a work titled *Instrucción cristiana*. Paradinas Fuentes argues that Arias Montano reworked this text to produce the *Dictatum* thus making Ávila his primary inspiration.<sup>89</sup> Paradinas Fuentes further argues that the *Dictatum* is a work of humanistic education.

### *Humanistic Education*

Humanistic education changed the mediaeval hierarchy in education and put human sciences before the natural ones: "[humanist education], from its beginnings in Italy, is more interested in the moral

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<sup>88</sup> The catechism was written in verse to facilitate its memorization and was at times sung, especially in processions: J. Esquerda Bifet, *Introducción a la doctrina de San Juan de Ávila* (Madrid: BAC, 2000), pp. 99–100.

<sup>89</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, pp. 34; 64–71.

education of man than in intellectual formation”.<sup>90</sup> Education’s primary aim was not to prepare men for a trade or profession but rather to teach them how to be fully human. This goal of *humanitas* had two sources for its ethics: Christian religious virtues and Roman civic virtues. In Spain, Christian religious virtues took precedence over the Roman code of civic conduct:

Humanists from northern Europe agree with Spanish humanists that religious formation is the goal of education. However, they differ on the interpretation of the Christian religion. Humanists from northern Europe, with Erasmus at their head, propose a Christianity without its Jewish roots, a Christianity that is centred on the New Testament; whereas Spanish humanists, due perhaps to the Jewish background of many of them, propose a Christianity that is rooted in Judaism and the Old Testament.<sup>91</sup>

Judaic practice in the provision of education similarly put religion at its heart. Among Spanish Jews there was universal male education, irrespective of one’s family’s means. St. Juan de Ávila’s Semitic background is not disputed. If Jewish, his family would have had personal experience of this tradition.<sup>92</sup> However, whereas Ávila, a scholastic, encouraged the writing of catechisms, Arias Montano, a humanist, wrote a manual of humanistic education.<sup>93</sup> Thus, as in Renaissance Spain the emphasis was on religious education, the Roman formation of good citizens was subsumed into religious tuition. In Arias Montano’s *Dictatum* faith had to be actively shown through good works; the book thus is a manual of ethics rather than a theological treatise. Pedro de Valencia shared Montano’s commitment to faith and good works and this ideal inspired many of his treatises on religious and socio-economic affairs. Like other Spanish humanists, Christian ethics

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<sup>90</sup> “[la educación humanística], desde sus inicios en Italia, está más interesada en la formación moral del hombre que en la instrucción intelectual”: Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 60.

<sup>91</sup> “En la finalidad religiosa de la educación coinciden [...] los humanistas del norte de Europa y los humanistas españoles, pero se distinguen en la interpretación de la religión cristiana. Los humanistas del norte de Europa, con Erasmo a la cabeza, proponen un cristianismo desprovisto de sus raíces judías, un cristianismo centrado en el Nuevo Testamento; mientras que los humanistas españoles, debido, tal vez, a la ascendencia judía de muchos de ellos, proponen un cristianismo enraizado en el judaísmo y en el Antiguo Testamento”: Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 62.

<sup>92</sup> Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes argues, however, that Ávila was of Morisco stock: Galmés de Fuentes, “Los que se quedaron”, p. 176.

<sup>93</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, pp. 70–71.

informed his educational goals. However, Roman advocacy of good citizenship also inspired his writings, especially those on social issues. What makes Valencia stand out amongst his contemporaries is the scepticism with which his faith is tempered; this suspension of belief when confronted with the apparently miraculous led him to reject without hesitation the Lead Books of Granada, which purported to be from apostolic times. He argued that texts from God should be able to stand up to close scrutiny: “[...] as God’s causes are never weak, one does them no honour by judging them and approving them without close examination”.<sup>94</sup> His scepticism led him also to write two critiques on the prosecution of witches at the *auto de fe* of Logroño of 1610.

The spirituality of St. Juan de Ávila had been an important influence on Valencia in his early years. Valencia probably attended Ávila’s *Escuela de la doctrina* (School for Christian doctrine) in Zafra and the Jesuit school in Córdoba, which had been established by Ávila. He may also have met him in Montilla during the last years of Ávila’s life. In Part II, Chapter 7 there is a comparison between Ávila’s commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians* and Valencia’s own text. Chapter 9 shows correspondences between Valencia’s political writings and Ávila’s *Advertencias necesarias para los reyes* (*Essential Advice for Kings*). These two chapters also shows parallels between the *cronista del reino*’s writing and two of Erasmus’s works: the *Enchiridion militis christiani* (*Handbook of the Christian Soldier*) resembles Valencia’s commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles* and St. Paul’s *Epistle to the Galatians* and Erasmus’s mirror of princes, *Institutio principis christiani* (*The Education of a Christian Prince*) is echoed in Valencia’s *Tratado acerca de los moriscos*. Valencia, in this *Treatise* had attempted to persuade the king to fulfil his political role as *Pater Patriae* (*Father of his Native Land*) by cherishing all his subjects equally and by declining to follow the advice of those who sought the expulsion of the Moriscos.

The central focus of this book, then, is a study of part of the ideological and religious background to the expulsion of the Moriscos.<sup>95</sup> I have taken the ideas of Pedro de Valencia as representative of those

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<sup>94</sup> “[...] como las causas de Dios nunca tienen flaqueza, no se les hace honra en juzgarlas y aprouarlas sin examen”: P. de Valencia, *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada*, ed G. Magnier (Oxford/ New York: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 9; *Obras completas*, IV, 2, p. 437.

<sup>95</sup> In contrasting the ideas of Valencia with those of the Catholic Apologists, I am aware that they belong to opposite poles of the spectrum. Many other different shades of opinion existed and may be studied in the proceedings of the Granada conference,

who opposed the expulsion because there is no systematic study of his opposition to the 'solución final' and because his reasoning is that of a polymath much respected by his contemporaries and who supports his arguments by erudite references. The case he makes against the expulsion derives from his knowledge of jurisprudence, classical literature and history, and biblical exegesis. Many of his recommendations for the successful evangelization and assimilation of the Moriscos are not unique; some of his ideas resemble those of Ignacio de Las Casas. Perhaps he knew the Morisco Jesuit? Both had studied in the Jesuit school in Córdoba, Valencia from 1567/1568 to 71/72 and Las Casas from 1568 to 1570. As *cronista del reino* of Philip III and adviser to the Inquisitor General, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Valencia may well have read Las Casas's *Información* of 1605, a shortened version of which had been sent to the *Suprema* of the Inquisition.<sup>96</sup> The writings of Valencia and Las Casas show the influence of Maestro Ávila in three areas: the insistence that there should be no internal divisions in Christianity, a constant reiteration of how precious each individual soul was to Christ and the use of intelligent educational policies and good example to communicate this love to the Moriscos.<sup>97</sup>

### *Pedro de Valencia's Perception of Christianity*

As a Christian humanist, Valencia derived his perception of Christianity from the writings of the Early Church. His beliefs were influenced by the writings of St. Paul, whom he studied in the original Greek. He had studied Greek in Salamanca with Francisco Sánchez, *el Brocense*, and biblical languages, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac and biblical Greek, with Arias Montano. In the tradition of the *devotia moderna* of Thomas à Kempis, Valencia looked to scripture for a model for prayer and for action. Thus, he believed in the importance of inner prayer and opposed an excessive stress on external ritual. (Juan de Ávila had translated à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* into Castilian.) This emphasis

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mentioned already, and that of the Biblioteca Nacional: *Los moriscos. La expulsión y después*, which has been referred to many times in this Introduction.

<sup>96</sup> Las Casas, MS 10 238, fols 161<sup>r</sup>–187<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> G. Magnier, "Pedro de Valencia, Ignacio de Las Casas and 'el problema morisco'", in *Antes y después del 'Quijote'*. *Actas del Congreso de Hispanistas de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda en su Cincuentenario* (Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2005), p. 202.

on inner prayer is present also in the writings of the Egyptian ancho-rite St Macarius, nine of whose *Homilies* were translated into Spanish by Valencia. Only two of these remain, numbers V and IX, and are in the library of El Escorial.<sup>98</sup> They urge detachment from the things of this world and describe the great joy of spiritual union with Christ. This theme of the perennial struggle of the soul to free itself from the passions, as it strives for union with God and detachment from the disappointments of this life, is one that Valencia studied also in the writings of Epictetus (AD c. 55–135). He also elaborates on this theme in his gloss on a verse from St. Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 7:10). Valencia translated Dio Chrysostom's work *Perianachorescos* as *Del retiramiento*<sup>99</sup> and also wrote about those who had retired from public life in search of seclusion and spiritual fulfilment.<sup>100</sup> His personal life in Zafra reflected the ideals implicit in *Perianachorescos*. In Valencia's ethics the Stoic and Cynic elements, which he has studied in Dio Chrysostom, and the Stoic ideals of Epictetus have merged with his Christian ideals.<sup>101</sup> The study of Greek in Valencia's time was perceived as:

[...] Humanism on one side and Christianity in crisis on the other [...] philology is its widest sense (the recovery and enjoyment of classical literature), that is, within a providential, theocratic concept of knowledge and existence (which made literature an instrument of *veritas Christi* (the truth of Christ)), which in the end had to lessen the aforementioned interest in the philology and erudition of the classics for a theological and moral reading, that is, towards Christian Humanism.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> St Macarius's works were edited in 2001 as part of the *Obras completas* of Valencia.

<sup>99</sup> *Oracion de Dion Chrisostomo intitulada Perianachorescos esto es Del retiramiento traducida de griego en español por Pedro de Valencia Chronista del Señor Rei Don Felipe III*, MS 5586, fols 29<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>, in *Ensayos oratorios de D. Gregorio Mayans i Siscar* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1739), pp. 185–208; *Pedro de Valencia. Obras completas*, X. *Traducciones*, coord. J. M<sup>a</sup> Nieto Ibáñez (León: Universidad de León, 2008), pp. 171–181.

<sup>100</sup> *Exemplos de Principes, Prelados y otros Varones ilustres que dexaron Oficios y Dignidades y se retiraron*, MS 5586, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> Nieto Ibáñez, *Perianachorescos*. Estudio y comentario, p. 183.

<sup>102</sup> "Así pues, humanismo por un lado y cristianismo en crisis, de otro [...] filología en su más amplio sentido (de recuperación y disfrute de las letras clásicas), eso sí, dentro de una concepción providencialista, teocrática del saber y del existir (que las hacía instrumentales de la *veritas Christi*), lo que a la postre tenía que reducir dicho interés filológico y erudito por los antiguos hacia una lectura teológica y moral, o sea hacia un Humanismo cristiano": V. Bécares Botas, Estudio previo, *Pedro de Valencia*, traductor de textos griegos, *Pedro de Valencia, Obras completas*, X, pp. 21–22.



Valencia's ideas on kingship were also very much influenced by Dio's Discourses (I–IV), which were in great demand in Renaissance Europe, and his critique on idleness, *Discurso sobre el ocio*, echoes Dio's *Euboico*.<sup>103</sup>

Valencia, when *cronista del reino*, wrote a critique on the *pergamino y láminas de Granada* (Parchment and Lead Books of Granada), apocryphal early Christian texts that were probably a Morisco forgery. Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Primate of Spain and Inquisitor General invited him to write this report.<sup>104</sup> He declared that he had accepted the task unwillingly but did so to defend his perceptions of religion against what he considered to be a ludicrous, superstitious travesty.<sup>105</sup> Arias Montano had written a critique of the *pergamino* at the behest of Archbishop Pedro de Castro Cabeza de Vaca y Quiñones, Archbishop of Granada, and fervent believer in the authenticity of the texts. Valencia was unwilling to write this report, as he was aware that his views would be unacceptable to many of his contemporaries: public opinion had already accepted that the parchment and lead discs were genuine early Christian texts. Nonetheless, he agreed to give his considered opinion on two grounds: he felt that the cause of true religion demanded that this superstitious travesty be challenged and he was concerned, also, that Spain's reputation abroad would be adversely affected, unless the case being made in Rome were dropped.

Valencia's critique is divided into two parts: Part I reiterates the arguments of the first scholarly critics: Benito Arias Montano and Juan Bautista Pérez, Bishop of Segorbe and, in Part II, Valencia gives his own views. The grounds on which he criticises the texts are linguistic, theological and plain commonsensical. The *pergamino* is made up of three languages: Latin, Arabic and Castilian and the Lead Books are in an adulterated form of Arabic. Although not an Arabist, Valencia has relied on those who are and points out that the language used employs

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<sup>103</sup> G. Morocho Gayo, "Dión de Prusa en Pedro de Valencia: el ideal de la vida retirada y el discurso del retiro (or. 20)", *Los Humanistas Españoles y el Humanismo Europeo, IV Simposio de Filología Clásica* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1990), p. 203.

<sup>104</sup> Pope Paul V had been pressing for more information about the controversial 'discoveries' and so Philip III decided to set up a committee of investigation. The Duke of Lerma, in a letter dated 28 October 1607, entrusted the organisation of this group to the Archbishop of Toledo who then requested a preliminary report from Valencia: M. J. Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte* (Madrid: Nacional, 1980), p. 43.

<sup>105</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y laminas*.

radically different registers: the classical Arabic of the *Qur'ān* and contemporary Arabic as used by the Moriscos. He rejects the notion of Jesus as 'espíritu de Dios' (Spirit of God) as inconsistent with the co-eternity of the three persons of the Trinity, calling on his knowledge of the Church Fathers and his experience as a biblical exegete. Finally, with deep common sense and a wry, ironic sense of humour, he shows the implausibility of the way in which the successive 'finds' were discovered.<sup>106</sup> His report was sent to Paul V who accepted his criticisms. Later, Valencia would once again use his biblical expertise when defending Arias Montano's edition of the *Paraphrasis chaldaica*, one of the books included in the second *Polyglot Bible* (the *Biblia regia*), edited by Montano. There will be more detailed analyses of these works in Part II, Chapter 7.

### *Faith and Good Works*

Valencia's faith was complemented by good works in the spirit of Arias Montano's *Dictatum Christianum*. Thus, he wrote many treatises to the king on behalf of his impoverished neighbours in Zafra on issues such as the need for price control and a just wage, opposition to the devaluation of the *vellón* coin (an alloy of copper and silver) and the need for agricultural reform; he himself was also impecunious as is revealed in his correspondence with Fray José de Sigüenza, prior of El Escorial. His patriotism led him to social criticism; his *Discourse on Idleness*, or *Discurso sobre la ociosidad* (1608) censured the nobility's spurning of manual labour and showed how in ancient Rome martial valour had been quite compatible with agricultural expertise. These writings are discussed in greater detail in Part II, Chapter 2. Valencia's rational, dispassionate approach to religion and his philosophical scepticism led to his criticism of the methods used in the interrogation of those accused of witchcraft in his *Acerca de los cuentos de las brujas* (*Concerning the Witches' Tales*), which he wrote following the *auto de fe* of Logroño of 1610, and presented to the *Suprema* of the Inquisition on 1 April 1611. This critique is studied in Part II, Chapter 6, where the critique on the Parchment and Lead Books of Granada is also analysed. This chapter also contains a description of another aspect

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<sup>106</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 30–32; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 453–454.

of Valencia's personality: that of art critic and designer of paintings to illustrate the political virtues, which are found in the manuscript *Descripción de las virtudes* (Description of the [Political] Virtues).

*Support for the Expulsion: the Catholic Apologists*

In sharp contrast to Valencia was the perception of Christianity of the Catholic Apologists, that group of writers that defended the expulsion of the Moriscos; Valencia, the Christian humanist made his case using erudite arguments whereas the Apologists' arguments were irrational, credulous and unscholarly. As a major source for the Apologists were the arguments of the so called *antialcoranes*, polemical works written to attack Islam, we shall first look briefly at three of these texts, one of which was mentioned in the context of Ribera's *Catechismo*.

*The 'antialcoranes': Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón*

In the years following the mass baptisms, that had taken place in Valencia during the revolt of the *germanías* (1519–1523),<sup>107</sup> Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, the priest from the household of Juan de Borja, Duke of Gandía, who translated many works of Erasmus into Castilian, had prepared himself for the evangelization of the Moriscos by studying Arabic and Islamic theology.<sup>108</sup> His two published works, the *Antialcorano* (1532) and the *Diálogos cristianos* (1535) attempted to refute, systematically, Muslim beliefs and to argue, rationally, for the superiority of Christianity. Pérez de Chinchón is well informed about Islam and argues in a rational if somewhat patronising manner.

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<sup>107</sup> The revolt of the *germanías*, which took place at the same time as that of the *comuneros* in Castile (1519–1523) was an anti-Hapsburg, anti-noble movement among the burghers of Valencia. These had been permitted to bear arms to defend themselves against Barbary pirates, but were now using them against the ruling class. They formed a *Junta* or committee of 13, who attempted to rule in place of the nobles, who had fled Valencia due to plague. They were anti-Morisco, as these were vassals of the lords.

<sup>108</sup> Between 1528 and 1536 Pérez de Chinchón published, in Valencia, translations into Castilian of six of Erasmus's books. There is a list of the various editions in Francisco Pons Fuster's edition of Pérez de Chinchón's *Antialcorano* and his *Diálogos cristianos*: B. Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano. Diálogos cristianos. Conversión y evangelización de Moriscos*, Estudio preliminary, transcripción y notas de F. Pons Fuster (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000), pp. 61–63.

However, his writing betrays many of the prejudices common among anti-Islamic polemicists. He interprets literally the Qur'anic account of Paradise<sup>109</sup> and rejects what he perceives to be its blatant sensuality; he considers that Muhammad was a deceiver and false prophet and guilty of many sins against chastity (pp. 247–259); the truth of Christianity can be deduced from reason as can the falsehood of Islam (pp. 277–285); polygamy is both impractical and bestial (pp. 303–311) and the mystery of the Trinity can be deduced from reason (pp. 287–295). The colloquial style of the *Antialcorano* and its use of many everyday examples have prompted its editor to wonder if the written text was first given as sermons.

Two other *alcoranes* that were widely used were the *Improbatio alchorani* of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and the *Libro nueuamente imprimido que se llama confusion de la secta mahomatica y del alcorã* by Juan Andrés, the *alfaquí* (Qur'anic scholar) from Játiva, who converted to Christianity in 1487 and was invited by the Catholic Monarchs to participate in the conversion of the Moriscos of Granada.<sup>110</sup> Andrés's book had extensive passages from the *Qur'ân* and *Sunna*, written out in transliterated Arabic with a translation in Castilian, which led to its being banned by the Inquisition. The *antialcoranes* relied on mediaeval anti-Islamic polemic for their arguments and set out to show the irrationality of Islam and the moral turpitude of its prophet. They were quite doomed to failure as they ignored the fact that Islam was not merely a system of rational beliefs but a whole way of life that permeated all aspects of daily life for Muslims.

### *The Catholic Apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos*

The beliefs of the Catholic Apologists derived from a harsh Old Testament mentality that would have children suffer for the sins of their parents. They justified mass expulsion by denying the true conversion of any Moriscos, believing them to be congenitally incapable of

<sup>109</sup> *Qur'ân*, surahs 2: 57 & 56: 15–23.

<sup>110</sup> R. Monte di Croce, *Improbatio alchoran, A. de la Pegna edente* (Seville: P. Stanislao Polono, 1500), trans “vn religioso de la orden del bienauenturado sant Geronimo”, *Reprobaciõ del alcorã* (Seville: dos cõpañeros alemanes [Johannes Pegnitzer & Magnus Herbst], 1501); J. Andrés, *Libro nueuamente imprimido que se llama confusion de la secta mahomatica y del alcorã compuesto por mossen Juan Andres* (Valencia: Juan Joffre, 1515).

change. They legitimated their assertions by considering the Moriscos to be an un-assimilable 'other' and used mediaeval anti-Islamic polemic to argue their case. They employed medical imagery to defend their prescription of a general purging of Spain from all Moriscos, thus preserving the health of the 'cuerpo místico de la Christiana República Española' (the mystical body of the Christian Spanish state).<sup>111</sup> Finally, they absolved the King from all blame by claiming that the expulsion had been inevitable; they produced arguments to show that it was an act of Divine Providence. Some Apologists even mythified Philip III, by casting him in the role of the millenarian 'Emperor of the Last Days' of the mediaeval political prophecies. This legendary character was to destroy 'la secta de Mahoma' before ushering in a Golden Age of peace and prosperity.

The Dominican Fray Jaime Bleda was the Catholic Apologist who put forward most vociferously the idea of expulsion. He made three journeys to Rome to promote this idea and wrote a vituperative anti-Morisco tract called *Defensio fidei*.<sup>112</sup> He sought permission to translate this work into Spanish in 1601 but the censor Fr. Juan de la Puente SJ refused this on the grounds of inappropriateness.<sup>113</sup> Bleda's attempts to influence the pope failed as he was forbidden to return to Rome and, in the period just before the expulsion, Pope Paul V suspended the discussion on the Moriscos being carried out by the Roman Inquisition. The Latin version of *Defensio fidei* was published in 1610. Bleda later published a work in Spanish called *Corónica de los moros de España* (1618), in which he sought to justify the expulsion ideologically and to exonerate the King from all blame.<sup>114</sup> Bleda forms part of a group of writers generally called the Catholic Apologists, who have been mentioned already. Most of them were clerics and wrote in the decade after the expulsion. The Apologists' arguments come from three main sources: the *antialcoranes*, as we have mentioned, from millenarian prophecies and from the legends and myths of Santiago *Matamoros*, St James the Moorslayer.

<sup>111</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivustificada*, fols 62<sup>v</sup>-63<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> J. Bleda, *Defensio fidei in cavsa neophytorvm, siue Morischorun regni Valentiae, totiusque Hispaniae. Eivsdem tractatus de iusta Morischorum ab Hispania* (Valencia: Juan Chrysóstomo Garriz, 1610).

<sup>113</sup> Domínguez Ortiz & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, p. 160.

<sup>114</sup> J. Bleda, *Coronica de los moros de España* (Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1618).

*Millenarianism and the prophetic tradition*

As a backdrop to early seventeenth-century Spain was the millenarianism that had existed since the late fifteenth century among all three religions of the book: Jews, Christians and Muslims. It forms part of the ideological framework for the Catholic Apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos, who used millenarian prophecies to claim that expulsion was part of the divine plan. They argued that the unity of Christianity was imminent now that the Moors had been expelled from Spain. Like Juan de Ribera at the end of his life, they considered that the Moriscos were not neophytes but heretics and apostates and that the expulsion represented the final stage in the Reconquest of Christian Spain from Islam. There was also a common perception that Spain was the foremost Christian nation, successor of the Jews as the new Chosen People. This belief underlies the arguments of the Catholic Apologists and also may have influenced King Philip III to accept the expulsion as a means of 'purifying' Spain and ridding her of heretics and apostates, thus fulfilling his role of defender of the faith.

Arguments used to both represent the expulsion as the final stage in the Reconquest and that see Spaniards as the new Chosen People have recourse to both history and legends of Santiago, or St. James the Great, patron of Spain. Santiago had been at the centre of the Lead Books, which the works claimed had been entrusted to the saint by Our Lady, who asked him to bring them to Spain and to bury them there for safe keeping. The enthusiastic reception of these texts, which scholars recognised at once as crude Morisco forgeries, is perhaps related to their acknowledgement of Santiago's mission to Spain, at a time when it was being queried in Rome. Santiago in his dual representation as Apostle and Moorslayer is at the heart of both arguments. The attitude of the monarchy towards Santiago was also ambivalent, particularly from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. These combined personal devotion to Santiago *Apóstol* with an awareness of the political advantages of a close association between monarchy and the saint, both as *Patrón de España* and as *Matamoros*. This ambivalence was also present at the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos. Part I of the book will develop these ideas in greater detail.

*The Moriscos Themselves in the early Seventeenth Century*

Juan de Ribera, at the end of his life, regarded the Moriscos as a monolithic whole: they were a homogenous group of apostates and heretics. He ignored their diversity and common humanity against the evidence of the Inquisition, criminal trials and the letters of the Viceroy of Valencia. He “shifted to the political context of the Reconquest and recast the Moriscos as Moors rather than neophytes”.<sup>115</sup> However, the reality was quite different. In 1609, the Moriscos could be divided into three groups: genuine converts, those who feigned allegiance to Christianity and those somewhere in between the two religions. Many of the second group practised Islamic rites secretly, while conforming, externally, to Christian rites. Some Islamic jurists endorsed this behaviour, accepting that Muslims could conform externally to another religion while at the same time worshipping Allah in their hearts. P. Longás and L. P. Harvey have described this *taqiyya* (dissimulation), a dispensation that evolved among the *Shi‘ah* Muslims in the seventh and eighth centuries CE.<sup>116</sup> (There is a more detailed description later on in the Introduction.) In the early seventeenth century, it was well known that many Moriscos were crypto-Muslims. And yet this was not true for all. Those of the Valle de Ricote were reputed to be genuine converts and expected special treatment.<sup>117</sup> This did not happen and they were the last of the Moriscos to be expelled in 1614, a fact not unrelated, I would speculate, to the naming of Cervantes’s ‘Morisco Ricote’ in *Don Quijote*, Part II, which was published, just one year later, in 1615.<sup>118</sup> Ricote himself, in conversation with Sancho Panza, described his wife and daughter Ricota, alias Ana Félix, as ‘católicas cristianas’, or

<sup>115</sup> Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, p. 150. I have paraphrased the original text.

<sup>116</sup> For a discussion on *taqiyya* see the following studies: P. Longás, *Vida religiosa de los moriscos* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1915), facsimile ed. D. Cabanelas Rodríguez (Granada: Archivum, 1990), pp. 305–306; L. P. Harvey, “Crypto-Islam in Sixteenth-Century Spain”, *Actas del primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos* (Madrid: Comité Permanente del CEAI, 1964), pp. 163–78.; P. S. von Koningsveld, & G. A. Wieggers, “The Islamic Statute of the Mudejars in the Light of a New Source”, *Al-Qántara*, XVII, 1 (1996), 19–58; P. S. von Koningsveld, & G. A. Wieggers, “Islam in Spain during the Early Sixteenth Century: The Views of Four Judges in Cairo: Introduction, Translation and Arabic Text”, *Orientalism: Poetry, Politics and Polemics. Cultural Transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, ed. Otto Zwartjes *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 132–52.

<sup>117</sup> Domínguez Ortiz & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 198–200.

<sup>118</sup> Ricote’s tale is found in chapters 54 and 63 of *Don Quijote*, Part II.

true Christians, whereas he himself had doubts and struggled between the two religions. Nevertheless, he claimed to be more Christian than Muslim: “Tengo más de cristiano que de moro”.<sup>119</sup> Recent research shows that, contrary to Ribera’s belief, there were some Moriscos in the same boat as Ricote and others who seemed to be assimilated into Christian society.<sup>120</sup>

Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists viewed the Moriscos as a minority within the Christian community; the former lamented the lack of true charity towards them, the pedagogically unsound attempts to integrate them within the fold of Christianity and the socially discriminatory Purity of Blood Statutes; the latter despaired of them, considering them to be inveterate crypto-Muslims and quite impervious to conversion. However, as Mikel de Epalza has pointed out, this ‘hispanocentric’ view is not the only one. Seen from an ‘islamological’ standpoint, the Moriscos were, perhaps, the last Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>121</sup> As a counterpoint to the idealisations of both Valencia and the Apologists I am going to review, briefly, some of the research on the second viewpoint.

### *Orientalism and the Misrepresentation of Islam*

To understand the mindset of seventeenth-century Spaniards it is perhaps necessary to examine perceptions of Islam that go back to its beginnings. As Edward Said argues so eloquently in his seminal work *Orientalism*, Islam from its inception has made Christians feel under threat.<sup>122</sup> The great initial success of Muhammad and his followers seemed, to some Christians, to undermine belief in Divine Providence; Christians could only accept its achievements by believing that its triumph was a punishment sent by God for sinful behaviour. Mediaeval polemicists rejected the religious beliefs of Islam as

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<sup>119</sup> M. de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, II, ed. F. Rico (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2005), Chap. 54, p. 965.

<sup>120</sup> A. García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002); T. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubio de los ojos. Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2007); Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*.

<sup>121</sup> M. de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992).

<sup>122</sup> E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978).



a hotchpotch of heresy of Christian and Judaic provenance. A point made by Said is very relevant to perceptions of the Moriscos in early seventeenth-century Spain: Said argues that 'Orientalism' has relied more on intertextuality than on political and social realities: notions of Islam and of the East have been coloured by the history of thought in the West. Scholars have not sought, objectively, to discover the 'true Orient' but have been more concerned with an external description of otherness based on a 'discourse' or established traditional argument. What is commonly put forward as 'truth' is instead a 'representation' or play with stereotypical characters, whose genesis goes back to the time of the Crusades; generation after generation has relied more on what previous ones have written rather than on the actual *status quo*. Such intertextuality prevailed, also, in the Spain of Philip III as the attitudes of Catholic Apologists towards the Moriscos were derived largely from the sixteenth-century, anti-Islamic *antialcoranes*.

### *Regional Differences among the Moriscos*

The Catholic Apologists rejected the Moriscos *en masse* without regional or social differentiation. There are two questions that can be asked here: did regional and class differences exist among the Moriscos and to what extent were they crypto-Muslims? The Apologists represented the Moriscos as stereotypical, anti-Christian, infidel Muslims and do not accept them as fellow Spaniards. Their wide generalisations bear the hallmarks of prejudice and racist discrimination: the lowest common denominator is taken to represent the whole group as all are tarnished with the accusation of brigandry, the desecration and destruction of religious artefacts and churches and the sacrilegious reception of the sacraments. As Julio Caro Baroja pointed out, what were considered virtues among *cristianos viejos* were vices among the Moriscos. Their hard work, frugality and fertility, qualities much needed in early seventeenth-century Spain, were constantly derided: "[Hard work, frugality and fertility] to the degree that they [the Moriscos] possessed them were considered vices: hard work was due to meanness, frugality to avarice and their fertility derived from their lasciviousness".<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, the many racist assertions of the

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<sup>123</sup> "[La laborosidad, la frugalidad y la fecundidad] en el grado en que ellos [los moriscos] las tenían se consideraban como vicios: la laborosidad estaba producida

Apologists do not stand up to scrutiny. Mikel de Epalza has shown that historically most Moriscos were the descendants of converts to Islam from among the eighth-century native inhabitants. Little Berber or oriental blood ran in their veins.<sup>124</sup>

Ignacio de Las Casas had also made this point in his *Información* for Clement VIII; most Moriscos were descendants of Christians either from the mixed marriages between Muslims and the Christian maidens given over to the Moors with the *parias* (taxes), Christian captives and renegades, and the massive apostasy of the Spanish Visigoths.<sup>125</sup> He also categorised the Moriscos as coming from four regions: Castile (Mudejars), Aragón (*Tagarinos*), Granada and Valencia (Moriscos) (fol. 163<sup>r</sup>). Intelligent, observant commentators like Pedro de Valencia could see that the Moriscos were not physically different from their *cristiano viejo* contemporaries in certain parts of Spain, Old Castile, Toledo, and to a certain extent in Aragón. They did stand out from the *cristianos viejos* in Valencia.<sup>126</sup> External dissimilarities were cultural, being linguistic, dietary, and involving clothing, music and personal hygiene. This is how Don Martín de Vizcay perceived them:

I am telling the plain truth, that for eight hundred years those born and bred in Granada, for their intelligence, their cunning, their strength and carefulness could not be held to be Arabs but true-blue Spaniards, different only in religion.<sup>127</sup>

Luce Luce López Baralt has done an interesting study on how the Moriscos perceived themselves. She finds no dark-haired, dark-eyed, dark-skinned protagonist in all the imaginative *aljamiado* literature that she has read. The blue-black (*endrino*) hair, so prized in Arabic literature, is quite absent. Their complexions have all been ‘whitened.’

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por cicatería, la frugalidad por avaricia, la fecundidad resultaba de la lujuria”: J. Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada. Ensayo de historia social* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1957), 2nd ed. (Madrid: Alianza, 2003).

<sup>124</sup> Epalza, *Los moriscos*, p. 40.

<sup>125</sup> Las Casas, MS 10 238, fol. 7; Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, p. 15.

<sup>126</sup> Borja de Medina, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca”, pp. 9–10.

<sup>127</sup> “Digo la pura verdad, que en ochocientos años los nacidos y criados en Granada, en el ingenio, en el ardid, en las fuerzas y rigor no se podían reputar por Alarbes sino por finisimos españoles, solo diferentes en la religión”: M. de Vizcay, *Drecho [sic] de natvraleza que los natvrales de la Merindad de San Ivan del Pie del Pverto tienen en los Reinos de la Corona de Castilla* (Zaragoza: Juan de Lanaja y Quartanet, 1621), cited in M. Herrero García, *Ideas de los españoles en el siglo diecisiete* (Madrid: Voluntad, 1928), 2nd ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1966), p. 596.

Representation is based on the canons of beauty of classic and Renaissance literature. The author feels that this represents a crisis of identity among the Moriscos.<sup>128</sup> Amongst the apologetic works, Tidora, the Morisco heroine of the tragic love story in Gaspar Aguilar's epic poem, has long golden locks.<sup>129</sup>

Blanket generalisations about the Moriscos have always been unsustainable. As L. P. Harvey has indicated, between the first forcible conversions in 1501 and the expulsions of 1609–1614 there were four to six generations. What could be said about the Arabic-speaking Moriscos of Granada in 1501 was no longer sustainable about their descendants, the Castilians expelled in 1610.<sup>130</sup> The social and cultural élite of Granada of the late fifteenth century, many of whom became assimilated into Christian society, differed greatly from the peasant Valencians at the time of the revolt of the *germanías*. These were also Arabic speakers, but of a much lower cultural level. Ignacio de Las Casas makes this point constantly in his various memorials to pope Clement VIII, to the King and to the *Suprema* of the Inquisition.<sup>131</sup> It was to the educated social class in Granada that the noble Francisco Núñez Muley belonged. His attempts to plead on behalf of the Moriscos in 1567 are well known;<sup>132</sup> the efforts of other educated Moriscos in Granada to influence public opinion in favour of the Moriscos, has

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<sup>128</sup> L. López Baralt, "La estética del cuerpo entre los moriscos del siglo XVI o como la minoría perseguida pierde su rostro", *Le corps dans la société espagnole des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed A. Redondo (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990), pp. 335–348.

<sup>129</sup> G. Aguilar, *Expulsion de los moros de España por la S. R. C. J. magestad del rey don Phelipe tercero*, nuestro señor (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610), pp. 48–49.

<sup>130</sup> "Los moriscos y los cinco pilares de Islam", *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Estudios Moriscos: Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces (1492–1609)* (Zaghuan: CEROMDI, 1989), p. 93.

<sup>131</sup> Las Casas, *De los moriscos de España por el P. las Casas*, MS Add 10.238, BL, fols, 51<sup>v</sup> et ff; 142<sup>r</sup>–142<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> Don Francisco Núñez Muley came from a well-known Granada family of 'nuevos convertidos de moros' and attempted to argue against the edicts of 1567 that proscribed Morisco cultural activities. He was descended from both the last *nazarí* sultan of Granada, Abū-l-Hasan (Muley Haçen) and the *meriní* dynasty of Morocco: M.<sup>a</sup> J. Rubiera Mata, "La familia morisca de los Muley-Fez, príncipes merinies e infantes de Granada", *Sharq Al-Andalus*, XIII (1996) 159–167; K. Garrad, "The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley", *Atlante*, II, iv (London, 1954), p. 211. His *Memorial* has been edited recently by Vincent Barletta: Francisco Núñez Muley, *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, edited and translated by V. Barletta (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

been studied by Luis Bernabé Pons, Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano.<sup>133</sup>

The reworking of history to give it an Islamic bias (*Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo* of Miguel de Luna) and the toning down of Islamic disbelief in doctrines such as the divinity of Christ (*Libros plúmbeos* and *El evangelio de Bernabé*) were attempts at curbing the growing anti-Morisco feeling among Spaniards by offering a syncretic combination of Christian and Islamic theology.<sup>134</sup> L. P. Harvey offers another interpretation. He suggests that the Lead Books and the *Evangelio* represent a form of 'entryism', a neologism coined to describe the attempts of a Trotskyite minority to infiltrate the British Labour party and change it from within.<sup>135</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal has postulated that the *plomos*, or Lead Books, were masterminded by an educated, noble Morisco élite in Granada, who sought to rehabilitate the image of Arabic (St. Cecilius, a companion of Santiago and first Bishop of Granada, and his companions used Arabic) and to improve their own status in society, that had diminished in the aftermath of the Second War of the Alpujarras (1569–1571). The families of the Muley Fez, and in particular that of Alonso Granada Vanegas, were apparently assimilated into Christian society, yet in the late sixteenth century they felt that their social position was being undermined. Various members of the literary *tertulia* (literary discussion group) held by the Granada Vanegas were connected with the *plomos*.

The perception by some writers that most of the Moriscos were illiterate artisans and labourers has been refuted by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes. He points out the existence of an educated and cultured bourgeois minority not only in Granada but also in other parts of the peninsula. The Moriscos of Daimiel in La Mancha formed an élite of

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<sup>133</sup> L. Bernabé Pons, *El evangelio de San Bernabé: un evangelio islámico español* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1995); "Una visión propicia del mundo: España y los moriscos de Granada", *Averroes dialogado y otros momentos literarios y sociales de la interacción cristiano-musulmana en España e Italia. Un seminario interdisciplinar*, ed A. Stoll (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1998), pp. 89–137; "Los mecanismos de una resistencia: los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte y *El Evangelio de Bernabé*", *Al-Qántara*, XXIV (2002), 477–497; M. García-Arenal, "El entorno a los plomos del Sacromonte: historografía y linaje", *Al-Qántara*, XXIV, 2 (2003) 295–326.

<sup>134</sup> Bernabé Pons, *El evangelio de San Bernabé*.

<sup>135</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, pp. 268–269.

Morisco *hidalgos* and professionals.<sup>136</sup> Serafin de Tapia Sánchez found less illiteracy among the Moriscos than among their *cristiano viejo* counterparts.<sup>137</sup> The Cortes de Castilla, in 1607, attempted to exclude Moriscos from the faculties of medicine, where they formed the majority. It was considered dishonourable for the *cristianos viejos* to associate with them.<sup>138</sup> The literary culture of the Moriscos as expressed in *aljamiado* script, or Castilian written with Arabic characters, is wide-ranging and at times sophisticated and elegantly written.<sup>139</sup> Mastery of Arabic varied considerably from region to region. Vincent Bernard indicates that an abundance of *aljamiado* texts has been found in Aragon but relatively few in Valencia and concludes that the Valencians needed these texts less, as Arabic was still commonly spoken.<sup>140</sup>

The lack of homogeneity among Morisco communities became very apparent following the dispersion of Moriscos from Granada after the Second Revolt of the Alpujarras Moriscos long settled in Old Castile and Aragon resented the newcomers, who differed from them in language and customs. In some places, as for example in Cuenca, there was open dissension between ‘moriscos viejos’ and ‘moriscos granadinos’.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> A. Galmés de Fuentes, *Los moriscos (desde su misma orilla)* (Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid, 1993), p. 51.

<sup>137</sup> S. Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1991).

<sup>138</sup> L. García Ballester, *Los moriscos y la medicina* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1984), p. 107.

<sup>139</sup> Á. Galmés de Fuentes, “La conversión de los moriscos y su pretendida aculturación, in *La política de los moriscos en la época de los Austria. Actas del Encuentro*, (diciembre de 1998), I (Sevilla la Nueva: Consejería de Educación y Ciencias, 1999), pp. 157–174.

<sup>140</sup> B. Vincent, “La langue des morisques”, *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Estudios Moriscos: Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces*, pp. 177–179.

The nature of *aljamiado* has been described by Ottmar Hegyi. It came into use because literary Arabic was being forgotten by the ordinary people. Its hybrid character arose from a desire to emulate the Arabic syntax, morphology and lexicon of religious texts. Direct borrowings from Arabic arose, either because of the lack of an equivalent word, or in order to dissociate itself from similar concepts in Christianity: O. Hegyi, “Una variante islámica del español: la literatura aljamiada”, *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, I (Oviedo/Madrid: Universidad de Oviedo/Gredos, 1985), pp. 647–649.

<sup>141</sup> Galmés de Fuentes, *Los moriscos (desde su misma orilla)*, p. 69.

## Taqiyya

Following the forcible conversions in Granada (1501–1502) legal advice in the form of a *fatwā* was issued by the Qur'ānic scholar or *muftí*, who has become known as the *muftí* of Orán. A detailed study of the extant manuscripts of this *fatwā* together with extensive use of biographical works on scholars in the Magreb in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has provided very interesting information on the biography and scholarly activity of the author. Devin Stewart argues that Abū l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Abī Jum'ah al-Magrāwī al-Wahrānī, although originally from Orán, was a noted scholar in Fez when the *fatwā* was written. Stewart considers that Ahmad b. Abī Jum'ah wrote to rebut the *fatwā* of Ahmad b. Yahā al-Wansharīsī, probably mufti of Fez at the time, who had listed the punishments and consequences for the Muslim who continued to live in Christian territory.<sup>142</sup>

The advice given by Ahmad b. Abī Jum'ah was published in part by Pedro Longás in his *Vida religiosa de los moriscos* but mistakenly dated 1563.<sup>143</sup> L. P. Harvey dated it instead as 1504 (mass conversion in Granada had begun in 1501) and also used the term *taqiyya*, or precaution, which is not used in the text itself. The Moriscos may have sought advice from the *muftí* as the practice of *taqiyya* had traditionally been confined to heterodox Muslims, especially the *Shi'ah*, whereas Spanish Muslims formed orthodox *Sunni* communities. Indeed Stewart points out that Ibn Abī Jum'ah's text is remarkable in that it goes against many *fatwās* of the Malikī legal tradition, as that of al-Wansharīsī, which has been mentioned previously.

The *fatwā* was highly regarded. It was sent, first, to Granada and then to Aragón. There are at least two translations into *aljami-ado* (one of these has the date given by Longás).<sup>144</sup> Galmés de Fuentes

<sup>142</sup> D. Stewart, "The Identity of 'the Muftí of Orán', Abū l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Abī Jum'ah al-Magrāwī al-Wahrānī (d. 917/1511)", *Al-Qantara*, XXVII, 2 (2006), pp. 265–301, (pp. 295–300). Al-Wansharīsī's text was titled: *Asnā al-matājir fī bayān ahkām man ghalaba 'alā watanihī al-nasārā wa-lam yuhājir wa-mā yatarattabu 'alayhi min al-'uqūbāt wa'l-zawājir* ("The most noble commerce, setting forth the legal rulings regarding one whose lands have been conquered by the Christians and who has not emigrated, and the punishments and stern threats that apply to him as a consequence"), 19 Dhū al-Qa'dah 896/23 September 1491. Stewart also provides evidence that the biography of Ahmad b. Abī Jum'ah has been conflated with that of his son Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad Sahqrūn (d. 929/1523–1524), another eminent scholar.

<sup>143</sup> Longás Bartibás, *Vida religiosa*, pp. 305–307.

<sup>144</sup> Harvey, "Crypto-Islam in Sixteenth-Century Spain", p. 164.

considers that the source for *taqiyya* was Surah XVI, 108/106 of the *Qur'ān*, where the Muslim is enjoined not to put his life at risk. The advice given allowed the Moriscos to practise externally the rites of Christianity provided that they worshipped Allah in their hearts at the same time. Here is an extract from a transliteration of L. P. Harvey:

And if they force you at prayer time to go and adore their idols, form the intention to carry out the *takbirat al-ihrem* (the words 'Dios es muy grande' recited by the imam at the opening of the first prayer in the mosque, after which the congregation keep silent) and to fulfil your obligation to pray; and look towards the idols, when the Christians do it; but direct your intention towards Allah, even though you are not facing the kiblah [this faces Mecca], as those who are facing the enemy in wartime pray.<sup>145</sup>

As Galmés de Fuentes has pointed out, the notion of *taqiyya* is indissolubly linked to that of the intention or *al-niya*. He cites the *Qur'ān*: "La aniya del creyente cumple más que su obra" (The believer's intention achieves more than his deeds) (Surah XVII: 86/84). To what extent did the Moriscos practice *taqiyya* (precaution) or *kitmān* (discretion)? How many were Muslims at heart? Many *cristianos viejos* were quite aware of its use. As I point out in Part II, Chapter 8, Pedro de Valencia considers it to be a major stumbling block for would-be missionaries and uses the very strong term of 'traza diabólica' (diabolical scheme). Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza called the Moriscos 'cristianos aparentes y moros verdaderos' (Christians in appearance but Moors in fact).<sup>146</sup> This accusation is substantiated by the more than two hundred *aljamiado* manuscripts, which depict the cultural and spiritual *ambience* of the Moriscos. L. P. Harvey considers whether or not the Moriscos were crypto-Muslims in his article on the five pillars of Islam. *Aljamiado* texts and Inquisition records give ample proof of an awareness of the profession of faith or *Šahāda*, an ability to distinguish between the canonical prayers or *salāt* and the month

<sup>145</sup> "I ši boš forsarán en la ora del aššala ke bayaš a adorar a šuš idolaš, puweš tomareyš anniya de takbirat al-ihrem i tomareyš en boluntad buwešo aššala adebdo, i aseñareyš a lo ke aseñaran elloš de laš idolaš, y buweša intinsiyon eš ad Allah, aunke šeya fuwera del al-kila [this faces Mecca] puweš derrokaršeha en buwešo dereytaŷe komo el ke hase aššala en la gerra kuwando eštaš dekaradoš loš enemigoš": Harvey, "Crypto-Islam", pp. 172–173; Longás Bartibás, *Vida religiosa*, pp. 305–306.

<sup>146</sup> F. Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica de la ciudad y religion catolica de Granada, de su poderoso reyno y excelencia de su corona* (Granada: Andrés de Santiago, 1638), fol. 236; García Arenal, *Los moriscos*, p. 30.

of fasting or *Ramadān*. The other two pillars, that of alms or *zakāt* and that of pilgrimage or *hajj*, were more difficult to carry out in a non-Islamic country. However, practical advice on almsgiving was given in the *fatwā* of 1504 and, in spite of the great difficulties involved, some Moriscos such as *el alhichante de Puey Monzón* did make the hazardous journey to Mecca.<sup>147</sup>

The existence of *taqiyya* is corroborated, rather ironically, in an illustration from an anti-Islamic tract. In the *Reprobacion del alchorā* of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, published in Granada in 1501, there is a woodcut print of a Christian friar, who is preaching to a group of Muslims. He has raised his hand in admonitory fashion. The listeners appear to be imitating him as they, too, have raised their forefingers. However, this gesture for a Muslim is a profession of faith in the existence of one God “No hay Dios sino Dios [y Mahoma mensajero de Dios]” (there is only one God [and Muhammad the messenger of God]).<sup>148</sup>

To what extent, then, had the process of assimilation of the Moriscos into Christian society been successful? In his collection of essays published in 1992 Francisco Márquez Villanueva had declared that “Every Morisco had within himself, whether he wanted it or not, an incipient tendency towards assimilation, sometimes intense at others less so”.<sup>149</sup> It was in response to this assertion that Galmés de Fuentes delivered his speech on the situation at the time of the expulsion. This was later published.<sup>150</sup> As an *aljamiado* scholar, Galmés de Fuentes, like L. P. Harvey, believed that very many Moriscos were crypto-Muslims. He argues that, because the western concept of book is not an equivalent of *al-kitāb*, some *aljamiado* literature has been seen as purely secular. Yet he shows, by an analysis of a manuscript of apparently miscellaneous and unrelated material, that there are internal thematic

<sup>147</sup> Harvey, “Los cinco pilares del Islam”, p. 96.

<sup>148</sup> Bernabé Pons, “Una visión propicia del mundo: España y los moriscos de Granada”, p. 129. The *Reprobacion* is a translation of Riccoldo’s original Latin text *Improbatio alchorani* which Hernando de Talavera had republished in 1500 and then translated into Castilian (Spanish) following year.

<sup>149</sup> “Todo morisco llevaba dentro de sí, quisiera o no, un conato más o menos intenso de asimilación”: Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco*, p. 137. Ricardo García Cárcel states that Márquez Villanueva “es fascinado por la España que pudo ser” (is fascinated by the Spain that could have been): R. García Cárcel, “La memoria histórica”, in *Los moriscos: una minoría marginada*. At press.

<sup>150</sup> The book *Los moriscos (desde su misma orilla)* is based on a lecture delivered by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes at the Instituto Egipcio in Madrid on 24 November 1992.



links between all the sections.<sup>151</sup> For a Muslim, religion permeates his whole life, as the *sharī'a* or Qur'anic law prescribes on everyday matters such as dress, social behaviour and issues of diet and hygiene. For a Muslim, the sense of sacredness permeates what, for a Christian, are merely secular activities. This has been demonstrated in transliterations of extracts from the work of the Mancebo of Arévalo. María Teresa Narváez shows how in a passage from the *Tafçira* of the Mancebo advice varies from modest forms of dress, ecological practices such as avoidance of unnecessary destruction of the environment in time of war, and charitable treatment of the poor and slaves.<sup>152</sup>

The legends related in Ottmar Hegyi's book *Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos* are not mere entertainment, but often simulate the social predicament of the Moriscos.<sup>153</sup> For example, Section X of manuscript 4953, BNE, tells the legend of Tamīm Addār, one of the companions of Muhammad. When on a voyage he was imprisoned in the caves of the genii and forced to eat forbidden food. Galmés de Fuentes considers this to be analogous to the situation faced by Moriscos when imprisoned by the Inquisition.<sup>154</sup> Section VII, in which there is a description of the idolaters in Muhammad's time, is paralleled, in the sixteenth century, by the devotion of Christians to religious statues, pictures and relics (p. 92). Galmés de Fuentes reiterated his viewpoint in a later article and stressed that the Moriscos prided themselves on their cultural heritage; in the words of Pedro de Valencia they sought only to belong to their own 'pueblo y nación' (people and nation), that is to the world of Islam: "The only honour they desire is that conferred by their own people and nation, and they win this by showing themselves to be Moors, and they lost it by acting otherwise".<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> The example he takes is from MS 4953 of the BNE edited by Ottmar Hegyi: *Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos*, ed. O. Hegyi (Madrid: Gredos, 1981).

<sup>152</sup> M. T. Narváez, "Preceptos para la vida cotidiana, ética, moral y buenas costumbres en un capítulo de la *Tafçira* del Mancebo de Arévalo", *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, II (Oviedo/Madrid: Universidad de Oviedo/Gredos, 1985), pp. 621–630.

<sup>153</sup> Hegyi, *Cinco leyendas*.

<sup>154</sup> Galmés de Fuentes, *Los moriscos (desde su misma orilla)*, p. 93.

<sup>155</sup> "No quieren honras más que con su pueblo y nación, y ésa ganan con mostrarse moros y la perdieron con lo contrario": Galmés de Fuentes, "La conversión de los moriscos", pp. 171–172.

*How one Morisco Perceived His Situation?*

The noble Morisco of Granada, Yūše Banegaš of the Granada Vanegas family, when speaking to the itinerant Morisco scholar, the Mancebo de Arévalo, lamented the breaking of the treaty between Boabdil and Ferdinand *el católico*:

If the king who conquered us does not keep faith what can we expect from his successors?<sup>156</sup>

*El Mancebo de Arévalo (c. 1510–1550) and aljamiado literature*

The Mancebo de Arévalo is an enigmatic figure, first mentioned by Don Serafín Estébanez Calderón, when he took over the chair of Arabic at the Ateneo in Madrid in 1848. He was also the subject of the inaugural speech of E. Saavedra in the Royal Academy.<sup>157</sup> L. P. Harvey was the first to make a detailed study of the Mancebo.<sup>158</sup> An ardent seeker of spiritual truth, the Mancebo embraced, with enthusiasm, the cultural heritage of Spanish Muslims and travelled, ceaselessly, in a vain attempt to revive it, and also in search of wisdom.<sup>159</sup> Through his work we get a tantalising glimpse into the world of the crypto-Muslim.

<sup>156</sup> “šī el rrey de la konquišta no guwarda fidelidad ¿ke aguwardamoš de šuš šuzešoreš?”: L. P. Harvey, “Yūše Banegaš. Un moro noble de Granada bajo los reyes católicos”, *Al-Andalus XXI* (1958), p. 302.

<sup>157</sup> E. Saavedra, “Literatura aljamiada. Discurso de recepción en la Real Academia Española”, *Memorias de la RAE*, VI (1889).

<sup>158</sup> L. P. Harvey, “The Literary Culture of the Moriscos (1492–1609). A Study Based on the Extant MSS in Arabic and Aljamía” (Oxford: Unpublished D. Phil Thesis, 1958); “El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada”, *Actas del Coloquio Internacional sobre Literatura Aljamiada y Morisca* (Madrid: Gredos, 1978), pp. 21–42; *Muslims in Spain (1500–1614)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 111–115; 169–193. M<sup>a</sup>. T. Narváez has also contributed many interesting articles: M<sup>a</sup> T. Narváez, & L. López-Baralt, Luce, “Estudio sobre la religiosidad popular en la literatura aljamiado-morisca del s. XVI. La Mora de Úbeda, el Mancebo de Arévalo y san Juan de la Cruz”, *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, XXVI (1981), 17–51 and has published the *Tafçira* (2003). G. Fonseca has edited the *Sumario* (2002).

<sup>159</sup> L. P. Harvey concludes that apart from Northern Spain, Galicia, the Basque Provinces and Catalonia the Mancebo had travelled all over Spain: “El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada”, pp. 31–32.

The Mancebo's writings are found in three manuscripts; in the Biblioteca Nacional there is the *Sumario de la religión y ejercicio espiritual*; the *Tafçira*, usually a qur'anic commentary but interpreted by the Moriscos in a wider sense as a religious or devotional work, is in the Escuela de Estudios Árabes, and the *Breve compendio de nuestra santa ley y sunna* is in the University of Cambridge Library. This last manuscript was written in collaboration with an Aragonese *alfaquí* called Baray de Reminño. The manuscripts are a miscellaneous collection of writings on Islamic religious beliefs and rituals. There are, also, interviews with prominent Moriscos such as Yūše Banegaš (*Sumario*), whom I have mentioned above, Ali Sarmiento (*Breve compendio*), who is described as a 'katedrátiko de garanada' (i.e., possibly a qur'anic scholar or an imam), two strong and wise women, Nozaita Kalderán (the *Tafçira* et al.), a midwife and qur'anic scholar,<sup>160</sup> and the Moor-ess of Ūbeda (*Breve compendio*), ninety-three and illiterate but very cognizant of qur'anic law and the *Sunna*, or Islamic traditional law. Through these interviews, autobiographical details of the Mançebo are revealed. Son of a woman who had been a Christian for twenty-five years, the Mançebo may have been, at one time, a Catholic cleric. He sought to undertake the duty of *hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca. It is not certain if he succeeded.<sup>161</sup> He was very influenced by the spirituality of the *devotia moderna* and virtually half the *Sumario* uses adulterated passages from Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, which the Mancebo attributes to Islamic sources.<sup>162</sup>

This brief incursion into *aljamiado* literature supports the view that behind the façade of Christian religious observance there was a 'mundillo' [little world] of secret observance of Islamic ritual. Pedro de Valencia was quite aware of this fact as the passage cited above by Galmés de Fuentes shows. In the sixteenth century Zafra was a centre for the slave trade. Following the general expulsion from Granada in 1570 many of these slaves were Moriscos. Indeed, both Pedro de Valencia

<sup>160</sup> M<sup>a</sup> T. Narváez, "Nozaita Kalderán: partera y experta en el Corán", *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Estudios Moriscos: Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces*, pp. 139–150.

<sup>161</sup> Harvey, "Literary Culture", pp. 391–405.

<sup>162</sup> G. Fonseca Antuña, *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual sacado y declamado por el Mancebo de Arévalo en nuestra lengua castellana* (Madrid: Fundación Menéndez y Pidal, 2003), pp. 26–30; M<sup>a</sup> J. Rubiera Mata, "El Islam cristianizado de los moriscos castellanos en época de Carlos V", in *La política de los moriscos en la época de los Austria*, pp. 471–472.

and his father Melchor owned slaves, as is apparent from the will of the *cronista* and the register of baptisms in Zafra. Gaspar Morocho Gayo has pointed out that ‘una esclava llamada María’ was valued at 51,000 *maravedíes* whereas the horse and carriage of ‘el señor cronista’ was estimated to cost 91, 800;<sup>163</sup> from the register of baptisms in Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria in Zafra there is an entry concerning the birth of a child to a slave called Isabel, who belonged to Melchor de Valencia, father of Pedro. There is no father named.<sup>164</sup> In Priego de Córdoba, to which Valencia’s family moved, a Mudéjar *aljama* had existed since the late fifteenth century.<sup>165</sup> There, the Marqués of Priego offered protection to the Morisco community. Valencia, then, had regular contact with Moriscos all through his life.

Pedro de Valencia was not naïve. He knew that many Moriscos were not genuine Christians. However, as a man of deep and rational faith he believed, passionately, that loving example would win them over to Christianity. If you consider the attachment of many Moriscos to Islam, as is witnessed by *aljamiado* literature and records of the Inquisition, Valencia’s ardent beliefs, even in the most ideal of circumstances, were unlikely to be realized;<sup>166</sup> the sort of good example Valencia sought required a major change of attitude among his contemporaries. His attitudes were not shared by many Spaniards of his time. Seventeenth-century Spanish Catholicism focused more on external rituals and devotion to sacramentals such as pictures, statues and relics than on interiority and inner spirituality. The uncritical mentality behind purely external rituals and many superstitious practices, so much a fact of life in seventeenth-century Spain, had also motivated Valencia’s critique of the Lead Books.

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<sup>163</sup> G. Morocho Gayo, “El testamento de Pedro de Valencia, humanista y cronista de las Indias”, *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, XLIV (1988), p. 35.

<sup>164</sup> F. Croche de Acuña, “Datos ordenados para una biografía de Pedro de Valencia”, *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, XL (1984), p. 40.

<sup>165</sup> The *aljama* was set up following the arrival around 1485 of thirty families from Montefrío under the protection of Don Alfonso de Aguilar: J. Aranda Doncel, *Los moriscos en tierras de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1984), p. 39.

<sup>166</sup> The intransigence of the Moriscos is used as an analogy for irrational stubbornness in *Don Quijote*, I, in the interpolated novella *El curioso impertinente*. Here the irrational and foolish test to which Anselmo would submit his wife is compared to the obstinate resistance of the Moors to Sacred Scripture and to Christian articles of faith: Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 351.

Pedro de Valencia was quite aware of the power of the King yet feared that he might lack moral character and be unduly influenced by those around him. His fears would seem to have been realized. The King seemed to see little contradiction between Christianity, a religion whose foremost commandments were love of God and neighbour, and a measure whose inhumanity and injustice deeply shocked many contemporaries. In spite of Valencia's lengthy exposition on the short sightedness of expediency when it puts immediate gain before justice, his plea fell on deaf ears. His eloquent arguments on what he believed to be the workings of Divine Providence were also ignored. The detrimental, long-term economic effects of the expulsion have been described elsewhere.<sup>167</sup> We can only wonder, however, how much this measure, which ended definitively the mediaeval *convivencia* between the three religions of the Book,<sup>168</sup> contributed to the intellectual isolation and political decline that was bringing to an end the period of political and cultural hegemony of the Spanish empire during the sixteenth century.

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<sup>167</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie*; J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain* (London: Arnold, 1963). Domínguez Ortiz & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 201–223; Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs*, pp. 56–69.

<sup>168</sup> Jews, Christians and Muslims had co-existed, also, in the crusader principalities in Syria and Palestine and in Sicily. *Convivencia* did not imply continuous tolerance and there was inequality under the law and, in time of war, both occasional massacres and enslavement: R. A. Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1992), pp. 131–156.

PART I

THE CATHOLIC APOLOGISTS



## CHAPTER ONE

### SPAIN'S PERCEPTION OF ITS OWN PREDOMINANT ROLE IN CHRISTENDOM IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

On Thursday 25 March 1611, the feast of the Incarnation, King Philip III solemnly celebrated the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. The festivities began with mass, which was celebrated by the papal nuncio, Don Decio Carrafa. The active participation of the papal nuncio in this ceremony indicates that, whereas the papacy had not officially approved the expulsion order, in practice it turned a blind eye to some of its consequences. First a *Te Deum* was sung and, at these words, the King himself knelt down. After the service there was a solemn procession to the convent of Las Descalzas Reales. The King was looking very elegant and was dressed all in white. Queen Margarita watched from the windows of the Duke of Lerma's house, which was near the convent. Once inside, the King knelt down, once again, for prayers and hymns.<sup>1</sup> All the councils and the religious orders, ambassadors and grandees took part. It was decided that a perpetual feast should be established to celebrate the event.<sup>2</sup> In the previous year of 1610 Queen Margarita had founded the convent of the *Encarnación* partially in thanksgiving for the expulsion of the Moriscos.<sup>3</sup>

When Philip went on a state visit to Portugal in 1619 the expulsion of the Moriscos was recalled at the point of disembarkation of the royal party.<sup>4</sup> In an elaborate celebratory structure, the fable of the

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<sup>1</sup> Guzmán, *Reyna Católica*, fols 195<sup>r</sup>–195<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> J. Yáñez, *Memorias para la historia de don Felipe III rey de España* (Madrid: Nicolás Rodríguez Franco, 1723), pp. 292–293.

<sup>3</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 281–282. In 1614, the bishop of Granada requested that a feast day be established to celebrate both the expulsion of the Moriscos and the triumph of the faith. In the reply, sent on 24 March 1614, Philip III requested that the Spanish prelates select a date for this feast day; they could choose between the day on which the resolution was finalized and the day on which the order was first put into effect: F. Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España. Causas de su expulsión y consecuencias que ésta produjo en el orden económico y político* (Madrid: RAE, 1857), pp. 366–367.

<sup>4</sup> The visit took place on the 10th anniversary of both the expulsion of the Moriscos and the treaty with the Dutch, which was commemorated in 'El arco de los flamencos':



Titans, who had rebelled against Jupiter, was used as an analogy for the relationship between the Moriscos and the King. An inscription reads:

Philip, our Jupiter, punishes, banishes and casts into darkest Africa<sup>5</sup> the Moriscos who, repeating the foolhardy daring of the Giants, by not observing the faith they professed, rebelled against Peace and the Spanish Heaven.<sup>6</sup>

'*Hispanum caelum*' (the idea of Spain as Heaven on Earth) is contrasted with the darkness of the underworld, which is associated with Africa. ('*Plutoni*' is used as a metonym for Hades, the dark abode of the Classical underworld.) This triumphalism was repeated in one of the welcoming arches. This arch was called 'el arco de los italianos' and was placed at the entrance of the church of the Jerónimos: "On one panel was painted the embarkation in Spain of these perfidious people with this verse: 'Having embarked, we leave Spain, rebellious to her and to the Holy Faith'".<sup>7</sup> On the other panel the disembarkation in Africa is shown with this inscription: "Our calamity means salvation (or good health) for Spain and fame for Philip".<sup>8</sup> The King's successful acquisition of the North-African ports of Larache (1610) and Mamora (1614) was recalled also:

*Iam caelum Larache aequo, victore Philippo* (Larache is now favoured by heaven, with Philip as its conqueror) [...] *Ecce Mamora svb Principe pio* (Mamora is triumphant, conquered by a pious Prince).<sup>9</sup>

B. J. García García, "La expulsión en la política de pacificación y restauración de Felipe III", *Los moriscos. La expulsión y después*, BNE, 3 September 2009.

<sup>5</sup> This is the darkness of Hades, which is ruled over by Pluto, god of the dead.

<sup>6</sup> "Mauros giganteo iterato ausu fidei desertores in Pacem, [v]el hispanum caelum brachia conatos tonans noster Philippus caculatur, proiicit, Plutoni Africo Aeternum illigat" The Portuguese form of the author's name is given here (and in the caption of the illustration) but the Castilian version is used in the title: J. B. Lavanha, *Viage de la Catholica Real magestad del Rei D. Filipe III N. S. al reino de Portugal i relacion del solene recebimiento que en el se hizo. Sv magestad la mando escriuir por Iuan Bautista Lavaña su coronista mayor* (Madrid: Thomas Iunti, 1622), fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> "En una tabla estaba pintada la embarcacion en España desta gente perfida con este verso. *Vela damvs mavri, Hesperae, fideique rebelles.*"

<sup>8</sup> "En la otra tabla se mostrava su desembarcacion en Africa con esta letra. *Clades nostra, salvvs Hispanis, fama Philippo*": Lavanha, *Viage*, fols 32<sup>r</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> These elaborate public celebratory artefacts, that extolled the regal qualities of Philip III, were an essential part of the propaganda machine of the Spanish Hapsburgs. Those erected for the public reception of Queen Margarita in Madrid, in 1599, have been studied by Antonio Feros: A. Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III 1598-1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 78-79.

Such a triumphalist attitude towards the expulsion still prevailed at the time of the King's death. Many funerary *tumuli* were erected as a sign of condolence to the new king. At the church of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid, on 8 May 1621, Philip III was described as '*haereticorum terror*' (the terror of heretics), '*fidei praesidium*' (defender of the faith), '*religionis culmen*' (supreme [political] leader of our religion) and '*Maureorum expulsor omnium virtutum exemplar*' (expeller of the Moriscos, model of all virtues). On the main façade of the tumulus was a representation of Fernando III *el santo* '*Maurorum expulsor*' (holy Ferdinand, expeller of the Moors).<sup>10</sup>

To what extent did triumphalism, implicit in the celebratory mass, in the iconography employed for the ephemeral monuments created for Philip III's state visit to Portugal, and in the funerary tumulus of Santo Domingo el Real, reflect prevailing attitudes among Spaniards in the early seventeenth century? How did the subjects of Philip III perceive Spain's role and position in the world at that time? In this chapter there is an examination of the works of some writers from the first decades of the seventeenth century that see Philip III as leader of the foremost Christian nation and crusading right arm of the Counter Reformation. Many Spaniards also considered themselves to be the new Chosen People. Sources for these beliefs were the millenarian prophecies so popular at the time and the legend and myth of St. James or Santiago. Finally, there will be a discussion on the use of these political prophecies and myths by those defending the expulsion of the Moriscos, in particular its Catholic Apologists, as a form of anti-Islamic propaganda.<sup>11</sup>

### *Millenarianism and the New Jerusalem*

Since Eusebius and Orosius saw Constantine as the New Abraham and the Roman Empire replaced the Jews as the new Chosen People, many have followed in their footsteps by reinterpreting the Old Testament. Inspired by St. John's Apocalypse or Book of Revelation, millenarian

<sup>10</sup> B. Bonifaz Varnuebo de Soria, *Relacion verdadera y general de todo lo sucedido en la Corte, desde que murio su Magestad hasta diez y seys de mayo [...]* (Seville: Juan Serrano de Vargas y Vreña, 1621), V-E 41-3, BNE, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> The Catholic Apologists regard the Moriscos as Moors, or crypto-Muslims and thus re-use some of the medieval anti-Islamic polemics.

prophecies hovered uneasily between spiritual exaltation and political expediency. These prophecies heralded a time of restoration and renewal; the old sinful world would disappear and give way to the new; the forces of the just from all over the world would be commanded by a Universal Emperor of the Last Days, a New David, accompanied by a shepherd or Angelic pope, who would defeat the forces of the Antichrist. Once the Antichrist was dead, the New David would inaugurate the Millennium, a Golden Age of peace and harmony; finally, Christ would return and Time would end.<sup>12</sup>

King David had founded the royal house of Israel, and his reign had seen a new alliance between God and the Chosen People (Is. 11: 1)<sup>13</sup>

The royal line of David is like a tree that has been cut down; but just as new branches sprout from a stump, so a new king will arise from among David's descendants.<sup>14</sup>

The spirit of the Lord will give this king many gifts. The new king will be the means of reuniting those of his people who live in foreign lands (Is. 11: 10–1). The New David, thus, is an initiator and saviour, the herald of a new era. This eschatological Emperor took on both attributes of the divinised Roman Emperor and the Christian Messiah of the Book of Revelation.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> P. Pérez García & J. A. Catalá Sanz, *Epígonos del encubertismo. Proceso contra los agermanados* (Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2000), p. 143.

<sup>13</sup> One of the sources for this title of New David was a book on the Antichrist by Fray Johan Alamany (Alemeny, Alemán), which had been circulating in manuscript form since the time of the Catholic Monarchs. It was translated into Catalan twice and the second version published in 1520: *Obra de fray Johan Alamany de la venguda de Antichrist y de las cosas que se han de seguir. Ab una reprobació de la secta mahomética*: A. Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español* (Valladolid: Casa Museo de Colón: Seminario Americanista de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1983), p. 239.

<sup>14</sup> I have taken this translation from the *Good News Bible* as it expresses the notion of new kingship more explicitly than the Douay version: *Holy Bible. Good News Edition* (New York: American Bible Society, 1976). There follows the Douay version: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse: and a flower shall rise up out of his root": *The Holy Bible, The Old Testament* (Douay: The English College, 1609) and *The New Testament* (Rheims: The English College, 1582), this edition (Dublin: Richard Coyle, 1847). I quote from the Douay Bible as it was published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>15</sup> It was logical, thus, to apply to the Emperor of the prophecies epithets normally reserved for Christ such as New David, Lion of the tribe of Judah: A. Milhou, "La chauve-souris, le nouveau David et le roi caché (trois images de l'empereur des derniers temps dans le monde ibérique, XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> s.)", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, XVIII (1982), p. 67.

However, the prophecies may have been used also by some monarchs for their own self-exaltation and as political propaganda: the Italian and German Joachimites, or disciples of Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202), perceived Frederick II Hohenstaufen, in his conflict with the papacy, as Emperor of the Last Days.<sup>16</sup> This prophetic tradition concerning the Emperor of the Last Days was known as *via Germania* and influenced the Catalo-Aragonese monarchy through the marriage of Constanza, granddaughter of Frederick, and Peter III *el ceremonioso* of Aragon (1239–1285). The prophecies associated with Sicily and Naples or *via Sicilia*, came into Aragon and Catalonia through this marriage also and were used to justify Peter's conquest of Sicily.<sup>17</sup> The Catalan Franciscans were imbued with the prophecies of Joachim of Fiore and were another source for this prophetic tradition.<sup>18</sup>

Jerusalem was at the heart of these millenarian prophecies; both the physical city itself and, as the New Jerusalem, as an emblem for spiritual renewal (Rev. 21: 1–4). The Aragonese polymath Arnau of Vilanova (1240–1311) was the first to suggest that the liberator of Jerusalem, the Emperor of the Last Days, would come from Spain. He entrusted Peter III *el ceremonioso* of Aragon with the eschatological role of reconstructing the citadel of Mount Sion in Jerusalem; his commentary on the prophecy of Joachim of Fiore *Veh mundo in centum annis* (*Woe to the World in a Hundred Years*), which Vilanova included in his work *De cymbalis ecclesiae* (*Concerning the Cymbals of the Church*) (1297–1301), reinforced the messianic ideals of the House of Aragon. In this work he used the messianic title of New David, probably to be applied to the king of Aragon.<sup>19</sup> Alain Milhou cites the following passage from the *Veh mundo* “eritque solitudo in terra, quousque Novus David arcem Syon veniat reparare” (And there will be solitude on earth until the New David comes to repair the citadel of Sion). When you consider the prominence given to the king of Aragon in the rest of the text this New David probably refers to him.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The spiritual Franciscans, however, perceived the emperor as the Antichrist: Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 144.

<sup>17</sup> Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 144.

<sup>18</sup> Milhou, “La chauve-souris”, p. 62. There is a more detailed description of Joachim of Fiore later on in this chapter.

<sup>19</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 235.

<sup>20</sup> However, it is also possible that the reference is to a reforming pope, a *pastor angelicus* in the tradition of Joachim of Fiore: Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, pp. 376–377.

Vilanova was appointed private physician to Peter III in 1281 and in the following year witnessed the latter's invasion of Sicily and the massacre and eventual defeat of the French which began on Easter Monday 1282 at Vespers, and is commonly called the Sicilian Vespers. As mentioned already, it was in the reign of Peter III that the kingdom of Aragon acquired special connections with Jerusalem. These dated from Peter's marriage to Constanza, granddaughter of Frederick II, king of Jerusalem and Sicily.<sup>21</sup> Although the House of Anjou hotly disputed the king of Aragón's claim to the kingship of Jerusalem, Pope Julius II finally settled the argument by accepting Ferdinand *el católico* as King of Jerusalem in 1510.

In the *Vae mundo* Vilanova associated the crown of Barcelona with the symbol of a reforming bat or *vespertilión* who would devour the Muslim mosquitos, reunite Hispania and conquer Africa and 'el secta de Mahoma'.<sup>22</sup> The prophecy is usually referred to as the *Hyspania nutrix* [*mahometicae precavitas*] (Spain the foster mother [the depravity of the Muslims]) and the following extract was well known: (the bat will devour the mosquitos of Spain and, subjecting Africa and destroying the Beast of Islam [literally 'the head of the beast'], will accept universal monarchy.<sup>23</sup> James II of Aragón (1267–1327) planned such a crusade to re-capture Jerusalem. He would first re-conquer Granada and then proceed to Palestine via North Africa. (This initial march across North Africa is a specifically Spanish addition to the prophecy of the Emperor of the Last Days.) James's personal physician and *valido*, once again Arnau of Vilanova, was entrusted with the organization of this crusade between the years 1306–1309. The expedition, however, never took place.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, pp. 367–368. After the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers Peter was invited to be king of Sicily and was crowned on 30 August 1282.

<sup>22</sup> "[...] vesperilio scintilio Hyspaniae devoret, subjiciensque Africam et caput bestiae conterens accipiet monarachiam [...]": Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 147. The use of the multilayered symbol of the bat to refer to the royal house of Barcelona has been studied in detail by Alain Milhou. He rejects the notion that the bat refers to the winged dragon of the Apocalypse, a heraldic emblem used by the kings of Aragón since 1344, as the *Vae mundo* predates this year. He suggests instead that it comes from the Latin *vesper* used to describe the evening star, one of the names applied to Frederick II: Milhou, "La chauve-souris", pp. 61–78.

<sup>23</sup> Milhou, "La chauve-souris", p. 64.

<sup>24</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 304.

Sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century writers, convinced of Spain's pre-eminence among Christian nations, saw parallels between the Hill of Sion, abode of Jahweh in the Old Testament, and Spain, particularly Toledo, abode of the New Elect. Fray Rodrigo de Yepes in his book *Historia de la muerte y glorioso martyrio del sancto Innocente, que llaman de la Guardia* [1583] (*History of the Death and Glorious Martyrdom of the Holy Innocent, from La Guardia*) engages in 'geographical exegesis' by drawing parallels between the topography of Toledo and that of Jerusalem: according to St. Jerome, when things are similar in every way then their substance is the same: "Si en todo se pareciessen q̄ no discrepassen en nada, serian vna misma cosa" (If they are alike in everything and differ in nothing, they are the same thing).<sup>25</sup> Also in the 1580s, according to the messianic dreams of the visionary Lucrecia de León, a millenarian kingdom would be founded in Toledo in 1588. This would be like the mystical New Jerusalem. Rome would cease to be the centre of Christianity and the papacy would reside in Toledo.<sup>26</sup> A large cave at La Sopeña was refurbished under the guidance of Juan de Herrera, architect of El Escorial. Here the followers of Miguel de Piedrola, prophet and pretender to Philip II's throne, would take shelter during the holocaust.<sup>27</sup>

Fray Juan de la Puente, a royal chronicler of Philip III, cites biblical references to argue that the New Jerusalem is now in Spain and Spaniards are the people who will recapture the holy city and restore the holy Hill of Sion in Jerusalem. He refers to the well-known passage in Isaiah (Is. 66: 10–24), in which Jerusalem is described as a heavenly paradise, a land of milk and honey. He quotes a cluster of biblical references on the advent of messianic times and the restoration of Jerusalem. A passage from the prophecy of Joel leads to a warning about the coming of the Last Days and to a description of the establishment of the New Jerusalem, depicted here, once again, as a land of

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<sup>25</sup> Fray R. de Yepes, *Historia de la muerte y glorioso martyrio del Sancto Innocente, que llaman de la Guardia* [...] (San Hieronymo el Real, Madrid: Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1583[84]), fols 26<sup>v</sup>–27<sup>r</sup>. Cited first by Milhou. Fray Rodrigo also wrote a treatise describing the Holy Land (Palestine) in 1583: R. De Yepes, *Tractado y descripción breue y cõpendiosa de la tierra sancta de Palestina* (San Hieronymo el Real, Madrid: Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1583).

<sup>26</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 317.

<sup>27</sup> *Sueños y procesos de Lucrecia de León* (1987). Estudio histórico y notas J. Blázquez Miguel (Madrid: Tecnos, 1987), pp. 22, 69.

milk and honey (Jl. 3: 18).<sup>28</sup> The prophecy describes a second coming, as the Lord will once again dwell in the holy Hill of Sion, to which only the elect will be allowed entry:

And you shall know that I am the Lord your God, dwelling in Sion my holy mountain: and Jerusalem shall be holy and strangers shall pass through it no more (Jl. 3: 17).

De la Puente refers, also, to the prophet Ezekiel. In the passage to which he refers there is an extensive description of the refurbishment of the temple that will take place when Jerusalem is restored (Ez 40–48). In this context it bears pointing out the controversy that had broken out in Spain about the form of Solomon's Temple; some mythified Philip II as the New Solomon and El Escorial was seen as a re-embodiment of Solomon's Temple.<sup>29</sup> The topic will be discussed later when we are describing Pedro de Valencia's *Descripción de las virtudes*, emblems that would represent the political virtues

The Hill of Sion is used symbolically in some works of the Catholic Apologists. They see its capture as a logical sequence to the expulsion of the Moriscos, which was a first stage in the overpowering of Islam by Spain. Jaime Bleda imagines the ascent of the hill by two of Philip III's sons:

It is God's will that, as speedily as possible, once the Moriscos have been expelled by our lord king, who is the lawful king of Jerusalem, that this blessed journey to recover the Holy Land will be undertaken with God's help, through the ingenuity of the king, advised by the Duke of Lerma, and that the princes of his family should go up the Holy Hill of Sion and that he the king be lord of this kingdom and of many others.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> "And it shall come to pass in that day that the mountain shall drop down sweetness and the hills shall flow with milk".

<sup>29</sup> *Emblema 34, Centuria I* of Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Emblemas morales* call Philip II 'un sabio Solomón, Daud guerrero': S. de Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales tomadas de Don Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco. Dirigidas a Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoual, duque de Lerma* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610), fol. 14'.

<sup>30</sup> "Faxit Deus, vt quam citissime haec sanctissima expeditio discernatur, tentetur & inchoetur a domino nostro rege, qui rex Hierusalem iure vocatur, et in ea prosperum iter ad aperiat & faciat nobis Deus salutarium nostrorum vt tandem eam benedictam terram recuperemus, Dei ope, regis Hispaniae ingenio, Ducis Lermae suasionem, vt ascendant ipse, aut alij saluatores, id est principes suae familiae in sanctum Montem Sion & fit domino illud regnum & alia multa": Bleda, p. 43. P. Aznar Cardona also makes this point: "[...] La segunda cosa que debe ser hecha por nuestro prudentissimo Rey Catolico, es que prosiga adelante en sus insignes hazañas y emprenda sin dilacion cō su animo inuencible, la conquista de Ierusalem. Pues, a mas de que vna empressa tan alta y de tan supremo honor, no conuiene a otro menos que a un tan alto Rey, es

The image of the Princes walking up the Hill of Sion, the hallowed site of Solomon's temple, the abode of Jahwé in the Old Testament and emblematic of the special relationship between God and the Jewish people, has both political and spiritual connotations: the site is sacred for all three religions of the Book; Judaism, Christianity and Islam yet Mount Sion was the site of the fortress of the Jebusites that were conquered by King David c. 1000 BCE and has become a synecdoche for the city itself and the surrounding land.<sup>31</sup> The ascent of the princes also implies the special relationship between God and the Spaniards, the new Chosen People, and considered by some to be pre-eminent among other Christian nations.

Bleda's text mythifies Philip III, seeing him as a New David and victorious leader of a conquering army. As New David he will be a reformer of the Church and the initiator of a new era. This will be characterised by religious unity in which all Muslims will convert to Christianity (and, conversely, in the prophecies in circulation among the Moriscos and Jews in the Magreb, a time when Christians will become Muslims).<sup>32</sup> Religious unity was prophesised also in Granada in the 1590s in one of the apocryphal early Christian texts called the Lead Books.<sup>33</sup>

In the Lead Book *Libro de la verdad del Evangelio* (Book of the True Gospel) Our Lady declared that this book is the very heart of the Gospel and foretells that the Arabs will be 'los defensores de la ley [= religion] en el tiempo venidero' (the defenders of religion in future times) at a great council.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, translation of this book

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cierto q̄ por muchos justos titulos le pertenece aquella tierra tã desseada de los christianos, a su Magestad y a su corona sacra. El cielo y la tierra tiene el Rey nuestro Señor en su fauor para este esclarecido y desseado hecho. [...] Esta gloriosa victoria de la Tierra Santa, felizmente començada en la saludable expulsion de los mahometanos, y reseruada por el cielo, para empleo del valor sin segundo de nuestro inclito don Felipe el catolico<sup>35</sup>: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, 143<sup>r</sup>-143<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> K. Armstrong, *A History of Jerusalem. One City, Three Faiths* (London: Harper-Collins, 1996), p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> M. García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform. Mahdīs of the Muslim West* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 302-305; M. García Arenal, "Un reconfort pour ceux qui sont dans l'attente". Prophétie et millénarisme dans la péninsule Ibérique at au Magreb (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles), *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CCXX, 4 (2003), pp. 445-486.

<sup>33</sup> The Lead Books and the Parchement of the Turpiana Tower will be described in more detail in Part II, Chapter 6.

<sup>34</sup> M. J. Hagerty, 'Libro de la historia de la verdad del Evangelio', in "Transcripción,



will then be possible because, at this council, the best translators and interpreters in the world will come together. The Arabs will attend it as the *Libro de la verdad del Evangelio* is in their tongue, which will be the habitual language then as it was in the first century of the Christian era.<sup>35</sup> God will once again manifest the truth of the Gospel as he once did to Moses. Religious divisions will come to an end: “El infiel se convertirá en fiel y toda la religión será una” (The infidel will become a true believer and all religion will be united).<sup>36</sup> (This religious unity is taken as meaning the triumph of Islam or of Christianity, depending on the translator.) Arabic is thus shown to be the language at the heart of Christianity: the ‘true gospel’ is in Arabic and the earliest missionaries to Spain were Arabs (Cecilius and Thesiphon).<sup>37</sup>

Alonso de Luna, thought by some to be the son of Miguel de Luna, who has long been considered one of the possible forgers of the Lead Books, used messianic language when tried by the Inquisition in 1619.<sup>38</sup> He claimed that God had revealed to him in a vision that he himself would be instrumental in bringing about a general conversion to Catholicism and that in the Lead Books could be found the truth of Christianity. The following is an extract from his Inquisition trial:

One night, when he was out in the country, he was carried off by angels or by the power of God to the fourth heaven and from there to the sixth and he saw many visions of God, Our Lord, seated on his throne with the angels [...] and that he said to him: Fear not as I will infuse you with wisdom. Write to the King and to the Pope and tell them that the time of the Resurrection has come and that all heresies will end and everybody will convert to our Holy Catholic Faith and that in the Last Days

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traducción y observaciones de dos de los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte” (Granada: Unpublished Doctoral Thesis (microfiche M203), 1983, p. 133.

<sup>35</sup> The Morisco Al-Hajārī, in a debate with the Christian Arabist Étienne Hubert, argued that Arabic was the vernacular language in Spain at the time of the apostles. He supported his arguments by quoting from the Lead Books themselves: A. Al Hajāri, *Kitāb nāsir al-dīn ‘alā ‘l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, ed. P. S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai & G. A. Wieggers (Madrid: CSIC, 1997), p. 36.

<sup>36</sup> Hagerty, “Transcripción”, pp. 128–129.

<sup>37</sup> García Arenal, ‘El entorno de los plomos’, p. 313; Bernabé Pons, “Los mecanismos”, pp. 478–479.

<sup>38</sup> D. Cabanelas: “Cartas del morisco granadino Miguel de Luna”, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, XIV–XV (1965–66) and L. F. Bernabé Pons: “Estudio preliminar”, Miguel de Luna, *Verdadera historia del rey don Rodrigo* (Granada: Archivum, Universidad de Granada, 2001). Both Arabists suggested this hypothesis. M. García Arenal is not convinced by their arguments: M. García Arenal, “Médico, traductor, inventor: Miguel de Luna, cristiano árabe de Granada”, *Chronica Nova*, XXXII (2006), pp. 190–193.

the Arab people will come to its rescue and that conversion was to be in Arabic and that this was a most perfect language and that God had chosen it as it was the best [...] and that he would punish the Spaniards because they would not allow it [to be spoken] and that the fullness of Catholic and evangelical truth was written in the books of the Holy Mountain.<sup>39</sup>

### *The Recovery of Jerusalem*

The recovery of Jerusalem for Christianity was a constant feature of both Spanish indigenous prophecies and of those with a wider European provenance. As Alain Milhou has pointed out, the winning back of Jerusalem from the Muslims had been a constant element in the mediaeval political prophecies since the time of Joachim of Fiore, that is to say the period of the third Crusade.<sup>40</sup> After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Franciscans preached a crusade in 1455, on the advice of Pope Calixtus III. There was an increase in the number of pilgrimages to the Holy Land and many new guidebooks were produced. Bernard von Breydenbach's book was translated into Spanish by Martín Martínez de Ampíes and published in 1498.<sup>41</sup> Marjorie Reeves has pointed out that, in the second half of the fifteenth century, fear of the Turks led to a revival of interest in the Byzantine Sibylline prophecies, which created hope that Muslims would be driven from

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<sup>39</sup> "Estando una noche en el campo fue llevado por los angeles o por la potencia de Dios al cuarto cielo y desde alli al sexto y que vio muchas visiones de Dios, nuestro señor, sentado en el trono con los angeles [...] y que le dixo: No temes que yo te dare sabiduria infusa. Escribe al Rey y al Papa y diles como ya es tiempo de la Resurreccion y de acabarse todas las herejias y convertirse todo el mundo a la santa fe catholica y que en los tiempos finales la vendria a socorrer la nacion Arabe y en su lengua arabiga avia de ser la conversion porque esta lengua era perfectissima y la avia elegido Dios por ser la mejor [...] y que avia de castigar a los españoles porque no la querian admitir [...] y que en los libros del Monte Sancto desta ciudad estava escripta toda la verdad catholica y evangelica". AHN, Inquisition, 1953. Cited in B. Vincent, "Et quelques voix de plus: de Francisco Núñez Muley à Fátima Rahal", *Sharq al-Andalus*, XII (1995), pp. 139–141.

<sup>40</sup> Joachim of Fiore, whose work was widely influential from the thirteenth century onwards, evolved a theory in which history reflected the nature of the godhead.

<sup>41</sup> B. von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, (Mainz: Erhard Renwich, 1486), trans. M Martínez de Ampíes, *El viaje a tierra sancta* (Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1498).

Jerusalem and Christianity would overcome Islam. Some of the Catholic Apologists re-used the Byzantine prophecies to justify the expulsion of the Moriscos.<sup>42</sup>

Cohn has noted that, with the advent of printing, vernacular copies of these prophecies were published and were extremely popular.<sup>43</sup> Sebastian Brandt published an edition of the Pseudo-Methodius in 1498.<sup>44</sup> The Pseudo-Joachimist *Vaticinium Sibillae Erithraeae*, in which there is a first reference to a resurrected Frederick II, was finally printed in 1508. (There is a copy in the Library of Congress.)<sup>45</sup> In Jerusalem itself the royal houses of both Anjou and Aragón had established Franciscan monasteries, whose monks cared for the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>46</sup> The traveller Hieronymus Münzer corroborates this and noted the continuing care and financial maintenance of the monks by Queen Isabella: “The queen is also very good at giving alms. Each year she sends a thousand ducats and very rich ornaments to the friars of St Francis in Jerusalem”.<sup>47</sup> For both practical reasons (the money raised for a *crusada* went directly into the royal coffers) and spiritual/political ones, the right to the kingship of Jerusalem was very much stressed by Ferdinand and Isabella.<sup>48</sup>

The political conquest of Jerusalem and the initiation of a new and more spiritual age had informed the many millenarian prophecies that had circulated among Jews, Christians and Muslims in fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Europe. Political events such as

<sup>42</sup> See Part I, Chapter 3, note 57.

<sup>43</sup> N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London: Mercury, 1957), p. 33. The publication of Byzantine prophecies (Basle, 1545) by Sixtus Birke had created a sensation among humanist scholars.

<sup>44</sup> S. Brandt, *Revelationes divinae a sanctis anglis factae* (Basle: Michael Feinter, 1498); M. Reeves, “Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor”, *Traditio*, XVII (1961), 323–370. Brandt wrote, also, an anti-Turkish tract: *Turcorum terror et potentia* (Basle: Johann Bergman of Olpe, 1498). Printed copies of the Pseudo-Methodius from between 1597 and 1620 still exist: García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, p. 305.

<sup>45</sup> Reeves refers to an edition of 1508, in Spain, by Ludovicus de Tovat (Toval?). I have found a reference in the *National Union Catalogue: Divina reuelatio Erythrae Sibylle cum cōmentariis in qua a bello Troiam usquem ad diem iudicii futura predixit* (Siena: Simon son of Niccolai Nardi, 1508). The edition is attributed to Fray Luis de Tovar.

<sup>46</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, pp. 166, 168.

<sup>47</sup> “Es también la reina una gran limosnera. Anualmente envía a los frailes de San Francisco en Jerusalén mil ducados y riquísimos ornamentos”: J. Münzer, *Jerónimo Viaje por España y Portugal (1494–1495)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 1991), p. 275.

<sup>48</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 168.

the conquest of Constantinople (1453) by Selim II, the unification of Castile and Aragon (1469) and the end of many decades of acrimonious civil war (1476), followed by the conquest of Muslim Granada (1492) led to a wave of messianic fervour in which people believed that a final conflict between Islam and Christianity would take place. The capture of Orán by Cardinal Cisneros in 1509 raised hopes in Spain that Islam would finally be vanquished, Jerusalem would be conquered and all humanity would be converted to Christianity. In Portugal, Dom Manuel, who reigned from 1495 to 1521, founded the Hieronymite monastery Santa María de Belém at the site from which Vasco da Gama (c. 1460 or 1469–1524) sailed with his fleet in 1497. Da Gama returned to the same place in 1499 and, having discovered the maritime route to India, the way was now open for the re-conquest of Jerusalem by sea. Tradition says that the foundation stone was not laid until da Gama had returned. This took place on the feast of the Epiphany in 1500, to commemorate the visit of the magi to Our Lady of Bethlehem.<sup>49</sup> Another voice was that of the Jewish rabbi Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), who was influential among the Sephardic diaspora and the Spanish *conversos*. He believed that in a great clash between Christians and Muslims the Fourth Empire would be destroyed and initially Christians would be victorious. However, in a second phase, in which the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel would participate, Jews and Muslims would defeat the Christians and a new spiritual era or Fifth Empire would ensue.<sup>50</sup> Abravanel even surmised that the king of the Muslims might convert to Judaism and become the Messiah who will save Israel.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> S. L. Alfonso, *Lisbon in the Days of King Manuel I (1495–1521)* (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Museus, 1994), pp. 8–9.

<sup>50</sup> In the *Book of Daniel*, the vision of the four beasts has been taken to represent the various empires: the lion with the head of gold represents Babylon; the bear represents the Medo-Persian Empire; the leopard represents the Greek Empire and the legs of iron stand for the Roman Empire. In Portugal the Fifth Empire became associated with the movement for national autonomy during the years when it was ruled from Spain (1580–1640). The Fifth Empire would come about after a mighty conflict between great powers. It would be led by the *Encoberto* or hidden one who would then rule over all the earth: L. Carmelo, “La simbología del Encubierto. Del origen valenciano a los “moriscos” aragoneses y al gran mito portugués”, in *La Política de los Moriscos en la Época de los Austria. Actas del Encuentro* (Sevilla la Nueva, 1998) (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid-Fundación del Sur, 1999), p. 123.

<sup>51</sup> García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, pp. 303–304.

Eschatological prophecies were used by all three religious traditions, each one tailoring the prophecies to their own circumstances. All described a messianic saviour who would lead a reform movement and challenge and defeat his enemies. Then, having united all people under one religion or law, would initiate a Golden Age of peace and prosperity. In Morocco the Idrisid dynasty, that responsible for the introduction of Islam, inspired such expectations and Fez in the 14th and 15th centuries acquired messianic connotations. It was the city founded by Idris I in 789 CE and completed by his son Idris II, who ruled from 803–828. The Idrisids claimed both descent from the Prophet and to be the *Madhī* or Messiah. Idris II was seen as a saintly founder father and restorer of the Realm of Justice; Fez was seen as a Holy City of Future Times, a sacred zone between Heaven and Earth. Like the New Jerusalem, Fez was both the symbol of the Muslim community and the earthly image of heaven. As in the eschatological prophecies concerning Jerusalem, the faithful in Fez would, in the period before the End of Time and the Time of Justice, be besieged in the city by the Antichrist, the *Dajjal*, who would be unable to enter the city and be utterly defeated.<sup>52</sup>

The special position of Fez is reflected in one of the Morisco *jofores* or prophecies. This prophecy was one of those that circulated during the Revolt of the Alpujarras (1569–1571) and which were derived from the apocryphal *Profecías de san Isidoro*. Mármol Carvajal, in his history of the war, had referred to three prophecies or *jofores* that were read by the Moriscos as ‘consolation for those in wait’.<sup>53</sup> In this one it is foretold that a Morisco *encubierto* (the hidden one) will cross over to Fez on a marvellous bridge.<sup>54</sup> There, this saviour, Messiah or *Mahdī* will recover from the main mosque the sword of Idris, at which stage all Christians will convert to Islam.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, p. 243.

<sup>53</sup> L. de Mármol Carvajal, *Historia de la rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* (Málaga: Juan René, 1600), ed. Á. Galán (Madrid: Arguval, 1991); BAE, XXI, Book III, Chapter 3. Cited in García Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, p. 317.

<sup>54</sup> The ramifications of this mythical figure will be described in detail in the section *The Emperor of the Last Days, the Encubierto and St Isidore*.

<sup>55</sup> This is the sword of Idris b. Abd Allah b. Hasan b. Ali b. Ali Tabib, a descendant of the prophet Muhammad through the line of his daughter Fatima, for which reason in some Morisco prophecies he was called *al-Fatimi*: García-Arenal, “Un reconfort [...]”, p. 453.

This belief still existed at the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos, as one of its Catholic Apologists, Pedro Aznar Cardona, mentioned it: "They believed fervently in a tradition that they held to be infallible that on this occasion [when the *Madhī* was sent to save them] that the Moor Alfatimí on his green horse would come out [of the mountain] to defend them and kill the Christians, [the same man] who in past centuries was buried in the mountain when fighting the army of King James [Jaime I (1208–1276), commonly called the Conqueror]"<sup>56</sup>

This prophecy about the city of Fez also featured in Christian prophecies (which may be their source). Juan Alemán (or Alemany/Alemany) in his widely circulated *De la venguda del Artichrist*, wrote that the *Encubierto* would cross over to Ceuta and thence to Fez, where he would take up the sword [of Idris], proceed triumphantly to Alexandria and from there go on to capture Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup> The possession of this sword had messianic connotations; it was a sign of the *Madhī* and of the Last Days. Idris I had brought it to the Magreb and legend had it that he had driven it up to its hilt in the main mosque. A *Relación* (short news bulletin or chapbook) of 1612 also described this conquest of Fez and stated that, in time, a great Christian king would come and withdraw the sword and thence rule over all of Africa. The text added that some *morabitos* were reputed to have claimed that at this stage the king would become Muslim, as would all his followers. The author, however, considered this claim to be spurious.<sup>58</sup>

An atmosphere of reform and new beginnings also existed in the Netherlands at this time: following the expulsion of the Sephardic Jews from Portugal in the 1490s many had settled in Amsterdam. These 'New Jews' led a reform movement and Amsterdam became known as the New Jerusalem. Threatened both by Catholics and the Ottoman Turks, Sephardic Jews turned to Jewish eschatological and Cabalistic literature and there was much speculation about the Last Days and the date for the coming of the New Jerusalem. Later in the century, these spiritual preoccupations would be reflected in the works of

<sup>56</sup> "Tenian por creencia y tradicion infalibles que [...] en esta ocasion que el moro Alfatimi en su caballo verde saldria de ella para defenderlos y matar a los cristianos, el que en siglos pasados fue enterrado en la montaña cuando luchaba con el ejercito del rey don Jaime": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> Alemán, *La venguda de Antichrist*: Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 239.

<sup>58</sup> García Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, p. 310.

Rembrandt, who provided illustrations for *Piedra gloriosa*,<sup>59</sup> a commentary on the apocalyptic Book of Daniel,<sup>60</sup> which were commissioned by the reforming rabbi Menasseh Ben Israël (1604–1657).<sup>61</sup> Rembrandt depicted the rabbi as the biblical hero and prophet Mordecai from the Book of Esther (Es 2–6), who had saved the Jews from being massacred on two occasions.<sup>62</sup> Rembrandt also painted Belshazzar’s feast (1634), where the writing on the wall heralds the end of this blasphemous and godless regime and the beginning of a new era.<sup>63</sup>

### *The Pursuit of the Millennium*

The prophecies we have been looking at all posit a millenarian new age, an ideal that finds an echo among the Catholic Apologists as they envisage a new Golden Age, now that Spain has been purged of the noxious presence of the infidel Moriscos. The persistent search throughout history for times of renewal and transformation is evoked in the title of Norman Cohn’s title for his seminal book on millenarianism *The Pursuit of the Millennium*.<sup>64</sup> There was often ambiguity about whether the millennium would consist of merely a spiritual flowering or whether political transformation would also ensue. In the Judeo-Christian tradition Divine Providence was believed to be present in the unfolding of history; history was lineal and was proceeding from Creation to the End of Time, under the guidance of God.<sup>65</sup> The vision in Revelation of the angel descending and battling with the dragon (Rev. 20: 1–3) has been variously interpreted by the Church Fathers. Origin (185–254), in the third century, refuted the idea that the vision

<sup>59</sup> M. Ben Israel, *Piedra gloriosa o la estatua de Nebuchadnesar* (1655).

<sup>60</sup> The Book of Daniel was used by the Catholic Apologists when engaging in anti-Islamic polemic.

<sup>61</sup> Menasseh Ben Israël was born Manuel Dias Soeiro in Madeira but his family moved to the Netherlands in 1610. He was a rabbi, cabbalist, writer, diplomat, printer and publisher. He made the first Hebrew printing press in 1629 and entered into negotiations with Cromwell for the return of Jews to England. He sought to unify people and engaged in diplomacy to this end: *Menasseh ben Israel and his World*, eds. Y. Kaplan, H Méchoulan & R. D. Popkin (Leiden: Brill, 1989).

<sup>62</sup> É. Hinterding, G. Luijten & M. Royalten-Kisch, *Rembrandt the Printmaker* (London: British Museum/ Rijksmuseum, 2000), p. 194.

<sup>63</sup> D. Bull et al., *Rembrandt, Caravaggio* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2006), p. 158.

<sup>64</sup> Reeves, “The Originality [...] of Joachim of Fiore”, p. 259.

<sup>65</sup> Reeves, “The Originality [...] of Joachim of Fiore”.

foretold an earthly beatitude; the millennium would be a spiritual phenomenon only. Yet, up to the fourth and fifth centuries, many in the West still believed in a future Golden Age. Lactantius (c. 250–325) based his interpretation of this on the Sibylline oracles, an amalgam of Jewish and Christian prophecies. These usually pointed towards a messiah-king who would rule in an age of peace and plenty.<sup>66</sup> The sibyls were considered by some of the Fathers of the Church to have foretold events in the life of Christ and Our Lady. This syncretistic idea was also very much present in Michaelangelo's panoramic study of the story of salvation from Creation to Redemption in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>67</sup> A seventeenth-century work on the Sibyls reiterates this belief:

Clement of Alexandria [...] says that just as God, our Lord, gave to the Jews prophets that would inform them of the coming of the Son of God to the world, so also he gave to the Greeks and Gentiles prophetesses who would give them this same piece of news, so that no age could claim ignorance of such an important event.<sup>68</sup>

This vision of the New Jerusalem became a symbol of great expectation, an earthly paradise and abode of the Messiah, at his second coming, where the Elect would live in bliss for a thousand years. Jerusalem as a symbol of hope and maternal comfort is found in Isaiah in the eighth century BCE (Is. 66: 10–13); Revelation describes the New Jerusalem as a bride adorned for her husband (Rev 21: 1–2); Jerusalem will be the abode for God's Chosen People (Rev 21: 3); it will be an earthly paradise, free from all sorrow and death (Rev 21: 4).

For theologians, Jerusalem became a figure or symbol of the heavenly city. However, as mentioned above, some equated the New Jerusalem with the messianic vision of a terrestrial paradise, set aside for

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<sup>66</sup> Reeves, "The Originality [...] of Joachim of Fiore", pp. 269–316.

<sup>67</sup> Along the length of the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, pictures of five sibyls alternate with the Old Testament prophets, who were believed to have foretold the coming of a Redeemer, whereas the sibyls were considered to have extended the message of Redemption beyond the Chosen People to the Gentiles. The sibyls were: the Delphic Sibyl, the Cumaen Sibyl, the Libyan Sibyl, the Persian Sibyl and the Eritraean Sibyl. The Eritraean and the Cumaen Sibyl form part of the justificatory arguments of the Catholic Apologists.

<sup>68</sup> "Clemente Alexandrino [...] dize que assi como Dios, Nuestro Señor, les dio a los iudios profetas que les diessen noticia de la venida del Hijo de Dios al mundo, assi les dio a los griegos y gentiles profetisas que les diessen esta misma noticia, para que en ningun tiempo pudiessen alegar ignorancia en cosa de tanta importancia": B. Porreño, *Oraculos de las doce sibilas. Profetisas de Christo, Nuestro Señor, entre los gentiles* (Cuenca: Domingo de la Yglesia, 1621), fol 1<sup>r</sup>.



God's elect. This was the view of the Montanists in the second century CE. Montanus (latter half of the second century) proclaimed the imminent coming of the New Jerusalem, which would descend onto the soil of Phrygia. Tertullian (c. 160–c. 225) described the vision of a walled city above Judaea, a sure portent of the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Lactantius (c. 250–325) in *The Divine Institutions*, spoke of the foundation of a Holy City, in which the righteous would live for a thousand years (Chapters 20, 24, 26). Augustine, in the fifth century, refuted this vision, believing that there would be no human progress or apotheosis within history: this had come with the Incarnation, the first Advent of Christ; the space between the first and Second Advent was one of waiting, in which souls are gathered together in expectation.<sup>69</sup> The city of Jerusalem itself was regarded as the most sacred spot in Christendom, and had been a centre of pilgrimage during the entire Middle Ages. The Temple, which apart from a brief period during the rule of the Latin States, had always been a mosque, was persistently regarded throughout Christendom as a Christian shrine.<sup>70</sup>

The recapture of Jerusalem by a mythological Emperor of the Last Days, or Universal Emperor, had been prophesied in the Syriac seventh-century Pseudo-Methodius Apocalypse. This was written to express the tribulation of the Christian population who, following the Muslim invasion, looked towards the Byzantine Empire as a source of salvation and believed that a 'King of the Greeks' would defeat the invaders. The text was very soon translated into Greek. There was a Latin version of the prophecy in the eleventh-century Tiburtine Sibylline prophecy with an addition added on in the twelfth. The legend describes the clash between this Christian Emperor and the forces of Islam. Initially, in both the Syriac and Greek tests, the Emperor would defeat the followers of Islam and there would be a new Golden Age. Thenceforth, the Emperor would proceed to Jerusalem where he would be challenged by the Antichrist. As a symbol of the renunciation of all his worldly goods he would lay his crown on the cross at Golgotha and, defeated by the Antichrist, he would die.<sup>71</sup> A variation on this

<sup>69</sup> Reeves, "The Originality [...] of Joachim of Fiore", p. 273.

<sup>70</sup> N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, 2nd. (Oxford: One World Publications, 1993), p. 133.

<sup>71</sup> P. Alexander, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs", *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 2 (1971), p. 60; Reeves, "The Originality [...] of Joachim of Fiore", p. 274.

theme can be seen in a ballad of 1538 (published in the *Cancionero de romances* in 1555), which represents Charles V as conqueror of 'la casa Santa de Jerusalén'. Once victorious, he would ascend Mount Calvary and embrace the cross on which Christ had died.<sup>72</sup> Cardinal Egidio of Viterbo (1469–1532), in his mystical tract *Scechina* (1530) appealed to an apocalyptic partnership between an Angelic Pope and a Last World Emperor who would be personified by the Emperor Charles V.<sup>73</sup> Throughout the ten books, Viterbo praises Charles calling him, New David, Solomon and Cyrus, through whose power the Church would be reformed and the Turk utterly destroyed.<sup>74</sup>

This mythical Emperor as described in the *Tiburtina* and *Pseudo-Methodius* prophecies was seen as the saviour of Christendom and universal monarch, a mediaeval role which was much cherished by Philip III's grandfather, the Emperor Charles V. The royal chronicler of Charles V, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, in his *Exhortación* (1527), urged the monarch to turn from the conflict in Italy and to take up arms against the Turks, who were then threatening Vienna. In so doing he would be fulfilling his divinely ordained destiny and taking a step towards a universal Christian Empire. Once Greece and its neighbours had been vanquished he could conquer Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and then finally worship in the Holy City of Jerusalem.<sup>75</sup> In fact, Charles, as grandson of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, and of Mary of Burgundy, united in his person the prophetic traditions associated with both the Austrian eagle and the French lily.<sup>76</sup> At the time of his election as Holy Roman Emperor prophecies were cited to argue that "[...] the salvation of Europe hung upon it and he who could sustain this office must be of heroic mould and vast strength." The sack of Rome (1527) for many "[...] fulfilled so dramatically the role of the

<sup>72</sup> The ballad was named *Incitamiento y conducta contra el gran Turco a toda la cristiandad*: cited in Paéz García, *Epígonos del encubiertismo*, p. 174.

<sup>73</sup> E. de Viterbo, *Egidio de Viterbo. Sechina e libellus de litteris hebraicis*, ed. F. Secret (Rome: Ed. Naz.dei Class.del Pens. Ital., Ser: II, 10, 1959), cited in M. Reeves, "The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Mediaeval Attitudes", in *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot/Brookfield USA: Ashgate, 1999), p. 64.

<sup>74</sup> Morocho Gayo, "Hermetismo y cabala Cristiana", p. 836.

<sup>75</sup> A. Losada, *Tratados políticos de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1963), pp. 25–27.

<sup>76</sup> M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 359–372.

King-Chastiser who destroys Rome that it was difficult not to see it in this context".<sup>77</sup>

Some of the messianic prophecies in circulation in the first decades of the sixteenth century specifically attributed the conquest of the Turks to the House of Hapsburg: Hieronymus Gebweiler, in his book *Libertas Germaniae* written rather significantly between 1519, the year of Charles V's election as emperor, and 1527, predicted that the Turkish Empire would be defeated by the Hapsburgs:<sup>78</sup>

The Sagittarian nation [Spaniards] will reign for long periods of time over Christians [literally Christ-worshippers] and the kingdom of the Hungarians will be given to it and will be reserved for a man, who is dutiful and very compassionate towards the Church. The same person will reform the church in Prague and will go up to the church of Santa Sophia in Constantinople, which is difficult for Christians to reach. But he will not be of the blood of Mathias but will spring from the rocky land of Germany and will go forth as a most sincere king.<sup>79</sup>

Jaime Bleda, in his book on the miracles attributed to the Holy Cross, cited a similar prophecy of John Claromontanus in which a descendant of the House of Hapsburg would reform both the Church in Prague and that of Santa Sophia in Constantinople.<sup>80</sup> Santa Sophia is

<sup>77</sup> Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, p. 362.

<sup>78</sup> Hieronymus Gebweiler in his book *Libertas Germaniae* greeted Charles V with much expectation: Gebweiler, Hieronymus, *Libertas Germaniae qua Germanos Gallis, neminem vero Gallo a christiano natali Germanis Imperasse, certissimis a classicorum scriptorum testimonijs probatur Hieronymo Gebulero authore* (Argentorati (Strasbourg): Apud Joannem Scotem, 1519): Reeves, "The Originality [...] of Joachim of Fiore", p. 355.

<sup>79</sup> "Gens Sagittaria regnabit tempora longa in Christicolis tuis & regnum Vngarorum dabitur ei & reseruabitur alteri, qui erit pius, et multum misericors quo ad Ecclesiam: ipse reformabit Ecclesiam Pragensem & Sanctae Sophiae templum Constantinopolitanum ascendet q[ue] ad ardua inter Catholicos. Sed non de sanguine Mathiae, sed de rupibus Alemaniae orietur & exiet Rex syncerissimus": F. Navarro, *Discvrso sobre la conivncion maxima que fue en Deziembre del Año 1603. En el qual se pronostican los felicissimos sucesos, y vitorias que señalan al Rey Don Phelipe III, nvestro señor, y a sv gente Sagitaria, que son los Españoles* (Valencia: Juan Chrisóstomo Garriz, 1604), p. 58; C. López de Cañete, *Compendio de los pronosticos y baticinios antiguos y modernos que pvblican la declinacion de la secta de Mahoma, y libertad de Hiervsaalem* (Granada: Franz Heylan, 1630), fol. 17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> J. Bleda, *Qvatrocientos milagros y muchas alabanças de la santa crvz: con vnos tratados de las cosas mas notables desta diuina señal. Compuestos por el P. F. Iayme Bleda, de la Orden de Predicadores, natural de Algemesi. Dirigidos a don Francisco de Sandoual y Rojas* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1600). [...] R 25971, BNE, fols 5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>. There is a more detailed reference to this passage in the short biography of Jaime Bleda.

mentioned again in the context of the Battle of Lepanto when Bleda considered that the victory there was heralded by three fiery crosses over the church: "Three crosses of blazing fire were seen for a long time over the church of Santa Sophia of Constantinople. These fires represented the victory of the Holy League".<sup>81</sup> Pope Pius V had presented Don Juan of Austria, leader of the Spanish forces, with a standard representing the crucifixion. Rather implausibly, Bleda described how a female monkey kept going up to the flag and removing the arrows, none of which reached the cross!<sup>82</sup> "In imitation of Constantine, Don Juan carried this inscription: *In hoc signo vici*" (In this sign I conquered).<sup>83</sup> Later, we shall see Bleda's reference to the pseudo-Methodius prophecy and his reference to a new Golden Age, to take place in the reign of Philip III. Another primary source of all the Apologists was to be found in the writings of Joachim of Fiore.

### *Joachim of Fiore*

Contrary to Augustine, Joachim of Fiore, whose work was widely influential from the thirteenth century onwards, believed that there would be an apotheosis of history on earth. He claimed that Trinitarian view of history had been given to him by the *spiritualis intellectus*, and that history reflected the nature of the godhead.<sup>84</sup> The meaning of history was to be found in the mysterious action of the Trinity, which penetrated all ages. At times, this took the form of concordances between the Old Testament and the New Testament and this reflected the relationship between the Father, who is represented in the Old Testament, and the Son, who is present in the New. The third *status* or age would be that of the Holy Spirit and would form the apotheosis of history, when the elect would enjoy great happiness in the New Jerusalem. This

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<sup>81</sup> "Fueron vistas tres Cruces de fuego esplendidísimo por vn grãde rato sobre el templo de Santa Sophia de Constantinopla. Estos fuegos denominaron la Victoria de la Santa Liga": Bleda, *Qvatrocientos milagros*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>82</sup> "Pío V había regalado un estandarte con un crucifijo a don Juan de Austria. Una mona subía al estandarte y quitaban las saetas de las cuales ninguna alcanzo le cruz": Bleda, *Qvatrocientos milagros*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>83</sup> Bleda, *Qvatrocientos milagros*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>84</sup> M. Reeves, "Pattern and Purpose in History in the Later Medieval and Renaissance Periods", *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. M. Bull (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 90-111; also in *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot/Brookfield USA: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 90-111.

would take place on earth before the end of Time. These three *stati* are described in his works *Liber concordiae* (the first *status*), *Expositio* (the second *status*) and the *Psalterium* of the *spiritualis intellectus* or third *status*. Joachim of Fiore's biblical exegesis was very influential and he is used as a source by the Catholic Apologists when describing the political prophecies, which they cite as proof of the historical inevitability of the expulsion of the Moriscos.

Let us now look in greater detail at the Sibylline myth of the Emperor of the Last Days, which is re-used by the Catholic Apologists, who apply it to Philip III.

*The Emperor of the Last Days, the 'Encubierto'  
and St Isidore*

When the Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen won back Jerusalem and was crowned king in 1229 he was considered to be the Emperor of the Sibylline prophecies. Frederick's unexpected death in 1250, before the rest of the predictions had been fulfilled, astounded Europe.<sup>85</sup> There grew up a deeply rooted belief that he had not truly died. He would lie in concealment until an appropriate time, when he would arise again like the Emperor of the prophecies. In Spain, this conviction took the form of the *Encubierto* (the hidden one), which Alain Milhou considers to be a Spanish version of the Sleeping Emperor of the Last Days.<sup>86</sup> Some legends associated the *Encubierto* with the island of Hierro, La Palma or the Arthurian Avallon. There the *Encubierto* would await his return to Spain together with an Angelic Pope. Then, from 1530 onwards, the *Trovas* of Gonçalo Anes Bandarra spread belief in an *Encobertado* which, after the defeat of King Sebastián in Alcázarquivir (1578), gave rise to *Sebastianismo* or a belief that a resurrected Sebastian would return to deliver Portugal from the Spanish (Hapsburg) oppressor.<sup>87</sup> Another indigenous prophetic tradition in Spain predicted that a descendant of the Re-conquest hero and conqueror

<sup>85</sup> J. Gimeno Casaldüero, "La profecía medieval en la literatura castellana y su relación con las corrientes proféticas europeas", *NRFH*, XX (1971), p. 79.

<sup>86</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 237.

<sup>87</sup> Portuguese visionaries argued that as slaves were branded with a letter S for *servus* then, by association, the *Encubierto* must refer to King Sebastian, whose return was expected some misty morning: Carmelo, "La simbología del Encubierto", pp. 116–117; Carmelo, "La simbología del Encubierto", pp. 113–126.

of Seville, Ferdinand III *el santo* (the saint), would become 'San Fernando redivivo', a *redivivus* or rebodiment of his illustrious predecessor Ferdinand III, *el santo* (1198/99–1252) who, at his death in 1252, was popularly declared a saint.<sup>88</sup>

Fray Juan Alemán, in his millenarian text *La venguda de Antichrist*, used the term *Encubierto* to describe the Emperor of the Last Days for the first time.<sup>89</sup> The New David is not presented as another aspect of the Last World Emperor, as was the case with Arnau of Vilanova, but as an Angelic Pope who, together with the Spanish monarch, will wage war against Islam, reform the church, re-conquer Jerusalem and establish a millenarian kingdom for the poor from which Jews and Moors would be excluded.<sup>90</sup> Seville, however, is shown as the seat of the New Jerusalem.<sup>91</sup> A version of the *Profecías de san Isidoro*, that circulated during the anti-Hapsburg revolt of the *germanías*, also refers in detail to the *Encubierto*.<sup>92</sup> The *Venguda* was probably written before 1490, date of the earliest printed copy, so must form the source for the Isidorian prophecies. Along with other contemporary texts, the *Venguda* served to exalt Ferdinand *el católico*; these new prophecies were used to consolidate his position in Castile by giving him a universal and transcendent mission of defeating the infidel, restoring religious unity and, after the capture of the Holy Sepulchre, becoming Universal Monarch.<sup>93</sup> Rodrigo Ponce de León, Count of Cádiz, used the prophecies during the Granada war by to win support for Ferdinand. Ponce de León uses the epithet *Encubierto* and the image of the New David in a letter to the Castilian nobles (1486). He cites St. Isidore and St. John to provide authorities for his prophecy. This very eloquent piece of political propaganda combines elements from both the native and the Joachimist prophetic traditions and casts Ferdinand in the role of the Emperor of the Last Days:

<sup>88</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 362. Prophecies that date from between 1369 and 1377 have been collected in the *Baladro del sabio Merlin* (1535): Milhou, "La chauve-souris", p. 62.

<sup>89</sup> This book was also a source for the title of New David It had been circulating in manuscript form since the time of the Catholic Monarchs. It was translated into Catalan twice and the second version published in 1520: *La venguda de Antichrist*: Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 239.

<sup>90</sup> Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 151; Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, pp. 239–240.

<sup>91</sup> Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 151.

<sup>92</sup> For a description of the revolt of the *germanías* see the Introduction, note 107.

<sup>93</sup> Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, pp. 145, 147, 150, 151.

[the Hidden One] will destroy all the Moors of Spain [...] and not only will his Highness conquer the kingdom of Granada very quickly, but he will subject all Africa [...] and he will even conquer the Holy House of Jerusalem [...] and he will place with his very own hands the pennant of Aragon on Mount Calvary [...] and he will be Emperor of Rome and of the Turks and of all Spain [...] he will install a Holy Father of very saintly life [...] and he will not only be Emperor but Monarch of the whole world [...] take heed that this saintly and beloved king Ferdinand of ours is the Hidden One, and this is declared to be so by St. John and St. Isidore in their works [...] and he will greatly resemble King David when he was alive [...] you should serve and aid this noble king to destroy all the Moors and heretics, thus glorifying our Holy Catholic Faith.<sup>94</sup>

Let's return to the myth of the Sleeping Emperor of the Last Days. According to some prophecies the death of the Emperor of the Last Days' was only apparent: thus he was expected to return as a *redivivus*, as he had never really died. He would lie in concealment until an appropriate time, when he would once again make himself visible. The remote origins of this belief lie in the myth of the hidden *Mahdī* or Messiah and in the Pseudo-Methodius. In Spain, this conviction took two forms: that of the *Encubierto* and also the indigenous prophetic tradition, mentioned above, that predicted that a descendant of Ferdinand III become a *redivivus*.

The name Ferdinand acquired mystic connotations, which were exploited politically by Ferdinand *el católico*, who also, paradoxically, may have believed that he would not die until he had re-conquered Jerusalem.<sup>95</sup> Ferdinand of Hapsburg, brother of Charles V, was Ferdinand *el católico*'s preferred successor as King of Castile, as expressed in his first will. The royal chronicler recounts that others also supported

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<sup>94</sup> “[El Encubierto] destruirá todos los moros de España [...] y no solamente su alteza ganará el reino de Granada muy presto, más sojuzgará toda Africa [...] y ganará fasta la Casa Santa de Jerusalén [...] e porná por sus manos el pendón de Aragón en el monte Calvario [...] e será emperador de Roma, e de los turcos e de las Españas [...] porná un santo padre de muy santa vida [...] e no solamente será Emperador, mas monarca del mundo [...] Sabed que este santo rey don Fernando bien aventurado que tenemos, es el Encubierto, e así está declarado por San Juan y San Isidro en sus relaciones [...] y parecerá mucho al rey David cuando era vivo [...] debéis servir e ayudar á tan noble rey á destruir todos los moros y herejes, ensalzando la Santa Fé Católica” (*CODOIN*, CVI, 1893, pp. 248–250).

<sup>95</sup> Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal claimed that this had been predicted by the Beata del Barco de Ávila and that Ferdinand believed her: Milhou, “La chauve-souris”, p. 63, n. 5.

Ferdinand's candidacy as regent and refers to a prophecy that foretold his future kingship.<sup>96</sup>

The *redivivus* prophecy went into circulation again on the birth of Ferdinand (1571), son of Philip II and Anne of Austria, born in the significant year of 1571 (the victory at the naval battle of Lepanto by the Catholic League took place on 7 October 1571), when it was attributed to St. Nicholas Factor (1520–1583). The *redivivus* reappears yet again at the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos; the Catholic Apologist Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier applies it to Ferdinand, son of Philip III and Margarita of Austria, born in 1609, and he declared that someone of the name Ferdinand would be instrumental in the destruction of Spanish Islam. On the occasion of the prince's birth a party was held in Valencia. On hearing the name to be given to the child, the Moriscos were saddened:

[...] an *alfaquí* [Qur'anic scholar] of great renown and of good standing among themselves [the Moriscos] said that Philip [III] and Ferdinand, his son [the future *Cardenal Infante* (1609–1641)], will pursue us; the father will expel us and the son will destroy all the Muslims beyond the sea. And other Moriscos related that a certain prince of Spain, who would be called iron, that is Ferrando or Ferdinand, would be the scourge of the Saracen and destroy them.<sup>97</sup>

Jaime Bleda also refers to the recovery of the Holy Land by a Prince Ferdinand. However, this is the brother rather than the son of Philip III).<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Sandoval claims that on 8 June 1516, Prince Ferdinand met a hermit, while he was hunting in the mountains. The hermit apparently told him that it was God's will that he be king of Castile: "Que había de ser rey de Castilla y que no dudase ni se apartase de esta pretension, porque aquella era la voluntad de Dios": P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, BAE, LXXX, p. 83.

<sup>97</sup> "[...] dixo un Alfaquí de gran nombre, y buena opinion entre ellos. Felipo y Fernando su hijo nos han de perseguir, el padre nos expelera y el hijo destruyra toda la gente Mahometana de la otra parte del mar. Y otros Moriscos referian, que cierto Príncipe de España, que tendria nombre de Fierro, esto es Ferrando o Ferdinando, seria martillo y destruycion de los Sarracenos": M. de Guadalajara y Javier, *Memoable expulsion y ivstissimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Assiayn, 1613), fol. 160<sup>r</sup>. The *Coplas de Pedro de Frías* (Valencia, 1521) had predicted that the Portuguese *Encobertado* would bear a letter of iron (*hierro*) in his name which symbolised his strength and invincibility.

<sup>98</sup> "[...] testimonio autentico recepto coram Episcopo Alfonso Daulos que prae-dixit Principem Ferdinandum, domini nostri, regis fratrem Terram Sanctam recuperaturum [...]": Bleda, *Defensio fidei*, p. 538.



Another millenarian image used by the Apologists was that of New David. Its use in Spain had received prominence during the reign of Ferdinand *el católico*.

*Ferdinand el católico as the New David*

The New David was one of the eschatological titles given to Ferdinand *el católico*. (Let's not forget that, as King Ferdinand II of Aragon from 1479, he would have been associated with the *via Germania* millenarian prophecies.) In the *Baladro del sabio Merlín* (1535) there are four comparisons between Ferdinand and King David.<sup>99</sup> I shall cite two of them, the first of which includes a reference to the Spanish crusade against North Africa:

Wise Merlin said that there would rise up this Lion King, who was born in the caves of Hercules, where he had been sleeping [?], and that he will cross the Straits of Spain [...] and he will conquer the barbarian peoples, and subjugate all Africa, and destroy Egypt, and leave the land to his children, and in all his deeds he will resemble King David in nobility and goodness, and in wondrous things and deeds.<sup>100</sup>

King David is mentioned again further on in the text:

This king will resemble King David in his deeds [...] And David, and Solomon, and Alexander, these three, who were most noble and highly esteemed in the world, these will withdraw in favour of [lit. lose their voices in exchange for] that of this Lion King of Spain.<sup>101</sup>

The fourteenth-century *Baladro del sabio Merlín con sus profecías* is based on a text that was written originally in Britain, at the time of

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<sup>99</sup> Adolfo Bonilla de San Martín, editor of the NBAE edition, notes that these prophecies came as an adjunct to the second edition of the *Baladro* (1535). He considers them to be of Sibylline origin.

<sup>100</sup> "Dixo el sabio Merlín que se leuantarà este rey León que nasció en las cuevas de Ércoles que durmió, e passará el estrecho de España [...] e conquerrá las gentes bárbaras, e sojuzgará a toda África, y destruyrá a Egipto, e dexará la tierra a sus hijos; y parecerá en todos sus hechos al rey Daid en alteza y bondad, e marauillosas cosas e marauillosos fechos": Anon., *Baladro del sabio Merlín: Primera parte de La demanda del Santo Grial: Libros de caballerías*, ed. A. Bonilla de San Martín, NBAE, VI (Madrid: Bailly Baillièere e hijos, 1907), p. 162.

<sup>101</sup> "Este rey semejará al rey Daid en sus fechos [...] Y Daid, e Solomón, e Alexandre, estos tres, que fueron los más nobles y preciados de mundo, estos perderán sus bozes por la suya deste rey León de España": *Baladro*, p. 162.

the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and the prophecies had offered hope and consolation to the beleaguered Britons.<sup>102</sup> In an adjunct to the *Baladro*, a new leader, who resembles the biblical King David, will conquer and drive out the Moors and then go on to liberate Jerusalem. The Merlin prophecies became associated with the historical kingdoms of Castile and León from the reign of Alfonso XI (1311–1350), and made allusions to politics, in particular that of the succession.<sup>103</sup> In the words of Gutierre Díez de Gamés (1379–1449) in *El Victorial*: “[...] each time there is a new king, they invent a new Merlin. They [the prophecies] say that that king will cross the sea and destroy all the Moors and win back the Holy House [of Jerusalem] and be an emperor”.<sup>104</sup> These and other *pronósticos* or prophecies were very popular among both *crístianos viejos* and Moriscos in spite of the ban of Pope Sixtus V. (In his bull *Caeli et terrae* (1585) the pope had banned judicial astrology.)<sup>105</sup> The prophecies about the *Encubierto* or Hidden One, the Spanish Version of the Sleeping Emperor of the Last Days, were re-used many times during the sixteenth century.

*St Isidore, the Encubierto' and the  
Native Prophetic Tradition*

The native prophetic tradition known as the *via gotica* was attributed to St. Isidore (560–636) of Seville. The Visigothic bishop, author of the *Etimologías* (627–630), was reputed to have had a premonitory vision of the Moorish invasion seventy-five years before the event.<sup>106</sup> The Moorish victory was known as the *destrucción* and the Christian

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<sup>102</sup> Gimeno Casaldueiro, “La profecía medieval en la literatura castellana”. The earliest written Merlin prophecies in Castile come in the reign of Alfonso VIII who, in 1170, married Eleanor Plantaganet, daughter of Henry II, to whom Geoffrey de Monmouth had dedicated the first written Merlin prophecies in England, the *Profetia Merlini* (1135): Anon., *El baladro del sabio Merlín cō sus profecias. Transcripción y estudios* (Universidad de Oviedo: Ediciones Trea, 2000), p. xxiii.

<sup>103</sup> Anon., *Baladro*, p. xxxi.

<sup>104</sup> “[...] como viene rey nuevo, luego fazen Merlín nuevo. Dizen que aquel rey ha de pasar la mar e destruir toda la morisma e ganar la Casa Santa [de Jerusalém] e à de ser enperador”: G. Díez de Galmés, *El Victorial*, ed. Rafael Beltrán Llavador (Salamanca: Biblioteca del Siglo XV, 1997), p. 325; *Baladro*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>105</sup> J. Caro Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición* (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), p. 180.

<sup>106</sup> St. Isidore, *Originum sive etimologiarum libri viginti*. The *Etimologías* was an encyclopedia much used during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

response as the *restauración de España*.<sup>107</sup> The origin of these prophecies lay in the divinatory texts that, during the ‘Reconquest’, attempted to predict its successful conclusion. This native prophetic tradition had been attempting to forecast the end of Islam since the ninth century. The earliest prediction was in the *Crónica Albeldense* (AD 883), written during the reign of Alfonso III of Asturias (866–910). Within this text is inserted a ‘crónica profética’, based on an adulterated prophecy of Ezekiel, which considered that the defeat of the Visigoths by the Arabs was God’s punishment for their sins. However, within ‘one hundred and seventy ages’ the Arabs would themselves be defeated.<sup>108</sup> Don Lucas de Túy in his *Chronicon mundi* (1236) attributed falsely this lament or ‘Planto de España’, with its refrain of ‘¡Guay de ti España!’ (‘Woe to thee Oh Spain!’), to St. Isidore and this attribution was officially confirmed in the *Primera crónica general* of Alfonso X (1252–1284).<sup>109</sup>

A version of the ‘Planto de España’ was associated with the revolutionary movement of the *germanías* (1519–1523) and can be found in a manuscript of the period (MS 1779, BNE). The Isidorian prophecies had spread orally and in manuscript form among the soldiers of the Junta.<sup>110</sup> Here is an extract from the manuscript:

From a very ancient book of the prophecies of St. Isidore, doctor [of the Church] was taken a lament that he made about Spain, which goes like this: “Woe to thee, Oh Spain and woe to your great leader, uncrowned by virtue, for your deeds and sins are abhorred by God and the blood of the little people demand vengeance.”<sup>111</sup>

Milhou considers that part of the prophecy found in this manuscript is a version of the ‘*Hispania nutrix [machometicae precavitas]*’ (Spain the foster mother [the depravity of the Muslims]), a prophecy that derives from the *Veh mundo* of Arnau of Vilanova, which predicts the overthrow of Islam.<sup>112</sup> Luis Carmelo has also studied the figure of the *Encu-*

<sup>107</sup> J. López Ortiz, “San Isidoro y el Islam (comentarios a cuatro pasajes de D. Lucas de Túy y del Silense)”, *Cruz y Raya*, V, XXXVI (1936), 7–63.

<sup>108</sup> M. Gómez Moreno, “Las primeras crónicas de la reconquista: el ciclo de Alfonso III”, *BAH*, V (1932), pp. 565, 574–576.

<sup>109</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 351.

<sup>110</sup> Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 160.

<sup>111</sup> “De un libro muy antiguo de las profeçias de sant ysidoro, doctor fue sacado vn llanto que el fiço sobre españa el qual dize así. Guai de ti españa y de tu gran caudillo sin corona de virtudes ca tus fedores [sic] y pecados aborrescidos son de dios y la sangre de los pequeños demanda vengança [...]”

<sup>112</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, pp. 380–381.

*bierto*, as a messianic, popular, anti-Hapsburg leader whose policies for the reform of society included the expulsion of the Moors [Moriscos]. His source was the *aljamiado* manuscript MS 774 from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>113</sup> Carmelo links the *Encubierto* with two historical periods, the aftermath of the revolt of the *germanías* from 1524–1526 and the second Alpujarras war (1569–1571).<sup>114</sup> Later, in the sixteenth century, another popular, anti-Hapsburg leader, Miguel de Piedrola, would embrace similar policies. Milhou has also noted that the Isidorian cycle was read widely in the circle of the visionary Lucrecia de León, who considered Piedrola to be the *Encubierto*.<sup>115</sup>

### *The 'Encubierto' and the Revolt of the Germanías*

A popular, messianic, anti-Hapsburg, would-be leader of the *germanías* who came on the scene after the death of Vicenç Peris (1522) also took the name of *Encubierto*. He preached a holy war on behalf of the poor, in which he was the divinely appointed 'rey encobertado'. Manuel Danvila gives eyewitness accounts taken from the archives of the Inquisition in Valencia:

He said that, within three days, we should take out of the church all the treasures and the special masks for the patron saint's day [and bring them] into the middle of the cathedral square and that we should hand them over to the bursars, so that they may sell them all for the holy war and to give to the little lambs of God, who have nothing to eat.<sup>116</sup>

Known also as 'el hombre de la bernia' (a rough woollen material worn as a cape in Andalucía) the *Encubierto* claimed to be a post-humous child of Prince John, son of the Catholic Monarchs, and

<sup>113</sup> There are four prohecias and numbers 1, 2 (*jofores*) and 4 (a *hādith*) are seen from a Morisco viewpoint. However, number 3 is anti Morisco and written from an Old Christian perspective: Carmelo, "La simbología del Encubierto", pp. 113–114.

<sup>114</sup> Carmelo, "La simbología del Encubierto", p. 120.

<sup>115</sup> Milhou, "La chauve-souris", pp. 73–74.

<sup>116</sup> "Dixo que dentro de tres dias sacásemos todo el tesoro de la iglesia e ropas de los mascarados en medio de la plaza de la Seu y que lo librásemos a los procuradores para que lo vendiessen todo para la sancta guerra y para dar a las ovejitas de Dios que no tienen que comer": M. Danvila, "El encubierto de Valencia", *El Archivo. Revista de Ciencias Históricas*, V, 1 (1890), p. 125. The 'mascarados' are perhaps the special masks worn by members of the religious confraternities.

‘Madama Margarita of Flanders’<sup>117</sup> and said that he had been given a messianic role by Elijah and Enoch.<sup>118</sup> This *Encubierto* was the first of many to associate themselves with the Trástamara regime as a means of questioning the legitimacy of the Hapsburgs, who had replaced the former regime in the person of Charles V (1500–1558).<sup>119</sup> The *Encubierto* sought a redistribution of the wealth of the Church among the poor, the ending of ‘la morisma’<sup>120</sup> and the reconquest of Jerusalem.<sup>121</sup> He saw himself as a saviour of the ordinary people and considered that the Viceroy of Valencia was the Antichrist.<sup>122</sup> He was finally killed in Burjasot, condemned, posthumously, by the Inquisition of Valencia and dragged through the city. Later, his body was burned and his head placed on the Cuarte gate in Valencia.<sup>123</sup> Páez García and Catalá Sanz point out that the Hapsburg monarchs never associated themselves with the *Encubierto*, even in anti-Islamic campaigns, possibly because during the *germanías* those who opposed the regime had used the name.<sup>124</sup>

Military conquest of North Africa is also linked to the expulsion of the Moriscos in the *aljamiado* manuscript 774. In the third of the four prophecies, it is predicted that the *Encubierto* will expel the Moriscos and pursue them to North Africa: “Many will perish by force of arms/ and many will flee to the sea and will cross over/ in flight to the Kalaros mountains (the Atlas mountains)/ the Hidden One will pursue them/ and win Ceuta and Tlemcen and Morocco”.<sup>125</sup>

Both manuscripts mentioned above, MS 1779 and MS 774, share very similar imagery. The Madrid manuscript bewails both the corrupt *regidores* (town councillors) of the state and the hypocrisy and

<sup>117</sup> G. Escolano, *Decada primera de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610), p. 700.

<sup>118</sup> Danvila, “El encubierto”, p. 127. Mediaeval prophecy associated these prophets with the overthrow of the Antichrist.

<sup>119</sup> Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 158.

<sup>120</sup> Escolano, *Decada primera*, p. 700.

<sup>121</sup> Danvila, “El encubierto”, p. 130.

<sup>122</sup> Danvila, “El encubierto”, p. 127.

<sup>123</sup> Danvila, “El encubierto”, p. 137.

<sup>124</sup> Páez García, *Epígonos del encubertismo*, p. 154.

<sup>125</sup> “[...] Muchoš pereserán por armaš i/ muchos se afugaran en la mar i pašaran/ fuyendo a loš monteš kalaroš ira/ el Enkubiyerto empuweš delloš/ y ganará a Sebta [sic, Ceuta] i-ya Terimisen [sic, Tremecén]/ i a Marruwekos”: L. López Baralt, “Las problemáticas ‘profecías’ de San Isidoro de Sevilla y de ‘Ali ibnu Yebir Alferisiyo en torno al Islam español del siglo XVI: tres aljofores del Ms aljamiado 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París”, *NRFH*, XXIX (1980), p. 366.

immorality of the Church. The metaphor “lobos tragones comedores sin piedad y rrobadores sin misericordia” (ravenous wolves, pitiless devourers [of the people], and robbers without mercy) may refer to the *regidores*, who represented the king, who are accused of breaking the law: “quebrantaste la justa los tus rregidores” (your town councillors did away with justice). The Church has lost its vocation to act as the spouse of Christ: “Alas Spain, you have become vainglorious and are no longer the spouse of Jesus Christ; you are worse than the Gentiles and idolaters”.<sup>126</sup> However, a new leader from the people will overthrow the inadequate political and religious leaders in Spain and he will defeat the Moors. The overthrow of Islam is expressed through a graphic image: “[...] its mosque will be destroyed right up to the hill of Jerusalem”.<sup>127</sup>

The image of *Encubierto* is present, also, in another prophecy associated with the second war of the Alpujarras. In it Don Juan of Austria, the victor of the Battle of Lepanto against the Turks (1571) and half brother of Philip II, is represented as a saviour who will defend Christianity against the onslaught of the Moors: “[...] the *Encubierto* is called Austro and he will travel in a wooden vessel [*sobre madera*], and as well as many other distinctive qualities, it [the prophecy] describes in great detail all the features and the appearance of the *Encubierto* [...] he is well-spoken and true to his word, a lover of justice and an enemy of Moors”.<sup>128</sup>

*Miguel de Piedrola, Lucrecia de León and the  
Millenarian Kingdom in Toledo*

During the reign of Philip II (1528–1598) the symbols of the *Encubierto* and the New David were associated with another reforming, anti-Hapsburg leader, the inauguration of a new *status quo* and with the chastisement of ‘la secta de Mahoma’. Miguel de Piedrola Beaumont, a former soldier, claimed descent from the knight Piedrola,

<sup>126</sup> “Guay de ti España que quedas vanagloria y no esposa de Jhesu Xpo\* po eres que los gentiles y ydólatras”: MS 1779, fols 37<sup>v</sup>–38<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> “[...] la su mezquita sera quebrantada fasta el collado de Yherusalem [...]”: MS 1779, fols 37<sup>v</sup>–38<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> L. Cardaillac, *Morisques et Crétiens, un affrontement polémique* (1492–1640) (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), p. 413.

last heir of the kings of Navarre.<sup>129</sup> He emulated John the Baptist by dressing in animal skins and living in a cave. According to the messianic dreams of the visionary Lucrecia de León a millenarian kingdom would be founded in Toledo. This would be like the mystical New Jerusalem. Rome would cease to be the centre of Christianity and the papacy would reside in Toledo.<sup>130</sup> A large cave at La Sopena had been refurbished under the guidance of Juan de Herrera, architect of El Escorial. Here the followers of Piedrola would take shelter during the holocaust.<sup>131</sup> Then, following the overthrow of the House of Hapsburg, a new kingdom for a select few would be set up and ruled over by Piedrola who is given the titles of both 'segundo David' and 'otro David'.<sup>132</sup> The visions also make an ambiguous reference to an *Encubierto*, which may be a reference to Piedrola.<sup>133</sup> He was arrested by the Inquisition in 1587 and his mantle was taken up by Lucrecia whose apocalyptic dreams were recorded by Alonso de Mendoza, a canon of Toledo. Mendoza was a son of the Count of La Coruña. He was doctor of theology and reader of Holy Scripture (Alcalá) and was also an aspiring alchemist and reader of both Raymond Lull and of Joachim of Fiore. He was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1590 and eventually went mad.<sup>134</sup>

In her dreams Lucrecia said that the 'el rey que ha de venir' (the king who is to come) would reject the wealthy and favour the poor.<sup>135</sup> The religious order set up by Piedrola's followers called *La Congregación de la Nueva Restauración* encouraged its followers to take part in a war to liberate Jerusalem and to recapture the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>136</sup>

Another constant in the dreams of Lucrecia is the extirpation of heretics and Moors who are represented as birds of prey, serpents or creepy-crawlies: they are described as 'carniverous birds' (p. 190),

<sup>129</sup> *Sueños y procesos*, p. 44.

<sup>130</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 317.

<sup>131</sup> *Sueños y procesos*, pp. 22, 69.

<sup>132</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 247.

<sup>133</sup> *Sueños y procesos*, p. 241.

<sup>134</sup> *Sueños y procesos*, p. 26.

<sup>135</sup> *Sueños y procesos*, p. 269.

<sup>136</sup> *Sueños y procesos*, p. 137. Among the members of the nobility who supported the *Congregación* was Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria. In fact, Lucrecia always recounted her dreams to Doña María Mayor, one of the Duchesses' ladies-in-waiting (*Sueños y procesos*, p. 24). Pedro de Valencia had a lot of contact with the Duchess's household, as his letters to Fray José de Sigüenza were often sent via her house in Madrid.

'crows and rooks' (p. 191), serpents, creepy-crawlies, crows' (p. 228).<sup>137</sup> The fears of Lucrecia's contemporaries that the Moriscos represented a fifth column within Spain are expressed and the Moors are represented as both engaging in a siege of Toledo and the capture of Madrid.<sup>138</sup>

The association by Lucrecia of the image of the *Encubierto* with an anti-Hapsburg movement, as had happened also during the Revolt of the *germanías*, was a complete *volte-face* to its use during the reign of Ferdinand *el católico* and illustrates how prophecies could be re-used at times of millenarian fervour. We shall end this chapter with a further analysis of the perception of Spain as the pre-eminent Christian nation.

### *Fray Juan de la Puente and Spanish Pre-eminence*

Spain's pre-eminence is argued at length by Fray Juan de la Puente, a Dominican and Royal Chronicler, in a large tome whose title and frontispiece encapsulate the notion of Spanish pre-eminence. The title reveals that Charles V's dream of universal monarchy still formed part of the national consciousness. The book was called *Tomo primero de la conueniencia de las dos Monarquías Católicas, la de la Iglesia Romana y la del Imperio Español, y defensa de la precedencia de los reyes Católicos de España a todos los Reyes del Mundo* (Volume One Concerning the Appropriateness of the Two Catholic Monarchies, that of the Roman [Catholic] Church and that of the Spanish Empire, and Defence of the Precedence of the Catholic Kings of Spain over All the Kings of the World). It is dedicated to Philip III: *Al gloriosísimo Filipo Ermenigildo, nuestro señor, Emperador de las Españas, y Señor de la maior Monarquía que an tenido los hombres desde la creacion hasta el siglo presente* (To the Most Glorious Philip Hermenegild, our Lord, Emperor of Spain and Lord of the Greatest Empire that Mankind has Witnessed from the Creation to the Present Century).<sup>139</sup> The author

<sup>137</sup> "aves carniceras" (p. 190), "cuervos y grajos" (p. 191), "sierpes, sabandijas, cuervos (p. 228)."

<sup>138</sup> In this same year of 1588 a mysterious parchment was discovered in Granada during the demolition of the minaret of the former mosque. Named 'el pergamino de la Torre Turpiana' it purported to be an eschatological prophecy written by St. John the Evangelist. I shall discuss it later when writing about apocalyptic prophecies.

<sup>139</sup> J. de la Puente, *Tomo primero de la conueniencia de las dos Monarquías Católicas, la de la Iglesia Romana y la del Imperio Español, y defensa de la precedencia de*



states that the title ‘gloriosísimo’ is in the tradition of titles given to the Visigothic kings by Popes and Councils; Reccared (586–601) was given the title of ‘christianísimo’ (most Christian) in 589 and Sisenand (631–636) that of ‘religiosísimo’ (most religious) in 633. Reccared was the Visigothic king who unified the Christian religion in his kingdom and declared Catholicism to be the state religion at the third Council of Toledo in 589. This council ended the Arian heresy in Spain and brought together the population of Hispano-Romans and those Visigoths who had converted with Hermenegild, repudiating the beliefs of Arianism.<sup>140</sup> Hermenegild, by his conversion, was greatly influential in bringing religious divisions to an end.<sup>141</sup> This is perhaps why de la Puente associates him with Philip III in the title ‘Gloriosísimo Filipo Ermenegildo.’ He may also be engaging in ‘goticismo’, a harking back to the period of the Visigoths, in which promoters of *limpieza de sangre* liked to engage.<sup>142</sup>

The Visigoth Sisenand (631–636), together with St Isidore, was the king who presided over the fourth Council of Toledo in AD 633. The Catholic Apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos constantly appeal to this council. Although it condemned, in principle, the use of force in the baptism of the Jews it adopted a policy of ‘letting bygones be bygones’ in the case of the Jews forcibly baptised by Sisebuth in 616 CE.<sup>143</sup> This ratification of Sisebuth’s forced conversions by the fourth Council of Toledo was cited as legal precedent by the Commission set up by the Emperor Charles V in 1524 to study the validity of the baptisms of the Moriscos. These had been carried out during the revolt of the *germanías*, whose instigators, together with the *comuneros* of Castile, had fought on behalf of regional rights and protested against an absent, foreign, monarch, who spent more time in the Holy Roman Empire than in Spain. Presided over by the Inquisitor General, Alonso Manrique de Lara, Bishop of Seville, the Commission found the forced

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*los Reyes Catolicos a todos los Reyes del Mundo* (Madrid: Juan Flamenco (Imprenta Real), 1612).

<sup>140</sup> Arianism did not accept that Christ was the Son of God.

<sup>141</sup> *Diccionario de historia de España*, III, 1969, pp. 405–406.

<sup>142</sup> M. García-Arenal, “El entorno de los plomos: historiografía y linaje”, *Al-Qantara*, XXIV, 2 (2003), pp. 316–323.

<sup>143</sup> E. Flórez, *España sagrada: teatro geographico-historico de la iglesia de España*, VI (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1751), canon 57, p. 164.

baptisms valid and judged that the neophytes should come under the jurisdiction of the Church and the Inquisition.<sup>144</sup>

In the frontispiece of de la Puente's book there is an allegorical representation of the Catholic Church and of the Spanish State. Spain is represented as Ceres, Roman goddess of fertility, who is carrying the customary sheaf of corn but also a shield and the Roman *fasces* as proof of her military prowess.<sup>145</sup> A female legionary represents the Church. She holds the palm of victory/ martyrdom in her right hand. The female figures are both pointing to and holding up a globe of the world. Surmounting both is a quotation from Genesis, Chapter 1, which tells of the creation of the two great lights of the world, the sun and the moon:

Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna  
Luminare maius ut presit urbi et orbi.  
Luminare minus ut subdatur urbi  
et dominatur orbis.<sup>146</sup>

According to de la Puente, the sun represents the Church, or the spiritual power of canon law, and the moon portrays the temporal power of 'the greatest of kings'; he claims that the pope has spiritual power over most of humanity whereas Spain has temporal power, Philip III being the most powerful ruler on earth.<sup>147</sup> The interlaced shields that show the arms of the Papacy and those of Philip III lean towards one another to symbolise the love and unity that has always existed between these two great Catholic monarchies. (This assertion is rather ironic when placed in the context of the expulsion of the Moriscos.)

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<sup>144</sup> D. Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlzion de los moriscos de España* (Rome: Iacomo Mascardo, 1612), pp. 13–14.

<sup>145</sup> The *fasces* were the insignia of a Roman consul. They consisted of a bundle of rods carried by the *lictor*, who accompanied the consul, and could be used as a whip. The *fasces* also appear on the crest of Ferdinand and Isabella.

<sup>146</sup> "God made two great lights/ one greater light so that it would preside over the city and the world/, One lesser light to rule over the city/ and dominate the world". This passage is a reinterpretation of Genesis 1, 16. The Vulgate version reads: *Fecitque Deus duo magna luminaria, luminare maius ut praeesset diei, et luminare minus ut praeesset nocti et stellas* ([...] a greater light to rule the day and a lesser light to rule the night and the stars).

<sup>147</sup> The empire of Philip III consisted of the entire Iberian Peninsula; in the New World he ruled over Mexico, Central America and all of South America. In Europe he was ruler of the Spanish Netherlands and the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Milan. The kingdom of Aragon had also claimed the throne of Jerusalem and Pope Julius II had ratified this in 1510.

The crests are also tied together by a cord, under which is inscribed the motto *in vinculo pacis* (bound together in peace).<sup>148</sup>

Fray Juan de la Puente considered that Spain's pre-eminence was linked to the patron saint of Spain, Santiago or St. James the Great, and so this topic will be discussed in Chapter 2.

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<sup>148</sup> The early seventeenth century is a time when moral emblems were widely used. Together with Juan Bautista Lavaña (Lavanha), the cosmographer, Pedro de Valencia designed a series of emblematic paintings to be used, possibly, in the Alcázar. It is in the manuscript called *Descripción de la pintura de las virtudes* and describes the political virtues: Valencia, MS 13. 348, fols 22<sup>r</sup>–27<sup>r</sup>.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SANTIAGO AND SPAIN'S PERCEIVED PRE-EMINENCE AMONG CHRISTIAN NATIONS

Those who argued that Spain was the pre-eminent Christian nation attributed this precedence to divine intervention. They believed that Santiago *Apóstol* had brought Christianity to Spain, before his execution by Herod in Jerusalem in 44 CE. Spain was, thus, the first European nation to learn of Christ. Then, during the 'Reconquest' of Spain from the Muslims, God once again intervened, by sending Santiago *Batallador*, St. James the Battler or *Matamoros*, the Moor Killer, to fight against the infidel on behalf of the Christians. Santiago, then, fulfilled the dual role of *Batallador* and *Apóstol*; the legends about Santiago confirmed belief in Spanish pre-eminence, and in the conviction that Spaniards had become the new Chosen People. When this belief in Spain's pre-eminence was threatened by the Breviary controversy, the furore that broke out suggests that Santiago's mission was central to perceptions of national identity in the early seventeenth century.

The first decades of the seventeenth century saw a polarization of attitudes towards Santiago during two controversies: the possible removal of the *Office of St. James* from the *Breviary*, due to scepticism in Rome concerning the saint's evangelization of Hispania, and the *patronato* controversy, during which St. Teresa of Ávila became, for a time, co-patron of Spain. The outcry in Spain when Cardinal Caesar Baronius tried to exclude Santiago's mission to Spain from the new edition of the Roman Breviary, to be published in 1602, was relayed to the Vatican by the Spanish ambassador, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa y Dormer, Duke of Feria. The ambassador was a patron of Pedro de Valencia, who laments the Cardinal's doubting of Santiago's mission in a letter written to the Duke from Zafra, on 22 June 1605, by which time Feria was Viceroy of Sicily.<sup>1</sup> Baronius finally agreed to

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<sup>1</sup> Valencia, MS 1116, fols 76<sup>v</sup>-77<sup>r</sup>; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 462-468.

include Santiago's mission with the qualification that this was a traditional belief of the Spanish Church.<sup>2</sup>

*Spain's Pre-eminence and Santiago: an Historical Precedent*

The royal chronicler Juan De la Puente argues that Spain's special position in the Church derives from the fact that she was the first country in the western world to be evangelised:

Spain is the oldest member of the Kingdom of the Church, and the foremost and firstborn in our Faith. On this is founded the principal right to superiority and precedence of your Catholic majesty over all the kings of the world.<sup>3</sup>

Santiago's mission to Spain is central to de la Puente's belief. He holds that the saint's first visit in 34 CE was not fortuitous but the fulfilment of a divine plan, revealed at the time of Christ's birth by astronomical phenomena. He further supports his claim of Spanish pre-eminence by reference to biblical *figurae* and geographical arguments. He contends that Spain is the Western country that most resembles the Holy Land and was also the site of an earthly paradise like that of the classical Elysian Fields.<sup>4</sup> However, he begins by citing events from the Council of Basle to argue in favour of Spanish pre-eminence.

At the Council of Basle (1431–1437) the ambassador of the English King Henry VI took precedence over the Castilian envoy. De la Puente assumes that this arose because of Spain's previous absence from international events ('actos solenes') had led to ignorance among other nations of her right to precedence over them:

<sup>2</sup> T. D. Kendrick, *St. James in Spain* (London: Methuen, 1960).

<sup>3</sup> "Es España el mas antiguo miembro de la Monarquía Eclesiástica, y nuestra Fe la primera y primogenita: en lo cual se funda el principal derecho de la superioridad y precedencia de vuestra magestad católica a todos los Reyes del mundo": De la Puente, *La conueniencia*, pp. 365–366.

<sup>4</sup> "The Greeks thought also that in this kingdom was found the Elysian Fields, dwelling-place of the gods and reward for the just" (También creyeron los Griegos, que estauan en este Reyno los Campos Eliseos, habitación de los Dioses y premio de los varones justos): De la Puente, *La conueniencia*, 190. In the epic poem *La creación del mundo* by Alonso de Acevedo (1615) the author makes his native Plasencia "[...] an Edenic region of earthly happiness and fruitfulness. Thus, Spain is seen to be the special beneficiary of God's favour, even in the act of divine creation": C. Fitzpatrick, *Three Christian Epics of the Spanish Baroque. Themes and Contrasts* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, National University of Ireland, Dublin, 2002), pp. 197, 201, 207–208.

This case was won against the King of England, as was recorded after the Council of Basle, where the best seat was given to the Spanish ambassador.<sup>5</sup> This was due to Don Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of the city of Burgos, a loyal vassal and zealous for his king's honour, whose name and valour will be forever remembered.<sup>6</sup>

The Council took almost two years to confirm in writing Spain's pre-eminence over England. It did this on 24 July 1436. Juan de Mariana also describes the event.<sup>7</sup>

Don Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456) had represented John II of Castile at the Council and has left a written account of his defence of Castile's right to precedence over England.<sup>8</sup> Don Alonso was from a notable *converso* family and in 1435 had succeeded his father as Bishop of Burgos. (His father was the former Jewish rabbi and scholar Salemoh ha-Levi.) Cartagena uses the mission of Santiago to Spain as one of his arguments in favour of Spain's pre-eminence. He takes as given that Spain received the faith before England and thus has a greater right to precedence:

But, however it came about, even if one doubts whether St. Paul came to Spain or not, it is sufficient and quite incontrovertible to say that St. James and his disciples, and even St. Eugene, martyr, preached in Spain [...] And thus, one can reasonably say that Spain received the word of God at the time of the Apostles.<sup>9</sup>

De la Puente adds that Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468), later Cardinal, confirmed Spain's precedence over England during a sermon

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<sup>5</sup> De la Puente's description of the ambassador as 'de España' in 1435 is anachronistic. The Jesuit historian, Juan de Mariana (1535–1624), more accurately says that he is Castilian.

<sup>6</sup> "Esta causa fue vencida en quanto al rey de Inglaterra, como cõsta del Concilio Basiliense adõde se dio mejor lugar al Embaxador de España. Lo cual se deue a Don Alõso de Cartagena, obispo de la ciudad de Burgos, como leal vasallo y zeloso de la honra de su Rey, dexando eterna memoria de su nombre y valor": De la Puente, *La conueniencia*, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> J. de Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri XXX* (Mogvntiae: Typis B. Lippii. Imprensus heredum A. Wecheli, 1605), trans. *Historia de España*, BAE, XXXI, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> A. de Cartagena, "Discurso de D. Alonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos, sobre la precedencia del rey católico sobre el de Inglaterra en el concilio de Basilea", *Prosistas españoles del siglo XV*, I, BAE, CXVI, pp. 205–233.

<sup>9</sup> "Mas, como quier que ello sea, aunque de Sant Pablo se dubde si fue a España o non, basta que es bien cierto que Santiago e sus discípulos, e aun Sant Eugenio mártir, predicaron en España. [...] E así, rasonablemente se puede decir que España rescibió la palabra de Dios en tiempo de los apóstoles": Cartagena, *Discurso*, p. 215.

that he gave on Santiago at the selfsame Council of Basle.<sup>10</sup> We will return to the importance of Santiago as an identity myth in early modern Spain but first will continue to discuss other aspects of the widely held belief that Spaniards were the new Chosen People.

*Santiago Apóstol and Spanish Pre-eminence:  
Astronomical Phenomena*

Santiago's mission to Spain was believed by some to be part of God's divine plan. The notion of Divine Providence was a contentious issue in the early seventeenth century. In politics, differing attitudes divided those who favoured a secularised view from those anti-Machiavellians who staunchly defended the presence of the divine will in all historical events. Royal chroniclers, in particular those of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, had seen the hand of God in all the victories and defeats of their masters. This was particularly so in the establishment of the legitimacy of Isabella's claim to the throne of Castile and in the 'crusade' against Granada. These issues will be examined more fully in the context of Pedro de Valencia's notions on kingship.

De la Puente puts forward his arguments in favour of Spanish pre-eminence to show that this was due to divine favour. Santiago's apostolic mission to Spain was not fortuitous; Divine Providence had shown that this had been planned from the time of the birth of Christ, by means of an astronomical phenomenon. It is described in Pliny the Elder, Book II and is mentioned also by St. Thomas Aquinas, when writing about the birth of Christ and the universality of the Christian message. As the shepherds represent the Jewish people so the Magi stand for the Gentiles. Aquinas believes it to be credible that in other parts of the world there were signs of Christ's birth:<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> De la Puente, *La conueniencia*, p. 9. Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468) was a renowned Dominican theologian who was honoured by Pope Eugene IV for his contribution to the Councils of Basle and Florence by the title *Defensor Fidei: Enciclopedia universal*, LXII, pp. 1236–1237.

<sup>11</sup> T. Aquinas, *New English Summa*, LII (London/New York: Blackfriars with Eyre & Spottiswoode/McGraw-Hill, 1965) 3a, qu. 36, art. 3, 3, p. 121.

It is credible, too, that in other parts of the world there were signs of Christ's birth; for instance, at Rome the river flowed with oil, and in Spain three suns were seen which gradually merged into one.<sup>12</sup>

The proponents of Divine Providence held that God wished the news of Christ's birth to travel to Mesopotamia and to the most extreme point in the western world. However, for some Spaniards, these three suns, which were seen in Spain, foretold its future evangelisation by the three apostles St. Peter, St. Paul and St. James the Great or Santiago. De la Puente continues:

The title of Apostolic, held by the Kingdom of the Church, is more fittingly applied to the Spanish Church and to its Catholic Empire than to any other Christian kingdom. Our principal right to this sacred honour is the fact that the two Princes of the Church, St. Peter and St. Paul, and before them St. James the Great, our national Patron, preached in Spain. This is one of the interpretations given to the appearance of the three suns in Spain just before the birth of Christ, in order to let these kingdoms [of Hispania] know that, within a few years they would be lit up by these three suns of the Church militant.<sup>13</sup>

Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier, one of the Catholic Apologists of the expulsion, writes at length about Divine Providence and about God's love for Spain. This special affection was shown when he sent them one of his most beloved apostles as patron and defender. Santiago has aided Spaniards in their battles against infidels, particularly those against the Moors. God has rewarded Spaniards by forming a special relationship with them and making them the new Chosen People:

As well as this [God's special favour for Spain] God manifested though his works the same strength and power with them [the Spaniards] as he had with the ancient people of Israel, whom he choose as his own, right

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<sup>12</sup> The editor of this volume of the *Summa theologiae* points out that this phenomenon was seen, twenty centuries later, at Fatima, also in the Iberian Peninsula. References to St. Thomas are taken from the *New English Summa* as cited above (1964–1975), 60 vols.

<sup>13</sup> "El titulo de Apostolica ñ tiene la Monarquia Ecclesiastica es mas proprio de la Iglesia Española y de su Imperio Catolico, que de otro alguno de todos los Reynos Christianos. El mas principal derecho que tenemos a este santo blason, es auer predicado en España los dos Principes de la Iglesia, san Pedro y san Pablo, y antes dellos Santiago el Mayor, Patrõ de nuestra nacion. Esta fue vna de las significaciones de los tres soles ñ aparecieron en España antes que Christo naciesse para auisar a estos reynos que dentro de pocos años serian alumbrados por estos tres soles de la Iglesia militante": De la Puente, *La conueniencia*, p. 1.



from the beginning (although they served him with such great inconstancy) [by entrusting them] with his first written divine law.<sup>14</sup>

Spain's role as the new Chosen People is further elucidated in the following passage. On the night of Christ's birth a great brightness was seen over Spain:

[...] In our Spain a very bright light was seen [...] on the night in which the Divine Word was born in Bethlehem [...] in order to show its Jews that the Messiah was now on earth; that with the preaching of its Holy Gospel the ceremonies of its Old Law would cease; and that the invincible Spaniards would shine forth always in the New [Law], free from all shadows.<sup>15</sup>

The Apologist describes a similar phenomenon that took place in May 1609: two marvellous displays of light showed God's delight at the imminent expulsion of the Moriscos:

A few days afterwards, those walking about the fields [...] saw a great glow of fire that was coming from the Pyrenees, and that almost turned night into day [...] these two marvels were signs that the Catholic Faith was increasing in strength and that the dark evil sect of Muhammad was being destroyed.<sup>16</sup>

### *Geographical Arguments for Spanish Pre-eminence*

De la Puente's geographical argument for Spain's pre-eminence is based on a quotation from Isaiah, which he claims proves Spanish

<sup>14</sup> "A mas desto se mostro Dios con ellos [su favor especial para los españoles] tan grande y poderoso en sus obras, como lo fue y se mostro con el antiguo pueblo de Israel, que eligio por suyo desde su principio (aunque con tan gran incostancia le siruio) y en su diuina y primer ley escrita": M. de Guadalajara y Javier, *Prodicion y destierro de los moriscos de Castilla, hasta el Valle de Ricote* (Pamplona: Nicolas de Assiayn, 1614), fol. 11<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> "En nuestra España se vio vn resplandor clarissimo la noche que nacio en Bethlem el Verbo Diuino: para manifestar a los Iudios della, que estaua el Mesias ya en la tierra: que con la predicacion del Sagrado Euāgelio cessarian las ceremonias de su antigua Ley: y que los inuencibles Españoles resplandecieran siēpre en la Nueva libres de todas tinieblas": Guadalajara y Javier, *Prodicion y destierro*, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> "Pocos dias despues vieron los que andauabn por los campos [...] vn tan grande resplandor de fuego, salido de los Pyrneos, que conuirtio la noche casi en claro dia [...] estos dos prodigios [...] erā señales del aumēto de la Fe Catholica, y destruyciō de la escura y denegrida secta de Mahoma": Guadalajara y Javier, *Prodicion y destierro*, fols 22<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>.

superiority over other nations. The quotation, to which he refers on more than one occasion, is from Isaiah 18: 1–2:

Woe to the land, the winged cymbal, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia. That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, and in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters. Go, ye swift angels, to a nation rent and torn in pieces: to a terrible people, *after which there is no other*,<sup>17</sup> to a nation expecting and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled.

This messianic oracle was directed, in fact, at the Ethiopians who were seen by many Israelites as a possible ally against the Assyrians. The quotation ends with a vision of messianic times when the Ethiopians will come to offer their gifts, on the holy Hill of Zion:

At that time shall a present be brought to the Lord of hosts, from a people rent and torn in pieces: from a terrible people, *after which there hath been no other*: from a nation expecting, expecting, and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, to Mount Zion (Is. 18: 1–2, 7).

In his gloss on this passage De la Puente gives a very different exposition: he stresses Spain's geographical situation, in Isaiah's time, at the end of the then known world, by reference to the phrase 'after which there hath been no other.' He explains that, at that time, Spain was the country that most resembled Palestine:

At the time when Isaiah wrote his prophecy, and for some years afterwards, Spain was the province that most resembled Palestine, among all the kingdoms of Europe.<sup>18</sup>

In a way that emulates Fray Rodrigo de Yepes, de la Puente compares Toledo and Jerusalem: both are built on a hill, both lie in the middle of their country and in both reside the head of the Church.<sup>19</sup> Thus, like Fray Rodrigo, de la Puente uses geography to show the parallels between Palestine, home of the Chosen People, and Spain, home of the new elect. In his book *El niño inocente de La Guardia* (The Innocent Child of La Guardia) Fray Rodrigo shows a very interesting illustration of the cities of Jerusalem, the 'umbiculus mundi' (the navel of the world) of the crusades, and of Toledo, the 'ombligo de España'

<sup>17</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>18</sup> De la Puente, *La conueniencia*, p. 173.

<sup>19</sup> De la Puente, *La conueniencia*, p. 172.

(the navel of Spain).<sup>20</sup> These illustrations are reproduced in Milhou, as mentioned before.<sup>21</sup> Some critics also see Toledo as representing the New Jerusalem in El Greco's painting *Storm over Todedo* (1597–99).<sup>22</sup> In arguing for the topographical similarities between the Holy Land and Spain, De la Puente is not original as this argument was quite a *topos* right up to the eighteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

*Spaniards as the new Chosen People and biblical figurae*

Allied to the belief of many seventeenth-century Spaniards that their country was pre-eminent among Christian nations was the conviction that they were now God's Chosen People. Many biblical *figurae*, cited to illustrate Spain's special position among Christian peoples, show parallels between divine intervention in favour of the Jews, the Chosen People, and the Spaniards, who have now taken over this role. These biblical *figurae* are evidence for God's presence in history, acting here on behalf of the Spanish people; scenes from the Old Testament prefigure others in the New. In the Old Testament the prophets had used *figurae* as eschatological symbolism in the history of salvation; in the New Testament Jesus alluded extensively to figures to show how the mystery of salvation was developing in conformity with the scriptures. The writings of the Apostles continued this practice, particularly that of St. Paul to the Hebrews.<sup>24</sup>

The *figurae* that are of interest here are those which compare biblical stories with historical events which took place during the 'Reconquest'. The historian Ambrosio de Morales compares a battle between King Pelayo of Asturias (718–737) and the Moor Alcama, companion of Tariq, with the confrontation between Adonizec, King of the Amorrites, and Joshua, successor of Moses. The Lord intervened in favour of the Israelites:

<sup>20</sup> Yepes, *Muerte y martirio del sancto inocente*, fols 26<sup>v</sup>–26<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 419.

<sup>22</sup> *El Greco's Works in Spain* (1990), ed. N. Hadjinicolaou (Crete: Crete University Press, 1990), pp. 288–289.

<sup>23</sup> Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 419.

<sup>24</sup> *Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (1967), ed. X. Léon-Dufour, translation directed by P. Joseph Cahill OP (London/Dublin: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), pp. 152–156.

And when they [the Amorrrhites] were fleeing from the children of Israel, and were in the descent of Beth-horon, the Lord cast down upon them great stones from heaven as far as Azeca and many more were killed with the hailstones than were slain by the swords of the children of Israel (Jos. 10: 10).

Similarly 'the mountains of Asturias' (el Monte Auseva) fell upon the Moors when the latter were in flight:

[...] and through the wildest part of Mount Ammosa they [the Moors] arrived at Liévana, which is on the highest peak of that part of the mountains [...] Once there they thought they would escape. But there is no place beyond the reach of God's vengeance, when he wants to express his anger. As they were going along the region of mountain called Casagadia, which is over the river Deva, with a fearful miracle the mountain tore itself up by its roots, and moving down towards the river, carried with it most of the Moors.<sup>25</sup>

Juan de Mariana (1535?–1624) also described the same event.<sup>26</sup> The 'Reconquest' battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) is much cited also by the Catholic Apologists. A cross is purported to have appeared in the sky and the biblical marvel of Joshua holding back the course of the sun was repeated (Jos. 10: 12–14). This is how the Catholic Apologist Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier describes this phenomenon:

If at the time of the Old Testament the sun stayed still, until Joshua overcame the enemies of God, under the New it also stopped [moving], until that great Master of Calatrava killed and overcame them [the enemies of God]. And if in the former the Angel beheaded one hundred and eight thousand of the Senacherib, in the latter the same angels beheaded over three hundred thousand of God's enemies, the Mohammadans, who had thrown their arms to one side [...].<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> “[...] y por lo mas fragoso del Monte Ammosa llegaron a Lieuana. [...] Allí pensauan saluarse. Mas no ay lugar donde no alcance la diuina vengança quando quiere executar su yra, yendo por la montaña que esta sobre el rio Deua del pago de tierra llamado Casagadia, con espantoso milagro la montaña se arranco por sus rayces, acostandose hazia el rio, tomo debaxo los mas de los Moros”: A. de Morales, *Cronica general de España*, I (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica, 1574), fol. 7<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Mariana, *Historia de España*, Book VII, chap. 2, p. 192.

<sup>27</sup> “Si en aquella ley antigua se detuuo el sol, hasta que Iosue venciesse los enemigos de Dios: en esta tambien lo detuuo, hasta que los mato y vencio, aquel gran Maestre de Calatraua. Y si en aquella misma degollo el Angel ciento y ocho mil, de los de Senacherib: en esta degollaron los mismos angeles trescientos y tantos mil, con las armas arrojadas de los enemigos de Dios Mahometanos”: Guadalajara y Javier, *Prodicion y destierro*, fol. 11<sup>o</sup>.

The sun was also said to have stopped in its tracks when Cardinal Cisneros conquered Orán.<sup>28</sup> The miraculous water, which God empowered Moses to bring forth from the rock (Ex. 17: 5–6), was paralleled at the siege of Huete.<sup>29</sup> (The passage cited by Morales is an accurate account of the siege of Huete in July 1172.)<sup>30</sup>

Morales also describes how, in the tenth century, when al-Mansur (938–1002) was planning to desecrate the tomb of Santiago, the divine wrath showed itself in a most dramatic way:

From there [Coimbra, Viseo and Braga] he went into Galicia, where he took the city of Túy [...] and having arrived at the church of the Apostle St. James, he demolished a large section of it and, when he was attempting to profane the sepulchre of the holy Apostle, thunder and lightning from above and a fearsome brightness, which came from the blessed sepulchre, so frightened the wicked Moor that, even though an infidel, he left the place out of fear.<sup>31</sup>

This is not how Lévi-Provençal describes the event: “On the 10 August (2 sha ‘ban), al-Mansur finally came into sight of Santiago de Compostela. The inhabitants had evacuated the city. It was pillaged and burned and the cathedral razed to the ground. The tomb of the apostle alone was respected, by express order of the Muslim dictator; a monk who was guarding it was not harmed”.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> M. Herrero García, *Ideas de los españoles en el siglo diecisiete* (Madrid: Voluntad, 1928), 2nd ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1966), p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> A. de Morales, *Los cinco libros postreros de la coronica general de España* (Córdoba: Gabriel Ramón Bejarano for Francisco Robarte, 1586), fols 368<sup>v</sup>–369<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> The second ruler of the Almohad dynasty, Abū Ya ‘Kūb ūb Yūsuf, attempted to win back Huete, which had been recently conquered by the Christians. The Christians fought bravely but would have had to surrender for lack of water were it not for some violent summer storms. These filled their cisterns and put to flight the forces of the besieger: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 1960, pp. 160–161.

<sup>31</sup> “Entro de alli [Coimbra, Viseo and Braga] en Galizia, dóde toda la ciudad de Tuyá, llegãdo a la iglesia del Apostol Santiago, derribo por el suelo mucha parte della, y queriendo prophanar el sepulchro del santo Apostol, truenos y relãpagos del cielo, y espantoso resplandor que salio del bendito sepulchro, pusieron tanto temor al maluado Moro que, aunque Infiel, se quito de alli con el miedo”: Morales, *Cronica general*, fol. 298<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> “Le 10 août (2 sha ‘ban), al-Mansur arriva enfin en vue de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle. Les habitants avaient évacué la cité. Elle fut pillée et incendiée, la basilique rasée. Seul, sur un ordre exprès du dictateur musulman, le tombeau de l’apôtre fut respecté; un moine, qui le gardait, ne fut pas molesté”: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*, II (Paris: Ed. G. P. Maisoneuve et C<sup>ie</sup> / Leiden: Ed. E. J. Brill, 1950), pp. 149–150.

Let's return to Santiago and the Spanish monarchy and examine the evolving relationship between both.

### *Santiago and the Spanish Monarchy*

An exhibition held in Santiago de Compostela in 2004 was called *Santiago and the Spanish Monarchy (1504–1788)*.<sup>33</sup> It is an appropriate title for a section in which there will be an examination of the links between the Spanish monarchy and Santiago, patron saint of Spain. The attitude of the monarchy towards *Santiago* was ambivalent, particularly from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. These combined personal devotion to Santiago *Apóstol* with an awareness of the political advantages of a close association between monarchy and the saint, both as *Patrón de España* and as *Matamoros*. The myth of Santiago *Matamoros* was also in the minds of those who, in the early seventeenth century, saw the expulsion of the Moriscos as the culmination of the 'Reconquest'. I shall also look at Santiago from quite a different perspective: that of special envoy of Our Lady to Hispania and guardian of the *True Gospel*. This is the identity accorded to the saint in the last decade of the sixteenth century, in the Lead Books of Granada. According to these texts, Santiago visited Granada for a first mission to Spain that pre-dated that to Galicia, which thus conferred on the city the status of first place in Spain to hear of Christianity.

Let's look briefly, now, at the evolution of perceptions of Santiago. The Gallego-Asturian dynasty sought the saint's patronage and advocacy from the time of Alfonso II (792–842) to that of Bermudo III (1028–1037).<sup>34</sup> The first link with anti-Moorish warfare came in the *Historia silense* (c. 1115): the saint is purported to have helped Fernando I (1037–1065) of Castile and Leon at the siege of Coimbra (1064). The blockade was lifted miraculously following a premonitory dream in which Santiago appeared carrying keys and, then, mounting a gleaming white horse, rode away. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* or *Codex*

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<sup>33</sup> *Santiago y la Monarquía de España (1504-1788)* (2004). Exhibition in the Colegio de Fonseca, Santiago de Compostela, 2 de julio–19 de septiembre de 2004 (Madrid/Santiago: Ministerio de Cultura/ Xunta de Galicia, 2004).

<sup>34</sup> K. Herbers, *Política y veneración de santos en la península ibérica. Desarrollo del "Santiago político"*, trans. R. Vázquez Ruano (Poio, Pontevedra: Fundación Cultural Rutas del Románico, 1999), p. 31.

*calixtinus* (1138), II, called *De miraculis S. Jacobi*, included this event among its twenty-two miracles, all attributed to Santiago.<sup>35</sup> Guy de Bourgogne, later Pope Calixtus II (1119–1124), had visited the tomb of Santiago in 1109 and the monk Aymerico Picaud, who accompanied him, is reputed to have written *De miraculis S. Jacobi*.

The siege of Coimbra is reported by the chroniclers Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (born between 1170 and 1180 and died in 1247) and Don Lucas de Túy (c. 1160–1249). The length of the siege varies from text to text, from seven years to seven months. The historical encirclement lasted from 19 January to 9 July 1064. The historian Ambrosio de Morales has the following description. During the siege, King Fernando I went to pray at the ‘casa de Santiago’ (the House of St. James). A pilgrim called Bishop Stephano had mocked at the notion of Santiago *Matamoros*. Subsequently, the saint appeared to Stephano, in a dream, with two keys in his hands:

And he appeared to him that night wearing very handsome armour, and on a great white horse, with two keys in his hand.<sup>36</sup>

Santiago’s patronage of Spain and of the monarchy was specifically stated in the *Diploma de Ramiro I* or *Privilegio del voto*. The manuscript describes the miraculous appearance of Santiago on a white charger at the battle of Clavijo (or Albelda or Montelurce) in 834 CE where he helped the forces of Ramiro I (842–50) to defeat the infidel. Now considered to be a forgery by Canon Pedro Mancio (Marcio) of Santiago de Compostela (c. 1150) it instituted the payment of a produce tax to be levied on wine and cereals in gratitude for the intervention of

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<sup>35</sup> F. Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago: trayectoria de un mito* (Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra, 2004), p. 18. The *Codex calixtinus* is attributed to the French monk Aymerico Picaud. The manuscript of Picaud, fraudulently attributed to Pope Calixtus II, was very popular. In 1172 or 1173 the first of many known copies was made by a Catalan monk from the monastery of Ripoll called Arnaldo de Monte: L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M<sup>a</sup> Luis Lacarra & J. Uria Riu, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, I (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1948), facsimile ed. (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1993), p. 171). An edition of the *Codex* with copies of the original miniatures has been published in Zaragoza: *Codex Calixtinus. Liber sancti Jacobi*, illustrated by Caledonio Perellón (Zaragoza: Liber Ediciones, 1999–2004), 5 vols.

<sup>36</sup> “Y apareciolo aquella noche armado de muy hermosas armas, y en vn gran cauallo con dos llaues en la mano”: Morales, *Cronica general*, fol. 240<sup>r</sup>. This legend is related, also, in a *romance histórico*: “Cercada tiene a Coimbra/, Aquese buen rey Fernando” (That good King Ferdinand is laying siege to Coimbra) Here the bishop is called Astiano and is Greek: Sepúlveda, *BAE*, X, n. 749, p. 491.

Santiago at Clavijo. The beneficiaries would be the canons and the cathedral of Santiago.<sup>37</sup> Over the years many challenged the validity of the *Diploma* and this continued in the early seventeenth century, when its authenticity was called into question by the lawyers Lázaro González de Acevedo and Martín González de Cellorigo on behalf of the residents of the *Cinco Obispados* of Old Castile (Osma, Calahorra, Burgos, Soria and Palencia).<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, in the early seventeenth century, there were still those who accepted Clavijo as a historical fact. I shall come back to this point later.

Ambrosio de Morales, who had been one of the first Spanish historians to show a scientific approach to history, wrote extensively on Santiago in his *Corónica general de España*. However, his accounts all follow the traditional view of the Spanish Church. Morales, as the foremost mediaeval historian writing at the time, had been expected by opponents of the Santiago myth to take a critical approach. He did point out that the date (834 AD) on the *Diploma* was an impossible one, as it does not fall within the reign of Ramiro I (842–850). Perhaps a roman x had been left out by mistake?<sup>39</sup> His failure to criticise the supposed intervention of Santiago in Clavijo and his later pamphlet, which apologises for casting doubt on the cause of Clavijo (1607), may be due to his relationship to Juan de San Clemente, Bishop of Orense, who was a passionate defender of the cause of Santiago.<sup>40</sup> In his account, Morales is careful to avoid personal judgement and relates, instead, the beliefs of others. Clavijo is included in his transcription of the *privilegio* of Ramiro. In Book XIII, Chapter VII, he refers to Santiago's appearance at Clavijo. The description of the premonitory vision is narrated with dramatic timing and panache. Here are Santiago's words to the astonished king:

Be comforted and take heart: I will come to your aid and to-morrow, with the power of God, you will defeat this army of Moors that is now surrounding you. But many of your followers, for whom eternal rest has been prepared, will receive the crown of martyrdom in the battle. And, so that you may have no doubt about this, you and the Moors will see

<sup>37</sup> Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago*, p. 190.

<sup>38</sup> O. Rey Castelao, 'El voto de Santiago', in *Santiago y la monarquía de España* (1504–1788), p. 103; Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago*, p. 325.

<sup>39</sup> Morales, *Los cinco libros postreros*, fol. 83<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Kendrick, *St. James*, pp. 50–51.



me in the battle on a big white horse, with a great white standard in my hand.<sup>41</sup>

The Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana has a laconic description of the premonitory dream and the appearance of the saint at the battle. He gives the year of the battle as 844 and points out that this was in the second year of the King's reign.<sup>42</sup>

Association with Santiago, both as *Apóstol* and as *Matamoros*, greatly intensified in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. When the heir Prince John took the oath of allegiance in the Cortes of Toledo in 1480, the Maestre de Santiago beseeched the Catholic Monarchs to hand over to the prince the insignia and pennants of Santiago: "[...] because such a presentation confirms that you are making him a captain and standard bearer of the Apostle St. James, Patron of Spain, in the war against the Moors".<sup>43</sup> The Catholic Monarchs combined piety with politics when planning the war of Granada. In 1482 Isabel had granted a *juro* [an annuity to be taken from local royal taxes] for the maintenance of six candles to be kept lighting on the high altar of Santiago: "by day and by night so that the pilgrims who come here on pilgrimage [...] may have light for their prayers and to carry out their devotions".<sup>44</sup> Each one should display the royal arms and crest: "[on each candle should be] painted the arms of the king, my lord, and my ones and my emblem which is of eleven arrows tied in the middle".<sup>45</sup> In 1486 Ferdinand and Isabella, during the War of Granada, once again went to Santiago de Compostela: "[...] the visit implied the

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<sup>41</sup> "Confortate y ten esfuerço: que yo sere en tu ayuda, y mañana venceras con el poderio de Dios esta muchedumbre de los Moros que ahora te tiene cercado. Mas muchos de los tuyos, a quien ya esta aparejado el descanso perdurable, recibiran en la batalla corona de martyrio. Y porque no puedas dudar en nada desto: tu y los Moros me vereys en la batalla sobre vn gran cauallo blanco, cõ un gran estandarte blanco en la mano": Morales, *Cronica general*, fols 237<sup>r</sup>-237<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Mariana, *Historia*, Book VII, chap. XIII, p. 208.

<sup>43</sup> "[...] porque en aquella entrega le da a entender que le facen capitán e alférez del Apóstol Santiago, patron de las Españas, para la guerra contra los moros": H. del Pulgar, *Chronica de los muy altos y esclarecidos reyes Catholicos don Fernando y Doña Isabel de gloriosa memoria* (Valladolid: Sebastián Martínez, 1565), BAE, LXX, p. 355.

<sup>44</sup> "[...] de dia y de noche para que los peregrinos que vienen en romeria [...] fallen claridad e luz en ella para sus oraciones e cumplir sus devociones".

<sup>45</sup> "[en cada luminaria debían estar] pintadas y puestas [...] las armas del rey mi señor y las mias e mi divisa que son once ferechas atadas por medio": R. J. López, "Donaciones regias a la catedral de Santiago en la Edad Moderna", in *Santiago y la monarquía de España* (1504-1788), pp. 135-152.

patronage of St. James of the wars carried out by the kings and queens of Spain [...] St. James as *miles Christi* [soldier of Christ], St. James as Moorslayer is converted into the defender of the monarchy and of Spain".<sup>46</sup> Thus, when Málaga was taken in 1487 the banner of Santiago, together with the royal standard, were both hoisted onto one of the towers of the alcazaba.<sup>47</sup> When Ferdinand and Isabella triumphantly entered Granada in 1492, the poet Juan del Encina set Santiago at the head of the cortège.<sup>48</sup>

The personal devotion of the monarchs to Santiago allied to his political representation was expressed in their sacrophagi in the Capilla Real of Granada. There Domenico Fancelli (1517) carved Santiago *Matamoros*, Castile's celestial defender on one side, and St. Jordi of Aragon on the other.<sup>49</sup> Ironically, after the fall of Granada, representations of Santiago *Matamoros* greatly increased. Cisneros may have been responsible for the carvings of Santiago *Matamoros* in the Capilla Real [Royal Chapel] in Granada, both in the royal sarcophagi and on the altarpiece, as there was no previous tradition of such representations in Andalucía. Such images became politically possible after the revocation of the Capitulations of 1492 in the year 1502.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> "[...] la visita implicaba el patrocinio de Santiago en las guerras mantenidas por los reyes españoles [...] Santiago como *miles Christi*, Santiago matamoros se convierte en el defensor de la monarquía y España": V. Nieto Alcaide, & M<sup>a</sup> V. García Morales, "Santiago y la monarquía española: orígenes de un mito de estado", in *Santiago y la monarquía*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>47</sup> Pulgar, *Chronica*, p. 471; N. Cabrillana Ciézar, *Santiago matamoros, historia e imagen* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 1999), pp. 29–30.

<sup>48</sup> 'un famoso cavallero/ delante viene bolando,/ con una cruz colorada/ y un' espada rrelumbrando,/ d'un rico manto vestido,/ toda la gente guiando': J. del Encina, "Una sañosa porfia", *Cancionero musical de palacio*, Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid, p. 304. Cited in J. del Encina, *Obras completas*, ed. A. M. Rambaldo (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1978), p. 304.

<sup>49</sup> Nieto Alcaide, & García Morales, "Santiago", pp. 38–39.

<sup>50</sup> In the words of Nicolás Cabrillana Ciézar, "the image [of St. James, the Moor-slayer], could be used without reserve, which represented religion as a means of domination, as a means of controlling the mass of converts" ["podía ser utilizada, sin pudor, la imagen [de Santiago Matamoros] que representaba a la religión como medio de dominación, destinada a mantener sumisa a las masas conversas"]. During the War of Granada, Fernando and Isabel had also funded the church of Santiago de los Españoles in Rome. There, all the victories over the Muslims were celebrated with great acclaim and success was attributed to the special protection of the saint. Some of these ceremonies and sermons have survived in Latin. Fr. Bernardino López de Carvajal y Sande preached a sermon celebrating the victories of Baza and Purchena on 10 January 1490: Cabrillana Ciézar, *Santiago matamoros*, p. 109. The final conquest of Granada was represented in a Latin play called *Historia baetica*, written by Carolus

The tolerance of Islamic religious and legal practices ended and Muslims of Granada were forced to choose between conversion and exile.<sup>51</sup>

The legend of Santiago *Matamoros* was linked by some seventeenth-century writers to a crusade to be waged by the Spanish Monarchy against the infidel and heresy. As we have seen, the Spanish monarchy had been linked closely to the saint since the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. As mentioned previously, some of the Catholic Apologists regarded the expulsion of the Moriscos as the final phase of the 'Reconquest'. Gaspar Aguilar, Damián Fonseca and Jaime Bleda all considered that this 'crusading' war took nine rather than eight centuries.<sup>52</sup> Aguilar associated Santiago with Philip III, by ascribing to the monarch a warlike role that is reminiscent of the saint: in his epic poem he describes a vision in which the King takes on the persona of Santiago *Matamoros*.<sup>53</sup> The Apologist Pedro Aznar Cardona identifies the King with the Old Testament role of guardian of the gates of Paradise, like the angel who brandished a fiery sword at all unwelcome and unworthy intruders.<sup>54</sup>

As I have already mentioned, the iconography of Santiago *Matamoros* proliferated in the sixteenth century. The devotion of the Catholic Monarchs to Santiago together with his use for political ends continued during the reigns of their successors. As Ferdinand and Isabella had visited Santiago de Compostela so also did the Hapsburg monarchs: Charles V went there early on in his reign in 1520 and his son Philip II celebrated his betrothal to Mary Tudor in its cathedral in 1554, before setting sail for England.<sup>55</sup> Santiago *Matamoros*, or *miles Christi*, is also frequently depicted on banners and pennants used in warfare against

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Verardus. In it the recently vanquished Boabdil was represented as lying in chains at the feet of King Fernando: D. Breisemeister, Dietrich, "Literatura épico-dramático del Siglo de Oro sobre la conquista de Granada", *NRFH*, XXXVI (1988), pp. 940-941). Such sermons and performances, enacted before the College of Cardinals, must have helped the Catholic Monarchs when requesting that the Holy See renew the *Tercias Reales* [Royal Thirds] for the 'crusade' against Granada: Cabrillana Ciézar, *Santiago matamoros*, pp. 109, 112.

<sup>51</sup> Cabrillana Ciézar, *Santiago matamoros*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>52</sup> Aguilar, *Expulsion*, p. 13; Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 910; Fonseca, *Ivsta expulsion*, p. 125.

<sup>53</sup> Aguilar, *Expulsion*, p. 144.

<sup>54</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, fols 71<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> L. M. Enciso, Introduction, *Santiago y la Monarquía*, p. xv.

Moors or Turks.<sup>56</sup> The strong link between monarch and Santiago<sup>57</sup> is shown by the juxtaposition of the warrior saint with Charles' motto of *plus ultra* in old French together with the Burgundian cross of St. Andrew and the Pillars of Hercules.<sup>58</sup>

Santiago is also depicted in a painting by Philip II's favourite painter, Juan Fernández de Navarrete *el mudo* (c. 1538–1579). Painted for the sacristy in El Escorial, it was handed over to Philip II in 1571.<sup>59</sup> Ostensibly, it is a painting of the martyrdom of Santiago, which took place in Jerusalem, in Herod's reign, in 43–44 CE (Acts 12: 2). However, events in the background are related to Spain and the turbaned executioner is beheading the saint with a scimitar. On the upper left-hand side Santiago, with his cloak billowing out behind him, is brandishing his sword at the battle of Clavijo. To the right can be made out the image of Philip II, in contemporary armour, at the head of a group of cavalry. The picture thus depicts Santiago *Matamoros*, Santiago *mártir*, Santiago *Patrón de España* and even Santiago *peregrino*, as the typical hat and staff can be seen to the left in the foreground. Although finished before the battle took place, the painting cannot but recall for the spectator the Christian victory of Lepanto on 7 October 1571.

Let's return to one of the points made earlier: the ambivalent attitude of the monarchy towards Santiago. The following quotation concerning the expulsion of the Moriscos reveals the interplay of private devotion to Santiago and the imputation to him of a political rôle:

A large part of this glorious deed, or all of it (after God, our Lord, author of every good), can be rightly attributed to the great Apostle Santiago, patron of Spain, and to the devotion which our Catholic king and Queen

<sup>56</sup> Records of some of these are preserved in the *Inventario iluminado*, kept in the Royal Armoury of the Palacio Real.

<sup>57</sup> One of these banners was reproduced for the funeral honours paid to Charles V in Brussels: López, "Donaciones regias", pp. 88–89.

<sup>58</sup> The banners were probably used in the successful campaign against Tunis in 1535 and also in the failed expedition against Algiers in 1541. In the latter campaign Charles wore a breastplate embossed with a representation of Santiago at Clavijo: M. López Serrano, "Iconografía de Santiago en los libros y grabados de la Biblioteca de Palacio", *Reales Sitios. Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, XXVIII (April–June 1971), pp. 67–69. The *gallardete*, or pennant, used on the flagship at the battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), together with other insignia from the battle, were sent to Santiago de Compostela by the victorious leader of the Christian forces, Don Juan of Austria. The *gallardete* can still be seen in the cathedral of Santiago although the other artefacts are no longer available: López, "Donaciones regias", pp. 140–42.

<sup>59</sup> R. Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 33, 141.

have to him, to whom they made vows and promises in order that this very important matter of the expulsion and transport of the Moriscos would be successful.<sup>60</sup>

This judgement is found in the hagiographic biography of Queen Margarita of Austria (1584–1611), wife of Philip III, by Diego de Guzmán, Patriarch of the Indies, Archbishop of Tyre and member of the Council of State.<sup>61</sup> Some pages previously, Guzmán had linked Santiago, very specifically, to the King's issuing of the order to initiate the expulsion of the Moriscos. Guzmán describes this in Chapter XX, whose heading is the following: "Prince Ferdinand was born, fell ill, and recovered. [...] The King determined to expel the Moriscos from his kingdoms, in which [decision] the Queen, our mistress, played an important part".<sup>62</sup> The link between the two events is the following: on 16 May 1609 the Queen had given birth to Prince Ferdinand. Subsequently, the baby became very ill. During the child's illness the Queen believed that an angel, in the form of a small child, had appeared to her and assured her that the baby would recover. Diego de Guzmán had also made a vow to visit the tomb of Santiago if the baby recovered. The child got better and the Queen believed that this happened at the exact moment when Guzmán made his vow.<sup>63</sup> Both events would appear to have influenced the King:

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<sup>60</sup> "Gran parte desta gloriosa hazaña, o toda ella (despues de Dios N. S, autor de todo bien) se atribuyo con razon al grande Apostol Santiago, patron de las Españas, y a la deuocion que nuestros Catolicos Reyes tienen con el, a quien hizieron sus votos y promessas, en razon de que este negocio tan importante de la expulsion y lleua de los Moriscos saliesse bien": Guzmán, *Reyna Catolica*, fols 195<sup>v</sup>–196<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> The book was written at the request of the King so that it might serve to edify his daughter Anne, now Queen of France.

<sup>62</sup> "Nace el infante don Fernando, enferma, y conualece el Príncipe N. S. [...] determinase su Magestad echar los Moriscos de sus Reynos en que tuuo buena parte la Reyna Nuestra Señora": Guzmán, *Reyna Catolica*, fol. 188<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Margarita's influence on the King is acknowledged by Guzmán in the quotation I have just read. One of the Catholic Apologists of the expulsion, Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier, also refers to this influence; He mythifies the Queen by comparing her to Sarah, Abraham's wife, and also implies her sway over her husband and the Council of State: "Auianse mancomunado todos estos Ismaelitas; para quitar la vida a los Catholicos Españoles, y alçarse con el mayorazgo de la tierra: mas lo [sic] vella Sarra, Señora y Reyna nuestra, Margarita, con sus Reales Consejos de Estado y Guerra, viendo en peligro sus hijos legitimos y queridos, pidio al segundo Abraham, Filipino, saliesse de sus reynos los traydores" (All these Ishmaelites [the Moriscos] had united to kill Catholic Spaniards and expropriate the inheritance of the eldest son: but the beautiful Sarah, Margarita, our Queen and mistress, with her royal Councils of State and War, seeing the danger in which her beloved, legitimate children found themselves, asked

About this time their majesties came to a valiant decision (I wish to call it that, as it certainly was) that of expelling some domestic enemies from their Catholic kingdom [...] The reader will have understood to whom I am referring, these long-standing descendents of the Moors, whom we commonly call Moriscos, of whom now, thanks be to God, Spain has just been purged.<sup>64</sup>

The King had been thinking over 'el problema morisco' for some time but now took the final decision, which was then communicated to the Council of State:

[The execution of the agreement to expel the Moriscos], which his Majesty had pondered over for many days and planned in the depths of his royal breast, and then had communicated his decision [literally 'it'] to the members of his Council. And this innermost secret was revealed, and he ordered that the first proclamation be made in the kingdom of Valencia; this expulsion was to be made in stages.<sup>65</sup>

What seems to be suggested here is that the King, after the decision in April to expel the Moriscos, had become indecisive and unable to instigate the practical preparations that would bring about the expulsion. It seems possible that the monarchs' belief that Santiago had interceded to save their baby son played a major part in Philip's decision to set the decree in motion. It is important to remember the close links between the Spanish monarchy and Santiago. Although Philip III had not continued the tradition of visiting Santiago de Compostela, as had his forebears, his devotion to Santiago is revealed in the subsidy that he paid for the publication of the history of Santiago by Don Mauro Castellá Ferrer. At one of the requiem masses celebrated for Queen Margarita in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in 1612 one of the emblems on the funerary tumulus recalled the Queen's link

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Philip, the second Abraham, to expel the traitors from his kingdoms): Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 154<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> "Por este tiempo se resolvieron sus Magestades en vna gallarda determinacion (que assi la quiero llamar, porque cierto lo fue) la de echar de su Catolico Reyno vnos domesticos enemigos suyos [...] ya aura entendido el Letor de quien hablo, que es destas reliquias antiguas de los Moros, que comunmente llamamos Moriscos, de quien ya gracias a Dios se ha acabado de purgar nuestra España": Guzmán, *Reyna Catolica*, fol. 192<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> "[La execución deste acuerdo], el qual auia su Magestad conferido muchos dias y traçado en su Real pecho, y comunicádolo con los de su Consejo. Y salio a luz del secreto de su pecho, y mando se echasse el primer bando por el reyno de Valencia tomando esta expulsion por partes": Guzmán, *Reyna Catolica*, fol. 192<sup>v</sup>.

with Santiago. One of the emblematic pictures shows Santiago guiding the Queen [to Heaven].<sup>66</sup>

The link between Santiago and the monarchy had been explicitly expressed by Philip III during the controversy about Santiago's inclusion in the Breviary. In a letter to the Duke of Sessa, Ambassador at the Holy See, in 1600, the King demanded that the scepticism being shown in Rome towards the mission of Santiago to Spain be strongly contested. The *Office of St. James* should not be removed from the Breviary "[...] the history of our glorious Apostle St. James and his journey here [...] which has been confirmed by so many great miracles, which Our Lord deigned to carry out in defence of Spain and of the kings, my ancestors, with visible apparitions of this glorious Apostle".<sup>67</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the *Privilegio del voto*, in which the battle of Clavijo is described, was still accepted as authentic by many in the early seventeenth century. Don Mauro Castallá Ferrer, Governor General of Galicia, wrote his account of Santiago's participation in Spanish history at the behest of the chapter of Santiago and of Philip III, as mentioned above.<sup>68</sup> Nicolás Antonio, himself a Knight of Santiago, claimed that Philip III contributed 1000 ducats towards the book's publication in 1610.<sup>69</sup> In his conclusion to the account of Clavijo, Don Mauro stresses twice the King's descent from Ramiro I, which directly associates the monarchy with the myth of Santiago *Matamoros*:

<sup>66</sup> *Santiago y la monarquía de España*, 2004, pp. 198–199.

<sup>67</sup> "[...] la historia del glorioso Apostol Santiago y su venida por aca [...] siendo cosa tan afirmada por tantos y grandes milagros, como ha sido Nuestro Señor servido de obrar en defensa de España y de los reyes mis antecesores, con visibles apercebimientos de este glorioso Apostol [...]": Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago*, p. 245.

<sup>68</sup> Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago*, p. 331. This hagiographic account was called *Historia del Apóstol de Iesu Christo, Sanctiago Zebedeo, Patrón y Capitán General de las Españas* (Madrid: Alonso Martín de Balboa, 1610). A similar title was used by the Franco regime. Santiago was called 'Patrón de España y del ejército.' The military Order of Santiago had been restored by a decree of 26 January 1943: A. C. Peña, "Santiago, Patrón de España y del ejército", *Reales Sitios. Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, XXVIII (1971), p. 70. Francoist historiography, which would impute to the régime a messianic role, chronicles its identification with the values of the 'Reconquest': F. Hercé Valés, & M. Sanz Nogués, *Franco el reconquistador: su vida ejemplar*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Sanz Nogués, 1939), p. 32.

<sup>69</sup> N. Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nueva, o de los escritores españoles que brillaron desde de año MD hasta el de MDCLXXXIV. Ahora se edita por primera vez, traducida al castellano de la que fue revisada, corregida y ampliada por el autor mismo*, II, ed. facsímil (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999), p. 144.

What greater honour can one imagine, or concerning what prince of this world can one read, that an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who had founded the Catholic faith in the king's own realm, assured him of his aid (while all the time squeezing his hand) [...] Is there anything known or written about a prince of this world, on whose behalf an Apostle of Jesus Christ visibly came to fight and to destroy the squadrons [of Moors], as did St. James the Great on behalf of this holy king [Ramiro I], and of other descendants of his, forebears of your majesty.<sup>70</sup>

*The Santiago Matamoros of Francisco Ribalta (1603)  
and of Juan de Roelas (1609)*

Some of the portraits of Santiago *Matamoros* painted during Philip III's reign would seem to be directly connected with 'el problema morisco'. Cabrillana Ciézar was the first to focus attention on the painting by Juan de Roelas that can be found in the Capilla de Santiago, in the cathedral of Seville.<sup>71</sup> This huge painting of Santiago (5.12m. × 2.9m.) hangs in the chapel dedicated to him in the cathedral of Seville. It was painted in 1609, the year in which the first group of Moriscos were expelled from Valencia.<sup>72</sup> In this painting Santiago is brandishing his sword in very realistic fashion, to the distress of the frightened Moor in the left-hand corner, who is hiding behind his large, ornate shield. The saint's headlong charge is causing his cape to billow out behind him. To the right is another Moor rather histrionically warning his companions to keep back, by raising his hand and looking up, as if he perceived the saint to have descended from on high. The Cathedral chapter commissioned the painting and must have requested that the royal banners be included in it. When examined carefully, these reveal the chain of the Burgundian order of the Golden Fleece, so prized by the Spanish Hapsburgs, the lion of Leon and the cross of Santiago.

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<sup>70</sup> "Que mayor grandeza puede imaginarse, o de que Principe del mundo se lee, que vn Apostol de Iesu Christo le aya certificado, fue el fundador de la Fe Catolica en sus reynos y q̄ los tiene (apretandole la mano con la suya) de socorrerle [...]. De q̄ principe se sabe, o lee en el mundo, por quien vn Apostol de Iesu Christo aya venido visiblemente a pelear, y romper los escuadrones, como hizo Santiago, por este santo Rey [Ramiro I], o otros sus descendientes, Progenitores de V. Magestad.": Castellá Ferrer, *Santiago Zebedeo*, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Cabrillana Ciézar, *Santiago matamoros*, pp. 161–164.

<sup>72</sup> The vertical orientation of the painting emphasises the headlong charge from on high of Santiago, 'guardián de las banderas' (guardian of the flags), a title often given to Santiago, *Patrón de España*.



Cabrillana Ciézar has pointed out that the arms shown are an accurate depiction of Morisco weaponry: *adargas* (oval and heart-shaped leather shields), *alfanjes* (scimitars), *gumías* (short scimitars), *corazas* (cuirasses), and *capacetes* (helmets). In the opinion of the author, the vanquished Moors being trampled by Santiago's horse represent, very specifically, the historical Moriscos.<sup>73</sup>

There is another depiction of Santiago at Clavijo, painted in 1603 by Francisco Ribalta (1565–1628) at the request of Archbishop Juan de Ribera (1532–1611). This painting forms part of an altarpiece in the church of San Jaime Apóstol in Algemés, in the province of Valencia, the birthplace of the Catholic Apologist Jaime Bleda.<sup>74</sup> The artist shows Santiago at the battle of Clavijo (and also his beheading in Jerusalem). The saint is astride his white horse and is trampling on Moors and looks otherworldly, Christ-like and quite detached from the business in hand, unlike the active aggression of the Roelas painting. The horse dominates the scene and appears disproportionately large, as the body has been foreshortened for dramatic effect. Underneath its hooves are many dead and dying Moors. Archbishop Ribera commissioned many religious paintings, in keeping with the Tridentine decree that encouraged the use of the plastic arts for the edification of the faithful.<sup>75</sup> Apart from reflecting the anti-Morisco attitudes of Ribera at this time, I believe that it may have inspired a pen picture of Santiago *Matamoros*, or rather Philip III in this role. This description occurs in an epic poem on the expulsion of the Moriscos published in 1610 by the secretary of the Duke of Gandía, Gaspar Aguilar. The context for Aguilar's description of the King is the revolt by the Moriscos in the Sierra de Laguar.<sup>76</sup> The rebels see a vision above them in the sky and this greatly frightens them. Here is the passage, which is self-explanatory.

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<sup>73</sup> Cabrillana Ciézar considers this painting to be a reflection of the situation in Spain in 1609 in which some members of the Church and State were uniting to eliminate the Moriscos: Cabrillana Ciézar, *Santiago matamoros*, pp. 161–165.

<sup>74</sup> Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nueva*, I, p. 591.

<sup>75</sup> *The Paintings of Francisco Ribalta (1565–1628), Catalogue of the Exhibition Held in New York from 13 October to 8 December 1988* (New York: The Spanish Institute, 1988), pp. 66–67; Ehlers, *Christians and Moriscos*, p. 64.

<sup>76</sup> The Catholic Apologist Pedro Aznar Cardona writes of a Morisco belief that a saviour or *māhdi* would come to their aid in this very Sierra de Laguar: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>.

Ven vn mancebo, en magestad diuino,  
 por ser del orbe general amparo,  
 sobre vn cauallo que, tascando el freno,  
 viene de furia y coraje lleno.  
 Por ser blanco el cauallo grande y bello  
 parece a los del sol en la hermosura  
 pues las crines agudas de su cuello  
 son otros tantos rayos de luz pura;  
 [...] De soberuios sanjacos matasietes,  
 que vence de ordinario en los combates,  
 atropella cabeças, con bonetes  
 que tienen medias Lunas por remates.  
 Entre las herraduras lleua Hametes,  
 Solimanes, Selines, Amurates,  
 y como a tantas partes buela y cruza  
 todos los desentraña y desmenuza.<sup>77</sup>

Gaspar Aguilar explains the meaning of the vision: "This vision from the all powerful heavens [...] is the third Philip, descendant of the valiant Hapsburgs, who can alight from a horse like the wind".<sup>78</sup> This *vaticinatio post eventum* illustrates the divine retribution, which Philip III had exercised, in expelling the Moriscos from Valencia. This image of the wrathful monarch, who is trampling on Muslims, recalls in a very explicit way that of Santiago *Matamoros*. Like his immediate forebears, Philip III regarded himself as a defender of Christianity and believed that he had been divinely appointed to carry on a crusade in which he would visit chastisement on the infidel or on heretics.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> "They see a youth, of divine majesty/ as he offers protection to the whole world/ riding a horse which, chafing at the bit/, is full of fury and passion./ It is a fine, big, white horse/ as handsome as the sun/ as the sharp-pointed mane on his neck/ resembles rays of pure light/. He tramples on the heads/ of proud, braggadocio mutessarifs/, whom he usually conquers in combat/ their turbans have half moons as a finishing touch/. Under the horse's hooves he has Hamets/, Suleimans, Selines, Amurates/, and as he flies about and crosses back and forth to so many places/ they are all disembowelled and crushed".

<sup>78</sup> "Esta vision del cielo omnipotente/ [...] Es el tercer Philipo descendiente/ del Austria valeroso del que saue/ de un cauallo apearse como el viento": Aguilar, *Expulsion*, p. 147.

<sup>79</sup> In another part of his epic poem Gaspar Aguilar refers to the ignominious flight of the Turks when Charles V conquered Tunis (1535) (p. 145). As mentioned previously, Santiago was depicted, also, on royal banners used during other campaigns of Charles V: López Serrano, "Iconografía de Santiago" pp. 68-69. In his *Allegory of Lepanto* (1573-1575) Titian represents Philip II offering his infant son Ferdinand to the Trinity. At his feet lies a Turk in chains.

In the early years of his reign, Philip III had sought a great victory over the infidel or heretics. Thus, two naval fleets were sent to Ireland and the Moroccan ports of Larache and Mamora were won by negotiation and by warfare.<sup>80</sup> The messianic note of the second verse quoted, ‘por ser del orbe general amparo’, reflects the common belief in the pre-eminent rôle played by seventeenth-century Spaniards in the defence of Christianity.

### *Santiago in Golden-Age drama*

Popular theatre in the seventeenth-century *corrales de comedias* (open air playhouses) was a good place to observe the beliefs and prejudices of the time. The legend of Santiago *Matamoros* finds expression in plays set during the ‘Reconquest’. Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, the Granadan ecclesiastical historian, had described Santiago’s appearance at the *reconquista* battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), where the saint fought on behalf of Alfonso VIII.<sup>81</sup> This alleged vision is dramatised in Pedro Lanine Sagredo’s play *El rey don Alfonso el bueno*.<sup>82</sup> When Santiago is invoked by King Alfonso VIII the stage directions say: “Baja Santiago rápidamente en un caballo y pelea con los moros” (Santiago on horseback descends quickly from on high [using stage machinery] and battles with the Moors). Santiago then addresses the Christian army:

Ya en tu defensa  
Castellano Alfonso esta  
Porque con mi ayuda venças:  
Viva la fe! que asi Dios  
ampara su iglesia.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> P. Williams, “Philip III and the Restoration of Spanish Government”, *English History Review*, LXXXVIII (1973), p. 756.

<sup>81</sup> F. Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica de la ciudad y religion catolica de Granada, de su poderoso reyno y excelencia de su corona* (Granada: Andrés de Santiago, 1638), fol. 47<sup>r</sup>. This book is a reworking of his earlier one called *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1608).

<sup>82</sup> M. Regueiro, *Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Catalogue of the Comedia Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Libraries* (New Haven: Research Publications, 1971), reel 10, n. 432.

<sup>83</sup> “Alfonso of Castile/ has taken up your defence already, so that with my aid, you may be victorious./Long live the faith!, for this is the way that God/ protects his

Bermúdez de Pedraza recalls, also, Santiago's intervention on behalf of the army of Count Fernán González (930?–970) in the battle that took place at the ford of Cascajantes against the army of al-Mansur in 939.<sup>84</sup>

Lope de Vega wrote several plays during the period when the expulsion of the Moriscos was taking place (1609–1614). In the play *El conde Fernán González* there is a dramatic scene in which the warrior saint appears. As in the Clavijo legend, the saint participates in the battle. High up over the stage, he appears on his white charger, brandishing his sword, and proclaims:

Conde, con esta espada, hare que el moro  
pierda la vida y a Castilla dexé.  
Asi estare mañana en tu batalla.  
Que esta batalla ha de durar tres días,  
pero al fin venceras.<sup>85</sup>

Lope wrote this play between 1606 and 1612, probably between 1610 and 1612.<sup>86</sup>

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Church": P. Lanine Sagredo, *El rey don Alfonso el bueno* in Regueiro, *Spanish Drama of the Golden Age*, reel 10, n. 432, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> The reference is to the *Poema de Fernán González*, as the future Count was scarcely of an age to have personally participated: Anon., *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. A. Zamora Vicente (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1946), pp. 123, 162–163. The battle was that of Hacinas and took place where the Duero and the Pisuerga converge. In the poem the monk St. Pelayo foretold the intervention of Santiago in verses 407–412 and Santiago and his hosts appeared in verses 550–552. The poem was composed c. 1250 by a monk of the hermitage of San Pedro de Arlanza. (This is where the monk Pelayo resides in the *Poema*.) The historical battle was called that of Simancas. In it King Ramiro II of León (930–950) defeated not al-Mansur but Ab al Rahman III: J. P. Keller, *The Poet's Myth of Fernán González* (Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1990), p. 77.

<sup>85</sup> "Count, with this sword, I shall ensure that the Moor/ dies and leaves Castile/. Thus to-morrow, I shall be present at your battle/. This battle is to last three days/ but you will be victorious in the end": Vega Carpio, *Regueiro*, fol. 129<sup>v</sup>. Fernán González became the first Count of Castile. Although he is reputed to have fought against the Moors there is no record of any specific incident in which Santiago was purported to have appeared. The character depicted by Lope is an idealisation; modern historians consider him to have been astute and self-seeking: *Diccionario de historia de España*, II, 1968, pp. 45–47.

<sup>86</sup> S. G. Morley, & C. L. Bruerton, *Chronology of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega* (New York: MLA; London: Oxford University Press, 1940), trans. M<sup>a</sup> R. Cartes, *Cronología de las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), p. 303.

Many Golden-Age plays use the 'Reconquest' cry of ¡Santiago, y cierra España! (Santiago and close in, Spain!).<sup>87</sup> (In *Don Quijote*, Part II, Sancho has an amusing and ironic observation on this topic. Following the examination of an altarpiece statue of the national saint, in which Santiago is brandishing a bloodied sword and, in customary fashion, trampling on the infidel, the bemused squire queries the war cry: "¡Santiago y cierra España!" ¿Está por ventura España abierta, y de modo que es menester cerrarla, o qué ceremonia es ésta?" (Santiago and close in Spain! Is Spain perchance open, so that we have to close her, or what ceremony is this?).<sup>88</sup> In another play, the unfortunate crusader king, Sebastian of Portugal, utters this war cry, also, as he goes to his death in the battle of Alcázarquivir (1578).<sup>89</sup>

As we can see, the persona of Santiago, both *Apóstol* and *Matamoros*, was very present in people's minds in the early seventeenth century. The legend of Santiago's participation in the 'Reconquest' perhaps served to reinforce the conviction that Spain was now God's Chosen People and the pre-eminent Catholic nation and thus honour bound to lead a crusade against heretics and infidels.

*Anti-Islamic Sentiment and the Expulsion of the Moriscos  
in Golden-Age drama*

Santiago was for some people patron saint of the 'Reconquest' of Christian Spain from the infidel and anti-Islamic sentiment could take many forms. The notion of a crusade against the infidel is very dramatically expressed in Lope de Vega's play *El mejor mozo de España* (*The Best Young Man in Spain*), where the courtship of the future Isabella la católica by Prince Ferdinand of Aragon is dramatised. The

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<sup>87</sup> P. Rosete Niño, *La conquista de Cuenca y primer dedicacion de la Virgen del Sagrario. Parte veinte y vna de comedias nvevas ecogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid: Joseph Fernández de Buendía for Augustiín Verges, 1663), p. 257. p. 257; L. Vélez de Guevara, *Comedia famosa del rey don Sebastian*, MS 15291, BNM, ed. W. Herzog (Madrid: RAE, 1972), p. 75.

<sup>88</sup> Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, II, p. 984.

<sup>89</sup> L. de Vega Carpio, *Tragedia del rey don Sebastian y bautizo del principe de Mar-rucos, Onzena parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo oficio. Dirigidas a Don Bernaue de Vivanco y Velasco* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín de Balboa, 1618), BAE, CCXXV, p. 141.

play was written between 1610 and 1611.<sup>90</sup> In the first Act Isabella has a dream in which a tableau representing Spain (or Castile) as a woman in mourning lies prostrate on the ground, between a Moor on horseback and a Jew. In the last Act the roles are reversed as Spain is now mounted and the Moor and Jew lie at her feet. The crusading zeal of the Catholic Monarchs is symbolised by a placard held aloft by the vanquished infidels, on which the initials F and intertwine and encircle a bared sword. Spain (or Castile) declares to the future queen:

Y quien librar  
puede mi cuello, tu eres,  
del Moro, y del fiero Hebreo  
que has de desterrar de España  
que guarda el cielo esta hazaña  
a tu valor y deseo.  
Aunque siempre quedaré  
con temor del Moro fiero  
hasta que reyne un tercero,  
que mi libertad me dê.<sup>91</sup>

Isabella's dream began with a prediction about her future campaign against the Moors made by Roderick, the last Visigothic king, and popularly blamed for bringing the Moors to Spain. This reputation was disseminated by the *Romancero*, early ballads, which had as their source the fictionalised account of the Moorish conquest contained in Pedro de Corral's *Cronica sarracina* (c. 1430).

In Lope's play *La campana de Aragón* (*The Bell of Aragón*), which has been dated for 1604,<sup>92</sup> the future King Ramiro II of Aragón (1134–1137) advocates the expulsion of all Moors from Spain: "This is to exalt the faith, by casting out of Spain/, the Moors, who are oppressing her and bringing her harm".<sup>93</sup> At the opening of the play there is a tableau of Santiago on horseback with wounded Moors at his feet.

<sup>90</sup> Morley & Bruerton, *Cronología*, pp. 62, 89.

<sup>91</sup> "You are the person/ who can free me from the oppression/ of the Moors and of the fierce Jews/, whom you are destined to expel from Spain/ as Heaven reserves for your valour and desire this [great] deed/ Although I shall always fear the fierce Moor/ until a third [king] reigns/ who will restore my freedom": Vega Carpio, *El mejor mozo de España*, Regueiro, *Catalogue*, reel 57, n. 2279, fol. 274r.

<sup>92</sup> Morley & Bruerton, *Cronología*, p. 52.

<sup>93</sup> "Que esto es ensalzar la fe, echando de España/ al moro alarbe, que la oprime y daña": Vega Carpio, *La campana de Aragón*, BAE, XLI, p. 46.

After this, Pedro I of Aragon and Pamplona (1068–1104) successfully laid siege to Huesca (1096).

Lope supports the expulsion of the Moriscos in two other plays written in the early seventeenth century. *El niño inocente de la Guardia* (1603)<sup>94</sup> ostensibly refers to an incident that took place around the time of the expulsion of the Jews (1492). The play is blatantly anti-Semitic and advocates mass expulsion of the Jews to purify Spanish Catholicism and to purge the state of people who cause civil dissension and exert an evil influence on Christians. Isabella declares to Ferdinand: “But I desire to banish/ these inhuman enemies:/ let us cast out of our Spain/, Ferdinand, these fierce people/, who harm the faith and disturb the peace”.<sup>95</sup> In the period leading up to the expulsion it has obvious resonances with the Morisco problem. D. W. Cruickshank argues, similarly, that in the play *Las paces de los reyes* (*Peace between the King and Queen* or *The Kings’ Peace*) (1610) Lope is supporting, indirectly, the proposed expulsion of the Moriscos. The play is ostensibly based on a supposed love affair between Alfonso VIII, who later defeated the *almohades* at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), and a Jewess called Raquel.<sup>96</sup> Cruickshank argues that Santiago is a unifying theme in the play and is directly associated with the ‘Reconquest’ and Alfonso VIII, the victor of Las Navas de Tolosa, whose sword he girds in Act I. In other plays of Lope there are *vaticinia post eventum* of the expulsion.<sup>97</sup>

### *Santiago and the Lead Books of Granada*

However, now let’s look at Santiago *Apóstol* from quite a different perspective: that of the parchment and so-called Lead Books of Granada.

<sup>94</sup> This date is offered by Morley and Bruerton as being the most likely: Morley & Bruerton, *Cronología*, p. 369.

<sup>95</sup> “Pero desterrar deseo/ este enemigo inhumano:/ echemos de nuestra España/ Fernando, esta gente fiera,/ que la fe y la paz altera”: Vega Carpio, *El niño inocente de la Guardia*, BAE, XLI, p. 46.

<sup>96</sup> D. W. Cruickshank, “Alfonso VIII and Raquel of Toledo”, in *Spanish Theatre Studies in Honour of Victor F. Dixon* (London: Tamesis, 2001), pp. 11–26.

<sup>97</sup> M. Herrero García cites the following plays: *Vida de san Pedro Nolasco*, BAE, CLXXXVI, p. 72 (65–102); *La juventud de san Isidro*, BAE, CLXXVIII, p. 364 (361–392); *Servir a señor discreto*, BAE, LII, p. 72 (69–91); Herrero García, *Ideas de los españoles*, pp. 569–571. Herrero García claims, also, that hostility towards the Moriscos increased in literature as the year of the expulsion approached (p. 563).

These engraved lead discs both 'verified' the mission of Santiago to Spain and the very controversial doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. They are now considered to be Morisco forgeries and there are various interpretations of what they were setting out to do. Carlos Alonso and Julio Caro Baroja considered that the Lead Books were an attempted synthesis of Islam and Christianity and that that they were trying to make the latter more acceptable to crypto-Muslims, by toning down from within Christian doctrines like that of the Trinity, which were deeply offensive to Muslims.<sup>98</sup> L. P. Harvey did initially ascribe to this view but has now modified it: he considers the Lead Books to be partially a form of syncretism but also a form of political 'entryism' by which Moriscos attempted to change religious beliefs from within the Church itself, but were not themselves crypto-Muslims.<sup>99</sup> Mercedes García Arenal sees the Lead Books as part of an attempt to win respect for Arabic and other cultural practices of the Moriscos. By representing the first Christian martyrs of Granada as Arabs and arguing that Arabic was the language in which the *True Gospel* had been written, hostility towards the Moriscos might be mitigated. She argues that the *plomos* (Lead Books) as well as two other best sellers, the *Guerras civiles de Granada* and the *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo*, both written by Moriscos, were attempting to diminish hostile attitudes towards Morisco culture and improve the social status of noble, assimilated Moriscos in Granada.<sup>100</sup> One of the possible forgers of the *plomos*, Miguel de Luna, was also author of the *Verdadera historia*. Ginés Pérez de Hita, who wrote the *Guerras civiles*, and Luna both formed part of the literary circle of the noble Granada Vanegas family,

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<sup>98</sup> C. Alonso, *Los apócrifos del Sacromonte (Granada). Estudio histórico* (Valladolid: El Estudio Agustiniiano, 1979), J. Caro Baroja, *Las falsificacioines de la historia con respecto a la de España* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1992).

<sup>99</sup> Professor Harvey applies this term to a Trotskyist movement within the Labour party when there was an attempt to take over the party through a process of infiltration: Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, pp. 268–269.

<sup>100</sup> M. de Luna, *Verdadera historia del rey don Rodrigo en la qual se trata la causa principal de la perdida de España, y la conquista que della hizo Miramolin Almanzor. Compuesta por el sabio Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, de Nacion Arabe. Nuevamente traduzida de la lengua arabiga por Miguel de Luna* (Granada: René Rabut, 1592), facsimile ed. L. F. Bernabe Pons (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001); G. Pérez de Hita, *Historia de los bandos de los Zegries y Abencerrajes (primera parte de las Guerras civiles de Granada)*, facsimil. ed. P. Blanchard-Demouge (Madrid: E. Bailly-Bailliére, 1913), estudio preliminar e índices P. Correa (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999).



who sought to become more fully integrated into Christian society.<sup>101</sup> Here, however, we are more concerned with discussing the representation of Santiago in the *plomos* than in investigating their origins.

In the controversy surrounding the *plomos* in Granada supporters looked to scripture for confirmation of their authenticity. Biblical quotations were cited to show how God had favoured Spain and had made her first among Christian nations. The illustrations by the engraver Franz Heylan (b. 1584) are interesting in this context.<sup>102</sup> On the finely engraved frontispiece of a large tome, rather ironically titled *Relacion breve de las reliquias que se hallaron en la ciudad de Granada en una torre antiquissima y en las cauernas del Monte Illiputano de Valparayso cerca de la ciudad*, there are no fewer than three quotations that support the notion that Granada, and its now holy mountain, has been singled out by God to become the first city in the Western World to receive the good news of Christianity.<sup>103</sup> The first quotation is on the left-hand side of the picture and surmounts two columns. In front of these columns stands Santiago, in pilgrim garb, holding two of the Lead Books, which can be recognised by the Solomonic seal (which resembles the Star of David and is also the emblem of alchemists). The passage describes the special nature of the mountain where the Lead Books and the relics were found:

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<sup>101</sup> M García-Arenal, “El entorno a los plomos del Sacromonte (y II) El entorno de los plomos del Sacromonte: historografía y linaje”, *Al-Qantara*, XXIV, 2 (2003) 295–326; M. García-Arenal & F. Rodríguez Mediano, “Médico, traductor, inventor: Miguel de Luna, cristiano árabe de Granada”, *Chronica Nova*, XXXII (2006), 187–231.

<sup>102</sup> Heylan was born in Antwerp. It is not known when he first came to Spain but was in Seville in 1608. He settled in Granada in 1612, perhaps because of a contract to illustrate the *Historia eclesiástica de Granada* of Justino Antolínez: Cabrillana Cíezar, *Santiago matamoros*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>103</sup> The *Relación breve* was published in Lyon in 1706 but is an edition of one previously published in Granada in 1632 by Adán Centurión, Marqués de Estepa: *Información para la historia del Sacromonte llamado de Valpariso y antiguamente Illipulitano junto a Granada donde parecieron cenizas de S. Cecilio S. Thesiphon y S. Hiscio, discipulos del Apostol, unico patrón de las Españas, Santiago y otros santos discipulos dellos escritos en láminas de plomo* (Granada: Bartolomé de Lorenzana, 1632): L. P. Harvey & G. A. Wieggers, “The Translation from Arabic of the Sacromonte Tablets and the Archbishop of Granada: an Illuminating Correspondence” *Qurtuba*, I (1996), 59–78. The absence of a publisher in the supposedly Lyon edition makes one wonder if the book was in fact printed there. The date given is during the War of the Spanish Succession. The book had been banned by the Inquisition. Perhaps it was printed clandestinely in Spain?

Mons Dei, mons pinguis (Ps. 67: 16).<sup>104</sup>

On the right-hand side is another quotation from Psalm 67, this time above the pillars behind St. Hesychius, companion of Santiago. The second quotation continues that of the left-hand side and equates the now holy mountain with that of Jerusalem, where God himself dwells:

Mons in quo beneplacitum est Deo  
habitare in eo (Ps. 67: 17).<sup>105</sup>

The third passage is from the second chapter of Isaiah and speaks of the manifestation of God's holy mountain, towards which all men travel:

Erit manifestatus mons Domini,  
et fluent ad eum omnes gentes  
(Is. 2: 1–3).<sup>106</sup>

In these passages the Monte de Valparaíso in Granada, now renamed the Sacromonte, is being compared with the Hill of Sion in Jerusalem, site of Solomon's Temple, and symbolic of the entire People of Israel.<sup>107</sup>

Heylan's engravings are an accurate depiction of the role of Santiago in the translation of the Lead Books made by Adán Centurión, Marqués of Estepa and in the *Historia eclesiástica de Granada* of Justino Antolínez de Burgo.<sup>108</sup> This version is biased, as Estepa tends to read into the text what he hopes to find there. However, until scholars bring out a reputable translation of the originals, released by the Holy Office in 2000, there is no other full version. (Miguel José Hagerty has translated two of the books for his doctoral thesis, using earlier transcriptions).<sup>109</sup>

<sup>104</sup> "The mount of God is a fat mountain". The translation 'fat' in the Douai Bible indicates that the mountain, which represents the church in which God dwells (Is 2:2), is most fruitful and enriched with the spiritual gifts of the Holy Spirit: <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/21065/htm>. Accessed Sunday, 24 August 2008.

<sup>105</sup> "A mountain in which God is very pleased to dwell."

<sup>106</sup> "[And in the last days] the mountain of [the house] of the Lord [shall be prepared] on the top of mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it."

<sup>107</sup> Another engraving of Franz Heylan from the *Relación breve* also associates belief in the vision of Our Lady of the Pillar in Zaragoza with the Sacromonte.

<sup>108</sup> J. Antolínez de Burgos, *Historia eclesiástica de Granada*, ed. M. Sotomayor (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996).

<sup>109</sup> M. J. Hagerty, "Transcripción, traducción y observaciones de dos de los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte" (Granada: Unpublished Doctoral Thesis (microfiche M203), 1983).

Heylan's engravings illustrate the central points made by the Lead Books. His frontispiece is included in this book:

1. *Jesus healing Aben Alradi Cecilio*. Cecilio, first bishop of Granada, was, according to the *plomos*, an Arab born deaf and dumb but cured by Jesus, who gave him the name Cecilio.<sup>110</sup>
2. *Santiago and Cecilio*. Traditionally, Cecilio was sent to Spain by SS Peter & Paul but in the Lead Books he came with Santiago.
3. *Our Lady returns the Lead Books to the Mount of Olives and entrusts a copy to Santiago*.<sup>111</sup> Here the Virgin is returning the original of the *True Gospel* to a disproportionately small Mount of Olives. According to the Lead Books, the *True Gospel* had been brought down from Heaven by the angel Gabriel, inscribed in light on seven tablets of green chrysolite.<sup>112</sup> The Virgin duly transcribed the text onto Lead Tablets which she entrusted to Santiago, enjoining him to bring them to 'la extremidad de la tierra que se llama España, en el lugar donde resucita un muerto. Guárdalo en él' [the end of the Earth which is called Spain, in the place where a dead man rises from the dead. Put it away in that place].<sup>113</sup> In one account of this event the book constantly stresses the virtue of wisdom (or it could be translated as knowledge): 'sabiduría' is imputed three times to Santiago and the wisdom of God is extolled for entrusting the *True Gospel* to Our Lady. Its contents will be revealed in the future by 'la más excelente criatura', who will be an Arab. This book, and all the others, is written in Arabic which, the *plomos* claim, is one of the most excellent languages. This passage is indirectly referring to the Islamic doctrine of *tāhrif*: that is the corruption of the original Gospel texts, either intentionally or due to lack of skill.<sup>114</sup> The Latin quotation is from Isaiah 29: 11: "And the vision of all shall be unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which when they shall deliver it unto one that is learned they shall say: Read this: and he shall answer: I cannot, for it is sealed".<sup>115</sup>

<sup>110</sup> M. J. Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte* (Madrid: Nacional, 1980), pp. 91–92. This event occurs in the *Libro de los actos de nuestro Señor Jesús y de su madre, María la Virgen*.

<sup>111</sup> This occurs in the *Libro de las acciones de Jacobo Apóstol y de sus milagros*.

<sup>112</sup> Al Hajāri, Ahmad ibn Qāsim, *Kitāb nāsir al-dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, ed. P. S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai & G. A. Wieggers (Madrid: CSIC, 1997), p. 249.

<sup>113</sup> Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos*, p. 208. This occurs in the *Libro de las acciones de Jacobo Apóstol y de sus milagros*. The same scene is described in the *Libro de la historia de la verdad del evangelio*, p. 125.

<sup>114</sup> Since the time of Muhammad this charge has been laid against both the Jewish Pentateuch and the Christian Gospels. The text may have been taken down incorrectly (*tāhrif an nass*) or the meaning may have been falsified (*tāhrif al macani*): L. F. Bernabé Pons, *El evangelio de San Bernabé: un evangelio islámico español* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1995), p. 171.

<sup>115</sup> 'Et erit Vobis visio libri signati, quem cum dederint scijenti litteras dicent: Lege istum et respondebit: Non possum, signatus est enim'.

4. *Santiago's journey towards and arrival in Spain.* The engraving shows Santiago in the foreground, carrying the Lead Books and his pilgrim's staff. Moored nearby is the ship on which he travelled, where the angel Gabriel is still standing in the prow. In the distance is the ship during the voyage, with its sails unfurled. The Latin text is from Proverbs 31:14, an extract from *Praise of Strong Women*. It reads: "She is like the merchant's ship, she bringeth bread from afar".
5. *Santiago kneeling before Nuestra Señora del Pilar.* In this engraving the Monte Sacro de Granada is linked with other areas associated with devotion to Our Lady.

Further 'evidence' of Santiago's presence in Granada is given in a curious little book published in 1603 by a Morisco priest, Luis de la Cueva, who claims that Santiago celebrated the first mass in Europe in the caves of the Sacromonte:

César: What sacred things are there in Granada?

Cecilius: The Holy Mountain where the first mass in Europe was said because, before the Apostles left Jerusalem and the Holy Land, the brother of St John, and first cousin of Christ, knowing of his proximate death, came to the Holy Mountain in Granada, and consecrated it with many masses that he said there.<sup>116</sup>

The uncritical reception by many people of the Lead Books may be linked to the question of national identity: the *plomos* confirmed the mission of Santiago *Apóstol* at a time when Cardinal Baronius was highly sceptical of it. Those who considered Spain to be the foremost Christian nation were happy to accept the authenticity of the texts. Thus, by focussing the Lead Books on Santiago, the Morisco forgers evoked the sympathy of some readers and won new respect for Arabs and their language; the Church in Granada, up to now bereft of an ecclesiastical history, could claim precedence over Santiago de Compostela and Toledo. Pedro de Valencia, humanist, biblical scholar and Royal Chronicler of Castile and the Indies (1607–1620) was commissioned to write a critique of the *plomos*, which will be discussed in Part II, Chapter 2.

<sup>116</sup> "Cesar: Qué cosas sagradas hay en Granada?"

Cecilio: El Monte Santo donde se dixo la primera missa que vuo en Europa, porque antes que los Apostoles saliessen de Ierusalen y de la Tierra Santa el hermano de San Iuan, y primer hermano de Christo, sauiedo su temprana muerte, vino al Monte Santo de Granada, y lo consagro, con muchas Missas que en el dixo": L. de la Cueva, *Dialogos de las cosas notables de Granada y lengua española, y algunas cosas curiosas* (Seville: Fernando de Lara, 1603), fol. A1<sup>v</sup>; edición facsímil, estudio preliminar J. Mondéjar (Granada: Archivum, 1993).

We have seen how some Catholic Apologists used the legend of Santiago *Matamoros*' intervention in the 'Reconquest' to argue that Philip III, as an embodiment of the warrior saint, was expected by God to expel the Moriscos, and thus bring the crusade against Islam in Spain to an end. In Chapter 3 we shall see how they apply the prophecies concerning the Emperor of the Last Days to Philip III and further bolster their arguments by reference to the Great Conjunction of 1603.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE CATHOLIC APOLOGISTS OF THE EXPULSION OF THE MORISCOS: ANTI-ISLAMIC PROPAGANDA

In this chapter we will examine in greater detail the arguments of the Catholic Apologists in favour of the expulsion of the Moriscos. Many of these come from mediaeval anti-Islamic polemic. All the Apologists engage in vilification of Islam and in particular of Muhammad, whom they revile as the Antichrist. They also consider that Divine Providence is revealing that this extreme measure has divine approval and that this is shown through the Great Conjunction of 1603 and through the extraordinary events which have been witnessed by many. First let us see who exactly these men were?

##### *The Catholic Apologists*

Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliographia hispana nova* includes potted biographies of the Apologists mentioned in this book. All came from either Aragon or Valencia. Jaime Bleda was from the Morisco town of Algemesí, whose church of San Jaime displays the reredos of Santiago by Ribalta, which has been mentioned already. Bleda entered the Dominican order and acted both as a general preacher and theological censor of the Inquisition in Valencia. Antonio states that his promotion of the expulsion as the means of solving 'el problema morisco' was encouraged by the Inquisition,<sup>1</sup> and also stemmed from his personal experience of their 'dudosa fe' (dubious faith), as he had acted as a parish priest in a Morisco area. As well as the two volumes mentioned in the Introduction, he also wrote another called *Tractatus de justa morisorum ab Hispania expulsiōe* (1610), which is included as a fourth part in the *Defensio fidei*. He travelled to Madrid several times

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<sup>1</sup> Recent research does not seem to support this statement.

to argue in favour of expulsion and went to Rome three times with the same aim.<sup>2</sup>

Bleda wrote two collections of miracles: the first was on miracles mediated by the Eucharist and the other one by the Cross. The first book is dedicated to Philip III and Margarita of Austria and the second to the Duke of Lerma. (In the section on millenarian prophecies an extract from the second book has been cited already.) Bleda introduces the book on the Eucharist by recalling a legend that Rudolph, founder of the House of Hapsburg, had allowed a priest carrying the Eucharist to a sick man to ride his horse and wear his cloak to protect him from the rain. The priest foretold that he would found an Empire and be the father of Emperors, in thanksgiving for his generosity.<sup>3</sup>

Bleda links kingship with the Cross in the opening section of the second book: those who rule well do so by virtue of the Cross; Divine Providence will intervene and punish those who do not accept it and obey it:

Finally, I say that all kings rule through [the power] of the Cross, as they and emperors show, carrying in their hands an orb with a cross and for this reason they wear it also on their crown, swearing solemnly that if they reign well, it is by virtue of the Cross, and that their firm rule over Christians will only last for as long as they obey the Cross and are subject it.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the 'miracles' cited by Bleda are anti-Semitic. In very many of them the consecrated communion host is desecrated by Jews, who attack it with various weapons. In each case the host bleeds, in one case so copiously that a glass is filled. Similarly, the figure on the crucifix bleeds when pierced by a weapon.<sup>5</sup> The tone of these two books

<sup>2</sup> Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nueva*, I, p. 591.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bleda, *Libro de la Cofradia de la Minerva: en el qual se escriuen mas de dozientos y cinquenta milagros del santissimo Sacramento del Altar* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, 1600), fols 5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> "En resolucion digo que todos los reyes reynan por la cruz, como lo muestran ellos y los Emperadores, lleuando en sus manos vn mundo con vna Cruz: por eso tambien la lleuan en la corona, confessando q̄ si reynan legitamente, es por virtud de la Cruz, y que no durara su imperio firme sobre los Christianos mas tiempo del que obedeciere[n] a la Cruz, y se sugetare[n] a ella": Bleda, *Quatrocientos milagros*, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Bleda, *Libro de la Cofradia*: A host is sold to a Jew who wounds it and it bleeds (pp. 80-83); in Poland a woman called Dorothea sold a host for a fine skirt. When desecrated in the synagogue it bled. All those involved were burned at the stake (pp. 80-83.); a Jew threw a host into boiling water where it turned into a beautiful child

reveals a lot about Bleda. They are extremely anti-Semitic revealing the racism of the author, who prided himself greatly on his *cristiano viejo* status. They are quite lacking in any critical outlook and many of the ‘miracles’ recounted are harsh and unforgiving. (One remembers Pedro de Valencia ironic remark that inexplicable events can always be explained away by calling them miracles. See Part II, Chapter 6, note 37.) Some are credulous to the point of absurdity: “How a nun was possessed by a devil because she ate a lettuce without blessing it with the sign of the cross”.<sup>6</sup>

Nicolás Antonio, in the entry for Pedro Aznar Cardona, refers the reader to Jerónimo Aznar y Embid Cardona, uncle of the *licenciado* (graduate). He points out that Pedro, in a dedicatory letter, had attributed the work to Fray Jerónimo, who was an Augustinian friar and preacher, who had written the book when he retired. He came from a village called Aniñón de Catalayud.<sup>7</sup> Antonio is correct; Pedro Aznar Cardona, in the dedication to Dr. Pedro López, a master of theology and canon of the church in Huesca, states: “[...] because the whole [book] consists of writings by my uncle, Fr. Gerónimo Aznar, Prior of the monastery of St Augustine in Huesca”.<sup>8</sup> *Licenciado* Aznar Cardona declares that he merely acted as amanuensis. If this is true then all the Apologists cited in this book, apart from Gaspar Aguilar,<sup>9</sup> were clerics: Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier was a Carmelite and came from Zaragoza. He had been appointed prior of the monastery in Alcañiz in 1606. He was honoured by Philip IV with a pension and died in 1630;<sup>10</sup> Damián Fonseca was born in Lisbon on 27 April 1573 to a Portuguese father and a Spanish mother, whose surname he used. Inspired by Fray Luis de Granada, who lived in Lisbon at that time, he entered the

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(pp. 92–99); A Jewish doctor threw a host into boiling water several times but each time it rose up into the air (pp. 122–125). Bleda, *Quatrocientos milagros*: a Jew threw a stone at a cross and it bled (p. 266); a Jew pierced a cross with a lance and it bled (p. 30); a Jew stabbed a crucifix and it bled. He hid it under his cloak but it was discovered and he was stoned (pp. 389–390); a Jew stabbed a crucifix in the neck and it bled. He threw it into a well but was discovered. He converted to Christianity (390–391).

<sup>6</sup> “Como entro el demonio en una monja porque comio de una lechuza sin bendezirle con la Cruz”: San Gregorio magno, *Diálogos*, libro I, cap 4: Bleda, *Quatrocientos milagros*, p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nueva*, I, pp. 597–598.

<sup>8</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*.

<sup>9</sup> Gaspar Aguilar was secretary to the Duke of Gandía. Apart from his epic poem on the expulsion of the Moriscos, he wrote several plays, one of which *El gran patriarca don Juan de Ribera* is mentioned in the introduction.

<sup>10</sup> Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nueva*, I, p. 108.



Dominican monastery of Valencia in 1588. He studied theology and received the degree of doctor around the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos, which he is believed to have witnessed. He went to Rome to defend the expulsion of the Moriscos, which he believed had not been properly understood there. The *Ivsta expvlsión* was first published in Italian in 1611 and then in Spanish the following year. Books IV and V, which described the expulsion from Valencia, were printed separately as a *Relación*. Fonseca was honoured by pope Clement VIII and later became Superior General of his order. He probably died shortly after 1627;<sup>11</sup> Blas Verdú came from the village of Cati in Valencia and was a Dominican. He was rector of the *colegio de moriscos* of St. Dominick in Tortosa and reader in theology in the church there.<sup>12</sup>

The justificatory arguments used by the Catholic Apologists derive from the prophetic traditions that have been described, from the legend and myths of Santiago but also from mediaeval anti-Islamic polemic and astrology. We have seen already examples of some of their ideas on these topics. Theirs was a defensive role as they sought to justify a mass expulsion of baptised Christians that had been undertaken without papal ratification or the support of all the Spanish hierarchy. Normal ecclesiastical procedures had had to be set aside as the *Junta* of theologians set up to study the issue had advised against expulsion.<sup>13</sup> The Apologists' belief in the validity of this measure is reflected in the titles of some of their works, in many of which they use the noun 'moro' instead of 'morisco'. (See Bibliography.)

One of the issues that the Apologists discuss at length seems at first peripheral to the expulsion itself: there are many attempts to justify the early, forcible baptism of the Moriscos in the sixteenth century. Were the baptisms to be found invalid then those expelled were Mudejars rather than Moriscos, which creates a very different legal situation?<sup>14</sup> Yet, all the Apologists concur in finding the baptisms valid: the Moriscos are thus heretics or apostates. The motivation behind both the discussion on baptism and the anti-Islamic arguments would seem to be a type of smear campaign against the Moriscos that the Apologists

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<sup>11</sup> D. Fonseca, *Relacion de la expulsion de los moriscos del reino de Valencia* (Books IV and V of the *Ivsta expvlsion*), 2nd ed. (Valencia: La Sociedad Valenciana de Bibliófilos, 1878), pp. v-x.

<sup>12</sup> Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Nueva*, II, p. 236.

<sup>13</sup> Domínguez Ortiz & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, p. 172.

<sup>14</sup> Epalza, *Los moriscos*, pp. 89-90.

attempt to vindicate when they attach culpability for the sins of the parents to their children and grandchildren.

As the Catholic Apologists believed that none of the Moriscos were true Christians they regarded the expulsion of the Moriscos as the final event in the Christian 'Reconquest' of Spain. This idea is given iconographic form in the frontispiece of one of the apologetic works. Mediaeval anti-Islamic polemic often described Muhammad as a prefiguration of Antichrist.<sup>15</sup> He was represented as the vomiting dragon, which regurgitated, thus, the ancient heresies, which he had been fed by the Devil. The Spanish polemical *antialcoranes*, much used as a source by the Apologists, put forward this notion. In Damián Fonseca's *Iusta expulsión de los moriscos de España (Just Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain)* there is a depiction of the Hydra of Lerna being slain by a Spanish Hercules. The author explains that Hercules represents Philip III and the Hydra stands for the beast from the sea in Revelation (Rev. 13: 1), whose seven heads are taken to represent the great heresies (Rev. 13: 1–10).<sup>16</sup> The last and most pernicious was that of Muhammad which has been duly removed by the expulsion of the Moriscos: "The seventh and most pernicious [heresiarch] of all (for this reason I left it last), is the evil prophet Muhammad, who blasphemes against the whole Christian religion".<sup>17</sup> A Latin quotation from Psalm 82: 14 reads: "O my God, make them like a wheel: and as stubble before the wind".<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 210–211, 218.

<sup>16</sup> This interpretation is that of Joachim of Fiore, who also identified Islam with the first beast, the one from the sea. The last of the seven heads was that of Muhammad: D. Burr, "Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis" in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. J. V. Nolan (New York/ London, Random House, 1996), p. 133. Nicholas of Lyra identified Muhammad with the second beast, the beast from the earth: P. Krey, "Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam", in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam, A Book of Essays*, ed. J. V. Nolan (New York/ London, Garland Publishing, 1996), p. 154. This was also Aznar Cardona's interpretation in Chapter 11.

<sup>17</sup> "La septima [heresiarcha] y mas perniciosa de todas (que por eso lo deje por ultimo), es el mal profeta Mahoma, que generalmente blasphema de toda la religion christiana": Fonseca, *Iusta expulsión*, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>. There were many associations between the Hapsburg dynasty and Hercules. One example was the use of the pillars of Hercules beside the motto 'plus oultre [ultra]' on the standards used by Charles V in the campaign against Tunisia (1541).

<sup>18</sup> "Deus meus pone illos ut rotam; et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti".

*The Reconquest, the Moriscos and Crusades against the Infidel*

All the Catholic Apologists mythify Philip III by representing him as the Emperor of the Last Days. They indulge in rhetorical admonitions to Philip III to follow up his conquest of Islam in Spain, which is how they view his expulsion of the Moriscos, by imitating the mythical journey of the last World Emperor and proceeding towards Jerusalem via North Africa. They consider that the divine election of Spain for this task was revealed by the Great Conjunction of 1603, which confirmed this special role for Sagittarian Spain. The nativity horoscope of Philip III confirmed this divine privilege also.

As Bleda in *Defensio fidei* encouraged the King's sons to mount symbolically the Holy Hill of Sion, the Apologist Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier dedicated his book to them, and envisages them as conquerors of Jerusalem:

The second [reason for dedicating this work to the royal princes] is to contemplate the happy events that learned and solemn prophecies publish, based on the stars of Heaven, promising you the conquest and triumph over Jerusalem, and the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre, together with noteworthy victories over the Muslims, casting to the ground their crescent moons and putting in their place the most holy cross, beginning this after the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.<sup>19</sup>

The Apologists' sources for the liberation of Jerusalem by the Hapsburgs are the indigenous prophetic tradition, falsely ascribed to St. Isidore (c. 560–636) or Merlin, and the Sibylline prophecy of the *Eritraean Sibyl*; both sources equate Philip III with the lion which is destined to conquer Asia and overcome the beast of Islam. In the extract cited by the Apologist Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier the Great Conjunction

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<sup>19</sup> "El segundo [motivo para dedicar esta obra a los principes reales] es ver las felicidades que publican de V. altezas doctos y graues Pronosticos, fundados en los celestiales Astros, prometiéndoles la conquista y triumpho de Ierusalem, y libertad del santo Sepulchro, cō notables victorias de los Mahometanos, dando por tierra sus menguantes Lunas y poniendo en su lugar la Cruz santissima, començandose esto despues de la Expulsion de los Moriscos de España": Guadalajara y Javier, *Memo-rable expvulsion*, fols A5<sup>r</sup>–A5<sup>v</sup>. Richard Kagan has pointed out that 'fulfilment prophecies' were customary on the birth of a royal prince. This served the purpose of confirming for the people the divine approval of the monarchy. He points out that Cristóbal López de Cañete reproduces those that accompanied the births of the sons of Philip III, Princes Charles and Ferdinand: R. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 3.

of 1603 confirmed this conquest of Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup> After the expulsion of the Moriscos, the King is envisaged marching victoriously through North Africa, conquering, with divine aid, a superior army at Alexandria and then proceeding to Jerusalem:

[The Turk] will retire inland. And he will give full sway to the Lion King, who will continue his victories up to Jerusalem and, on arriving there, will throw himself to the ground and will thank God for so many victories, graces and favours.<sup>21</sup>

As detailed already, the Apologists considered that the 'Reconquest' of Spain from the Moors had not ended in 1492 with the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella but rather between 1609 and 1614, when the Moriscos were expelled *en masse*. Such an outlook regarded the expulsion as a continuation of the *cruzada* (crusade) against the Moors. Here is part of the admonition of Marcos de Guadajalara y Javier to the King to continue his anti-Islamic crusade and proceed by way of North Africa to the Holy Land, where he will re-conquer Jerusalem:

After Muhammad's sect has been destroyed in Spain, and the Moors expelled, the recovery of the Holy Land of Jerusalem will be undertaken and war will be declared. [...] This army will go across to Africa by way of the Straits of Gibraltar. And it will march to lay siege to the city of Libya or Fez. And there the great Lion of Spain will unsheathe a sword of virtue, which is reserved for him. And he will continue with his march through Barbary, killing and burning to death those who do not request holy Baptism and who do not profess the name of Christ.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See note 57.

<sup>21</sup> "[el turco] se retirara a tierra adentro. Y dejandole campo franco al Rey Leon, continuara sus victorias hasta Hierusalem, y en llegando a ella se arrojara pecho por tierra, y dara gracias a Dios por tantas victorias, gracias y mercedes.": Guadajalara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fols 160<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>. This prophecy is ascribed to St. Nicholas Factor, although the date given by Guadajalara y Javier is 1430. The prophecy is reproduced in full in López de Cañete's compendium of prophecies: *Compendio de los pronosticos y baticinios antigvos y modernos que pvblican la declinacion de la secta de Mahoma, y libertad de Hiervsaalem* (Granada: Franz Heylan, 1630), A2<sup>r</sup>-A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> "Despues de destruida la secta mahometana en España y echados los moros, se tratara en ella de la recuperacion de la Tierra Santa de Hierusalem, y se pregonara guerra. [...] Este exercito passara por el estrecho de Gibraltar en Africa. Y caminara a sitiara la ciudad de Lybia, o Fez. Y en ella el gran Leon de España, desembaynara una espada de virtud, que esta reseruada para el. Y proseguira su jornada por Berberia, matando y abrassando a los que no pediran el sagrado baptismo, ni professaran el nombre de Christo".

Guadalajara y Javier would appear to be re-using the prophecy of Juan Alemán, which has been discussed above. The Emperor Constans of the mediaeval Christian *Tiburtina* Sibylline prophecy also put to the sword those heathens who refused baptism, and in the anonymous German, early sixteenth-century *Book of a Hundred Chapters* (MS in Colmar) a ‘resurrected’ Frederick II would put to the sword those infidels who refused Baptism.<sup>23</sup>

### *The Catholic Apologists and the Great Conjunction of 1603*

As detailed already, all the Catholic Apologists have a providential view of history: they regard the expulsion of the Moriscos as part of the divine plan. All stress the connection between the Great Conjunction of 1603 and the expulsion of the Moriscos. Their common source seems to be the book written by Dr Francisco Navarro. This ‘astrónomo christiano’ uses both astrological arguments and the predictions of early Arab astronomers, in particular Abū Ma‘shar (d. 886) and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Uthmān al Al-Qabīsī (Alcabitius) (c. 916–967).<sup>24</sup> They link the conjunction, also, with the nativity horoscope of Philip III.

### *Judicial Astrology in Early Modern Spain*

In the early seventeenth century, belief in astrology was widespread and the attitudes of educated people were often ambivalent. For example, Jaime Bleda professes disbelief in astrology but will recount some prophecies because they bring pleasure to so many: “I have no belief in judicial astrology but, nonetheless, I will mention them so that I may satisfy those who delight in such things”.<sup>25</sup> The doctor of Philip II,

<sup>23</sup> Cohn, *The Millennium*, pp. 16, 121.

<sup>24</sup> Abū Ma‘shar’s works had been translated in Spain in the 13th century by Johannes Hispalensis and by Hermanus Secundus. His works were given a new lease of life by being printed in Latin in Augsburg in 1489 and in Venice in 1495 and 1506. He interpreted conjunctions of the stars as signs of the end of a dynasty or the coming of a prophet, which led Christians to interpret the conjunction of 1582 as a sign of the coming of the Antichrist: García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, pp. 312–313. Al-Qabisi wrote a concise introduction to astronomy and astrology, basing himself on Greek, Indian, Persian and Arabic sources.

<sup>25</sup> “Nullam fidem prebeo iudiciali astrologiae, sed tamen vt eorum captui, qui ea delectantur satisfaciam, haec refero”: Bleda, *Defensio fidei in cavsa neophytorvm, siue*

Francisco Fernández Raxo y Gómez, published a book on comets and prodigies in 1578.<sup>26</sup>

The Greeks had not differentiated between astrology and astronomy, considering both words to be synonymous. The Fathers of the Church had distinguished between them: astronomy dealt with celestial bodies, was a physical and mathematical science and as such quite reputable; astrology was concerned with terrestrial affairs and many claims made were false. Astrology as divination was condemned at the Council of Laodicaea in 364 or 357.<sup>27</sup> St. Isidore of Seville had made a distinction between astronomy and astrology but Alfonso X, *el sabio*, sided with the Greeks in his books *Libro de saber de Astronomía* and *Libro de los Juizios de las Estrellas*. In sixteenth-century Spain, Pedro Ciruelo, Professor in the St. Thomas chair of theology in the new Complutense University of Alcalá and tutor of the future Philip II, published a book of astrology that he claimed was compatible with Catholic beliefs.<sup>28</sup> (This is, possibly, the book titled *Judiciaria de Ciruelo* that was in the library of Benito Arias Montano.) Ciruelo accepted the doctrine of conjunctions, preferring Ptolemy to the Arabs. Nonetheless, the great sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century astronomers, Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) both believed that the movements of the heavenly bodies influenced human actions. In 1594, as part of his duties as Professor of Mathematics in the University of Graz, Kepler had to make astrological predictions.<sup>29</sup>

Tycho Brahe had observed the comet of 1577, which he believed had been foretold by a prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl, that had been discovered in Switzerland in 1520. Brahe describes an initial harmony followed by the apocalyptic celestial phenomena that this prophecy had foretold. Although the star was expected to arise over the Iberians

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*Morischorum regni Valentiae, totiusque Hispaniae. Eiusdem tractatus de iusta Morischorum ab Hispania* (Valencia: Juan Chrysóstomo Garriz, 1610), p. 56.

<sup>26</sup> F. Picatoste, *Apuntes para una biblioteca científica del siglo XVI* (Madrid: Tello, 1891), pp. 99–100.

<sup>27</sup> S. J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> P. Ciruelus, *Apotelesmata astrologiae Christianae* (Alcalá: Arnaldo Guillermo Brocario, 1521).

<sup>29</sup> *Vox Stellarum*, Explanatory leaflet from the exhibition on the influence of astrology held from April–September 1991 in the Long Room, The Library, Trinity College, Dublin.

Brahe interpreted these to be “[...] those Iberians which are neare unto the Muscovites”.<sup>30</sup>

Solar eclipses and comets were keenly observed and, since the time of St Isidore of Seville, had been considered omens of disaster. Comets were thought to augur the death of a king.<sup>31</sup> The comet of 1577, which was observed by Kepler and Brahe, was considered by some of the Catholic Apologists to have presaged the untimely death of King Sebastian of Portugal, nephew of Philip II.<sup>32</sup> (In Vélez de Guevara’s play *Comedia famosa del rey don Sebastián* the king is warned by Abero of the appearance of the comet on three consecutive nights but he dismisses the warning.)<sup>33</sup> The mysterious ringing of the bell at Vililla (Velilla) was considered by Damián Fonseca to have presaged Sebastian’s untimely death also.<sup>34</sup>

Interpretation of the stars, of course, depended on one’s religious persuasion. For a Protestant astronomer this same comet of 1577 presaged good fortune for the churches of the Protestant Reform:

Yea did not that admirable new starr in Cassiopoëa 1572 and that remarkable comet 1577 plainly from heauen remonstrate, that howsoever the Euangelical churches in France and the Low Countries might for a time be greivously afflicted, yet maugre Sathan, and all his hellish furies, should at length flourish, and triumph ouer their aduersaries.

John Bainbridge, author of the above passage, believed that the comets seen in the early sixteenth century were favourable omens for Protestantism:

About the preaching of Luther were about fiue comets in tenne years, after which followed the happy departure of Germany, England and many other Northerne parts from the spiritual Babylon.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> T. Brahe, *Learned Tycho Brahe his Propheticall Conclusion of the New and Much Admired Starre of the North 1572. Translated According to his Astronomicall Prediction* (London: B. A. & T. F. for Michael Sparks & Samuel Nealand, 1632), pp. 22–23.

<sup>31</sup> M. Herrero García, “Sobre los agüeros en la literatura española del siglo de oro”, *RFE*, XXVI (1942), p. 22.

<sup>32</sup> Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlsion*, p. 165.

<sup>33</sup> Vélez de Guevara, *Comedia famosa del rey don Sebastian*, p. 87. The playwright, however, makes it quite clear that Sebastian’s death was caused by his arrogance and headstrong impetuosity.

<sup>34</sup> Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlsion*, p. 165.

<sup>35</sup> J. Bainbridge, *An Astronomicall Description of the Late Comet (or Blazing Starr) from 18 Nouember 1618 to 16 December Following Morall Prognosticcs or Applications Drawne from the Comet’s Motion and Irradiation among the Celestial Hieroglyphics* (London: Edward Griffen for John Parker, 1619), p. 31.

Judicial astrology in Spain had reached its high water mark of popularity during the late fifteenth and the entire sixteenth century.<sup>36</sup> In the seventeenth century, however, personal horoscopes were still in great demand. In 1605, at the birth of the future Philip IV, his father consulted the great astrologer Argoli de Padua, who predicted such great disasters that, he stated, were the child not to inherit the vast dominions of the Spanish Empire, he would have died in the most abject poverty.<sup>37</sup> Don Juan Piquer was an astrologer from Valencia and appeared before the Inquisition on 25 August 1622. Among those for whom he had cast personal horoscopes were Fray Francisco de Sosa, Bishop-elect of Segovia and Fray Plácido de Tocantes, Bishop of Guadix.<sup>38</sup>

### *The Great Conjunction of 1603*

A great conjunction involved both Saturn and Jupiter. They were very infrequent, occurring every eight or nine hundred years. Some astrologers felt that such conjunctions were related to the history of great religions. Those at pains to justify the expulsion of the Moriscos interpreted the great conjunction of 1603 in this way. This is how Dr. Francisco Navarro expresses it:

The effects of these great conjunctions are to change and alter the universal complexity of the world, its empires, religions, governments and customs [...]. For this reason, each time these two planets have come together, changing from one triplicity to another, they have signalled and caused very notable changes in the aforementioned things, and this one is the strongest and most powerful of all that have existed, as it is under the sign of Sagittarius, which is the strongest sign of the igneous triplicity, because it is close to the royal star *cor Scorpion* (the heart of Scorpio), which is six degrees from Sagittarius.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Vox Stellarum*.

<sup>37</sup> C. H. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, IV (London: Macmillan, 1907), p. 194.

<sup>38</sup> Caro Baroja, *Vidas mágicas e Inquisición*, II p. 211.

<sup>39</sup> “Los efetos destas maximas conjunciones son mudar y alterar la vniuersal complicacion del mundo, los imperios, sectas, gouiernos, costumbres [...] y por esto siempre que estos dos planetas se han juntado, mudandose de vna triplicidad a otra, han señalado y causado notablissimas mudanzas en las cosas susodichas, y entre todas esta es la mas fuerte y poderosa de quantas ha auido, por ser como es en el signo de Sagitario, que es el mas fuerte signo de la triplicidad ignea, por hacerse cerca de la



Navarro, in his analysis of the Great Conjunction, argues that this celestial configuration also confirms the supremacy of Sagittarian Spain. He ascribes this analysis to Abū Ma'shar.<sup>40</sup> This Arab astrologer/astronomer, who lived during the eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era, wrote a work on great conjunctions, which was published in Latin in the late fifteenth century.<sup>41</sup> (As stated earlier, the *Crónica profética*, inserted in the *Cónica Abdelense* (883 CE), claimed that Arab astronomers and astrologers had predicted the end of Islam.)<sup>42</sup>

Therefore, the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, in the triplicity of Sagittarius, near the heart of Scorpio, the royal star, concerning the nature of Jupiter and Mars,<sup>43</sup> shows which country will be given supreme power over all nations.<sup>44</sup>

According to Aznar Cardona, this extraordinary astrological configuration, that took place under the benign influence of Jupiter, denoted two things: the prosperity of Philip III and the destruction of *la secta de Mahoma* by Sagittarian Spain.<sup>45</sup>

If we must give credit to astrology may I point out to your royal majesty [...] the great conjunction that took place on 24 December 1603, as described in its figure<sup>46</sup> by the Valentian Dr. Francisco Navarro. According to this Catholic astrologer, experienced in this experimental science, this extraordinary conjunction, under the benevolent influence of Jupiter, denoted two things: one the renewed prosperity of our king, Philip *el católico*, and the other the destruction and ruination of the sect of Muhammad within eight years, counting from the present year of 1612 [...] the saintly and the un-saintly, Christians and Moors, theologians and astrologers, extra-numerary prophets and the sibyls and even, in my

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estrella Regia *cor Scorpj*, que esta a los cinco grados de Sagitario”: Navarro, *Discvrso sobre la conivncion maxima*, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Navarro, *Discvrso*, p. 30.

<sup>41</sup> Abu Ma'shar (1489), *De magnis coniunctionibus* (Augsburg: Erhardt Ratdolt, 1489). Another edition was printed in Venice in 1515.

<sup>42</sup> Gómez Moreno, “Las primeras crónicas”, p. 578.

<sup>43</sup> In Alfonso X's *Libro de las cruces* the planet Jupiter is considered to aid the Christian Spaniards while Mars is the planet of the Arabs: M. Reilly, “Alfonso X as Astrologer: A Reassessment”, unpublished MA thesis (Dublin: University College Dublin, 1989), p. 24.

<sup>44</sup> “Coniunctio igitur Saturni et Iouis in Sagitario circa cor Scorpj per Regiam stellam de natura Iouis et Martis, significat quod prouincia cui signum dominabitur, omnium potentissima existens eis fiet suprema”: Navarro, *Discvrso*.

<sup>45</sup> The latter victory included the recapture of Jerusalem.

<sup>46</sup> A figure is an astrological map of the heavens that shows the position, at a particular time, of all twelve houses of the zodiac.

judgement, our sovereign God himself, in his sacred scripture, promises his most Christian majesty and his Sagittarians, that is we Spaniards,<sup>47</sup> the glory of this much desired victory of victories, with the acquisition of all the riches, prosperity honours, assets, positions, kingdoms and provinces possessed by tyrants and barbarian kings.<sup>48</sup>

Navarro alludes to this prosperity in his book on the Great Conjunction, as he predicts a return to the Golden Age:

Finally, this conjunction and the universal constitution of the heavens, and the position of its planets at this time predicts and indicates much happiness, health, wealth and universal prosperity because of the benevolent influence of Jupiter, and once the sect of Muhammad has been destroyed, the Golden Age [literally centuries], that is nigh, will arrive.<sup>49</sup>

This passage recalls the era of peace and prosperity that the reign of the Emperor of the Last Days was to usher in.

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<sup>47</sup> There were varying opinions as to which sign of the zodiac was to be assigned to Spain as a whole. However, Ptolemy, in his *Almagest, Quadripartum* associated it with Sagittarius: *Ptolemy's Almagest*, trans. & annot. G. J. Toomer (London: Duckworth, 1984). This attribution was pointed out by Alfonso X, *el sabio*: *Alfonso X, el sabio, Picatrix, Microfiche Concordances and Texts of the Royal Scriptorium: Manuscripts of Alfonso X el sabio*, ed. L. Kasten & J. Nitt (Madison: Hispanic Seminar of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), p. 405. Sagittarius is a fire sign, associated with fearless warriors and great and powerful kings. It is ruled by the planet Jupiter.

<sup>48</sup> "Si credito debemos dar a la astrologia señalo para su magestad real [...] la conjuncion maxima que fue a 24 de diciembre de 1603, como lo dize en la figura della, bien calculada con punctual obseruacion, el doctor Francisco Nauarro, valenciano. Segun este christiano astronomo, experimentado en esta ciencia experimental, dos cosas denoto esta extraordinaria conjuncion con la benevola influencia de Iupiter. Vna la prosperidad reduplicada de nuestro rey don Felipe el catholico, y otra la destruycion y ruyna de la secta mahometana dentro de ocho años, contando desde el presente de 1612. [...] Los santos y no santos, los christianos y los moros, los theologos y los astrologos, los prophetas extranumerales y las sibillas, y aun, a mi juycio, el mismo soberano Dios en su escriptura santa, promete a la christiandad de su magestad con sus sagitarios, que somos los españoles, la gloria desta tan desseada victoria de victorias, con adquisicion de todas las riquezas, prosperidades, honras, patrimonios, dignidades, reynos y prouincias, poseydos de tyranos y reyes barbaros": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fols 144<sup>r</sup>-145<sup>r</sup>. The Great Conjunction is also mentioned by the following Apologists: G. Escolano, *Decada primera de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad de Valencia* (Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey, p. 780; Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, 1613, fols 159<sup>r</sup>-160<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>49</sup> "Finalmente pronostica y señala esta conjuncion, y la vniuersal constitucion del cielo, y posicion de las planetas al tiempo della, mucha felicidad, salud, riquezas, y vniuersal prosperidad por el benevolo influjo de Iupiter, y destruyda la secta Mahometica, llegaran los dorados siglos que estan cerca": Navarro, *Discvrso*, p. 14.

In the prophecies about the liberation of Jerusalem, sometimes followed by the recapture of the Holy Sepulchre, it was considered that Philip III had been especially chosen to defend God's honour and his army was to be made up of Sagittarians (that is Spaniards), an especially brave élite corps. Guadalajara y Javier stated: "I wanted to insert these prophecies, because of my understanding that the authors whom I have read based on them their assertion that our Catholic King and his most serene sons were, by force of arms, to wrest from the Turks and Moors their Empire and the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem".<sup>50</sup>

The depiction of the Spaniards as Sagittarian liberators of Jerusalem features also in a medieval prophecy cited by López de Cañete. It was purported to have been written in 1200 in Arabic by a certain Acham Turuley and translated in 1300 by a man from Mérida called Joaquín Méndez, then a slave in Jerusalem.<sup>51</sup> Aznar Cardona states that this book of prophecies was found after the Christian conquest of Damietta that took place during the Fifth Crusade (1218–1221). It foretells the destruction of Islam by a king 'de rostro hermoso', fair of face.<sup>52</sup>

Physical beauty seems to be a hallmark of conquering heroes in all the prophecies, both Christian and Morisco.<sup>53</sup> Such is the description of the *Encubierto* in the letter of Don Rodrigo Ponce de León to the Castilian nobles in 1486 (see Chapter 1, in the section *The Emperor of the Last Days, the 'Encubierto' and St Isidore*). The Greek Emperor of the *Tiburtina* Sibylline prophecy was tall, handsome and with a radiant face.<sup>54</sup> The Damietta prophecy mentioned above is published in full in the work of López de Cañete.<sup>55</sup> It is one of the Byzantine and Saracen ones that circulated at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.<sup>56</sup> In it this 'fair-faced king' will win back Jerusalem for Christianity and the aid of the infidels' French allies will be of no avail. In the extract cited by the Apologist Marcos de

<sup>50</sup> "He querido poner estos pronosticos, por entender que se han fundado en ellos los autores, que he leydo, para dezir, que nuestro Catholico Rey, y sus serenissimos hijos, auian de quitar a los Turcos y Moros, a fuerça de armas su Imperio, y el Santo Sepulchro de Hierusalem": Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 163<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> López de Cañete, *Compendio*, p. 23<sup>v</sup>; Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 161<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion iustificada*, II, fol. 145<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Cardaillac, *Morisques et Crétiens*, p. 413.

<sup>54</sup> Cohn, *The Millennium*, p. 31.

<sup>55</sup> López de Cañete, *Compendio*, fol 23<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> P. Alphanbéry, *La crétiété et l'idée de croisade*, II (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1959), pp. 91–96.

Guadalajara y Javier the Great Conjunction of 1603 confirmed this conquest of Jerusalem:

Weep, Oh Hagar and lament, Oh Nile, you will not see the end of the millennium. This is the payment for your cruelty and the reward for your sodomy. Jerusalem will depart from the house of Ishmael and Mount Calvary, and the standards of the West will enter her. I believe that I can now hear the trumpets of the Sagittarians (that is the Spaniards, among whom the sign of Sagittarius predominates) and the help from France will be of no avail, Oh Ishmael: because the lion is very powerful and Saturn and Jupiter signify this in the conjunction.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, Aznar Cardona appoints St. Augustine as patron saint of Spaniards whom he describes collectively as Sagittarians:

May your majesty, then, with your Sagittarians, be victorious, with Heaven's favour, and have as special advocate, as well as the general patron of Spain, the saint whose insignia are the arrows in his heart, St. Augustine, that is to say the extirpator of the infidel.<sup>58</sup>

### *Sagittarian Spain and the Nativity Horoscope of Philip III*

Navarro argued that because the Great Conjunction took place in the house of Sagittarius great changes and prosperity were in store for Spain. As the nativity horoscope of Philip III took place, also, in this house then the King's special role in these world changes was confirmed, officially, by Arab astrologers:

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<sup>57</sup> "Llora Agar y lamenta Nilo que no veras cumplido el milenio. Eso es el pago de tus crueldades, y el premio de tus sodomias. Hierusalem saldra de la casa de Ismael, y entrara en ella el Monte Caluario, y los estandartes de Poniente. Ya me parece que siento las trompetas de los Sagitarios (esto es los españoles, a quien predomina el signo de Sagitario) sin que te valga, o Ismael, la ayuda que tendras de Francia: porque el Leon es muy poderoso y Saturno y Iupiter lo significan en la Conjunction": Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 162<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> "Pues V. Magestad con sus sagitarios ha de vencer con el fauor del cielo y lleue por particular auogado, ademas del Patron general de España, al santo que tiene por insignia las saetas en el coraçon, digo al expugnador de los infieles S. Agustin": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion iustificada*, II, fol 158<sup>r</sup>. This further reference to St Augustine supports the claim that the *Expulsion iustificada* was written by the Augustinian Fray Jerónimo Aznar y Embid Cardona.

The principal lord and trustee of that great conjunction is Jupiter; this is confirmed by Ptolemy, Hali,<sup>59</sup> Abū Ma'shar and all the astrologers who write about this, [conjunction and] it signifies prosperity and happiness in all things, justice and equality and that many tyrannical powers will be destroyed and reduced to just, pious and upright government, many promotions to great and honourable offices, great victories for Spain, whose very own is the sign of Sagittarius.<sup>60</sup>

Abū Ma'shar's predictions are applicable directly to Philip III, who was also born under the sign of Sagittarius:

[...] Abū Ma'shar adds that when the great conjunction takes place in the tenth house of somebody it signifies that he will come to possess a great kingdom.<sup>61</sup>

This was further confirmed by Al-Qabīsi who considered the tenth house to be a royal house:<sup>62</sup>

And Alcabitus says that this tenth house, in which the planets have come together, when the horoscope for the aforementioned horizon is drawn up, is a royal house.<sup>63</sup>

The conjunction will lead, also, to the destruction of 'la secta mahometana':

The moon in the seventh house, in the sterile sign of Virgo, and Venus in that of Capricorn, burns with the sun's rays, signal the sudden, swift

<sup>59</sup> Is this 'Ali ibn al-'Abbās, *al-Majūsi al-Arrajāni*, who wrote *Liber regalis despositio nominatus ex arabico* (Venice, 1492) and was a doctor, or Albuhalī, author of *De electione horarum*?

<sup>60</sup> "El principal señor y depositor de aquella conjuncion Maxima, es Iupiter, es assi, segun Ptolomeo, Hali, Albumazar, y todos los astrologos que desto escriben, significa aumento y felicidad en todas cosas, justicia, igualdad, y que muchos tyranicos poderes seran destruydos, reduzidos a gouierno justo, pio, y recto, muchas promociones a grandes y honrosos cargos, grandes victorias a España, cuyo propissimo es el signo de Sagitario": Navarro, *Discvrso*, pp. 9–10.

<sup>61</sup> "[...] dice Albumazar (*De magnis coniunctionibus*) que quando la conjuncion magna sucediere en la dezena casa de alguno, significa que llegara a poseer grande reyno": Navarro, *Discvrso*, p. 18.

<sup>62</sup> The work of al Qabīsi ('Abd al-'Aziz ibn Uthmān, al Qabīsi) was translated into Latin by John of Seville (J. Hispalensis) in the twelfth century and then printed in the late fifteenth century: Alcabitus ('Abd al-'Aziz ibn Uthmān, al Qabīsi) (1485), trans. J. Hispalensis, *Libellus ysagogicus Abdilazi [...] qui dicitur Alcabitus ad magisterium iudiciorum astrorum interpretatus a Joanne Hispalensi scriptum [...]* (Venice: Erhardt Ratdolt, 1485). (The first edition was in Venice in 1482.)

<sup>63</sup> "Y añade Alcabicio, que esta decima casa, en la qual se han juntado los planetas, leuantada la figura para el horizonte susodicho, es casa real": Navarro, *Discvrso*, p. 11.

destruction of the Mohammedan sect and of all the Saracen, and in particular the states of the Turks.<sup>64</sup>

Navarro claims that Abū Ma'shar had predicted civil war, disaster and calamity for many places, particularly for Babylon:

And because Saturn is elevated over Jupiter in the sign of Sagittarius, it signifies according to Abū Ma'shar, many travails, calamities and wars in many climes, many wars in Babylon,<sup>65</sup> and the death of its king and, in the aforementioned kingdom, dreadful and fearsome dissensions and civil wars.<sup>66</sup>

However, because Spain's star sign was Sagittarius and because the nativity horoscope of Philip III had taken place in this same tenth house, then great prosperity would come to Spain. This was, once again, confirmed by Arab astrologers:

The same Moorish astrologers declare the following: this prosperity will come about in those kingdoms, which are under the sign of the conjunction.<sup>67</sup>

Once Islam has been destroyed then the Golden Age prophesied by St. Methodius will come about:

[...] and once the Mohammedan sect has been destroyed the approaching Golden Age, prophesied by the holy prophet Methodius, martyr, will come to pass.<sup>68</sup>

Finally, Guadalajara y Javier links a comet that appeared under the sign of Scorpio with the expulsion from Valencia. This comet appeared in Aragon and was interpreted by a local theologian cum astrologer

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<sup>64</sup> "Señala la Luna *in septima* en el signo esteril de Virgo, y Venus en el de Capricornio combusta con los rayos del sol, a subita y repentina ruyna de la secta Mahometana, y de todos los Sarracenos, y señaladamente del Imperio y estados del Turco": Navarro, *Discvrso*, p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Babylon, in the *Apocalypse*, is the abode of the forces of evil. Here I assume it to refer to Islam.

<sup>66</sup> "Y porque esta Saturno elevado sobre Iupiter en el signo de Sagitario, significa segun Albumazar, muchos trabajos, calamidades, y guerras en muchos climas; muchas guerras en Babilonia, y muerte del rey della, y en el reyno susodicho terribles y espantosas dissensiones, y guerras civiles".

<sup>67</sup> "Dizen y confessen los mismos Astrologos moros diziendo: que estas prosperidades han de suceder a los Reyes de aquellas prouincias que estan subjectas al signo de la conjunction": Navarro, *Discvrso*, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> "[...] y destruyda la secta Mahometica, llegaran los dorados siglos que estan cerca prophetizados por el Santo Profeta Methodio Martyr [...]": Navarro, *Discvrso*, p. 14.

to presage wars, civil disturbances and much bloodshed, which would take effect from the end of September 1609:

In the month of September 1607 there appeared a comet under the sign of Scorpio, *in pede serpentari* (at the foot of [underneath?] the serpent): on which phenomenon Gerónimo Oller, a priest and doctor of theology, astrologer and benefice holder in the holy church of Barcelona, a native of Manresa in the diocese of Viche, in the Principality of Catalonia, predicted that it threatened wars, dissension, nations putting down factions and rebellions, uprisings in the state and that many would die by the sword [...], and these effects would begin in 1609, towards the end of September.<sup>69</sup>

As we have seen, all the Catholic Apologists cited mediaeval prophecies on the mythical Emperor of the Last Days and argued that the great conjunction of 1603 confirmed this prophecy. They referred to the Arab astronomers Abū Ma ‘shar and Al-Qabīsi and to the nativity horoscope of Philip III to demonstrate the inevitability of the banishment of the ‘nuevos convertidos de moros’. The following chapter continues the anti-Morisco ‘smear campaign’ of the Apologists, as they further vilify the ‘nuevos convertidos de moros’.

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<sup>69</sup> “Por el mes de Setiembre de mil seyscientos y siete aparecio vna cometa debaxo el signo de Escorpion, *in pede serpentari*: sobre la qual pronostico Geronymo Oller Presbytero, y Doctor en Theologia, Astrologo y Beneficiado en la santa Iglesia de Barcelona, natural de Manresa, Diocesis de Viche en el Principado de Cataluña, que amenaçaua guerras, dissensiones, los pueblos contra bandos y rebeldias, y leuantamientos de republica, y que muchos moririan a cuchillo etc [...] cuyos efectos comenzarian el año de mil seyscientos y nueue, los ultimos de Septiembre”: Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fols 106<sup>v</sup>–107<sup>v</sup>.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### GUILT BY ASSOCIATION: ANTI-ISLAMIC INVECTIVE

The Catholic Apologists include in their works what they claim to be a history of Islam yet is, instead, a review of many of the arguments of the mediaeval polemicists. As Roger Boase pointed out in his seminal article, the Apologists base their arguments on episodes from the Old Testament. Their God is not the loving and forgiving Christ but a vengeful *Dios justiciero* (righteous God).<sup>1</sup> Their total lack of tolerance and the personal distaste they obviously felt for the Moriscos would have made any evangelical mission impossible from the outset.

Francisco Márquez Villanueva has analysed the attitudes of Don Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, not an Apologist but in his latter years a proponent of the expulsion, who influenced the Apologists. He was motivated by a sense of duty and quite lacked the emotional contact with the Moriscos experienced by Hernando de Talavera. As his early biographers noted, Ribera never stayed overnight when he was visiting the Moriscos.<sup>2</sup> In Gaspar Aguilar's hagiographic play on the Patriarch he is represented thus.<sup>3</sup> Authoritarian and humourless, he will bleed unfortunate Spain of evildoers (p. 249). He claims that, even though the Moriscos are evil, they must be treated with love (p. 276). Yet, following the expulsion, he organises major festivities in Valencia (p. 283). Benjamin Ehlers' recent study of Ribera shows him to have been a complex person whose final promotion of the expulsion came from a belief that he would have to let the Moriscos go for the welfare of the Old Christian congregation.

Some of the Apologists, in particular Bleda and Aznar Cardona, attempt to vilify the Moriscos by considering them all to be *moros*

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<sup>1</sup> R. Boase, "The Morisco Expulsion and Diaspora: an Example of Racial and Religious Intolerance", *King's College London Mediaeval Studies (KCLMS): Cultures in Contrast in Mediaeval Spanish History and Literature. Essays Presented to L. P. Harvey*, IV, ed. D. Hooke & B. Taylor (London: King's College, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> F. Márquez Villanueva, "El *nunc dimittis* del Patriarca Ribera", *El problema morisco desde otras laderas* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1991), p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> G. Aguilar, *Poetas dramáticos valencianos*, II, *El gran Patriarca don Juan de Ribera* (Madrid: RAE, 1929), p. 278.



rather than *moriscos*. To do this they use the weapons of the propagandist; Bleda asserts that the expulsion of the Moriscos marked the end of the 'Reconquest'; this implicitly denies their conversion. He writes, extensively, on the history of Islam, relying on the sixteenth-century, anti-Islamic *antialcoranes* and the mediaeval polemicists. Aznar Cardona also indulges in anti-Islamic invective but only selects certain topics. Both men are attempting to bring the Moriscos into disrepute by associating them with the most scurrilous and slanderous of the anti-Islamic polemics.

*Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and the Improbatio Alchorani  
(Reprobation of the Qur'ān)*

The work of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, the *Improbatio alchorani*, was very popular in the sixteenth century and was published in various languages.<sup>4</sup> I have chosen it as representative of a mediaeval anti-Islamic polemical work, relatively well informed about Islam, in order to compare it with the works of the Catholic Apologists and thus to set them in an historical context. I will also be looking at the work of another sixteenth-century *antialcorán*, that of Juan Andrés, the *alfaquí* (Qur'ānic scholar) from Játiva, who converted to Christianity in 1487 and was invited by the Catholic Monarchs to participate in the conversion of the Moriscos of Granada. First printed in Valencia in 1515, it was published eight times in the sixteenth century and twice in the seventeenth.<sup>5</sup> To-day merely two copies of the first edition remain, as its manner of treating the subject matter brought it under the dis-

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<sup>4</sup> R. da Monte di Croce, *Improbatio alchorani*, *A. de la Pegna edente* (Seville: P. Stanislao Polono, 1500), trans "vn religioso de la orden del bienaenturado sant Geronimo", *Reprobaciō del alcorā* (Seville: dos cōpañeros alemanes [Johannes Pegnitzer & Magnus Herbst], 1501); *Ricoldi ordinis praedicatorum contra sectam Mahumeticam non indignus scitu libellus* (Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1511); a Latin version translated from the Greek: *Confutatio Alchorani seu legis Saracenorum ex graeco nuper in latinum traducta* (Strasbourg, ca. 1515), *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi, Prediger Ordens, anno 1300. Verdeuscht durch* (Wittemberg, 1552), *Confutatio legis latae Saracensis a maledicto Mahometo, translata ex Romana lingua in Graecam per Dereatrium Cydonium. Deinde per Bartholomeum Picenum de Monte arduo, rursus e Graeco in latinum conversa* (Romae: apud Aloysium Zannethum, 1606).

<sup>5</sup> The later editions were: Seville (1537), Seville (1540), Venice (1541), Venice (1543), Venice (1545), Granada (1560), Hamburg (1568), Paris (1574), Venice (1597), Hamburg (1598), London (1652), Utrecht (1656).

approval of the Inquisition. One copy is in the British Library and the other is in the Library of Congress.<sup>6</sup> Another popular *antialcorán*, that of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, has already been discussed in the Introduction.

Hernando de Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada, arranged for the *Improbatio* to be translated into Castilian and then published in Seville in 1501. (The Latin version of this work had been published in Seville in the previous year.) The book was to be used as an instrument in the conversion of the Moriscos who, following the First Revolt of the Alpujarras in 1499, were considered to have forfeited the tolerance of their own religion, granted in the Capitulations of Granada (1492). (Of course this promised 'tolerance' had not precluded intense pressure to convert to Christianity.)

The *Improbatio* was written in the eleventh or twelfth century by an Italian Dominican called Riccoldo da Monte di Croce who was born *circa* 1243 and died in 1320.<sup>7</sup> The Dominican order had set up a province for Greece and the Holy Land in 1228. Riccoldo first went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places where, following a visit to Mount Calvary, he changed his surname of Pennini to that of da Monte di Croce.<sup>8</sup> He then went on to Baghdad in 1290. There he immersed himself in Islamic culture, learning Arabic, studying the *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*<sup>9</sup> (Islamic law derived from Muhammad's words and deeds) and translating part of the *Qur'ān*. He engaged in disputation with *qur'ānic* scholars, an occupation that caused him to conclude that Islam was a religion for the simple-minded; he claimed that there was a conspiracy of silence among the learned, who did not believe in this irrational

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<sup>6</sup> The book describes in considerable detail basic Islamic beliefs and has extensive quotations from the *Qur'ān* and *Sunna* written out in transliterated Arabic. Chapter two deals specifically with the *Qur'ān*: *Capítulo segundo trata del alcorā*, and chapters three and four with the *Sunna*: *Capítulo tercero trata de la çuna de mahoma y que quiere dezir suna and capítulo quarto trata de ciertos argumentos q̄ se puedee fazer cōtra la suna*: J. Andrés, *Libro nueuamente imprimido que se llama confusion de la secta mahomatica y del alcorā compuesto por mossen Juan Andres* (Valencia: Juan Joffre, 1515), fols B1<sup>r</sup>-B1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> P. Mandonnet, "Fra Riccoldo da Monte di Croce; pèlerin en Terre Sainte et missionnaire en orient", *Revue Biblique*, II (1893), pp. 44-61, 182-202, 504, pp. 44-61, 182-202, 504.

<sup>8</sup> Mandonnet, "Fra Riccoldo da Monte di Croce", p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> "By the ninth century the jurist al-Shafii (d. 820) came to consider the *Sunna*, or custom of the Prophet, the second most important source of Islamic jurisprudence after the *Qur'ān*": J. Bloom & S. Blair, *Islam. A Thousand Years of Faith and Power* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 45.

and contradictory 'ley' (literally law but a synonym for religion), but kept their peace for reasons of expediency. Here is an extract from the *Improbatio*, which encapsulates some of the *topoi* of anti-Islamic polemic:

At the time of the Emperor Heraclius, there rose up against the holy Church, and against its true beliefs, a dragon possessed by the devil, that is a foul and lecherous man, given to every evil and to obscene deeds, called by name Muhammad who, advised by the devil, who is a liar and the very father of lies, composed an abominable, mendacious religious text, which he called and named *Qur'an*.<sup>10</sup>

Here Muhammad is represented as one of the Beasts of Revelation, the *Qur'an* is considered to be of devilish inspiration and allegations are made about sexual licence in the personal life of this 'falso profeta'.

All the Catholic Apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos review the life of Muhammad and refer to certain aspects of the beliefs of Islam. Scholars in the field of anti-Islamic polemic see these seventeenth-century writers as following in the tradition of the sixteenth-century *antialcoranes*.<sup>11</sup> The two authors to whom I have referred, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and the *alfaquí* convert to Christianity, Juan Andrés, are writing as would-be missionaries. The Apologists have a different perspective, as their brief is to justify, in moral terms, the mass expulsion of a baptised people, which could not be given legal status.<sup>12</sup>

### *Early Life of Muhammad*

There was a tendency among anti-Islamic polemicists, which is very apparent in Riccoldo and Juan Andrés, to compare the life of Jesus and Muhammad. Thus, emphasis is laid on the birth, life and death of the prophet Muhammad. Accounts of his birth vary from the relatively

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<sup>10</sup> "En el tiempo del emperador Eraclio, leuátose contra la santa yglesia, y cõtra la su creencia verdadera, vn dragon endiablado, cõuiene saber, vn ombre suzio y luxurioso dado a todas las obras viles y hediondas llamado por nõmbre Mahoma. El qual, por cõsejo del Diablo, ñ es mentiroso y padre dessa mesma mẽtira, cõpuso vna ley muy abominable y mentirosa a la qual llamo y puso nõbre alcoran": Monte di Croce, *Improbatio alchorani*, fol A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*; M. A. Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes en la España de los siglos XVI–XVII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> Domínguez Ortiz & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, p. 83.

factual to the grossly distorted and slanderous. Norman Daniel has pointed out that mediaeval writers, imbued with the values of feudalism, stressed the falsehood that the Prophet was of low birth. Riccoldo is imprecise on this point, first stating that many wise men felt that “the principal author of the *Qur’ān* was not a man but a devil”.<sup>13</sup> Muhammad’s political ambition led him to feign the gift of prophecy to cover up for his base lineage:

And his pride grew in such a way that he tried to become King of Arabia. But because the Arabs did not want him as a King, because he was an ignoble man, both in his lineage and his reputation, he pretended to be a prophet.<sup>14</sup>

Andrés accurately describes Muhammad’s birth as being ‘son of a prominent citizen of the city of Mecca’ but reminds the reader that his parents were idolators.<sup>15</sup> Muhammad was the son of ‘Abdallah, and grandson of Hashim. He and his ancestors belonged to one of the clans of the Quraysh.<sup>16</sup> Through his mother, Aminah bint Wahb, Muhammad was connected with many of the principal families of Mecca. Montgomery Watt suggests that, whereas Muhammad’s family had once exercised considerable influence in the political affairs of Mecca, by the time of his birth its role had diminished to that of being a prominent member of the group of weaker and poorer clans.<sup>17</sup>

The Catholic Apologist Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier claims that Muhammad’s mother was a Jewess.<sup>18</sup> Jaime Bleda also alleges Jewish forebears, claiming that the natural father, whom he states was his mother’s brother, was Jewish.<sup>19</sup> This allegation is a continuation of a belief that was very prevalent in the Middle Ages. Aznar Cardona

<sup>13</sup> “el principal autor del alcorā no fue hōbre mas diablo”:

<sup>14</sup> “E en tātā manera crecio su soberbia q̄ quiso ser Rey d’Arabia. Mas porque los arabes no le quisierō por Rey, por q̄ era ombre vil assí por linaje como por fama, fingio q̄ era profeta”: Monte di Croce, *Reprobaciō del alcorā*, fols D7<sup>r</sup>–D7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> “[...] de vn principal ciudadano de la ciudad de Mecqua”: Andrés, *confusion*, fol. B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> As the Abbasid dynasty (750–1258) descended from Hashim and the rival clan the Umayyad have been treated unfavourably by Abbasid historians some Western scholars have wondered if Muhammad, as descendent of Hashim, has been given undue importance. However, there are, apparently, no grounds to suspect fabrication on a large scale.

<sup>17</sup> W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad of Mecca*, 3rd ed. (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 30, 32–33.

<sup>18</sup> Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fols 30<sup>v</sup>–31<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 3.

states: “[Muhammad] will be born of the tribe of Dan in Babilonia, according to the gloss on Revelation”.<sup>20</sup> As all the Apologists are staunch supporters of *limpieza de sangre*, this insistence on Judaic ancestry is yet another means of vilification.<sup>21</sup> Roger Boase noted that for the Apologists the Moriscos were considered to belong to a pseudo-Judaic heresy.<sup>22</sup> Muslims were considered by Old Christians to belong to a bastard race and to descend from Ishmael, son of the ‘concubine’ Hagar. This belief was deeply offensive to the Moriscos. The Morisco writer Muhammad Rabadán countered such insults by stating that Abraham married Hagar whom he describes as daughter of “el rey Agar que en Egipto residía” (King Hagar, who resided in Egypt).<sup>23</sup> Jaime Bleda gives most attention to the genealogy of Muhammad. He claims that his mother had a painless birth and that when he was born the idols fell.<sup>24</sup> He continues:

It is commonly held that Muhammad came from an ignoble background, from a base family, a man of evil race, a low breed, *filius terrae* (a son of the earth).<sup>25</sup>

He claims that Muhammad was born of an adulterous and incestuous relationship between his mother Aminah and her brother, the astrologer Baeyra. The child born would be the Antichrist:

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<sup>20</sup> “Nacera [Mahoma] de la tribu de Dan en Babilonia, segun lo siente la glosa en el Apocalipsis”: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>. This belief derived from passages in the Old Testament (Gen. 49: 16–17, Deut. 33: 22, Jer. 8: 16). The Antichrist would be born of Jewish parents of the tribe of Dan: K. R. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), pp. 46, 79.

<sup>21</sup> Aznar Cardona, when criticising intermarriage between *cristiano viejo* and Morisco, lamented the ‘mancha’ (blemish) that this brought to a family: “And the worst thing was that some Old Christians, claiming to be members of the [lower] nobility, and because it was in no small way to their interest, married Moriscas and tarnished their dubious purity of blood, and please God the blemish will not reach the soul” (Y lo peor era que algunos christianos viejos, aun presumiendo algo de hidalgos, por no nada de interesse, se casavan con moriscas, y maculavan lo poco limpio de su linaje, y plegue a Dios, no llegue la mancha al alma): Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fol. 42<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Boase, “The Morisco Expulsion and Diaspora”, p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> M. Rabadán, *Poemas de Mohamed Rabadán*, ed. A. Lasarte López (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1991), pp. 115–116.

<sup>24</sup> Is there some confusion here on the part of Bleda? In Islamic legend these events are purported to have occurred at the birth of Jesus: J. M., Abd-El-Jalil, “El Islam ante la Virgen María”, *Arbor*, XIX (1951), 1–27.

<sup>25</sup> “Se tiene comunmête, es a saber que Mahoma nació de sangre vil, de gête soez, hombre de mala raça, de baxa casta, *filius terrae*”.

Aminah, mother of Muhammad, committed adultery with some important Jew of her race and tribe and she conceived and gave birth to that accursed, adulterous fruit [of her womb], because the holy Doctors and Fathers of the Church said that the Antichrist would be born of a most disreputable woman [...] because, according to the circumstances revealed about the father, by saying that he was of the same caste and tribe as the mother, we can suspect that his mother's brother, the astrologer Baeyra, was his father.<sup>26</sup>

The association of Muhammad with the Antichrist is much emphasised by Bleda and we shall return to the idea later. This rather nasty slander of an incestuous relationship is given dramatic form in the play *El profeta falso Mahoma* by Francisco de Rojas y Zorrilla. Here Muhammad's mother, the Jewess Ermina, is married to the idolator Abdala. However, the true father of the child is once again B[a]eyra who, this time, is accused of raping his sister.<sup>27</sup>

### *The Sexual Licence of Muhammad*

All the Apologists claim that Muhammad covered up his sexual licence by claiming a special divine dispensation. Here is the version from the *Imrobatio* of Riccoldo:

Muhammad deliberately placed in the chapter *el methanaez*, which means something forbidden, that God gave him a dispensation from the oath that he had lawfully sworn, that he would not sleep with María *la Jacobina* again.<sup>28</sup> And so he perjured himself and slept with her. And

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<sup>26</sup> "Ermina o Hēia, madre de Mahoma, cometio adulterio con algún gran Iudio de su casta, y Tribu, y [...] del concibio, y pario aquel fruto maldito y adulterino: porque los santos Doctores y Padres de la Iglesia dixeron, que el Antichristo auia de nacer de vna muger deshonestissima [...] por q̄ segun las circunstancias q̄ señala del padre, diziendo que fue de la misma casta y tribu de la madre, podemos sospechar q̄ el hermano de su madre, el Astrologo Baeyra, fue su padre": Bleda, *Coronica*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>27</sup> F. Rojas y Zorrilla, *El profeta falso Mahoma, Primera Parte de las comedias de D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla* (Madrid: María de Quiñones, 1642), *Comedia suelta*, T3949, BNM, fol 8<sup>v</sup>. It has been suggested that this play was written by the author to ward off an attack on his known Morisco and Jewish origins: J. M<sup>a</sup>. Solà-Solà, *Sobre árabes, judíos y marranos y su impacto en la lengua y literatura españolas* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1983), p. 112.

<sup>28</sup> The reference is to Surah 66, 1–5, which is not called *el Methanaez* but rather *al Tahrim* (Prohibition).

as proof that God had given him a dispensation, he offers as witnesses St. Michael and St. Gabriel.<sup>29</sup>

Juan Andrés also describes this scene in detail:

And as he was a very knowledgeable man he had recourse to the solution of the *Qur'ān*; he composed a chapter and made a new law for all the Moors that they could sleep, licitly, with their slaves; as well as with their wives. He put that commandment and law at the beginning of the chapter to win all the Moors over to his side. And afterwards he described in the chapter how [he] Muhammad was excused, and how he committed no sin; that the women ought not to reveal the secret, because they had been entrusted with it; and how God threatened the women, and how they had to return to Muhammad.<sup>30</sup>

This particular incidence of what Christians conceived as utterly licentious behaviour was one of the favourite cases cited by the mediaeval anti-Islamic polemicists. It involved the taking on by Muhammad of a concubine called Mariyah the Copt with whom he slept in the house of one of his wives, either 'Āisha or Hafsa. Daniel considers that the probable explanation was that the affair revolved around a quarrel about the rotation of the Prophet's visits to his women. The accusation that this event was a justification of oath breaking was a traditional one and related to Surah 66, verses 1–5 of the *Qur'ān*.<sup>31</sup> For Christians it seemed to be the religious justification of sin.<sup>32</sup>

Bleda brings up the other most popular case of this kind made against the Prophet. He accuses Muhammad of appropriating Zaynab, the wife of his former slave and adopted son Zayd ibn Haritha. He claims that the husband did not object because of his debt to the Prophet:

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<sup>29</sup> “Mahoma espressamente pone en el capi[tulo] el methaenez ñ quiere decir defendimiento ñ Dios disp̄so con el en el juramiento ñ auia licitam̄te hecho, cōuiene saber, ñ no dormiria mas con Maria la Jacobina: Y asi se p[er]juro: y luego la conocio. E p<sup>a</sup> prueua ñ Dios auia con el disp̄sado trahe por testigos a sant Miguel y sant Gabriel”: Monte di Croce, *Reprobaciō del alcorā*, 1501, fol. D6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> “Y comoquier que era hombre que sabia mucho luego recorrio al remedio del alcoran, el qual ordeno vn capitulo y fizo ley nueua para todos los moros que pudiesen vsar con sus esclauas licitamente: asi con sus mugeres. El qual mandamiēto y ley puso en el principio del capitulo por auer todos los moros en su fauor. Y despues puso en el capitulo como Mahoma fue escusado y como no peco: y como las mugeres no deurian publicar el secreto pues lo tenian encomendado. Y como Dios amenazo a las mugeres y como auian de boluer a Mahoma”: Andrés, *Confusion*, fol. G6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> M. M. Khalid, *The Bounteous Qur'ān: A Translation of Meaning and Commentary* (London: MacMillan, 1984), pp. 751–752.

<sup>32</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 122–123.

[Muhammad] in love with her, took her from him [Zayd] and married her without scruples about the kinship. Unfortunate Zayd was gravely shocked when he found out about this evil deed, and he was horrified by the bad example of his lawmaker. Afterwards, Muhammad married many other women, making laws for himself alone, saying that God did not want the prophets to be bound by the laws like other men.<sup>33</sup>

Blas Verdú refers to this case also. He first accuses Muhammad of raping Khad'ijah, widow of his former employer, who became his first wife and then, later, appropriating the wife of "vn vezino suyo que tenia por nombre Zeid" (a neighbour of his called Zeid).<sup>34</sup> Other Christian polemicists had stressed the incestuous nature of the relationship. Islamic sources merely state that Muhammad got to see the woman's face in the absence of her husband. Zaynab was subsequently repudiated by her husband. Muhammad may not have wished to marry the divorced woman but he claimed that a revelation from Heaven overruled him.<sup>35</sup>

Muhammad is also accused by Bleda of being a willing cuckold when he tolerated his wife 'Āisha's adultery with Safwān ibn al-Mu'attal as-Sulamk.<sup>36</sup> This is yet another gratuitous slander and is found first of all in the work of Peter of Toledo.<sup>37</sup> Guadalajara y Javier also claims that Muhammad considered himself above the law in sexual matters.<sup>38</sup> Aznar Cardona makes general reference to the purported sensuality of Muhammad in the most venomous of language and justifies the association of Muhammad with the Beast of Revelation by referring to the prophet's lechery:

[Muhammad] was a servile slave to unclean passions [...] Muhammad, an epicurean sluggard, captain general of brutish appetites and servile slave to false passions.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> "[Mahoma], enamorado della, se la quito, y se caso con ella sin escrupulo del parêtesco. Escandalizose grauemente el triste de Zaydin, quādo supo esta maldad, y causole grāde horror el mal exēplo de su legislador. Despues caso Mahoma con otras muchas mugeres, haziēdo ley para si solo, diziēdo q̄ no queria Dios q̄ los prophetas estuuiesen sugetos a las leyes como los otros hōbres".

<sup>34</sup> B. Verdú, *Engaños y desengaños del tiempo con vn discvrso de la expvlcion de los moros de España* (Barcelona: Sebastián Matheud, 1612), fol. 134<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 119.

<sup>36</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 19a.

<sup>37</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 123.

<sup>38</sup> Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expvlcion*, fols 31<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> "[Mahoma fue] esclauo seruidor de las pasiones sucias [...] epicureo poltron de Mahoma, capitan general del brutal apetito, y esclauo seruidor de las pasiones falsas": Aznar Cardona, *Expvlcion ivstificada*, I, fol. 29<sup>r</sup>.



He also refers to Muhammad's reputedly prodigious sexual prowess, equating him with one of the Beasts of Revelation:

This is the foul blasphemer who boasted that God had given him the gift of regenerative powers and the strength to carry out immodest deeds [...] he on his own had more than forty men. [...] He is the loathsome creature whom the prophecy describes literally (*ascendentem de terra*) he was rising up from the land.<sup>40</sup>

Bleda refers also to this rather extravagant claim about Muhammad's amazing virility.<sup>41</sup> This issue was a constant in mediaeval anti-Islamic polemic. Daniel considers that over-enthusiastic followers attributed to Muhammad the attributes of a popular hero.<sup>42</sup>

### *Misrepresentation of Muhammad's Death*

As a holy and edifying death was the attribute of a Christian saint so those who set out to vilify Muhammad presented his death as ignominious and repulsive. Sunnī tradition would have it that Muhammad died with his head on 'Āisha's breast, his saliva mingling with hers. He was subsequently buried under her bed as Abū Bakar reminded people that Muhammad had declared that a prophet should be buried where he died. (The Shi'ahs would substitute Ali for 'Āisha.)<sup>43</sup> The following version of Muhammad's death is found in an *aljamiado* manuscript.<sup>44</sup>

"When the prophet, *salla Allahu 'alayhi wa çallam* (God bless him and bring him to salvation), fell ill from the sickness of which he died/he was in the house of one of his wives."

"Bring me to my house."

"They said to him: You are in your house; *iyā reçulu/ Allah!* (Messenger of God)."

<sup>40</sup> "Este es el inmundo blasfemo que se jacto diciendo que tenia don de Dios de virtud generatiua, y caudal para executar actos deshonestos [...] mas el solo que quarenta hombres [...] Ese es el poluoriento, lodoso de quiẽ prosigue a la letra de la profecia diciendo (*ascendentem de terra*) que subia de la tierra (Rev. 13: 11): Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fols 22<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 118.

<sup>43</sup> T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1982), p. 385.

<sup>44</sup> *Aljamiado* texts consisted of Spanish written in Arabic characters. What appears below is a transliteration.

“He said”

“My house is the house of ‘Āisha, *radiya Allahu ‘anhā* (may God be pleased with her).”

“And he died between my breast and my throat/ and he was buried in my house”.<sup>45</sup>

The exiled Aragonese Morisco, Muhammad Rabadán, also describes the death in one of his poems. Muhammad is accompanied on his deathbed by his daughter Fatima and her sons. Shortly before he dies, he calls on his ‘fiel amigo Gibril’ (faithful friend Gabriel). Following his death “The material world became sad/ the sun, moon and stars/ the heavens and the angels/ the earth and all that is in it.”<sup>46</sup> He was buried on the evening of the same day. The notion of resurrection and ascension into Heaven is not mentioned. (That of Jesus in the Gospels is denied by Muslims).<sup>47</sup>

Eulogius (c. 800–859) is, perhaps, the first known recorder of the fiction that Muhammad, having led his followers to believe that he would rise from the dead and ascend into Heaven, was instead devoured by dogs.<sup>48</sup> Neither Riccoldo nor Juan Andrés dwell on the death of Muhammad yet Bleda, Guadalajara y Javier and Blas Verdú, all of whom cite Eulogius as a source, refer to this fabrication.<sup>49</sup> Bleda’s account is the most virulent. In it he goes into graphic detail about the putrefaction of Muhammad’s corpse. In his account the animals which desecrated the body may have been panthers rather than dogs. He describes how the followers of Muhammad left the body untended so that it could be taken up to Heaven by the angels. However, the smell of putrefaction attracted instead a host of wild animals:

At once, attracted by the stench, the dogs and panthers, which are voracious, greedy domestic animals like dogs [...] seeing him alone went in

<sup>45</sup> —Qu<sup>w</sup>ando adoleçĩ’ó/ el a’n nabĩ (*profeta*), salla Allahu ‘alayĩ wa çallam (*bendígale Dios y dele salvación*), la dolenci’ya ke muri’ó/ estaba en kasa ðe una de xus mujeres/ i ðišo: —Levadme a mi kasa. —Ðiši’éronle:/ en tu kasa estás; *çyā reçūlu/ Allahu* (mensajero de Dios). —Ðišo él: —Mi kasa es la kasa ðe ‘Ayša, radiya Allahu ‘anhā (*Dios esté satisfecho de ella*). —Y muri’ó/ ent’re mis pechos i mi gargan,/ y fu<sup>w</sup>e soterrado en mi kasa”: MS 774, BNP, fol. 36; *El manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París, leyendas, itinerarios de viajes, profecías sobre la destrucción de España y otros relatos moriscos*, Ed. M. Sánchez Álvarez (Madrid: Gredos, 1982), 152.

<sup>46</sup> “Entristeciose el addunia (el mundo material)/ el sol, la luna y las estrellas/ el cielo y sus amalakes (angeles)/ la tierra y quanto ay en ella.”

<sup>47</sup> Rabadán, *Poemas*, pp. 269–270.

<sup>48</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 126–129.

<sup>49</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 42; Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expvlision*, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>; Verdú, *Engaños y desengaños*, fols 134<sup>r</sup>–134<sup>v</sup>.

(he deserved to be visited by such angels) and they ate a large part of his body.<sup>50</sup>

Blas Verdú, having described the same scene, deduces it to have been a type of sacrificial purging:

This was the prick that they gave him so that his false sacraments and qur'anic ceremonies would pour out.<sup>51</sup>

Given the constant parallels drawn by many polemicists between Jesus and Muhammad the inevitable mental juxtaposition of the glorified body of Christ with the stinking, mutilated corpse of Muhammad would have deeply shocked seventeenth-century readers. José María Perceval goes one step further and draws a parallel between the mystical body of Christ, which Christians receive in the Eucharist, and the carrion of Muhammad's false doctrine, eaten by his followers, the scavenging dogs.<sup>52</sup>

### *The Islamic Paradise*

In the *Qur'ān* the delights of Heaven are conveyed in simple physical terms:

And those who believe and do righteous deeds, we shall admit them to gardens beneath which rivers flow, therein to dwell forever, and therein they shall have spouses purified.<sup>53</sup> And we shall admit them to a place of plentiful shade (Surah 2: 57).

Arguably this emphasis on sensual pleasures was intended to appeal to a simple people unused to metaphysical subtleties. The *Hadiths*, exegetical commentaries, and the speculations of mystics and theologians of the first century after the prophet's death expand on the

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<sup>50</sup> "Al punto, lleuados de la hedentina, los perros, i las panteras, que son animales domesticos voraces y tragones como los perros [...] las quales, viendole solo, entraron (que tales angeles merecia el que le visitassen) y le comieron buena parte del cuerpo": Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 42.

<sup>51</sup> "Esta fue la lançada que le dieron, para que manassen los falsos sacramentos y ceremonias Alcoranas": Verdú, *Engaños y desengaños*, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> J. M<sup>a</sup> Perceval, "Asco y asquerosidad del morisco según los apologistas españoles del Siglo de Oro", *La Torre*, XIII (1990), p. 27.

<sup>53</sup> "Some say that these were the pure maidens of Paradise. However, according to some commentators, they can also be held to refer to the good wives in the earthly life": Khalid, *The Bounteous Qur'ān*, p. 110.

simple descriptions of the *Qur'ān*. The purely carnal relationship suggested by the qur'anic description is instead described in terms of a Platonic love. This 'novia' (bride) or 'prometida' (bethrothed) watches over its designated spirit like a guardian angel, rejoicing in its virtues and inspiring good deeds through dreams. Like Beatrice in the *Divine Comedy*, this beautiful maiden was a spiritual soulmate rather than a crude instrument of sexual pleasure:

The angel Ridwan, who introduces souls, leads him to the tabernacle where his bride awaits him. She welcomes him with these words: "Oh, most praiseworthy friend, I have been longing to meet you for a great deal of time. Praise be to the Lord who has brought us together [...]. God created me for you and engraved your name on my heart [...]. When you in the world served God, praying and fasting night and day, God ordered his angel Ridwan to carry me on his wings so that I could contemplate your good deeds from the brightness of Heaven [...] God has increased your measure of glory because your virtues have been pleasing in his eyes, and he will unite us in Heaven".<sup>54</sup>

#### *The Islamic Paradise in the antialcoranes and the Apologists*

Apart from a brief criticism of the *Mir'āj*, Muhammad's heavenly journey, Riccoldo does not discuss the Islamic view of Paradise. Juan Andrés, however, describes the vision of Heaven in some detail: handsome pages in rich garments of silk and brocade serve food and drink. Each new arrival is offered a plate with a 'poncil', or thick-skinned lemon, from which there emerges a beautiful maiden:

And he will give to each male Moor a lemon and, just as each Moor comes to smell this lemon, out of it will emerge one of these highly adorned, very beautiful maidens, and she will embrace this Moor and he and she will stay in this embrace for fifty years, keeping close to one

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<sup>54</sup> "El ángel Ridwān, introductor de las almas, condúcele ante el tabernáculo en que le espera su novia, la cual le acoge con estas palabras: —¡Oh loado amigo, cuánto tiempo hace que ansiaba encontrarte! ¡Loado sea el Señor que nos ha reunido! [...] Dios me creyó para ti y me grabó tu nombre en el corazón [...] Cuando tú en el mundo servías a Dios, orabas y ayunabas día y noche, Dios ordenaba a su ángel Ridwān que me llevase sobre sus alas para que yo contemplase desde las alburias celestiales tus buenas acciones [...] Dios ha elevado ya tu grado de gloria, porque tus virtudes han sido grato a sus ojos y nos unirá en el cielo": M. Asín Palacios, *Escatología musulmana en 'La Divina Comedia'* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1961), p. 205.

another, and experiencing every type of pleasure that a man can have with a woman.<sup>55</sup>

The earlier part of this description coincides closely with the *Qur'ān*.<sup>56</sup> However, the emergence of the beautiful maiden from the 'poncil' is a deviation from the original.<sup>57</sup> Juan Andrés does not totally exclude the notion of the Beatific Vision:

It is said that God will remove the veils from his face and will show his glorious face to all the Moors.<sup>58</sup>

Aznar Cardona goes to great lengths to deride the qur'ānic Paradise. He ridicules the notion of heavenly food arguing that references to food in the Christian scriptures is intended to be taken metaphorically. References are to Tobias 12: 19, Psalm 33: 19, St. Augustine and 1 Cor. 15.<sup>59</sup> He claims that the sources of bliss in Heaven for Muslims comes from other creatures and not, as Christians teach, from contemplation of the Beatific Vision:

[...] God alone is the fountain and source of all true joy, happiness, delight and infinite good, and he frees us from all that is hostile, sorrowful and evil [...] Muhammad states that in Heaven God will give as a basic reward to his followers [freedom] to have sexual intercourse and to eat and drink foodstuffs given them by the ministering angel.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> "y dara a cada moro barō que sea un poncil: y así como verna cada moro a oler deste pōcil sale del vna destas vírgenes muy atauiaada y muy linda y muy fermosa la qual abrazara a este moro y el moro a ella: y así estarā abraçados tiempo de cinquenta años que no se aparte el vno del otro holgãdo y pasando todo el modo el plazer que vn hombre puede auer con vna muger": Andrés, *Confusion*, fols 11<sup>v</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> "On couches wrought (with gold and pearls) reclining upon them facing one another. Going round about them immortal youths with goblets, ewers and a cup from a gushing spring, wherefrom they suffer neither headache nor inebriety, and fruits such as they choose, and flesh of fowl they desire, and houris wide-eyed, as though they are preserved pearls" (Surah, 56: 15–23): Khalid, *The Bounteous Qur'ān*, p. 714.

<sup>57</sup> A folktale, collected in Tetuán called "Las tres toronjas", describes the emergence from grapefruit/ oranges of three princesses: A. de Larrea Palacín, *Cuentos populares de los judíos del norte de Marruecos* (Tetuán, Morocco, 1952–1953), p. 179, cited in R. Haboucha, *Types and Motifs of Judeo-Spanish Folktales* (New York/London: Garland Publishing House Inc., 1992), p. 75.

<sup>58</sup> "Dize que Dios quitara los velos que tiene encima de su cara y mostrara su gloriosa cara a todos los moros" Andrés, *Confusion*, fols 11<sup>v</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fols 32<sup>r</sup>–33<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> "[...] es solo Dios fuente manantial de todos los verdaderos gozos, dichas, deleytes y bien infinito, que nos libra de todo lo enemigo, penoso y malo [...] [Mahoma] afirma que en el cielo dara Dios por premio esencial a los suyos que se refocilen y

The Apologists use the arguments of the *antialcoranes*, but only choose negative elements. Riccoldo does, at times, resort to insult but in general relies on rational disputation. Both Riccoldo and Juan Andrés recall the Islamic praise of Jesus as a great prophet, the Virgin birth and the Immaculate Conception. Riccoldo also gives the Christian arguments on the divinity of Christ and refutes the Islamic attack on the Trinity. The Apologists do not stress these issues; rather they emphasise the ignominious genealogy and licentious sexual mores of Muhammad: they impute an incestuous sexual relationship to Muhammad's mother, whom they consider to have been a Jewess, and accuse Muhammad himself of incest, adultery and the religious justification of sexual sin. The very unpleasant story of Muhammad's failed resurrection comes from the virulent account of Eulogius, the Cordovan priest involved in the Martyrs Movement in the mid-ninth century. The derision cast on the Islamic notion of Paradise is partially misinformed as accounts of the Beatific Vision are found in both the *Qur'ān* and *Sunna*. In emphasising the carnality and sensuality of heavenly bliss, the writers, most of whom were clerics, are projecting their own very negative view of sexuality onto qur'ānic accounts; in insisting on a quite literal interpretation they fail to realise the metaphoric implications. They also exclude the wider post-qur'ānic interpretations that are found in the *Hadīths* and in the writings of mystics.

### *The Antichrist and Muhammad*

The depiction of Muhammad as the Antichrist formed part of the mediaeval anti-Islamic armoury. The fall of the Latin States had been cataclysmic to the western mind: Islam had illicitly taken away territory that was considered rightfully Christian, in particular the Holy Land, birthplace of Jesus.<sup>61</sup> Jerusalem finally fell into Muslim hands in 1244. As a weapon against Islam, the Book of Revelation furnished not merely a 'falso profeta' but also two horrendous beasts.

Mediaeval belief in Antichrist was based on a theocentric view of history, which was conceived as a reflection of God's dealings with

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beuan y coman mājares por ministerio del Angel administrador": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, 1612, fols 28<sup>r</sup>; 30<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 218.

mankind. Emmerson aptly describes this as ‘the intervention of eternity in time’.<sup>62</sup> Through the ages there had been a constant struggle between the forces of God and Satan, between good and evil. The progression through time of these conflicting ideologies gave rise to a dualistic interpretation of human history. Antichrist was not merely eschatological but was seen by many Christian exegetes as having been embodied in human form many times throughout history, as the leader of a false church of the devil. The non-eschatological Antichrist was, thus, a human with devilish connections.<sup>63</sup> Thus for Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1349), one of the most widely used biblical exegetes in Spain,<sup>64</sup> the beast from the land or second beast (Rev. 13: 11) is Muhammad<sup>65</sup> and the little horn of the fourth beast of the Book of Daniel represents both the eschatological Antichrist and the Syrian oppressor of the Jews, King Antiochus IV, ‘Epiphanes’ (175–163 BC).<sup>66</sup> Thomas Aquinas added that all evil creatures, which preceded the eschatological Antichrist, prefigured him. As *figurae* of Christ were found not only in the Old Testament but also in the New, so too were those referring to the Antichrist (2 Thess. 2: 4; 1 Cor. 11: 3).<sup>67</sup>

Direct links between Islam and the Antichrist were first made in the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*, composed while Christians witnessed the rise of Islam. This pseudo prophecy was falsely attributed to St. Methodius of Patara, fourth-century bishop and martyr, and emphasised the infamous rule of the sons of Ishmael.<sup>68</sup> The text was very influential during the Middle Ages. It claimed that, in the last days, the children of Ishmael will rise up against Rome and will commit many evil deeds. The Spanish Alvarus of Córdoba (d. 861) also identifies Islam with Antichrist. In his *Indiculus luminosus* (854) he states that the little horn of the Book of Daniel had previously been a *figura* for Antiochus ‘Epiphanes’, but that now it referred to Muhammad, a precursor of Antichrist. During and after the crusades, the Saracen was equated with the apocalyptic *figurae* Gog and Magog. Joachim of Fiore

<sup>62</sup> Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 14.

<sup>63</sup> Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> Krey, “Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam”, p. 159.

<sup>65</sup> Krey, “Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam”, p. 154.

<sup>66</sup> Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 21.

<sup>67</sup> Aquinas, *Summa*, 3a, qu. 8, art. 8, p. 81; Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 25.

<sup>68</sup> Cohn, *The Millenium*, pp. 16–17.

linked the Saracen to the fourth and sixth heads of the seven-headed dragon from Revelation (13: 1).<sup>69</sup>

Irenaeus (c. 125–202) was perhaps the first to offer a numerological interpretation of the prophetic time periods of both the Book of Daniel, Revelation and of the number 666, the number of the Beast. He and others manipulated the numerical values of the Greek and Latin alphabets to produce words that might be identified with Antichrist. He added the number 600, which was reputedly Noah's age at the time of the flood, to 60, the height in cubits of Nebuchadnezzar's statue and 6, the breadth of the same statue in cubits. He justified his choice by explaining that in the last days sin will be as in the days of Noah and that the statue was used for idolatry.<sup>70</sup> The use of numerical patterns to highlight similarities between past and present was an encouragement to writers to predict the future.<sup>71</sup>

The scriptural sources used in the mediaeval elaboration of Antichrist were the Book of Daniel, the Book of Revelation and St. John's first and second epistles (1 Jn 2: 18, 22; 1 Jn 4: 3; 2 Jn 7). These are, also, the sources used by the Catholic Apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos.

### *Muhammad, Precursor of the Antichrist and a Beast of the Apocalypse*

Riccoldo considers that Muhammad prepared the way for the Antichrist and that his initial success was permitted by God as a punishment for sin. Many Christian writers, concerned to explain the material success of Islam, used this argument. It is used by Jaime Bleda in a long passage where he considers that the initial success of Muhammad was due to the sinfulness of the emperor Heraclius: the emperor was so absorbed with his own lustful desires that he failed to take appropriate action against the new 'Iey'.<sup>72</sup> Here is what Riccoldo writes:

The principal author of the *Qur'ān* was not a man but the devil. He, out of personal envy, and with the consent of God, because of the multitude

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<sup>69</sup> Alvarus of Cordóba, *Indiculus luminosus, Patrologiae latina*, CXXI, 514–555: Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 67.

<sup>70</sup> Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 49.

<sup>71</sup> Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, pp. 10, 24.



of the peoples' sins, was permitted to set in motion the perfidious career of the Antichrist.<sup>73</sup>

Juan Andrés does not deal with this topic. Aznar Cardona, Bleda and Blas Verdú both argue at length that Muhammad prefigures the Antichrist. Bleda writes:

[Muhammad] was an imposter in the world, a false prophet, a harbinger of Satan, the worst precursor of the Antichrist, the fulfilment of all the heresies.<sup>74</sup>

Aznar Cardona adds:

The Antichrist will surpass Muhammad, Arius, Luther and all his infernal precursors.<sup>75</sup>

The arguments used to link Muhammad with the Antichrist are three-fold. Using as source Joachim of Fiore, the Apologist Jaime Bleda argues that Muhammad is the second of the two beasts of Revelation (Rev. 13).<sup>76</sup> Aznar Cardona further considers that Muhammad is also the 'animal pardo' (dun-coloured animal) or panther of The Book of Daniel (7), one of the four terrible beasts who will take up arms against the Church. The third argument is derived from numerology and attempts to prove that, according to this science, the numbers that equal the letters of Muhammad's name add up to 666, the number of the Beast.

In the Preface to the edition of Joachim of Fiore's *Expositio in Apocalypsim* by the Augustinian Silvestro Meuccio a three-fold persecution of the carnal church had been predicted.<sup>77</sup> The third persecution was to be that of the open Antichrist, or the Saracen.<sup>78</sup> Both Bleda and Aznar Cardona argue this point extensively. In support of his argu-

<sup>73</sup> "El principal autor del alcorã no fue hõbre mas diablo. El qual por propia enbidia y por el consẽtimiento diuinal, demãdãdolo la muchedũbre de los pecados del pueblo, fue cõsẽtido que comẽçase a apejar la carrera y porfia del antexpo": Da Monte di Croce, *Reprobaciõ del alcorã*, fol. D7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> "[Mahoma fue] engañador al mundo, profeta falso, nũcio de Satanás, el peor precursor del Antichristo, cumplimiento de todas las heregias": Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 1; Blas Verdú, *Engaños y desengaños*, fol. 132<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> "El Antechristo excedera a Mahoma, Arrio, Lutero y a todos sus infernales precusores": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fol 9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 56.

<sup>77</sup> J. de Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, ed. Silvestro Meuccio (Venice: Francisco Bindoni, 1527).

<sup>78</sup> Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 262–267.

ment Aznar Cardona expounds the view that biblical *figurae* have a literal as well as a figurative meaning.<sup>79</sup> He thus declares that not merely the true, eschatological Antichrist will attract the just, but his imitators will also do this:

Not all the abuse and ill treatment of just and Catholic people will come about at one historical time, nor will the Antichrist himself alone be the unjust oppressor and bloodthirsty executioner, rather at various times [it will be] he and his followers, his followers and he.<sup>80</sup>

Concerned, as were many Christian writers, to explain the material success of Islam, he claimed that the imitators of Antichrist would combat the ‘pueblo amado de Dios’ (the beloved people of God). He cites a passage from Revelation in support of his argument: *Et sanctam civitatem calcabunt mensibus quadraginta duobus* (Rev. 11: 2–3). “[...] because it [the temple court] is given unto the Gentiles; and the holy city they shall tread underfoot two-and-forty months”.<sup>81</sup> However, the Gates of Hell will not prevail against the Church although, at times, the enemy may achieve material success. God permits this as a punishment for sin: “Although God, at times, on account of our grave sins, allows us to be spurned and reviled”.<sup>82</sup>

Aznar Cardona constantly cites the Joannine epistles. All those who denied Christ’s divinity and humanity were ‘Ante Christo, contrario a Christo’: *Hic est seductor et Antechristus* (2 Jn. 7) ([...] this is a seducer and an Antichrist).<sup>83</sup> St. John is using the term here in a metaphorical sense to describe those who opposed the teachings of Christ. He is not referring to the eschatological Antichrist.<sup>84</sup> The Joannine references to the Antichrist are as follows: 1 Jn. 2: 18 declares that as there are now many antichrists the last days must be near; 1 Jn. 2: 22 and 1 Jn. 4: 3 state that anybody who denies that Jesus is Christ is himself Antichrist.

<sup>79</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> “Que ni todas las ofensas, y mal tratamientos cōtra los justos y catholicos serian de vna vez, y en vn tiempo, ni tampoco seria solo el Antechristo, por si mismo en persona, el injusto opresor, y verdugo carnicero, sino en diuersos tiempos, el y los suyos, y los suyos y el”: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fols 12<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> “Aunque [Dios] a tiempos, por nuestros graues pecados, permita que nos acoecen y vltrajen”: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, 1612, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> L. J. McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible* (London/Dublin: Chapman, 1965), p. 36. Francisco Rojas y Zorrilla, in his play *El profeta falso Mahoma*, which we have mentioned already, represents Muhammad as the Antichrist: Rojas y Zorrilla, *El profeta falso Mahoma*, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>.

Finally, 2 Jn. 7 is the quotation given above and refers to those deceivers who deny the incarnation.

Referring once again to the passage from St. John, Aznar Cardona argues that, as holy martyrs are figuratively described as other Enochs or Eliases, those who offend God and deny the divinity of Christ ‘son a la letra el Antechristo’ (are literally Antichrist):

The prophecy of St. John, so often mentioned [by me], refers literally to sacriligious Muhammad [...] that false prophet, agent of Lucifer and nefarious precursor of the Antichrist who, when alive, on his own account, and afterwards through his followers, razed to the ground in many countries and kingdoms that most holy city that came down from Heaven, by the power of Jesus Christ, and which is founded on his most powerful blood and most holy sacraments.<sup>85</sup>

### *The Second Beast of Revelation*

Aznar Cardona then equates Muhammad with the second Beast of Revelation:

*Et vidi aliam bestiam ascendentem de terra et habebat cornua duo similia agni et loquebatur sicut draco* (Rev. 13: 11) (And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns, like a lamb, and he spoke like a dragon).

This two-horned monster or false prophet led people to worship the beast from the sea by false preaching and miracles. There follows an ingenious and painstaking exegesis of this passage by Aznar Cardona. The ‘terra’ is taken to mean an abyss, which represents the teeming multitudes that support Muhammad. This support is ascribed to false miracles, and an appeal to both venality and sensuality. The Apologist then points out a specific link with the second Beast of Revelation:

He [St. John] calls lewd Muhammad a beast because of the most brutish life he lived and taught to his followers [...] [they engage in] the bestial,

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<sup>85</sup> “La profecia de san Juan, ya tantas vezes alegada, habla literalmente del sacrilego Mahoma [...] aquel falso propheta, fiscal de Lucifer y nefando precursor del Antechristo, q̄ en vida, por si, y despues por sus sequaces, atropello mortalmête en muchas prouincias y Reynos aquella ciudad tan santa q̄ baxo del cielo, por la virtud de Iesu Christo, y esta stablecida en su virtuosissima sangre, y santissimos Sacramentos”: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fol. 21<sup>v</sup>.

corporeal benefits of eating, sexual intercourse, and in wealth, pomp, vanity and the delight of immodest passions.<sup>86</sup>

On linking Muhammad with the second Beast, the Apologist explains the symbolic meaning of the two horns:

*Et habebat cornua duo* (and he had two horns): he had two sources of power, or two illustrious titles: one as a prophet and the other as the founder of a new religion. And furthermore they were *similia cornibus* (like horns) similar to those of Christ [the lamb], and he pointed out that particular sign, because in truth, in reality, they were not genuine but apparent, lying and counterfeit.<sup>87</sup>

Aznar Cardona's exegesis of the word dragon links the prophet with the deceit, flattery and false promises of the second Beast:

*Et loquebatur sicut draco* (and he spoke like a dragon): and he spoke, not like a lion out in the open but with dissimulation and deceit like a dragon, who flatters yet wounds with its tail [...] that is to say that his obscene sect is pleasureable on the outside but secretly wounds with eternal death, as great Augustine says: *Leo aperte irascitur, draco occulte insidiatur* (The lion gets angry openly, the dragon lies in ambush secretly).<sup>88</sup>

As the dragon of Revelation used his tail to sweep the stars from the Heavens and so send down fire, so was Muhammad flattering to one's face but, like the dragon, wounded with his tail. Muhammad was also linked to another passage from Revelation, that of the opening of the seven seals.

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<sup>86</sup> "Llama bestia al lasciuo Mahoma por el modo de vida bestialissima, que vso personalmēte y enseñó a los suyos [...] bienes brutales del cuerpo, de comer o refocilarse, y en riquezas y pompas y vanidades y deleytes de ardores deshonestas": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, 1612, fol. 22<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> "*Et habebat cornua duo*: Que tenia dos poderios, o dos titulos illustres, vno de Profeta y otro de nueua ley de Dios. Y dize mas @q eran: *similia cornibus*, semejantes a los de Christo, y señaloles aquella particular señal (semejantes) porque en realidad, de verdad, no erã verdaderos, sino aparentes, mētirosos y fingidos".

<sup>88</sup> "*Et loquebatur sicut draco*: Y hablaua no como leon a la descubierta, sino con disimulacion, y solapado como dragõ, que halaga y hiere con la cola [...]. Que es dezir que su torpe secta en lo exterior es deleytosa, pero en lo secreto açota con muerte eterna, como dize el grande Agustino: *Leo aperte irascitur, draco occultè insidiatur*": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>.

*The Opening of the Seven Seals*

In the Middle Ages the opening of the seven seals (Rev. 6) was believed to represent a prophetic outline of church history. Joachim of Fiore took up the basic interpretation of Anselm of Havelburg (d. 1158). According to this reading, the opening of the fourth seal represented the age of false Christians and hypocrites (Rev. 6: 7).<sup>89</sup>

Bleda, in referring to this passage, links Muhammad with the opening of the fourth seal and the pale [= *amarillo* (yellow)] horse on which Death rode. He claims that the reference is derived from the exegesis of Joachim of Fiore.<sup>90</sup>

The holy evangelist says in the sixth chapter that, having opened the fourth seal, the Lamb heard a voice from the fourth animal, which said to him: "Come and look." And he saw a yellow horse on which there was a single horseman, whose name was Death, and Hell followed after him, and gave him power over the four parts of the earth to kill by murder, by hunger, death and by the beasts of the earth. It seems that this referred to the persecution by the Mohammedans [...] The yellow horse represents very vividly the sect of Muhammad [...] it is to Muhammad's sect that Daniel compares the fourth beast who, with iron teeth and claws, ate, tore apart [his victim], and what was left over he trampled and trod upon with his feet.<sup>91</sup>

This analogy is justified in the following way: the horse is brave and warlike and so recalls Islam, which exercises control by force of arms. The horse is also seen as representing Islamic sensuality: "But this sect is irrational, sensual and beastlike, and everything is aimed at the delights of the flesh. And Sacred Scripture uses the likeness of the

<sup>89</sup> Emerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 19.

<sup>90</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 52; Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 35<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> "Dize el santo Euāgelista en el sexto capítulo q̄, auiedo abierto el Cordero el quarto sello, oyo vna voz d' quarto animal, q̄ le dezia: v̄e y mira: y vio vn caualllo amarillo, en el qual yua cauallero vno, q̄ tenia por nombre la muerte, y tras del seguia el infierno, y diosele poder sobre las quatro partes de la tierra, para matar con cuchillo, cō hābre, con la muerte y con las bestias de la tierra. Parece q̄ [con] estas palabras fue significada la persecuciō de los mahometanos [...] El caualllo amarillo representa muy al viuio, la secta de Mahoma [...] es la secta de Mahoma q̄ Daniel acōpara a la quarta bestia la qual con diētes y vñas de hierro comia y desmenuzaba y lo q̄ le sobraua lo hollaua, y pisaua con sus pies.": Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 51; Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 35<sup>r</sup>.

horse to signify men who, foolishly, and with excessive sensuality, give themselves up to the vices of the flesh".<sup>92</sup>

*The Vision of the Book of Daniel*

Aznar Cardona refers, at length, to the dream of the four beasts in the Book of Daniel. However, his description does not state which of the four beasts he is describing. It would seem to correspond to the third, as 'pardo' is probably derived from 'leopardo', the third beast.<sup>93</sup> The traditional interpretation would have it that the four beasts represent four of the oppressors of the People of Israel. However, some mediaeval exegetes saw the fourth beast as emblematic of Muhammad. In the exegesis of Nicholas of Lyra the fourth beast is interpreted in the following way: this creature has ten horns three of which are crushed by a little one, which appears later. This was interpreted as a reference to the emergence of a political power initially small but which grew and destroyed three kingdoms, those of Africa (Libya), Egypt and Ethiopia. Earlier exegesis associated this little horn with Antiochus 'Epiphanes.' However, as mentioned already, the Spanish Alvarus of Córdoba was the first to associate it with Muhammad.<sup>94</sup>

Aznar Cardona equates this horrendous creature from the Book of Daniel with the Prophet Muhammad by a rather ingenious argument:

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<sup>92</sup> "Mas esta secta es irracional, sensual y bestial, y toda encaminada a los deleytes carnales. Y suele la Escritura vsar de la semenjanza del cauallo, para significar los hōbres, q̄ neciamēte y con demasiada lascivia se entregan a los vicios de la carne."

<sup>93</sup> 'Pard' is defined in the *Oxford Dictionary* as a mediaeval version of leopard. The Latin *pardus* means panther 'perhaps also a leopard'. Aznar Cardona's use of 'Pardo', with a capital letter, is perhaps a hispanisation of the Latin word and does have its usual meaning of 'dun, brownish grey' in this context. Further down in the passage, he uses 'pardo' to mean brownish grey.

<sup>94</sup> Emerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 43, 67. M. Reeves states that this idea is not found explicitly in Joachim of Fiore, as the Abbot did not link Muhammad with the Beast, but merely insisted, repeatedly, in the *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, on the final triumph of the Church over the infidel. Thus, the source must be elsewhere. Reeves refers to a publication called *Tractatus de Ritu, Moribus, Nequitia et Multiplicatione Turcorum* (c. 1515) which links the persecution by the Saracen with the fourth beast of The Book of Daniel. It bases its claim on a passage from the *Expositio*. It had been written in the mid-fifteenth century, inspired, possibly, by the fall of Constantinople: Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 101–102. Bleda's source may be a book on the Antichrist published in the early seventeenth century: T. de Malvenda, *De Antichristi libri undecim* (Roma: apud Carolum Vulliettum, 1604). Guadalajara y Javier also uses Malvenda as a source: Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>.

as the panther's black skin gives off many different reflections, so is the 'ley de Mahoma' made up of many different sects:

Finally, taking an evil patch from this sect, and another worse one from that other, this monstrous composition is made up by matching each one of the aforementioned heresiarchs with a [similarly] stained part, that deformed beast then appeared made up and composed of such a diversity of patches and different skins which the prophet Daniel describes literally calling it a Pard, [that is] variegated, mixed, patched and made up of a thousand pieces, a living portrait of the chimaera with the body of a lion, the head of a camel, the mouth of a serpent, the ears of a dog, the wings of a bat, the hands of a man, the bristle of a wild boar, the prickles of a hedgehog, and finally dun-coloured, a colour which fits in with and covers up any type of stain or filth.<sup>95</sup>

*Argument from Numerology (the Kabbala)*

Bleda argues at length that there is a link between Muhammad and the number of the Beast and this link is also mentioned in Guadalajara y Javier.<sup>96</sup> Some interpretations of the Book of Revelation use numerological arguments to link the number 666, that of the second beast, with the Roman emperor Nero: "The Talmudic, Midrashic and Cabbalistic literatures developed and used for the interpretation of the scriptures a type of numerology called Gematria. This attempted to discover the hidden meanings of the Hebrew text through the numerical values of the Hebrew alphabet. [...] Nero was the most likely candidate for the beast of Revelation".<sup>97</sup> The numbers 666 are the numerical value of the Hebrew letters of the name Caesar Nero (KSR NRW).<sup>98</sup> Bleda's

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<sup>95</sup> "En fin que tomando desta secta vn pedaço malo, y y de aquella otra peor: y concurriendo cada cual de los Heresiarchas sobredichos con vna parte manchada, en la fabrica desta monstruosa composicion, aparecio compuesta, y resultado forjada aquella bestia disforme, de tanta diuersidad de manchas y pelos diferentes, de quien habla la profeta Daniel a la letra, nombrandola Pardo, varia, rebuelta, mezclada, remêdada hecha de mil retajos, retrato viuo de la quimera cõ cuerpo de lobo, cabeça de camello, boca de culebra, orejas de perro, alas de murcielago, manos de hõbre, cerdas de jauali espinas de eriço, y finalmête de color pardo, por ser color en quien se incorpora mejor, y se disimula mucho qualquiera manzilla o suciedad": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, I, fols 155<sup>v</sup>-156<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Bleda, *Coronica*, pp. 13-14; Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, III (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 566.

<sup>98</sup> McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 36. Robert Graves gives the following more detailed analysis: he sums up the values *Neron Kesar* in Hebrew thus. נ (Nun) = 50; ק (Resh) = 200; ו (Vav) = 6; נ (Nun) = 50 = Neron. Qoph = ק (100); ט (Samech) = 60; ק

numerological argument that links Muhammad with the Beast goes like this:

St. John says, then, that Luther was a very eminent precursor of the Antichrist, and that his name makes up the number six hundred and sixty-six, as St. John said, like that of Muhammad.<sup>99</sup>

Bleda's source would appear to be a prophecy of St. Theodorus.<sup>100</sup> The numerological argument goes as follows: St. Theodorus called the second beast 'el aduersario' (the adversary) which in Greek is rendered as *Antemos*. By extension he also applied this term to Muhammad. The Apologist points out that the numerical equivalents to the letters in the Greek version of the name add up to 666. Conveniently, this is also the numerical value of Muhammad's name using the Kabbalistic system.<sup>101</sup>

### *Apocalyptic prophecies*

The millenarian prophecies that I have been discussing have been very influenced by the Book of Revelation. The conflict between the forces of good and evil, between the Lamb and the two apocalyptic beasts, have been interpreted in various ways. Apocryphal prophecies concerning the Turks began to proliferate after the fall of Constantinople (1453). Many proclaimed the proximate ruin of the Turkish Empire and some were used as political propaganda. For example, the appearance of the *Prognosticon* of Antonio Torquato in 1534 came in the

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(Resh) = 200 = Kesar. However, he points out that Nero in Latin remains Nero when written in Hebrew and *Kaisar* (this form was more commonly written in Greek than *Kesar*) should be spelt with a Kaph (=20) not a Qoph which all adds up to only 626: R. Graves, *The White Goddess* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968), p. 343.

<sup>99</sup> "Dize, pues, S. Iuan q̄ [...] fue Lutherero, muy insigne precursor del Antichristo, y q̄ su Nöbre tiene el numero de seiscientos y sesenta y seys, q̄ dixo S. Iuan, como el de Mahoma": Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 56.

<sup>100</sup> Is this a reference to St. Theodore of Tarsis (602–690), Archbishop of Canterbury?: *Christian Dictionary*, p. 1359. The saint's dates would seem to fit in with the statement made by Bleda that St. Theodore's prophecy was made 330 years after the martyrdom of St. Victorinus who died under Diocletian c. 304: *Christian Dictionary*, p. 1438. Bleda refers, also, to other writers who supported this theory. They include the contemporary work of Fray Tomás de Malvenda, cited above in note 94.

<sup>101</sup> The numbers equivalent to Muhammad's name are the following (the Greek form Maometis is used): M=40, α=1, o=70, μ=40, ε=5, τ=300, ι=10, σ=200. Those of *Antemos* are: A=1, v=50, τ=300, ε=5, μ=40, o=70 and σ=200: Bleda, *Coronica*, p. 14.



wake of reverses suffered by the the Turks: the failure to take Vienna (1529), defeat in Syria and Austria (1532) and a truce with Austria (1532). It was also the eve of Charles V's second expedition to Tunisia. Jean Deny considers that the Emperor himself inspired this prophecy, and others.<sup>102</sup> The prophecy attributed to Antonio Torquato mentioned above was probably plagiarized from that of Annius (Egidio) of Viterbo (1432–1502), which had been published in 1480. This book was addressed to Pope Sixtus IV and contained anti-Turkish vaticinations derived from both Revelation and astrological deductions.<sup>103</sup> The highly influential prophecies of Joachim of Fiore perceived history as evolving towards the final confrontation between good and evil, the defeat of the beast and the beginning of the apotheosis of history (Rev. 19: 19–20, 20: 1–6), that is the millenium or age of the Holy Spirit.

### El pergamino de la Torre Torpiana

The Moriscos had a strong tradition of *jofores* or prophecies. Darío Cabanelas has shown how, during the second Revolt of the Alpujarras, one of the translators of Philip II, the Morisco Alonso del Castillo, was persuaded to invent *jofores* that encouraged the Moriscos to surrender to the forces of the King.<sup>104</sup> Cervantes, in the *Persiles*, bases the diatribe of the *jadraque* against the Moriscos on the form of a Morisco *jofor*.<sup>105</sup>

One of the most notorious Morisco *jofores* was that contained in *El pergamino de la Torre Turpiana* (1588). This prophecy purported to be an apocalyptic vision of the end of the world written by St. John the Evangelist and revealed to St. Cecilius, first bishop of Granada, by St Denis the Areopagite.<sup>106</sup> It describes, in very general terms, the end

<sup>102</sup> J. Deny, "Les pseudo-prophéties concernant les turcs au XVI<sup>e</sup>", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, X (1936), pp. 209–210.

<sup>103</sup> Annius de Viterbo, *Ad beatissimum papam Sixtum et reges ac senatus christianos de futuris christianorum triumphis en Saracenos epistola Magistri Ionnis Viterbensis* (Genoa: Baptista Cavalus, 1480).

<sup>104</sup> D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1965).

<sup>105</sup> M. de Cervantes, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta for Juan de Villarroel, 1617), ed. J. B. Avalor-Arce (Madrid: Castalia, 1969).

<sup>106</sup> Pedro de Valencia considered this forged 'prophecy' to be merely 'testing the water' before the concealment of the *libros plúmbeos* in the hill subsequently called the Sacromonte: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 453–454.

of the world and offers what is, of course, a *vaticinatio post eventum* of the heresies of Muhammad and of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>107</sup> It has features typical of such prophecies; misfortune is a divine retribution for sin and there is an eclipse of the sun to announce the coming of Muhammad:

At the sixth century after his coming [the birth of Christ], because of grave sins that will be committed in the world, a very great darkness will rise up in the East, and will be extended to the West by fierce ministers, who will be servants there. At which time the light of our sun will be eclipsed, and the Master's temple and his faith will suffer grave persecutions.<sup>108</sup>

The dragon of the Apocalypse represents the heresies of the Protestant Reform and the division of Christianity into different sects:

And when fifteen centuries have come to pass, because people have become stubborn and hard-hearted, a second darkness will rise up in the North and from those parts a dragon will emerge, and from his mouth he will vomit seed, which he will sow. The faith will divide into sects and, when they have joined up with the other one, they will take over the world.<sup>109</sup>

The Antichrist will have a brief reign and the Last Judgement will follow:

The human race will be threatened and in particular the priesthood and this will herald the Antichrist, whose coming will be soon and with which this prophecy will be fulfilled. And the Last Judgement will draw near when there is manifested to the world this truth, this truth, this

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<sup>107</sup> Pedro de Valencia pointed out in his critique that the Church had always rejected vague prophecies that predicted the end of the world: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 21.

<sup>108</sup> "A los seis siglos cumplidas [sic] de su adbenimiento, por pecados graues en el mundo, q̄ cometidos serán, tinieblas se lebantarán mui escuras en las orientales partes, i a las occidentales se estenderán por ministros furiosos, que en ellas serán criados. Con q̄ la luz de nuestro sol se eclipsará, i el templo del Maestro, i su fee graues persecuciones padecerán": MS Esc R II 15, Biblioteca del Escorial; Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, Appendix 2, p. 89. This version was copied by Alonso del Castillo who, ironically, was probably one of its original authors.

<sup>109</sup> "Y [a] los quinze siglos cumplidos por los pertinazes corazones endurecidos, segundas tinieblas se leuantarán en las partes de Aquilón, j dellas un dragón saldrá, q̄ por su boca arrojará simiente q̄ sembrará. La fe dividirá en setas i con la otra juntada el mundo ocuparán": Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 89.

fulfilled truth. From the south will emerge the Judge of all Truth, whenever it so pleaseth him.<sup>110</sup>

The second last sentence is perhaps a veiled reference to the subsequent Lead Book called the *Libro mudo* (*Mute Book*) which, it is claimed, when decyphred will contain the unadulterated truth of the Gospel. In spite of being a crude and very amateurish imitation of apocalyptic literature the *pergamino* was enthusiastically received by many.<sup>111</sup> It was criticised, from the outset, by Benito Arias Montano and Juan Bautista Pérez, Bishop of Segorbe and then, in 1607, Pedro de Valencia wrote his incisive and thoughtful critique at the request of the then Archbishop of Toledo, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas.

*The Catholic Apologists, Philip III and the Book of Revelation*

The Catholic Apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos rely heavily on biblical *figurae* in their task of justifying the expulsion of the Moriscos. The prophets had used *figurae* as eschatological symbolism in the history of salvation. Jesus also alluded, extensively, to figures to show how the mystery of salvation was developing in conformity with the scriptures. The Apostolic writings, particularly those of St. Paul to the Hebrews, continued this practice.<sup>112</sup>

The sources of *figurae* for the Catholic Apologists are both the Book of Revelation and other books from the Old Testament. Aznar Cardona claims that Philip III's destiny to be a defender of the Church and champion of God's honour was prefigured by the angel[s] entrusted by God to guard the gates of Paradise (Gen. 3: 24):

Finally he [Philip III] is a king marked out by Heaven and represented by that shining celestiel courtier, protector of the earthly paradise [...] In this amiable angel from Heaven, was represented for us our angeli-

<sup>110</sup> "El género humano será amenazada [sic], y en espeçial el saçerdocio, anunciando el Ante Xpo, que será brebe su benida, que con esta profecia se cumplirá, i el Juizio Final se aciercará quando se manifestará al mundo esta uerdad, uerdad, uerdad cumplida. Del mediodía saldrá el Juez de la Uerdad cuando le plazerá": Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 89.

<sup>111</sup> There was much rivalry for supremacy among the Spanish bishoprics. Thus the *apócrifos de Granada*, particularly the Lead Books, which 'proved' that Granada had been the first city in Spain to hear of Christianity, was warmly welcomed by the uncritical: Kendrick, *St. James*, pp. 71–72.

<sup>112</sup> *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, pp. 152–156.

cal Philip, our king, protector and defender of the Spiritual Paradise of the Christian Church, guardian and pacifier of the state, defender of the oppressed, conservator of human and divine laws, bellicose warrior for causes related to God's honour, and preserver of justice.<sup>113</sup>

The passage continues thus:

He is similar to him [the angel] because just as the most illustrious cherubim, with that double-bladed rapier, entrusted by God, defended that most glorious Paradise where stood the tree of transitory life, in the same way our most Catholic king defends with the two-handed sword of his royal power (tremendous sword of justice or sword of God) the Paradise of the Church, more precious than the former because of the presence of the tree of eternal life. Christ forbade entrance within to evil spirits, perverse heresies and proscribed sects and expelled the bold betrayers of its holy laws.<sup>114</sup>

Aznar Cardona also equates the King's role with that of the third of the seven plague-bearing angels of Revelation who poured out from their bowls the wrath of God upon the earth. Thus Philip III is the instrument of God's anger towards the infidel Moriscos:

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<sup>113</sup> "En fin es rey señalado por el cielo y representado en aquel relumbrante cortezano celestial, protector del parayso terreno [...] En este amable angel del cielo, nos fue representado nuestro angelico Felipe, rey nuestro, saluaguarda y amparo del Parayso Espiritual de la Iglesia christiana, tutor y pacificador de la republica, protector de los opresos, conseruador de las leyes diuinas y humanas, guerreador bellicoso por las causas al honor de Dios annexas, y mantenedor de la justicia". As I have described before in Chapter 1, it was common, in the seventeenth century, for Spaniards to consider that the events of their country had been foretold in scripture: Herrero García, *Ideas de los españoles*, p. 19.

<sup>114</sup> "Esle semejante [al angel], porque assi como el querubin illustrissimo con aquel estoque de dos cortes defendio, por comision de Dios, aquel Parayso illustrissimo donde estaba el arbol de la vida transitoria. Assi este nuestro rey catholicissimo defiende con el montante de su potestad real (espada tremenda durandina, o tizona de Dios) el Parayso de la Iglesia, mas precioso que aquel, por la presencia del arbol de la vida eterna, Christo, vedando la entrada del, a los malos espiritus, de peruersas eregias y sectas reprouadas, y desterrando los atreuidos preuaricadores de sus santas leyes": Aznar Cardona, *Expvlsion ivstificada*, II, fols 81<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>v</sup>. According to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, *Durindana* or *Durandaina* was a sword of justice. The word also closely resembles *Durindante*, the sword of Roland, and by extension of other French chivalric heroes. *Tizona* was the name given to one of the sword of the Cid. Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua* (1611) adds that *tizona* suggests a flaming sword and cites 'el caballero de la ardiente espada' (the Knight of the Flaming Sword) [Amadis de Grecia], as *tizón* means a firebrand.

The third [angel] poured out his vial upon the rivers and the fountains of waters: and there was made blood (Rev. 16: 4).<sup>115</sup>

Aznar Cardona's grounds for this assertion are rather slight: Philip III did not make the rivers run red with blood by exercising his right to execute the Moriscos for heresy, although the author, Aznar Cardona, felt that this would have been a justifiable punishment.<sup>116</sup> Philip III is both the third king to bear this name but also third in a line of eminent Hapsburg monarchs who prided themselves as defenders of the Law of God and servants of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. He claims that this passage from Revelation predicts the expulsion of the Moriscos as many had lived on the banks of the rivers Ebro, the Xalón, the Martín, the Cinca, the Segre, and also near the Marina of Valencia and 'celebrated' Moncayo. He claims that the passage '*et factus est sanguis*' is both metaphorical and literal: it refers both to their civil death and banishment and to their actual physical decease. The author claims that some actually died of distress, in despair that Heaven would come to their aid. Many expired, also, on their voyage into exile and yet others were refused entry into their countries by right-minded people:

Even the unerring mountains seem to have spat them out, not allowing them to go to any part, offering no consolation. The following quotation was fulfilled: *Ipsi montes nollunt recipere fugam nostram* (the mountains themselves refuse to welcome us in our flight).<sup>117</sup>

Mountains and hills are frequently depicted in scripture as a place of refuge for those in flight. Aznar Cardona denies such a haven to the unfortunate Moriscos. This scorn for and intense dislike of them is typical of his writing.

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<sup>115</sup> *Et tertius angelus effudit phialam suam super flumina et super fontes aquarum et factus est sanguis*: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fol. 90<sup>r</sup>. This quotation recalls the passage in Exodus in which Aaron is commanded by God to inflict the first plague upon Egypt, by striking his rod upon the water, which then turns to blood (Ex. 7: 20).

<sup>116</sup> Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fol. 121<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> "Hasta los montes infalibles parece les escupian de si, no consintiendoles en parte alguna, no siendoles de consuelo. Cumpliose aquella letra en ellos: *Ipsi montes nollunt recipere fugam nostram*": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fols 93<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>.

*An Apocalyptic Vision and Celestial Portents*

Aznar Cardona refers to an apocalyptic vision that he claims was seen in Santiago de Galicia in 1609, the year in which the first of the expulsions took place. The lion, which represents 'el rey católico', and the serpent or dragon, which represents Islam, the Antichrist, were reported to have been seen in the sky and between them could be heard Santiago's war cry '¡Cierra, España, cierra!' (Close in on them, Spain!):

The same thing [the destruction of Islam] was signified by the prodigious events and visions of the year 1609, which came about in Santiago in Galicia where, amidst the serpent or dragon with its malign squadrons, that appeared up in the air, and the Lion with its virtuous armies, could be clearly heard those audible voices, 'Close in on them, Spain, close in!'; the Lion (that is the Catholic king) is conquering and will conquer.<sup>118</sup>

In the Middle Ages, the Antichrist was portrayed, frequently, as a demon or dragon flying in the air and surrounded by lesser demons.<sup>119</sup> The prophet Muhammad, as we have seen, is often equated with one of the beasts of the Book of Revelation. The war cry obviously links the lion with Santiago and the dragon recalls the equation of Muhammad, in anti-Islamic polemic, with the second Beast of the Book of Revelation (Rev 13: 11).<sup>120</sup>

The Apologist Damián Fonseca describes many apocalyptic phenomena that he claims occurred in Aragon and Valencia in the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1602, in Aragón, fire descended from Heaven:

In the same kingdom [Aragon], in the year 1602, a great fire came down from Heaven and burned up a place called *Ambel*. Heaven, without a

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<sup>118</sup> "Lo mismo significaron los prodigios, y visiones, del año 1609 sucedidos en Santiago de Galicia, a donde entre la serpiente, o dragon, con sus escuadrones malignos, aparecidos allí en el ayre, y entre el Leon con sus ejercitos virtuosos, se percibieron bien aquellas voces sensibles, "Cierra, España, cierra!", que el Leon (esto es el rey catolico), vence y vencera": Aznar Cardona,, *Expulsion ivstificada*, 1612, fol. 146<sup>v</sup>. In the margin the author states: "Hay vna relacion sobre esto". To date I have failed to locate this. It does not appear in either the list in Cabrera de Córdoba's *Relaciones*, those of the Biblioteca Nacional or in that of Mercedes Agulló y Cobo: Agulló y Cobos, Mercedes, *Relaciones de sucesos, I. Años 1470 -1613, Cuadernos bibliográficos*, XX (Madrid: CSIC, 1966).

<sup>119</sup> Cohn, *The Millenium*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>120</sup> Krey, "Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam", p. 154.

doubt, angered by the great sacrileges and heresies of those blasphemers, ministered to the earth the element with which they deserved to be punished.<sup>121</sup>

Shortly afterwards, in Valencia, a blood-stained cloud appeared:

In Valencia, shortly afterwards, there was seen, down towards the other side of the mountain, and for the duration of many days, a very bright cloud, stained with blood in some parts, which lasted for four hours continuously, to the great amazement of the astrologers and those of us who were watching it, considering that in the fire, and in the bloody cloud in the sky, that it was the will of God that the Moriscos be expelled from Spain and if it were necessary, by fire and sword.<sup>122</sup>

Horrendous earthquakes took place in the town of Gandía in Valencia:

In the town of Gandía and surrounding areas, where the largest and worst concentration of Moriscos in the kingdom lived, there were about this time many dreadful earthquakes, and in many places the earth split open so that it looked as if it were whetting its appetite to swallow alive these Dathans and Abirons.<sup>123</sup>

Dathan and Abiron, sons of Eliab, together with Core son of Isaar, organised a revolt against Moses. They persisted in their disobedience to Moses. God punished them by causing the earth to split open under their tent: “And they went down alive into hell, the ground closing upon them” (Num. 16: 1–33). Their names became so execrable that they were included in the pronouncement of anathema or excommunication.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlision*, pp. 166–16. In Revelation (8: 4), following the playing of the first trumpet, hailstones and fire mixed with blood descended to earth, burning a third of the trees and all of the grass.

<sup>122</sup> “En Valencia poco tiempo despues se vio hacia la tramontana, por espacio de muchos dias, vna nuue muy clara, y en algunas partes manchada de sangre, la qual duraua quatro horas continuas, no con pequeña admiracion de los Astrologos y de los que la mirauamos, considerando en el fuego, y nuue sangrienta del cielo, que era la voluntad de Dios, que fuessen echados de España los Moriscos, y si fuesse necessario, a fuego y sangre”: Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlision*, p. 167.

<sup>123</sup> “En la villa de Gandia y lugares circunueziños, donde estaua la mayor y peor morisma del Reyno, huuo por este tiempo muchos, y horribles terremotos, y se abria la tierra por muchas partes, de manera que parecia se hazia bocas para tragarse viuos estos Datanes y Abirones”: Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlision*, p. 167. Following the opening of the sixth seal in Revelation (6: 12) there was an earthquake and after the opening of the seventh seal (8: 5), there was thunder and lightning and earth tremors.

<sup>124</sup> Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 28.

The monastery of Luchente, Valencia, was surrounded by many 'lugares de Moriscos.' During a procession in 1602, although the weather was calm and the sky clear, a great din of kettledrums and war drums was reported to have been heard suddenly:

[...] the sky being clear and the weather calm there was suddenly heard a great din of kettle drums and war drums, which were ringing miraculously to sound the alarm. Perhaps [it was] to make war against these enemies of the faith.<sup>125</sup>

Finally, in September of 1603, in Castellón del Duque, hailstones the size of hens' eggs were seen to fall:

On 13 September 1603, in Castellón del Duque, a Morisco area, in the town of Albaida de Valencia, when almost all the inhabitants were gathered together in the square, arguing about a certain incident which had taken place, one of them began to curse and stated the following: *May a whirlwind carry me off if I am not telling the truth.* Then in the evening, when the sky was calm and most of them were in the square, a dark cloud began to form and grew into a very dark stormcloud, which began to hail down large hailstones, some of which were as big as eggs.<sup>126</sup>

Such apocalyptic horrors were, the author concluded, indications of God's anger at the sacrilege and blasphemy of the Moriscos and his indication that they should be expelled from Spain.

### *The Bell of Velilla and Other Extraordinary Phenomena*

In 1601 the bell in the church in Velilla, ten leagues from Zaragoza, Aragon, tolled mysteriously:

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<sup>125</sup> "[...] estando el cielo raso y, y el tiempo sereno, se sintio subitamente en el ayre gran ruido de atabales y caxas de guerra, que tocaban milagrosamente al arma. Quiça para hazer gente contra estos enemigos de la Fe": Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlsion*, p. 166. It is in this context that Fonseca mentions the mysterious tolling of the bell of Velilla (see below).

<sup>126</sup> "A los 13 de Setiembre del año de 1603, en Castellon del Duque, lugar de Moriscos, de la villa de Albaida, en el Reyno de Valencia, estando por la mañana juntos casi todos los del lugar, y altercando sobre vn caso, que auia acontecido, començo el vno a echarse maldiciones, y señaladamente dixo. *Mal remolino me lleue, si esto no es assi.* Y luego a la tarde, estando el cielo sereno y la mayor parte dellos en la plaça, se fue formando vna nuue negra, y creciendo poco a poco, se estendio como vna manga muy oscura, la qual començo a granizar piedras gruessas y algunas tan grandes como hueuos": Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlsion*, p. 167. There later followed a whirlwind that uprooted 700 trees. These hailstones recall those of Revelation (16: 21).



In the year 1601 it [the bell of Velilla] rang several times to announce the secret agreements that the Moriscos were plotting with the Turks, for the ruination of Spain and the destruction of our sacred religion, which [plotting] led to their expulsion.<sup>127</sup>

Called 'la campana del milagro' (the miracle bell) it apparently acted as a portent of good and bad news. It had tolled in 1516 when Ferdinand *el católico* died and in 1527 it had announced both the bad news of the sack of Rome and the good news of the birth of Philip II. It was located in the church of San Nicolás and contained a *retablo* (altarpiece) that was reputed to date from the time of the Visigoths. This showed a bell with many people kneeling in front of it. On it were two verses from the Cumaean Sibyl: *Christus venit in pace* (Christ came in peace) and *Deus homo factus est* (God was made man). There were two bells the smaller of which, called Santa Águeda, never rang even in hurricanes. Nearby was a 'lugar de Moriscos' called Xelfa. The inhabitants became very agitated each time the bell rang. It rang in 1601 when the Moriscos of Aragon were conspiring with the Great Turk and with the kings of Algeria and Morocco. It rang, again, in 1610 at the time of the expulsion.<sup>128</sup>

Guadalajara y Javier describes this ringing of the bell in greater detail; it rang once again in 1601 after the failure of the expedition to Algeria, which Queen Margarita had supported: "When her most serene highness the Queen saw how much his Majesty favoured the persecution of the Sect of Muhammad (because she had been brought up in constant fear of Turkish invasion of the lands of her father, the Archduke Charles, and of her brother, Don Ferdinand), she earnestly beseeched him to expel them from Spain".<sup>129</sup> To please the Queen, Lerma had supported the abortive expedition to Algeria, in 1601, led

<sup>127</sup> "Año de 1601, se toco diuersas vezes annunciando los conciertos secretos que los moriscos trazaban con los Turcos, en ruina de nuestra España y perjuizio de nuestra Sagrada Religion, de que resulto su expulsion": J. Cabecias, *Relacion verdadera de la campana de Velilla* (1679), in J. Palanco Romero, *Relaciones del siglo XVII* (Granada: Facultad de Filosofia de Letras, 1926), p. 183.

<sup>128</sup> *Nueva relacion en que se da noticia del origen y antiguedad de la prodigiosa campana de Vililla, y las veces que se ha tocado, y sucessos, assi propicios, como adversos, que han sobrevenddo a esta Monarchia* (Seville: Diego López de Haro, 1679).

<sup>129</sup> "Viendo a su Magestad tan bien dispuesto la Serenissima Reyna Margarita, para perseguir la secta de Mahoma (por auerse criado en sus sobresaltos, y entradas de los Turcos, por el Patrimonio del Archiduque Carlos su padre, y de don Fernando su hermano) pidio encarecidamente; se expeliesse de España": Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fols 66<sup>r</sup>-66<sup>v</sup>.

by Don Alonso de Idiáquez, son of Don Juan de Idiáquez. Following this, the bell of Velilla rang: "In the very year of the unfortunate expedition to Algeria, which was undertaken by Don Alonso de Idiáquez in 1601, the Divine Majesty allowed the bell of Vililla to ring out, so that his Majesty the king and his counsellors would put out the fire that was spreading over his kingdom of Spain".<sup>130</sup> Cabrera de Córdoba records the ringing of the bell several times in June of the same year. He does not give an interpretation.<sup>131</sup> Fonseca, Aznar Cardona and Guadalajara y Javier refer, also, to this bell.<sup>132</sup>

Aznar Cardona describes a shining white cross, 'una cruz de la forma y figura de aquella que decimos de Caravaya' (a cross of the shape and form of the one we call Caravaya), that appeared in the sky in the kingdom of Aragon on 17 September 1609. The cross of Christ thus freed the *cristianos viejos* from the guile of these domestic infidels.<sup>133</sup> A similar cross was seen at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). The vision at Caravaya signified that Spain would soon be free of the 'the pernicious moral corruption of the Moriscos'.<sup>134</sup>

Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier describes many portents of God's anger. In May of 1606 a blood-coloured, flaming sword was seen in the heavens:

The heavens opened and a gleaming, blood-coloured sword, whose tip was pointing towards Africa, shot through the sky.<sup>135</sup> It remained there

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<sup>130</sup> "El mismo año de la infelice empresa de Argel, que fue intentada por don Alonso Ydiaquez el año mil seyscientos y vno, permitio la Magestad diuina diessen bozes la Campana de Vililla, para que su Magestad y sus consejeros apagassen el fuego, que se yua emprendiendo por sus Reynos de España": Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsion*, fols 66<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614* (Madrid: J. Martín Alegría, 1857), ed. R. García Carcel (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997), p. 107.

<sup>132</sup> Aznar Cardona claimed that this mysterious tolling of this church bell in Vililla (Velilla) was a portent, among other events, of the conquest of the Holy Land: Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fol. 146<sup>v</sup>; Guadalajara y Javier, *Prodicion y destierro*, fol. 16<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> The edict of expulsion was proclaimed in Valencia on 22 September and took effect, there, three days later: Domínguez Ortiz & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, p. 180.

<sup>134</sup> "la pestifera contagion de los moriscos": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, II, fols 29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Revelation 19: 15.

until dawn, when it disappeared. [...] Thus, God unsheathes the sword of his divine justice.<sup>136</sup>

The Apologist describes, also, the loud din of war drums that emerged from Santiago's tomb. Once this stopped a voice was heard intoning: '¡Arma, arma, España, España!' (To arms, Spain, to arms!) He claims that Santiago miraculously repeated this message in the ears of the King.<sup>137</sup> Damián Fonseca considered that all these prodigious events were signs of God's anger at the continuing presence of the Moriscos in Spain:

They showed us Heaven's great wrath against Spain for maintaining the Moriscos, and they threatened us with harsh chastisement, even to the extent of her loss, if our Catholic Majesty the king had not appeased the wrath of the Divine Majesty, by offering him the pleasing holocaust of the expulsion of these enemies of the Faith, by which [sacrifice] the extraordinary events that threatened us with chastisement had a favourable outcome, and the prophesies were merely threats.<sup>138</sup>

We have seen, in this rather long chapter, the extensive use made by the Catholic Apologists of anti-Islamic polemic as part of a 'smear campaign', by which they vilify the Moriscos *en masse* and thus provide valid justification for their expulsion by the King. In Part II we will be analysing the political and religious ideas of Pedro de Valencia, who attempted to convince Philip III not to carry out the expulsion.

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<sup>136</sup> "Se abrió el cielo, y arroxo por los ayres vna espada de fuego resplandeciente, de color de sangre; la qual teniédola punta hazia las partes de Africa, estuuo assi hasta el alua, que desaparecio [...] entonces desembayna Dios la espada de su diuina justicia".

<sup>137</sup> Guadalajara y Javier, *Prodicion y destierra*, fols 18<sup>v</sup>-19<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> "Nos auisauan de la grande yra, que el cielo tenia contra España, por sustentar los Moriscos, y nos amenazauan con castigo riguroso, no menor que la perdida della, si la Magestad Catholica no huiera aplacado la yra de su Diuina Magestad, ofreciendo el agradable holocausto de la expulsion destes enemigos de la Fe, con la qual los prodigios que nos amenazauan con castigo fueron fauorables, y las profecias, solo cominatorial": Fonseca, *Ivsta expulsion*, p. 169.

PART II

PEDRO DE VALENCIA



## CHAPTER FIVE

### PEDRO DE VALENCIA: BIBLICAL SCHOLAR, HUMANIST AND SOCIAL CRITIC

Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620) was a humanist and biblical scholar, a disciple, collaborator and amanuensis of Benito Arias Montano (1528–1598) and close friend of Fray José de Sigüenza (1544?–1606), librarian of El Escorial after Arias Montano (1593).<sup>1</sup> He was also an impassioned social and political commentator of the Spain of his time and took its reputation abroad very much to heart. In the conclusion to his critique of the apocryphal Lead Books of Granada he wrote:

I know full well that there is no risk that either the universal Church or its Supreme Pontiff will be taken in or deceived. [However], the reputation of Spain is at great risk because, when these books have been seen in Rome, it will be apparent what they are and many will be surprised that they have moved us so much.<sup>2</sup>

Valencia wrote many dissertations on biblical, philosophical, social, religious, political and economic topics; he was first and foremost a biblical scholar; he was also a much-esteemed humanist, lawyer, *inventor* of mythological iconology and literary critic; a man held in very high esteem by his contemporaries. In this chapter, there is a brief biographical sketch of Valencia's life, which attempts to show the poly-facetic nature of Valencia's erudition.

In 1607 Valencia was appointed both *cronista del reino (de Castilla)* (Chronicler for the kingdom of Castile) and *cronista de Indias* (Chronicler for America) of Philip III.<sup>3</sup> He was born in Zafra in 1555

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<sup>1</sup> Sigüenza was also principal of the school there from 1595 to 1597 and from 1600 to 1603. He was elected prior in 1603 and re-elected in 1606, the year of his death.

<sup>2</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 32; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 454–455.

<sup>3</sup> Gaspar Morocho Gayo has discovered that Valencia was both *cronista del reino* for Castile and *cronista general de Indias*. He was appointed *cronista de Indias* on 4 May 1607 and *cronista del reino* on 22 May of the same year: *Humanistas españoles: Pedro de Valencia*, V, *Relaciones de Indias*, I. *Nueva Granada y Virreinato de Perú*. Estudios introductorios y notas históricas por Jesús Paniagua Pérez Edición crítica por Francisco Javier y Jesús Fuente Fernández (León: Universidad de León, 1993), pp. 44–57.

to Melchor de Valencia and Ana Vázquez and died in Madrid on 10 April 1620. There is an anonymous, short biography in manuscript form in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, which is the main source for his early years.<sup>4</sup> His father, Melchor de Valencia, was a lawyer or *letrado* in the service of the House of Feria, whose main demesne was the town of Zafra. His son would later follow him in this role and maintain close relations with two dukes of Feria, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa y Dormer (1560–1607) and Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Mendoza (1587–1634). Pedro de Valencia's early education was probably in the ducal school in Zafra, which had been reorganised by the charismatic preacher, writer and mystic Maestro Juan de Ávila, who had close relations with the House of Feria.<sup>5</sup> Juan de Ávila's possible influence on Pedro de Valencia is discussed in Chapters 7 and 9. Melchor de Valencia went to Montilla with the Count and Countess of Feria in 1568 and Pedro accompanied his family. He had already begun his studies in the Jesuit school in Córdoba (1567–1568), where he developed an interest in theology:

His father returned to Córdoba and there, when he [Pedro] was very young, he read arts in the Jesuit school and began theology and all were astonished at his intelligence.<sup>6</sup>

However, because he was an only son, his parents discouraged him from studying theology and he went to Salamanca to study law (1573–1576). There he came under the influence of Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, *el Brocense*, with whom he studied Greek:

From his earliest years he busied himself reading all the good writers and he was very well known there [in Salamanca] among the other students and the booksellers, whose bookshops he frequented a great deal. They knew how much he loved his studies so that when Cornelius Bonnart received, among other books, the heroic Greek poets, in a volume printed by Henri Étienne in 1566, he [Bonnart] told him to buy it and he [Valencia] was so pleased with the book that, on leaving the shop, he met Master Sánchez and told him that he would like to learn Greek, because of having bought that book etc.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Anon., MS 5781, fols 135<sup>r</sup>–136<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Valencia, *Obras completas*, VI/I, p. 20

<sup>6</sup> “Bolvióse su padre a Cordova i alli, siendo de mui poca edad, oyo las artes en el Colegio de la Compañia y començo la theologia con gran admiracion de su ingenio”: Anon., MS 5781, fol. 135<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> “Ocupose desde sus primeros años a la lecion [sic] de todos buenos autores i alli era mui conocido entre los demas estudiantes i los libreros, cuyas librerias el frecuen-

*El Brocense* thought very highly of his pupil and boasted that his disciple knew, as well as his own discipline, as much Hebrew as St. Jerome, and more Greek than Erasmus.<sup>8</sup> It was in Salamanca also that Valencia came across and bought a copy of the Psalms in Latin verse written by the Biblical scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598). According to the anonymous biographer “se aficionó a su autor” (he got to like their author). When the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, or *Biblia regia*, was published in 1577 Valencia bought a copy through a family friend, Don Sebastián Pérez, later Bishop of Osma. Pérez was from Montilla where he had acted as tutor to the children of the House of Feria. He was, probably, a family friend of the Valencias. He was appointed first professor of theology at the new University of El Escorial (1574). Valencia may have attended some of his classes.<sup>9</sup> Pérez also arranged for Valencia to meet Arias Montano, who was a friend of his, and Pedro de Valencia was invited to meet the distinguished biblical scholar and humanist at his retreat of La Peña de Aracena, in Extremadura. It was in La Peña that, from April 1578 to September 1579, Arias Montano taught Valencia biblical exegesis and Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac and biblical Greek: “Arias Montano wrote to him [Valencia] from La Peña and he then went there. Arias Montano introduced him to the reading of Sacred Scripture and the Hebrew language”.<sup>10</sup> In later years, Valencia would use this expertise to defend the writings of his master.

The Roman Inquisition, in the Index of 1607, expurgated sections of the *Biblia regia*. This prompted the Spanish Inquisition to circulate among noted scholars certain texts that had come under suspicion, before bringing out their own Index of 1612. Valencia was one of the scholars they choose and his defence of Arias Montano’s works

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tava mucho. Conocian su aficion a estos estudios i assi aviendo le venido a Cornelio Bonardo entre otros libros los poetas heroicos griegos en un tomo que imprimio Henrico Stephano el año de 1566 le dijo que se le comprasse, i el se agrado tanto de el libro que saliendo de alli encontrandose luego con el m<sup>o</sup> Sanchez le dijo que quisiera saber griego por comprar aquel libro &”: Anon., MS 5781, fol. 135<sup>v</sup>. The book published by Henri Étienne was the following: *Poetae Graeci Principes heroici carminis, & alii nonnulli* (Paris: Henri Étienne for Haldrich Fugger, 1566). Cornelius Bonnart was a Flemish printer and bookseller in Salamanca. He was son-in-law of another Flemish printer in Salamanca, Matias Gast.

<sup>8</sup> J. de Robles, *Dialogo entre dos sacerdotes, intitulado Primero i Segundo. En razon del uso de la barba de los eclesiasticos* (Seville: Francisco de Lyra, 1642), fol. 16<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> “Escrivirole luego Ar. Montano desde la Peña i el fue luego alli. Introdujole Arias Montano en la lecion de la sagrada escritura y la lengua hebrea”: Anon., MS 5781, fol. 135<sup>v</sup>.



reduced the number of passages censored in 1607 for the Spanish Index of 1612. He also opposed the substitution of Arias Montano's edition of the *Paraphrasis chaldaica*, one of the volumes of the *Biblia regia*, for that of Fray Andrés de León.<sup>11</sup> He and his brother-in-law, Juan Moreno Ramírez, publicly and successfully defended Arias Montano's edition at the University of Salamanca.<sup>12</sup> There is a more detailed analysis of his defence in Chapter 6.

When Pedro de Valencia returned to Zafra in 1576, after his studies in Salamanca, he lived a scholarly life, continuing to study classical languages, translating many classical texts. Morocho Gayo argues, persuasively, that Valencia may have taught Greek language and philosophy in the school in Zafra.<sup>13</sup> He was very familiar with the sceptics from antiquity as can be seen in his *Academica sive de iudicio erga verum*.<sup>14</sup> He had a particular interest in the Stoic-Cynic Dio of Chrysostom and the Stoic Epictetus. His personal way of life during the twenty years that he lived in Zafra reflected the *weltanschauung* of both Greek philosophers; he lived out their ideal of a simple life of intellectual pursuits in harmony with nature, showing little interest in the acquisition of wealth or of a luxurious life style. This interest is reflected in Dio Chrysostom's *Perianachorescos*, which Valencia translated as *Del retiramiento (Concerning Withdrawal from Public Life)* and his own *Exemplos de Principes, Prelados y otros Varones ilustres que dexaron Oficios y Dignidades y se retiraron (Concerning Princes, Prelates and Other Illustrious Men who Set Aside Public Office and High Rank and Withdrew from Society)*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> P. de Valencia, MS 502, fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> J. A. Jones, "Pedro de Valencia's Defence of Arias Montano: the Expurgatory Indexes of 1607 (Rome) and 1612 (Madrid)", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XL (1978), 121-136.

<sup>13</sup> Morocho Gayo has studied the Greek translations of Valencia and finds that some of them bear the traits of a teacher's class material. He also points out that Valencia's only published work, the *Academica*, seems to have been written in twenty days. As the work is a polished one he argues that this would have been possible if the author was putting together material he had already prepared for class: Morocho Gayo, "Trayectoria humanística de Pedro de Valencia: su actividad en la escuela de Zafra", *Actas del VII Congreso Español, de Estudios Clásicos*, Madrid, 1989, pp. 607-612. Some of these translations have now been published in the *Obras completas*, volume X, which has previously been referred to.

<sup>14</sup> *Academica sive de iudicio erga verum ex ipsis primis fontibus* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Press, 1596).

<sup>15</sup> *Exemplos de Principes, Prelados y otros Varones ilustres que dexaron Oficios y Dignidades y se retiraron*, MS 5586, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>.

*Pedro de Valencia and the Rise of Neo-Stoicism*

In Pedro de Valencia's *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado escrito a una persona que le pidio dictamen* (*Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State Written for a Person who Sought his Opinion*) he cited Epictetus to argue that virtue and usefulness should be synonymous. Epictetus (c. 50 AD–c. 125–130 AD), who belonged to the Late Stoa, would have absolutely equated the two.<sup>16</sup> Valencia translated one of Epictetus' *Discourses*, which is included in the translations of volume X of the Complete Works.<sup>17</sup> The other manuscript of Stoic interest that we will analyse is that of Dio Chrysostom (Dion Prusensis), who was mentioned in the Introduction.<sup>18</sup>

Valencia's early contacts with Stoicism came about through his two mentors: Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, *el Brocense*, and Benito Arias Montano. During his second trial by the Inquisition in 1597, *el Brocense* translated Epictetus's *Enchiridion*.<sup>19</sup> However, through his other mentor, Benito Arias Montano, Valencia would have had contact with the Dutch scholar Justus Lipsius, who was the first since antiquity to revive Stoicism systematically. Lipsius was, also, an admirer of Epictetus. Lipsius's scholarly interest in Stoic ethics was expressed through his edition of Seneca's *De constantia* in 1584 and the publication of the *Opera omnia* in 1605.

Lipsius found in Stoicism a philosophy of detachment and consolation that was personally useful through his many vicissitudes during

<sup>16</sup> The late Stoa was primarily concerned with ethics. Apart from Epictetus, the most important Stoics in the first century of the Christian era were L. Annaeus Seneca, L. Annaeus Cornutus and C. Musonius Rufus. In the second century the most important Stoic philosopher was the Emperor Marcus Aurelius: *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1949, pp. 861–862.

<sup>17</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fols 72<sup>r</sup>–75<sup>v</sup>; Epictetus, *The Moral Discourses of Epictetus*, ed. E. Carter (London: Dent, 1758), pp. 224–227. I am using this edition for books II to IV but a more recent one for Book I: Epictetus, *Discourses, Book I*, ed. R. Dobbin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> *Oracion de Dion Chrisostomo intitulada Perianachorescos esto es Del retiramiento traducida de griego en español por Pedro de Valencia Chronista del Señor Rei Don Felipe III*, MS 5586, fols 29<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>, in *Ensayos oratorios de D. Gregorio Mayans i Sisca* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1739), pp. 185–208; *Obras*, X, pp. 175–181.

<sup>19</sup> F. Sánchez de las Brozas, *Doctrina del estoico Filósofo Epicteto que se llama comunmente Enchiridion. Traducido de Griego. Por el Maestro Francisco Sanchez, Cathedratico de Retorica y Griego en la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Pedro Laso, 1600).

the Wars in the Netherlands.<sup>20</sup> Pedro de Valencia himself, in his translation of Dio Chrysostom's *Del retiramiento*, advocates an inner, spiritual detachment from the hustle and bustle of daily life that is independent of external circumstances: "[...] the best and the most beneficial retreat is to recollect oneself within oneself, and to attend to what concerns you and what is appropriate, whether you find yourself in Babylon, or in Athens or in the army or on a little island [...]"<sup>21</sup>

As has been mentioned previously, Arias Montano was one of Lipsius's Spanish correspondents and, through him, Lipsius influenced Pedro de Valencia. The practice of Stoic notions of friendship in the circle of Lipsius did, I surmise, influence also the circle of friends who were members of Francisco Pacheco's *Academy* in Seville. In fact, Jan van de Wouwer (1576–1635), or Woverius, one of Lipsius's closest friends, spent the period 1600–1601 in Seville.

The Stoic notion of friendship as *contubernium* is very much reflected in the relationship between Valencia and Arias Montano. As defined by Morford in his book, *contubernium* involved the close and frequent contact between a scholar and a younger man for the intellectual and moral improvement of the latter. Initially a military term, *contubernal* was used to describe those who shared a tent (*taberna*) on campaign. Friendship could also take the form of occasional meetings between kindred spirits and the companionship of intellectual peers.<sup>22</sup> The relationship between Valencia and Fray José de Sigüenza and with the Seville group was, I surmise, of the latter kind.<sup>23</sup> In fact, Valencia's reference to mutual love between the Seville group, "I have the same news [the good health of Fray José de Sigüenza] from Seville from those there whom we love and who love us" refers, in all probability, to this neo-Stoic cultivation of friendship and is not a cryptic reference to the *Familia Charitatis*.<sup>24</sup> The quotation is from one of Pedro

<sup>20</sup> M. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics. Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. xiii.

<sup>21</sup> "[...] el mejor i mas provechoso Retiramiento es recogerse dentro de si mismo cada uno, i atender a lo que le toca i conviene, ora se halle uno en Babilonia, ora en Athenas, ora en un Egercito, ora en una isla pequeña [...]": Mayans y Siscar, *Ensayos oratorios*, pp. 196–197; Valencia, *Obras*, X, p. 176.

<sup>22</sup> Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, pp. 15–19.

<sup>23</sup> Valencia's letter to the Prior of Santiago de la Espada on an ambiguous passage from Pliny reveals a similar relationship: Valencia, MS 11160, fols 69<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> "La misma nueva tengo de Seuilla de los que alli amamos y nos aman". There is a more detailed analysis of the ecumenical movement the *Familia Charitatis* or Family of Love later on.

de Valencia's letters to Fray José.<sup>25</sup> In Lipsius' circle, where some of his disciples actually lived in his house, his closest *contubernales* were Woverius and Philip Rubens (1574–1611), brother of the painter Peter Paul Rubens.

*Pedro de Valencia: biblical scholar and humanist*

Like his mentor, Benito Arias Montano, Valencia's biblical exegesis was based on a literal translation from the earliest sources that took into consideration the socio-historical background. It also used as an interpretative tool writings from classical antiquity that included the *Hermetica*. Gaspar Morocho Gayo coined the term 'polygraphic philology' to describe this method of biblical exegesis, and there is a description below. Arias Montano had studied under Fray Cipriano de la Huerga (c. 1514–1560), professor of Sacred Scripture in Alcalá, as had also Fray Luis de León. This erudite Cistercian had been familiar with the three sacred languages of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. He favoured a literal translation and preferred to use the original Greek and Hebrew texts rather than the Latin Vulgate.<sup>26</sup> This literal translation had been made possible by the publication of critical texts of the Bible in Greek, Hebrew and Latin in the Alcalá *Polyglot Bible* (1520).<sup>27</sup> It contained, also, a Hebrew-Chaldean dictionary prepared by Pablo Coronel, one of the three distinguished *conversos* whose scholarly knowledge of Hebrew made this critical edition possible.<sup>28</sup> Arias Montano supervised the second edition of the *Polyglot Bible* in Antwerp (1568–1576) where, now known as the *Biblia regia* in honour of its patron Philip II, it was printed and published by its initiator, Christopher Plantin. Conservative scholars such as Fray Andrés de León, who favoured the Vulgate, objected to the rabbinical sources included

<sup>25</sup> G. Antolín, "Cartas inéditas de Pedro de Valencia al P. José de Sigüenza" *La Ciudad de Dios*, XLII (1896), p. 496.

<sup>26</sup> M. Andrés Martín, *La teología española en el siglo XVI*, (Madrid: BAC, 1976–1977), I, p. 634.

<sup>27</sup> The first two volumes had been printed in 1514 and the last in 1517 by Guillermo Brócar. Once the approbation of Pope Leo X had been given on 22 March 1520 the Bible went on sale: Andrés Martín, *La teología española en el siglo XVI*, please add accent and tilde II, 1976–1977, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> The other two were Alfonso de Zamora and Alfonso de Alcalá. The three men were heirs to the erudition of the Jewish schools of Zamora, Toledo, Segovia and Guadalajara: Andrés Martín, *La teología española en el siglo XVI*, p. 66.

by Arias Montano. The latter had gone to Rome in 1572 and won the approval of Pope Gregory XIII for the *Biblia regia*. However, it was not accepted in Spain. The Jesuit scholar Juan de Mariana was asked to review it. His judgement was given in 1577: he criticized the haste with which it had been produced and which he considered had given rise to many inaccuracies. The Vulgate could have been used more as could the Church Fathers. However, he assented to its publication, as it did not conflict, on the whole, with doctrinal principles.<sup>29</sup> The bible was then given the *imprimatur* in Spain in this same year of 1577.

Valencia's own exegesis is derived from his master, as he openly states in one of his essays:

With this [he proposes to describe, briefly, only established Church doctrine] I shall avoid taking up too much of your honour's time. The simplicity and directness of my style, without ostentation of wit or erudition, will belie the suspicion that I am seeking adulation and, in writing this dissertation, I will show the advantage of reading the books written and published by Arias Montano, my master, and most attentive servant of your honour, because all my references from scripture will be abstracted and applied in accordance with his interpretation and reflections.<sup>30</sup>

The editor-in-chief of the *Obras completas*, the late Professor Gaspar Morocho Gayo, considers Valencia to be the foremost representative, in the Spain of his time, of 'polygraphic philology', a method of textual interpretation that developed from the Platonic Academy in Florence of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and Pico de la Mirandola (1463–1494). Morocho Gayo uses the term to describe the hermeneutics of biblical exegesis that evolved in Alcalá de Henares, whose Hebrew scholars were in contact with the Platonic Academy and with another disciple of Marsilio Ficino, Egidio de Viterbo, Cardinal and General of the Augustinian hermits, who was mentioned in the context of millenarian prophecies in Part I, Chapter 1. Viterbo's first contact with Spanish affairs was through his meeting with Ferdinand *el católico* in Naples. He later returned to Spain in 1518 as papal legate of Pope Leo X to the

<sup>29</sup> B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano* (London: Warburg Institute, 1972), pp. 56–64.

<sup>30</sup> "Con esto huire de ocupar a V. S. sobradamente y la sencillez y llaneza del decir, sin ostentacion de ingenio ni leccion, desmentira algo la sospecha de que quiero hacer muestra para pretension, y juntamente la hare [para mostrar?] de [sic] quan provechosa sea la leccion de los libros que dejo impresos y escritos Arias Montano, mi Señor, y aficionadissimo servidor de V. S., porque todo lo demas que aqui referire de las Escripturas sera traído y aplicado conforme a sus interpretaciones y consideraciones": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 29r.

court of Charles V, where he made a great impression on the young monarch.<sup>31</sup> Viterbo directed himself to Charles in his principal work on Christian Kabbala, his *De historia viginti saeculorum*,<sup>32</sup> in which he sought “to harmonize classical and Christian culture by finding concords between ten periods of history before Christ and ten afterwards”.<sup>33</sup> Charles appointed a disciple of Viterbo, Dionisio Vázquez, as first professor of Biblical Studies in Alcalá de Henares, where he taught Viterbo’s method to Fray Cipriano de Huerga. Fray Cipriano later occupied the same chair in Alcalá and Benito Arias Montano and Fray Luis de León studied biblical exegesis under him.<sup>34</sup>

The method was distinguished by a rigorous grammatical analysis of the biblical languages and had resource to a wide range of writings from antiquity, including the esoteric hermetic texts used by Marsilio Ficino and the Kabbala, used by Pico della Mirandola.<sup>35</sup> Morocho Gayo considers that the seventeen treatises of the *Corpus hermeticum* were widely known in sixteenth-century Spain, as scholars came under the influence of the Alcalá biblical scholars.<sup>36</sup> In the words of Fray Cipriano de la Huerga: “Ningún libro sobra a quien entiende en el oficio que yo entiendo” (no book is superfluous for he who would fully master my profession [professor of Sacred Scripture and preacher]).<sup>37</sup> The Hebrew scholar from Salamanca Martín Martínez de Cantalpiedra remarked: “Todas las artes y ciencias son necesarias para entender la

<sup>31</sup> The cardinal’s mission was to try to procure peace between the French king Francis I and Charles V: Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, p. 136. Cited in Morocho Gayo, “Hermetismo y cabala cristiana”, p. 830.

<sup>32</sup> Morocho Gayo, “Hermetismo y cabala cristiana”, p. 813.

<sup>33</sup> Reeves, “Medieval Attitudes”, p. 64.

<sup>34</sup> Valencia, *Obras completas*, IX, 2, p. 54.

<sup>35</sup> Cosimo de Medici is reputed to have requested that Marsilio Ficino translate the manuscript of *Hermes Trismegisto* before that of Plato, both of which had come into his hands at the same time: Hermes/Mercury was the best possible model for artists. Egypt was considered to have surpassed Greece in technical and artistic achievements. Renaissance humanists venerated Egyptian philosophy and the importance given to astronomy and alchemy. Egyptian hermetic writings differed greatly from the rational and logical Greek works: Morocho Gayo, “Hermetismo y cabala cristiana”, pp. 814–818.

<sup>36</sup> Morocho Gayo, “Hermetismo y cabala cristiana”, p. 853.

<sup>37</sup> E. Ascensio, “Cipriano de Huerga, maestro de fray Luis de León”, in *Homenaje a Pedro Sainz Rodríguez*, III, *Repertorios, textos y comentarios* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1986), p. 36. Cited in S. Álvarez Turienzo, “Sobre el humanismo y la filología poligráfica”, *Humanae litterae. Estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica en homenaje al professor Gaspar Morocho Gayo*, ed. J. F. Domínguez Domínguez (León: Universidad de León, 2004), p. 78.

Sagrada Escritura, [...] [la] aritmética, la gramática, historia y filosofía” (All arts and science are necessary to understand Sacred Scripture [...] arithmetic, grammar, philosophy and history).<sup>38</sup> Fray Luis de León, poet and professor of Sacred Scripture in Salamanca, summed up this method in the following terms: “Dixe que para el entero entendimiento de la Escritura era menester sabello todo, y principalmente tres cosas: la Theología escolástica, lo que escriuieron los santos y las lenguas griega y hebrea” (I said that to fully understand Scripture it was necessary to know everything, and principally three things: Scholastic theology, what the saints [Church Fathers] wrote and the Greek and Hebrew languages).<sup>39</sup>

The biblical commentary of Valencia’s that I will analyse in detail is his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistle to the Galatians*: Valencia’s text sees parallels between the dispute in the early Church between Peter and Paul on the requirements for Gentile converts to Christianity and aspects of his own society: as Paul rejected a two-tier Christianity and argued in favour of the unifying waters of Baptism so Pedro de Valencia rejected the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* (Purity of Blood) and argued that the Moriscos should have equal access to positions of honour in society as the *cristianos viejos* (Old Christians), who claimed to have no Moorish or Jewish ancestors. Valencia makes no specific reference to notable fifteenth-century *conversos* in his writings yet his arguments against the Purity of Blood Statutes and the belief that all Christians should enjoy equal status within the Church follow the criteria of the *conversos* Don Alonso de Cartagena and Fray Hernando de Talavera (c. 1428–1507). His ideas also echo those of Fray Agustín Salucio (1523–1601), a sixteenth-century Dominican who wrote an anti-*limpieza* tract. Valencia’s Christianity is a ‘caste-free’ one like that of St. Paul who, in the *Epistle to the Galatians*, did not distinguish between converts from Judaism and those who had been Gentiles:

For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith that worketh by charity (Gal. 5: 6).

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<sup>38</sup> G. Morochó Gayo, “Cipriano de la Huerga, maestro de humanistas”, *Fray Luis de León. Historia, humanismo y letras* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1996), p. 189.

<sup>39</sup> Álvarez Turienzo, “El humanismo y la filología poligráfica”, p. 79.

Valencia expounds on St. Paul's rejection of two-tier Christianity:

[...] and this is what St. Paul says: that to join the Church and become a Christian it was not necessary that the Gentile become a Jew or that the Jew become a Gentile but that each one should join in the state in which he found himself, at the time he heard the call of the Gospel.<sup>40</sup>

In Valencia's *Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State Written for a Person who Sought his Opinion* he expounds his beliefs on true wisdom and juxtaposes it with the spiritual blindness that he perceives in his society, particularly at court. In his writings Valencia places greater emphasis on inner substance than on outward appearance. Thus, in religious affairs, he values inner spirituality more than outward ceremonial.<sup>41</sup> His translations of writings from St. Macarius reflect this conviction, and his theological beliefs owe much to this Greek Church Father. He translated the *Homilies* into Spanish and the *Opuscles* into Latin.<sup>42</sup> Both texts have been edited by the University of León.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> “[...] e esto dize el Apostol que para entrar en la Iglesia y ser cristiano no era necesario que el gentil se hiciera judio ni que el judio se hiciese gentil, sino que cada uno entrase como se hallase al tiempo del llamamiento del evangelio”: *Para declaracion de vna gran parte de la Estoria Apostolica en los Actos, y en la epistola ad Galatas advertencias de Pedro de Valencia varon doctissimo, y en todo genero de letras muy eminente*, MS 464, BNE, fol. 76r.

<sup>41</sup> Interiority for Pedro de Valencia did not imply a rejection of the liturgy, the sacraments and an organized Church. In one of his letters to Fray José de Sigüenza, that of 9 August 1603, Valencia extols a liturgy, practised formerly at the feast of the Transfiguration, which he would like to see revived. At harvest time two or three grapes were squeezed into the chalice at the Offertory of the mass to symbolise the new wine that Christ drank with the three Apostles, Peter, James and John (Matt. 17: 1–13): Antolín, “Cartas inéditas”, XLVII (1897), p. 292. On the thorny subject of faith versus good deeds Benito Arias Montano's *Dictatum christianum* considered that faith was to be expressed through virtuous actions: one of the section heading reads “Que la fee ha de ser acompañada con obras como la de Abrahám” (Faith should be accompanied by good works like that of Abraham): Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 213).

<sup>42</sup> Only two of the *Homilies* remain *Homilía*, V and *Homilía*, IX, both of which are in the library of El Escorial, MS Ç 3.15, fols 257–263. The *Opúsculos* can be found in MS 149 of the BNE, fols 207–260.

<sup>43</sup> There is much ambiguity about the authorship of the works of St. Macarius: both St. Macarius of Alexandria and St. Macarius the Egyptian lived in the fourth century CE. St. Macarius the Egyptian founded Egyptian monasticism and worked among the anchorites and hermits of the desert, for whom he wrote many sermons and homilies. The works translated by Pedro de Valencia are the ones which most authors attribute to this saint, as there is much doubt about the attribution of texts to the Alexandrian St. Macarius. It was in medieval Byzantium, between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that the corpus of manuscripts attributed to Macarius were collected. St. Macarius and other Eastern ascetical and mystical writers were rediscovered during the Renaissance, when new translations from the Greek were made. Pedro de



The other writings from which Valencia's perception of Christianity can be inferred are the following: his critique of the parchment and Lead Books of Granada, *Sobre de pergamino y láminas de Granada*; the *Tratado acerca de los moriscos* (*Treatise Concerning the Moriscos*); *Borrador de un discurso a la reina Margarita* (*Rough Draft of a Treatise to Queen Margarita*); *La tristeza según Dios y según el mundo* (*Sadness as God Sees it and Worldly Sadness*) and the *Discurso fundado en el Epicteto de Arriano* (*Discourse Based on Arrianus' Epictetus*).

### *Pedro de Valencia's Socio-economic Writings*<sup>44</sup>

Valencia's vision of Spain is very much rooted in socio-political reality. He was acutely aware of Spain's social problems and fearless in his proposals for reform. As Jesús Paradinas Fuentes has shown, Valencia's thoughts on economic and social reform have both philosophical and biblical sources. He considers that the following passage from Genesis sums up some of Valencia's most important economic ideas that have been derived from Sacred Scripture: "Cursed is the earth in thy work; with labour and toil shalt thou eat all the days of thy life; thorns and thistles shalt it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herbs of the earth. In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread" (Gen. 3: 17–19)". From this passage can be derived the following premises: 1. Agriculture is the fundamental activity of all human beings. 2. All men must work to earn their living. 3. The land must be re-distributed so that it is cultivated and so that all may have work. 4. There must be correlation between the basic needs for survival and workers' salaries.<sup>45</sup>

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Valencia was responsible for spreading interest in St. Macarius in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although Fray Luis de León also played a part in his poem *De los nombres de Cristo*: P de Valencia, *Obras completas*, IX, *Escritos espirituales*, 1. *San Macario* (León: Universidad de León, 2001), pp. 16–51.

<sup>44</sup> The treatises are published by the University of León in two volumes, one in 1994 and one in 1999: *Discurso o memorial sobre el precio del pan* (1605) (1994, pp. 29–71); *Discurso de Pedro de Valencia acerca de la moneda de vellón* (1605) (1994, pp. 111–123); *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* (1606) (1999, pp. 73–139); *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada* (1607) (León, 1999, pp. 429–455); *Discurso sobre el acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra* (1607) (1994, pp. 137–158); *Discurso contra la ociosidad* (1608) (León, 1994, pp. 159–173). *Al Rei, nuestro Señor, consideracion de Pedro de Valencia, su coronista, acerca de las enfermedades y salud del reyno* (c. 1618) (León, 1999), pp. 513–527.

<sup>45</sup> J. Paradinas Fuentes, "Fundamentos bíblicos del pensamiento económica de Pedro de Valencia", *Humanae litterae. Estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica*

In his dissertation *El acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra* (*The Expansion of the Agricultural Labour Force*) Valencia focuses on the problem of rural depopulation, inequitable division of land and unproductive methods of agriculture.<sup>46</sup> In 1605, Valencia wrote his *Discurso o memorial sobre el precio del pan* (*Discourse or Memorial on the Price of Bread*) and the *Respuesta a algunas replicas que se han hecho contra el discurso de el precio de el Pan para el R<sup>mo</sup> Confesor de S. M. el P<sup>e</sup> Diego de Mardones*, a collation of responses to his memorial gathered for the King's chaplain, Fray Diego de Mardones. He argued the labourer's right to affordable food and advocated price control to avoid stockpiling, that artificially raised the price of wheat. The *Discurso o memorial sobre el precio del pan al Rey Nuestro Señor* is dated 25 July 1605 and was written in Zafra. In a letter to his friend Fray José de Sigüenza, dated just five days earlier, he had complained, bitterly, of a shortage of wheat. He had told Sigüenza of a bill of exchange for wheat, sent to him by Don García de Figueroa from Don Juan de Idiáquez, secretary of the Council for the Military Orders. This had been neither adequate nor did he expect it to be fully honoured. Could Sigüenza get him another reputable one at the Madrid price?

There is great shortage of wheat in this area, even though Don García de Figueroa sent me a bill of exchange from Don Juan de Idiáquez, it is not enough and may not be honoured. If your reverence returns to court, try to get me a bill of exchange for wheat, at the Madrid price, from the Fuggers [German bankers] would be fine, as their one will be genuine, or from somebody else who has an *encomienda* [property attached to a military order] in Extremadura. Your reverence can go through the Marqués de Velada.<sup>47</sup>

Sancho Dávila y Toledo, Marqués de Velada, was Philip III's *mayordomo mayor* up to his death in 1615. During the reign of Philip II he had formed part of the *Junta de Noche* (Night Committee) and was

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*en homenaje al profesor Gapar Morocho Gayo* (León: Universidad de León, 2004), p. 382.

<sup>46</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 137–158.

<sup>47</sup> “Ai por aca mucha carestia de trigo, i aunque el Sr Don G<sup>ra</sup> [Don García de Figueroa] me embio una librança del Sr Don J<sup>n</sup> de Idiáquez no basta ni esta del todo cierta. Si v. P. buelve a Corte procure sacarme alguna librança de trigo a la tassa por acá, de los fúcares sería buena, como la den de veras, o de otro que tenga alguna encomienda en Estremada puede valerse v. P. del S.<sup>r</sup> Marqués de Velada”: Antolín, “Cartas inéditas de Pedro de Valencia”, *La Ciudad de Dios*, XLII (1897), pp. 357–358.

one of the few important ministers to survive into the new reign.<sup>48</sup> Valencia obviously knew many influential people at court, even while still living in Zafra.

During the sixteenth century all the Mediterranean had suffered from a shortage of wheat.<sup>49</sup> Apart from stockpiling to bring up the price, farmers also hid quantities and sold grain secretly, as was Cervantes's experience when requisitioning wheat for the Armada.<sup>50</sup> In Spain, to exacerbate the problem, increased consumption of wine and olive oil had lessened the land available for the cultivation of wheat and other cereals.<sup>51</sup> In his ecumenical, educational manual *Dictatum christianum* Arias Montano had condemned the exploitation of poor workers:

[...] Religion and Christian piety abominates all vices contrary to these virtues [modesty, temperance, chastity, mercy and generosity] [...] to take away property and to oppress the poor, to give workers lower daily wages than is reasonable, to delay their payments or to keep them [for yourself] or to lessen their profits by guile, usury, monopolies and excessively high prices, and all the other things which, according to the judgment of God, bring shame and infamy to the person who carries them out, harm and loss to one's neighbours and disharmony and disorder to the common weal.<sup>52</sup>

In his treatise to the King *Sobre el acrecentimiento de la labor de la tierra*, Valencia advocated both the redistribution of *realengos* [unappropriated land that belonged to the crown] and pasture land on a

<sup>48</sup> Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, pp. 32, 60.

<sup>49</sup> J. A. Maravall, "Reformismo social agrario en las crisis del siglo XVII", in *Utopía y reformismo en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1982).

<sup>50</sup> W. Byron, *Cervantes. A Biography* (London: Cassell, 1978), p. 338.

<sup>51</sup> Maravall, "Reformismo social agrario", p. 338.

<sup>52</sup> "[...] la Religión y Piedad christiana [...] abomina todos los vicios contrarios a estas virtudes [...] quitar la hacienda i oprimir a los pobres, darles menores jornales a los trabajadores de lo que era razón, dilatarles las pagas o quedarse con ellas o disminuirselas por engaño los logros, las usuras, los monopolios, los precios excesivos, y todas las demás cosas que según el juicio de Dios causan afrenta y torpeza a él mismo que las haze, daño y pérdida a los prógimos, descomunidad i desorden a el bien público": B. Arias Montano *Humanistas españoles: Pedro de Valencia, Obras completas, volumen, IX, 2. Escritos espirituales. La Lección cristiana de Arias Montano Estudio introductorio por Jesús Luís, Paradinas*, ed A. M<sup>a</sup> Martín Rodríguez (León: Universidad de León, 2002); B. Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm, sive commvnes et aptae discipvlorum Christi omnivm partes* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1575), trans. P. de Valencia, *Leccion christiana o Tratado de lo que los dicipulos de Christo deven saber. Traducido por Pedro de Valencia* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1739), facsimile ed. M. Andrés Martín (Badajoz: Instituto Pedro de Valencia, 1983), pp. 258–259.

perpetual lease, and at a modest rent, and measures to promote the production of cereals, wine and olive oil.<sup>53</sup> In the *Discurso sobre el precio del trigo* he asserts that the callous creation of artificial shortages will be severely punished by God:

Thus, now that there are many powerful re-sellers who lock up and hide a great deal of wheat [literally bread], and collecting as well a lot from tithes and other revenues, all of which fall into the hands of powerful men, or of those who have rented lands from them [...] it has come about that generally, in all normal years, that there is shortage and famine, not sent by God but made by man, and brought about by the avarice and cruelty of men, whom God reprimands and abhors and whom he will punish severely, not merely they themselves [the perpetrators] but even more so those who create it, the superiors who permit it and the ministers who approve it.<sup>54</sup>

Valencia believes quite firmly that Divine Providence punishes wrongdoers both in this life and the next. It will be one of his arguments against the confiscation of the Moriscos' property and their mass expulsion in the *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España*. In this same *Discurso sobre el precio del trigo*, as he argues in favour of price control, Valencia refers to St. Paul's assertion that the labourer is worthy of his hire:

[...] because the labourer is worthy of his hire, says the Lord, and his Apostle [St. Paul] says: "he who works is not given his daily wage as a favour and kind deed but as a debt and payment", and so it is an obligation and due in conscience so that, when those in power, who are those who own the properties and the income and who have a surplus of wheat to sell, raise the price and the workers, who are the people who most deserve it, cannot afford it, [...] in effect they eat up the little people.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 149–153.

<sup>54</sup> "Assí que, siendo ya muchos y poderosos los revendedores que encierran, y esconden grande cantidad de pan, y recogiendo también mucho de diezmas, y de otras rentas, todas cahen en poder de poderosos, o de arrendadores [...] viene a ser que generalmente en todos los años ordinarios, hay carestia y hambre, no embiada de Dios sino hecha a mano, y procurada por avaricia y crueldad de los hombres que Dios reprueba, y aborrece, y los castigará severíssamente, y no menos que a ellos, sino antes más que a los que la hacen, a los superiores que lo permiten, y a los ministros, que lo aprueban": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 39.

<sup>55</sup> "[...] porque es digno el obrero de su paga dice el S<sup>or</sup>, y su Apóstol dice: "que al que trabaja no se le da el jornal por vía de merced y gracia sino por via de deuda, y paga", y así es obra obligatoria, y debida en consciencia, de manera que quando los poderosos, que son los que tienen las heredades, y las rentas, y a los que les sobra

Here, as elsewhere, Valencia uses scripture to elucidate a practical problem. In other treatises Valencia asserts vehemently the necessity of work for all. In the *Discurso sobre el acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra*, he states that more work on the land is needed for the solution of economic ills; manual labour is not to be despised: “They [the men] are the treasure, the wealth and the honour of the king, and not land and even less so money”.<sup>56</sup> Valencia urges the King to make sure that the land and irrigation systems are well exploited.<sup>57</sup> To work on the land is intrinsic to mankind and is not to be despised; in antiquity the kings themselves were labourers and herdsmen:

Work on the land is the trade and exercise proper to men, given by God, and in which they should take great pride, and if all men or the majority of them are and must be labourers, it is certain that their Prince and Governor will have primarily the same trade and skill, and that the king of labourers will become the head worker [...] In antiquity, kings of all nations, simply and without this being understood figuratively or [needing] special interpretation were labourers and herdsmen.<sup>58</sup>

In his *Discurso sobre la moneda de vellón* Valencia opposed devaluation of the currency.<sup>59</sup> He had spent the feast of All Saints in 1601 in El Escorial as a guest of Fray José de Sigüenza, its prior. While there he met Philip III and various ministers. A motion to introduce devaluation at that time was not carried through, due, perhaps, to the influence of Valencia.<sup>60</sup> This meeting was fortuitous, as the reclusive Philip III

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trigo para vender, lo suben a precio, a que no lo pueden alcanzar a comprar, los que trabajan son los que más bien lo merecen [...] y en efecto comen a los pequeños”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 35.

<sup>56</sup> “Ellos [los hombres] son la hacienda, y el caudal y la honra del rey, no la tierra y mucho menos el dinero”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 139.

<sup>57</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 68–70.

<sup>58</sup> “Es pues la labor de la tierra el oficio, y ejercicio propio de los hombres, dado por Dios, y de que se deben preciar mucho, y si los hombres todos, o la mayor parte, son y deben ser labradores, cierto es que al príncipe y gobernador de ellos, le pertenecerá primera, y principalmente el mismo oficio y arte, y que viene a ser el rey de los labradores el labrador mayor [...] Los muy antiguos reyes en todas las naciones, llanamente y sin figuras, ni interpretación, eran labradores y ganaderos”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 67. Dio Chrysostom in the *Euboico* defends the agrarian policies of the Roman emperor. Country life is described in idyllic terms and there is a longing for a return to the Golden Age: J. M. Nieto Ibáñez, *Perianchorescos*. Estudio y comentario, *Obras*, X, p. 189.

<sup>59</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 111–123.

<sup>60</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 39.

was notoriously difficult to meet.<sup>61</sup> Valencia's practice of approaching the King through his chaplain(s) shows awareness both of the great influence the latter exercised on Philip III and was also an effective means of communication. Perhaps it was on this occasion that he met Fray Gaspar de Córdoba, chaplain from 1598 to 1604? In a letter to Fray Gaspar of 1603 he refers to their having met in the Escorial.<sup>62</sup>

In the *Discurso contra la ociosidad* Valencia declares that work is necessary for the physical and moral regeneration of the nobility.<sup>63</sup> Not to work or take exercise poisons the body and leads to illness and premature old age. The idleness of the nobility and their refusal to engage in manual labour gives very bad example to others.<sup>64</sup> In *El acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra* he details the esteem in which the early Romans held agriculture and manual labour: "It was considered the highest praise to say of the noblest of Romans that he was a good labourer and on the contrary it was a most blameworthy stigma [...] not to work one's land well".<sup>65</sup> Spaniards, then, should emulate these noble Romans:

Your majesty would have honourable labourers, and then all the labour of working the land would be considered honourable and would be taken to be the work of noblemen, as it truly is, and it would be a question of honouring and esteeming, at the same time, the lower nobility and the aristocracy.<sup>66</sup>

The *Discurso contra la ociosidad* was completed on the feast of the Epiphany in 1608, the year after his appointment as *cronista de Indias* and *cronista del reino* of Philip III.<sup>67</sup> It shows a keen awareness of one of the many social problems besetting Spain. This topic was much

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<sup>61</sup> M. S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen and the Nun. Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore/ London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 11.

<sup>62</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 18.

<sup>63</sup> In Discourse XXV Dio Chrysostom extols work as the source of happiness and rejects idleness as the greatest of evils: Nieto Ibáñez, *Perianchorescos*. Estudio y comentario, *Obras*, X, p. 188.

<sup>64</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 161–162.

<sup>65</sup> "Se tenía por muy grande loor decir del más principal romano que era buen labrador, y por el contrario, era nota y culpa grande [...] el no labrar bien su heredad": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 146.

<sup>66</sup> "Tendría V. M. honrados labradores, y luego todo el oficio de la labor sería honroso y tenido por oficio de nobles, como verdaderamente lo es, y juntamente sería honrar y estimar la hidalguía y nobleza".

<sup>67</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 137–158.

debated at the time. It is one of the many discussed by the Licenciado Martín González de Cellorigo, whom I mentioned in the Introduction: “And what has impoverished Spain is having so many who idle and so few who work” [...].<sup>68</sup>

The apocryphal history of the last Visigothic king, *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo*, by the Morisco Miguel de Luna, whom we mentioned earlier, deals with this problem also. This supposed translation of an eighth-century text is a reworking of history with a bias towards Islamic cultural practices. The passage cited is an obvious criticism of contemporary Christian society:

[King Jacob al-Mansur]<sup>69</sup> was never idle for a single moment, rather [he was] busy carrying out good and virtuous tasks. And so he instituted a law, that any person, of any social stratum whatsoever, who had no job with which to busy himself, should be held to be infamous and without honour; for this reason all his subjects fled from the temptation [of idleness] and busied themselves with virtuous occupations.<sup>70</sup>

Pedro de Valencia’s concern about Spain’s reputation abroad did not blind him to the propensity of his contemporaries for arrogance and self-importance. In this *Discurso* he writes:

In Spain people have a greater inclination towards idleness than in other countries because, in spite of the general predisposition of all men to be idle and to loathe work, here people are very vain and conceited, more so than in other countries.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> “[...] y lo q̄ tiene empobrezida a España, es auer tantos que huelgan, y tã pocos que trabajan”: González de Cellorigo, 1600, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Valencia; *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 154.

<sup>69</sup> This refers to not to a king but to al-Mansur (940–1002), the dynamic first minister and military commander of the caliph Hisham II. (965–1013). Al-Mansur was king in all but name as he exercised full political and military power.

<sup>70</sup> “[El rey Jacob Almançor] nunca mas se hallaua vn solo momento ocioso, sino ocupado en buenos, y virtuosos exercicios. Y asi ordeno vna ley, que qualquier persona de qualquier estado q̄ fuesse, que no tuuiesse oficio en que ocuparse, fuesse auido por infame, y hombre sin honra; lo qual fue causa, que a su imitacion todos los subditos huian de la ocasion, y se ocupauan en oficios virtuosos”: *Segunda parte de la historia de la pérdida de España y Vida del Rey Iacob Almançor en la qual el autor Tarif Abentarique prosigue la Primera parte dando particular cuenta de todos los sucesos de España, y Africa, y las Arabias, hasta el Rey Don Fruela. Traduzida de la lengua arabiga por Miguel de Luna, vezino de Granada* (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1675). Edición facsímil. Estudio preliminar L. F. Bernabé Pons (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), p. 266.

<sup>71</sup> “En España es la gête mas inclinada al ocio que en otras provincias, porque de más de la general inclinaciõ de todos los ombres al ocio i aborrecer el trabajo, aqui tiene la gente mucho de vanidad y fantasía más q̄ otras naciones”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV 1, p. 165.

He states that idleness has become a major social evil. The countryside is becoming depopulated as labourers seek an easier livelihood elsewhere. So many labourers and tradesmen want their children to become students that unemployment is inevitable. Such unrealistic expectations are the stuff of fantasy and do not belong to the real world:

Nowadays, every labourer, tailor, shoemaker, blacksmith and bricklayer [...] all of whom love their sons with foolish affection, want to take them from their work and they are looking for a fancier job [for them], and for this reason they send them to study.<sup>72</sup>

However, many are unsuccessful and end up as scribes or sacristans. Valencia would, thus, limit entry to the university and also compel tradesmen and labourers to keep one son at home:

It would be appropriate if all a man's sons were not allowed to study, except those of rich gentlemen. As for the others, a labourer and tradesman should not be permitted to send his sons to study if he did not still have one or more to whom to leave his trade. Let those with an aptitude for study be examined rigorously and let only these be admitted.<sup>73</sup>

Could the Olivares' régime have known about this *Discurso*? In 1623 steps were taken to restrict schools in rural areas or, at least, to remove the Latin *studia*. Although I can find no direct evidence, Valencia's opinion was, at times, sought by men of power as is obvious from the piece he wrote for a member of the Council of State *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado dirigido a una persona que le pidio dictamen* (Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State written for a Person who sought his Opinion).<sup>74</sup> He has also left a manuscript copy in his own hand of the speech he wrote for the Duke of Feria.

Valencia points out to the nobility that honour does not accrue from a large household, which tends to be a breeding ground for idleness and vice. True nobility is undermined when one is waited on hand and foot:

<sup>72</sup> "Aora, cada labrador i sastre i çapatero i herrero i albañil ñ todos aman a sus hijos cõ afición indiscreta, quieren quitarlo del trabajo i le buscan off<sup>o</sup> de una fantasía; para esto los ponen a estudiar": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 169.

<sup>73</sup> "Convendría ñ se les permitiese estudiar a todos los hijos ñ un ombre huviese, sino fuese a los cavalleros ricos: los demás, al labrador i oficial no le fuese lícito poner su hijo a estudio no teniendo otro o más ñ tviese de dejar en su off<sup>o</sup>; esaminense cõ rigor los ábiles p<sup>a</sup> estudios, i solos se admitiesen": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 169.

<sup>74</sup> P. de Valencia, *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado dirigido a una persona que le pidio dictamen*, MS 11160, BNE, fols 27<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>.



Also in the houses of ministers, grandees and prelates the number of servants has greatly increased recently, and the number of other idle people continues to grow. [...] The gentlemen would be better served with a smaller number and better chosen servants, and the breeding ground for idle people would be less, because once people have gone in there, particularly the pages, who go in as boys, they neither study nor learn a trade, except how to write on walls. They come out generally as vicious gamblers, no good as soldiers or at any useful job.<sup>75</sup>

And further on he adds:

Honour does not consist in having many servants, it is spineless and weak not to be self-sufficient, and to need others to put on our shoes and to make up our collars, as if we had only one useful hand.<sup>76</sup>

Similarly, Olivares's *Junta de Reformati3n* attempted to reduce the numbers of servants in the houses of the nobility and to force them to work on the land instead. Valencia urges strongly that the number of servants in noble households be limited and points out that, in classical antiquity, great mythological, literary and historical figures confined themselves to one esteemed servant/companion: Hercules had Iolaus, Achilles had Patroclus and Aeneas had Achates.<sup>77</sup> Here, as in all his writings, Valencia supports his arguments with examples from both classical and biblical sources. St. Paul worked at night as a tent-maker to support himself and his companions so that people would not say that he preached the gospel for gain:

St. Paul tells us that he worked night and day to earn food for himself and for his companions, so as not to give scandal, and so that Gentiles would not think that he had taken up the preaching of the Gospel so that they would give him food.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> "Tambi3n en casas de los ministros, los S<sup>es</sup>, grandes i prelados i cavalleros, se a crecentado mucho en estos a<sup>os</sup> el n<sup>um</sup>o de criados [...] Los S<sup>es</sup> fueran mejor servidos con menos num<sup>o</sup> i escogido de criados, i no fuera tan grande el semin<sup>o</sup> de ociosos; porque los q̄ una vez entran all<sup>í</sup>, particularm<sup>te</sup> los pages, entran muchachos, ni estudian ni dependen off<sup>o</sup>, ni cosa buena, sino los q̄ escriven por las paredes, generalmente salen viciosos jugadores, i no p<sup>a</sup> soldados, ni para trabajos <sup>u</sup>tiles": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 165. Does this not echo, a little, the aspiration of the *escudero* in *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* to become a fawning courtier?: Anon., *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes*, ed. R. O. Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963), p. 42.

<sup>76</sup> "No es onra tener muchos criados, de enfermedad y flaqueza es no bastarse a s<sup>í</sup>, i aver menester otros q̄ nos calcen, q̄ nos c3pongan los cuellos, como si fu3ramos ma[n]cos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 166.

<sup>77</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 166.

<sup>78</sup> "S. Pablo cuenta de s<sup>í</sup> q̄ travajava de noche i de d<sup>ía</sup> p<sup>a</sup> ganar de comer p<sup>a</sup> s<sup>í</sup> y p<sup>a</sup> sus compa<sup>ñ</sup>eros por no dar esc3ndalo i q̄ los gentiles no pensasen q̄ por q̄ le diesen de comer havia emprendido la predicaci3n del Evang<sup>o</sup>": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 162.

When Paul was a Pharisee, although the scribes considered it fitting that one give financial donations in exchange for knowledge, it was considered ignoble to charge for it. Thus, in spite of his nobility and erudition, St. Paul had a trade:

And St. Paul had a trade, even though he was noble and had always studied, because the Hebrew scribes taught that you could buy knowledge and give some payment to the master who taught it, but that it is an ugly thing to sell it.<sup>79</sup>

Valencia followed this dictate in his own life as he gave legal advice without charge.<sup>80</sup> He believed also that women of every social group should undertake a multiplicity of domestic tasks. They should also engage in physical exercise, which would have the desirable side effect of leading to healthier offspring. Valencia cites as a model the case of Spartan women under its mythical lawgiver Lycurgus (c. 390–325/4 BC) and gives Plato as source for the assertion that women have similar physical and intellectual capacities as men.<sup>81</sup>

It is of the utmost benefit for many very important objectives that women should be occupied, take exercise and work. Plato proves very well that women are of the same nature as men and are not unfit for any trade, exercise or study, nor do they differ from men except in the way shown by nature in other animals [...] The only difference is that females, generally in all species, have a lesser capacity for manual labour.<sup>82</sup>

The *Discurso sobre la ociosidad* shows Pedro de Valencia to be a perceptive analyst of one of the ills besetting his society; the disdain for manual labour, with its roots in a feudal, martial past, had stunted Spain's commercial and agricultural development and had produced a culture of idleness among the nobility. Valencia saw the propensity of his fellow Spaniards for arrogance and outward show and recommended a return to the simplicity of Republican Rome. To live

<sup>79</sup> "I hallóse con officio S. Pablo aunque era noble y avía siẽpre estudiado, porque los scribas Hebreos enseñavan q̃ se puede cõprar la sabid<sup>a</sup> i dar qualquiera paga al maestro q̃ la enseña, pero q̃ es cosa torpe el venderla": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 162.

<sup>80</sup> Anon., MS 5781, fol. 135<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Plato 'Apology', in *Complete Works*, ed. J. M. Cooper (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Co., 1997), 455a–456d.

<sup>82</sup> "Es de grandissimo provecho para muchos fines muy importantes q̃ las mugeres estén ocupadas i se egerciten i trabagen. Platón prueba mui bien que las mugeres son de la misma naturaleza de los varones i para ningún officio ni egercicio ni estudio son inábiles, ni se diferencian de los ombres más que según más o menos la naturaleza lo muestra en los demás animales[...] Sólo ai q̃ las hembras, generalmente en todos los géneros, son para menos trabajo": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 170–171.

serenely in the country, close to nature, as did Benito Arias Montano in La Peña de Aracena, was an ideal of the neo-Stoics.

*Pedro de Valencia and Santiago Apóstol*

Valencia's arguments for Santiago's mission to Spain are given in his biblical commentary *Para declaracion de vna gran parte de la Estoria Apostolica en los Actos, y en la epistola ad Galatas*.<sup>83</sup> The arguments are at times persuasive but taken all together rather tenuous, as his judgment may have been impaired by his obviously deep feelings. He begins, as Cardinal Caesar Baronius had in his revision of the Breviary, by acknowledging the widespread traditional belief that has existed for many centuries all over Spain. He claims that this belief has been confirmed by decrees from Rome and featured in the most accurate edition of the Breviary (fol. 33<sup>r</sup>). He cites the chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (born between 1170 and 1180 and died in 1247), Archbishop of Toledo, who stated that Santiago had been assigned to Spain at the first Council of Jerusalem but that martyrdom had prevented him from carrying out his God-given mission (fol. 35<sup>v</sup>). Valencia, however, refutes Jiménez's affirmation, arguing that God's intentions are always fulfilled. He supports his argument by the use of biblical *figurae*: in his will Jacob, who prefigured Christ, gave his sons special names and linked them with diverse objects which revealed their future destiny (Gen. 49). Jesus also renamed some of the Apostles: James and his brother John were given the sobriquet *Boanerges* or Sons of Thunder:

This was to call them flashes or bolts of lightning, because of the light, speed and efficiency that they were to show in their ministry, and in particular for the one which Santiago was to undertake in Spain, in accordance with the properties of a bolt of lightning, as interpreted by the Lord himself.<sup>84</sup>

Valencia claims that of the two brothers Santiago, in particular, fulfilled his destiny as he brought the light of Christianity to the most western part of the world. These great works of God bring glory in

<sup>83</sup> Valencia, MS 464, 33<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> "Esto fue llamarlos rayos, o relampagos, por la luz, presteza y eficacia que auian de tener en su ministerio y señaladamente por la que Santiago auia de tener en España, conforme a la propiedad de relampago que interpreta el mismo Señor": Valencia, MS 464, fols 37<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>.

Heaven and on Earth to Spain, an honour of which her many enemies would like to deprive her. Valencia argues finally that Santiago's mission to Spain explains the brevity of the description of his evangelization in Jerusalem. He tackles the problem of distance by stating that in the first century of the Christian era the sea voyage was not difficult:

The coming of St. James to Spain is very plausible [because of] his apparent absence from the entire history of the Apostles, in which there is no mention of the Apostle St. James until his death. And it is not plausible that such an eminent and fervent preacher should have been idle and silent, and that there should be no mention of him, if he were in Jerusalem. The Mediterranean Sea was calm then, and navigation was very commonplace and safe from the ports of Phoenicia to those of Africa and to this very rich and famous province Spain, so that people came to it willingly. It was very easy and feasible for the Apostle to make this journey in a short period of time and, coming sent by God, there could be no difficulty to hold him back.<sup>85</sup>

Valencia concludes by affirming that the mission of Santiago entitles the Spanish Church to be called apostolic (fols 39<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>v</sup>).

In Chapter 3 we shall get a fuller picture of the wide range of Valencia's intellectual interests, by examining some of the treatises that Pedro de Valencia wrote while he was chronicler for Castile and for the Indies.

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<sup>85</sup> "Es muy verisimil la venida de Santiago a España. La ausencia, al menos parece, por toda la historia apostolica, en que no se haze menzion del apostol Santiago hasta su muerte. Y no es verisimil que vn tan insigne y ferueroso predicador aya estado ocioso y callado, ni que se callase del si estuuiera en Jerusalem. El mar Mediterraneo estaua isegura a esta provincia muy rica y famosa y que de buena gana venian a ella. Muy facil y hazedera le fue al apostol, en breue tiempo esta venida, y viniendo mandato [por mandato? mandado?] de Dios no podia auer dificultad que lo retardasse": Valencia, MS 464, fols 39<sup>v</sup>–40<sup>r</sup>.



## CHAPTER SIX

### PEDRO DE VALENCIA, ROYAL CHRONICLER<sup>1</sup>

Pedro de Valencia wrote many critiques and treatises following his appointment as Royal Chronicler for both Castile and the Indies in May 1607. As Chronicler for the Indies, he wrote various *relaciones*, which have published by Gaspar Morocho Gayo of the University of León.<sup>2</sup> Here we will analyse three critiques: *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada* (1607/1618), his critique of the Parchment and Lead Books of Granada and his two treatises on witchcraft. In both works the scepticism that he had studied in his *Academica* (1596) is a tool for the rejection of implausible, irrational superstition. As always, he uses his skills as a humanist and biblical scholar to refute, and at times ridicule, arguments that he finds untenable. Although chronologically later than the critique of the ‘apócrifos del Sacromonte’, we shall begin with the two treatises on witchcraft, which illustrate clearly Valencia’s critical skills. We shall also look at arguments from his personal defence of Arias Montano’s edition of the *Pharaphrasis chaldaica* in the *Biblia regia*. In the the final section of the chapter we shall analyse another commission of Valencia: his design of a series of emblems to illustrate the political virtues.

#### Acerca de los quentos de las brujas

Valencia wrote two treatises on witchcraft and magic, *Acerca de los quentos de las brujas y cosas tocantes a magia* (*Concerning the Witches’ Tales and and Matters Connected with Magic*) and *Suma de las relaciones de Logroño* (*Compendium of the Accounts from Logroño*). They

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the material in this section has been published in the following article: G. Magnier, “Pedro de Valencia, Francisco de Gurmendi and the *Plomos de Granada*”, *Al-Qantara*, XXIV, 2 (2003), 409–426. Quotations are from the my edition of Valencia’s critique of the *plomos*, which has been mentioned previously: P. De Valencia, *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada*, ed G. Magnier (Oxford/New York: Peter Lang, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Valencia, *Obras completas*, V/I.

were written in 1611 for Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas, following the *auto de fe* of Logroño of November 7 and 8, 1610, and are both rational and compassionate.<sup>3</sup> Valencia had, in fact, been so moved by accounts of the trials that he read that he wrote to the Inquisitor General and offered to write a paper on them. Sandoval y Rojas took up the offer and urged Valencia to write with alacrity.

The first document proposes reasonable criteria for use in such trials and the second is a summary of the *relaciones*, or printed accounts of them, that the *cronista del reino* has read. He argues that one should not confuse witchcraft with mental illness and superstition. Each case must be tried with care and the evidence must be examined rationally and without prejudice. The veracity of accounts of supernatural happenings must be subjected to the test of common sense and firm evidence. Where there is any doubt, judgment must not be passed. He believes that all that happens at the *aquelarre*, or witches' sabbath, is due to natural causes; unscrupulous people deceive the unwary in order to make use of them for sexual gratification. He compares the orgies he has read of to those of the bacchanalian rituals that were dramatized by Euripides in the *Bacchae* and described by Thucydides.<sup>4</sup> Many stories of extraordinary events such as the power to become invisible, to pass through doors or to fly through the air on broomsticks may be due to hallucinations induced by soporific ointments. If witches had such powers why did they not escape from the officers of the Inquisition?

There is a great deal of similarity between Pedro de Valencia's detailed account of the effect of hallucinatory drugs and ointments and the episode of the witch la Comacha in Cervantes's *El coloquio de los perros* (*The Dialogue of the Dogs*):

They rub themselves with magic ointments, which induce a very deep sleep, and then the devil, fulfilling his part of the pact, shows the witches' sabbath (literally assembly) and all its activities in a similar dream to all these sleepers of his, and makes such a strong impression on their imagination they are convinced that it has really happened to them.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> P. de Valencia, *Humanistas españoles: Pedro de Valencia, Obras completas, volumen VII, Discurso acerca de los cuentos de las brujas, Estudios introductorios, notas y edición crítica por Manuel Antonio Marcos Casquero e Hipólito B. Riesco Álvarez* (León: Universidad de León, 1997), pp. 235–308, 309–319.

<sup>4</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, VII, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> "Se untan con los unguentos mágicos, que causan poderísimo sueño; y luego el demonio, acudiendo al pacto, representa en sueños uniformes a todos estos sus

This is what happens to la Comacha in *El coloquio de los perros*:

And I say that the ointments we rub in are so cold that we lose consciousness, and when we rub them into ourselves we end up stretched out naked on the ground, and then they say that in our imagination we experience all those things, which seem to be really happening.<sup>6</sup>

The *Coloquio* was published in 1613 as part of the *Novelas ejemplares* but had been written earlier, probably during Cervantes's stay in Valladolid (1604–1606). Could Cervantes have seen Valencia's report as both men enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas and both were members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament?

Valencia is sceptical of those who claim that witches attended the *aquelarre* (witches' sabbath), while a *simulacrum* took their place at home; if the woman at home in bed could be seen and felt then such sensorial evidence was sufficient proof of her presence. He warned of false witnesses and reminded his reader of the slanderous accusations made against the early Christian martyrs, who were accused of indulging in sexual orgies, infanticide and cannibalism. He concedes that the devil has power to suggest, through the imagination, sinful deeds that would lead people away from the love of God. However, the demonic figures at the witches' covens are humans whose motivation is personal gratification. He reminds the reader that, in sacred scripture, God always overcame wizards (Exod. 8: 14–15; Acts 8: 9–24). The devil's power is less than rumour would attribute to him; divine goodness would not have allowed the evil one such sway over simple people:

Has God ever permitted that the devil should act with such unbridled tyranny, contempt and infamy with Carribeans, who eat men, or with Egyptians, who worshipped cats and dogs, garlic and onions, as that attributed to him over Catholics in these tales told by possessed, demented old women?<sup>7</sup>

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durmientes la junta i los actas dello, con tal vehemente impresión en la imaginativa, que ellos quedan persuadidos de que les aya pasado en verdad": Valencia, *Obras*, VII, p. 242.

<sup>6</sup> "Y digo que son [las unturas] tan frías, que nos privan de todos los sentidos en untándonos con ellas, y quedamos tendidas y desnudas en el suelo, y entonces dicen que en la fantasía pasamos todo aquello que nos parece pasar verdaderamente": M. de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, II, ed. H. Sieber (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989), pp. 341–342.

<sup>7</sup> "¿Permitió Dios jamás al demonio tan desaforada tiranía, desprecio e infamia contra caribes, que comen hombres, ni sobre egipcios, que adoraban gatos y perros, ajos y cebollas, como la que le dan estos cuentos de viejas endemoniadas y dementadas le atribuyen, contra cristianos católicos": Valencia, *Obras*, VII, p. 286.



God protects the weak and helpless and their guardian angels will watch over them:

I know also that God, in the words of another Apostle of his (St. Paul: 1 Cor. 10:13), is true to his word and will not suffer that the weak, children and faithful women, should be tempted with wondrous and extraordinary happenings, and that the superior power of the devil should overcome them without resistance, and at his own pleasure. What, then, is the purpose of angel guardians and intercessory saints?<sup>8</sup>

In the *Suma* Valencia asks that, in future, confessions should not be made in public so that the spurious arguments of the accused do not give scandal. Those who attempted to exonerate themselves by pleading demonic temptation may have colluded in the fabrication of implausible stories as their evidence corresponds in many details. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, who partially edited some of Valencia's works and wrote the first biography,<sup>9</sup> considers that Pedro de Valencia "brought it about that, from then on, nobody was condemned to the stake for riding through the air on a broomstick".<sup>10</sup>

### The Parchment and Lead Books of Granada: *Introduction*

In 1588,<sup>11</sup> in Granada, the builders involved in the demolition of the minaret of the former mosque found a lead box amongst the rub-

<sup>8</sup> "También sé de Dios por boca de otro apóstol suyo, que es fiel i @q no sufrirá que los flacos, niños y mujeres fieles, sean tentados cõ maravillas extraordinas i cõ fuerças tan desiguales del demonio, para que el los vença sin resistencia y a su sabor; ¿q̄ hacen entonces los ángeles de guarda y los santos abogados?": Valencia, *Obras*, VII, p. 248.

<sup>9</sup> M. Serrano y Sanz, *Pedro de Valencia. Estudio biográfico y crítico* (Badajoz: Tipografía y Librería de Antonio Arqueros, 1910), facsimile ed. (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 1981).

<sup>10</sup> "[...] logró que en adelante nadie fuese condenado a la hoguera por haber volado caballero en una escoba": Serrano y Sanz, *Suma de las relaciones de Logroño, acerca de brujos, hecha también por el mismo Pedro de Valencia*. MS 7579, BNE, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, *Segundo discurso de Pedro de Valencia. Acerca de los brujos y sus maleficios*, *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*, II (1906), p. 289. Professor L. P. Harvey has written about the unfortunate Morisco Román Ramírez who was accused of having a pact with the devil and of flying though the air on a magical steed. He considers that the trial of Ramírez may have influenced the Clavileño episode in *Don Quijote*, II, Chapter XLI: L. P. Harvey, *The Moriscos and Don Quixote: Inaugural Lecture in the Chair of Spanish Delivered at University of London King's College 11 November 1974* (London: King's College, 1975), pp. 15-16.

<sup>11</sup> The astronomical picture of the heavens forecast for 1588 had been drawn up in the fifteenth century by the astronomer Johann Müller of Königsberg, generally known

ble. This contained a manuscript, which claimed to be an apocalyptic prophecy of St. John the Evangelist. The minaret was renamed Torre Turpiana and the parchment became known as the *pergamino de la Torre Turpiana*. Subsequently, some years later, a series of engraved funerary plaques and lead discs were found. The books are described by the Morisco Jesuit, Ignacio de Las Casas: "All these books are made of fine sheets of lead, circular and about the size of a medium sized [communion] host."<sup>12</sup> The four replicas of the *libros plúmbeos* on display in the Abadía del Sacromonte have diameters ranging from approximately 5cms to 9cms. The discovery of the *plomos*, which were engraved in a strange script afterwards termed 'hispano-bético' (Hispano-Arabic/ Andalusian)<sup>13</sup> instigated a search for competent and objective translators, as the texts were written in a variation of Arabic. Despite many differences of interpretation all were agreed that the *plomos* claimed to have written by the Virgin Mary, Santiago and two of the latter's disciples: Cecilius, first bishop of Granada and his companion Thesiphon.

Let's look first at the circumstances in which Pedro de Valencia became involved in the *plomos*. During the years that he spent in Zafra, he had contact with influential members at court: as previously mentioned, he possibly met Philip III's chaplain Gaspar de Córdoba in El Escorial and thenceforth corresponded with him and with his successor Fray Diego de Mardones. The latter, in 1605 or early in 1606, asked Valencia to write a treatise on the *statu questionis* of the position of the Moriscos. After his appointment as *cronista* to Philip III in 1607, Valencia's duties included the writing of reports on sensitive issues. In that very year, Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Primate of Spain and Inquisitor General, asked Valencia to write a critique

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as Regiomontanus. His Latin verses referring to this *annus mirabilis* and predicting major changes in world empires were known throughout Europe: G. Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1959), Penguin edition (London: Penguin, 1988), pp. 166–168. Reports of unusual events and evil portents were commonplace and prophecy was in the air in this extraordinary year of 1588. The Moriscos were obviously aware of the astrological significance of this year, as there are many references to the practice of astrology in the *libros plúmbeos*: Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos*, p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> "Son todos estos libros de delicadas hojas de plomo redondas al tamaño de hostias no muy grandes": P. de las Casas, *Información de las laminas, libros y lo demas hallado en la la ciudad de Granada y cerca de ella el año de 1588 y dada a Nuestro Santissimo P<sup>r</sup> Paulo V por Ignacio de Las Casas, de la Compañia de IHS, en este año de 1607*, MS 7187, BNÉ, (fols. 66<sup>v</sup>–115<sup>v</sup>), fol. 75<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> "Transcripción, traducción y observaciones", p. 17.

of these *pergamino y láminas de Granada* (*The Parchment and Lead Books of Granada*). Pope Paul V had been pressing for more information about the controversial discoveries and so Philip III decided to set up a committee of investigation. The pope may have been influenced by a report on the Moriscos written by the Morisco Jesuit, Ignacio de las Casas, which had had a profound effect on him.<sup>14</sup> The Duke of Lerma, in a letter dated 28 October 1607, entrusted the organisation of this group to the Archbishop of Toledo who then requested a preliminary report from Valencia.<sup>15</sup>

Valencia was reluctant, at first, to undertake this task as he was aware that powerful interests in Granada had already prejudged the issue and accepted the *plomos* as genuine, apostolic texts, without undue critical analysis:<sup>16</sup> “That is, they have prejudged [the issue] without waiting for information on the causes and before the scrutiny that a matter of such gravity required. All the proofs and careful investigations were carried out after those in power and all the common people had declared them to be true”.<sup>17</sup> The people had been carried along on a great wave of emotion and critical faculties had been suspended: “Because later, when they found the relics, they were received with veneration and devotion, and when they discovered the mountain, it was covered with crosses and a great crowd of people. His lordship the Archbishop, and all the magistrates and nobles, expressed their desire that such a great treasure would be authenticated and of the quality that they imagined it to be, and they would take it very badly if the ‘hallmarks’ proved otherwise”.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 291.

<sup>15</sup> Hagerty, *Libros plúmbeos*, p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> Many people in Granada, until 1492 under Muslim rule, saw in the *plomos* the ecclesiastical history that would allow them to claim primacy over other dioceses, as the *plomos* made Granada the first part of Hispania to be evangelized by Santiago.

<sup>17</sup> “Esto es han hecho praejudicio si esperar el conoçimiento de causa y el egsamen que tan graue material requeria. Todas las prouanças y diligencias se han hecho después de declarados los poderosos, y el pueblo todo, en fauor”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> “Porque luego, como se allaron las reliquias, se reçiuieron con veneraçion, y deuocion, y como se descubrió el monte, se cubrió de cruçes y de concurso de gente. El Sr. Arçobispo, y todos los magistrados y nobles, manifestaron su deseo de que vn tesoro tan grande se hallase çierto y de los quilates que lo imaginauan, y querían y lleuarían muy mal que los toques declarasen en contrario”: Valencia, *Pergamino y laminas*, p. 8; *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 436.

Other supporters, feigning piety, are motivated by self-will, just as St. Paul, when he was still Saul, burned with ferocious zeal, yet contravened the will of God:

Many have been taken in by this [manifestation of popular piety], which they call pious affection, and hold to be zeal on God's behalf, when in fact it is inspired by self-interest. And they make it a point of honour to get their own way in the end. May God deliver us from all of them. This is the *aemulatio Dei non secundum scientiam* (Rom. 10: 2) ("[For I bear them witness, that they have] a zeal of God, but not according to true knowledge"), with which St. Paul, when he was Saul, persecuted the Church, and with which some of the princes and wise men of the synagogue resisted the gospel. This produces a type of ferocity disguised as religion which has no hesitation in killing those who are good and holy *existimans obsequium praestare Deo* (Jn. 16: 2) ([They will put you out of the synagogues: yea the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you] will think that he doth a service to God). (Jn. 16: 2).<sup>19</sup>

Valencia was obviously *au fait* with the situation in Granada, where Archbishop Pedro de Castro Cabeza de Vaca y Quiñones was engaging one translator after another, constantly seeking versions that confirmed his uncritical acceptance of the *plomos* as genuine.<sup>20</sup> One unwelcome version was that of Marcos Dovel, the Turkish Christian Kurd, probably sent to Spain by the papacy.<sup>21</sup> This is what Dovel had to say about the attitude of many Spaniards, in particular in relation to the *plomos*:

[...] they are stubborn and extremely vain; they defend it [the doctrine of the *plomos*] with their property, life and honour, unreasonably, without any conscience, or accepting the harm that it can cause in God's

<sup>19</sup> "A engañado perniciosamente a muchos éste, que ellos llaman pío afecto, y tienen por celo de Dios, quando va tras la afición y pasión propia, y hace tema y caso de onrra el salir al cauo con su persuasión. A pesar de todos Dios nos libre. Ésta es la *aemulatio Dei non secundum scientiam* (Rom 10: 2) con que San Pablo, siendo Saulo, perseguía la Iglesia, y con que él testifica que algunos de los príncipes y sauios de la sinogaga resistían al euangelio. Produce esta vna fiereza con pretesto de religión y piedad que no duda de matar a los buenos y santos *existimans obsequium praestare Deo* (Jn. 16: 2)": Valencia, *Pergamino y laminas*, p. 10; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 437–438.

<sup>20</sup> Castro sought translators from all over Europe to prove their authenticity. He tried, without success, to persuade the eminent Dutch Scholar van Erpen (Erpenius) to come to Spain and act as translator: J. Martínez Ruiz, "Cartas de Thomas van Erpen (Erpenius) en un archivo de Granada", *BRAE*, LV (1975), 265–306.

<sup>21</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 308.

Church. They just say *quod dixi, dixi!* “That is it, and that is the way it is!” and give no other reason.<sup>22</sup>

The judgement of Valencia is corroborated also by a letter written in 1633 by Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, and which has been edited by L. P. Harvey and G. A. Wiegiers. The letter is referring to Diego de Urrea, royal translator and professor of Arabic in Alcalá de Henares:

[...] when he [Urrea] was interpreting accurately for him [the Archbishop] what the engravings said, when he came across an evil Islamic doctrine, and there were many of them, the Archbishop got angry with him and said that he [Urrea] did not understand it, and that it was not possible that it should say that, and he [the Archbishop] gave the meaning that fitted in so that it would appear Catholic, something that Urrea never accepted, although, carried away by self-interest, he dissimulated in the end, fitting in with the wishes of the Archbishop, with mighty little conscience.<sup>23</sup>

Another of the translators used by Archbishop Castro was the Morisco Ahmad Ibn Qasim (Bejarano) al-Hajarī. In his autobiographical *Kitāb Nāsir ad-dīn’alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel*), from which the extract below is taken, he tells how, in places where Castro disagreed with his translation of the *pergamino*, the Archbishop told him to leave a blank space.<sup>24</sup> Al-Hajarī would seem to have accepted the Lead Books as genuine, seeing in them many concordances with the *Qur’ān*. In fact, in line with the Islamic doctrine of *tāhrīf*, he believed the *plomos* to reflect Islamic rather than Christian interpretations of the Gospel:

<sup>22</sup> “[...] personas porfiadas y en extremo presumidas, que la [=doctrina de los plomos] defendan con la hacienda, vida y honra, sin admitir razones, ni mirar la conciencia, ni al daño que se puede causar en la Iglesia de Dios, solo con decir *quod dixi, dixi!* ¡Está hecho y esto es así!, y ¡no hay otra razón!”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 356.

<sup>23</sup> “[...] quando le interpretava lo que las láminas dezian puntualmente, en hallando una mala doctrina del mahometismo, que las avía muchas, el Arçobispo se enfadava con él y le dezía que no lo entendía, ni era posible que aquello dixesen, y él le dava el sentido que benía bien para que pareziesse cathólica, cosa que Urrea nunca tuvo por tal, aunque, llevado del interés, disimuló al fin, correspondiendo con el gusto del Arçobispo, pero con bien poca conciencia”: Harvey & Wiegiers, “The Translation from Arabic of the Sacromonte Tablets”, p. 65.

<sup>24</sup> G. Wiegiers, “The ‘Old’ or ‘Turpiana Tower’ in Granada and its Relics according to Ahmad B. Qasim al-Hayari”, *Sites et Monuments désaparus d’après les témoignages de voyageurs, Res Orientalis*, VIII (1996), p. 80. The translation is taken from the following edition: Al Hajari, Ahmad ibn Qasim, *Kitāb nāsir al-dīn ’alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, ed. P. S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai & G. A. Wiegiers (Madrid: CSIC, 1997).

I say: the statements of the *Book of the Gifts of Reward* about the Essence of the Gospel are apparently *contradictory to the Gospel they possess nowadays*, and to the unbelief and to the Trinitarian doctrine of the Christians. But it is in harmony with the noble *Qur'ān* (emphasis added by L. P. Harvey).<sup>25</sup>

*Tāhrif* means 'alteration' or 'changing the text'. Muslims respect both Christians and Jews as 'people of the Book'. They also revere the Gospel, which in the *Qur'ān* is referred to as *al-injil*. This is the Gospel as originally revealed by God. However, they believe that the Gospel used by Christians has been contaminated: the texts have been corrupted intentionally, or due to lack of skill. They also consider that the Jewish Torah now exists in an adulterated form.<sup>26</sup> They believe that the original *al-injil* did not contain references to the Trinity, or to Jesus as the Son of God. The point being made by Al-Hajarī is that the *plomos* were copied from a celestial original onto lead discs by Our Lady herself. She then gave them to Santiago and they have lain hidden in the Holy Mountain until the 1590s.<sup>27</sup> They are copies of the original *al-injil*, uncorrupted as is the Gospel of to-day;<sup>28</sup> their purity is vouched for by their provenance, and their absence from Christian society has preserved them in this state.

#### Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada of *Pedro de Valencia*

Valencia the sceptic, for whom faith is to be tempered by reason and common sense, set down the criteria for his critique at the beginning of Part II, the section in which he gives his own arguments against the authenticity of the *plomos*:

As God's causes are never weak, one does them no honour in judging and approving them without [close] examination, and declaring oneself in favour. On the contrary, what they need is to be tested in the fire of

<sup>25</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 285.

<sup>26</sup> Since the time of Muhammad this charge has been laid against the Jewish Pentateuch and the Christian Gospels. The text may have been taken down incorrectly (*tāhrif an nass*) or the meaning may have been falsified (*tāhrif al ma'ani*): Bernabé Pons, *El evangelio de San Bernabé*, p. 171.

<sup>27</sup> Hagerty, "Libro de la historia de la verdad del Evangelio", *Libros plúmbeos*, pp. 119–120.

<sup>28</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, pp. 285–285.

the crucible so that their purity shines forth and the touchstone proves their high quality.<sup>29</sup>

He declares: “The second part will be my own discourse which will, in my opinion, convince, not only that those writings, plaques and books are not authentic and sacred [texts], but that church doctrine and right judgement deny this possibility”. As he himself was not an Arabist, Valencia recommends that the *pergamino* be examined by reliable experts: “[...] for this reason it should be examined carefully by scholars of Arabic, [who are] above suspicion of infidelity”.<sup>30</sup> To reinforce his point, he cites passages from St. Paul and St. John that advocate careful examination of all self-proclaimed apostolic texts (1 Thes: 5, 19–21; I Jn: 4,1).<sup>31</sup> Such close examination should be applied even to the works of the Apostles themselves, until they have been fully accepted by the Church: “With this permission or command of the Apostles we can and must examine rigorously, even their own doctrines and revelations, until the Church recognises and accepts them”.<sup>32</sup> Works that form part of divine revelation can withstand close scrutiny. In the early Church there were many apocryphal gospels yet the Church only accepted those of the four evangelists.<sup>33</sup> Such crude forgeries will make Spain a laughing stock among other Catholic nations: “They will say that we are to blame for so enjoying boasting about and praising our country that we accept willingly any form of praise, however patently [untrue] or nonsensical it is”.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> “[...] como las causas de Dios nunca tienen flaqueza, no se les hace onrra en juzgarlas y aprouarlas sin egsamen, y como sentençiarlas en fauor. Por fauor, antes les conuiene el rigor, el fuego y la resistençia para que luzgan y se manifiestan sus quilates y sus filos”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. xlix.

<sup>30</sup> “[...] es raçón que se egsamine bien por hombres sauios en la lengua [arábiga] y sin sospecha de infidelidad”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. liii.

<sup>31</sup> “*Omnia probate* [i.e. examine it] (1 Th. 5, 19–21)”; “*Et carissimi, nolite spiriitui credere, sed probate spiritus si ex Deo sint quoniam multi pseudo prophetae exierunt in mundum* (I Io. 4 1)”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> “Con esta liçencia o mandato de los apóstoles podemos, y deuemos examinar rigurosamente, aunque sean a las reuelaciones y dotrinas de ellos mismos, mientras no estén reconozidas y reçeidas por la Iglesia”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 15–16.

<sup>34</sup> “Dirán [los cathólicos de otras naciones] que somos tan culpablemente aficionadas a jatançia y loor de nuestra nación que admitimos de buena gana qualquiera lisonja, por descubierta y desvariada que sea”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 16–17. At the committee set up to study the *plomos* in 1609 in Madrid Pedro de Castro refused to send them to Rome: “[...] because those gifts from Heaven belonged to Spain” (“[...] porque aquellas prendas del cielo eran de España”); another *laminario* wrote: “God was looking at the world [...] and from amongst them [all the countries]

In advocating such systematic scepticism Valencia shows a dry wit when ridiculing the overly credulous attitude of some *laminarios*, or those who believe the *plomos* to be authentic, early Christian texts.<sup>35</sup> For example, in the *pergamino*, St. John's name is written in Arabic characters in accordance with its pronunciation in Castilian [Spanish] and not as it sounds in Arabic. Obviously, then, the writer is using sixteenth-century Castilian and not the language as it was spoken in the first century of the Christian era: "It cannot be denied that the person who wrote the parchment could speak Castilian as it is spoken to-day. It remains for its supporters to prove with similar certainty that it was spoken thus in the time of Nero. Or let them come up with a miracle or [divine] revelation, which is the way that all problems are solved".<sup>36</sup>

Valencia opposes superstitious practices of all kinds because they undermine true religion. He links such popular religious manifestations with demonic temptation.<sup>37</sup>

It's an old trick played by the enemy of God's glory to attack and win over Eve, the weakest and softest part of the state, and to persuade the ignorant man in the street that a particular form of worship is religious. Because, once he has been persuaded, he brings with him those in power (or follows them when they go first), whose statecraft consists in pleasing the common mob, whose character, and that of all those who neglect

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he choose Spain of his own will. He sent them [the Lead Books] to Spain [...] so that Spain could illuminate and preach to the rest of the world" (estaba Dios mirando el mundo [...]) Y entre ellos eligió principalmente de su voluntad a Hespaña. A Hespaña le envió [los libros plúmbeos] [...] para que de allí saliese la luz y predicación para lo restante del mundo): Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 297, 300.

<sup>35</sup> This neologism is used by the editor in chief of the *Obras completas*. However, Marcos Dovel also used it: G. Morocho Gayo, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 309.

<sup>36</sup> "Ello no se puede negar sino que él que escriuió el pergamino sauía hablar castellano como se habla oi. Resta que los assertores prueban con semejante çerteza que se hablaua así en tiempo de Nerón, o que se vayan a milagro y reuelación, que es con lo que todo se salua' (fol. 21')": Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>37</sup> Cristóbal de Medina Conde cites a reference to Valencia's mentor, Benito Arias Montano, by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar: "[...] viendo el no menos prudente que sabio Dr Benito Arias Montano que el Arz[obis]po de Granada, alucinado de una falsa piedad, estaba empeñado en defender las laminas y libros, y que le seguian en el empeño grandes y pequeños, se contento con escrevir al buen obispo que se cautelase de todo engaño": C. de Medina Conde, Cristóbal de: *Informe a los eruditos sobre la oposicion que hicieron a los descubrimientos antiguos de Granada el famoso antiqro Pedro de Valencia y otros literatos*, MS 1271, BNE, fols 28<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>r</sup>, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>.



virtue and the true worship of God, usually consists of flattering Him and trying to satisfy Him with external actions and lip service.<sup>38</sup>

Elsewhere in Valencia's writings this metaphor is elucidated:

God, then, made mankind male and female, Adam a man and Eve a woman; not alone were there two of them in what is external and visible, but internally each one of them had two parts; one the inner man, which is male, and its role is dominion and government, and it is called spirit and the better part, and the other is the inferior feminine part, in which are found the senses and bodily appetites, which must obey and agree with the superior part, and it is called *ánima* in scripture [the part of the soul concerned with the senses].<sup>39</sup>

What is important in judging new texts is to strike a balance between emotional and ill-informed piety and a cynical and atheistic rejection of all that cannot be proven by reason:

There are people so adverse to all that is supernatural, spiritual and divine that in hearing of miracles, prophecy, sanctity and revelation they judge it all to be a trick and a forgery, and they are happy to oppose it angrily. This tends towards atheism as that other undiscerning, and accommodating attitude tends towards superstition.<sup>40</sup> It is wise to avoid both extremes and to follow prudently the middle ground, in accordance with divine law and doctrine.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> "Astucia antigua a sido ésta del enemigo de la gloria de Dios acometer y procurar ganar primero a la Eua, la parte más flaca y más blanda de la república, y persuadir al bulgo ignorante de vn culto como que sea religioso. Porque, persuadido éste, lleua tras sí (o los sigue quando preceden), a los poderosos cuyo consejo de estado es, agradar a los más a la turba bulgar cuya condición y de todos los descuydados de la virtud, y verdadero culto de Dios, suele ser lisongearle, y quererle satisfacer con exterioridades, y culto de los labios": Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 8–9; Valencia, *Obras*. IV, 2, p. 436.

<sup>39</sup> "Hizo Dios, pues, a los hombres varón y hembra; no solamente en lo exterior y visible fueron dos, Adán varón y Eva mujer, sino que en lo interior cada uno de ellos de por sí tenía dos partes, una el hombre interior que es varonil, y le pertenece el dominio y gobierno y se llama espíritu y porcion superior, y otra la parte inferior y femenina en que estan los sentidos y apetitos corporales que deve ser obediente y conformarse con la parte superior y se llama en escritura *ánima*": Valencia, *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado*, fols 32<sup>v</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> I have translated the original 'blandura' as 'accommodating', implying an ability to agree with and adapt to everybody. In the *Tesoro de la lengua* it is associated with flattery and there is a reference to Psalm 140.

<sup>41</sup> "Ay hombres tan aduersos de todo lo subrenatural, spiritual y diuino que, en oyendo nombrar milagros, profecía, santidad, reuelación, lo juzgan todo por burla i impostura, y se le oponen de gana y con ira. Esto tira a atheísmo, como esotra blandura indiscreta a superstición. De ambos extremos conuiene apartarse, y seguir pru-

Valencia's reputation in Spain and in Rome was extensive. The report of 1607 was confidential. However, in 1616 another one sent to Paul V may have been a copy of that of 1607.<sup>42</sup> By early 1617, Francisco de Gurmendi, who had translated the first two of the Lead Books, and Martín de Berrotango y Mendiola SJ, who had made theological annotations, joined the discussion group or Academy of Pedro de Valencia. Morocho Gayo believes that in 1616 the king's confessor, Fray Luis de Aliaga, put Valencia in charge of those who were working on the *plomos* for the Inquisition.<sup>43</sup> On 6 May 1617, Aliaga authorised the group to send the translations to Rome.<sup>44</sup> Previously, he had authorised the sending of Gurmendi's *Libelo* (pejorative critique) of the books to the pope. "This motivated the pontiff to order, by special papal brief to the Inquisitor General and Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, that he recognize the seriousness of this issue and that Valencia should suggest various points of view, as his judgement was particularly sound, because of his learning".<sup>45</sup> Francisco de Gurmendi was, together with Pedro de Valencia, one of the opponents of the *plomos* most despised by the *laminarios*. Both his two *libelos* and the translations of the first two Lead Books caused quite a stir both in Spain and in Rome. Thus, he merits some paragraphs of his own.

### *Francisco de Gurmendi's Translations of Two of the Lead Books*

Francisco de Gurmendi (d. March 1621) is described in a letter of Philip III as a 'criado de su magestad' (a servant of his Majesty). The letter reads: "Order for the Father Prior of San Lorenzo el Real (the Escorial) to take into storage in that house the library of King Zidan [of Morocco] and that Francisco Gurmendi has been ordered to be

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dentemente el medio, conforma a la regla de la diuina doctrina: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 325; G. Magnier, "The Dating of Pedro de Valencia's *Sobre el pergamino y láminas de Granada*", *Sharq Al-Andalus*, XIV, 353–373.

<sup>43</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 319.

<sup>44</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 325–327.

<sup>45</sup> "Lo que motivo, que este pontifice mandase p<sup>r</sup> breve especial a el Cardenal Inquisidor G<sup>ral</sup> Arx[obis]po de Toledo, D. Bernardo de Roxas, que reconociese esta material con la gravedad, que ella pedia, y que le sugiriese entonces varias especies Valencia, cuio dictamen era sp<sup>te</sup> apreciable, como tan docto": Medina Conde, *Informe*, fol. 34<sup>r</sup>.

present when it is handed over.”<sup>46</sup> Gurmendi was born in Guipúzcoa and as a child came to Madrid, where he lived in the household of Don Juan de Idiáquez (1540–1614), also from Guipúzcoa. Idiáquez was a former secretary of Philip II, President of the Council of the Military Orders under Philip III, and a friend of Pedro de Valencia. When Marcos Dovel returned from Granada, unpaid by Castro, Idiáquez asked him to teach Arabic to his protégé, Gurmendi.<sup>47</sup> The latter put his knowledge to good effect when among the papers he found after Idiáquez’s death in 1614 were copies of the characters of the first two of the Lead Books, *De fundamento Ecclesiae* (*Concerning the Foundation of the Church*) and *Essentia Dei* (*The Essence of God*). These he duly translated and sent copies to Philip III in March of 1616 who, as previously mentioned, sent a copy to Rome on 6 May 1617.<sup>48</sup> Pedro de Castro, by then Archbishop of Seville, had a memorial printed criticising Gurmendi’s translations. Gurmendi responded with a second *libelo*,<sup>49</sup> in which he accused Castro’s *memorialista* of writing on issues beyond his competence but also put forward his own objections to the authenticity of the artefacts.<sup>50</sup> This *libelo* was presented to Philip III in October of 1617. According to the relics-forgers Cristóbal de Medina Conde, Gurmendi’s *libelo* was also sent to the Royal Council [of State?] and to that of the Inquisition.<sup>51</sup> Gurmendi’s translations and this second *libelo* of 1617 were a source of great controversy and were much criticised at court. As a supporter and probable collaborator of Gurmendi, Valencia was deeply implicated in these events.<sup>52</sup>

Two canons from the Abadía del Sacromonte were sent to Madrid to represent the interests of Archbishop Pedro de Castro, by then

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<sup>46</sup> “Orden para que el Padre Prior de S. Lorenzo el Real haga recibir en aquella casa en depósito de librería del Rey Cidan que se ha mandado á Francisco de Gurmendi, que haga llegar allí y se halle presente á la entrega della”: C. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, II (Madrid: *Revista de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos*, 1906), p. 333.

<sup>47</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 321.

<sup>48</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 321.

<sup>49</sup> The first *libelo* was written in 1615, at the behest of Aliaga.

<sup>50</sup> Gurmendi had the same dry wit as Valencia. He invited the *memorialista* to reply to his *libelo*: “To which the author of the aforementioned paper might reply [...] what a blind man would answer if he were asked to judge colours” (A lo qual puede responder el autor del d<sup>ho</sup> papel [...] lo que respondiera un ciego si le mandaran q[ue] juzgase de colores”): Magnier, “Pedro de Valencia, Francisco de Gurmendi and the *plomos*”, p. 417, n. 35.

<sup>51</sup> Medina Conde, *Informe*, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Magnier, “Pedro de Valencia, Francisco de Gurmendi and the *plomos*”, pp. 409–426.

Archbishop of Seville. They were Don Francisco de Barahona and Don Antonio Tavares.<sup>53</sup> The correspondence between Barahona and Archbishop Castro gives some idea of the turmoil being created at court by the *plomos*:

Those opposed to the Lead Books meet in Pedro de Valencia's house: Gurmendi and Mendiola, a theologian whom the Jesuits expelled about two years ago, and other friends, in order to produce their documents against the Holy Mountain [the Sacromonte]. He [Valencia] is so determined to defend what Gurmendi said, that the latter, in order to oppose it better, is studying philosophy and theology. They are quite convinced that they will succeed in their intent to refute [what has happened on] the Holy Mountain.<sup>54</sup>

On 15 and 16 February and on 2 March 1518 letters were sent to Pedro de Valencia to impose the papal brief that forbade any further discussion of the issue. Castro had asked for the imposition of the briefs of Clement VIII, especially that of 1596. As a Franciscan, Clement had supported Castro, as they, unlike the Dominicans,<sup>55</sup> believed in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. This belief, which would not become a dogma of the Church until the bull *Ineffabilis Deus* of Pius IX, 8 December 1854, was defended in the Lead Books.<sup>56</sup> However, the current pope in 1518, Paul V, was sceptical about the *plúmbeos* and did not give his support.<sup>57</sup> Barahona feared that should Valencia write to Rome this would damage the case for recognition of the *plúmbeos*.

[Pedro de Valencia] knows no Arabic but he gets help from those who do to justify his ideas. It is sufficient that he should raise doubts about the Sacro monte affairs, whether it is by knowledge of Arabic or of Latin. [...] Pedro de Valencia replied to the notification [of the briefs of Pope

<sup>53</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 343–347.

<sup>54</sup> “En casa de P<sup>o</sup> Valencia se juntan los émulos (de las Láminas): Gurmendi y Mendiola un clérigo theólogo, que echaron de la compañía hará dos años, y otros amigos a hacer sus consultas contra el Monte Santo, que está tan empeñado en defender lo que ha dicho Gurmendi, que [éste] para poder hacerlo mejor estudia la filosofía y theología. Muy persuadidos todos a salir con su intento de deshacer el Monte Santo”: Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 57.

<sup>55</sup> All of Philip III's chaplains were Dominicans.

<sup>56</sup> Kendrick, *St. James*, p. 89.

<sup>57</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 57.

Clement VIII] that he would give an account to his Holiness of his opinions. This will, I think, cause harm in Rome.<sup>58</sup>

Barahona acted as Castro's envoy at court. He recognised that Valencia's opposition did not arise out of malice. He was also aware of Valencia's courageous insistence on speaking his mind:

Pedro de Valencia is probably not moved by any evil intentions but has difficulty in accepting the existence and age of the Sacromonte artefacts, as he considers himself to be so well versed in literature and languages. He must be so persistent [in expressing] his doubts that he replied to notification of the briefs that, although he obeyed them and had never gone against their contents, he would continue to give an account of what he felt about the Sacromonte to his holiness Pope Paul V and to the ministers who ordered this. By this I mean the Council of the Inquisition.<sup>59</sup>

Gurmendi was the object of great hostility at court: a 'Memorial contra Gurmendi en el Consejo [de Estado]' ('Memorial against Gurmendi in the Council of State') of 20 February 1618 stated:

Francisco de Gurmendi is the chief enemy [...] in his famous [critiques] [...] he shows at length his hatred, venom and ill-will and, while saying that he is an interpreter, he does not carry out this work but that of a most injudicious calumniator [...] Francisco Gurmendi is incapable and unsuitable to either interpret or understand these books).<sup>60</sup>

Against the background of such hostility to Gurmendi, and to other opposing views of the *plúmbeos* Valencia's *Parecer* of 26 November 1618 would certainly not have been a popular move.

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<sup>58</sup> "[Pedro de Valencia] No saue Arabe pero ayudase del que lo sabe para justificar su sentimiento: que basta que ponga en duda lo del Monte sea por saber Arabe o saber latin. [...] P<sup>o</sup> de Valencia respondió a la notificación que el daría cuenta a su S<sup>d</sup> de lo que le parecía. Esto pienso que hará daño en Roma": (28 February 1618: Barahona to Castro), Archivo del Sacromonte, leg. VII, I, fol. 920<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> "No deue de mouer a P<sup>o</sup> de Valencia mala intencion sino hallar dificultad en el hecho y antigüedad de lo del Sacromonte como se precia de tan versado en letras y lenguas y debe de estar tan asido tanto a sus dificultades que respondió a la notificación de los breues, que aunque obedecia, y no auia jamas ydo contra lo que en ellos se contenia pero que no dexaria de dar cuenta de lo que sentia acerca del M<sup>te</sup> Sto a su S<sup>d</sup> de Paulo V a y los ministros que esto [sic] tuuiese ordenado. Por esto entiendo yo el consejo de Inquisicion".

<sup>60</sup> "Franc<sup>o</sup> de Gurmendi es enemigo capital [...] en sus libelos famosos [...] largamente muestra el odio y ponzoña y mala voluntad [...] y diziendo el que es interprete no haze esse oficio sino de calumniador imprudentissimo [...] Fran<sup>o</sup> Gurmendi es incapaz y no idoneo para interpretar ni entender estos libros": Archivo del Sacromonte leg. VII, I, fol. 940<sup>r</sup>-940<sup>v</sup>.

*Part II of Valencia's Critique: the Doctrine of the Trinity*

Valencia's expertise as a biblical exegete gave him great familiarity with biblical languages, authorial practices in the Church's canonical writings and those of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers. Such skills allowed him to construct his main theological argument, in which he attacked the heretical theology on the Trinity, which is found in the Lead Books. He states: "[...] the person who forged this was a Moor [...] because, as well as having written it in Arabic, [...] when attempting [...] to express Christian doctrines, formulae and terms, he could not avoid the formulae and language of the *Qur'ān*".<sup>61</sup> He recognised in the *plomos* an adulterated form of the *Šāhāda*, the Islamic profession of faith. The usual recitation is: "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad, messenger of God".<sup>62</sup> The version in the *plomos* reads: "There is no God but God/Allah and Jesus, spirit of God".<sup>63</sup> If one takes each part of the statement separately both are quite logical and can be supported from Scripture. The first part can be compared with a verse from Isaiah: "I am the Lord and there is no other (Is. 45: 18)".<sup>64</sup> As to the second part, Christian writers, in particular Tertullian and Lactantius, called the Divine Word 'espíritu santo' ('holy spirit') because he is a spirit and is holy. Nevertheless, no Christian writer has ever called the Incarnate Word, or Christ, by this name. The absence of this terminology in Catholic tradition makes its usage in the *plomos* suspect. Valencia realises exactly the point being made: Muhammad hailed Jesus as the greatest of the prophets but denied his divine sonship.<sup>65</sup> It is interesting to note that the Marqués de Estepa, in his version of the *plomos*, translates *ruh Allah* (spirit of God) as 'Hijo Encarnado de Dios' ('Incarnate Son of God') or 'Verbo Encarnado' (Incarnate Word), which illustrates the unreliability of some translations from Arabic to which Pedro de Valencia referred.<sup>66</sup> Similarly,

<sup>61</sup> "[...] él que fingió esto era moro [...] porque demás de hauerlo escrito en aráuigo [...] queriendo [...] representar doctrina, y fórmulas, y términos cristianos, y de santos y apóstoles, no pudo huir del language y fórmulas del Alcorán": Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 24.

<sup>62</sup> "No Dios sino Dios y Mahoma embiado de Dios".

<sup>63</sup> "No Dios sino Dios y Jesús, espíritu de Dios": Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> "Soy yo, Yavé, y ningún otro": *Sagrada biblia*, ed. E. Nácar Fuster et al. 8th ed. (Madrid: BAC, 1958), p. 832.

<sup>65</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>66</sup> Hagerty, *Libros plúmbeos*, p. 70.

in the *pergamino* Jesus is called ‘el Maestro’ (‘the Master’) However, Jesus was no longer called ‘Master’ after the Resurrection but in the Acts, the Epistles and the Apocalypse he is called ‘Lord’, ‘Son of God’, ‘Saviour’.<sup>67</sup>

Partial truth, as described in the previous paragraph, is to be condemned always: “To set one on guard it is quite enough that [...] some traces or whiff of enemy doctrine is found [...] any defect at all is sufficient for them not to be apostolic, or holy or good. [...] It is true that the Devil, pretending to be an angel of light, and coming to deceive, is not going to show his cloven hooves and horns”.<sup>68</sup> In section 22 of the second part, Valencia pointed out also that Arabists have told him that, in a section of the *pergamino* in Arabic, a quotation from the gospel of John has been adulterated: some words that attested to the divinity of Christ have been omitted:

[In the Gospel of St. John] which can be read in the parchment translated into Arabic, some words that pertain to the confession of the divinity of Christ are missing: *Hoc erat in* [sic] *principio apud Deum: apud Deum* is missing. *Non erat ille lux sed ut testimonium perhiueret de lumine* (Io: 1, 8); *sed vt testimonium perhiueret de lumine* is missing.<sup>69</sup>

In this same section Valencia corrects the mistranslation, in the *pergamino*, of the Latin ‘unigeniti’ into Arabic as ‘servants’ (nominative plural) rather than ‘of his only son’ (genitive singular): “And we saw his glory, as we are servants of the father”. ([“And we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten son of the Father”]) (Jn 1, 14).<sup>70</sup> (The translation in the *pergamino*, in suggesting textual corruption, is in the tradition of *tahrif*.) Valencia points out that the possible ambiguity in the Latin version is quite absent in the Greek  $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\ \delta\omicron\varsigma$  (only Son).

<sup>67</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>68</sup> “Para causar recato bien vasta que [...] se hallen algunos rastros, o olor de doctrina enemiga [...] para no ser apostólicos, ni santos ni buenos, basta qualquiera defecto. [...] Çierto es que el Demonio, fingiéndose angel de luz, y viniendo a engañar, no a de mostrar luego las huñas y los cuernos”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 27.

<sup>69</sup> “[...] en el evangelio de san Juan [...] faltan algunas palabras que pertenecen a la confesión de la diuinidad de Christo *Hoc erat ille in principio apud Deum*; falta *apud Deum*, *Non erat ille lux sed ut testimonium perhiueret de lumine* (Io. 1:8); falta *sed vt testimonium perhiueret de lumine*: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> “I vimos su gloria, así que somos criados del padre” (Y hemos visto su gloria, gloria como de Unigénito del Padre): Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 26.

*False prophecies*

Valencia uses his knowledge of authorial practices in Scripture to cast doubt on the validity of sacred texts written in Arabic: there are no other canonical texts written in that language: “The Roman Catholic Church has never heard of or accepted doctrine in that language. Whatever about the doctrine, the language [used] arouses suspicion”.<sup>71</sup> If one compares these ‘books’ with those of the New Testament, the difference in style will be very apparent.<sup>72</sup>

The *pergamino* and *plúmbeos* use exotic, abstruse language that is quite at variance with the *magnalia Dei*, or the simplicity of the inspired word of God: “The style of God and his saints is not characterised by affectation and obscurity, with Arabic jargon and rigmarole but by the manifestation of spiritual force [...] This is what in Scripture is called *magnalia dei*, that wisdom and inimitable eloquence, with which the Apostles and saints speak of the mystery of the Redemption”.<sup>73</sup> Such simplicity is quite absent from the *pergamino*: “God does not need [new] inventions, or parchments or plaques or chess boards painted in different coloured letters and with Greek and Latin words in the margins and within the text, that serve no purpose other than for show, and to make the ‘merchandise’ seem extraordinary and marketable.<sup>74</sup> How far all this is from the simplicity of the dove, the Church, the spouse of Christ, Our Lord, who spoke and taught openly and sincerely”.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> “Jamás la Yglesia romana, cathólica a oído ni receuido doctrina en aquesa lengua. Qualquiera que sea la doctrina, la haçe sospechosa la lengua”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 18.

<sup>72</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 19–21.

<sup>73</sup> “El carácter del stilo de Dios y de sus santos no son obscuridades afectadas con algarauías y gerigonças sino vehemençia y manifestación de espíritu [...]. Esto es lo que en la escritura se llama *magnalia Dei*, aquella sabiduría y elocuencia inimitable, con que los apóstoles y santos hablan del misterio de la redemción. *Audiuimus eos loquentes nostris linguis magnalia Dei* (Acts 2, 11), Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>74</sup> Valencia is referring here to the cryptic presentation of the apocryphal prophecy of St. John contained in the *Pergamino*.

<sup>75</sup> “No a menester Dios imbençiones, ni pergaminos, ni láminas ni algedriçios, pintados con letras de diuersos colores, y dicçiones griegas y latinas puestas por las márgenes y dentro inútilmente para gala, y para haçer estraordinaria y vendible la mercadería. ¡Cuán ageno es todo esto de la simplicidad de la paloma, la Iglesia, esposa de Christo, Nuestro Señor, que con llaneza y sinçeridad hablaua y enseñaua”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 19.



Valencia found the titles of the ‘books’ quite unlike the prophetic works of the Apostles;<sup>76</sup> he guessed that the title *De fundamento ecclesiae* was chosen so that people might believe that the foundations of the Church were to be found in the newly named Sacromonte hill and thus fulfil Psalms 67, verses 16 to 17 and 86: 1: *Fundamenta eius in montibus santis* (Its foundations [are] in the Holy Mountains).<sup>77</sup> He considered that the language used in the *pergamino* and *plomos* was like that of alchemists: “The high-flown titles of the books and which promise a great deal in the sub-titles, [are] like the signs of alchemists”.<sup>78</sup> In Part I he had repeated the Bishop of Segorbe’s denunciation of the use of Solomonic characters, the term used by some to describe the strange script of the ‘books’: “Writing in Solomonic characters is false and an invention of necromancers, something which is suspect and superstitious”.<sup>79</sup> (The Solomonic seal was the emblem of alchemists.) Ignacio de Las Casas had also harshly criticised the links between the *plomos* and the world of magic, focusing on the frequent use of this same six-pointed star, or seal of Solomon: “Nowadays, Muslims use this seal, in this same form and with the same name, in their spells, and there is scarcely any book of augury or spells where you do not find it”.<sup>80</sup>

Valencia considered that writing in strange languages with unusual letters was a practice of forgers.<sup>81</sup> Contrary to the linguistic chaos that followed God’s ‘confusion of languages’ and the scattering of the people building the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11: 1–9), the Church brought unity, harmony and peace. After the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles acquired the gift of languages and were understood by all:

<sup>76</sup> “los títulos de los libros desemejantes a los proféticos apostólicos” (fol. 19<sup>r</sup>): Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 19; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 445.

<sup>77</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y laminas*, p. 20. The engraver Franz Heylan uses this quotation in the frontispiece for the *Relacion breve* by the Marqués de Estepa.

<sup>78</sup> “Los títulos de los libros hinchados, y que prometen mucho en el sobreescribo, como rótulos de alquimistas” (fol. 19<sup>r</sup>): Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 20.

<sup>79</sup> “Que el lenguaje de caracteres de Salomón es burla i inbencción de nigrománticos, cosa sospechosa y supersticiosa”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 20.

<sup>80</sup> “Usan oy de este sello, en la misma forma y con el mismo nombre, los mahometanos en sus conjuros, y casi no ay libro de agüeros y hechicerías donde no le pongan”: Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, “Traducción, crítica y denuncia”, p. 428.

<sup>81</sup> “El estrañar las lenguas y las letras de su común vso es de imposteres”: Valencia, *Pergamino y laminas*, p. 22. Perhaps Valencia was aware of the forgery of the *Chronicón de Flavio Lucio Dextro* by Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, which had been exposed by Juan Bautista Pérez, Bishop of Segorbe, in 1595.

And the writing in strange letters and languages is a practice [of forgers] because the Apostles were given the gift of languages so that they could proclaim [the good news] and be understood by all. This was fitting for the foundation and building of the Church: in contrast to the arrogance and [linguistic] confusion that the Tower of Babel brought to the world [...] for the sake of harmony, unity and peace he [God] gave to the architects and masters of the House of David and temple of God, that is the Holy Church, the languages of all nations.<sup>82</sup>

Here Valencia cannot resist an ironic comment on the Arabic of the *plomos*: “The Apostles were not given it [the gift of languages] so that they could speak to the Spaniards in Arabic or to the Greek in French”.<sup>83</sup>

One of the Lead Books, *The Book of the Truth of the Gospel* (*Kitāb haqiqat al-injil*) is in cypher and has come to be known as the *libro mudo* (the mute book).<sup>84</sup> In keeping with the Islamic belief in *tāhrīf*, this book was purported to contain the true word of God. It will be translated at a great council of the Church by an Arab, as this language is the one most dear to God. (See also Part I, Chapter 1, note 34.) Valencia refutes this argument by showing that there is no tradition in the Church of such coded writings: the Apocalypse used images, symbols and parables that could be understood by all those who believed in Christ:

And the most mysterious book is deliberately written in cypher, and cannot be read at the moment, and it promises an Elijah [Elias] who is to come and read it. We must not decipher and interpret it in the vernacular, which is to divulge its mysteries. But that is a very new way of concealing mysteries and one never used by God. The Apocalypse was written clearly in the Greek language and script, [which was] the vernacular then, and was given to the Church with its figures and parables, as God concealed his mysteries so that the ill intentioned and those who resisted [his teachings] *vt audientes no audiant & legentes no intelligent* (so that those listening would not hear and those reading would not

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<sup>82</sup> “Y de éstos es también el estrañar las lenguas y las letras porque a los apóstoles se les dio el don de las lenguas para que se declarasen y se diesen a entender a todo el mundo. Fue esto conuiniente para la fundación y edificación de la Iglesia: que como el edificio contrario de la Torre de Babel, y confusión arrogante del mundo [...]. Así por el contrario, para concordia vnión y paz, les dio a los arquitectos y maestros de la casa de Dauid y templo de Dios, que es la Iglesia Santa, las lenguas de todas las naçiones”: Valencia, *Pergamino y laminas*, p. 22.

<sup>83</sup> “A los apóstoles no se las dio para que le hablasen al español en arábigo, ni al griego en francés”: *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 22.

<sup>84</sup> This is the translation suggested by L. P. Harvey in *Muslims in Spain*, p. 274.

understand) (Mt. 13: 13; Mc. 4: 12; Lc. 8: 10), but not with cyphers and gibberish.<sup>85</sup>

The ‘prophecy’ of the *pergamino* caused Valencia to worry about the effect that all kinds of fortune-telling had on ordinary people and he produced arguments from Classical times to plead against their deleterious influence. Books of augury were very popular and on at least two occasions Pedro de Valencia had written to the confessor of Philip III, Don Gaspar de Córdoba, urging him to ban such books definitively.<sup>86</sup> He used many arguments from scripture to warn against false prophets.<sup>87</sup> The verification of the texts must come from God himself as happened in the Old Testament Book of Josias:<sup>88</sup> as God confirmed the authenticity of the Book of Deuteronomy so he will authenticate the Lead Tablets, if they are genuine. When denouncing the self-validation of the *plomos* Valencia ridicules the notion that they should form the canon and be the yardstick for judging other texts: “While there is doubt and dispute about the authenticity of all this, it is not to authorise itself. [...] That is to say that what the parchment and *plomos* contain is the truth and this proves false all history and writers”.<sup>89</sup> To further reinforce his point he tells a joke: “It’s what a sacristan replied to a bishop who reprimanded him, as the clock did tell not the right

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<sup>85</sup> “Y el libro más misterioso está de propósito en çifra, y que no se puede leer por aora, y se promete un Elías que aya de venir a leerlo. No será razón que lo desçifremos e interpretemos nosotros en bulgar, que es dibulgar los misterios. Pero es muy nueua manera de encubrir misterios aquésta, y jamás vsada por Dios. El Apocalipsis en lengua y letra griega se escriuió bulgar y clara entonçes y se dio a la Iglesia con las figuras y parábolos. Cubría Dios sus misterios *vt audientes no audient & legentes non intelligant*, los pertinaces y mal intencionados, no con çifras y gerigonças”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 23.

<sup>86</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV 1, pp. 21–22.

<sup>87</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 14.

<sup>88</sup> Josias (640–609 BCE) was the son and successor of Amon king of Judah. Under the guidance of the high priest Helcias, he suppressed idolatry (4 Rg 22). During the repair and decoration of the temple Helcias found the ‘book of the law’, gave it to Saphan who handed it to the king and then read it to him. Helcias and Saphan were sent by the king to Holda the prophetess to ask the Lord about the books. She warned that if idolatry were not given up grave chastisement would follow (4 Rg 22: 3–30, 2 Par 34: 14). The ‘law book’ was Deuteronomy or the whole Pentateuch. The discovery was used to initiate reform and to root out idolatry: *Catholic Biblical Encyclopedia: Old Testament*, ed. J. E. Steinmueller & K. Sullivan (New York: J. F. Wagner, 1955), p. 590.

<sup>89</sup> “Estándose dudando y disputando de la çerteza de todo esto, no se a de autoriçar ello a sí mismo [...] Es decir, que lo que el pergamino y las láminas contienen, es lo çierto. Y ello conuençe de falsedad a todas las historias y escritores”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 28–29.

time, and the former replied [by looking at] the sun: “Look at where the sun is now, for my clock is telling the right time”.<sup>90</sup>

Valencia’s rational, critical approach made him realise that the *pergamino* and the *plomos* were related to one another: “[...] Once the parchment has been judged, the books are judged also. Because the books cannot be separated from it, which quote it and approve it”.<sup>91</sup> Finally, with deep common sense and a wry, ironic sense of humour, he shows the implausibility of the way in which the successive ‘finds’ were discovered,<sup>92</sup> and that the manner of concealment of the *plomos* over fifteen hundred years ago does not stand up to scrutiny.<sup>93</sup>

### *Pedro de Valencia and the Paraphrasis chaldaica*

Pedro de Valencia also used his exegetical expertise to defend Arias Montano’s edition of the second Polyglot Bible, the *Biblia regia*, which was sponsored by Philip II. Fray Andrés de León of the Friars Minor had, on 20 May 1615, offered to Philip III corrections of the *Biblia regia*, in particular of the *Paraphrasis chaldaica*. The *Paraphrasis* belonged to the *targumin*, one of the genres of traditional Hebrew biblical studies, of great influence in the interpretation of Sacred Scripture. In the words of Arias Montano: “Targum is the same for the Chaldeans as paraphrasis is for the Latins”.<sup>94</sup> They were translations from Hebrew to Aramaic with a certain exegetical content. (Apparently, the Hebrew root of *targumin* means both to translate and to interpret.) Their object was not to produce a reliable text for scholars but to instruct the common people, which became necessary after the disappearance of Hebrew as a spoken language. At first the text would be read in Hebrew in the synagogue, then it would be translated and

<sup>90</sup> “Es lo que respondió vn sacristan a vn Obispo que le reprehendía porque traía mal rexido el reloj y lo convencía con el sol: ‘Mire el sol como anda que mi reloj bien regido está’”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 29.

<sup>91</sup> “[...] juzgado el pergamino, se hallan juzgados los libros. Porque las láminas no se pueden apartar de él, que lo citan y aprueuan”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 28. This point was made also by Ignacio de las Casas: Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, “Traducción, crítica y denuncia”, p. 415.

<sup>92</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 30–32.

<sup>93</sup> Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, pp. 29–32.

<sup>94</sup> *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano a la Biblia regia de Felipe II. Estudio introductorio*, edición, traducción y notas de M<sup>a</sup> Asunción Sánchez Manzano (León: Universidad de León, 2006), p. 63.

an explanation would be given from time to time. These translations and interpretations were written down much later. The *targumin* were very important for textual criticism as they were deeply rooted in Jewish culture.<sup>95</sup> Yet, their variety and inconsistency posed problems for scholars. And of course there could be political problems in the atmosphere after Trent. (Arias Montano and Luis de León both declined to be part of the group that would amend the Vulgate.)<sup>96</sup>

As an accomplished Orientalist, Arias Montano could improve on the translations of Santes Pagnino (c. 1470–1536)<sup>97</sup> by a more accurate rendering of Hebrew grammar and syntax. He left incomprehensible passages as he found them rather than trying to ‘explain’ them.<sup>98</sup> Pedro de Valencia will also describe such scholarly methodology when challenging Fray Andrés de León’s version of the *Paraphrasis*. Gaspar Morocho Gayo claims that this controversy was, in fact, a conspiracy organised between Andrés de León and the agents of Archbishop Pedro de Castro Cabeza de Vaca y Quiñones (1534–1623) in order to bring into disrepute the *Biblia regia* and seek papal approval for the *pergamino* and the Lead Books.<sup>99</sup> Certainly, Andrés de León’s attempts to have his version of the *Paraphrasis chaldaica* published took place from 1615 to 1618, at the height of the *plúmbeos* controversy.

J. A. Jones has published the text of the decision of the University of Alcalá of 23 September 1618, which forbade Andrés de León from having his amended version printed. Jones also reproduces the *censuras* of nine academics, five of whom were in favour and four against. Those opposed all point out that Andrés de León has not used the original source, which was in Chaldean, and has used a later Syrian manuscript. Dr. Enrique de Villegas claims that, having used secondary sources, León has changed them in arbitrary fashion: “[...] removing, changing and adding in many parts at whim”.<sup>100</sup> This claim is made, also, by Gaspar Sánchez, Dr. Gante and Maestro Alonso Sánchez, professor of Hebrew. All the academics who criticise Andrés de León’s version state that the adulteration of the Talmudic sources

<sup>95</sup> *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano*, pp. XXI–XXII.

<sup>96</sup> *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano*, p. XXXVI.

<sup>97</sup> Santes Pagnino taught Greek and Hebrew in Rome. With the aid of Pope Leo X he published a Latin Bible, translated from the Hebrew (Lyon: Antoine de Ry, 1528): *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano*, p. xxxii.

<sup>98</sup> *Prefacios de Benito Arias Montano*, p. XXXVIII.

<sup>99</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 53.

<sup>100</sup> “[...] quitando, mudando y añadiendo en muchas partes a su arbitrio”.

will incur the scorn of Jewish scholars. Here again is Dr. Enrique de Villegas: “That very claim [to correct ‘errors’ in the *Biblia regia*] can give the Jews a motive for saying that, when we were not sufficiently satisfied with the authenticity, that we had recourse to lies in support of our religion”.<sup>101</sup> From this evidence León’s version seems to have been an unscholarly hotch-potch.

The defence of Pedro de Valencia and Juan Ramírez took place between the years 1615 and 1618. The relevant document is called *Advertencias de Pedro de Valencia y de Juan Ramírez acerca de la impresión de la Paraphrasis chaldaica* (MS 502, BNE) (*Observations of Pedro de Valencia and Juan Ramírez Concerning the Printing of the Paraphrasis Chaldaica*) was submitted to the rector of the University of Alcalá on 10 October 1616. Its opening paragraphs use the same critical criteria as those of the academics who voted against Andrés de León’s version; they also stressed the importance of not tampering with an original text and criticised the changes made by Andrés de León for their arbitrary and unscholarly nature:

One can quickly and easily take a word from one version and substitute it in another without explaining why it is being done. But to show that neither the word that was there before ought to be removed, or to place there the one that was substituted, and that the unchanged version is the true one, is neither easy nor briefly explained. Fray Andrés de León carried out the first precedure and we have carried out the second. Thus, these observations have inevitably been rather long.<sup>102</sup>

Valencia later reinforces this argument by referring to the controversy between Rufinus and St. Jerome in the fifth century. Rufinus had produced a free Latin translation of Origen’s *Peri archon* (220–230 CE), from *De principiis* (*Concerning First Principles*). As there had been

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<sup>101</sup> “[...] esa pretensión misma puede dar motivo a los judíos para que digan, al no darse la satisfacción conveniente de la autentiçidad, que nos valemos de mentiras en apoyo de nuestra religión”: J. A. Jones, “Censuras acerca de la impresión de la *Paraphrasis chaldaica* de Andrés de León: un aspecto de la amistad entre Benito Arias Montano y Pedro de Valencia”, *Homenaje a Pedro Sainz Rodríguez*, I, pp. 339–348.

<sup>102</sup> “Con facilidad y brevedad se quita de una version un vocablo y se sustituye otro sin dar razon de la causa porque se haze. Pero mostrar que ni el vocablo que estava primero se deviera quitar, ni poner el que se sustituyo, y que la version antes de trocarla es la cierta, y no despues de alterada, ni es facil ni breve. Lo primero ha hecho el padre Andres de Leon. Lo secundo emos procurado hazer nosotros, y assi no an podido dejar de alargarse estas advertencias”: P. de Valencia, *Advertencias de Pedro de Valencia y Juan Ramírez acerca de la impresion de la Paraphrasis chaldaica*, MS 502, fol. 4r.

corruption of some scriptural texts in the second century, Rufinus expurgated passages that he considered dubious. He stated that the changes he made were based on other writings of Origen. Jerome accused him of taking out or softening heretical parts and thus creating a false impression, and retranslated the Greek text himself.<sup>103</sup>

He removed the errors, which had been added by the heretics, and added interpolations to the book in several parts, for which St Jerome reprimanded him harshly for not writing a faithful interpretation and said that this was not to translate but to falsify and corrupt the texts [books]. To undo the damage, the saint was obliged to do an entirely new translation, without removing anything that was in the Greek, as there were so many errors and blasphemies that pious ears could not bear to hear them.<sup>104</sup>

The *Advertencias* continue:

There are many other places in those apologetic works that are very appropriate to the present case. The only difference between them seems to be that Origen's version came before Rufinus's, who removed, added and changed [the text] and for this reason St. Jerome calls it forged, fraudulent and false, and in the *Paraphrasis* [of the *Biblia regia*] the true version of St. Jerome was followed in the Latin version. When we have the whole reliable, text there, they want to substitute one like that of Rufinus.<sup>105</sup>

The *Advertencias* criticise Andrés de León for misreading passages in the Old Testament as references to Christ and the mysteries of faith and that he also changes passages so that they concur with the Vulgate:

The futility of this attempt [...] is proven, in a self-evident way, by examining all the places which he comments on, because anybody who studies them will find that two things are being attempted: in some of them

<sup>103</sup> P. F. Esler, *The Early Christians* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 1007.

<sup>104</sup> “[...] les quitaba los errores, que les avían sido añadidos por los hereges y interpoló el libro en muchas partes quitándole lugares y aun añadiéndole algunos, el qual hecho reprehende asperamente S. Gerónimo como contrario a la fidelidad del intérprete, i dize que fue no traduzir sino viciar o corrompir los libros, y para deshazer este daño se tuuo el s<sup>to</sup> por obligado a hazer nueva y entera traducción, sin quitar nada de lo que se hallava en Griego, puesto que avia tantos errores y blasfemias que no las podía sufrir los oídos piadosos”: Valencia, MS 502, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> “Otros muchos lugares ay en aquellas apologias muy a proposito al caso presente que parece no ay mas diferencia del vno al otro de que en la version de los libros de Origenes precedio la de Rufino que quito añadio y mudo y por eso S. Geronimo la llama vitiosa, fraudulenta y falsa, y se siguió la verdadera de S. Geronimo en la version latina de la paraphrasis aviendo la entera y cierta se quiere substituir agora otra como la de Rufino”: Valencia, *Advertencias*, MS 502, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

to make them refer to Christ, Our Lord, and to the mysteries of our holy faith and in others to try to make them like the Vulgate,<sup>106</sup> so that they say the same thing in in the same words.<sup>107</sup>

Such misreadings can bring into disrepute those passages which do in fact refer to Christ:

And this attempt is futile in itself and even more so in its manner of execution. The truth of this is proven by the fact that Fray Andrés de León tries in vain to make passages which do not refer to Christ, our Lord, do so. Well, he does not achieve his intention in this, rather those passages which truly and genuinely speak of Christ, our Lord, could fall into disrepute, in accordance with the statement of St. Isidore Pelasio who blame those who want to attribute to Christ all the passages of the Old Testament.<sup>108</sup>

Hebrew can lend itself to such falsifications:

Nobody doubts that to force passages to express ideas which are not there is a futile task and the fact that the interpreter of the Vulgate has not attempted such a thing can be seen by anyone that by reading the Hebrew text and by changing just one letter into another similar one, or just a diacritic point, which was easier, he could have translated some passages [to refer] to Christ, our Lord, and he did not do so.<sup>109</sup>

Fray Andrés de León described the drowning of Phaorah and the Egyptians in the Red Sea as allegory (Ex. 14: 9–31). The *Advertencias* point out that this is an inadequate explanation, as the Bible refers to a specific geographical feature, and this cannot be dismissed:

<sup>106</sup> *Reformar*: reducir en forma lo que no la tiene: Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua*.

<sup>107</sup> “La vanidad deste intento [...] se prueba evidentemente examinando todos los lugares en que se repara, porque quien los considerare hallara que se pretenden en ellos dos cosas. En unos hazerlos que hablen de Christo n<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>r</sup>. y de los misterios de n<sup>ra</sup> s<sup>ta</sup> fee, y en otros procurar reducirlos a la vulgata, de manera que digan lo mismo que en ella y por las mismas palabras [...]”: Valencia, *Advertencias*, MS 502, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> “Y este assumpto es vano en si y mucho mas en la manera de su egecucion de que lo sea ansi se prueba de que los lugares que no hableren de Christo n<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>r</sup>. en vano procura el p<sup>e</sup> Andres de Leon hazer que hablen del, pues en esto no consigue su intento y antes si pudiera ser desacreditara los que verdaderamente y ciertamente hablan de Christo n<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>r</sup>. segun aquello de S. Isidoro Pelusiotia que culpan a los que quieren reducir a Christo todos los lugares del Testamento Viejo”: Valencia, *Advertencias*, MS 502, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> “Hazer fuerça a los lugares para que digan lo que no dizen no habra quien dude que es vano trabajo y que el interprete de la vulgata no haya pretendido tal cosa, bien se echara de ver quien leyendo el texto Hebreo viere, que con mudar solo una letra en otra semejante, o solo un punto que era mas facil [...] podia traducir algunos lugares de Christo n<sup>ro</sup> S<sup>r</sup>. y no lo hizo”: Valencia, *Advertencias*, MS 502, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.



What Fr. Andrés de León changes poses many problems which are: these unfortunates, who were condemned to immersion in the Last Sea, because the Last Sea for the Jews, was either the Mediterranean or the Ocean, and thus this version will say that these men were drowned in the Ocean, which is the same as the Red Sea, as it forms part of it. That is what the *Pharaphrasis* says. Thus, Fr. Leon would have to demonstrate what immersion this was, because it is not enough to refer to allegories, but to tell the story of what may have happened, because the place in which it is said to have happened is pointed out.<sup>110</sup>

These extracts show the skill as biblical exegetes of Pedro de Valencia and his brother-in-law, Juan Moreno Ramírez: a literal and reliable translation from Hebrew does not interpret what does not seem to make sense but translates what it there; one must not read into the text what one would like to find there; a very thorough knowledge of Hebrew is necessary if a letter or a diacritic mark can change the meaning so very radically. The erudition of the two men is very apparent from these extracts but also their integrity and courage in defending both the reputation of Arias Montano but also their own search for the truth. The difficulty of the task when there are so many variants in different manuscripts is not easily solved but there must be no attempt to make them all accord with the Vulgate: they must be accepted as enrichments which are left as they are.<sup>111</sup>

During 1617 and 1618 Valencia came into direct conflict with Andrés de León as he insistently demanded that the latter hand his papers over to competent academics in Alcalá and desist from circulating the favourable critique of Fr. Pedro Palencia, a Dominican Hebrew scholar in Alcalá.<sup>112</sup> On 1 August 1617 Valencia sent a memorial to the King in which he requested this. On 1 November Valencia's *procurador* (lawyer) sent a petition to the rector of Alcalá asking if the papers had been submitted. On 5 December another memorial was

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<sup>110</sup> "Lo que el p<sup>e</sup> Andres de Leon muda tiene muchos inconvenientes quien son: estos subsanantes que fueron condenados a sumersion en el mar vltimo, porque el mar vltimo para los Hebreos, o era el mediterraneo o el oceano, y assi vendra a dezir esta version que estos se haogaron [sic] en el mar oceano que sera lo mismo que en el Bermejo, pues es parte del, y eso es lo que dize la paraphrasis o en el mediterraneo y entonces avra de mostrar el p<sup>e</sup> Leon que sumersion fue esta porque no basta referirla a alegorias, sino que se a de dar historia que aya sucedido, pues se señala el lugar en que se dize que sucedio": Valencia, *Advertencias*, MS 502, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Various scholars like Dr. Pedro López de Montoya had interpreted but not changed the various manuscripts; they could illuminate one another and the corpus could enrich our knowledge: Valencia, *Advertencias*, MS 502, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 319.

sent to the King asking him to proceed against León with the utmost severity as he had ignored the royal order of 21 October:

[...] because this is a matter of great importance as it is connected with the *Biblia regia*, and there will be great disadvantages if no decision is taken.<sup>113</sup>

On 26 February 1618 the Council of State, in reply to the memorial of Valencia, demanded that Andrés de León be compelled to hand over his papers. During this time León was in touch with Pedro de Castro. In a letter to the Archbishop of 10 April 1618 León blamed Valencia for the delay in getting approval for his amended *Paraphrasis*. In highly emotive terms León claimed that the *láminas de Granada* were of heavenly origin and identified his sufferings with that of the Immaculate Conception. In September, Andrés de León and Juan Moreno Ramírez were summoned before the convocation of the University of Alcalá and on 11 September a decision was given in favour of Pedro de Valencia and Juan Moreno Ramírez.<sup>114</sup>

Thus, during the last years of his life Valencia was fighting on two fronts, as he was both defending Arias Montano's inclusion in the *Biblia regia* of the original Chaldean text of the *Paraphrasis chaldaica*, with explanatory notes, and was, during the same period, also reiterating his criticisms of the *Pergamino y láminas de Granada*. Valencia's courageous insistence on speaking the truth, as he perceived it, has been forcibly stated in the critique of the *pergamino y láminas* itself but also in his involvement in the public controversy concerning the *Paraphrasis chaldaica*. His personal integrity was widely recognised; he himself had declared in the critique that he was giving his judgement simply, without presenting it in a way that might please others:

I will give my opinions simply, without concealing anything out of fear or respect, honouring above all God, whose cause is at stake, and who is witness to my affectionate intention. God, who is not served or pleased by those who seek the approbation and applause of men.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> P. de Valencia, “[...] porque esta es causa de gran importancia por pertenecer [a] la Biulia Regia y tendra grandes ynconbenientes quedarse sin determinar”: Valencia, *Advertencias*, MS 502, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, pp. 53–64.

<sup>115</sup> “[...] diré mi sentimiento sencillamente, sin encubrir nada por temor ni respeto, respetando sobre todo a Dios, cuyo causa se trata, y que es testigo de mi afecto intención, al qual no pueden seruir y agradar los que andan a contentar y aplaudir a los hombres”: Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 10.

Such undue stress would appear to have affected Valencia's health.<sup>116</sup> According to his anonymous biographer his health was undermined during the last year of his life:

He lived for sixty-four years in very good health, until a year before he died, when he began to lose weight and to become depressed, so that he became increasingly disconsolate and discouraged, which kept on increasing until he died.<sup>117</sup>

The intellectual acumen that Valencia shows in the critiques we have examined and his skill as a biblical exegete were the personal qualities that he brought to his *Tratado acerca de los moriscos*. The esteem in which his learning was held is also very apparent in his reputation as a designer of iconographic allegories: in his rôle as Royal Chronicler, Philip III commissioned him to design allegorical works to decorate various royal apartments.

*Pedro de Valencia and Pablo de Céspedes: 'ut pictura poesis'*

Valencia, in his position as Royal Chronicler, was also commissioned by Philip III to design a series of emblems that illustrated the political virtues. His skill in doing so reflected not merely his knowledge as a humanist but also his personal interest in the plastic arts. Both Valencia and Arias Montano had a lifelong interest in art, in particular painting and, in the case of Arias Montano, in engraving.<sup>118</sup> As 'polygraphic' humanists their interests were very wide, embracing painting, sculpture, cartography, numismatics and botanical and zoological *objects d'art*.<sup>119</sup> Both men would also have been involved in discussions on art theory at Pacheco's Academy in Seville and perhaps later in Valencia's

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<sup>116</sup> Such activities must have won many enemies for Valencia. It has been pointed out that his brother-in-law suffered, also, as he was murdered in mysterious circumstances in 1626: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 324.

<sup>117</sup> "Bivio sesenta y cuatro años con mui buena salud, hasta un año antes que muriesse, que se fue enflaqueciendo i melancolizando de manera que passava con desconsuelo i desaliento, que fue creciendo hasta que murio": Anon., MS 5781, fol. 136<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> Cipriano de la Huerga had also loved painting: Ascensio, "Cipriano de la Huerga", p. 63.

<sup>119</sup> G. Morocho Gayo, "Humanismo y filología poligráfica en Cipriano de la Huerga. Su encuentro con fray Luis de León", *La Ciudad de Dios*, CCIV (1991), p. 896.

own Academy in Madrid.<sup>120</sup> Both Arias Montano and Valencia were friendly with Pablo de Céspedes, who had great influence and standing in the Seville Academy. As part of his duties as *cronista del reino* [de Castilla], in 1609, Valencia was required to design some frescos for El Pardo, to replace those damaged by the fire of 1604.<sup>121</sup> Later, in collaboration with Juan Bautista Lavahna, he produced a set of designs to illustrate the political virtues. The designs can be read two in different manuscripts, the first of which is an autograph copy in Valencia's hand.<sup>122</sup> However, Valencia's interest in painting went back to his early years.

*Pedro de Valencia and the 'Descripción de las virtudes*

José de Sigüenza (1544–1606), in his book *La historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, has a lengthy description of frescos from the library of El Escorial, which show allegorical representations of the *trivium*, the *quadrivium*, philosophy and theology.<sup>123</sup> When describing *La Filosofía*, he refers to the controversy between Academics and Stoics concerning the criteria for verifying the true nature of external reality. This is represented in one of the frescos:

[...] the strongest point in the controversy was whether or not men have a means or reliable tool for arriving at truth and at the nature of things  
[...] whoever would like to know more about this, let him read the book

<sup>120</sup> F. J. Fuente Fernández, "La Academia de Pedro de Valencia: los intelectuales de su círculo", in *Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes. El humanismo extremeño, las Jornadas*, 1997, ed. Marqués de la Encomienda et al. (Trujillo: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1997), pp. 162–163.

<sup>121</sup> R. López Torrijos, *La mitología en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Cádiz, 1985), p. 198.

<sup>122</sup> *Descripción de la pintura de las virtudes*, MS 13. 348, fols 22<sup>r</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>; *Relación de la traça de las virtudes fecha por Pedro de Valencia y Juan Bapt<sup>e</sup> Lauaña*, MS 5585, BNE, fols 127<sup>r</sup>–134<sup>v</sup>. The *Traça* has also been transcribed, although somewhat inaccurately, by Magdalena de Lapuerta Montoya, *Los pintores de la corte de Felipe III. La casa real de El Pardo* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2002), pp. 621–628. There is another transcription by Abdón Moreno García: A. Moreno García, "Relación de la traça de las virtudes fecha por Pedro de Valencia y Juan Bautista Lavaña. Un tratado de Iconología", in *Tras las huellas de humanistas españoles. Benito Arias Montano y Pedro de Valencia* (Badajoz: Universidad de Extremadura, 1996), pp. 167–199.

<sup>123</sup> Mediaeval universities began Liberal Arts courses with the *trivium*, which comprised grammar, logic and rhetoric and was followed by the *quadrivium*, which was made up of arithmetic, geometry, music and astrology. The highest studies were in philosophy and theology.

which our Pedro de Valencia, a native of Zafra, wrote about this matter. [Valencia is] an eminent scholar not merely of jurisprudence, but also of philosophy and Sacred Scripture, and is singularly accomplished in Greek, Hebrew and Latin. The book is called *Academica sive de iudicio erga verum*, and there in a few pages you will find very profound thoughts on these two schools.<sup>124</sup>

Pedro de Valencia was a close friend of Sigüenza, librarian of El Escorial after Arias Montano (1593).<sup>125</sup> The design of the frescos in the library of El Escorial (1592) has been attributed to Sigüenza,<sup>126</sup> although Arias Montano probably advised him.<sup>127</sup> Valencia himself may also have contributed to the discussions on the designs, as Arias Montano had first brought him to El Escorial in 1585.<sup>128</sup> Valencia had another opportunity to become familiar with the frescos, once Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–1596) and Bartolomé Carducho (1555–1608) had painted them, as he may have attended lectures at the University of El Escorial.<sup>129</sup> He had a lifelong interest in art and had actually painted himself as a young man. Pablo de Céspedes (b. 1538–48 and

<sup>124</sup> “[...] el punto más fuerte de la controversia era sobre si tienen los hombres medio e instrumento firme con que alcanzar la verdad y la naturaleza de las cosas [...] quien quisiere saber más cosas de esto, lea el libro que escribió nuestro Pedro de Valencia, natural de Zafra, varón insigne, no sólo en la Jurisprudencia, sino en Filosofía y Letras Sagradas, acompañado de singular noticia de la lengua griega, de la latina y hebreo; el título es *Academica sive de iudicio erga verum*, donde en pocas hojas verá cosas muy recónditas acerca de estas dos escuelas”: J. de Sigüenza, *La fundación de El Escorial*, Prologue by F. C. Saintz de Robles (Madrid: Aguilar, 1963), p. 293. The passage continues thus: “[...] y dándole Nuestro Señor vida a este autor, nos ha de dejar grandes frutos de sus trabajos e ingenio, con admiración de las naciones extranjeras, que lo estimarán en más, porque conocerán mejor estas cosas [...]”: Sigüenza, *El Escorial*, p. 293).

<sup>125</sup> Sigüenza was also principal of the school there from 1595 to 1597 and from 1600 to 1603. He was elected prior in 1603 and re-elected in 1606, the year of his death.

<sup>126</sup> Sigüenza himself only claimed to have designed the ‘historias’: ‘[...] y la invención y la traza de las historias es mía’: Sigüenza, *El Escorial*, p. 441; R. Flórez & I. Balsinde, *El Escorial y Arias Montano* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2000), p. 246.

<sup>127</sup> “Los hombres doctos procuraban su amistad, y los caballeros hallaban en él cosas de edificación. Los oficiales, arquitectos y pintores hallaban en él cosas que deprender”: J de San Jerónimo (CODOIN VII), p. 185 in Flórez & Balsinde, *El Escorial*, p. 270).

<sup>128</sup> L. Gómez Canseco, *El humanismo después de 1600: Pedro de Valencia* (Seville: University of Seville, 1993), pp. 28–29. Preparations for the painting took place in 1586 and 1587. Work began in 1588 and it ended in 1592: C. García-Frias Checa & J. L. Sancho, *Real monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1994), p. 171.

<sup>129</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, I, p. 36.

d. 1608), in his correspondence with Valencia, mentions this fact: “in your honour’s letter I read with great joy the expression of your ardent affection for this truly noble art and how, in your youth, you showed great potential, had you dedicated yourself to it”.<sup>130</sup> As an occasional member of Pacheco’s Academy and perhaps of other academies in Seville, he would have participated in discussions on art theory, as for example that of the *ut pictura poesis* precept, that was linked to the movement to establish the nobility of painting and to defend its antiquity.<sup>131</sup> His correspondence with Pablo de Céspedes reveals the esteem in which he was held by the latter, whose own theories profoundly influenced both Francisco Pacheco, Antonio Mohedano (1551–1626)<sup>132</sup> and, indirectly, Alonso Cano and Velázquez.<sup>133</sup>

To comply with the expectation that painting reflect accurately the ancient world, Céspedes relied on Valencia’s erudition and sought clarification on details of classical architecture: in a letter of 22 January 1605, Valencia describes minutely for his friend the Egyptian columns and capitals of the Pharaoh Ptolemy Philopator’s ship.<sup>134</sup> Céspedes dedicated to Valencia his own *Discurso de la comparación de la Antigua y Moderna Pintura y Escultura* (1604), in which, among other things, he propounded his theories on the origin of the Corinthian

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<sup>130</sup> “Con grande alegría leo en la carta de Vuestra Merced donde significa l’ardiente afición que Vuestra Merced tiene a esta arte verdaderamente noblíssima i de la muestra que en los tiernos años Vuestra Merced daba de lo mucho que alcançara est’arte, si Vuestra Merced la cultivara con su divino ingenio”: J. Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes y su círculo: humanismo y contrarreforma en la cultura andaluza del renacimiento al barroco* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), p. 421.

<sup>131</sup> Discussions focused on “el ámbito teórico, y a través de la cita clásica [Horace’s *ut pictura poesis*], para justificar y defender la nobleza de la pintura en un mundo en el que las artes manuales estaban netamente diferenciadas de las mentales, siendo no solo distintas sino opuestas, unas de orden mecánico e inferiores y otras de orden intelectual y superiores”. Rosa López Torrijos further considered that the ceiling representing the Assembly of the Gods in the house of the poet and art patron Juan de Argüjio (1567–1623) epitomised this precept: “Lo que el techo ejemplifica es la expresión literal del *ut pictura poesis*, es decir la correspondencia de una misma idea expresada en imágenes y pintura”: López Torrijos, *La mitología*, pp. 1983–184.

<sup>132</sup> Mohedano is considered to be a precursor of Zurbarán: Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes*, p. 251.

<sup>133</sup> Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes*, p. 251; J. M. Brown, “La teoría del arte de Pablo de Céspedes”, in *Revista de Ideas Estéticas*, 90 (1965), p. 95.

<sup>134</sup> “Las palabras de Callixeno referidas por Atheneo en la descripción de la columnas de la nave de Ptolomeo Philopator, me parecen a mí mui claras i que tienen sentido llano i que entendido una vez no se pueden controvertir [...]”: J. Martínez Ruiz, “Cartas de Pedro de Valencia a Pablo de Céspedes (1604–1605)”, *BRAE*, LIX (1979), p. 396.

column. He believed that this column had been found in the Temple of Solomon, and attempted to draw a reconstruction of the building.<sup>135</sup> The document is reproduced in Rubio Lapaz, pp 440–463 and Ceán Bermúdez, volume V, pp. 316–323. Arias Montano had, previously, been deeply involved in the controversy about the description of the Temple of Solomon.<sup>136</sup> He saw Philip II as the new Solomon, a conception confirmed by his design for the statues in the *Patio de los Reyes* in El Escorial.<sup>137</sup> In this courtyard there are statues of the six Old Testament kings most involved in the biblical Temple of Solomon.<sup>138</sup>

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Seville was the Spanish city with the most vibrant artistic life and the most open to outside influences. Pablo de Céspedes had spent his time in Italy (1559–1577) immersing himself in Rome’s cultural life, where his friendship with Arias Montano had opened many doors.<sup>139</sup> When he returned to Spain, members of the various Academies in Seville received eagerly the new

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<sup>135</sup> Céspedes’s design partially reflects Villalpando’s representation of the prophet Ezequiel’s equation of the Temple of Salomon with the mystical New Jerusalem. Furthermore, he seems to link the building with the Roman Temple of Janus in Córdoba, site of the mosque and later on the cathedral. Rubio Lapaz suggests that the complex rhetoric of Céspedes was “una extraordinaria base legitimadora para la grandeza del imperialismo mesiánico de los Austrias”: Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes*, p. 15.

<sup>136</sup> Arias Montano’s designs were derived from a careful philological study of the biblical texts and archaeological sources. He pointed out that the description in the Book of Exequiel was a spiritual one associated with the New Jerusalem, a fact ignored by the Jesuits Prado and Vilalpando in their study. Sigüenza writes: “Lo primero que quiero sentar o presuponer [...] es que el templo de Salomón y el que el Profeta Ezequiel pinta [...] son tan diferentes como el cielo y la tierra [...] entendió esto divinamente San Jerónimo [...] Esta misma sentencia de nuestro santo doctor Jerónimo sigue como ciertísima el doctor Arias Montano, en mucho lugares de sus escritos, y particularmente Sobre Isaías [...]”: Sigüenza, *La fundación de El Escorial*, pp. 431–433. In volume VIII of the *Biblia regia, Exemplar, sive de sacris fabricis liber* (1571) republished in 1593 as *Antiquitatum judaicarum, libri IX* there is a meticulous and detailed historical reconstruction of Solomon’s Temple: Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes*, p. 8.

<sup>137</sup> “El doctísimo Arias Montano fue el inventor y por cuyo consejo se pusieron las estatuas de estos seis Reyes [...] tenía también hechas unas inscripciones para poner en los pedestales, porque muchos ni saben qué Reyes son, ni menos qué fin o propósito tienen allí; perdió se el borraor, sin quedar memoria de él”: Sigüenza, *El Escorial*, pp. 215–216.

<sup>138</sup> “David y Salomón, su hijo, como los principales en el Reino y en la fábrica, están en medio [...] Los dos que son inmediatos a éstos son el santo Rey Ezequías, de la parte de David, y de la de Salomón Josías [...] que por su insigne piedad y porque con tanto cuidado restauraron las cosas del culto divino y templo santo [...]; y aquí entre estos reyes se antepone Ezequías a Josafat, y Josías a su abuelo Manasés [...]”: Sigüenza, *El Escorial*, p. 214.

<sup>139</sup> Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes*, p. 28.

ideas he brought from Italy.<sup>140</sup> The Humanist concept of the erudite painter gave subject matter precedence over form. The decrees of the last session of the Council of Trent (1562–1563) reinforced the importance of content, which now had to have a strong moral undertone. The use of classical symbolism and mythological allegory, which had contributed to the mythification of the Spanish Hapsburg monarchy from the time of Charles V,<sup>141</sup> now had to have a strong didactic content. Such requirements may have led to the interest in emblem books: there were over two hundred editions of Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,<sup>142</sup> and Valencia's early mentor, Francisco Sánchez, *El Brocense* (1523–1601), wrote a commentary on the book Cesare Ripa's (c. 1560–c. 1623) *Iconologia* was another source for Valencia's designs. Spanish contemporaries of Valencia, the Covarrubias brothers, both wrote emblem books: Juan de [H]orozco y Covarrubias (1550–c. 1608) published his *Emblemas morales* in 1589 and Sebastián de Covarrubias y Horozco (1539–1613) launched his in 1610. However, Valencia seems to have been more influenced by the Italian humanists than by his Spanish contemporaries.

When, in 1609, Valencia was required to design some frescos for El Pardo, to replace those damaged by the fire of 1604 he was eminently suitable for the task. The painters Vicente Carducho and Francisco López were commissioned to paint his designs.<sup>143</sup> Later, in conjunction with the cosmographer Juan Bautista Lavanha, he was asked to produce plans for the decoration of a gallery, possibly the *Galería del Mediodía* in the Alcázar. The frescos he designed for El Pardo can

<sup>140</sup> As well as Francisco Pacheco's Academy there were also those of the poet Juan de Arguijo held in the Casa de Arguijo, that of the Duke of Alcalá held in the Casa de Pilatos and that of the poet Argote de Molina: Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes*, p. 118; V. Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma. Mitología y humanismo en el Renacimiento sevillano* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 1979), pp. 68–69.

<sup>141</sup> There was a long association between the House of Hapsburg and Hercules. Examples can be seen in Spain in the depiction of Charles V as Hercules in the Alameda de Hércules in Seville, the association of Philip II with the labours of Hercules: F. Terzi, *Austriacae gentis imagines, frontispiece*, and the representation of Philip III as the Spanish Hercules killing the Hydra, who represents the Moriscos: Fonseca, *Ivsta expvlsion, frontispiece*.

<sup>142</sup> A. Alciato, *Emblemata* (Lyons, Bonhomme, 1550), translated and annotated, B. I. Knott (Aldershot/Vermont: Scholar Press/Ashgate Publishing Co., 1996), p. ix.

<sup>143</sup> Valencia had had contact with Carducho before 1609: in one of his letters to Sigüenza in 1604 he asked his friend to send him a copy of a painting of the Virgen carried out by Carducho for Valencia's wife Inés: López Torrijos, *La mitología*, p. 205, n. 89; Antolín, "Cartas in éditas", XLIV (1897), p. 366.



no longer be seen and there seems to be no evidence that the second lot of plans were ever executed. However, some of Carducho's preliminary drawings for the Pardo series *La crianza, vida y hazañas de Aquiles* are preserved in various archives.<sup>144</sup> Valencia's autograph manuscript for the second lot of designs can be seen in the Biblioteca Nacional MS 13.348 (fols 22<sup>r</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>) and a later scribe's version in MS 5085 (fols 138<sup>r</sup>–144<sup>r</sup>).

Valencia's influence at court as an iconographic *inventor* is evident as his Pardo designs for the *Aquiles* cycle were a substitution for previous ones called *Las hazañas de Carlos V* (the deeds of Charles V).<sup>145</sup> His skill is acknowledged by the painter Francisco de Mora, who made his own designs for the vault of *la escalera de la Reina* [Margarita] (the Queen's staircase) in the Pardo.<sup>146</sup> The frescos were intended for the King's rooms and were to convey "las buenas virtudes del cristianísimo Rey y señor nuestro" (the good virtues of our most Christian king and lord). In the *sala de audiencias*, the most public of the three rooms, the King's wisdom was implied by the depiction on the vaulted ceiling of *El juicio de Salomón* (the judgement of Solomon) by the painter Eugenio Cajés, with illustrations of the virtues in spaces between the windows, and landscapes over them.<sup>147</sup> In the semi-private *galería del rey* or *galería del Mediodía* the valour and virtue of the King were

<sup>144</sup> One of the drawings for the series seems to be by Eugenio Cajés, who painted the *Sala de Audiencias*. A friend of Vicente Carducho, he may have helped with the *Sala del Mediodía* when he had finished the ceiling frescos on Solomon: Lapuerta Montoya, *Los pintores*, p. 286.

<sup>145</sup> The designs seem to have been changed three times. According to the widow of Bartolomé Carducho, her husband first designed a series to illustrate the life of man, which may have been a series of moral emblems: Lapuerta Montoya, *Los pintores*, p. 282.

<sup>146</sup> Mora's *tasación* (invoicing) of the painting he carried out in the Pardo includes the following reference to Valencia: "La Majestad del Rey nuestro Señor [...] declaró, cuando por muerte de Juan de la Cruz y de Bartolomé Carducho, pareciéndole que los que habían de acabar sus obras no les darían el alma que á tales obras convenía, mandó que Pedro de Valencia, hombre docto en buenas letras, les instruyese en los que en aquellas galerías debían hacer; y así lo hizo, d'andole a Carducho el orden de hacer lo que allí, y á Francisco López, de la misma suerte, lo cual no se hizo conmigo [...]": López Torrijos, *La mitología*, pp. 71, 204.

<sup>147</sup> "La sala donde su Magestad da las Audencias, estuvo a cargo (traza y execución) de Eugenio Caxesi que la adornó de estuques, tallados y carteles doradas ricamente y en medio de la bóveda está pintado aquel caso portentoso tan selebrado en la Sagrada escritura, de Salomón quando dio aquella sentencia en el pleito de las dos madres, sobre qual de los dos (uno muerto y otro vivo) era suyo. En unos espacios pintó virtudes y en las lunetas paisajes, todo con gran magisterio y bizzarria": V. Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura*, ed. F. Calvo Seraller (Madrid: Turner, 1979), p. 331; Lapuerta Montoya, *Los pintores*, p. 320.

exemplified by the series of frescos of the deeds of Achilles by Vicente Carducho and finally,<sup>148</sup> Philip III's glorious forebears were illustrated by the series on *Las victorias de Carlos V* by Antonio López, in the King's private apartments, *el dormitorio del rey* or *sala de retratos o de vestir*.<sup>149</sup>

Valencia's *Descripción de la pintura de las virtudes* is a very detailed plan for the representation of the political virtues, which he holds to be the four cardinal ones of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance. To each of these he ascribes two others that are subordinate to them: *Prudencia* is accompanied by *Providencia* and *Solercia* or Astuteness, *Justicia* by *Clemencia* and *Gratitud*, *Fortaleza* by *Magnanimidad* and *Constancia* and *Templanza* by *Magnificencia* and *Fru-galidad*. To each virtue he allocates two symbols and one or more historical examples.<sup>150</sup> Like Cesare Ripa, he uses women to form his allegories and, as he is dealing with virtues, most are young and many are beautiful. For example he uses Minerva or Pallas Athene to represent *Prudencia*, as did Alciato (28).<sup>151</sup> Valencia's design also includes the wise, astute owl, which is associated with Minerva, goddess of wisdom.<sup>152</sup> Like Alciato and Ripa,<sup>153</sup> he also includes a two-headed figure as symbol of *Prudencia*:

Prudence is to be painted in the same way as Minerva was painted in antiquity, adding to her a royal crown whose lower part is encircled by an olive garland. The olive crown is taken to stand for wisdom, because

<sup>148</sup> Some of Valencia's designs, drawn by Carducho and Eugenio Cajés, have been reproduced by Magdalena de Lapuerta Montoya; one drawing by Carducho depicts Achilles who, disguised as a woman, is tricked by Ulysses into revealing his true identity, by choosing a sword rather than jewellery and another represents a battle scene. Eugenio Cajés shows the lament for the death of Patroclus: Lapuerta Montoya, *Los pintores*, p. 288.

<sup>149</sup> López Torrijos, *La mitología*, pp. 204–205. There were probably representations of other royal victories, as one of the paintings showed the handing over of the keys of Granada: Lapuerta Montoya, *Los pintores*, p. 401.

<sup>150</sup> The frescos in El Escorial also follow this practice, as do the emblems of the Hertel edition of Ripa's *Iconologia*.

<sup>151</sup> Alciato, 28: Pallas Athene, the guardian of virgins, is one of the emblems under the heading of Prudence. Covarrubias, III, 12. Spain is 'Minerua en la paz, Marte en la guerra' (Spain is Minerva in peace; Mars in war).

<sup>152</sup> Alciato, 25: the owl represents Pallas Athene, as it is known for its wise counsel; Covarrubias III, 47: "[...] la Chiueta/ o Lechuza, a Minerva cōsagrada/ por ser nocturna, tacita y secreta" (the owl/ consecrated to Minerva/ as it is nocturnal, taciturn and secret).

<sup>153</sup> Ripa also uses a two-headed woman to stand for *la Providencia*: C. Ripa, *Iconologia overo. Descrittione di diverse imagini cauate dall'antichità, & di propria inuentione; Trouate & dichiarate da Cesare Ripa, perugino* (Rome: Lepido Faëij, 1603), p. 410.

of the light given by the oil [...] [there is an] owl at her feet. The symbols of prudence are depicted: the head of the god Janus with his two heads, one of which looks to the past and the other to the future.<sup>154</sup>

Valencia's design for *la Justicia* shares some features with allegorical paintings in Seville. In the Casa de Arguijo, Astrea goddess of Justice, is represented with her usual sword and scales.<sup>155</sup> She is also shown on the ceiling of the Casa de Pilatos (1604), where the young Duke of Alcalá, Fernando Enríquez de Ribera (1583–1637) held his literary academy. Francisco Pacheco, who painted the ceiling, states that he consulted Céspedes on the technique of tempera, which is used there. Céspedes is likely to have influenced the overall designs of this ceiling and also probably those of the Casa de Arguijo and the Casa Arzobispal.<sup>156</sup> Valencia surely must have known about these. Here is Valencia's description of *la Justicia*:

She [Justice] is painted in the way that they paint the sign of Virgo, who is called Astrea: because justice comes from Heaven and, in its perfect form, is found only in God's government. Her garment is sky blue with a scattering of stars.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>154</sup> "La Prudencia se pinta en la forma que la antigüedad solía pintar a Minerva, añadiendole una corona real que en el círculo inferior este ceñida con una guirlanda de oliva. La corona por la sinificacion que se le da a la oliva de sabiduria, por la luz del azeite [...] la lechua a los pies. Los symbolos de la Prudencia se ponen, la cabeça del Dios Jano con dos caras con q̄ mira la una lo pasado y cō la otra lo venidero": MS 1333.49, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>. The passage continues: "[...] porque esta ave no siendo tan fuerte como otras, i mui inferior en buelo, con prudencia, usando de las tinieblas, alcança y vence a los demas, cogiendolas en el sueño i tiempo de su descuido i sueño". Alciato, 24: two-headed Janus (Exactly the same as in Valencia's design) and Ripa, 179: Prudence has two faces: one is a bearded man and the other is a woman.

<sup>155</sup> López Torrijos, *La mitología*, pp. 103, 130.

<sup>156</sup> The ceiling paintings consist of canvases stuck to the ceiling and framed in plaster, a style quite new to Seville. Vicente Lleó argues that the Italian painter, architect and art historian Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) used a similar design in his house in Arezzo (1548). Lleó also points out that the central panel closely resembles a design of Vasari that is in the Louvre. Céspedes was the only possible source for this knowledge: V. Lleó, "Los techos pintados de la Casa de Pilatos", in *Velázquez y Sevilla. Estudios* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía/ Consejería de Cultura, 1999), pp. 175–176.

<sup>157</sup> "Ella [la Justicia] está pintada de la forma q̄ se pinta el sino de Virgo, a q̄ llaman Astrea: porq̄ la justicia es cosa del cielo, i no se halla perfecta sino en el gobierno de Dios, su ropa de color de cielo sembrada de estrellas": Valencia, MS 133.48, fols 23<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>. This is also Don Quijote's concept of justice, as he explains in his speech to the galley slaves: *Don Quijote*, I, chap. 22, p. 226; for Alciato, human wisdom is as folly before God: *Sapientia humana stultitia est apud Deum* (Alciato, 11); for Covarrubias, the king who administers justice with gentleness and mercy becomes like God: "[el Rey...] Pero con la piedad, con la blandura, con magnanimidad, y con clemencia/ mas ésalça su nõbre/, y mas se édiosa.

Such a theocratic view of justice is implicit in Valencia's writings where he views the king as a steward, or Under-Shepherd to Christ, the Good Shepherd. The point will be further developed in Chapter 10.

As an example of *la Fortaleza*, Valencia used the story of Horatius Cocles warding off the enemy on the Sublicius Bridge. Ripa and Sebastián de Covarrubias also used this historical example; Covarrubias as an example of *Valor* and Ripa as *el Honor*.<sup>158</sup> When describing *la Templanza* (temperance), Valencia uses the elephant's dietary habits as a symbol of Temperance: "[One of] its symbols is the elephant eating from a pot: because they say that this animal, even if you increase its ration, does not eat more than the usual amount each day".<sup>159</sup> There are many other correspondences between Valencia's designs and emblem books: Like all three *autores de emblemas*, Valencia uses Pliny's story of the stork as a symbol of *la Gracitud*: "Storks are symbols of gratitude, on account of the gratitude that they show their old parents. When these can no longer fly, they bring them food in the nest, and they take them out flying, carrying them on their shoulders and wings".<sup>160</sup> Valencia also has two references to Mercury's winged rod or caduceus, a frequent symbol in all the emblem books and which appears more than once in El Escorial.<sup>161</sup> This is how he shows *la Felicidad* (happiness): "[a woman] leaning against a pedestal with her lap full of fruit and carrying Mercury's caduceus in her right hand".<sup>162</sup> Valencia's *La*

<sup>158</sup> Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales* III, 94: *Valor*; Ripa (Hertel) 155: *Honor*. Horatius Cocles is not illustrated in either the 1603 or 1613 editions of Ripa's *Iconologia*.

<sup>159</sup> "Sus symbolos son [sic] el elefante comiendo en un caldero: porque este animal dizen q̄ aun quieran acrétar la racion, no come mas de lo que tiene de costumbre cada día [...]": MS 133.48, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>: Ripa, *Iconologia overo*.

<sup>160</sup> "Las cigüeñas son symbolo de la gracitud, por el agradecim<sup>to</sup> de q̄ dizen usan cō sus padres viejos, i q̄ ya no pueden bolar, q̄ les traen de comer al nido i los sacan a bolar, llevandolos sobre sus ombros i alas": MS 133.48, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>: Alciato 37, Ripa (Hertel) 151 and Covarrubias II, 8. Pliny (Book 18, chapter 14) says that the stork embodies gratitude because, when their parents are old, they build them a home, tend to their plumage and find food for them.

<sup>161</sup> Mercury with his winged rod is represented in the library of El Escorial (1592): among the frescos painted by Pellegrino Tibaldi. The allegory of Rhetoric also carries the rod: G. Briganti, *Il manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi* (Roma: Cosmopolita, 1945), figs. 159 and 168.

<sup>162</sup> "[una mujer] arrimada a un pedestal con el regazo lleno de frutas y portando el caduceo de Mercurio en la mano derecha": MS 133.48, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>: Ripa, *Iconologia*, Felicità; Alciato, 130: *Fortuna. Virtuti, Fortuna comes* (Good fortune attendant on virtue). The caduceus, with entwined snakes and twin wings, stands between the horns of Amalthea. It thus indicates how material wealth blesses men of powerful intellect, skilled in speaking.

*Paz* (peace) also carries the caduceus, which is a symbol of peace: “[it is] the best known symbol among the ancients, because they say that this god was an ambassador who mediated and made peace between gods and men”.<sup>163</sup> Furthermore, for Valencia, “Peace is painted standing up and setting fire with a blazing torch to a pile of arms”.<sup>164</sup>

However, in spite of some similarities with the emblem books, Valencia, as a true humanist, has gone to the Greek and Latin sources; as he himself says, his examples of the different virtues come from either Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* (*Vitae parallelae*) or Valerius Maximus’s *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* (*Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri IX*).<sup>165</sup> Valencia was, then, no mere imitator; in many of his emblems he sought to express his deeply felt patriotism, which had, throughout his career, led him to send to the king various treatises on economic, social religious and political topics. We will now touch on a few of these references.

### *Political overtones in the ‘Descripción’*

In the *Descripción*, having described *la Justicia* as the goddess Astrea, Valencia then links justice directly with material prosperity: “In her

<sup>163</sup> “[es] el simbolo más conocido entre los antiguos, porquedicen q̄ este dios era embajador q̄ mediaba i cõponia paces entre los Dioses i los hõbres”: MS 133.48, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> “*La Paz* se pinta en pie cõ una hacha ãcendida poniẽdo fuego a un monton de armas”: MS 133.48, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>. This also occurs in Ripa (Hertel) 79 where Peace puts a flaming torch to a pile of arms. She also carries a palm leaf.

<sup>165</sup> The examples concerning Solon, Pericles, Fabius Maximus, Cato the Censor, Publius Scipio *Nasica*, Phyrus, King of Epirus, Alexander the Great, Anchurus, son of Midas and Timophanes all come from Plutarch; those on Caius Laelius, Publius Scipio *Africanus*, Hanno, Zaleucus, Horatius Cocles, Attilus Regulus, and Marcus Curius Denatus come from Valerius Maximus: Valerius Maximus, *Memorable deeds and Sayings: One Thousand Tales from Ancient Rome*, ed and with an introduction by H. J. Walker (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett, c. 2004), pp. 148, 131–132, 243, 221, 83 & 149, 76, and 133. The example of Emperor Marcus Antoninus Pius comes from the *Meditationes* (I, 6) of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, his son. Juan Luis Sánchez considers that Plutarch is one of the classical authors most cited by Valencia. Both men sought to combine philosophy and theology or reason and faith and used historical examples when expounding ethical ideas. Both also believed that education was necessary to imbue a love of and a striving for virtue or moral development and sought educational methods to bring this about: J. L. Sánchez Suárez de León, “Plutarco en Pedro de Valencia”, in *Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes. El Humanismo Extremeño, II Jornadas* (Trujillo: Real Academia de Extremadura, 1998), pp. 461–467.

right hand she [Justice] has an olive branch and in her left an ear of corn, which means that from the good administration of Justice there follows peace, security and plenty, so that the fields are cultivated and Man's labours win favour and are blessed with rain from Heaven".<sup>166</sup> This passage recalls Valencia's treatises on agricultural reform, sent to Philip III, in which he argues for state price control of flour. This would stop profiteers from stockpiling, as they would fear to lose money:

[Through the greed and excesses of some] at the time of the harvest, or before it, by bying in advance, they plan ahead and gather up the wheat and the barley in order to sell it at a high price. There follows a shortage of wheat [bread] and those with few resources cannot afford it, with which God is gravely offended, and the poor suffer and die and the state is greatly harmed through the weakening and death of her most useful members, who are like her hands and feet, and the ones who bear the weight and suffer the toil [...] the easiest and most universal solution to these offences [...] is to fix a just price for wheat that is not to be exceeded.<sup>167</sup>

The Pope should confirm the law by "a *motu proprio*, which would bind consciences and excommunicate transgressors and those who teach against it".<sup>168</sup> The Holy Office should pursue those who fail to honour the excommunication: "This would surely be a complete solution [to the problem], and I fear nothing less will do, because avarice has a great hold on men and is, as it were, a great idol for them, from which nothing will part them except the fear of losing honour, which is an even greater idol".<sup>169</sup> Valencia was writing from personal experience

<sup>166</sup> "[...] En la mano derecha tiene [la Justicia] un ramo de oliua y en la izquierda tiene una espiga q̄ significa q̄ de la buena administraciõ de la justicia sigue paz y seguridad y hartura que los campos se cultiuen y las labores de los Hombres sean fauorecidas con la bendiciõ y lluvia del cielo": MS 1333.46, fol. 129<sup>v</sup> The version in the autograph MS is the following: "[...] de la buena administraciõ de la justicia sigue por labrarse los campos i ser fauorecidos los sembrados cõ lluvias i bendiciõ del cielo": MS 1333.46, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> "[Por la avaricia y descomedimiento de algunos] [...] al tiempo de la cosecha, o antes, comprando adelantado, se previenen y recogen el trigo y la cebada para venderlo caro, viene a faltar el pan y no poderlo alcanzar los que pueden poco, con lo cual Dios es gravemente ofendido, y los pobres padecen y se acaban, y la República recibe gran daño, enflaquiciendõse y faltãndole los miembros más serviciales de ella, y son como sus pies y sus manos, que llevan el peso y sufren el trabajo [...] el más fácil y universal remedio que contra ellos se ha hallado [...] es el tasar y poner un precio justo al pan y que no se exceda": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 32.

<sup>168</sup> "[...] un *motu proprio* que atase las conciencias y descomulgase a los transgresores y a los que enseñasen en contrario".

<sup>169</sup> "Cierta sería remedio total, y es de temer que otro menos no ha de bastar, porque es muy grande idolo y poderissimo con los hombres la avaricia, de que no los

of the food shortage in 1605, when he himself had felt constrained to request Sigüenza to send him a bill of exchange for wheat that would be honoured. Food shortage was also on his mind when he was describing *Abundancia*, one of the fruits of the political virtues. The example he uses comes from Classical Rome:

The Roman emperors took great care to provision that great city, first of all with bread, for which purpose there was a magistrate who was called *prefecto de la annona*, who had access to commercial fleets to bring wheat from Egypt, Africa, Sicily and from other parts. As well as this, to sustain those who were impoverished, they set up a public granary, and fixed a ration of two pounds a day, which was given to the needy.<sup>170</sup>

He then cites the Spanish Emperor Trajan, who expanded this subsidy, to prove his point that good government leads to abundance.<sup>171</sup> In his *Discurso o memorial sobre el precio del pan*, sent to the King in 1605, Valencia had suggested that this Roman office be revived in Spain:

Thus, it would be appropriate, that, in imitation of this government [that of the Roman emperor Constantine], there should be a prefect in these kingdoms, as a general provisioner, and this title and charge of maintaining subjects comes from God and is worthy of being undertaken by the King himself. Besides, it is very prudent statecraft that kings should win the support and affection of their people by showing concern for and maintaining them and to at least give this office to somebody of great integrity, who is quite above suspicion of greed and who most of all loves the weak and vulnerable with Christian charity. Augustus himself was the first Prefect and always afterwards this position was given to the most important followers of the Emperor or of the Pretorian Prefect (who was like the President of the Royal Council).<sup>172</sup>

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apartará sino el temor de perder la honra, que es otro ídolo mayor”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV 2, p. 64.

<sup>170</sup> “Los emperadores Romanos tuvieron grande cuidado de proveer aquella gran ciudad de mantimiêto primeram<sup>te</sup> del pan, p<sup>a</sup> lo qual avía un un magistrado q̄ llaman van prefecto de la annona q̄ tenia unas flotas ordinarios p<sup>a</sup> traer trigo de Ægipto, de Africa, i Sicilia i otras partes. i demas de esto p<sup>a</sup> sustentar a los q̄ no tenian posibilidad fundaron un posito, i señalarō raciones de a dos libras cada dia q̄ dava a los necessitados”: MS 133.46, fol. 26r.

<sup>171</sup> “[...] I por ser Trajano Español i tan cumplido egemplo de buenos Príncipes [...] se elige [a él] antes q̄ a otro de los Emperadores p<sup>a</sup> egemplo de los q̄ cō buen gobierno causan abundancia”: fol. 26r.

<sup>172</sup> “Así, pues, sería conveniente que, a imitación de este gobierno [that of the Roman emperor Constantine], hubiera en estos Reinos un prefecto, como proveedor general, y este nombre y oficio de sustentar y mantener los súbditos es propio de Dios y digno de que la misma persona real se preciase de tomarlo a su cargo. Además de que es muy prudente consejo de Estado que los reyes ganen la voluntad y afición de

Here, as in other passages, Valencia would seem to be ascribing to Philip III, the Roman title and role of *Pater patriae*.<sup>173</sup> His economic ideas are derived from both classical literature and from scripture.

One of the attributes of *Justicia* is *Clemencia*. The example given by Valencia is that of the burning by Constantine of some of the accusations against plaintiffs at the Council of Nicea (325 CE). Nicea is also depicted in El Escorial under the allegory of *Teología*. However, this fresco includes the demonization of Arius, whom Sigüenza describes as: “derribado de un asiento, caído en el suelo, y con tal rostro, que se le puede conocer la obstinada rabia de verse vencido” (knocked off a chair and fallen on the floor and with an expression in which can be seen the obstinate rage of realising that he has been defeated).<sup>174</sup> Valencia, the lawyer who always recommended that individual cases be dealt with according to merit,<sup>175</sup> and the teacher who advocated tolerance and good example rather than harsh punishment,<sup>176</sup> does not engage in any vilification:<sup>177</sup>

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los pueblos mostrándose cuidadosos de mantenerlos y, así, por lo menos, se debe dar este oficio a persona gravísima, ajena de toda avaricia, y, principalmente, que ame a los pequeños con caridad cristiana. El mismo Augusto fue el primer Prefecto [*Annonae*] y después y siempre fue este cargo de los más grandes del Emperador o del Prefecto del Pretorio (que era como el presidente del Consejo Real): Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 62.

<sup>173</sup> “El rei legítimo natural (digo legítimo por nacimiento) de una nación, de un Reino es como padre de una familia, conoce y trata los subditos como hijos, no tiene otro poder más dél que le dan el reino i las leyes, ni se atreve [a] hacer desafuero: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 518; pp. 477–478.

<sup>174</sup> The context for the quotation is the following: “[...] El Emperador Constantino, sentado más bajo, apartado de los Obispos [...] está echando en el fuego unos papeles en que se le habían dado ciertas acusaciones de algunos Obispos, o querrelas de unos contra otros, de ciertos puntos de las preeminencias o jurisdicciones de sus Obispos, para que las juzgase, diciendo que los sacerdotes y Obispos no habían de se ser juzgados por los hombres de la tierra, sino por sólo Dios [...]”: Sigüenza, *El Escorial*, pp. 299–300.

<sup>175</sup> “Por pequeño número que haya de fieles y no culpados o por no constar de que no los hay, se debe retener la mano y no hacer anathema toda una nación, a lo menos, bautizada y que profesa la fe, mientras no fueran uno por uno legítimamente convencidos o la comunidad diere causas de guerra justa de otra manera: *absit a te ut rem hanc facias, et occidas iustum cum impio, fijatque iustus succut impius, no est hoc tuum qui iudicas omnem terram* (Gen. 18, 35): Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 102.

<sup>176</sup> “[...] ni estaría mal, que los moriscos vieran que nos afligíamos, y aunáramos por su salvación, más les edificaría esto, que llamarlos de perros Moros”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 117.

<sup>177</sup> Valencia’s allegory of *la Clemencia*: “[...] está arrojando de sí una vara, para sinificar la sencillez i candor de esta virtud i su masedumbre” [...]. In El Escorial library: “[...] La Gramática [...] la figura es de mujer grave; tiene en la una mano una guirnalda de verdura y flores, y en la otra, una palmatória y azote, aunque algo



[Constantine] having been given papers that denounced and brought accusations against many of those at the council [of Nicea], at the end [...] he had all the papers and proceedings brought out and he ordered that they be burned, which [order] was forthwith carried out in the presence of everybody, who applauded loudly and praised [the action].<sup>178</sup>

Valencia does not specifically include Arius in this vague ‘many from the council’; Constantine did not give a final judgement; this he left to God. He then gives another political example in the design for *la Frugalidad*, an attribute of *la Templanza*: the Roman Emperor Marcus Antoninus Pius kept imperial and domestic expenditure as low as possible:

*Frugality*: A great example of this virtue was the Roman Emperor Marcus Antoninus Pius, who took special care to moderate the expenses of the Empire and of his household. He familiarised himself with them, recognising those which could be done without or reduced.<sup>179</sup>

When Valencia wrote his memorial *Sobre las enfermedades y salud del reino* (*Concerning the Sickness and Health of the Realm*) and sent it to Philip III in 1618 or so, public finances were in much need of reform. He wrote:

The surest and best [remedy] [...] is moderation [temperance] in our expenditure on wars, household expenses, public ceremonies and great numbers of servants and ministers. [...] In brief, the kingdom and royal finances are in such a state that nothing should be spent that can be done without, in accordance with that most apt maxim of Demosthenes: “He who spends what he has on what he does not need, will not find the wherewithal for his needs in the future”.<sup>180</sup>

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escondida, para significar que en la escuela se he de usar más del premio que del castigo”: Sigüenza, *El Escorial*, p. 282.

<sup>178</sup> “[...] que aviendosele dado papeles de delaciones i acusaciones cõtra muchos de los del concilio [de Nicea], al fin del [...] hizo sacar todos los papeles i procesos i los mando quemar, como se hizo alli luego en presẽcia i cõ grande aplauso i loor de todos”: Valencia, MS 1333.48, fols. 23<sup>v</sup>–24<sup>r</sup>. Ripa (Hertel) 96: Heresy is represented by Arius confronting the bishops at Nicea (325 AD).

<sup>179</sup> “La *Frugalidad*: Fue grande exemplo de esta virtud el Emperador Romano Marco Antonino Pio, que tuvo particular cuidado de moderar los gastos del imperio i de su casa informandose de ellos, reconociendo los q̄ se podian escusar o reducir a menos (fol. 25<sup>v</sup>)”.

<sup>180</sup> “El más seguro y más necesario [remedio] [...] es la templanza en los gastos de guerra, de casa, de pompas, multitud de criados y de ministros. [...] En suma, el Reino y la hacienda Real está en tal disposición que no se debe gastar cosa que se pudiera excusar, conforme [a] aquella sentencia certísima de Demóstenes: ‘El que gasta lo que tiene en lo que no es menester, no hallará lo que no tiene para lo que habrá menester

Corruption and extravagance at court had also been the central theme of the letter of advice that Valencia wrote to his cousin, Alonso Ramírez de Prado, when he was made a *fiscal de hacienda*.

[The finances of the state] began to be insufficient because the revenues were beginning to be disposed of and finding their way into the purses of private individuals and not being used for the good of the people. [...] Some wars that last so long and cost so much can be avoided, and others waged with less expense.<sup>181</sup>

He claims that some of the ministers were living like princes: “ponen casas de príncipes y tienen rentas de muy particulares [...] llaman sustentarse la desmoderada pompa y vanidad” (they are setting up houses like those of princes and their income is that of private individuals [...] they claim to be subsisting when they are living with immoderate pomp and vanity).<sup>182</sup>

Pedro de Valencia's *Traça de las virtudes* shows the polyfacetic nature of Valencia's erudition: he was first and foremost a biblical scholar; he was also a much-esteemed humanist, lawyer, *inventor* of mythological iconology and literary critic; a man held in very high esteem by his contemporaries. It was these qualities as a Christian humanist that won him the respect of his peers and that motivated men of power such as the royal chaplains and Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas to seek his opinion on important issues. We shall in the following chapters explore the ideals of the men who influenced Valencia and then analyse his his own proffered solutions for the ‘problema morisco’.

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(*Discurso*, VIII, 48, 1)”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 526–527. The passage continues: “[...] y a Vuestra Majestad, que es el padre de la misma familia, toca el amparo de ella, para el cual no había advertencia que tanto importe que Vuestra Majestad conozca y tenga por verdaderos consejeros y ministros leales a los que tratan de excusar gastos, desviar guerras y otras ocasiones de ellos”.

<sup>181</sup> “Comenzó a no bastar [la hacienda de la República] porque luego, de principio, comenzaron las rentas públicas a enajenarse y a hacerse haciendas de particulares, y que no se emplean en vsos públicos [...] algunas guerras se pueden excusar de las que tanto duran y cuestan, y otras hacerse con menos costa [...]”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 11. Valencia may be referring to the war in the Spanish Netherlands that had been continuing since 1568.

<sup>182</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 6.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### PEDRO DE VALENCIA'S VISION OF A 'CASTE-FREE' SOCIETY

Pedro de Valencia, while still living in Zafra, was requested by Philip III's chaplain, Diego de Mardones, to write a treatise on the Moriscos. As mentioned already, he had for some years been in touch with various chaplains: he had sent his treatises on the tribute paid on wine and oil and on astrological predictions to Fray Gaspar de Córdoba in 1603 and then wrote again on astrology in 1604; he wrote to Diego de Mardones on the price of bread in 1605 and responded to some of the replies to his tract later in the same year. Thus, in 1605, when 'el problema morisco' was receiving much attention, Fray Diego requested him to review the various solutions that had been put forward. The request illustrates the high regard that the chaplain had for him, a regard that as time went by was shared by many, including the pope.<sup>1</sup> Valencia argued against expulsion and advocated better evangelisation policies and the full integration of Moriscos into society by intermarriage with *cristianos viejos*. He also warned strongly against any solution that was taken for reasons of political expediency: Divine Providence will punish any action that has not the good of the people at heart. Valencia makes this point at length, giving examples from the Old Testament of God's punishment of wicked kings.

As Valencia's arguments imply a complete change of mind and heart in society as a whole, we shall first look at the convictions as a Christian humanist that inspired them and that are the source for all his work. His primordial influences were St (Maestro) Juan de Ávila, Erasmus (perhaps indirectly) and Benito Arias Montano and we shall look at relevant writings of the three men. Then, as his arguments in favour of mixed marriages imply a rejection of the Purity of Blood Statutes, we shall look at his biblical commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians and the Acts of the Apostles*, which rejects implicitly any 'caste system' within the Church. We shall then analyse perceptions of

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<sup>1</sup> As mentioned earlier, the critique of the *pergamino y láminas* written by Valencia had been requested by Pope Paul V: see Part II, Chapter 6, note 15.

Divine Providence in Spain from the time of the Catholic Monarchs. Finally, we shall examine his *Tratado acerca de los moriscos* and show how Valencia's beliefs as a Christian Humanist underlie his arguments as does his awareness of the status quo at the court of Philip III.

Before analysing his commentary on *Galatians*, against the background of the existence in seventeenth-century Spain of 'Old' and 'New' Christians, we shall look at an early influence on Valencia, that of Maestro Juan de Ávila, who came from a New Christian family himself, and also wrote a commentary on this Epistle.<sup>2</sup> He was subsequently beatified and canonised. The influence on Valencia of Desiderius Erasmus and of Benito Arias Montano will be considered afterwards.

Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians  
*Part I: formative influences*

Pedro de Valencia finished writing his *Commentary* on the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistle to the Galatians*<sup>3</sup> after his appointment as *cronista del reino* (for Castile) on 22 May 1607. He had been thinking about it for some time, as he mentions it in a letter to Fray José de Sigüenza, Prior of el Escorial, which he sent from Zafra on 20 October 1604.<sup>4</sup> The commentary is dedicated to the primate of Spain and Inquisitor General, Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, uncle of Philip III's *privado*, the Duke of Lerma. Dated 1 February 1608, the *Commentary* is the only work that Valencia desired to be published, although he requested that it be translated into Latin first.<sup>5</sup> Apparently

<sup>2</sup> These *Lecciones sobre la epístola a los Gálatas* are not included in the original *Obras* of Ávila. Ávila's commentary was found by Fr. Camilo M<sup>a</sup> Abad SJ in the library of the Escorial. They were at the beginning of a MS containing the *Memorial segundo para Trento* of Juan de Ávila, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>, with a shelf mark of & III, 21. In his article, Fr. Abad argues, persuasively, that the commentary was the work of Ávila: C. M<sup>a</sup> Abad, "Lecciones sobre la Epístola a los Gálatas", *Miscelánea de Comillas*, XIII (1950), pp. 197-229. The *Lecciones* are in the 1970 *Complete Works* of Ávila, in volume IV, pp. 25-122.

<sup>3</sup> P. de Valencia, *Para declaracion de vna gran parte de la Estoria Apostolica en los Actos, y en la epistola ad Galatas advertencias de Pedro de Valencia varon doctissimo, y en todo genero de letras muy eminente*, MS 464, BNE, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>, 1 February 1608.

<sup>4</sup> Antolín, "Cartas inéditas", XLII (1897), p. 440.

<sup>5</sup> His *Academica sive de iudicio erga verum ex ipsis primis fontibus* (*The Academica* [of Cicero] or *Considered Judgements on Reality from the Primary Sources Themselves*) had previously been published in Antwerp by the Plantin-Moretus press in 1596.

Sandoval y Rojas held sacred scripture *tertulias* (discussion groups) and it was intended for use at one of these.<sup>6</sup>

Valencia is writing as a biblical scholar and disciple of Benito Arias Montano, editor of the *Biblia regia*. He states several times in the manuscript that his interpretation derives from a literal translation of the original Greek of the *Epistle to the Galatians* and the *Acts of the Apostles*. As a disciple of Arias Montano he used polygraphic philology in his biblical exegesis, which Arias Montano had studied in Alcalá under Cipriano de la Huerga, and which has been discussed previously. This school of biblical commentary had been promoted by Erasmus and involved a study of the original biblical texts in Hebrew, Chaldean and Greek and in seeking vestiges of early revelation in Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Babylonian poets with little emphasis on the Church Fathers and ecclesiastical writers.<sup>7</sup> Valencia also had recourse to his knowledge of the socio-historical background as an interpretative tool, as can be seen in this manuscript in the discussion of circumcision.

*El Maestro Juan de Ávila, 'predicador de la Andalucía'*

St. Juan de Ávila, known in his lifetime as Maestro Juan de Ávila, 'predicador de la Andalucía' (preacher from Andalucía), was a charismatic and powerful preacher, writer and mystic who was esteemed by many great churchmen of his time: it was his preaching that led to the dramatic conversion of John of God.<sup>8</sup> Ávila also influenced another famous conversion, that of the Duke of Gandía who, when he saw the corpse of the Empress Isabel, resolved to serve an earthly master no longer (p. 77). St. Teresa of Ávila insisted on sending him a copy of her *Libro de la vida* and was pleased to take his critical remarks to heart (pp. 320–23). Fray Luis de Granada (1504–1588) had worked with Ávila in Granada, Córdoba, Montilla and particularly in Zafra and Priego during the illness of the Count of Feria between 1551–1552. Granada held him in great esteem and claimed that Ávila's sermons

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Friends from Seville had sent the manuscript for publication without the knowledge of the author. Valencia points this out in a letter to Fray José de Sigüenza: Antolín, XLII (1896), p. 500.

<sup>6</sup> Valencia, MS 464, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Andrés Martín, *La teología española en el siglo XVI*, II, p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> J. de Ávila, *Obras completas del santo maestro Juan de Ávila*, ed. Luis Sala Balust, 2nd ed. F. Martín Hernández, I (Madrid: BAC, 1970), pp. 68–70.

had influenced many of his own (p. 287). He also wrote the saint's first biography, which went to many editions.<sup>9</sup>

Following his conversion by Juan de Ávila, the poor bookseller and former soldier João Cidade, called himself John of God. As David Coleman argues in his book *Creating Christian Granada*, John of God and Ávila were very important in creating a Christian identity for Granada. Both would also have a profound influence on Catholic Christendom.<sup>10</sup> John of God, through his unconditional acts of charity and his unique style of begging, was loved by both Moriscos and immigrants in Granada.<sup>11</sup> He was capable of reaching out to all people, irrespective of their personal qualities and social status. He took into his hospital many who had been rejected elsewhere. Coleman claims that, during his time as a soldier in Africa, he almost converted to Islam and was persuaded against this by a Franciscan friar. This experience may have given him a familiarity with Muslim tradition and practice that would stand to him during his contacts with the Moriscos of Granada.<sup>12</sup> The unconditional love practised by John of God drew the marginalised to him. Later, in his treatise on the Moriscos, Valencia would also propose active Christian love of one's neighbour and good example as essential ingredients in any campaign for the conversion of the Moriscos.

Juan de Ávila was also a contemplative: his ideas on the inner life are found in his book *Audi, filia* (*Listen, My Daughter*), published in 1556 but finished many years earlier between 1533 and 1534 and written for Doña Sancha Carrillo (1512–1537), daughter of the Señores de Guadalcázar.<sup>13</sup> Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes argues, persuasively, that Ávila's mysticism was similar to Sufi Illuminism. He does not dispute Ávila's

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<sup>9</sup> L. de Granada, *Obras del Padre Maestro Ivan de Avila, predicador en el Andalvzia. aora de nuevo añadida la Vida del Autor, y las partes que ha de tener vn predicador del Euangelio, por el padre fray Luys de Granada, de la Orden de Santo Domingo, y vnas reglas de bien bivar del autor* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588). The book was republished in Madrid by Luis Sánchez in 1595 and by Pedro Madrigal again in 1596. In Seville it was published by Bartolomé Gómez in 1603 and by Francisco Pérez in 1604.

<sup>10</sup> D. Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada. Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City (1492–1600)* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 133.

<sup>12</sup> Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 131.

<sup>13</sup> Doña Sancha was one of many noble ladies influenced by Ávila. She lived a very austere life and is considered to have been the direct motivation for the writing of the *Audi, filia*: Ávila, *Obras*, I, p. 186.

*cristiano nuevo* background. However, he posits a Morisco rather than a Jewish background; Ávila's parents were farm labourers, very unusual among the Jews, and he was born in Almodóvar del Campo where many Moriscos who had been expelled from Granada chose to settle.<sup>14</sup> Ávila's spiritual ideas are also found in his letters. He influenced many members of the nobility, in particular those of the House of Feria. During Ávila's last years, when he was racked by chronic illness, the Marchioness of Priego, Doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, mother of the first Count of Feria, Don Pedro Suárez de Figueroa y Fernández de Córdoba, insisted that Ávila live near her in Montilla where, in a little house near the palace, she ensured that all his material needs were met (p. 258). Ávila had attended the Count of Feria during his last illness and was with him when he died in Priego in 1552 (p. 142). Don Pedro was succeeded by his brother, Don Gómez, who represented Philip II at the courts of the Queen Mary Tudor, and of Queen Elizabeth I. He was rewarded for his service to the Spanish crown by being made Duke of Feria in October 1567.<sup>15</sup>

In what way could the Maestro Ávila have influenced Pedro de Valencia? Apart from his inspired preaching, Ávila had been very concerned to set up *colegios menores* for young boys and *colegios mayores* for the education of the laity and for future priests. In a letter of 1553, the number of Ávila's educational establishments was set at fifteen; there were three *mayores* (Baeza, Jérez and Córdoba), eleven *menores* (Baeza, Úbeda, Beas, Huelma, Cazorla, Andújar, Priego, Seville, Jérez, Cádiz, Écija) and the Colegio de Corpus Christi of Alcalá, set up by a disciple and relative, Juan Díaz.<sup>16</sup> Ávila's most important foundation was the University of Baeza in which arts and theology were on the curriculum. In Córdoba, humanities alone were taught at first but by the time that Pedro de Valencia attended there theology was also on offer. Córdoba was among the schools that Ávila handed over to the Jesuits. In a letter to Fr. Francisco Estrada SJ Maestro Ávila ends with the following prayer:

<sup>14</sup> A. Galmés de Fuentes, *Los moriscos (desde su misma orilla)* (Madrid: Publicaciones del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid, 1993), p. 176.

<sup>15</sup> A. J. Loomie, "A 'Leader': Lady Jane Dormer", *The Spanish Elizabethans* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), Loomie, p. 100.

<sup>16</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, I, pp. 162–163.



And ask him, for the love of Our Lord, to take particular care with the instruction of young boys, because it is fertile soil and requires little effort on the part of the sower (p. 34).<sup>17</sup>

In his concern for the establishment of seminaries Ávila pre-dated the Council of Trent. In fact, his two *Memoriales para Trento*, which deal with this subject, among other topics, were brought to the Council by the Spanish delegation. Don Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, had wished that Ávila should accompany him to the Council on 1 May 1551. Ávila declined on grounds of ill-health but furnished two papers with proposals for church reform: *Tratado de la reformación del estado eclesiástico* (*Treatise on the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Estate*) and *Lo que se debe avisar a los obispos* (*Counsels for the Bishops*).<sup>18</sup> These treatises were used by the Spanish delegation in the composition of their reform plan sent to Pope Pius V on 6 April 1562. In the same year Ávila's advice was sought on clerical celibacy and he replied with his *Avvertencias a la tercera convocatoria del concilio de Trento* (*Notes for the Third Session of the Council of Trent*). Don Cristóbal de Rojas, Bishop of Córdoba, who was to preside over the Toledo council that would impose the decrees of Trent, sought the help of Ávila who then wrote his *Avvertencias al concilio de Toledo 1565–6*. He also wrote an opening speech called *De la veneración que se debe a los concilios* (*On the Veneration Due to Councils*) and a paper called *Avvertencias necesarias para los reyes* (*Essential Advice for Kings*).<sup>19</sup>

Ávila had, in 1546 organised an *escuela de la doctrina* (school for Christian Doctrine) for boys in Zafra, in the school set up by the House of Feria in the early sixteenth century. Valencia himself is likely to have attended this school, as his father, a *letrado* (lawyer) in the service of the house of Feria, did not follow the Duke's household to Montilla, Córdoba until between 1564 and 1568.<sup>20</sup> The anonymous biographer states that Valencia went, also, to an *escuela de latinidad*

<sup>17</sup> “Y pídele, por amor de nuestro Señor, que se tenga cuidado muy particular de doctrinar niños, pues es tierra que anda bien con la simiente, y con poco trabajo del sembrador”.

<sup>18</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, I, pp. 162–163.

<sup>19</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 278.

<sup>20</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 21; J. M<sup>a</sup>. Moreno González & J. C. Rubio Masa, “Pedro de Valencia, una biografía intelectual”, *Pedro de Valencia. 450 aniversario de su nacimiento en Zafra* (Badajoz: Tecnigraf Editores, 2005), p. 5.

run by Antonio Márquez, a relation of his.<sup>21</sup> He would have entered it at the age of nine.<sup>22</sup>

Born in 1555, Valencia may have met Ávila personally during the priest's latter years (1555–1569), which were spent in Montilla. It was from Montilla that Valencia went to Córdoba, to the school that Ávila had set up in 1553. Although this school had been handed over to the Jesuits, it would have maintained the spirit of its founder Ávila, who had based the curriculum on that of the Arts Faculty of Alcalá de Henares.<sup>23</sup> Gaspar Morocho Gayo, editor-in-chief of the excellent *Obras completas* of Valencia that are published by the University of León, considers that Ávila's Christocentric philosophy would have pervaded the atmosphere of this college:

[...] Valencia studied when the Jesuits had not yet adopted what some later writers called 'a Jesuitical spirit'. On the contrary, Ávila's disciples, who were those in charge of that school, imbued in their pupils indifference to public office, love for a tranquil life and and dedication to and continuous study of sacred and humanistic literature.<sup>24</sup>

As David Coleman points out, Juan de Ávila's ideas on Christian education and his advocacy of a more personal faith were not new; Erasmus and Juan de Valdés had also made these proposals. Ávila's importance lay in applying these ideas to many pastoral and educational situations. His insistence that responses should be tailored to individual and local needs would later be echoed in the pedagogical views of Pedro de Valencia:<sup>25</sup>

There are many ways to see God and serve him, some more appealing to some people and others to other people, according to the sensibilities of each individual.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Anon., MS 5781, fol. 135r.

<sup>22</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> “[...] Valencia estudia cuando la Compañía no ha adoptado lo que algunos autores posteriores denominaron ‘espíritu jesuítico.’ Al contrario, los discípulos de Ávila, que eran los que regentaban aquel Colegio, imbuían a sus alumnos en el despego a los cargos públicos, en el amor por la vida retirada, y en la dedicación y estudio continuado de las letras sagradas y humanas”: Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 118. D. Coleman points out that many members of Ávila's sacerdotal school became Jesuits, urged to do so by their master: Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 142.

<sup>26</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, V, p. 52. This is cited in Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 140. The translation is that of the author.

Although it is now accepted that the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis (1380–1461) was translated into Castilian by Juan de Ávila, previously it was thought to be the work of Fray Luis de Granada. Thus, Ávila was instrumental in disseminating in Spain the *Devotio moderna*, which sought in scripture a model for prayer and for action. The Prologue to the translation reduces the precepts of the *Imitatio* to three practices, which are good for the soul: the word of God, continual mental prayer and frequent reception of Holy Communion. Ávila practised all three precepts in his own life.<sup>27</sup>

### *Ethos of the Schools of Juan de Ávila*

Juan de Ávila had attended the University of Alcalá de Henares from 1520 to 1526 where he made friends with Domingo de Soto (1494–1560), a Dominican lecturer in theology, recently returned from Paris. De Soto would later represent Charles V at the Council of Trent, be his biblical consultant and become one of the most eminent theologians of the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Although a chair of Bible Studies was not yet in existence, such a chair had been planned from the opening of the university.<sup>29</sup> It was inaugurated officially in 1532, although it had been founded in 1529. The prevailing atmosphere in the birthplace of the *Polyglot Bible* was one of intense interest in sacred scripture. Even though Erasmus had turned down an offer of the chair of Bible Studies, many of his writings were published there in 1525, during Ávila's time as a student, and were most enthusiastically received.<sup>30</sup> The Inquisition tried Ávila in 1531, when he was accused of Illuminist and Erasmian leanings.<sup>31</sup> In his defence, Ávila refuted these charges.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> T. à Kempis, *Contemptus mundi nueuamente romançado* trans. J. de Ávila (Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1536).

<sup>28</sup> Andrés Martín, *La teología española*, II, pp. 230–231.

<sup>29</sup> Andrés, *La teología española*, II, p. 63.

<sup>30</sup> See the bibliography for the five volumes of books by Erasmus published in Alcalá by Miguel de Eguía between 1525 and 1526. In the spring of the same year, a Latin edition of the *Enchiridion* had also been published by Eguía: Ávila, *Obras*, IV, 1970, pp. 5–6.

<sup>31</sup> The Illuminists or *alumbrados* engaged in “[...] a kind of mystical passivism known as *dejamiento*, which aimed at the direct communication of the soul with God, by means of a process of inner purification which would end in total submission to the divine will”: Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, p. 205.

<sup>32</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, I, pp. 39–52.

His attitude towards Erasmus, however, was a cautious one. Although he used the Dutch scholar's biblical commentaries, particularly to establish a problematic literal translation, he did not always agree with him on points of doctrine.<sup>33</sup> What he did share with Erasmus was his concern for the reform and education of the clergy, the study and dissemination of the Bible and a passionate involvement with the Epistles of St. Paul. Both Ávila and Erasmus sought renewal in the Church; Ávila's approach was to immerse himself in scripture and in mental prayer: his daily meditations on the passion and death of Christ convinced him of his human unworthiness but also imbued him with a conviction of Christ's love for all mankind and for him personally; Erasmus's faith was more intellectual, his relationship with Christ and the scriptures models for ethical living rather than of mystical fusion with Christ. Erasmus would have placed greater emphasis on study as a means of combatting the dualism of body and soul; for Ávila prayer and the sacraments, in particularly that of the Eucharist, led to a spiritual transformation in which body and soul complemented one another. Erasmus's spirituality was highly individualistic; his anticlericalism and reserve towards the hierarchical Church were unpopular in some quarters in Spain; Ávila, on fire with the love of God, sought to communicate Christ's love to all society from members of the nobility to shepherds, fishermen and farm labourers.<sup>34</sup>

*'San Pablo interpretando a San Pablo'*

This is how Fray Luis de Granada describes Ávila's preaching on the Epistles of St. Paul. Ávila's sermons on scripture to large congregations scandalised some, fearful that children and women might misinterpret scripture. However, a Dominican, who went to find fault came home full of enthusiasm, uttering the above phrase.<sup>35</sup> It is recorded that in Zafra, in 1546, he read and preached on part of the *Canonical Epistle of St. John the Evangelist*, each day, in the convent of Santa Catalina,

<sup>33</sup> Ávila makes many references to Erasmus in his *Lecciones sobre la epístola de San Pablo a los Gálatos (Lessons on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians)*: Andrés Martín, *La teología española*, I, pp. 173–174.

<sup>34</sup> Andrés Martín, "Juan de Ávila y Erasmo. En torno a su humanismo y espiritualidad", in *El Maestro Ávila. Actas del Congreso. Madrid, 27–30 noviembre de 2000* (Madrid: Conferencia Episcopal Española, 2003), pp. 171–194.

<sup>35</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, IV, pp. 10–11.

where the widowed Countess of Feria had professed as a nun, under the name of Sor Ana de la Cruz:

At this time he read every day a lesson from the canonical Gospel of St. John the Evangelist, in the monastery church of St. Catherine: and amongst other listeners her ladyship the Marchioness and her ladyship the Countess came to this lesson and [the Countess] went happier to these lessons than to all the parties of the world.<sup>36</sup>

An anecdote concerning St. Ignatius of Loyola illustrates Ávila's reputation. Having heard that the Maestro Ávila wished to enter the Jesuit Order, he exclaimed in public:

If only the great Master Ávila were to undertake such an action! We would carry him on our shoulders like the Ark of the Covenant, as he is the archive of Holy Scripture; if this were lost he alone could restore it to the Church.<sup>37</sup>

Ávila was steeped in Sacred Scripture, admitting that he knew it by heart. He constantly returned to it in his personal prayers, which formed part of his preparation for a sermon. He urged his disciples to frequent, careful reading and study of the Bible. He himself, as is apparent in his commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians*, sought to establish the literal meaning of the text, with ever greater accuracy, and to do this had recourse to the most eminent exegetes of his time.<sup>38</sup> His sermons were intended not only to inspire and convert but also to instil a love of the Bible. Luis de Granada, who was a Dominican, recounts that, as St. Dominick attributed his own eloquence to 'el librico de la caridad' (the little book of love) likewise Ávila's eloquence came from his great love of scripture: Granada continues:

As in this little book (which is open for everyone), this servant of God had, in his own way, also imbibed [the love of God], and this made

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<sup>36</sup> "Y en este tiempo leía cada día una lección de la Epístola canónica de San Juan Evangelista en la iglesia del monasterio de Santa Catalina; y a esta lección, entre otros oyentes, acudían la señora marquesa y la señora condesa, la cual iba más alegre a oír estas lecciones que si fuera a todas las fiestas del mundo": Granada, *Obras del Padre Maestro Ivan de Avila*, fol. 59<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> "¡Ojalá tal hiciera el gran Maestro Ávila!; que le trujéramos en hombros como el Arca del Testamento, por ser él archivo de la Sagrada Escritura; que si éste se perdiera, él solo la restituiría a la Iglesia": Ávila, *Obras*, IV, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Abad, "Lecciones", 223–333. In the *Lecciones sobre la epístola a los Gálatos* reference is made to many contemporary biblical commentators: Cayetano (1469–1564), Titelmann (d. 1537), Erasmus (d. 1536), Lefèvre d'Étaples (d. 1537) and Claudio Guillaude (d. 1561) are all mentioned.

him preach with such great spirit and fervour, that he greatly moved the hearts of his listeners. Because the words came forth from his heart like fiery, blazing arrows and caused the hearts of others to burn [...] because the passionate desire that he had to convert souls taught him to say these wonderful things in order to convert them.<sup>39</sup>

Granada's biography gives some of the principal themes of Ávila's sermons: he spoke of the intolerable anguish of St. Paul when the Galatians turned away from the truth (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>); the tender love of St. Paul for his disciples in 1 Thes. 2, Phil. 5 and 2 Cor. 6 (fol. 12<sup>v</sup>); how those in distress were treated not with anger but with gentleness (fol. 13<sup>r</sup>) and persuasion came about not by rhetoric but by the burning love in his heart, the disinterested love that is rooted in love of God (fols 13<sup>r</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>).<sup>40</sup> All these themes are found in Pedro de Valencia's *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España*; however, many contemporary preachers quite deviate from such counsels of Christian perfection. This is how Valencia criticised those who preached to the Moriscos:

The sermons usually preached now, apart from presupposing faith, are normally a display of wit and eloquence, and the preachers go about trying to make witty remarks with which to surprise, and funny stories with which to please, and it ought to be that *seminat verbum seminet* [he sows the word that it may bear fruit]. If words were sown they would be effective and bear fruit in accordance with the fertility and quality of the land on which it fell.<sup>41</sup>

Ávila's constant reading and study of scripture, his passionate love of the Epistles of St Paul, his stress on the forgiveness of sinners and his

<sup>39</sup> "Pues en este librico (que para todos esta abierto) auia tambien leydo en su manera este sieruo de Dios, y este le hazia predicar con tan grande espiritu, y feruor, que mouia grandemente los coraçones de sus oyentes. Porque las palabras que salian como saetas encendidas del coraçon, que ardia, hazian arder los coraçones de los otros. [...] porque el desseo tan encendido que tenia de la conversion de la animas le enseñaba a dezir estas marauillas para convertirlas": Granada, *Obras del Padre Maestro Ivan de Avila*, fol. 9r.

<sup>40</sup> In *Don Quijote*, Part I, during Don Quijote's 'penance' in the Sierra Morena, Sancho counters his master's description of courtly love with a reference to this disinterested love, which Fray Luis de Granada wrote about in his own works: Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, p. 334.

<sup>41</sup> "Los sermones que aora [sic] se usan predicar, demás de que suponen fee, son ordinariamente ostentación de ingenio, y de eloquencia, y andan los predicadores a buscar agudezas, con que admirar, y gracias, con que dar gusto, y havria de ser, que *seminat verbum seminet*. Si se sembrara hiciera sus efectos y frutos conforme a la fecundidad, y disposición de la tierra, en que cayese": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 115–116.

constant allusions to the unconditional love of Christ are all found in the writings of Pedro de Valencia. It is worth recalling here that Ávila's interest in the contemplative world is reflected in Valencia's interest in translating St Macarius and his translation from the Greek of Dio Chrysostom's *Del retiramiento*, which we have referred to already. This state of inner detachment is also the central theme of a passage that Valencia translates from the Stoic philosopher Epictetus.<sup>42</sup>

### *Ávila's Lecciones sobre la Epístola a los Gálatas*

The public sermons on *Galatians* were given in Córdoba probably between 1536 and 1537, although they were not written down until after 1542. The central theme of the epistle, the dispute between St. Paul and those preachers who would impose the Judaic law on new Gentile converts, is not stressed. This is possibly due to Ávila's *converso* background and his status as a *cristiano nuevo*. For example, he quickly passes over the reference to Titus, who was not circumcised because of his Gentile background (Gal. 2: 3). He does refer to Christ as the fulfilment of the Judaic law, which had, thus, been superseded. When glossing on the verse "But, after the faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue" (Gal. 3: 25).<sup>43</sup> He states:

When the perfect age has come, all those childrens' exercises will end.<sup>44</sup>

Circumcision and the Judaic law were no longer necessary: what counted was faith expressed through good works. Unlike Valencia, Ávila does not dwell on the Judaic ceremonies nor on the socio-historical background: he stresses instead the importance of good works. To make his point, however, he cites an element of Judaic law:

With a great sense of mystery God commanded in the Old Testament that all dead animals should be held to be unclean; that priests should not touch them; that people should not either eat them or touch them. This was a foreshadowing of God's dissatisfaction with those whose faith is dead and lifeless [...] People who carry this type of death with them,

<sup>42</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, BNE, fols 72<sup>r</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> "Ubi venit fides, iam non sumus sub pedagogo".

<sup>44</sup> "Venida la edad perfecta, todos aquellos ejercicios de niños habían de cesar": Ávila, *Obras*, IV, p. 75.

who do not perform good works, which are the sign of being alive [spiritually], cannot please God.<sup>45</sup>

Ávila continually stresses the great love of Christ for all. In this same section he cites St. Paul's definition of love as kindness, patience and tolerance (1 Cor. 13: 4–7). He continues:

Love, where it is found, yields abundant and excellent fruit. It is not content to hide its love, but gives signs of it with its good works. [...] These are the good works and effects of living faith, of spiritual faith, of faith that is on fire and burning with the flame of love.<sup>46</sup>

Ávila recalls St. Paul's claim that Christ died for him as an individual and that he extends this promise to each Christian; each one is unique and Christ would have died for him alone: "Omnes enim filii Dei estis" (for you are all children of God) (Gal. 3: 26). Christ did not distinguish between people. By his death all became sons of God, worthy of the respect and status that this brought. Ávila does not refer, explicitly, to the hierarchical nature of Jewish society, but implicitly rejects any idea of a division in Christianity between those of more and less status:

And [God] was not content to free us from that captivity and to take us away from that slavery [that of the devil], but he took us away, not in order to make us his slaves or to leave us free but poor and without honour, but he took us away to give us the same honour that is due to the children of such a great Lord etc.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, in his commentary on Chapter 6, verse 1, Ávila stresses the gentleness with which St. Paul corrects the repentant sinner:

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<sup>45</sup> "No sin grande misterio mandaba Dios en la Ley que fuese tenido por inmundo todo animal muerto; que no lo tocasen los sacerdotes; que no comiesen de él ni lo tocasen, etc. Sombra era esto de cuán poco contento dan a Dios los hombres que tienen fe muerta y sin espíritu [...] Gente que tiene esta muerte consigo, que no tiene obras, que son señales de vivos, no puede agradar a Dios": Ávila, *Obras*, IV, 104.

<sup>46</sup> "La caridad, dondequiera que está, produce grandes y excelentes frutos. No se contenta con tener el amor ocultado, sino que da muestras de él con sus obras. [...] Éstas son obras y efectos de fe viva, de fe con espíritu, de fe abrasada y encendida con fuego de caridad": Ávila, *Obras*, IV, p. 61.

<sup>47</sup> "Y [Dios] no se contentó con librarnos de aquel captiverio y con sacarnos de aquella servidumbre [that of the devil], sino que nos sacó de él, no para hacernos sus esclavos o para dejarnos con libertad en pobreza o sin honra, sino que nos sacó para darnos tanta honra cuanta tienen los hijos de tan gran señor como Dios es, etc": Ávila, *Obras*, IV, p. 77.



With people like these [those like St. Paul and King David who are carried away by their passions] the Apostle [St. Paul] exercises great gentleness, and to these he beseeches and exhorts with great tenderness.<sup>48</sup>

St. Juan de Ávila's sermons on *Galatians* are unlikely to have directly influenced Pedro de Valencia, as they were not included in Ávila's published *Obras*. When the *Commentary* is analysed it will be seen that Valencia's emphasis is different. There are, however, points in common. Both are anxious to establish the literal meaning of the text, although Valencia was probably more skilled at this; both stress the patience, gentleness and tolerance of God; both emphasise that with the coming of Christ the Judaic law had no longer any function: Christ's love had superseded these practices. Finally, in the Pauline tradition, both stress that charity is the primordial Christian virtue.

#### *Desiderius Erasmus and the Enchiridion militis christiani*

To what extent could Pedro de Valencia have been influenced by Erasmus, in particular by the *Enchiridion militis christianis* (*Handbook of the Christian Soldier*), the spiritual manual written as an attempt to convert a wayward husband and which had been immensely popular in Spain in the fifteen twenties.<sup>49</sup> The printer and publisher Miguel de Eguía published the first edition of the translation into Castilian in 1525.<sup>50</sup> By 1530, the book had been published seven times. The last Castilian translation of the *Enchiridion* was published in Antwerp in 1555, just a few years after Arias Montano left the Colegio de San Ildefonso in the University of Alcalá de Henares. Four years later, in 1559, the *Enchiridion*, in Latin and in Castilian, was finally banned and placed on the Index of the Inquisitor General Valdés.

<sup>48</sup> "Con éstos usa el Apóstol de grande mansedumbre; a éstos ruega y exhorta con grande blandura": Ávila, *Obras*, IV, p. 113.

<sup>49</sup> D. Erasmus, *Enchiridion o manual del cauallero christiano, compuesto primero en latin. Traduzido de alli en castellano y despues visto y aprobado por don Alonso Manrique arçobispo de Sevilla*, trans. A. Fernández de Madrid (Alcalá de Henares: Miguel de Eguía, 1525), p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> The translator was Alonso Fernández de Madrid, the Archdeacon of Alcor. My edition is that translated by Dámaso Alonso: *El Enchiridion o manual del caballero cristiano*, ed D. Alonso, prólogo de M. Bataillon, *Revista de Filología Española*, anejo XVI (1971). Miguel de Eguía was later tried for *alumbrado* leanings: Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, p. 61.

In the *Enchiridion*, Erasmus proposes a *Philosophia Christi*, centred on Christ, in which spiritual responses outweigh ritual practices. Such a spiritual awakening is constantly juxtaposed with a religion made up of external rituals, which are cumulative, rather than a response to a loving relationship with God:

Do you want to please greatly St. Peter and St. Paul and for them to be your true mediators? Try to imitate the faith of one and the love of the other, and I promise you that, in this way, you do more in following their footsteps than in treading the [pilgrim] way to Rome ten times.<sup>51</sup>

Erasmus is not rejecting the sacraments; rather he is pointing out that they are not sufficient on their own:

There are many who are accustomed to counting the numbers of masses they attend each day, and [are] very pleased with this, as if they owed no more to Jesus Christ, and thus they retrace their footsteps home, I mean to say that they return to their own habits. That they should show devotion in external things is praiseworthy, but they they leave it at that and not make progress I do not praise [...] Do you want to attend mass fruitfully and and to grow spiritually? Do it in such a way that what is represented there has an effect on you and is fulfilled in your soul.<sup>52</sup>

He bitterly attacks the false piety of the monks, thus inventing the catchphrase, *monachatus non est pietas* (Piety is not [found] in the monastic state):

And how can I fail to point out that these deeds of yours are superficial and mere external bodily actions if, after carrying them out, either reluctantly due to boredom, or gladly because of proficiency, or carelessly out of habit, as if perchance you were performing another secular task, when you are a cleric or a member of a religious order. I perceive purely bodily actions, that is to say, envy worse than a woman's, the rage and ferocity of a soldier, an accursed vice of incessant scolding and quarrelling, an outrageous habit of backbiting, a viper's venom in your

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<sup>51</sup> “¿Quieres tú tener muy contentos a sant Pedro y a sant Pablo y que ellos te sean verdaderos abogados? Procura por semejar al uno en la fee y al otro en la charidad, y yo te prometo que assí hagas más en seguir sus pisadas que en pisar el camino de Roma a pie diez vezes”: Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, p. 252.

<sup>52</sup> “Muchos ay que acostumbbran a contar cuántas missas oyen al día, y muy contentos con esto, como si ya no deviessen más a Jesu Christo, assí por las mesmas pisadas se buelven a sus posadas, quiero dezir, se tornan a sus costumbres passadas. Que tengan devoción en lo exterior yo lo alabo; mas que paran allí sin passar adelante, no lo alabo [...] ¿Quieres tú oír la missa con gran fruto y provecho espiritual? Haz de manera que en ti se obre y que en tu alma se cumpla lo que allí se representa”: Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, p. 250.

tongue to defame your neighbour, a proud disdainful spirit, untameable, that never gives in, scant loyalty in keeping one's word, quite prepared frequently to go back on your word, a great deal of vanity, many lies and flattery.<sup>53</sup>

Erasmus constantly refers to St. Paul's antithesis of the spirit and the flesh, *espíritu* and *carne*:

[...] The Apostle [St. Paul] calls all that is visible flesh and calls all that is invisible spirit, and teaches constantly that the visible should serve the invisible and not the contrary.<sup>54</sup>

When illustrating this point he refers to St. Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians*:

St. Paul, that excellent liberator and upholder of the spirit, went to great pains in all his Epistles, to wean the Jews away from the confidence that they placed in external deeds and to persuade them to embrace the things of the spirit.<sup>55</sup>

External actions are an aid to the beginner; to stress them unduly is to err and follow the practice of the Jews:

[...] I say that given that these things are, to a certain extent, necessary for beginners who have not followed this way for long, like children recently [introduced] to the doctrine and spirit of Jesus Christ; until they grow and become perfect men [...] these things [...] were prescribed for no other end than to help along the person who wishes to follow Christ, that is to say, in my opinion, [to continue to do this is] to turn away

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<sup>53</sup> “¿Y cómo no afirmaré yo que estas obras tuyas son hechas superficial y exteriormente en la carne, si después que en ellas te has exercitado, o de mala gana por estar ya enhaziado, o de buena por estar diestro en ellas, o con un descuydo y por vía de costumbre, como por ventura te exercitaras en otra obra seglar, siendo tú clérigo o religioso, veo en ti todavía obras de carne, conviene a saber, una invidia más que de mujer, una yra y ferocidad como de un soldado, un vicio maldito de nunca cessar de reñir y contender, una ravisosa costumbre de maldezir, una ponçoña de vívoras en tu lengua para detraher al próximo, un ánimo sobervio y desdeñoso, una cerviz dura y enhiesta, enemiga de jamás domellarse, poca lealtad en guardar la fee a nadie, no dudando de quebrantar la palabra a cada passo, mucha vanidad, en finitas mentiras y lisonjas?”: Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, p. 270.

<sup>54</sup> “[...] el Apóstol llama carne a todo lo que es visible, y llama espíritu a lo que es invisible, y enseña en cada parte que lo visible sirva para lo invisible, y no por el contrario”: Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 265.

<sup>55</sup> “¡Quánto trabajo puso en todas sus epístolas aquel excelente libertador y mantenedor del espíritu, sant Pablo, por apartar a los judíos de la confianza que tenían en las obras exteriores y traerlos a que aprovechassen en las cosas que son espirituales!”: Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, 259.

from the law given to us in the Gospel, a law which is all spiritual, and to almost participate in a type of Judaism.<sup>56</sup>

Later on he writes that it is not external actions which win us grace but rather actions inspired by love of God. This love unites us to Christ as part of his Mystical Body:

Finally, so that we do not try to serve God and merit the acquisition of his grace by certain observations and magic ceremonies that are like sorcery, as do the Jews, St. Paul teaches us that our works are pleasing and acceptable to God when their motive and aim is love, which is the bond and nexus of all perfection, and may the peace of Jesus Christ reign in your hearts as, by means of this harmony, you are chosen as members all together in one body, having him, who is love itself, as head.<sup>57</sup>

Are there parallels between Erasmus's *Enchiridion* and Pedro de Valencia's *Commentary*? Valencia, like Erasmus, considers external actions to be an early stage in religious development (fol. 3v). He too stresses the importance of inner prayer, as had so many Spanish writers of devotional literature since the fifteenth century. Like Erasmus, Valencia was appalled at superstitious practices and this aversion was a prime motivation when writing his critique of the Lead Books. Both men were accomplished biblical exegetes, concerned to establish the authenticity of texts by reference to the original manuscripts. (Erasmus, however, never learned Hebrew.) The *Enchiridion*, however, is intended as an exhortative and devotional manual, whereas Valencia's work is erudite and includes literal translations of his own, supporting his arguments at times by reference to the Greek text. The main emphasis of Valencia is quite different to that of Erasmus. He

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<sup>56</sup> "[...] digo que puesto caso que estas cosas sean en alguna manera más necesarias a los principiantes que no han entrado tanto por este camino y son como niños rezientes en la doctrina y espíritu de Jesu Christo, hasta que crezcan y se hagan varones perfectos [...] estas cosas [...] no se ordenaron a otro fin más de para ayudar algo al que quiere seguir a Christo, esto es a mi parecer arredrarse de la ley que Christo nos mandó en el evangelio, que es todo espiritual, y quasi dar consigo en un judaísmo": Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, pp. 258–259.

<sup>57</sup> "Finalmente porque no queramos servir a Dios y merecer alcançar su gracia con unas ciertas observaciones y cerimonias mágicas o que parecen hechizerías, como hacían los judíos, enseñanos el apóstol que en tanto son gratas y aplazibles nuestras obras a Dios en quanto procedieren de charidad y fueren también a parar en charidad, que es vínculo y atadura de toda perfección, y la paz de Jesu Christo nuestro Dios reyne en vuestros coraçones, pues mediante esta concordia soys escogidos por miembros juntamente en un cuerpo, teniéndole a él, que es la misma charidad, por cabeça": Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, p. 268.

juxtaposes 'ciencia', by which he refers to the laws and ceremonies of the Old Testament, with 'charidad', which refers to the New Testament. He does not, however, engage in acerbic criticism of empty ritual. His main aim is to postulate a form of Christianity without the internal divisions that had been permitted in the Old Testament.

*Benito Arias Montano: the Dictatum christianum*

In the *Commentary on Galatians*, Valencia had stressed the importance of the spiritual virtue of charity, or love, in the life of the Christian; patience, toleration and gentleness are the virtues to be practised with those still weak in faith. Love was also the foundation of each individual's relationship with God; personal prayer rather than external ritual was the means by which such a relationship would be achieved. Many different groups in Spain had been advocating inner prayer since the fifteenth century. Melquíades Andrés Martín divides the different spiritual 'ways' into the following categories. In the fifteenth century the Franciscans had placed greater stress on inner prayer than the lengthy vocal prayers widely practised then. At the same time specific methods of mental prayer were being promoted, particularly from 1500 onwards. The *Abecedario espiritual* of the Franciscan Pedro de Osuna inspired both St. Teresa of Ávila and St. John of the Cross, both of whom were contemplative mystics like Maestro Ávila. There was also the spiritual 'way' of the *alumbrados* and the *philosophia Christi* or evangelical Christianity of Desiderius Erasmus, the spirituality of the Society of Jesus and traditional asceticism which sought to practice virtue and eradicate vice in a systematic way.<sup>58</sup> As stressed already, Juan de Ávila's combination of evangelical Christianity and contemplative mysticism influenced many of the spiritual leaders of the sixteenth century. Through the ethos of his schools, and also probably personally, he was a formative influence on Pedro de Valencia.

What other influences operated on the future *cronista del reino*? Was Valencia, through his close friendship with Benito Arias Montano, influenced by the *Familia Charitatis* (The Family of Love), the inter-denominational group that had formed around the printer and publisher Christopher Plantin in Antwerp? Some members so stressed

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<sup>58</sup> M. Andrés Martín, Introduction in Arias Montano, *Dictatum christianum*, p. LIII.

the interiority of religious practice that they would have quite abolished both hierarchy and liturgy. This spiritualist sect led initially by Niclaes, and later by Barrefeldt or Hiël, embraced followers from all the Christian traditions. It advocated an inner and personal spirituality. For Niclaes the rituals of the Churches were for the simpleminded.<sup>59</sup> However, Barrefelt, with whom Arias Montano had contact, would have maintained some contact with the churches.<sup>60</sup> Although Ben Rekers, in his biography of Arias Montano, is convinced that this eminent biblical scholar was profoundly influenced by the *Familia Charitatis*, there are arguments against this. It has been said that Arias Montano's spiritual treatise, the *Dictatum christianum*, contains cryptic references to the *Family of Love*. Melquiades Andrés, who has edited Arias Montano's *Dictatum christianum* and Pedro de Valencia's translation, *Lección cristiana*, argues that an examination of the content of the work disproves this. The primary recommendations in the book of fear of God, penitence and love are, he claims, of biblical origin; Arias Montano had no desire to break away from the Church, whose doctrines he still upheld. Instead, in the atmosphere of religious strife that was developing in the Netherlands, he sought, in this book, to describe an ecumenical form of spirituality, based on the Bible, which would be common to all denominations. Distressed at the barbarities, which were beginning to divide people of different religious traditions, he wished to play his part in bringing about reconciliation between the warring sects. Perhaps in this way he could use his talents to save souls, which were in danger of being lost.<sup>61</sup> The spiritual aim of the work is found in Valencia's translation, Chapter XIX:<sup>62</sup>

We have shown with many different sayings, with witnesses from the Old and the New Testament, who state categorically, that these three things: fear of God, penance and the love of one's neighbour, (after, and in conjunction with faith) the purest of sources for all good deeds, are very pleasing to God, and, through his bounty and grace, are of great importance and value, not merely to flee from and free oneself from God's wrath and indignation, but also in order to discover his grace and mercy, which are so necessary for our salvation, and without them we can neither please God nor attain to the divine promises concerning our

<sup>59</sup> Rekers, *Arias Montano*, p. 39.

<sup>60</sup> Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. XXXVII.

<sup>61</sup> Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. XLVIII.

<sup>62</sup> Arias Montano had not divided the work into chapters; this was undertaken by Valencia in his *Lección cristiana*.

immortality and celestial inheritance, which Christ won for us with his death and resurrection.<sup>63</sup>

Arias Montano's ecumenical aims are specifically stated in the following passage from the *Lección christiana*:

And all our advice will consist of passages from sacred scripture, from the New and the Old Testaments, that are clear and self-evident and whose force and authority is so very great [...] and in this way we can be of benefit to those who, in disputes concerning religion, will not tolerate or allow anything that does not come from sacred scripture and we will help [also] those who judge, reasonably, that truth must be received and welcomed however it is inferred and deduced, because we wish to be of use to both groups with our work.<sup>64</sup>

The *Dictatum* is, then, intended as a rational, spiritual methodology that can be used by all Christian denominations. Arias Montano, who was in Antwerp to supervise the new edition of the *Polyglot Bible*, was upset by the beginnings of a war that was caused, ostensibly, by religious differences and sought to bring about the change of heart that could end the violence and political turmoil. This would then lead to penance or the virtuous deeds and habits that would end strife:

In accordance with this example [that of Abraham] anybody who is called to receive the gifts and rewards of the divine promises, and believes that he who made them wishes to please him and that he should attain the promises, must renounce all worldly corruption and all pleasures, ambition and desires [of the senses] and all other vices. And this must come

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<sup>63</sup> “Mostrado avemos con muchos, i varios dichos, i testimonios del Viejo, i Nuevo Testamento, que lo dicen manifestamente, que estas tres cosas, Temor del Señor, Penitencia, i amor del Prógimo, como unas purísimas fuentes (después, i demás de la Fe) de todas las buenas obras, son mui agradables a Dios, i por merced i gracia suya, importan i valen mucho, no sólo para huir i librarse de la ira, e indignación de Dios; sino también para hallar su gracia, i misericordia, i que son tan necesarias para nuestra salvación, que sin ellas, ni podemos agradar a Dios, ni alcanzar las divinas promesas, que pertenecen a nuestra inmortalidad, i celestial herencia, que Christo nos ganó con su Muerte i Resurrección”: Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 183; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 299.

<sup>64</sup> “Y toda esta nuestra amonestación será compuesta de lugares manifiestos y claros de la sagrada Escritura, del Nuevo y Viejo Testamento, cuya fuerza y autoridad es tan grande [...] Y de esta manera podremos también aprovechar a aquellos que no sufren ni admiten que en las disputas de religión se alegue cosa que no sea la Sagrada Escritura y ayudaremos a los que con razón juzgan que, de cualquier parte que la verdad se colija y saque, se debe recibir y abrazar, porque a los unos y a los otros deseamos servir con nuestro trabajo”: Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. XXXVII.

Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, pp. LXII–LXIII; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, pp. 175, 177.

about not only with faith, determination and good will but also through good deeds, and he must carefully and diligently fulfil all his baptismal promises.<sup>65</sup>

In this desire for unity between Catholics and the churches of the Protestant Reform Arias Montano is continuing in the tradition of the Emperor Charles V and of Archbishop Carranza. As well as Valencia's Castilian version, Christopher Plantin translated the *Dictatum* into French, Jan Moretus, his son-in-law, translated it into Dutch. Cardinal Caraffa had planned a translation into Italian.<sup>66</sup> This desire to end dissension and ill feeling among Christians is also central to Valencia's *Commentary*. The *Dictatum christianum* was used in the ducal school in Zafra, which had been remodeled by Juan de Ávila, where Valencia both studied and later on taught.<sup>67</sup> It was used also in the school set up in La Peña de Aracena by Arias Montano himself.<sup>68</sup> Valencia probably taught Greek, philosophy and other subjects in the school in Zafra, from 1590 to 1607.<sup>69</sup> Jesús Luis Paradinas Fuentes, in his Introductory Study to the León editions of the *Dictatum* and Valencia's *Lección cristiana*, sees the book as an educational treatise inspired by Ávila, the 'Apostle of Andalucía', who had worked tirelessly for the creation of schools, which would give fitting education in Christian beliefs. Paradinas Fuentes deduces the influence of Ávila from the similarity between the themes of Ávila's *Memorial segundo al Concilio de Trento* (1561) and the *Dictatum*.<sup>70</sup> The points made by Paradinas Fuentes are quite convincing. However, one cannot disregard the ecumenical intentions stated categorically by Arias Montano himself. Perhaps the *Dictatum* was written with one aim but went on to meet another more didactic need?

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<sup>65</sup> "Conforme a este egemplo qualquiera que siendo llamado a los dones, i mercedes de las celestiales promessas, i creyendo al que las hizo, le quiera agradar, i desea alcanzar las promessas; deve renunciar toda mundana corrupción, i todos los regalos, ambición, i apetitos, i todos los demas vicios. I esto ha de ser no solamente con la fe, i con la voluntad, i buenos deseos, sino tambien con la obra, i con cuidado, i diligencia; i deve cumplir todo aquello a que se obligó en el baptismo [...]": Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 84.

<sup>66</sup> Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. CIV.

<sup>67</sup> Antolín, "Cartas inéditas", p. 350.

<sup>68</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 54. During the 1590s copies of the *Dictatum christianum* were ordered from Antwerp on two occasions; in 1590 Arias Montano requested over forty copies and the order was repeated some years later: Rekers, *Arias Montano*, pp. 118–119, 163.

<sup>69</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, pp. 67–70.



*Influence of Ávila, Erasmus and Arias Montano*

The love of Christ, as revealed by his death on the cross, was the central message of Juan de Ávila, who brought this belief to the many schools and seminaries, which he set up. Although Ávila did not attend the Council of Trent due to ill health, he influenced the reform programme through his many treatises that were brought there by the Spanish delegation. His insistence on the importance of good deeds and his burning missionary zeal is likely to have influenced Valencia, who attended both his school in Zafra and the college in Córdoba. In schools marked by the ethos of Ávila students learned to seek a tranquil life, to be indifferent to social prestige and to study constantly sacred and profane texts. Ávila believed like St. Paul that the sinner should not be treated harshly but gently and with understanding. Furthermore, persuasion was to be through love and not by wit or rhetoric.

Erasmus also sought spiritual renewal but his emphasis was different. He opposed empty ritual and superstition and stressed the importance of inner transformation and a personal relationship with God. He also referred to the *Epistle to the Galatians* and to the controversy as to whether or not to continue Judaic ceremonies; the emphasis on ceremonial was, he believed, an earlier state in spiritual development and had been superseded in the New Testament by charity or love.

Arias Montano's influence on Valencia was both intellectual and personal. His tuition in exegesis gave Valencia the tools to deepen his scriptural studies and his friendship put Valencia in contact with a wide intellectual circle. All three writers discussed in this chapter, Juan de Ávila, Desiderius Erasmus and Benito Arias Montano would, like Pedro de Valencia, postulate a unified Christian society, where scripture provides the spiritual sustenance and rationale for a community bound together in love of Christ.

*Part II: Analysis of the Commentary*

In the *Commentary*, on two occasions when writing about the Old Testament, Valencia refers to the original Hebrew to elucidate a very important point: the time span during which the ceremonial laws in the Old Testament were observed is translated into Latin as *aeternum* or *sempiternum* (for ever). However, Valencia goes back to the Hebrew

source where he finds a word transliterated as *gholam*. Valencia's etymology of this word is given thus:

[...] in Hebrew *gholam* is usually translated as *saeculum* (century) and it is a word that is derived from the verb *ghalam*, which means to hide or to conceal oneself, and from this *gholam* properly means the time for the perfect duration of something until such time as when, having fulfilled the aims for which it was created or made, it comes to an end, lies hidden and disappears (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>).<sup>71</sup>

Thus, the ceremonial laws of the Jews came to an end with the advent of Christ. Valencia uses this commentary to argue that the two-tier society of Judaism during the period of the Old Testament came to an end with the New. *Gholam* is probably a transliteration of 'ólám, whose root means 'to be hidden or concealed'.<sup>72</sup> The Hebrew names for the two types of convert to Judaism are also given in the manuscript (fols 7<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>): those who merely followed the law of Noah were called, *gerthosab* which is translated into Latin as *advena habitationis* (newcomer to the house), and the convert who accepted the full rigours of the Judaic law were called *gerhedet*, which is rendered in Latin as *advena iustitiae* (newcomer to justice).

In the *Commentary on Galatians*, Pedro de Valencia's main theme is the controversy concerning the Gentile converts to Christianity. Were these converts to be subjected to the full rigours of the Judaic law, which the Christian converts from Judaism practised still? Valencia cites St. Paul's argument that, as Christ was the fulfilment of the law and the prophets, then its ceremonial and judicial aspects need no longer be carried out: dietary restrictions, that is the categorisation of foods into clean and unclean, need no longer apply; This realisation followed the vision of St Peter at Joppa (Acts 10: 9-16) that took place when Peter had gone there to preach to Cornelius, the centurion, and to his family. This vision confirmed that the Gospel should be preached to the Gentiles:

<sup>71</sup> "En Hebreo *gholam* de quien se traduxo y de ordinario se traduze *saeculum* y es voz que se deduce del verbo *ghalam* que significa esconderse, o encubrirse, y de aqui *gholam* significa, *proprium*<sup>te</sup>, el tiempo de la duracion perfecta de una cosa hasta que, auiedo cumplido el efecto para que fue criada, o hecha se acaba, esconde y desapareze".

<sup>72</sup> I am indebted to Professor Carmel McCarthy of the Department of Middle Eastern Languages, The National University of Ireland, Dublin, for this information.

[God sent Peter to preach to Cornelius] commanding him to take no heed of the impurity imputed to the Gentiles by the Jews, by means of the figure of the sheet that came down from Heaven, in which there were all types of animals. And he ordered St Peter to kill and eat all of them, without feeling scruples because they were impure; because God had cleansed them all, and the sheet with the animals in it returned to Heaven, which was also a symbol that all the nations represented by those different impure animals were clean and pleasing to God. And he thus welcomed them and allowed them into Heaven (that justifieth circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision by faith (Rom. 3: 30)).<sup>73</sup>

Contact with non-Jews, be they Gentiles or Samaritans, and with lepers and the dead no longer carried the obligation of ritual purification (fols 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>). After Pentecost, the Apostles preached to the Jews that the law of the Old Testament had now been fulfilled; the Jews were no longer the Chosen People. The Gentiles had been cleansed by the blood of Christ and freed from the burdens of Judaic rituals:

The Levitical priesthood had on that day come to an end, and the high priests and priests of that nation were no longer lawful, and the Gentiles had now been cleansed and sanctified also like the Jews, and made pleasing to God by the blood of Christ, and there was no need for circumcision, or of any other legal purification in order to enter the Church, and to be full members of the people of God, other than faith in Jesus Christ, penance and obedience to the Gospel (fol. 23<sup>v</sup>).<sup>74</sup>

At the time of Pentecost the Apostles had come to realise that salvation was through faith in Christ and not through the external practices and rituals that these Old Testament laws had required (fol. 18<sup>v</sup>). Circumcision was no longer mandatory; it had been replaced by what St. Paul describes as a circumcision of the heart (Rom. 2: 28–29).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> “[Dios envio Pedro a Cornelio] mandandole que no reparase en la impuridad, que los Judios decian, que tenian los Gentiles debaxo de aquella figura de baxar del cielo una como sabana, en que estauan todas las suertes de animales, y mandar a s. P<sup>o</sup> que matasse y comiesse de todos sin escrupulo de impuridad; porque Dios los auia purificado a todos, y volviendo la sabana con los animales al cielo, que fue tambien simbolo de que todas las naçiones significadas en aquellas diferencias de animales impuros estauan limpias y agradables a Dios, y assi las recibia y daba entrada en el cielo”: Valencia, MS 464, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> “[...] el sacerdocio levitico auia tenido oy fin, y los Pontifices, y sacerdotes de aquel pueblo no eran ya legitimos, que las gentes auian ya sido limpiadas, y sanctificadas tambien como los judios, y hechas agradables a Dios por la sangre de Christo; que no auian menester circumcission, ni otra purificaz<sup>on</sup> legal p<sup>a</sup> entrar en la Iglesia, y ser pura<sup>te</sup> del pueblo de Dios, más de fee en Jesu xp̄o y penitencia, y obediencia al evang<sup>o</sup>”.

<sup>75</sup> This metaphor also appears in the Old Testament (Deut. 30:6).

This was a metaphor for a spiritual awakening through the grace won for humanity by Christ's death and which had absolved his followers from the harsh rigours of the Judaic ritual observances. Valencia points out, also, that although converts to Judaism in the Old Testament had been excluded from equal status with those born Jews, with the advent of Christianity all distinctions between Jew and Gentile had come to an end:

[...] Even though converts were circumcised and kept the entire law of Moses, their sons and descendents were called *adven[ae]*,<sup>76</sup> (strangers) for all time and among that ancient people they were distinguished from those born Israelites by at least two things: [...] they could not inherit in the Promised Land, which was shared among the families of each tribe through entailment, and they could not be priests, although from this all the tribes except that of Levi were excluded. But, for the joyful times of the New Testament, the perfect unity of the Church in Christ our Lord was prophesised, that there would be no distinction but that the *adven[ae] habitationis* (strangers to the house) would come to an end and would no longer be tolerated (fols 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>).<sup>77</sup>

Valencia justifies also the decision of the Apostles not to impose, unconditionally, this dispensation from Judaic ceremonial law but to introduce it gradually; he argues that the Judaic neophyte Christians were 'flacos en la fe' (of weak faith) and as such were to be treated with gentleness and love. In cases where scandal might be given, then the Apostles should continue to practise Judaic ceremonies. Similarly, Valencia urges tolerance for the neophyte Moriscos in his *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España*:

[...] But the mind and intention of the Church, as she is a kind-hearted Mother, and desires the health of our souls, and uses her power wisely, and acts for our edification and not our destruction, and carries and has

<sup>76</sup> The MS has *aduenas* which must be a copyist's error.

<sup>77</sup> "[...] aunque fuessen los Proselytos circumcidados, y que del todo guardaban la ley de Moysen, y sus hijos, y descendientes para siempre se llamaban *aduenas*, y eran conozidos, y distinguidos de los Israelitas segun la carne en aquel antiguo pueblo; a lo menos por dos cosas, porque no podian tener herencia ni suerte en la tierra de p[ro]mission, que estaua repartida a las familias de cada tribu, como por mayorazgo, y que no podian ser sacerdotes, aunque desto tambien estauan excluidos los demas tribus, fuera del de Levi. Pero para los tiempos dichosos del nueuo testam<sup>to</sup>, y la perfecta vnidad de la iglesia en Ch<sup>ro</sup> n<sup>ro</sup> señor estaua profetizado, que no avria esta distincion sino que los *aduenas habitationis* cesarian del todo y se acabarian, y no se admitirian".

always carried along her little, weak children, particularly when weaknesses are widespread in nations or entire peoples.<sup>78</sup>

Note the similarity of the following passage taken from the *Commentary*, which depicts the neophyte Christians as convalescents, who must be gently and patiently helped along by the more experienced:

With the weak [convert], not fully instructed or confirmed in the faith, but who is like a convalescent from the most grave illness of his former infidelity, take him up, give him your hand, carry him and do not attempt to make him go at your pace, do not hurry him on, do not drive him nor push him, arguing with him as you go along (fol. 67').<sup>79</sup>

Martín González de Cellorigo advised gentleness also. However, unlike Valencia, he believed in the usefulness of the punitive faculties of the Inquisition.<sup>80</sup> Valencia was constant in his refusal to advocate violence of any kind. Ignacio de Las Casas had also criticised many times the forcible conversions of the Moriscos and considered them to be 'baptizados pero no convertidos' (baptised but not converted).<sup>81</sup> Valencia believed that the Moriscos must be won over by a combination of intelligent conversion measures, true Christian charity and a belief that God can work miracles in the minds and hearts of the Moriscos through faith, public prayer and penance.

The use of this phrase 'flacos en la fe' for both the converts to Christianity from Judaism and those from Islam is not, I believe, merely coincidental. The resolution of this controversy in the early Church has obvious implications for early seventeenth-century Spain, where obsession with the Purity of Blood Statutes was of concern to many.

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<sup>78</sup> "[...] pero como el ánimo, y la intención de la Iglesia, como es Madre benigna, y amorosa es de la salud de las Almas, y [que] endereza su poder, y proceder a edificación, y no a destrucción, usa y ha usado siempre ir sobrellevando los hijos pequeños y flacos, y mayormente quando las flaquezas son generales en naciones, o pueblos enteros": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 98.

<sup>79</sup> "Al flaco no enteramente enseñado, ni confirmado en la fee, sino que esta como convaleciente de la enfermedad grauíssima de la infidelidad passada, recogedlo, dadle la mano, sobrellevadlo, y no quieréis [queráis?] que vaya a vrõ passo, no lo apresureis, no lo impelais, ni rempugeis, disputando con el".

<sup>80</sup> González de Cellorigo, *Memorial*, fols 8<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Las Casas, MS 10238 fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

Limpieza de sangre (*Purity of Blood*) Statutes

Valencia makes no direct reference to the *limpieza de sangre* statutes in the *Commentary*. However, in his *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* he advocates intermarriage or *permixti3n* as a means of solving many of the problems associated with the Moriscos.<sup>82</sup> This practice would have the practical effect of ending the era of discrimination in public and ecclesiastical office created by these laws:

It is fitting, then, that once the Moriscos have been scattered [throughout Spain] it will be a question of their true conversion by love and charity, and that they may see that we really love them, so that they may trust and believe us, and when they show through their deeds and not by words alone, that they are well informed and secure in their faith, they will not be censured or distinguished, either by setting them apart or forcing them to attend mass, or doctrine [classes] or by imposing special taxes on them, and in the meantime, *those born of marriages between Old Christians and Moriscos should not be treated as or held to be Moriscos, and that we should not insult or despise them either* (fols 123<sup>v</sup>–124<sup>r</sup>).<sup>83</sup> (The emphasis is mine.)

Valencia is highlighting through this passage the scorn and rejection by *cristianos viejos* experienced by many Moriscos. Such attitudes were deeply entrenched and had shocked the emperor Charles V when he visited Granada in 1526. They later expressed themselves through cruelty and unkindness towards the Moriscos during the period of the

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<sup>82</sup> Not that either Valencia (or las Casas) was the first to advocate this remedy; mixed marriages had taken place in certain areas (Aragon, Valencia, Murcia and probably Granada) between the urban middle class elite involved in craft work and, after the fall of Granada, members of the Nazariid nobility had married into noble *cristiano viejo* families. However, attempts by various bishops and pious organizations to promote intermarriage by means of financial inducements had failed: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 580.

<sup>83</sup> “Conviene pues que esparcidos los moriscos se trate (se trate) de su verdadera conversi3n con amor y charidad, que vean ellos que los queremos bien, para que se fien de nosotros, y nos crean, que en pareciendo por las obras, y no por las palabras solas, que est3n bien informados, y seguros en la fee, y ser3n notados, ni distinguidos, ni con el apartarlos, ni forzarlos para oír misa, y doctrina, ni con carga de tributos especiales, que entre tanto, *y siempre, los que fueren naciendo de matrimonios de cristianos viejos y moriscos, no sean tratados, ni tenidos por moriscos, y que a los unos ni a los otros no los afrentemos, ni despreciemos*”. The emphasis is mine. The term ‘permixti3n’ means ‘total mezcla’ (complete mixture) and, according to Valencia, is used by Seneca in *De ira*, Book II, chap. 34 (fol. 122<sup>r</sup>).

expulsion, as the Marquess of Caracena pointed out to Philip III in two letters.<sup>84</sup>

In writing this *Commentary* was Valencia merely using his skills as a biblical scholar to provide material for a biblical discussion, or are there wider implications? We should remember that he was anxious that it be published. I surmise that Valencia wished to contribute to the debate on the *limpieza* statutes and, continuing in the Pauline tradition of a seam-free Christianity, to postulate a religion more concerned with toleration and inner spiritual renewal than with external form. Valencia's *Commentary*, I believe, follows in the tradition of anti-*limpieza de sangre* literature. There follows comparisons between the arguments and imagery used in the *Commentary* and writings from two notable fifteenth-century *conversos*: Don Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456), whom I mentioned in Chapter 1, and Fray Hernando de Talavera (c. 1428–1507), first Archbishop of Granada. Then there is a brief analysis of a seventeenth-century anti-*limpieza* tract by the Dominican Agustín Salucio (1523–1601).

*Alonso de Cartagena, Hernando de Talavera and Agustín Salucio*

In his *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (*Defence of the Unity of Christianity*) Alonso de Cartagena put forward arguments against the recently promulgated *Sentencia-Estatuto*, or Purity of Blood Statute, of Pero Sarmiento in Toledo (1449). In this work he argued that the purification of Baptism gives all Christians equal spiritual and material rights.<sup>85</sup> Fray Hernando de Talavera in his *Católica impugnación*, attempted to refute the arguments of an unnamed *judaizante* (backsliding Jew) from Seville who would have given greater status within Christianity to the converts from Judaism and who argued for the co-existence of Judaic ceremonies and the Christian sacraments.<sup>86</sup> As has been pointed out elsewhere, Valencia himself was also, probably, of

<sup>84</sup> A. Galmés de Fuentes, "La conversión de los moriscos y su pretendida aculturación, in *La política de los moriscos en la época de los Austrias*. *Actas del Encuentro* (diciembre de 1998), I (Sevilla la Nueva: Consejería de Educación y Ciencias, 1999), p. 172.

<sup>85</sup> A. de Cartagena, *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (Introducción histórica, traducción y notas), ed. G. Verdín Díaz (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, [1989]).

<sup>86</sup> H. de Talavera, *Católica impugnación del heretico libello maldito y descomulgado que en el pasado año de mil e quatrocientos y ochenta fue divulgado en la cibdad de*

*converso* stock. In one of his letters to Fray José de Sigüenza, he refers to and obviously practises a Judaic dietary law: milk ought not to be combined with other foods: "There is no food that mixes less well with others than milk. It has to be drunk on its own, without mixing it with other food, so that it does not turn sour in the stomach".<sup>87</sup> The third writer, the Dominican Fray Agustín Salucio, was much esteemed as a preacher by both St. Teresa and Philip II, whose funeral oration he preached in Córdoba (1598).<sup>88</sup> His anti-*limpieza* tract will be discussed later.

*The 'circunciso de carne' and the 'circunciso de corazón'*

In the *Commentary*, Valencia writes at length on the use of circumcision among the early Christians. The practice and eventual discontinuation of this rite was emblematic for changes brought about by Christ in the New Testament. Circumcision was a ritual first used by Abraham to confirm God's covenant. Uncircumcised Jews were excluded from the Hebrew religion. However, the Old Testament refers, also, to a circumcision of the heart to describe one receptive to divine grace:

The Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed: that thou mayst love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, that thou mayst live (Deut. 30: 6).<sup>89</sup>

An uncircumcised heart is one closed to grace (Lev. 26: 41, Jer. 9: 26, Ez. 44: 7, 9). Here is Valencia's first reference to this metaphor:

It is an established and obvious truth [held] throughout the Christian Church that Christ, our Lord, was the fulfilment of the old law with all its ceremonies, imperfection, special meanings and external observances and he removed this very heavy yoke and the obligation to keep it from the necks of all nations, both Jews and Gentiles, to whom he proclaimed

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*Sevilla* (Salamanca: publisher unknown, 1487), ed. F. Martín Hernández (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1961).

<sup>87</sup> "No hay manjar que menos le conuenga mezclarse con otros que la leche. Ase de comer sola sin reboluerla con otros, porque no se corrompa en el estómago": Antolín, "Cartas inéditas", XLII, p. 494.

<sup>88</sup> L. de León, *Los nombres de Cristo*, "Rey de Dios", *Obras completas castellanas*, I, ed. F. García (Madrid: BAC, 1957), p. 588.

<sup>89</sup> "Circuncidará Yavé, tu Dios, tu corazón y el corazón de tus descendientes, para que ames a Yavé, tu Dios, con toda tu corazón y con toda tu alma, y vivas": See also Deut. 10: 16, Jer. 4: 4.



freedom and a new law of the spirit, so that all may form one body, without difference or distinction. And this is how it is to be understood: God is a spirit and he is perfect and he desires and has always desired that those who serve and adore him be spiritual and perfect so that, [when] in spirit and in true perfection they revere and serve him, they may be circumcised in their hearts, as it is written.<sup>90</sup>

Speaking of this 'ley espiritual' he continues:

[...] the spiritual law [...] which this divine legislator was to write in the hearts of his own [people] with the spirit of the living God (fol. 3<sup>v</sup>).<sup>91</sup>

He cites the *Epistle to the Romans*: circumcision is an outward symbol of the Jews' relationship with God. If it is merely external and not accompanied by good works then it as if the foreskin had grown again; on the other hand, a Gentile who is not circumcised physically, but who has fulfilled the law, can be held to be more truly circumcised (fols 15<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>):

Circumcision profiteth indeed, you if keep the law; but if thou be a transgressor of the law the circumcision is made uncircumcision.<sup>92</sup> If then the unjustified keep the justices of the law, shall not the uncircumcised be counted for circumcised? (Rom. 2: 25–26).

Hernando de Talavera also refers to this spiritual law written on men's hearts. He speaks of an evolution of religion in which the Mosaic Law corresponds to the youth of humanity and Christianity to its coming of age:

The human race had three laws (religions): in its childhood a natural law with very few commandments and almost all imprinted on the intelligence; in its youth the written law, inscribed on tablets of stone and

<sup>90</sup> "Assentada y manifiesta verdad es en toda la xp̄iana iglesia que Christo nuestro señor cumplio la antigua ley con todas sus ceremonias, sombras, mysterios, significaciones, y observancias exteriores y qui[t]o el yugo grauissimo, y obligacion a la guarda della de las ceruices de todas las naçiones igualmente judios, y gentiles a quien llamo para libertad, y nueua ley del espiritu, en vn cuerpo, sin distincion ni diferencia; esto se ha de entender assi. Dios es espiritu y es perfecto, y quiere, y siempre quiso que sean tales los que le han de seruir, y adorar espirituales, y perfectos que en spiritu, y perfecc<sup>on</sup> verdadera le reuerençien y siruan, que sean verdaderam<sup>te</sup> circuncidados de corazon, como esta escrito": Valencia, MS 464, fols 2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>. This circumcision of the heart echoes St. Paul in the *Epistle to the Romans* (Rom. 3: 29).

<sup>91</sup> "[...] la ley espiritual [...] que este diuino legislador auia de escriuir en los corazones de los suyos con el espiritu del Dios viuio".

<sup>92</sup> The *Sagrada biblia* (trans. Nacar & Colunga) translated this passage as: "[...] tu circuncisión se hace prepucio" (your circumcision becomes a foreskin).

skins of leather and with many commandments, the law of Grace, which is the Holy Gospel, written on the heart of each one of us with the pen of the Holy Spirit, which is an excellent quill. This law was given to mankind when it had reached manhood, which is the perfect age.<sup>93</sup>

This idea of spiritual evolution is also expressed by Alonso de Cartagena:

The law of the Gospel does not differ from that of scripture, or the New Testament from the Old generically, but as the perfect beside the imperfect [...] for this reason St. Paul says: because there is only one God who justifies circumcision through faith and the foreskin through faith [...] on the other hand the new law is different from the old law, because the old law is like the children's teacher. Thus St. Paul says: the law was our tutor to lead us to Christ, so that we would be justified by faith, "But, after the faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue" (Gal. 3: 24-25).<sup>94</sup>

Hernando de Talavera also cites this passage from Galatians,<sup>95</sup> as did Juan de Ávila.<sup>96</sup> Cartagena quite categorically refutes any discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin. To do so is to undermine the unity of Christianity, which is a reflection of the unity of the three persons of the Trinity:

This unity [...] would be broken very obviously if we admitted, in any way, differences due to a Jewish, Gentile or Pagan origin. For this reason, St Paul in his own peculiar way says, when explaining this: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but a new creature" (Gal. 6: 15).<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> "Hobo el linage humano tres edades: ley de natura en la mocedad de muy pocos mandamientos y casi todos impresos en el entendimiento, ley de escritura en la juventud escrita en tablas de piedra y en pieles de cuero y de muchos mandamientos; ley de gracia, que es el santo evangelio, escrita en el corazón de cada uno con la pluma del Espíritu Santo, que es cálamo que escribe en un punto. La cual ley se dió al linage humano quando ya fué varón, que es edad perfecta": Talavera, *Catolica impugnaciõ*, p. 92.

<sup>94</sup> "[...] la ley del evangelio no se diferencia de la ley de la Escritura, o el Nuevo Testamento del Viejo, por diferencia de especie, sino como lo perfecto de lo imperfecto [...] Por eso dice el apóstol: porque no hay más que un solo Dios que justifica la circuncisión por la fe y al prepucio por la fe. [...] en cambio, la ley nueva es diferente de la ley vieja, porque la ley vieja es como el pedagogo de los niños. De aquí que dice el apóstol: la ley fue nuestro ayo para llevarnos a Cristo, para que fuéramos justificados por la fe, pero llegada la fe, ya no estamos bajo el ayo": Cartagena, *Defensorium*, p. 119.

<sup>95</sup> Talavera, *Catolica impugnaciõ*, p. 103.

<sup>96</sup> Avila, *Obras*, IV, p. 75.

<sup>97</sup> "Esta unidad [...] se rompería muy obviamente si nosotros admitiéramos, de cualquier modo que fuera, unas diferencias de origen judío, o gentil o pagano. Por

With the advent of Christianity, the rite of circumcision has been superseded by faith and charity:

Consequently, the differences of the former rite are now abolished and one must only concentrate on love. Thus the selfsame Apostle proclaims it once again: *in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor the foreskin are of any value but faith inspired by love.*<sup>98</sup> (My emphasis)

*The 'advenae' or the 'colentes Deum'*<sup>99</sup> *and the Equality Bestowed by Baptism*

Valencia, as he discusses the dispute about the imposition of Judaic observances, refers to the practice in the Old Testament of distinguishing between those born into Judaism and the converts from among the Gentiles. These are given the name of *advenae* (strangers) or *colentes Deum*. As I have mentioned already, converts to Judaism, even the proselytes, who were circumcised, were considered inferior to those born Jews. Such a hierarchical society ceased to exist with the advent of Christianity. The waters of baptism made all equal so that previous distinctions were no longer valid; circumcision became an accident of birth rather than a distinguishing mark:

And this is what St. Paul says that to enter the Church and be Christians it was neither necessary that the Gentile become a Jew nor that the Jew become a Gentile but that each one should enter the way he was at the time of his conversion (lit. his calling by the gospel).<sup>100</sup>

Citing the Epistle to the Ephesians, Valencia shows that the Gentiles were no longer strangers but fellow citizens of the saints (Eph. 2: 19) (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

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eso el apóstol de una manera un tanto peculiar nos dice al explicar esto: *En Cristo Jesús ni la circuncisión es nada, ni el prepucio, sino la nueva criatura*": Cartagena, *Defensorium*, p. 264.

<sup>98</sup> "Por consiguiente, la diferencia del antiguo rito queda abolida y únicamente hay que fijarse en la fe. Así lo proclama de nuevo el mismo apóstol: *en Cristo Jesús ni vale la circuncisión, ni vale el prepucio, sino la fe actuada por la caridad*": Cartagena, *Defensorium*, p. 265.

<sup>99</sup> Valencia explains that this term is derived from the Greek of the New Testament: MS 464, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> "Y esto dize el Apostol [St. Paul] que para entrar en la iglesia y ser xpianos ni era menester que el gentil si hiziesse judío ni que el judio se hiziesse gentil sino que cada vno entrasse como se hallase al tiempo del llamamiento del evang<sup>o</sup>": Valencia, MS 464, fol. 76<sup>r</sup>.

Now, therefore, you are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow citizens with the saints.<sup>101</sup>

Similarly Hernando de Talavera proposes a Christianity that is free of divisions:

This evil Pharisee [the author of the *judaizante* pamphlet] continues his wicked malice and presumption, quite distinct and separate from [the teaching] of our Lord, by making two peoples out of those whom, as has been said already, Jesus Christ made one, and so unified that, as that saintly St. Paul says, there should be no distinction between Greek and Jew, those circumcised and those not, between foreigners and natives on the day in which they are all baptised (Rom. 10: 12).<sup>102</sup>

Talavera refers, also, to this Old Testament distinction between those born into Judaism and the converts from among the Gentiles. Christ abolished such distinctions:

Thus, that [Old Testament law] was given to the Jewish people and the holy law of the Gospel to all men, that is to say, to every nation and people. And for that reason that [old] law did not consider that the Gentile converts were equal to the Jews, instead they treated them as guests and strangers. But the holy law of the Gospel made them all equal without any difference: *iam non estis hospites et advenae etc* (and you are no longer guests and strangers) and in all the Epistle to the Romans and in many other places, instead took the law from the Jewish people and gave it to the Gentiles, as it is written *auferetur a vobis regnum Dei et dabitur genti facienti fructus ejus etc* ([...] the kingdom of God shall be taken from you and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof) (Mt. 21: 23).<sup>103</sup>

Alonso de Cartagena similarly argues that baptism ends all previous distinctions:

<sup>101</sup> *Ergo iam non estis hospites, y advenae, sed estis cives sanctorum.*

<sup>102</sup> "Continúa su malicia y presunción este malvado fariseo, diviso del todo y apartado de nuestro Señor, haciendo dos pueblos a los que, como ya es dicho, Jesucristo hizo uno, y tan uno, que quiso, como dice el santo Apóstol, que no hobiese distinción alguna de griego a judío, de circuncisión a prepucio, de extraño a doméstico, el día que todos son bautizados": Talavera, *Defensorium*, p. 230.

<sup>103</sup> "Iten, aquélla [the Old Testament law] se dió al pueblo judiego y la santa ley evangélica a toda criatura, que quiere decir a toda nación y a todo pueblo. Y por eso aquélla no igualaba a los convertidos de la gentilidad con los judíos, antes los trataba como huéspedes y advenedizos. Mas la santa ley evangélica todos los iguala sin ninguna diferencia: *iam non estis hospites et advenae etc.*, y en toda la epístola *ad Romanos* y en otros muchos lugares, antes en alguna manera quitó la ley del pueblo judiego y la dió al pueblo gentil, como es escrito: *auferetur a vobis regnum Dei et dabitur genti facienti fructus ejus etc.*": Talavera, *Catolica impugnaciõ*, pp. 92–93.

And what greater schism or disturbance of the peace can there be than that which restricts the spreading of the Church and tries to differentiate one person from the other by the place of physical birth, trying to separate those who come from the Jewish people from those who are Gentiles physically, when through the regeneration of the sacrament of baptism they have the same father, God and the same mother, the holy Church and as offspring of both parents they are, and must be called, brothers and sisters.<sup>104</sup>

Baptism ends the social divisions permitted in the Old Testament and, in the new epoch of grace, all become one people:

[...] And through the unity of baptism, all those regenerated by the sacred purification become just one people and, when they put on the new man they left behind the old one, the former differences being quite rooted out. Because those distinctions between people, allowed in former times because of the inscrutable judgement of God, came to a complete end in the new epoch of grace.<sup>105</sup>

Not only does baptism make salvation possible but it also gives open access to worldly honours:

What greater distancing from one's former life, or what greater renewal can there be, once infidelity has been set aside, than that which, by means of receiving the faith, comes about by sacrificial purification, through which the new man comes forth, having fully cast off the old one. Consequently, there remains no impediment or blemish, so that he may not only attain to the salvation of his soul but also to the honours of this life, if there is no specific [charge] against his person. For this reason Augustine says: "Wherever men and women are born, if they do not follow the imperfections of their parents, they will be honourable and saved".<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> "¿Y qué mayor escisión o alteración de la paz se puede dar que la que restringe la extensión de la iglesia y quiere diferenciar a los unos de los otros según el lugar de nacimiento de carne, intentando separar a los que proceden del pueblo israelita y a los que proceden, según la carne, de la gentilidad, cuando por la regeneración del sacramento del bautismo tienen ya el mismo padre Dios, y la misma madre, la santa iglesia, y como procedentes de uno y otro padre son y deben ser llamados hermanos?": Cartagena, *Defensorium*, p. 102.

<sup>105</sup> "[...] por la unidad del bautismo todos los regenerados por la sagrada purificación se convierten en un solo pueblo y al vestir el hombre nuevo abandonaron el viejo, quedando eliminada de raíz la antigua diferencia. Porque aquellas diferencias de gentes permitidas en la antigüedad por el inescrutable juicio de Dios se silenciaron por completo en la nueva época de la gracia": Cartagena, *Defensorium*, p. 103.

<sup>106</sup> "¿Qué mayor alejamiento de la vida pasada o qué mayor renovación puede darse, una vez rechazada la infidelidad, que aquella que por medio de la recepción de la fe se produce con la purificación sacramental por la cual surge el hombre nuevo al despojarse

*Open Access to Positions of Honour*

In the *Commentary*, Valencia stresses frequently that God does not distinguish between people: with baptism all should have open access to material honours. The criteria must be suitability and personal merit rather than political or family influence:

[...] God does not distinguish between people, for their benefit or misfortune, because they are from this or that nation, of this or that lineage or family, but that of all people and nations those who fear, revere and obey him, like this Cornelius,<sup>107</sup> are pleasing to him, even though their parents are infidels and idolators and they are not Jews or circumcised (fol. 32<sup>r</sup>).<sup>108</sup>

Christianity was a meritocracy. Unlike Judaism, which denied certain privileges to Gentile converts, in Christianity positions of honour were for those of strong faith and virtuous life:

As the universal Catholic Church, outside which there is no salvation, is the mother of all believers, then he who would set aside his errors would have to become fully Christian and a true Israelite and not only in part, like the converts to the law of Noah. And those who truly converted to Christianity, no matter what nation they belonged to or religion they professed, they would have the same access to reputation, honour and [material] benefit without distinction or difference, and they would be entitled to good fortune and inheritance, according to their faith and good works, as citizens and legitimate children (fol. 10<sup>r</sup>).<sup>109</sup>

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completamente del hombre viejo, por consiguiente, no queda impedimento, o mancha, de tal manera que puede alcanzar tanto la salvación del alma como los honores de esta vida, si no hay cosa alguna especial en contra de su persona? Por eso dice Agustín: "Donde quiera que los hombres nazcan, si no siguen la imperfección de los padres, serán hombres honrados y salvos": Cartagena, *Defensorium*, pp. 256–257.

<sup>107</sup> Cornelius was a centurion from the Italica cohort. He was baptised by Peter after the vision of Joppa. His baptism symbolises the full acceptance of Gentiles into the Church (Acts 10).

<sup>108</sup> "[...] Dios no es aceptador de personas, ni diferencia a los hombres p<sup>a</sup> su gracia, o desgracia, por desta, o aquella nazon deste o de aquel linaje, o familia, sino que en todas las gentes y naciones los que le temen, reuerencian y obedezzen, como este Cornelio, le son agradables aunque sean de padres infieles, y idolatras, y no sean judios, ni circumçidados".

<sup>109</sup> "Por ser la Iglesia catholica vniuersal madre de todos los creyentes, fuera de la qual no puede auer salud, y assi el que dexare sus errores, avria de hazerse del todo xpiano, y verdadero Israelita, y no en parte como los convertidos a la ley de Noe, y los que verdaderam<sup>te</sup> se convirtiesen al christianismo de qualquier nazon, y profession de Religion que antes fuessen, serian admitidos a igual nombre honra y provecho, sin distincion, ni diferencia como ciudadanos, y hijos legitimos, y les cabria suerte y herençia en lo bueno, y mejor conforme a su fee y obras virtuosas".

In the *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos* Valencia had warned of the danger of excluding certain citizens from full access to positions of honour in society:

[...] When there are special honours, to which some in the state are entitled and others not, these citizens cannot fail to be treated dishonourably, marked out and set apart, and [thus] to be in danger of rebelling and waging civil war.<sup>110</sup>

*'Los flacos en la fe' and the Moriscos*

Valencia argued in his *Commentary on Galatians* that the new era of Christianity was to be gradually introduced. St. Paul's belief that charity was the principal Christian virtue would be accepted, little by little, and eventually replace the Old Testament belief in divine righteousness. In the New Testament the blood of Christ, shed in the crucifixion, absolved Christians from the burden of the ritual Judaic observances (fol. 23<sup>v</sup>). However, given the weakness of human nature, this new precept was not imposed rigidly on the Jews; they were to be led, gradually, towards this counsel of perfection as they were still of weak faith, 'flacos en la fe':

But not all those who have knowledge have love, and knowledge on its own does not govern men appropriately, but rather it puffs them up and makes them proud, so that they desire to display and show off their learning, while they scorn those who do not know as much. And in carrying out this intention, they knock down and trample on those who know less, all of which does not allow them to show the love which teaches one to raise up, edify and strengthen those who are little and weak, and give them your hand, so that they will not fall, and so can continue on. And if anybody thinks that without having the spirit and love of God that he knows something, [in fact] he knows nothing, not even as he should know it.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> “[...] en haviendo honras especiales, que unos puedan tener en la república, y otros no las puedan tener, no pueden dexar de estar notados los ciudadanos con infamia, y distinguidos con división, y encontrados con peligro de sedición y guerras civiles”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 123–124.

<sup>111</sup> “Pero no todos los que tienen ciencia tienen charidad, y la ciencia por sí no gobierna, como conuiene a los hombres, antes los hincha, y ensoborneze; para que quieran hazer muestra y ostentación de su saber, en menosprecio de los que no saben tanto, y siguiendo este intento atropellan y derriban a los menores, lo qual no permite hazer la charidad que enseña a leuantar, edificar y confirmar a los mas pequeños y

Valencia goes on to say that these 'flacos' must be treated with 'recato y blandura' (prudence and gentleness). The 'flacos' of this quotation are, of course, the converts from Judaism who could not see why Judaic rituals were no longer necessary. The advice given by St. James was that discretion was to be used to avoid giving scandal (fols 47<sup>r</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>). Although the laws concerning pure and impure foods did not apply any more, the Apostles should comply with them publicly to give these new converts time to grow in faith. In any case, nobody has any right to judge his neighbour. When those of strong faith meet those who are still weak, they must not despise one another:

When this happens, that the weak, who do not dare to eat, and the strong, who eat everything, find themselves together, let he who who eats [everything] not look down on those who do not as ignorant men, improperly instructed in the faith; and let he who does not eat [everything] not condemn he who does, as a man who does not keep the law, and who breaks the commandments because he feels like it; because God adopted the latter and protected him. He freed him from infidelity and brought him to his house, which is the Church, and has him there, as a Christian and servant of his. The latter being, then, a servant of God who are you to judge the servant of someone else?<sup>112</sup>

This plea for tolerance, which springs from Christian charity, is made even more strongly some pages further down:

If you cause grief to your brother because of the food he eats, you are no longer acting out of love; do not destroy, because of food, the person for whom Christ died. Do not provide an occasion [of sin], during which the good of the Gospel and its free acceptance may be blasphemed against (fol. 69<sup>v</sup>).<sup>113</sup>

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flacos y darles la mano, para que no caigan y para que passen adelante. Y si alguno piensa sin tener espíritu y charidad de Dios que sabe algo no sabe nada, aun como lo deuia saber": Valencia, MS 464, fols 60<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>. The first part of this passage echoes 1 Cor. 8: 2–3.

<sup>112</sup> "[...] quando esto aconteciere, que se hallaren juntos flacos, que no osan comer, y fuertes que comen de todo, el que come no menospreçe al que no come como a hombres ignorantes, y no bien instruidos en la fee; y el que no come, no condene al que come, como a hombre sin ley, y que por su gusto quebranta los preceptos; porque Dios le recogio y amparó. Lo saco de la infidelidad y lo traxo a su casa, que es la Iglesia, y lo tiene en ella con nombre de xpiano, y sieruo suyo. Siendo pues este sieruo de Dios, tu quien eres, que juzgas el sieruo ageno?": Valencia, MS 464, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> "Si por causa de su comida tu hermao recibe pesadumbre, ya no procedes segun charidad, no destruyas por tu comida aquel por quien murió Xpo, no deis occasion que el bien del evang<sup>o</sup> y de su libertad sea blasfemado".



There is a remarkably similar passage in Valencia's *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España*. The subject is once again the toleration of the 'flacos en la fe' among the early converts from Judaism. However, the context is the conversion policies to be used with the Moriscos. As many could see, some Moriscos were probably crypto-Muslims and many would advocate that they be tried by the Inquisition. Valencia, however, cites at length the practice of toleration towards the converts to early Christianity, who were permitted to retain their Judaic rites, in particular that of circumcision, up to the second destruction of Jerusalem in 135 CE by the Emperor Hadrian:

In this way, the most excellent and prudent of the holy Apostles, by divine dispensation and the economy of the Holy Spirit, dissimulated for a long time in the Church with the weak converts from Judaism who, together with the light of the New Testament, wanted to believe in and conserve the shadows of the Old [Testament] and still keep its ceremonies after they had been baptised. The Holy Spirit did not wish them to be oppressed, or that people would argue with them saying "As you do not eat this [food] nor observe that [ritual] therefore you do not believe in Christ nor in the freedom of his Gospel", but they were carried along like little children in the Lord, until they came to believe in him and to leave behind completely that ABC primer and [their] former practices and principles.<sup>114</sup>

Hernando de Talavera had advocated patience and gentleness also when dealing with the Moriscos:

He was the protector of the Moriscos. He did not allow anybody to insult them or impose upon them new taxes or services. He preached to them the law of Christ with mild and gentle words, and he used to say: "These must be taught in the way that St. Paul prescribed, as if they were unweaned children, and they must not be harshly treated".<sup>115</sup>

<sup>114</sup> "De esta manera la caridad excelentísima y prudentísima de los santos Apóstoles, por divina disposición, y economía del espíritu santo disimuló mucho tiempo en la Yglesia con los flacos convertidos del judaísmo las ceremonias de ella después de el bautismo. No quiso el espíritu santo, que se les apretare, ni que se les arguiese diciendo: "Pues no coméis esto ni observáis estotro, luego no creéis en Cristo ni en la libertad de su Evangelio" sino que los fuese sobrellevando como a pequeños en el señor, hasta que creyesen en él, y vinieren del todo a dexar atras aquel abecé y elementos o principios antiguos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 99.

<sup>115</sup> "Era el protector de los Moriscos. No consentía que nadie los injuriasse, ni cargassen de nuevos tributos ni servicios en ellos. Predicauales con dulces y bládas palabras la Ley de Christo nuestro Señor, y dezía: *Éstos han de ser enseñados como dezía San Pablo, como niños con leche y no con mantenimiento duro*": Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica*, fols 186<sup>r</sup>-187<sup>r</sup>.

Talavera was not blinded by prejudice and could see the virtues of the Moriscos:

And he was pleased with this virtue of charity so that, seeing the compassion that they had for one another, he used to say: "These should imitate our faith, and we their good deeds, at which they are better than we Christians".<sup>116</sup>

As in the case of the converts from Judaism, baptism should also give the Morisco converts open access to positions of honour in society. In his *Tratado*, Valencia categorically rejects the current practice of relegating the Moriscos to the lower echelons of society. He refers to the Greek custom of giving new citizens equal status with older ones. However, Diodorus Siculus recounts an instance when this custom was ignored.<sup>117</sup> The Sybarites excluded the new Greek colony of the Thurians in Italy from higher office.<sup>118</sup> The oppressed Thurians then rose up and massacred their oppressors. Valencia goes on to conclude that the Moriscos, also, should be given not merely equal opportunities with the *cristianos viejos* but that through intermarriage, or *permixti6n*, the whole notion of *cristiano nuevo* become defunct. He uses Plato's analogy of sleep to show how intermarriage would end the divisions in society:

As marriages should be freely chosen and they cannot be prohibited, instead, for many years now, people have been wishing that the Moriscos would mix in this way. However, few marriages like this take place, as those born of them will not wish to form new relationships with Moriscos, what Plato says in another context will come about: "If those who are awake go to sleep and those who are asleep do not wake up, in two days the whole world will be asleep".<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> "Y se agradaua de esta virtud de la caridad que viendo la piedad que tenían los Moriscos entre sí, dezía: "Estos auían de tomar de nuestro fe, y nosotros a sus obras en q̄ abentajan a los Christianos": Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica*, fol. 87.

<sup>117</sup> Diodorus Siculus wrote an encyclopaedic world history during the years 60 to 30 BC. The period covered was from the earliest times to Caesar's Gallic War (54 BC); *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1970, p. 347.

<sup>118</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 124.

<sup>119</sup> "Pues los matrimonios libres han de ser, y no se les puede prohiuir, y antes ha muchos a[os]. que se desea que los Moriscos se mezclasen así. Por pocos matrimonios de éstos, que se hagan, como los nacidos de ellos no se han de preciar de volber a emparentar con Moriscos, acontecerá lo que para otra quenta dice Platón: 'Si de los despiertos se hacen los dormidos, y de los dormidos, no se han de hacer los despiertos, dentro de dos días todo el mundo serán dormidos': Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 119.

In this way, the Moriscos would not merely have open access to positions of honour but would become fully integrated into society:

[...] It is fitting then, not that the Moriscos have the same entitlements as the Old Christians with regard to social positions and honour within the state, but that the Moriscos cease to exist and that there remain in the state only Old Christians. [It is fitting] that the people of the whole state have the same name and be of one mind, without division, so that dissension does not arise.<sup>120</sup>

Such a procedure is not only an expression of Christian charity but would lead also to unity and peace within the state:

It is not necessary to prove how fitting this [intermarriage] is for Christian charity, unity, harmony and peace within the state, for the honour and public standing of the Citizens and the security of the Empire.<sup>121</sup>

These ideas on the assimilation of the Moriscos are echoed in the writings of Fray Agustín Salucio, a Dominican who was outspoken in his criticism of the *limpieza de sangre* statutes.

#### *Agustín Salucio and the Statutes of 'limpieza de sangre'*

Agustín Salucio presented a *memorial* to the Cortes in 1599 which has been lost but which is recorded in their proceedings. He is accredited with a polemical book on the *limpieza* statutes in which their effect on Spain is considered and whether or not they should be limited in some way.<sup>122</sup> There is no publisher, place or year given. However, a licence

<sup>120</sup> “[...] conviene pues, no que los Moriscos sean iguales en los oficios, y honras de el reyno con los cristianos viejos, sino que los moriscos se acaben, y que solamente queden, y haya en el reyno cristianos viejos. Que sea toda la república de un nombre en su gente, y de un ánimo sin división, para que no haya disensión”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 124. Remember that Ignacio de las Casas had also argued very strongly in favour of mixed marriages and for open access to positions of honour within society.

<sup>121</sup> “No es menester probar, quan conveniente sea para la cristiana caridad, y unidad, para la concordia, y paz pública, para honhera, y grandeza de los ciudadanos y seguridad de el ymperio”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 123.

<sup>122</sup> A. Salucio, *Discurso hecho por Fray Augustin Salucio, maestro en santa teologia, de la orden de Santo Domingo, acerca de la justicia y buẽ gobierno de España, en los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: y si conviene, o no, alguna limitacion en ellos*, R/29688, BNE; A. Valladares, *Discurso hecho por Fray Augustin Salucio in Semanario Erudito*, XV (1788), 128–214. A commission presided over by the Inquisitor General met in 1599 to try to mitigate the effects of the Purity of Blood Statutes. Their efforts would have had little effect but reflect a general unease in society at the values underlying

is given by Fray Diego Calahorrano, Provincial of the Dominicans. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz surmises that this is a clandestine printing that took place soon after Salucio's death in 1601. It is possibly a re-working of the *memorial* of 1599 with some changes made.<sup>123</sup> Salucio declares that to limit the statutes of *limpieza* would lead to unity among all Christians:

This is what Fray Luis de León says [...] it would be very sensible to assure Christians, Moriscos and converts from Judaism were all made into one united body, and that all should be Old [Christians] and trustworthy.<sup>124</sup>

In searching for the source of this reference I have found the following passage in Fray Luis's *Nombres de Cristo*. In the section on 'Rey de Dios', Fray Luis describes the vassals of the King. Whatever their background all the king's subjects are equal in the new life of Christianity:

[...] This kingdom [...] is completely made up of those whom St. Paul calls *new creatures*, when he writes to the Galatians saying: *Concerning Jesus Christ neither circumcision nor the grave are to be esteemed but the new creature*. And thus they are born in Heaven, and are brothers and sisters to one another, and children of Christ, as I have said already.<sup>125</sup>

Salucio also recommends intermarriage, citing as authority the Archbishop of Toledo, García de Loaysa. If this were to happen then, within a hundred years, the Morisco background would be forgotten.<sup>126</sup>

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the statutes: B. Vincent, "la sociedad española en la época de Cervantes", in *España en tiempos del Quijote*, A. Feros & J. Solavent (dirs.) (Madrid: Taurus, 2004), p. 300.

<sup>123</sup> A. Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la edad moderna*, in *Estudios de Historia Social de España*, III (Madrid, 1956/1957), facsimile ed. (Granada: Archivum, 1991), p. 94. Albert Sicroff also analyses Salucio's *Discurso*: A. Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Didier, 1960), trans. M. Armiño, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII* (Madrid: Taurus, 1979), pp. 222–246.

<sup>124</sup> "Esto dize Fray Luys de Leon [...] gran cordura seria assigurar la paz del reyno, limitando los estatutos de manera que de cristianos viejos, y moriscos y confessos, de todos se venga a hazer un cuerpo unido, y todos sean viejos y seguros": Salucio, *Discurso*, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> "[...] este reino [...] se compone todo de los que San Pablo llama *nueva criatura*, cuando a los de Galacia escribe diciendo. *Acerca de Cristo Jesús, ni es de estima la circuncisión ni el sepulcro, sino la criatura nueva*. Y así todos son hechura y nacimiento del cielo y hermanos entre sí, e hijos todos de Cristo en la manera ya dicho". I am indebted to A. Sicroff for this reference: Sicroff, *Limpieza de sangre*, p. 239.

<sup>126</sup> Las Casas, in the report on the Moriscos he wrote for Clement VIII, advised the Pope to ban the term New Christian for converts, when a hundred years had passed since the baptism of their ancestors: Las Casas, MS Add 10.238, BL, fols 52<sup>r</sup>–52<sup>v</sup>.

On this [subject] his worship [Don García de] Loaysa, Archbishop of Toledo, says that according to a council of old, the best solution was to make it compulsory, by means of strict laws, that a Morisco should never marry a Morisca, nor a Morisca a Morisco [...] and undoubtedly the mingling through marriage is of great benefit to religion, not merely through the friendship that ensues, but also through giving witness at such close quarters.<sup>127</sup>

Salucio cites an example from the Old Testament to show how marriage could bring greater status to those considered inferior:

If an Ammonite or a Moabite wished to become a Jew, and was accepted into that tradition, he could never, either actively or passively, have access to the offices or positions of that nation nor could his descendants [...] and, as is recorded in sacred Scripture, if some [mixed] marriages were permitted, either because of a general interpretation [of the law] or because of a particular dispensation, in these cases the children had access to all the honours open to the Jewish people.<sup>128</sup>

As Valencia would argue also in his *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España*, how can the Moriscos be expected to become true Christians if they are excluded from worldly honours and openly despised?:

Then, is it not obvious that, when the Moriscos are at all times denied honourable treatment, if God does not perform a miracle for them, they will never be true Christians in their hearts? Because, if they look to their temporal good, it would be better for them that the Moors return to Spain, take it over and bestow honour on them, and recognise them as Moors.<sup>129</sup>

Salucio claims that to break the link between virtuous deeds and the acquisition of honours, particularly membership of the military orders,

<sup>127</sup> “A esto dize el señor Loaysa Arçobispo de Toledo, que conforme a un concilio antiguo, el mejor remedio era obligallos con leyes rigurosas, a q̄ nunca morisco casasse con morisca, ni morisca con morisco [...] y sin duda la mezcla en los casamientos es gran remedio para la religion; no solo por la amistad, sino tambien por el testimonio de tan estrecha compañia”: Salucio, *Discurso*, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> “[...] si algun ammonita, o moabita quisiessse professar la ley de los judios, fuesse admitido para la tal profesiõ, pero nunca el ni sus descendientes, alcançassen voto activo ni pasivo en los cargos y oficios de aquel pueblo [...] y antes consta de la sagrada escritura, que si algunos casamientos eran permitidos, o por general interpretacion, o por dispensación particular, por el mismo caso eran capaces los hijos de todas las onras del pueblo de Israel”: Salucio, *Discurso*, fol. 43<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> “Pues ¿quien no vee, que siendo perpetua la infamia de los moriscos, si Dios no haze milagro con ellos, nunca an de ser cristianos de coraçon? Porque si miran a su comodidad temporal, les estuviere mejor que tornaran los moros a España y se apoderaran della, y los onraran y reconocieran por moros”: Salucio, *Discurso*, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>.

is to equate an honourable position in society with nobility of birth rather than with deeds and services:

[...] People are convinced that to attain habits and *encomiendas*<sup>130</sup> and other great favours from the King they do not need to show valour in his service but merely to be of noble birth, be of pure blood and have a little political influence. And convinced that honours are bestowed generally, not for notable service but purely because of noble lineage, is it any wonder that they avoid work and are content with vainglory attained effortlessly!

Salucio's *Discurso* states categorically that the *limpieza* statutes are contrary to Christian charity:

Those against [the statutes] claim to argue from sacred Scripture, from the authority of popes and councils, from canon and civil law, from the common beliefs of wise men, and the universal practice of the Church, and finally from laws and ancient customs, not just of other kingdoms but also of Spain, all of this to prove that it were more in keeping with the Gospel and Christian charity and the universal good not to have formulated such statutes.<sup>131</sup>

*Conclusion: the primacy of love and toleration replaces righteousness*

The principal subject matter of Valencia's biblical commentary on the *Acts* and *Galatians* is the dispute that had arisen in the early Church concerning the mission to the Gentiles. Valencia argues that the time span of the Old Testament has ended by his exegesis of the Greek word *gholam* (*ólám*): the Judaic ceremonial laws have come to the end of their usefulness; *çiencia* has been replaced by *charidad*. Valencia's commentary reflects his open-minded tolerance; Judaic customs are not reviled; rather they have led naturally to the New Testament, which is written on men's hearts and not on tablets of stone.

We have seen that there are underlying themes and arguments in Pedro de Valencia's *Commentary* that are also found in two fifteenth-century *converso* writers, both of whom are defending the unity of

<sup>130</sup> *Encomiendas* are the land or rents that came with the mastership or knight commandery of a military order.

<sup>131</sup> "Llega tambien la pretension de los contrarios a quererse valer de la sagrada Escritura, y de la autoridad de Papas y Concilios, del derecho canonico y civil, de la común opinion de los Sabios, y del uso universal de la Iglesia, y finalmente de las leyes y antigua costumbre, no solo de los otros reynos, sino tambien de España: todo esto a fin de provar ñ fuera más conforme al Evangelio, y a la caridad cristiana, y al bien universal, no aver hecho tales estatutos": Salucio, *Discurso*, fols 7<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>.

Christianity against the *limpieza de sangre* mentality. Both Cartagena and Talavera argue that the physical circumcision of the Old Testament has evolved into the circumcision of the heart in the New Testament, that is to say a heart that is open to divine grace. Christian Baptism ends all previous divisions in society and this unity is encapsulated in the title of Cartagena's book, *Defensorium unitatis christianum*. In this new society positions of honour are open to those who merit them.

All of these themes are found in Pedro de Valencia's *Commentary* who, I would argue, applies them to his own divided society. Some of these anti *limpieza* arguments are found also in the *Discurso* of Fray Agustín Salucio. All the writers stress St. Paul's emphasis on this primacy of charity among the Christian virtues. Christian love is, also, one of the central themes of the *Dictatum christianum*. In Chapter XIV of this educational manual, part of St. Paul's well-known definition of charity (1 Cor. 13: 1–3) is cited.<sup>132</sup> Hernando de Talavera stresses also the central role of charity in the New Testament:

If such converts [the *conversos*] are not as they should be, it is not wrong to dislike them, as then their evil deeds are abhorred and not their persons, but even then good and true Christians desire and procure, with much love and not hostility, to correct the newly baptised people and set them on the right path, as one ought to do in the case of all Christians, who perform evil deeds and err by the commission of sin.<sup>133</sup>

Valencia's lengthy discussion of the toleration exercised towards the converts from Judaism would seem to have relevance for attitudes towards the Moriscos. The use of the phrase 'flacos en la fe' for both the early converts to Christianity and for the seventeenth-century Moriscos links both groups. All writers discussed in this chapter stress the unifying force of baptism, which not only makes salvation possible, but also should give open access to material honours. Finally, all writers emphasise the precedence of inner spiritual transformation over external observance, which is how the New Testament is distinguished from the Old.

<sup>132</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 277.

<sup>133</sup> "Si los tales convertidos no son cuales deben ser, no yerran en los mal querer, ca entonces aborrecen sus malas obras y no a sus personas; pero, aun entonces, los buenos y verdaderos cristianos quieren y procuran con mucha caridad y no con enemiga la corrección y enmienda a los nuevos bautizados, como se debe procurar la de otros cualesquiera cristianos, que delinquen y yerran en cualesquier pecados": Talavera, *Catolica impugnaciõ*, pp. 92–93.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### PEDRO DE VALENCIA'S 'TRATADO ACERCA DE LOS MORISCOS'

Pedro de Valencia viewed Christianity in the same way as St. Paul did: the hierarchies permitted in the Old Testament had ended with the coming of Christ. He, by his death, had brought to an end the time-span of the law, or *sciencia*, and had replaced it with *charidad*, or love. This antithesis of *sciencia y caridad* is a constant theme in Valencia's biblical commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistle to the Galatians*. Christianity was 'caste-free' and all new converts had full rights to material honours and to respect within society. However, the new regime was not to be immediately enforced; tolerance and charity required that those of weak faith, 'los flacos en la fe', should be given time to adapt. Thus, even though after Christ's death, circumcision and the ritual and ceremonial requirements of the Old Testament were no longer necessary; the converts from Judaism were permitted to continue to practise them for some time. The Apostles, including St. Paul, 'llevados de la charidad' (inspired by love), agreed to continue carrying out these rituals in public when not to do so would have caused scandal (fols 67<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>r</sup>). By using the term 'flacos en la fe' to describe both the Gentile converts to the Early Church and also the neophyte Moriscos Valencia associates the two sets of converts, both of whom were to be treated with tolerance and love. One means by which such Christian love would be shown was to repeal the Statutes of Purity of Blood. Valencia does not propose this directly but such a measure is implicit in his arguments, which are very similar to those of many writers who do. His attitudes towards the Moriscos are rational and lack racial prejudice:

Let us not fear that the blood of Spaniards will be infected by being mixed with that of the Moors; many have had this from time immemorial and it does not harm them because *idem est non esse et non apparere* (to be is not the same as to appear), as the jurists say.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "No temamos que se inficione la sangre de los españoles con la mezcla de la de los moros; que muchos la tienen de antigüedad y no les daña porque *idem est non esse et non apparere*, dicen los juristas": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 126.



These themes of toleration, patience and love are developed at length in the *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos de España*, which was written either late in 1605 or early in 1606 at the request of Philip III's chaplain, Fray Diego de Mardones.<sup>2</sup> The letter preceding the *Tratado* was written in Zafra and is dated 25 January 1606. In another letter published in *BAE*, LXII, and dated 1 March 1606, Valencia speaks of this *Tratado* and of his relationship with Fray Diego. The recipient of the letter is not mentioned but the contents make it most probable that this was Fray José de Sigüenza: "I got the opportunity to send this memorial to his majesty through his confessor, because of the contact I have, dare I say my friendship with his confessor; he has written me many letters of great openness and warmth; he is concerned for the public good and has warm feelings towards those of us who desire it".<sup>3</sup>

#### *Valencia's religious convictions*

In this chapter, there is an examination of some of the theological beliefs and religious convictions of Pedro de Valencia that inspired this lengthy treatise, in which he examines all the solutions that have been proposed for the *problema morisco*.<sup>4</sup> His biblical exegesis on the fall from grace of Adam and Eve analyses two different types of wisdom, that of uncontrolled sensual appetites and a spiritual wisdom, in which the senses are controlled by the intellect. These two types of wisdom are applied to his own society in the *Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State*, where this analysis takes place. This council was the most important and of greatest power in the affairs of the state and the one where the final decision to expel the Moriscos took place. Valencia's lengthy exposition expresses his misgivings that 'la sabidu-

<sup>2</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 71–139.

<sup>3</sup> "Fue ocasión el enviar yo ese memorial a su magestad por mano de su confesor, de una gran comunicación, y oso decir amistad, del padre confesor conmigo; hanme escrito muchas cartas con grande llaneza y manifestación de corazón, aficionado al público bien, y a los que lo deseamos": *BAE*, LXII, pp. 44–45.

<sup>4</sup> I do not intend to give a detailed analysis of the *Tratado*, as this has been done elsewhere. There is one in L. P. Harvey's *Muslims in Spain*, pp. 291–331; in the León edition of the *Tratado* in the *Obras completas*: IV, 2, pp. 15–65; there is a brief examination in *La historia de los moriscos* of Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent (pp. 168–169) and also in *Los moriscos de España. Manuscrito del siglo XVII*, MS 8888, ed. J. Gil Sanjuán (Málaga: Algazara, 1997).

ría de Dios' did not always influence decisions taken there. As mentioned already, in this *Discourse*, written for a member of the Council of State he wrote:

Not all just and virtuous deeds were considered convenient by them and were not to be undertaken if not deemed useful.<sup>5</sup>

Valencia's religious beliefs were deeply held, as is apparent from passages in both this work and his critique of the *Pergamino y láminas* of Granada: "But I will express my feelings simply, concealing nothing out of fear or human respect, above all else respecting God, whose cause is at stake, and who is witness to my loving intention, a God who cannot be served and pleased by those who go about gratifying people and looking for their applause".<sup>6</sup> Contemporaries bear witness to both Valencia's erudition and his virtuous life. Benito Arias Montano, in a letter to the Dutch scholar Justus Lipsius wrote: "You have in this city [Seville] many followers, and among them some who are outstanding both in letters and in virtuous living. Simón Tóvar, a noble Portuguese, Luciano de Negrón and Pacheco, theologians and canons, Francisco Sánchez, imbued with the spirit of Esculapius and at the extreme end of Bética [Andalucía] Pedro de Valencia, a most unusual example in our day of piety and erudition" (Seville, 25 December 1593);<sup>7</sup> "[...] Greetings from Canon Pacheco, a most learned gentleman in our society, from Canon Negrón and from Pedro de Valencia, famous for his way of life and erudition" (25 November 1594).<sup>8</sup> Góngora wrote the following eulogy a few days after Valencia's death: "Our good Pedro de Valencia died last Friday. I have lamented it because of my love for

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<sup>5</sup> "No todas las obras justas y virtuosas les eran convenientes, ni se havian de seguir no siendo utiles": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 66'.

<sup>6</sup> "Pero yo [...] diré mi sentimiento sencillamente, sin encubrir nada por temor ni respeto, respetando sobre todo a Dios, cuya causa se trata, y que es testigo de mi afecto intención, al qual no pueden servir y agradar los que andan a contentar y aplaudir a los hombres": Valencia, *Pergamino y láminas*, p. 10; Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 438.

<sup>7</sup> "Tienes en esta ciudad [Seville] no pocos adictos y entre ellos algunos muy notables en letras y en virtud: Simón Tobar, noble lusitano, Luciano de Negrón y Pacheco, teólogos y canónigos, Francisco Sánchez, poseído del espíritu de Esculapio y en la extrema Bética, Pedro de Valencia, rarísimo ejemplo en nuestro siglo de piedad y erudición": A. Ramírez, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio a los españoles (1577-1606)* (Madrid: Castalia, 1966).

<sup>8</sup> "[...] el saludo del canónigo Pacheco, varón doctísimo entre nosotros, el del canónigo Negrón, y el de Pedro de Valencia, eminente por sus costumbres y erudición": Ramírez, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio*, pp. 73, 77.

our country, which has lost the individual who could best impress and argue against foreigners".<sup>9</sup>

In this chapter, then, there is a continuation of the analysis of the religious beliefs of Pedro de Valencia that are expressed in the *Tratado* and which underlie his attitudes towards the Moriscos. There is also a discussion the constant recurrence of these ideas in other writings of Valencia.

*El Tratado acerca de los moriscos*

In distinguishing between *moros*, or crypto-Muslims, and Moriscos, between those guilty of heresy and those who are attempting to live as Christians, Valencia, the lawyer insists on the right to individual trial. In spite of the ability of the Moriscos to offend, we must not be provoked by immoderate anger to punish them unjustly or to consider their extermination.<sup>10</sup> The letters that would be sent out to regional governors from the Council of State, following the meeting of 4 August 1609, mention this latter option constantly. The King, however, in spite of discouragement at the failure of the Moriscos to become truly Christian, considered it to be untenable for its lack of charity.<sup>11</sup> Valencia points out that the Moriscos are baptised Christians unlike the Jews, who were expelled as infidels by Ferdinand and Isabella:<sup>12</sup>

If we consider again the question of justice, how can one justify before God or man, or what Christian could there be that could bear to see in the fields, and on the beaches such a large crowd of baptised men and women, who were calling out to God and to the world that they were Christians and wished to be so and that people were taking their children and their property from them out of greed and hatred, without

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<sup>9</sup> "Nuestro buen Pedro de Valencia murió el viernes pasado: helo sentido por lo que deuo a nuestra nación, que ha perdido el sujeto que mejor podía ostentar i oponer a los extranjeros": L. de Góngora y Argote, "Carta al S<sup>or</sup> D. Francisco del Corral", 14 de abril de 1620, in *Obras poéticas de D. Luis de Góngora*, III, ed. R. Foulshé-Delbosc (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1921), p. 172.

<sup>10</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 89; 97–103. Ignacio de las Casas also believed in individual trial; Moriscos must not be condemned by mere suspicion; they should be tried individually, according to the tenets of canon law (MS 10 238, fol. 165<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>11</sup> AGS, Estado, leg. 2638 bis.

<sup>12</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 102, 107.

listening to them or judging them in court, and they were sending them to become Moors.<sup>13</sup>

In the *Tratado*, Valencia, in the tradition of anti-Islamic polemics, rejects the *Qur'ān* as implausible and irrational. Were the Moriscos instructed in philosophy and ethics they would be receptive to the Gospel and would come to despise the *Qur'ān*.<sup>14</sup> He has no toleration for the religion of Muhammad but rejects it as 'aquel cáncer'.<sup>15</sup> Neither does he value the cultural differences in the dress, eating habits and customs of the Moriscos; the prohibition of Islamic customs and dress was intended to ease the assimilation of the Moriscos into *cristiano viejo* society.<sup>16</sup> However, Valencia does acknowledge the hard work of the Moriscos.<sup>17</sup> He also states that, since its reconquest from the Moors, Spain has never been fully cultivated.<sup>18</sup> In another passage, by placing Islam under the patronage of the devil, he is articulating, once again, a common mediaeval belief.<sup>19</sup> Valencia quite abhorred what he perceived as the Islamic permission to tell lies and to dissimulate. He was aware that Muhammad had not expected his followers to suffer martyrdom and that some *qur'ānic* jurists had justified the controversial practice of *taqiyya*. (See the Introduction). Valencia calls this dissimulation 'máquina diabólica' (a diabolical invention) or 'traza diabólica' (a diabolical scheme) and condemns it very strongly (pp. 75, 80).<sup>20</sup> However, although he believed that many Moriscos were indeed

<sup>13</sup> "Volviendo a la consideración de la justicia, como se puede justificar con Dios, ni con los hombres, ni que corazón cristiano habría de haver que sufriese ver en los campos, y en las playas, vna tan grande muchedumbre de hombres y mugeres bautizados, y que diesen voces a Dios, y al mundo que eran cristianos, y lo querían ser, y les quitaban sus hijos, y haciendas por avaricia y por odio, sin oírlos, ni estar con ellos a juicio, y los embiaban a que se tornasen moros": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 106.

<sup>14</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 136. González de Cellorigo expresses this view, also: "[...] no se puede poner duda, sino que si esta g'ÿte vuiera tenido quien les alumbrara las verdades de nuestra fe, su entendimiento natural los vuiera sacado de la ceguedad de su falsa secta" (there is no doubt that, if these people had had someone to enlighten them about the truths of our faith, their natural intelligence would have removed them from the blindness of their false sect): González de Cellorigo, *Memorial*, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 84–85.

<sup>18</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 139.

<sup>19</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 97. This belief is expressed in iconographic form in the frontispiece of Damián Fonseca's apologetic work. (See illustrations).

<sup>20</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 75, 80. For a discussion on *taqiyya* see once again footnote 116 in the Introduction.

crypto-Muslims, he did acknowledge that some were true converts and perhaps even saints:

Among such a large number of people, however misguided the community at large is, there may be many, not merely innocent of the crime of heresy and lack of fidelity to the king, but good Christians and even saints.<sup>21</sup>

What he proposes in the *Tratado* is full assimilation; one of the means of achieving this is by scattering the Moriscos within the community of *cristianos viejos*. In this way, the malaise of Islam will be neutralised, slowly and naturally. He makes this point through an analogy with medical practice. When there are evil humours the doctor has the choice of direct intervention using drastic measures like bloodlettings or purges. However, through *epicrasis* [epicrasis = ‘the process of tempering acrid humours’] nature will slowly heal itself and the good humours will become predominant again.<sup>22</sup> (Valencia’s knowledge of medical practice is very apparent in one of his letters to the painter Pablo de Céspedes. As the doctors have failed to diagnose the illness of this prebendary and art critic from Córdoba, Valencia surmises on what may be the cause and suggests practical remedies.)<sup>23</sup>

At the heart of Valencia’s recommendations for the solution of ‘el problema morisco’, in the *Tratado*, lie the Pauline virtues of faith, hope and charity. In section 17 of the *Tratado*, Valencia had lamented the fact that so little that was appropriate had been done to solve the problem. Nonetheless, he is confident that, with suitable measures, the malaise can be cured. Unlike the Apologists, whose medical imagery is always very negative, Valencia is confident that a cure is possible:

It is very fitting to point out the seriousness and risk of an illness in order to make the patient take care [of himself] and to do what he is told [...] it must not be said that the sickness is incurable [...] the fact is that, doing nothing or very little of what is appropriate, [the patient] has reached such a dangerous state that, even by applying all the remedies [if] he continues in this way, what hope could there be? But now there

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<sup>21</sup> “En tan grande número de gente, por perdida que sea la comunidad, puede ser que haya muchos, no solamente no culpados en crimen de la heregía, y de infidelidad al rey, pero buenos cristianos, y aun santos”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 101. This point is also made by Las Casas: MS 10 238, fol. 163<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 109.

<sup>23</sup> J. Martínez Ruiz, “Cartas de Pedro de Valencia a Pablo de Céspedes (1604–1605)”, *BRAE*, LIX (1979), p. 395.

is a high probability that, by carrying out appropriate measures, health will ensue, at least he will get better.<sup>24</sup>

The faithful must pray for the true conversion of the Moriscos and must believe that God can work miracles by changing their hearts. However, faith alone is not enough; it must be accompanied by public prayer and penance, as practised in the Early Church:

First and foremost we must beseech God and commend to him the true conversion of these people by fasting and public prayers throughout the Church, at least in the churches in Spain, particularly continuous, loving prayers *in ieiunio, & fletu & planctu* (in fasting, lamentation and beating of the breast) among religious and pious people, asking God to glorify his name through Jesus Christ, our Lord, and if the failure to believe and hardness [of heart] of this people need it, that he perform marvellous deeds and miracles.<sup>25</sup>

A jubilee year should be sought from the Pope, with obligatory prayers, almsgiving and fasting. The Moriscos would be edified when they saw how concerned people were for their wellbeing:

[...] nor would it be a bad idea if the Moriscos were to see that we were saddened and were fasting for their salvation; that would be more edifying for them than for us to call them Moorish dogs.<sup>26</sup>

Valencia had previously insisted that faith had to be complemented by action. Divine Providence was responsible for the unfolding of history but men had their part to play also:

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<sup>24</sup> "Es muy justo advertir de la gravedad y riesgo de la enfermedad para hacer cuidadoso y obediente el enfermo [...] que no se dice que el mal es incurable [...] y es que, no haciéndose nada o muy poco de lo conveniente, ha llegado a estado tan peligroso que, si haciéndose todos los remedios procediera así, ¿qué se podía esperar? Pero ahora hay muy probable esperanza [de] que haciéndose lo conveniente sucederá salud, a lo menos mejorará": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 90.

<sup>25</sup> "Lo primero y principal ha de ser encomendar, y pedir a Dios la conversión de el corazón de esta gente con ayunos, y oraciones públicas de toda la Yglesia, a lo menos de las yglesias de España, y particulares de los relig[ios]os y personas pías, oraciones afectuosas y continuas *in jejunio, & fletu & planctu*, pidiendo a Dios que glorifique su nombre por Jesu Cristo, nuestro Señor, y si la incredulidad, y dureza de esta gente lo ha menester, como parece, haga maravillas, y milagros": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 116–117.

<sup>26</sup> "[...] ni estaría mal, que los moriscos vieran que nos afligíamos, y aunábamos por su salvación, más les edificaría esto, que llamarlos de perros Moros": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 117.

Finally, even if it is not our deeds that bring about the event, we must walk around Jericho and cry out, time and time again, so that God may knock it down.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, in his tract *El acrecentamiento de la labor de la tierra* Valencia states: “We ought to understand that, even if we were very devout, and fasted and prayed night and day, if we are idle, and do not sow, or not as much either as is appropriate according to common sense, or the amount demanded by our lot in this mortal life, with all its misery and suffering; the land on its own will not support us, as it is no longer Paradise”.<sup>28</sup> This point is made forcibly, also, by Arias Montano in the *Dictatum christianum*: “Thus, in this way, it is not alone with faith and words but also with deeds, care and practice that they will set aside ambition, greed and over-indulgence; because virtue does not consist of words but of deeds”.<sup>29</sup>

In spite of the obduracy of the Moriscos and the apparent failure of all measures to convert them, they must not be judged and love must not be withdrawn:

We are not masters, nor can we judge another’s servant, nor do we know where they stand before God. Unless he commands it, and we are certain that it is his wish, it is not our task to abandon them or withdraw preaching from them, rather we must understand that we have been commanded the same thing as the Prophet: *Noli substrahere verbum, si forte audiant, et convertantur unusquisque sua mala* (Leave not out one word. If so be they will hearken and be converted, every one from his evil way) (Jer. 26: 2–3).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> “En fin, aunque no sean nuestras obras las que hacen el hecho, debemos dar las bueltas, y las boces una vez, y otra [alrededor] de Jérico para que Dios la derribe”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 115.

<sup>28</sup> “[...] debemos entender que aunque seamos mui devotos, y ayunemos y recemos de noche y de día, si nos estamos ociosos, y no sembramos, o no tanto, ni cómo conviene, y como pide la razón y la suerte de esta vida mortal con sus penalidades, que no nos ha de producir la tierra frutos de suyo, que no es ya paraíso”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 143.

<sup>29</sup> “Ansí que, de esta manera, que es no sólo con fe, i palabras, sino también con obras, i cuidado, i egercicio se han de dejar renunciar la ambición, la cudicia, i los regalos, porque la virtud no es palabras; sino obras”: Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 215.

<sup>30</sup> “No somos nosotros dueños, ni podemos juzgar el siervo ageno, ni sabemos en que lugar están a cerca de Dios, sin cuio mandato, y certeza de su voluntad, no nos es dado dexarlos, ni substraherlos la predicación, antes debemos entender, que nos está mandado lo que al profeta: *Noli substrahere verbum, si forte audiant, et convertantur unusquisque sua mala*”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 114.

In the *Dictatum christianum* Arias Montano cites St. Peter's assertion that Christ wants everybody to be saved: "He does not wish that anyone be lost but that all should be converted and do penance" (2 Pet. 3: 9).<sup>31</sup> Valencia is not being naïve. He is quite aware of the inadequacy of many conversion attempts:

It is a pitiful thing that we have abandoned them [the Moriscos] as beyond hope, and it is, essentially, a question of their conversion. So that, not only are no new, special measures undertaken with them, but the bishops and priests from places where there are Moriscos forget about them, as if they were not from the flock, and take no care to instruct them, as they do with the rest of the faithful, and when the whole town is made up of Moriscos it is said, as if in jest, that the priest from the place has a simple benefice without responsibility for their souls.<sup>32</sup>

Knowing that many of the rectors sent to the Moriscos were unsuitable, Valencia urged that public prayers be said for guidance in the choosing of the most able: "And may God guide the prelates and superiors so that they select suitable teachers and preachers, for the proper organisation of this evangelisation. In this way the holy Apostles undertook the conversion of Nations, and in this way they began their task" (Acts 13: 1–30).<sup>33</sup>

Ignacio de Las Casas, had espoused similar ideas for the evangelisation of the Moriscos; they should be won over to Christianity by treating them well in word and deed; Morisco parishes and rectories should have priests who were disinterested and good-living and would

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<sup>31</sup> "No quiere que ninguno se pierda sino que todos se conviertan a hacer penitencia": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 235; Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 111.

<sup>32</sup> "Es cosa lastimosa, que los ayamos dejado ya, como cosa desesperada, y totalmente se trata de su conversión. De manera que no solamente no se hacen nuevas, y particulares diligencias con ellos, sino que los obispos, y curas de los lugares, donde están los moriscos, los olvidan como sino fueren de el rebaño, y no cuidan de instruirlos, como a los demás fieles, y cuando todo el pueblo es de moriscos se dice, como por donaire, que el cura de aquel lugar tiene beneficio simple sin cargo de ánimas": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 114. González de Cellorigo criticized, also, the negligence of the clergy (See the Introduction). Ignacio de Las Casas, in letters to the Papal Nuncio Ginnasio, Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius, the Inquisition and Philip III himself made this same point repeatedly. The attempts at evangelisation are summarised in the following books: Domínguez Ortiz & Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 93–102; R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, & E. Císcar Pallarés, *Historia de la iglesia en España*, IV, ed A. Mestre Sanchís (Madrid: RAE, Editorial Gredos, 1979), pp. 255–307.

<sup>33</sup> "[...] y que [Dios] gobierne los prelados, y superiores para la conveniente elección de los maestros, y predicadores, y para el buen orden y acierto de esta conversión. De esta manera emprehendían los ápostoles santos la conversión de los pueblos, y por estos pasos entraban en ella": *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 117.



convert the Moriscos by example.<sup>34</sup> Valencia and las Casas pointed out, also, the illogicality of sending missionaries to the Far East when baptised Moriscos needed true conversion:

It is very strange that Spain travels over land and sea and arrives at the extremes of East and West, at Chile, China and Japan, in order to convert infidels [...] and she does not pay any heed to or take any trouble with the conversion or confirmation in the faith of those at home who are baptised, and she is under an obligation to teach them and to confirm them [in the faith] and her obligation is both spiritual and temporal.<sup>35</sup>

Valencia goes so far as to say that, should the Moriscos be expelled and find themselves in Islamic countries, Christian charity demands that priests and religious accompany them.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Pedagogical Recommendations of Pedro de Valencia*

As an educator, Pedro de Valencia could see clearly how inappropriate and ineffective the methods undertaken to convert the Moriscos had been. There follows some of his pedagogical recommendations for prospective missionaries, which are an embodiment of his educational ideals and his very practical Christian charity. In attempting to convert the Moriscos one must first motivate them; compulsion is counterproductive:

What is done nowadays to teach the Moriscos is to compel them to attend mass, hear sermons and learn Christian doctrine. Even if this were carried out with great care, these are approaches that presuppose faith, and inner conviction, and pious affection for the Christian religion. For those who lack these qualities, and are instead hostile and full of repugnance, they are of scarcely any use.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Borja de Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca", p. 123.

<sup>35</sup> "Mui de extrañar es que sea España la que rodea el mar y la tierra, y llega hasta los fines de el oriente, y de el occidente, a Chile, a la China, y al Japón, por convertir ynfielos [...] y que no cuide, ni haga diligencia, para la conversión, o confirmación en la fee de éstos que tiene dentro de casa, que están bautizados, y le corre obligación de enseñarlos, y confirmarlos, y le va tanto en hacerlo para lo espiritual, y temporal": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 115. Las Casas argued that missionary efforts should be concentrated in Spain rather than in far off places: "[...] siendo los moriscos más próximos y sangre española" (as the Moriscos are closer by and of Spanish blood): Las Casas, MS 10.238, BL, fol. 214<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 106.

<sup>37</sup> "Lo que ahora se hace para la enseñanza de los Moriscos que es compelerlos a oír Misa, y sermones, y aprender la doctrina, aunque se hiciera con todo cuidado,

Rote learning without understanding is quite pointless:

It is as if it [the Christian religion] were being taught in Greek, or in another language that they did not understand, and thus it goes no further than their ears and their tongue.<sup>38</sup>

The instructor must observe the needs of each individual and tailor his instructions accordingly: "It is advisable to examine the interests and understanding of each one of those being taught in order to supplement what they lack, and bring them on, getting them to understand what you wish them to believe. Otherwise, what they hear will not be appropriate nor lead them to have faith, and will not engage their intelligence, approval or acceptance. Thus, it is better to say four or five words that reflect their own way of thinking: that is to say, when the teacher chooses, with guidance, to speak about things that the personality and disposition of the pupil predisposes him to hear at that time rather than to recite ten thousand times the symbols, prayers and the commandments, without the listener understanding or being interested or believing in them more from one day to the next".<sup>39</sup> Pedro de Valencia's skill as an educator and his lack of prejudice is evident from these quotations.

### *Usefulness (or expediency) and Virtue: 'los poderosos'*

Being a man of faith Pedro de Valencia saw that the missionaries sent to the Moriscos had lacked trust in God's power to work miracles. However, he could see, also, that there were other factors in operation. He was well aware of the political influence wielded by 'los

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son diligencias, que presuponen fe, y persuasión interior, y pía afección a la religión cristiana. Para los que no tienen esto, sino antes contraria persuasión, y repugnancia, casi no son de uso": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 115–116.

<sup>38</sup> "Es como si se la mostrasen en griego, o en otra lengua que no entendiesen, y así, no les pasa de los oídos, y de la lengua": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 116.

<sup>39</sup> "Conviene examinar la dirección, y noticia de cada uno de los que son enseñados para suplir lo que les falta, y llevarlos adelante, dándoles a entender, lo que les propone para creer, de otra manera no será aquella audición apta para hacer fe, sin inteligencia, ni aprobación, ni elección. Así que vale más decirles cuatro, o cinco palabras *sensu proprio* (in their own way of thinking): esto es cogiendo el maestro con dirección, lo [que] a la persona, y disposición de el discípulo le conviene oír entonces que recitarle de palabra diez mil veces el símbolo, y las oraciones, y mandamientos, sin que el oyente entienda, ni se aficiona, ni crea más un día que otro": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 116.

poderosos' (those with political or material power). In his works on agrarian reform, when speaking out on behalf of the poor, price control of staple foodstuffs, the redistribution of land or the debasement of the *moneda de vellón*, he invests this term with highly pejorative connotations. José María Maravall cites some of the most mordant. In his *Respuesta a algunas réplicas que se han hecho contra el discurso del precio del pan* to the King's chaplain, Fray Diego de Mardones, he protests that: "powerful and mercenary men are as enraged as wild animals, when people attempt to deprive them of the prey that they are devouring hungrily".<sup>40</sup> In the same letter he writes: "This tyranny and inhuman ferocity of the powerful and famous was represented also by the Greek poets with the fable of the Cyclops".<sup>41</sup> In an extended analogy between 'los poderosos' and the Cyclops the nobles are represented as avaricious, arrogantly proud of their lineage and scornful of those of lesser rank. Like the Cyclops they rob the poor and feed off their blood. Valencia begs that the King "should not turn a blind eye or allow this violence and cannibalism to continue in his realm".<sup>42</sup> At the end of the letter he states his motivation in writing to the chaplain, who will then brief the King: "We are trying to persuade the Cyclops not to eat up these poor, unimportant workers, and wretched people of Spain".<sup>43</sup> We have seen already Valencia's negative use of 'poderosos' when decrying the lack of critical sense of those in power with regard to the *pergamino y láminas*. (See Part II, Chapter 6.)

Arias Montano also uses the term 'los poderosos' pejoratively: "It will be seen clearly that God instituted these supreme and sovereign dignitaries [kings, emperors and princes] so that those who held these offices would be called watchdogs or defenders of the laws, fathers of their native country [...] and would defend the poor and defence-

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<sup>40</sup> "[...] los poderosos y interesados que se enojan como las fieras cuando les quieren quitar la presa en que están encarnizados": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, 29.

<sup>41</sup> "Esta tiranía y fiereza inhumana de los poderosos o famosos, o ylustres representaron también los poetas griegos con la fabula de los cíclopes": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 107.

<sup>42</sup> "[...] no disimule ni consienta más esta violencia y antropofagia en sus reinos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 109; Maravall, "Reformismo social agrario", p. 301.

<sup>43</sup> "Estamos tratando de persuadir a los cíclopes que no coman a estos pequeños y pobres trabajadores y gente miserable de España": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 109; Maravall, "Reformismo social agrario", p. 301.

less from the unjust oppression of the grandees, the rich and the powerful".<sup>44</sup>

In the *Tratado* Valencia speaks out against those who would use religious arguments to cover up self-interest: in this treatise, and in his essay on affairs in the Council of State, he condemns 'la secta de los políticos', those politicians who viewed politics as an art that should be separated from religion:<sup>45</sup>

And when something is done out of political expediency, and for man's convenience or for human purposes, to try to cover it up by calling it piety, zeal or religion is deceitful and greatly offends God, who is simple and good.<sup>46</sup>

He condemns an expediency that comes before morality. Socrates was the first to condemn this:

Socrates, who was the greatest of Gentile philosophers, according to Clement of Alexandria, often used to curse the first person who distinguished between what is useful and what is just, and who taught men that they could do something unjust, if it were convenient and profitable.<sup>47</sup>

Valencia then moves from classical literature to the Bible and points out that Socrates was unaware that the author of this distinction was the serpent in the Garden of Eden; he explains that the story of Our First Parents is to be interpreted both allegorically and literally.<sup>48</sup> When Adam and Eve disobeyed God and rated personal advantage higher than virtue they lost the perfection that God had given them and a lower nature developed within them:

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<sup>44</sup> "Se verá claro que instituyó Dios estas supremas i soberanas dignidades [los reyes, emperadores y príncipes] para que los que las tuvieren, se llamen i sean celadores, i defensores de las leyes, padres de los pueblos [...] i defiendan los pobres i desvalidos de la injusta opresión de los grandes, ricos, i poderosos": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> This topic is discussed in greater detail, in Part II, Chapter 9.

<sup>46</sup> "Y cuando una cosa se hace por conveniencia política, y por comodidades, o intentos humanos, quererla cubrir con nombre de piedad, celo, y religión es astucia, que ofende mucho a la divina simplicidad, y bondad": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 100.

<sup>47</sup> "Sócrates, que fue el maior de los filósofos gentiles, dice Clemente Alexandrino, que solía maldecir mui a menudo al primero que distinguió entre lo útil, y lo justo, y enseñó a los hombres que podía haver cosa injusta, que les conviniere, y fuese de provecho": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 92.

<sup>48</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>.

He [Socrates] was quite right to curse the man whom God cursed, the ancient serpent, who was the creature who, at the beginning [of time], persuaded our [First] Parents in Paradise, that it would be good for them, and that their good fortune and [social] position would improve, and that they would be like gods, wise and honourable, if they broke the commandment of God.<sup>49</sup>

Adam and Eve thus became prone to follow a new, lower nature. They lost 'la sabiduría de Dios' (God's wisdom) and were constantly tempted by worldly things, or 'la sabiduría de la carne' (the wisdom of the flesh). This inferior set of values militated against their higher or spiritual nature:

There opened in them and in all their descendants the eyes of earthly wisdom, that see and esteem the delightfulness, splendour and apparent usefulness of earthly things, and [these eyes] depict them with deceptive embellishment, and offer them to the spirit or inner man that he may accept and embrace them as useful; this is the law, wisdom and impulse of the flesh, which is inimical to God and disobedient to his law.<sup>50</sup>

This term 'hombre interior', or inner man, comes from St. Paul, who uses it to describe personality. The innermost self, where God dwells, is rational and would correspond to Valencia's 'sabiduría de Dios'; what St. Paul calls 'my members', or innate desires, corresponds to the 'sabiduría de la carne'; finally there is a sense of self-awareness that sees the predicament of the flesh, prey to the lawlessness of passion, but knows that divine grace can bring this under control. St. Paul's categories correspond to Freud's superego, id and ego.<sup>51</sup> Some of the

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<sup>49</sup> "Mui bien decía [Sócrates] en maldecir al que Dios maldijo, a la serpiente antigua, que fue quien, en el principio, persuadió a nuestros padres en el paraíso, que les estaría bien, y acrecentarían su suerte, y estado, y serían como Dioses y sabios y honrados y poderosos quebrantando el precepto de Dios": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 92. Valencia also makes this point in his essay on affairs in the Council of State. There he gives as source Plato's *Apologia* for Socrates: Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 63v. At his trial Socrates valued personal integrity above playing to the gallery and this may have contributed to his condemnation to death. He also antagonised the jury by criticising those who put personal comfort above striving after the perfection of the soul: Plato, 'Apology', *Complete Works*, ed. J. M. Cooper (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Co., 1997), pp. 18–36.

<sup>50</sup> "Se abrieron en ellos y en todos sus descendientes los ojos de la sabiduría terrena, y que ven, y consideran el deleite, y pompa y apariencia de utilidad de las cosas temporales, y las representan con afeite engañoso, y las ofrecen al espíritu o hombre interior para que las acepte y abraze como convenientes; esta es la ley, la sabiduría, y ímpetu de la carne, que es enemiga de Dios y desobediente a su ley": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 92.

<sup>51</sup> *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 704.

themes we have been discussing are present in the two extant homilies of St. Macarius, so we shall look at them briefly.

*The Homilies of St. Macarius*

In the early seventeenth century Pedro de Valencia translated some of the homilies of St. Macarius.<sup>52</sup> In letters to Fray José de Sigüenza, Prior of El Escorial, he mentions, many times, this task. He first refers to the homilies on 7 May 1603 and his final reference is in a letter dated 20 July 1605. In the letter of 7 May he says that he has translated eight homilies into Castilian. In the letter dated 22 March 1604 he states that sixty chapters [of the Latin translation of the *Opuscles*] of the saint had been translated. Valencia states on 12 May 1605 that 'el Sr Don J<sup>no</sup> [de Idiáquez?]' had spoken of having them printed, which pleased him, although he doubted that it would happen.<sup>53</sup> (A note at the top of *Homilia V* states that the two homilies in the library of El Escorial (V and IX) were sent to Fray José de Sigüenza.)<sup>54</sup>

St. Macarius, like Pedro de Valencia, juxtaposes 'la sabiduría de Dios' (God's wisdom) which is possessed by 'los hijos de Dios' (the children of God) and 'la sabiduría carnal' (the wisdom of the flesh), which 'los hijos deste siglo [mundo]' (children of the world) follow. Arias Montano, in the *Dictatum christianum*, defines 'los hijos de Dios': "In Sacred Scripture the children of God are those who believed the promises made by God to Adam, the common father of all".<sup>55</sup> For an individual to grow spiritually and to become 'un hijo de Dios' God asks for great acts of faith. Thus, Moses gave up wealth and rank in Egypt and suffered many vicissitudes until God finally rewarded him. David had to wait many years and to undergo much suffering and hardship until God's promise was fulfilled and he became king. So also Abraham had to wait until he was an old man before God kept his promise and Isaac was born. God tests his followers and sends many trials. When we have shown proof of trust, goodness and patience and

<sup>52</sup> The authorship of the *Homilies* and *Opuscles* of St. Macarius, translated by Pedro de Valencia, is uncertain. See Part II, Chapter 1, footnote 43.

<sup>53</sup> Antolín, "Cartas inéditas", XLII (1897), pp.134, 195; XLIV (1897), pp. 355-356.

<sup>54</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, pp. 291-300.

<sup>55</sup> "Llámase en la Sagrada Escritura (Gen. 6: 2) los hijos de Dios los que creían a las promessas que Dios avía hecho al común padre de todos Adám"; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 265; Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 145.

have sought justice in this world then God's grace will cause us to be transformed and regenerated. True disciples are like mirrors that reflect the divine essence:

[...] like mirrors they receive the everlasting blessings because of the communion and participation of the Holy Spirit, because they have been regenerated by God and have merited to be made truly and in fact children of God.<sup>56</sup>

This regeneration will enable 'los hijos de Dios' to conquer, finally, their passions:

[...] the faithful soul deserves to receive, after much combat, patience, suffering, temptation and testing have been carried out, and when its free will has been tried willingly by all types of tribulations, and when it has in no way offended the spirit, rather it has cooperated with grace in all the commandments, then it is given freedom from the passions [and appetites] and receives the spirit in all its fullness.<sup>57</sup>

Burning with the love of God, earthly things no longer attract them:

Such a man [the spiritual man] detests and loathes all the things which he holds to be of this world, riches, and luxury, and every pleasure and science itself, because, like the man who is burning with fever, any food or drink that you give him, however delicate it is, he will loathe and reject it because he is inflamed by the fever.<sup>58</sup>

While spiritual men despise earthly pleasures, men of this world eagerly pursue them:

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<sup>56</sup> “[...] reciben como espejos los bienes eternos por la comunión y participación del S. S<sup>o</sup>, por haber sido regenerados de Dios y auer merecido ser echos hijos de Dios en verdad y effecto”: Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, p. 298. This image is also used in the essay on affairs in the Council of State.

<sup>57</sup> “[...] que el alma fiel meresçe recibir, con mucho combate y mucha paciència y sufrimiento y tentaciones y exámenes [sic], se hace siendo la voluntad del aluedrío examinada en todas las maneras de tribulaçiones y quando en ninguna manera hubiere desgustado al espíritu, sino en todos los mandamientos se hubiere conformado con la gracia, entonçes se le da la libertad de las passiones [y apetitos] y recieue el cumplimiento de la adopción del sp<sup>u</sup>”: Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, p. 298. For Dio Chrysostom the soul may be purified and the passions controlled by personal effort: Nieto Ibáñez, *Perianchorescos*. Estudio y comentario, *Obras*, X, p. 184.

<sup>58</sup> “Este tal [el hombre espiritual] todas las cosas estímalas del mundo, riqueças, regalos, y todo gusto y la misma sciència, y todas las cosas deste siglo tiene por abominable y aborrecible, porque como el que está inflamado i cogido de calentura, y qualquiera comida o beuida que le deys por suaue que sea la abomina, y desecha, porque está inflamado de la calentura”: Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, p. 299.

Spiritual men, who do not value these things because they have known and experienced another incorporeal, celestial glory, and because they have been wounded with a love of another beauty, and have participated in other riches, which belong to the inner man, because they partake of another spirit. But the men of this world have a great desire to see the earthly king with all his beauty and majesty [...] sensual men long for the glory of earthly kings.<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand, those whose passions are running riot are firmly drawn towards earth:

There is a great difference between Christians and the men of this world, because the latter are imbued with the spirit of this world, and their hearts and minds are tied down by the bonds of this world, and the former have made the love of their heavenly Father their heart's desire, and and he alone do they contemplate, with great desire and affection.<sup>60</sup>

The man ruled by passion, 'el hombre animal', lacks the spiritual perceptions of the man of God. As St. Paul says:

[...] but the sensual man perceiveth not these things that are of the spirit of God. For it is foolishness to him. [...] But the spiritual man judgeth all things; and he himself is judged of no man (1 Cor. 2: 14-15).<sup>61</sup>

The man of God, 'el hombre de Dios', burns with love of God but the 'hombre deste mundo' yearns for the pomp and spectacle of earthly things. The spiritual man 'puts on Christ' but the man of this world is carried along by concern for worldly honours and is ruled by passion:

[...] as St. Paul says: "But he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit" [with him] (1 Cor. 6: 17) but if one is carried away by the cares [of this world], or one's reputation, or those in power, or if you care about the honours of this world, and seek these things, and your soul gets involved in and

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<sup>59</sup> "[...] los espirituales, que estiman en nada estas cosas por auer conoçido y experimentado otra gloria incorpórea y celestial, y por estar heridos del amor de otra hermosura, y el auer participado de otras riqueças, y porque son del hombre interior porque participan de otro Spíritu. Pero los hombres del mundo, tienen gran deseo de ver siquiera al rey de la tierra con toda su hermosura y mag<sup>d</sup> [...] los hombres carnales apetecen la gloria del rey terreno": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, p. 293.

<sup>60</sup> "Que ay mucha diferencia de los xpianos a los hombres deste mundo, porque éstos tienen spíritu deste mundo y tienen atados el coraçón y entendim<sup>o</sup> con los laços de la tierra y essotros tienen puesto su gusto y desseo en el amor del P<sup>e</sup> celestial y del sólo tienen delante de los ojos con grande deseo y affición": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, p. 291.

<sup>61</sup> "[...] pero el hombre animal no reçiue las cosas que son del sp<sup>u</sup> de Dios porque le son bouerías [...] mas el spiritual discierne todo, y él no es discernido de ninguno": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, p. 299.



turns towards worldly thoughts, or becomes attached to any of the things of this world, and allows itself to be mastered by it, and to desire it, such a soul cannot pass through, flee from, and cast aside the shadowlands of the passions, in which evil powers have imprisoned it [...].<sup>62</sup>

*'La sabiduría de Dios' and 'la sabiduría de la carne': Alonso Ramírez de Prado and Valencia's Perception of Life at Court*

Erasmus, in the third chapter heading of the *Enchiridion* juxtaposes also two types of wisdom: "The first principle of wisdom is self-knowledge, and [to be aware of] two types of wisdom one false and the other true".<sup>63</sup> The false knowledge is earth-bound; it can entail an excessive preoccupation for earthly affairs and may lead to deeply ingrained vice. This is to be combatted by true wisdom, the *Philosophia Christi*, which leads to the moderation and gentleness and which make men capable of receiving the spirit.<sup>64</sup> When it comes to politics, elements of both types of wisdom are needed: first there is a spiritual motivation and a sense of the privilege it is to serve one's country: "What is public office but the obligation to serve the state or the King carefully, faithfully and diligently, for a very modest salary that is not sufficient to sustain the excessively high ones, which people want normally, because they say that such wealth constitutes social prominence".<sup>65</sup> However, such ideals are expressed in practical terms by policies which benefit all inhabitants of the state: 'la sabiduría de Dios' [God's wisdom]

<sup>62</sup> "Dize el Apóstol: *El que se apega al Señor vn espíritu es* [con él] (1 Cor. 6: 17) mas si vno se dexa llevar del cuydado o de la reputación, o de los mandos, o si cuydare de la onrras humanas, y buscare estas cosas, y el alma se metiere y se boluiere en pensamientos terrenos o se atare a alguna cosa de las deste siglo, y se dexare vencer della, y la deseare esta tal ánima no se puede traspasar y huir y hechar de sí las tinieblas de las passiones, en que la tienen presa las malas potestades": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 1, p. 300.

<sup>63</sup> "Que lo principal de la sabiduría es conocerse el hombre a sí mismo, y [saber] de dos maneras de sabiduría, una falsa y otra verdadera".

<sup>64</sup> Andrés Martín, "Juan de Ávila y Erasmo", p. 182.

<sup>65</sup> "[...] ¿qué otra cosa es tener oficio que obligase a servir con cuidado y fidelidad y diligencia a la República o al Rey con vn moderadissimo salario y no bastante para sustentar a los desmoderados quales ordinariamente quieren ser porque dicen que es aquello ser grandes": J. L. Suárez, "'Lo público' en Pedro de V: la carta al Licenciado Alonso Ramírez de Prado", *El Humanismo Extremeño. Estudios presentados a las Jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Zafra y Fregenal de la Sierra en 1996*, ed Marqués de la Encomienda et al. (Trujillo: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1997), p. 183.

will inform 'la sabiduría de la carne', so that men's day-to-day needs may be fulfilled by adequate economic policies.<sup>66</sup> We have already seen details of these policies in Part II, Chapter 5. This advice to despise material wealth is one of the ideals of Dio Chrysostom that he shares with Christianity.<sup>67</sup>

The first document in which Pedro de Valencia describes the two types of wisdom is the letter he wrote to Alonso Ramírez de Prado. The latter had been nominated *Fiscal de Hacienda* by Philip II and the appointment came into effect on 2 April 1590.<sup>68</sup> Valencia wrote to Ramírez de Prado offering him advice on how to live virtuously in his new office.<sup>69</sup> Unfortunately, the advice was not heeded. Ramírez de Prado and Pedro Franqueza were arrested for fraud on 26 December 1606 and Ramírez de Prado died in prison on 15 July 1608. He was a relation of Pedro de Valencia, probably a second cousin, and Valencia had acted as godfather for his son Lorenzo, who was born in 1583.<sup>70</sup> After his cousin's disgrace, Valencia continued to look after the *Fiscal's* family.<sup>71</sup> The anonymous biographer says: "He was very friendly with the lawyer Don Alonso Ramírez de Prado, of the Council [of Finance], and after his death he continued this friendship with his son Don Lorenzo, whose godfather he was".<sup>72</sup> There is a terrible irony apparent as one reads this text. Valencia cites a passage from *Psalm* 101 in which King David counsels on good living. Valencia stresses this advice by translating the passage into Castilian, even though he knows that Ramírez de Prado can read it in the original.<sup>73</sup> The Psalm

<sup>66</sup> Suárez, "Lo público", p. 184.

<sup>67</sup> Nieto Ibáñez, *Perianchorecos*. Estudio y comentario, *Obras*, X, p. 184.

<sup>68</sup> The *Diccionario de Autoridades* gives the following definition of *fiscal*: "the minister delegated to defend the king's right in civil law suits in which he has some interest, and in criminal law to make the case against prisoners who commit any crimes at all" (El ministro deputado para defender el derecho del Rey en los pleitos civiles en que tiene algún interés, y en lo Criminal para poner la acusación de los reos que cometan qualquiera delitos): *Diccionario de Autoridades*, ed. facsimil (Madrid: RAE, Gredos, 1964).

<sup>69</sup> Arias Montano, in his *Commentary on the Book of Judges*, advises on the importance of choosing suitable men for public office: Fernández Marcos, "De varia republica", p. 29.

<sup>70</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, V, 1, pp. 33–36.

<sup>71</sup> Valencia, V, 1, pp. 33–35.

<sup>72</sup> "Tuvo mui gran amistad con el Licdº Alº Ramírez de Prado, del consejo, i despues del muerto la continuo con su hijo don Lorenço Ramírez, a quien avia sacado de pila": Anon., MS 5781, fol. 136'.

<sup>73</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 9.

advises on the avoidance of bad company and the seeking out of true men of good conscience. Deceitful, lying men are to be kept from your house. The unjust are to be banished from the land (Ps. 101: 2–8). This passage is also cited in the *Dictatum christianum*.<sup>74</sup>

Valencia is fully aware of the corruption found at court and the temptation to be carried away by greed. He describes this in terms of the struggle between the two types of knowledge which we have been discussing, ‘la sabiduría de Dios’ and ‘la sabiduría de la carne’:

And this war and this death which we have within ourselves, that is to say the obstacle of the flesh, its wisdom and its laws that, reigning over our body, opposes the wisdom and the law of God, which is truly pleasing to the inner man; it hinders [us] because, knowing and approving what is good we do not carry it out. This war is not won by force or human diligence but by that [grace] described by St. Paul: *Infelix homo, quis me liberabit de corpore morte huius?* (Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?) *Gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dñm nostrum* (The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord) (Rom. 7: 24–25).<sup>75</sup> *Deus enim est* (como diçe en otra parte) *qui operatur in vobis et velle, et perficere pro bona voluntate*. (For it is God (as he says in another part) who worketh in you both to will and to accomplish, according to his good will) (Phil. 2: 13).<sup>76</sup>

Valencia prays that God may give to Ramírez de Prado the grace to have the strength to put into practice the precepts of this divine wisdom and to ‘put on Christ’. Thus, he may avoid being carried along by the strong current of the ‘sabiduría de la carne’, or worldly wisdom, under which name Satan teaches men astuteness and guile:

[...] for this is the wisdom of the flesh of which it is written *Sapientia carnis inimica est Deo, legi. eī [enim] Dei nō est subiecta nec enim potest*

<sup>74</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 365; Arias Montano, *Dictatum christianvm*, pp. 250–251.

<sup>75</sup> William Barclay translated this as: “I am a wretched creature. Who will rescue me from this body which turns life into death?”: W. Barclay, *The New Testament. A New Translation. I. The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Collins, 1968).

<sup>76</sup> “Y esta guerra y esta muerte que tenemos en nosotros, digo la contrariedad de la carne y la sabiduría della y su ley que, reynādo en nuestros miembros, contradice la sabiduría y lei de Dios, que verdaderamente agrada al hombre interior, estorva que sabiendo y aprovando lo bueno no lo hagamos. Esta guerra no se vence con fuerças ni cuydado humano sino con aquello que diçe S. P.: *Infelix homo, quis me liberabit de corpore morte huius? Gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dñm nostrum. Deus enim est* (como diçe en otra parte) *qui operatur in vobis et velle, et perficere pro bona voluntate* (Phil. 2: 13).

(Because the wisdom of the flesh is an enemy to God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither can it be (Rom. 8: 7).<sup>77</sup>

Advice commonly given to courtiers is of demonic origin; it leads to overweening ambition and avarice and lures people away from 'la ley y sabiduría de Dios':

Your worship must understand that these connoisseurs and amateur advisers (*arbitristas*) are inspired by the devil,<sup>78</sup> as is [their advice on how] to be a great courtier and know, as they say, what is best, which is certainly what is least good for you: to know how to scheme, misrepresent, deceive and be cunning so that, with a haughty outer composure, you can, without personal danger, that is to say without danger of being hated or punished by men, fulfil all your most ill-begotten desires of ambition and avarice.<sup>79</sup>

Valencia's advice went quite unheard. Perhaps he had some inkling that this would be so, because he does write at considerable length on the temptations present at court. Valencia also analyses at length the 'sabiduría de Dios' and the 'sabiduría de la carne' in his *Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State* so we will now examine how he develops these concepts there.

*Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State Written for a Person  
who Sought his Opinion*

To whom was this dissertation addressed?<sup>80</sup> The form of address 'Vuestra Señoría' (your lordship) would seem to exclude Valencia's usual correspondents, Fray José to Sigüenza or the two royal chaplains, Fray

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<sup>77</sup> "[...] que ésta es la sabiduría de la carne, de quien está escrito: *Sapientia carnis inimica est Deo, legi enim Dei nō est subiecta nec enim potest*": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> The definition of *arbitrista* in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* states that the word has pejorative connotations, as the advice offered was generally harmful to the ruler and to the state.

<sup>79</sup> "V. m. entienda que es el mesmo demonio esto que llaman intelligencias y arbitrios, y ser gran cortesano saber, como diçen, lo que le conviene; que es cierto lo que menos le conuiene saber: ardidés y embustes y engaños y cautelas, con que con vna exterior vana compostura pueda vno a su salvo, digo, a saluo del odio o castigo de los ombres, cumplir todos sus más perdidos deseos de ambiçión y avariçia": *Obras*, IV, 1, pp. 3–4.

<sup>80</sup> *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado escrito a una persona que le pidio dictamen*.

Gaspar de Córdoba and Fray Diego de Mardones; his letters to his friend Fray José usually begin with ‘a mi padre fray Joseph de Sigüenza’ and the letters to the chaplains begin with ‘Carta al R[everendo] P[adre]’ or ‘Carta a fray [...]’. Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas seemed, initially to be a very likely recipient. The *Declaración sobre la epístola ad Galatas* was addressed to him and the critiques on the *Pergamino y láminas de Granada* and on the *auto de fe* of Logroño were written at his request. Added to this is the assertion at the beginning of the document that it was written on the request of the recipient and that Valencia is very glad to undertake it as an expression of gratitude for past favours. The content, also, makes an ecclesiastical recipient seem likely as the arguments rely heavily on biblical exegesis derived from literal translation of the Hebrew of the Book of Genesis. However, the form of address would seem to rule out the Cardinal: Gabriel Pérez del Barrio Ángulo, in his handbook for secretaries, is quite insistent that the form of address for cardinals and inquisitor generals is ‘V[uestra] S[eñoría] I[lustrísima]’ and this is how Valencia himself addresses Sandoval y Rojas in the three documents he has dedicated to him.<sup>81</sup> Or could familiarity with the cardinal have allowed Valencia to waive the *ilustrísima*?

As Valencia offers this treatise to ‘Vuestra Señoría’ in gratitude for past favours and is writing it on request, I wondered, initially, if it was perhaps directed to Don García de Figueroa for whom Valencia wrote the *Academica*?<sup>82</sup> Yet, on reflection, the form of address is inappropriate for a man who was, obviously, a friend. According to Pérez del Barrio ‘Vuestra Señoría’ is the form of address used for ambassadors (132<sup>v</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>), for a noble who has been elected to the Council of State (123<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>), for ‘señores títulos’ (64<sup>r</sup>), for a bishop (148<sup>v</sup>) or a bishop elect (134<sup>r</sup>). So the anonymous recipient of this commentary was a member of the Council of State or an ecclesiastic. As I suggest below when considering the recipient of another manuscript, could Valencia have written this treatise for the Count of Lemos?

Valencia’s essay is an extended discussion on the two types of wisdom described in the letter to Ramírez de Prado. The work is not writ-

<sup>81</sup> G. Pérez del Barrio Ángulo, *Secretario de señores, y las materias cvidados, y obligaciones que le tocan, estilo y exercicio del con seiscientos y sesenta cartas curiosas para todos estados* (Madrid: María de Quiñones, 1635).

<sup>82</sup> Don García de Figueroa y Toledo was born in Zafra. He was a *cubiculario* (chamberlain) or *ayuda de cámara y entrada* of Philip III: (Oroz Reta, 1987, p. 11).

ten in a vacuum but seems an *apologia* in favour of the transparent practice of virtue in politics set against what Valencia perceived as the venality and godlessness of *la secta de los políticos*, or Machiavellian politicians:

The principal aim and moral advice of this treatise is to show that, for any creature, kingdom or state, it has never been, nor will it ever be a good thing to try to survive or engage in aggrandisement by unjust means [and] by making an enemy of the Almighty.<sup>83</sup>

This opposition between the two types of wisdom is made also in the *Tratado acerca de los moriscos*, as I have detailed above. As is argued in Part II, Chapter 7, Valencia's scriptural exegesis has, at times, a practical and political motivation, which is detailed in the analysis of his commentary on the *Acts* and on *Galatians*. The opposition 'sabiduría de Dios' and 'sabiduría de la carne' is central to Valencia's view of Christianity and derives from both the Bible and the neo-Stoic conflict between reason and the passions. Before continuing to discuss Valencia's discussion on true and false wisdom, I would like to quote a passage from the *Academica* on the search for wisdom. There, in the concluding chapter, having examined in detail the criteria for truth in the second Academy, Valencia concludes that the philosophers of old never found true wisdom:

But let this be as it will, in the meantime I realise that the Greeks and all the wise men of this world, who have searched arduously for wisdom, and who have promised it to themselves and to others, in spite of their efforts, were never capable of finding it, or of communicating it. He who feels like me that he lacks true wisdom let him not seek it in this human philosophy, but request it of God, who gives generously to all and reproaches nobody. "If any man among you seems to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise" (1 Cor. 7:18). For God, who hid true wisdom from those who loved false wisdom, reveals it to the little ones.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> "Es el principal intento y documento de este tratado mostrar que a ninguna criatura ni a ningún reyno ni republica le ha estado ni estara bien jamas quererse conserbar y acrecentar por injusticia haciendo enemigo del todo poderoso": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 60<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> "Pero, sea de esto lo que fuere, entretanto me doy cuenta de que los griegos y todos los sabios de este mundo, que han buscado afanosamente y se han prometido para sí y los demás una sabiduría, pese a sus esfuerzos nunca fueron capaces de encontrarla ni de comunicarla. El que sienta conmigo que le falta la verdadera sabiduría, que no la busque en esta filosofía humana, sino que se la pida a Dios que la da a todos con generosidad, y a nadie echa en cara. Si alguien piensa que es sabio en este

In his *Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State Valencia* makes a detailed analysis of those passages in Genesis that relate the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve. Before the Fall of Man and the arrival of Original Sin 'la sabiduría de Dios' and 'La sabiduría de la carne' worked together in harmony, guided by divine grace.<sup>85</sup> After the Fall of Man, the harmony was upset and 'la sabiduría de la carne', irrational instinct and the delights of the senses, took on undue importance. Concupiscence, or an overweening attraction towards the pleasures of the senses, dulled the spirit.

This antithesis of the two types of wisdom is found in the Epistle of St. James, and in the beliefs of St. Paul.<sup>86</sup> St. James is discussing true wisdom and juxtaposing it with false: "Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? Let him shew, by a good conversation, his work in the meekness of wisdom. But if you have bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your hearts; glory not and be not liars against the truth. For this is not wisdom descending from above: but earthly, sensual, devilish" (Jas. 3: 13–15).

In the New Testament, the juxtaposition of two types of wisdom is further elucidated by images that refer to eyes. On the road to Damascus, Jesus explained to Saul his future mission to the Gentiles: "To open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and a lot among the saints by the faith that is in me" (Acts 26: 18). In a passage from the first Epistle of St. John, eyes symbolise both physical vision and the special spiritual perspective bestowed by faith. John is here countering those who denied the humanity of Christ: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life. For the life was manifested: and we have seen, and do bear witness, and declare unto you the life eternal, which was with the Father, and hath appeared to us: That which we have seen and heard, we declare unto you, that you also may have fellowship with us, and our fellowship may be with the Father, and with

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mundo, hágase necio para ser sabio (1 Cor. 3: 18). Pues Dios, que escondió la verdadera sabiduría a los amantes de la falsa sabiduría, la revela a los pequeños": Valencia, *Academica*, 1987, p. 243.

<sup>85</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fols 60<sup>r</sup>, 56<sup>v</sup>.

his Son Jesus Christ" (I Jn. 1: 1–3).<sup>87</sup> Here is a description of the two kinds of wisdom from Valencia's essay:

According to Sacred Scripture only two types of wisdom and counsel can be followed by men; one that is heaven-sent and divine and descends from above; the other worldly, sensual and devilish, and the latter is given these names because it is the wisdom which, through the guile of the Devil, follows the worldly, sensual part of the inner man and [neglects] the law and light of the divine will, choosing the easy [path] because it is useful and appropriate for its conservation and advancement, without considering the good things of the spirit, those things which are pious, just and honest, which delight in the law of God and surrender to it.<sup>88</sup>

Valencia develops this opposition of body and spirit by internalising it inside each person. This is what he means when he refers to "esta guerra y esta muerte que tenemos en nosotros" (this war and this death which we have within ourselves) in his letter to Ramírez de Prado. This point is also made in the *Dictatum christianum*: "To deal with these things as one should it is necessary to bare the soul of all the inclinations of the flesh, which wage war on the soul, of all those things which oppose and contradict divine grace".<sup>89</sup>

Valencia also describes this internal conflict in his treatise on the spirituality of women, which he sent to Queen Margarita in 1610 to congratulate her on the endowment of a convent of the Agustinas Recoletas.<sup>90</sup> In this manuscript Valencia stresses that women have the same capacity for virtue as men:

<sup>87</sup> Eyes are also a theme in the homilies of St. Macarius.

<sup>88</sup> "Que conforme a la Sagrada doctrina solo dos maneras de sabiduria y consejo siguen y pueden seguir los hombres, una celestial divina y que se comunica y descende de arriba, la otra terrena, animal y diabolica, que se le dan estos nombres por ser la que por engaño del Demonio sigue la parte terrena y animal del hombre interior y de la divina voluntad, ley y luz escogiendo lo que se le ofrece como suave por util y conveniente para su conservacion y aumento, sin consideracion de los bienes del espiritu, de lo pio, justo y honesto, la que se deleyta con la ley de Dios y se rinde a ella": Valencia, MS 11160, 64r.

<sup>89</sup> "Para tratar como se deve, de estas cosas, conviene desnudarse de todas las aficiones de la carne, que hacen guerra al alma; de todas aquellas digo, que se oponen, i contradicen a la Divina gracia": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p 301; Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 185.

<sup>90</sup> Queen Margarita had been anxious to endow a convent of the *Agustinas Recoletas* in gratitude for the expulsion of the Moriscos. She thus arranged for the small convent in the *calle del Príncipe* to move to the *calle de Santa Isabel*, to the Royal School that had been founded by Philip II. In early December 1610 most of the congregation



No only does he [God] say that he made one of them [Adam and Eve] male and one female in their exterior parts, but in their souls he made each one of them male and female. This division of the parts of the soul, referred to here in a mysterious fashion by the prophet, [I assume that this is a reference to the author or authors of Genesis], is the principle and foundation of all good moral philosophy that, discovering this inner duality of man, gives him knowledge of himself and of the perpetual war between the flesh and the spirit.<sup>91</sup>

Valencia then describes the different parts of the soul and how they interact:

There are, then, two parts in the soul, a superior and an inferior, a rational and an irrational, a spiritual and a sensual. The superior part, which is called reason or the spirit, is expressed here with the masculine noun, and the inferior, with which we desire and our passions become inflamed, is called female, and these two parts, male and female, are found in the spirit of all children of Adam, in women as well as in men. And thus there is no advantage or difference, nor a greater or lesser capacity, for all the virtues of the soul or for greater or lesser duties in one or the other because of their sex: all are born subject to the civil war against themselves and must overcome and mortify the force [of temptation] with hard work and sweat.<sup>92</sup>

### *The Higher and Lower Parts of the Soul*

As in the treatise written for Queen Margarita, Valencia in the *Discourse* describes the soul as being composed of two parts, a masculine, superior part that is rational and a feminine, inferior part that is

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moved to this new convent of the Encarnación: A. de León Pinelo, *Anales de Madrid*, ed. P. Fernández Martín (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1971), p. 196.

<sup>91</sup> “No solo dize q̄ los hizo a uno varon, i a otro hembra en lo exterior, sino q̄ en lo interior en el alma hizo a cada uno dellos macho i hembra. Esta division de las partes del anima, misteriosam<sup>te</sup> significada aquí por el profeta, es el principio i fundam<sup>o</sup> de toda la buena filosofia moral q̄ desenbolviYdo esta doblez interior del hõbre, le da conocimto de sí y de la guerra perpetua entre la carne i el espíritu”.

<sup>92</sup> “Ai pues en el alma dos partes, superior i inferior; racional i irracional, spiritual i animal. La superior, que es la raçõ o el espíritu, es entendido aquí con el nõbre masculino del varon; i la inferior, con q̄ apeteemos i nos apasionamos, se llama hembra, i estas dos varõ i hembra igualmente se hallan en el animo de todos los hijos de Adam tanto en las mujeres como en los hombres. I así no ai ventaja ni diferencia ni mayor capacidad ni incapacidad en unos que en otros por el sexo pa las virtudes todas del alma ni mayores o menores obligaciones: q̄ todos naciYdo sujetos a la guerra civil cõtra si mismos i deven rendir i mortificar la fuerza con trabajo i sudor”: Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 180.

instinctive. When both work in harmony then man will be at peace with himself and with God:

God arranged and composed these two parts in such harmonious concord and he united and joined them together in such complementary marriage, as two in one flesh, by means of giving them his light, favour and grace, that not alone did they not contradict and impede one another but rather they helped one another and came together to produce thoughts and virtuous deeds, in obedience to and for the praise and glory of their creator.<sup>93</sup>

Valencia's ideas on the higher and lower parts of the soul are influenced by those of Philo of Alexandria (30–20 BC), whom Valencia mentions in the treatise that he wrote for Queen Margarita.<sup>94</sup> This ascetic Jew of the first century of the Christian era sought to make sense of Judaism in a Hellenic cultural context. The dualism of the soul as described by Philo is found also in Augustine, who stresses that the duality is more preponderant in women than in men.<sup>95</sup> Valencia has been influenced by Philo's exegesis of Genesis and Exodus, in particular, when he describes the composition of the soul. Philo describes the primeval harmony that existed in Eden when both parts of the soul acted in harmony, and which was disrupted when Eve yielded to temptation and the lower, sensual part of the soul took precedence.<sup>96</sup> Philo's misogyny is not found in Valencia who insists repeatedly that this interaction between different parts of the soul takes place in both men and women: "[...] and each time we mention woman we mean the feminine and sensitive part of man."<sup>97</sup> It was through this feminine part of the soul that Satan tempted our First Parents. The decision to take the apple was made without consultation with Adam, who represented the rational and spiritual side of the soul. When Eve made her judgement on mere appearances, then the previous harmonious co-operation between the higher and lower parts of the soul was

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<sup>93</sup> "Acordó y compuso Dios estas dos partes en tan concertada armonía y concierto unio y junto en tan conforme matrimonio a los dos en una carne, mediante la comunicacion de su luz, favor, y gracia que no solamente no se contradecian ni estorbavan el uno al otro sino antes se ayudaban y se juntavan para engendrar y producir pensamientos y obras virtuosas en obediencia para loor y gloria de su criador".

<sup>94</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 490.

<sup>95</sup> K. E., Bórrensen, *Subordination and Equivalence. The Nature and Role of Women in Augustine and Aquinas*, 2nd ed. (Kampen: Kok Publishing House, 1995), p. 21.

<sup>96</sup> R. Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female* (Brill: Leiden, 1970), p. 42.

<sup>97</sup> "Y siempre que decimos la mujer entendemos en ella la parte femenina y sensitiva del hombre": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 33'.

disturbed. The justice of the case was not weighed up instead the decision was made according to what was useful or expedient:

But with the animal part [of the soul] [the devil] discovered a great opportunity [to deceive] through outer appearances, because there was no question of weighing up the just against the unjust, duties against their absence, but merely [to consider] *what was appropriate and useful* for the maintenance of one's own position and one's personal desires, for one's advancement [in society] and for the knowledge of good and evil.<sup>98</sup>

To further elaborate this interaction between the rational and instinctual parts of the soul Valencia uses a metaphor of two sets of eyes.

*Los ojos del espíritu y los ojos terrenos (The 'Eyes of the Spirit'  
and 'Worldly Eyes')*

Here once again Valencia describes the biblical image of eyes used as an epistemological symbol:

Let us consider that there exists in every man two [types of knowing], as if to say, an angelical and an animal, and that the angel has its own separate spiritual intelligence—let us call it the upper eyes, and that the animal also has its material intelligence and way of knowing, as have all wild animals, placed in them by the creator of the natural world, and this type of knowing is called instinct by philosophers—let us call it the lower eyes, and to both, to the two pairs, let us call them eyes from a metaphysical point of view by means of comparison, as in neither case are we referring to the instruments of bodily vision.<sup>99</sup>

In the Garden of Eden, before the Fall of Man, the different faculties of the soul worked in perfect harmony. At that time the light of God

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<sup>98</sup> “pero para con la parte animal [el diablo] hallo grande provavilidad, y apariencia, por no haverse de tratar con ella de justo ni injusto, debido ni indebido, sino solamente de *conveniente y util* para conserbacion y gusto particulares y, para su acrezentamiento y sciencia de bien y mal”: Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 46. The emphasis is mine.

<sup>99</sup> “Consideremos que estan en cada hombre dos como si digeramos un angel y un animal, y que el angel tiene su ingenio espiritual de por si que le llamemos ojos superiores, y el animal tiene tambien su ingenio y conocimiento material por su parte como lo tienen todos los animales brutos puesto dentro de ellos por el autor de la naturaleza al qual ingenio suelen llamar ynstinto los filosofos y nosotros le llamemos aora ojos inferiores, y a entrambos, a dos pares les llamemos ojos methaphisicam<sup>le</sup> y por comparacion que por ningunos de ellos entendemos los instrumentos de la vista corporal”: Valencia, MS 11160, fols 35<sup>v</sup>–35<sup>r</sup>.

illuminated the whole natural world. Then man's higher nature was in control and this caused the lower set of eyes to remain closed:

[...] and because the male and female, that is the upper and lower parts of the soul, were both united and in harmony with God, the light of the Word passed through it [the soul] [...] the [lower] eyes were illuminated by the same radiance, and in close correspondence with the eyes of the spirit, and they did not look at or see anything on their own but through them the spirit saw things directly, without circuitousness, analysis or doubt, as was also true of worldly things and of their natures and essences.<sup>100</sup>

The lower set of eyes complements the higher ones when they both work together harmoniously. To illustrate this, Valencia uses the analogy of a child in the womb: the child's eyes have the power to see but *in utero* this remains dormant as his mother fulfils all his needs.<sup>101</sup> However, the primeval harmony in Eden was disturbed by Satan's temptation. Then the lower, animal nature worked unilaterally. This distorted the perception of reality, as the divine light was no longer there to light it up:

[...] but both these same eyes had another ability or power to see in a twisted, oblique fashion, through the sensuous [part of the soul] and had begun through it to understand and gain knowledge through the senses by trial and experimentation, with the risk of good and evil, convenience and inconvenience, pleasure and insipidity, sweetness and physical pain. This type of vision or power of seeing is the inauspicious, inferior and oblique one of the two pairs of eyes [...] While they [Adam and Eve] were using the other primordial, forthright, superior form of vision, the small, dimly glowing lantern was held back and impeded by the superior light that was sufficient to dazzle and to cause to disappear this low light that scarcely penetrated the density and terrestriality of those opaque windows, quite lacking in translucidity, and so at that time this vision was closed off and did not guide or serve man through this blind door.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> “[...] y por estar en unidad y conformidad entre si con Dios el varon y hembra, digo la porcion superior y la inferior, tambien a ella pasaba la luz del verbo, (y del hombre interior y sus sentidos e ingenio terreno, e inferior), sus ojos (que tambien la parte animal tiene para las cosas corporales y de su jurisdiccion), [...] estaban alumbrados con el mismo resplandor, y enhilados en correspondencia con los ojos del espiritu, y no vehian ni miravan nada de por si, sino que por ellos vehia el espiritu derechamente, y sin rodeos, sin discursos y dudas tambien las cosas corporales y sus naturalezas y esencias”: Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 35r.

<sup>101</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 52r.

<sup>102</sup> “[...] pero tenian estos mismos ojos entrambos otra eficacia o fuerza visiva para poder ver torcida, y oblicuamente por la parte animal comenzada de ella la

*Exegesis of the Temptation of Eve*

To further elaborate on the duality implicit in this description of the faculties of the soul Valencia refers to the Hebrew of the Book of Genesis. He posits a dual form (*phanaim*) for ‘face’ (*phanim*), a dual form not attested in biblical Hebrew but which suits his theory:

When you consider human eyes according to the two ways of seeing or visual faculties that we have described, in accordance with the first and superior they are called upper, superior eyes in the original language, being the same dual noun *PHENAIM* [this spelling may be a mistake by the copyist], when reference is being made to the upper eyes and its vision is masculine, and when reference is being made to the lower ones and to worldly vision it is feminine, and for this reason in this essay I have referred at times to *las ojos* [the eyes, in Spanish, is a masculine noun and should read grammatically *los ojos*].<sup>103</sup>

Valencia then examines in detail the Hebrew text of the temptation of Eve. He opposes the words spoken by the serpent, “and your (plural) eyes will be opened” (Gen. 3: 5), with the words of the Holy Spirit, or narrator, “and the eyes of the two were opened” (Gen. 3: 7). In biblical Hebrew, verbs in the second and third persons have masculine and feminine forms. Here, then, as eyes in Hebrew are feminine, a feminine form would normally be used. However, in the first quotation, the words of the serpent, for the particular form of the verb used here, Hebrew syntax requires that a common form be used.<sup>104</sup> This is transliterated as *VENIPHKEHV GHENEICHEM*. Hebrew grammar

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comprehension y conocimiento por los sentidos para conocer las cosas provandolas y experimentandolas primero con riesgo de bien y mal, conveniencia y des conveniencia, gusto y desabrim<sup>10</sup>, suavidad y dolor en la carne y esta suerte de vista o fuerza de ver es la siniestra, inferior y oblicua de los dos pares de ojos [...] mientras usaban de la otra vista primera superior y derecha estaba retenida, e impedida con la luz superior que bastava a deslumbrar y desaparecer la luz de essa otra pequeña linternilla de poco resplandor, y cortos rayos, y que apenas traspasaban la densidad y terestridad de las vidrieras obscuras y poco diaphanas y translucientes; y assí que por entonces esta vista estaba cerrada y no se mandaba ni servia al hombre por esta puerta falsa”: Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> “Considerados los ojos humanos segun las dos maneras de vistas, o facultades visibas que hemos dicho, segun la primera y superior se llaman ojos altos, y superiores en la lengua original, siendo un mismo nombre del numero dual *PHENAIM*, quando se dice de los ojos superiores, y su vista es masculino, y quando se entiende de los inferiores, y de la vista terrena es femenino, que por esto he dicho algunas veces en este discurso *las ojos*: Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 52<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> The verb form for the third person plural perfect, which is the tense used in *Genesis* and cited here, is common i.e. in a masculine form which includes the feminine.

allows no other option. Yet, basing his assertion on the normal practice, Valencia takes advantage of the fact that the verb used is ambivalent and implies that the devil chose this form in order to deceive Eve: "He shows that the words of the serpent were pronounced with deceit, not declaring them with the masculine gender or verb, not saying whether they were masculine or feminine, because he said *VENIPHKEHV GHENEICHEM*, and your eyes will be opened".<sup>105</sup> In the second quotation, *VETIPAKAHHNAGEI SENEIHEM*, the verb used is feminine to agree with the noun 'eyes.' This is in accordance with Hebrew syntax and has not, as Valencia would suggest, been chosen by the biblical narrator to illustrate a theological point. There is, again, no other grammatical option. Valencia, however, takes advantage and goes beyond Hebrew syntax to support his theory of the two sets of eyes. He claims that the Holy Spirit, as narrator, uses the feminine form to show that the dominant eyes were now the lower ones:

[...] but the Holy Spirit, when he described the effect of the transgression, declared that the eyes were *VETIPAKAHHNAGEI SENEIHEM* and the two [female] eyes were opened for both of them.<sup>106</sup>

Valencia, then, has supported his ideas on the two types of knowledge by reference to the existence of dual nouns in Hebrew and its use of masculine and feminine verbs. He projects this clever theory onto the biblical text in support of his arguments as if the devil and the biblical narrator had consciously chosen the verb forms used.<sup>107</sup>

### *True Perception and Spiritual Blindness*

Eve's irrational decision caused the eyes of the flesh to open and for sin to come into the world. This led to a blindness of the spirit:

<sup>105</sup> "En las palabras de la Serpiente muestra que las pronuncio con engaño, no declarando con el genero del hombre ni del verbo, quales ojos decia los masculinos, o los femeninos, porque dijo *VENIPHKEHV GHENEICHEM*, y abriranse ojos de vosotros": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 53r.

<sup>106</sup> "[...] pero el Spiritu Santo quando dijo el afecto que havia hecho la transgresion declaro que los ojos fueron *VETIPAKAHHNAGEI SENEIHEM* y fueron abiertas las dos ojos de ambos a dos": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 53r.

<sup>107</sup> Once again, my thanks to Professor McCarthy for her patience in elucidating the intricacies of Hebrew grammar and syntax.

Man then, forsaking the spiritual world and falling into the shadows of that region where the power of the enemy resides, became a citizen and vassal of the Prince of Darkness, became blind in the upper eyes and [lost] their superior heavenly faculty, as they cannot see except in the light of God.<sup>108</sup>

This image of the upper set of eyes, or eyes of the spirit, is also found in the Bible. In the Book of Kings it is a metaphor for prophecy. The prophet Elisha could, with the eyes of the spirit, foretell all the movements of the hostile King of Syria (2 Reg. 6: 8–23). St. Paul calls this new spiritual awareness ‘the eyes of the heart’:

[...] St. Paul says that until the time came for the perfect living out and illumination of the spirit in Christ, through the Gospel and the ministry of the Apostles, who were sent, as the Lord says to St. Paul: *Mito te aperire oculos eorum ut combertantur [sic] a tenebris ad lucem et de potestate Satanae ad Deum* “[...] (I send thee, to open their eyes that they may be converted from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God) (Acts 26: 18): and the same Apostle says that he besought God to open for the faithful these eyes of the spirit, which he calls eyes of the heart.<sup>109</sup>

For St. John the eyes that have been opened by fraternal charity lead into the light. Lack of love causes darkness to fall and the eyes become blind: “He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is no scandal in him. But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth; because the darkness hath blinded his eyes” (1 Jn. 2: 10–11). St. Luke points out that we should seek light in ourselves through the eyes of understanding:

The light of the body is the eye. If thy eye be single [‘sound’ in the translation by William Barclay and ‘puro’ in the *Biblia sagrada*] thy whole body will be lightsome. But if it be evil thy whole body will be darksome. Take heed, therefore, that the light which is in thee be not darkness.

<sup>108</sup> “Desemparando pues el hombre el mundo espiritual y cayendo en las tinieblas de este ayre en que es la potestad del enemigo [...] se hizo ciudadano y vasallo y sierbo del Principe de este Mundo, y ciego en los ojos superiores y en la facultad superior y celestial de ellos que no pueden ver sino en la luz de Dios”: Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> “[...] dice el Apostol que entre tanto que no llegaba la perfecta vivificacion e iluminacion del spiritu en Christo por el evangelio y ministerio de los apostoles que eran embiados como dice el Señor a S<sup>n</sup> Pablo: *Mito te aperire oculos eorum ut combertantur [sic] a tenebris ad lucem et de potestate Satanae ad Deum*. Y el mismo Apóstol dice que rogava a Dios que abriese a los fieles estos ojos del spiritu que el llama ojos del corazon”: Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 56<sup>r</sup>.

If, then, thy whole body be lightsome, having no part of darkness, the whole shall be lightsome and, as a bright lamp, shall enlighten thee (Lk. 11: 34–36).

God, however, is all-powerful and can restore spiritual vision.<sup>110</sup>

*Further Exegesis of the Fall of Man*

In the Hebrew text it is clear that Eve was seduced by aesthetic beauty as well as by the desire for knowledge. She was so attracted by the great beauty of the apple that she allowed her senses to act unilaterally. The Devil deceived her in order to open the lower eyes of the senses:

To get woman to descend to this (and each time we mention woman we understand by that the feminine, sensitive part of man), the Devil laid a trap for her and deceived her with how things looked, all of which seemed good and desirable to her; the beauty and fine appearance of the fruit, which was delightful to behold; its fine flavour and taste, its effect of making men grow in wisdom and making them like gods, which was a fine and splendid thing, fully worthy of pursuit and aspiration; in a mouthful, he offered her all the pleasure, profit and honour of the world in accordance with the definition of St. Paul: the desire or covetousness of the eyes, bodily appetite, the vainglory and ostentation of life, which are not things given or offered to man by God but by the world. And the woman looked at and saw these things on her own, without the man, and perceived them as goods befitting the sensual part [of man], because of the beautiful appearance and pleasure of the taste and the grandeur of growing in wisdom and reputation (the original words contain all these ideas).<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 55<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> "Para hacer bajar a la mujer a esto (y siempre que decimos la mujer entendemos en ella la parte femenina y sensitiva del hombre), la cebo y engaño el demonio con todas las cosas, apariencias que a ella se le representan como bienes, y le son apetecibles; la hermosura y buen parecer de la fruta que delectaba la vista, el buen gusto y sabor de ella, el efecto que hacia de acrecentar en sabiduria, y hacer a los hombres como dioses, que era cosa grandiosa y pomposa y digna de toda pretension y ambicion; en un bocado en fin le ofrecia gusto, provecho, y honra, quanto hay en el mundo segun la distincion del Apostol, deseo o apetito de los ojos, apetito de la carne, jactancia y pompa de la vida, que no son cosas dadas ni ofrecidas al hombre por Dios, sino por el mundo, y miro la mujer i vido a solas, i sin el varon estas cosas y percibiolas como a bienes propios de la parte animal por hermosura del parecer y el gusto del sabor, y la grandeza del acrecentar en sabiduria y estimacion (que todas estas consideraciones contienen las palabras originales)".



Philo also stresses the propensity of the female part of the soul to be deceived.<sup>112</sup> The passage from Valencia continues with a direct analogy between the deception of Eve and the tricking of an animal.<sup>113</sup>

*The Redemption of Fallen Man*

How, then, can Fallen Man recover the spiritual awareness and vision that is lost by sin? Valencia argues that penance helps to bring about the change of heart that allows the superior nature to predominate once again.<sup>114</sup> As stated already, this theme of penance is one of the three central ideas in Arias Montano's *Dictatum christianum*: he defines it as both sorrow for sin and also a determination to live a virtuous life. It is rooted in a fear of God that seeks out what pleases God and shuns what displeases him.<sup>115</sup>

Penance is also at the heart of Valencia's commentary on a verse of St. Paul from the Epistle to the Corinthians on the different kinds of sadness (2 Cor. 7: 10), *La tristeza segun Dios y segun el mundo* (Sadness Sent by God and the Sadness of the World).<sup>116</sup> As Valencia stated in the *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos*, public penance is necessary to bring about a change of heart in the Moriscos. Valencia quotes St. Paul's verse in Latin:

*Quae enim secundum Deum tristitia est poenitentiam in salutem stabilem operatur: seculi autem tristitia mortem operatur* (For the sorrow that is according to God worketh penance, steadfast unto salvation; but the sorrow of this world worketh death (2 Cor. 7: 10).

Valencia's interlocuter is V(uestra E(xcelencia), whose identity I have not yet ascertained. Could it be the Conde de Lemos who is cited among the many who admired the erudition of Valencia?<sup>117</sup> (One of Valencia's writings as *cronista de Indias*, the *Relación de los Quixos* (MS 594), was written by Valencia but is signed by Lemos.) As always, Valencia has a practical reason for writing this commentary. He explains that St. Paul describes two kinds of sadness: one comes from

<sup>112</sup> Baer, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female*.

<sup>113</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fols 48<sup>v</sup>–49<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 62<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 185.

<sup>116</sup> Valencia, MS 5585, fols 118<sup>r</sup>–123<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> Anon., MS 5781, fol. 136<sup>v</sup>.

God and one from the world. St. Paul's explanation has brought him much solace in the trials of this life:

[...] I have found it very effective for lessening the sorrows of our life on Earth.<sup>118</sup>

St. Paul had reprimanded the Christians of Corinth for their indifference towards the public sin of one of their group's members; they should have done penance for his conversion. The Corinthians were saddened by St. Paul's displeasure. He, however, was glad, as their distress led them towards penance:

Now I am glad; not because you were made sorrowful, but because you were made sorrowful unto penance [...] For the sorrow that is according to God worketh penance, steadfast unto salvation (and for this one must not be sad or repent); but the sorrow of the world worketh death (2 Cor. 7: 9–10).<sup>119</sup>

The emotion of fear and the desire and zeal to please God have purged the Corinthians of their sin. This unhappiness has been sent by God so that they may regret their lack of love and lead new, virtuous lives. The bitter after-taste of pleasure is God's fatherly way of weaning us away from sin.<sup>120</sup>

There is another type of sadness that comes from sinful living. This brings such suffering that it is a foretaste of Hell. Cain experienced it after he had slain Abel. His crime had arisen out of envy; not only did he envy Cain but also God himself. This envy ate into his very soul:

[...] and he began to be eaten up by the most shameful and painful sickness of the soul, that of envy.<sup>121</sup>

Cain never did penance nor made his peace with God. Thus, he suffered from constant pangs of conscience: "A secret whip [his conscience] was wounding him ceaselessly".<sup>122</sup> Man hides such sadness

<sup>118</sup> "[...] e la hallado mui eficaz para moderar siquiera las aflicciones de la vida temporal": Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 118<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> "Huelgo no de q̄ estuvisteis tristes sino de q̄ lo estuvisteis para penitencia [...] Porque la tristeza que es segun Dios obra penitencia para salvación de q̄ no ay que tomar pesar ni arrepentirse. Pero la tristeza del mundo obra muerte": Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 118<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 120<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> "[...] i començo a carcomerse de la mas afrentosa i dolorosa enfermedad del alma, [la] de la embidia": Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 118<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> "cõ secreto azote [su consciencia] le estaba hiriendo sin cesar": Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 118<sup>v</sup>.

by a whirl of social activities.<sup>123</sup> Even the Epicureans, who so valued earthly pleasure, had noted the link between good living and happiness:

Epicurus himself realised this, he who sets pleasure as the supreme good and purpose of life, and among his principal aphorisms and maxims the one most emphasised and repeated is the one which says: you cannot live pleasureably if you do not live in a just and holy fashion.<sup>124</sup>

Those, whose power and wealth has been acquired through injustice and tyranny, must guard themselves always from the hatred of the oppressed. They live in constant fear. Like Cain, they are always agitated and lack inner peace like those who have chronic stomachache:

As God described [for Cain] the sorrows of the children of this world: *Cain vagus & profugus eris super terram [omnibus diebus vitae tuae]*: ([Cain] a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be upon the earth [for all the days of your life] (Gen. 4: 12). You will wander over the face of the Earth without being able to find in any place respite, tranquillity or peace, as those with nausea and upset stomachs are afflicted with torments in the stomach or chest, because of the bad humour and the corrupt vapours that are moving around inside and giving off gases, so that up and dressed or lying down they are most ill-at-ease.<sup>125</sup>

Fear can be quite eliminated by a turning away from an excessive absorption in worldly attachments. ‘Temor de Dios’, or a filial fear of offending God, quite drives out fear as Valencia had pointed out to Philip III in the *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos*:

[Fear of God] is the only fear of Christian kings, and of all generous spirits, because it frees from and guards against all other fears.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 119<sup>v</sup>; MS 11160, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> “Assí lo averiguo el mismo Epicuro, el q̄ prefiere el deleite a todo lo demás como summo bien i fin de la vida, i entre sus aphorismos i sentencias principales es la mas señalada i repetida esta el q̄ dize: No se puede bivrse con gusto sino es biviendo justa y sanctamente”: Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 120r. Valencia gives Diogenes Laertius as his source: Diogenes Laertius, *Biography of Epicurus, Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, II, Book X, *Loeb Classical Library*, trans. R. D. Hicks (London: Heinemann, 1965), pp. 528–677.

<sup>125</sup> “Como se lo notifico Dios [a Cain] aquel retrato de los duelos de los hijos deste siglo: *Cain vagus & profugus eris super terram [omnibus diebus vitae tuae]* inquieto i vagabundo andaras sobre la tierra sin poder descansar ni hallar sosiego ni paz en ninguna parte sino como los q̄ vasquean i se congojan con angustias del estomago o del coraçon por el mal humor i vapores corrompidas q̄ se mueven i humean dentro los q̄ levantados ni acostados se hallan bien descõtentos”: Valencia, MS 5585, fols 120r–120v.

<sup>126</sup> “[Temor de Dios] es el único temor de los reyes cristianos, y de todos los animos generosos [...] porque el libra y asegura de todos otros temores”: Valencia, MS 5585, fol 39<sup>v</sup>.

The sadness sent by God to prompt penance is easier to bear than the unhappiness that absorption in worldly pleasures brings. It is a sort of medicine for the sick sinner to wean him away [*destetar*] from worldly pleasure.<sup>127</sup> Those who still lack awareness and self-knowledge live a life of 'frenesí manifiesta y modorro mortal' (manifest frenzy and mental dullness).<sup>128</sup> He continues: "The Stoics say that [...] in equating your good and evil with the good and evil of Fortune, it is not in your power to acquire one and rule out the other [...] the remedy lies in only holding and following what is good and virtuous". Valencia argues, thus, like the Stoics, that virtue is its own reward.<sup>129</sup>

### *Extravagant Living, Pomp and Circumstance*

What is the relevance of this extended analysis of biblical commentaries and translations of Pedro de Valencia? Is Valencia's definition of 'la sabiduría terrena' merely theoretical? I surmise that it is not. Instead, as in all his writing, it is a highly relevant critique of early seventeenth-century Spain. It seems to me that these texts implicitly criticise a society where extravagant living has become the norm among the nobility. Earlier, in his tracts on price control, the redistribution of land and the promotion of the rural economy, there is a forceful and explicit condemnation of the greed and unchristian behaviour of 'los poderosos.' Valencia wrote his *Discurso sobre la ociosidad* in the year following appointment as *cronista del reino* and *cronista de Indias*. In this treatise, the idleness and extravagant life-style of the nobility are greatly castigated. Benito Arias Montano had also criticised an excessive concern for pomp and ceremony:

The children of this world, who did not believe the promises of God or, even if they believed them, lived viciously and lasciviously, [with lives full of] dissolution, pride, ambition, pageantry and pomp: they gave themselves up to luxury and pleasure; they pursued relentlessly the

<sup>127</sup> Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 121<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> Valencia, MS 5585, fol. 119.

<sup>129</sup> "Los Stoicos dicen que [...] en poniYdo vro bien o vro mal en los bienes o los males de la fortuna, q̄ no esta en vro mano i voluntad de adquirir los unos i desechar los otros [...] el remedio esta en q̄ solos tengais por buenos i seguís i deseais las virtudes": Valencia, MS 5585, fols 120<sup>v</sup>-121<sup>r</sup>.

honours and grandeur of this world; they built sumptuous houses, palaces and cities.<sup>130</sup>

Valencia's preoccupation was of course corroborated by the sumptuary laws, passed in the early years of the reign of Philip IV. This was among the issues considered by the *Junta de Reformatión*. The passing of sumptuary laws had been mooted in the *consulta* of 1 February 1619. These were implemented in the articles of reform of 1623.<sup>131</sup>

In this chapter we have read lengthy extracts from Pedro de Valencia's description of two types of knowledge: 'la sabiduría de Dios' and 'la sabiduría de este mundo.' Valencia's context is the politics of his time, which he argues must be without guile and 'transparent', to use a contemporary term: the Machiavellian politics of the 'secta de los políticos' is to be abhorred. To further elaborate on this theme Valencia engages in exegesis of the temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden.

Valencia is not naïve; he knows that there are vested interests involved in the proposal to expel the Moriscos. Many of the 'poderosos' will dress up their venality in religious terminology. He writes at length on this hiatus between virtue or justice and expediency or utility. It is in this context of virtue and expediency that he places his extended analysis of the dichotomy 'sabiduría de Dios' and 'sabiduría de la carne.' Valencia's exegesis can be applied directly to his own society where extravagant living was a cause for concern and where, as Valencia repeatedly suggests, disinterested virtue is, at times, set aside in favour of expediency.

Given such preoccupations, the decisive intervention of the King was of great importance to Valencia. Let us, in the next chapter, examine perceptions of kingship in the early seventeenth century, and study works of Juan de Ávila, Erasmus and Arias Montano. Then, we shall look at perceptions of Divine Providence from the time of the Catholic Monarchs and make some comparisons with Machiavellian *virtù*, before finally analysing once again perceptions of Divine Providence in the *Tratado*.

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<sup>130</sup> "Los hijos de los hombres, que no davan credito a las promessas de Dios, o aunque las creyessen, biuian viciosa y torpemente, con disolucion, soberbia, ambicion, aparato i pompa: davanse a regalos, i deleites: andavan perdidos tras las honras i grandezas del mundo: edificavan suntuosissimas casas, palacios, ciudades": Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 267; Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 147.

<sup>131</sup> Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 317, 322.

## CHAPTER NINE

### 'EL TRATADO ACERCA DE LOS MORISCOS' AND PEDRO DE VALENCIA'S PERSONAL PLEA TO PHILIP III SEEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY THEORIES OF KINGSHIP

One must be quite satisfied that such a pious, benevolent and truly Christian king who, if there is any risk [to the state], or for [personal] advantage or temporal convenience, will not do anything that offends the Divine Majesty of the King of Kings, which is the only fear of Christian kings and of all those generous in spirit.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Introduction*

In this passage King Philip III is represented as virtuous and truly Christian, his only fear in life being that of offending God. There is an examination of the content of the passage quoted above in this chapter, against the background of Valencia's notions of kingship, which is set within the framework of seventeenth-century theories on this subject. The new science of secular politics is described and Valencia's stance considered. In his *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado*, a primary theme was his rejection of godless politics, in which expediency came before virtue. He ascribed this attitude to the Machiavelian *secta de los políticos*, a political affiliation that he hotly opposes. Finally, I shall examine Valencia's confidence in a Divine Providence that rewards virtue and punishes evil in this life.

Valencia's admonition to Philip III is based on the premise that kings ought to embody Christian virtues in their lives; they must be quite impervious to ulterior motives such as personal advantage; nor should they neglect to take action through indolence or fear. Instead,

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<sup>1</sup> "También se debe tener toda satisfacción de un Rey tan pío, y benigno, y verdaderamente Cristiano y Católico, que por ningún riesgo, ni provecho, ni comodidad temporal, hará cosa con que se sepa que se ofende la divina magestad del Rey supremo, que es el único temor de los reyes cristianos, y de todos los ánimos generosos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 90.

their only motive should be fear of offending God, the only dread of Christian kings and of all those generous in spirit. Valencia is urging the King to keep all these things in mind when deciding what to do about the 'problema morisco'. For the genesis of these ideas, I shall first examine the writings on kingship of St Juan de Ávila and of Benito Arias Montano, two of the foremost influences on Pedro de Valencia. First, however, I shall refer briefly to a seminal work of Erasmus that influenced the many *espejos de príncipes* (mirrors of princes) that came after it. In the next chapter there will be an analysis of the *rey pastor* (shepherd king), a metaphor for kingship derived from Dio Chrysostom, classical writers and the Bible.

### *Desiderius Erasmus and The Education of a Christian Prince*

Erasmus's *Education of a Christian Prince* is a manual of advice on how best the prince can prepare for the duties of monarchy. It was published in 1516, three years after Machiavelli had completed *The Prince*.<sup>2</sup> The book was reprinted ten times during the life of its author and was translated into many languages.<sup>3</sup>

*The Prince* was written for the Medici family, newly reinstated in Florence (1512), and in it Machiavelli offered advice on how to maintain power. The Prince should do this by instilling fear in his subjects.<sup>4</sup> *The Education of a Christian Prince* was also written for a particular family: Erasmus dedicated it to the grandfather of Philip III, the future Emperor Charles V. With the death of King Ferdinand earlier in 1516, Charles had acceded to the throne of Aragón. After the death of his paternal grandfather Maximilian (1519), he was elected to succeed him as Holy Roman Emperor. Erasmus entertained the hope of becoming a salaried member of the young prince's entourage, as he had been appointed a councillor to Charles a few months previously.<sup>5</sup> Erasmus

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<sup>2</sup> D. Erasmus, *Institutio principis christiani* (Basle: F. Froben, 1516), *The Education of a Christian Prince* Translated by Neil M. Cheshire and Michael J. Heath with the *Panegyric* for Archduke Philip of Austria Translated by Lisa Jardine, ed. L. Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. vi.

<sup>5</sup> Erasmus had previously presented a book to Charles's father, Philip I. His *Panegyric* had been presented on 6 January 1504 and was first printed by Martens in Antwerp in February of 1504.

had hoped to be appointed tutor to Charles but this post went, instead, to Adrian of Utrecht, who later became Pope Adrian VI.<sup>6</sup>

Erasmus's advice takes the form of a series of aphorisms that could be assimilated easily by a student. The Prince's task is to work for universal peace, remembering that his role is God-like:

A beneficent prince, as Plutarch once said, is a kind of living likeness of God, who is at once good and powerful.<sup>7</sup> His goodness makes him want to help others; his power makes him able to do so.

This idea is expressed well in a later section:

As God set up a beautiful likeness of himself in the heavens, the sun, so he established among men a tangible and living image of himself, the king. But nothing is more communal than the sun, which imparts its light to the rest of the heavenly bodies. In the same way, the prince must be readily accessible for the needs of his people, and have his own personal light of wisdom in himself so that, if everyone else is in some respect blind, yet his own vision is never at fault.<sup>8</sup>

As captain of the ship of state the prince must provide an example to his people of virtue and dedication: "The people are unruly by nature, and magistrates are easily corrupted by avarice or ambition. The blameless character of the prince remains, as it were, the sheet anchor for the ship of the state. If he, too, is overcome by depraved desires and foolish ideas, what last hope is there for that ship?"<sup>9</sup>

A nation will be as its prince, so virtue is essential for its well being:

Turn the pages of history and you will always find the morality of an age reflected in the life of its prince. No comet, no fateful power affects the progress of human affairs in the way that the life of the prince grips and transforms the attitudes and character of his subjects.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> Lope de Vega in his play *El príncipe perfecto* expresses this idea thus: "Adverse fortune will not beset the king/if he imitates God, because he is an image of God" (no ay para el rey fortuna adversa,/si imita a Dios, porque es de Dios imagen). The prince of the title, John II of Portugal (1481–1495) gave up youthful indiscretions when he became king. Thenceforth he was a model of virtue, prudence and a fearless dispenser of justice to all: Lope de Vega, *El príncipe perfecto*, R 14104, BNE, fol. 135<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, pp. 22, 24.

<sup>9</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 21.



This perception of the role of the king is also found amongst ordinary people, as revealed in the dreams of the visionary Lucrecia de León (1587–1588), which I shall discuss in the next chapter: “[...] he had told me that that noble, fine looking tree represented a good king, whose children and subjects participate in his virtue and good example”.<sup>11</sup>

In the absence of a freely elected monarchy, Erasmus insists on the importance of the education of the Prince. Consequently, the royal tutor must be chosen carefully:

If it happens that your prince is complete with all the virtues, then monarchy pure and simple is the thing. But since this would probably never happen, although it is a fine idea to entertain, if no more than an ordinary man is presented (things being what they are nowadays), then monarchy should preferably be checked and diluted with a mixture of aristocracy and democracy to prevent it ever breaking out into tyranny.<sup>12</sup>

As in Plato’s *Republic*, only the wisest philosophers must be entrusted with the task of the Prince’s education:

And so Plato is nowhere more meticulous than in the education of the guardians of his republic, whom he would have surpass all the rest, not in riches and jewels and dress and ancestry and retainers, but in wisdom only, maintaining that no commonwealth can be happy unless either philosophers are put at the helm or, those to whose lot the rule happens to have fallen embrace philosophy [...] And Plutarch has good reason for thinking that no man does the state a greater service than he who equips a prince’s mind, which must consider all men’s interests, with the highest principles, worthy of a prince.<sup>13</sup>

The Prince must be steeped in the true spirit of Christianity.

But, on the other hand, do not think that Christ is found in mere ceremonies, that is, in precepts no longer seriously observed, and in the institution of the Church. Who is a true Christian? Not just someone who is baptised or goes to mass: rather it is someone who has embraced Christ in the depths of his heart and who expresses this by acting in a Christian spirit.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> “[...] me había dicho que aquel árbol principal y hermoso significaba un buen rey, de cuyas virtudes y ejemplo de buenas obras participan sus hijos y súbditos”: *Sueños y procesos*, p. 207.

<sup>12</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 37. Pedro de Valencia expresses a similar idea; for him the absolute rule of a virtuous king is the ideal but, given human frailty, monarchy should be tempered by just laws and wise counsellors.

<sup>13</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 18.

He must have also the wisdom of a philosopher, as philosophy is quite compatible with Christianity:

Further, you must realize that 'philosophy' does not mean someone who is clever at dialectics or science but someone who rejects illusory appearance and undauntedly seeks out and follows what is true and good. Being a philosopher is, in practice, the same as being a Christian; only the terminology is different<sup>15</sup>

The Prince must, at all times, put the welfare of his country before his own. He must be like a father to the state. His virtue must come from the heart, otherwise he is merely like an actor decked out in stage costume:

Do you know what distinguishes a real king from the actor? It is the spirit that is right for a prince: being like a father to the state. It is on this understanding that the people have sworn allegiance to him.<sup>16</sup>

Although it is not known whether or not Valencia was familiar with Erasmus's *Education for a Christian Prince* its ideas were, perhaps, common currency in the sixteenth-century.<sup>17</sup> Erasmus's insistence that the very well being of the state depends on the virtue of its monarch is reflected in the *Tratado* of Pedro de Valencia. The notion of absolute monarchy is modified, in both writers, by the awareness that many monarchs are less than ideal and so both writers extol the importance of just laws. Before examining more specific influences on Pedro de Valencia, there is a brief discussion of the Machiavellian notion of political virtue.

#### *Niccolò Macniavelli's 'virtù'*

*Virtù* in politics for Machiavelli at times required that there be a distinction between the public and private faces of the Prince. The Prince did not need to have all the moral virtues, but it was important to

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<sup>15</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 15. This rejection of illusion and the search for truth echoes an idea often expressed in Epictetus's *Discourses*: Epictetus, *Discourses*, I, p. 29, IV, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Erasmus, *Christian Prince*, p. 17. Pedro de Valencia used this title and a similar one, that of 'padre de la misma familia'.

<sup>17</sup> *The Education for a Christian Prince* is not specifically mentioned in the library of Arias Montano; Erasmus's books are merely designated as "Obras de Erasmo en nueve cuerpos".

appear to have them: "In actual fact a prince may not have all the admirable qualities listed above but it is very necessary that he should seem to have them".<sup>18</sup> In his separation of political action from private morality, Machiavelli did not reject the need of the Prince for personal salvation; it was merely to be relegated to second place.<sup>19</sup> However, his pessimistic and fatalistic view of human weakness and evil persuaded him that expediency sometimes dictated the temporary abjuration of private ethics. The protection or expansion of the state required a different code of behaviour. This was embodied in the notion of *raison d'état*, a term not invented by Machiavelli but which aptly describes his political philosophy. (Maravall claims that the expression was coined by della Casa to describe the policy of Charles V in Italy.)<sup>20</sup>

The first Spanish political theorist to be accused of Machiavellianism was Fadrique Furió Ceriol (1527–1592), a *cronista* of Philip II and political adviser to Don Luis de Requeséns in the Netherlands. He was also a friend of Arias Montano, who shared many of his ideas. And both men were members of the *Familia Charitatis*.<sup>21</sup> His book *El consejo y consejeros del príncipe* (1559) (*Counsel and Counsellors for the Prince*) was widely translated and distributed in the sixteenth century. Like Machiavelli, Furió Ceriol viewed politics as an art. The king should study history, use reason to analyse experience and prudently select wise counsellors.<sup>22</sup> Prudence could overcome Fortune: "Fortune has the meanest of seats where prudence reigns".<sup>23</sup> Unlike the Jesuit Pedro de Rivadeneyra or Francisco de Quevedo, who firmly believed that adverse happenings in politics were God's punishment for sin, Furió Ceriol considered them to be due to incompetence, whether that

<sup>18</sup> N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed and trans. R. M. Adams (New York/London: Norton, 1992), p. 4; J. A. Maravall, *Teoría española del estado en el siglo diecisiete* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1944), p. 232.

<sup>19</sup> Maravall, *Teoría española del estado*, p. 233.

<sup>20</sup> R. de Mattei, "Carlos V, la razón de Estado y Monseñor della Casa" *Cuadernos Hispano-Americanos*, CVII–CVIII (1958); Maravall, *Teoría española del estado*, p. 60.

<sup>21</sup> J. L. Sánchez Lora, "El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano", *Anatomía del humanismo. Benito Arias Montano 1598–1998, Actas del Simposio Internacional Celebrado en la Universidad de Huelva del 4 al 6 de noviembre de 1998* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> D. W. Bleznick, "Los conceptos políticos de Furió Ceriol", *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, CXLIX (1966), pp. 27, 40–42.

<sup>23</sup> "[...] la fortuna mui ruin lugar tiene donde está la prudencia [...]": Bleznick, "Conceptos políticos", p. 43.

of the king or his advisers.<sup>24</sup> For Furió Ceriol, an aptitude for good government was an essential attribute for a good Prince and could, at times, outweigh moral rectitude. A good and capable Prince, like a skilled musician, could be a rogue in his private life:

These words, good prince, are understood by few and so we see, in this context, that many men seem to be reasoning well, but in reality what they say is vain and inappropriate; because they think that a good prince is a man who is good and that this comes from being a prince; and thus they conclude that such and such a man is a good prince. I say that the best of the prince's armour is goodness [...] but men of exceptional intelligence, outstanding in the arts of government do not speak in this way, rather they laud a good musician [as a good musician] who (although a great rogue) is called a good musician because he is perfectly familiar with his musical profession.<sup>25</sup>

The good prince should be endowed with a natural aptitude for government and be well educated and capable of learning from experience: "[...] a man of great natural gifts, very knowledgeable and well-read, curious, observant and very experienced, [a man] who can deal keenly and well with many affairs as diverse and important as the aforementioned".<sup>26</sup> The lessons of history should modify this aptitude so that future mistakes may be avoided. Furió Ceriol compared this type of knowledge with the cures that medical science had taken from the doctors of antiquity.<sup>27</sup> While not rejecting the authority of the ancients, the Bible or the Church Fathers, Furió Ceriol felt that personal experience should also be taken into consideration.

<sup>24</sup> Bleznick, "Conceptos políticos", p. 44.

<sup>25</sup> —Estas palabras—buen Príncipe—son de mui pocos entendidas, i assí vemos sobre ello que muchos hombres dicen razones en apariencia buenas, pero en efecto vanas y fuera de propósito; porque ellos piensan que buen príncipe es un hombre que sea bueno, y esto mesmo que sea príncipe; i así concluyen, que el tal es buen príncipe. Lo digo que la mejor pieça del arnés en el príncipe [...] es la bondad; pero no se habla entre hombres de grande espíritu, i de singular gobierno desta manera, sino como de un buen músico, el qual (aunque gran vellaco) por saber perfectamente su profesión de música, es nombrado mui buen músico": Bleznick, "Conceptos políticos", p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> "[...] un hombre de mui grandes dones de naturaleza, de estremado saber, de mucha lición, curioso, observador i de mucha esperiencia, el qual pueda bien i agudamente tratar tantas, y tan diversas i tan importantes materias como las sobredichas": Bleznick, "Conceptos políticos", p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> Bleznick, "Conceptos políticos", p. 43.

*The 'Mirror of Princes' Tradition*

Machiavelli pioneered the notion that politics was an art or product of human intelligence alone: "Until Machiavelli, these works [the Mirrors of Princes] concerned themselves chiefly with the translating into practice of religious, moral and social principles and values".<sup>28</sup> Since the time of Charlemagne this genre had been advising rulers, both descriptively and prescriptively, on how to govern. From the earliest Carolingian treatises the Mirrors of Princes "[...] all conceive of kingship in essentially Judeo-Christian terms. The king discharges a Christian duty to God in caring for the Christian people which God had committed to him".<sup>29</sup> The thirteenth-century *De regimine principum* (1270) of Giles of Rome was one of the most widely read treatises. Deeply interested in the rediscovered *Politics* and *Ethics* of Aristotle, Giles stressed the great importance of virtue in the prince: "He echoes Aristotle to the effect that, as much as a ruler exceeds his subjects in power and position, so he must exceed them in goodness and virtue, becoming 'as it were, a demi-god' ('quasi semideus') among them. Following and upholding right reason and the natural law in ruling others, he himself is to be the possessor and exemplar of all the virtues and the promotor of virtue among his subjects." For Giles of Rome, as for Aquinas, the ideal government was 'autocracy tempered by conscience'.<sup>30</sup>

For most of the Spanish theorists monarchy was the norm. The Prince was held to be the soul of the state. His virtue should be a source of inspiration to his subjects.<sup>31</sup> Dian Fox, in her study of kingship in the plays of the court dramatist, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681), sketches the attributes of the 'príncipe político-cristiano'. He should embody all the cardinal virtues, especially that of prudence (the virtue most lauded by Tacitus). He should rule over his passions, be worthy of emulation, charitable, merciful and of transparent openness.<sup>32</sup> He should be subject to the law and its zealous upholder.

<sup>28</sup> R. W. Truman, *Spanish Treatises on Government, Society and Religion in the Time of Philip II: the *de regimine principum* and Associated Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Truman, *Spanish Treatises*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>30</sup> Truman, *Spanish Treatises*, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Maravall, *Teoría española del estado*, p. 235.

<sup>32</sup> D. Fox, *Kings in Calderón. A Study in Characterization and Political Theory* (London: Tamesis, 1991), p. 14; S. Rupp, *Allegories of Kingship. Calderón and the Anti-Machiavellian Tradition* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1996), p. 9.

Both Domingo de Soto (1495–1560) and Francisco de Vitoria (1480–1546) have no doubt that the king is bound by the laws. The problem of how to apply coercion to a king who breaks the laws is debated but not resolved.<sup>33</sup> Positive law could be deduced from natural law, ‘an imprint made at the creation of nature itself’, and was assumed by Spanish jurists to exist among all peoples, not merely Christian.<sup>34</sup> Domingo de Soto, who had lectured on Humanities to Juan de Ávila in Alcalá from 1520–1524, considered that natural law was more akin to instinct than to ratiocination.<sup>35</sup> Stephen Rupp has pointed out how Calderón shows that failure by a monarch to uphold the law leads to repetitive cycles of violence. In *La vida es sueño* (*Life is a Dream*) this cycle begins when King Basilio treats his son Segismundo unjustly in an attempt to avert an unfavourable horoscope. The ultimate failure of Basilio’s Machiavellian tactics, and the unforeseen conversion of Segismundo, prove that the welfare of nations is better left to God’s design. “Political calculation can only decline into a cycle of oppression; providence holds the promise of just government, under the aegis of the law”.<sup>36</sup> Some theorists endowed the Prince with Christ-like qualities and I will show examples of this in Quevedo’s work *Política de Dios*. In the *Tratado acerca de los moriscos* Pedro de Valencia is at pains to remind Philip III of this ideal of kingship.

Machiavelli’s *Prince* shared many features and preoccupations with the advice books that had preceded it. However, the hiatus between virtue in the prince’s private life and the expediency at times required by political life was a new departure. “The absolute priority of moral and religious demands over political needs has been abandoned”.<sup>37</sup> This conflict between moral and virtuous behaviour and expediency was a theme that greatly concerned Spanish political theorists in the sixteenth century. As stated previously, it was also a topic that caused deep concern to Pedro de Valencia.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> B. Hamilton, *Political Thought in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 64–67.

<sup>34</sup> Although natural law theories were considered implausible in Northern Europe there was a revival in Counter-Reformation Spain: Hamilton, *Political Thought*, p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> D. de Soto, *De iustitia et iure* (Salamanca: Andreas a Portariis, 1553), Book I, Q. 11, art. 3: Hamilton, *Political Thought*, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Rupp, *Allegories of Kingship*, pp. 39–40, 50.

<sup>37</sup> Truman, *Spanish Treatises*, p. 29.

<sup>38</sup> Truman, *Spanish Treatises*, p. 30.

*El santo maestro Juan de Ávila:*  
Advertencias necesarias para los reyes

The *Advertencias necesarias para los reyes* (*Necessary Counsel for Kings*) is among the writings of Ávila that were written for the Council of Trent (1545–1563). His *Memorial primero al concilio de Trento* (1551) and the *Memorial segundo* (1561) were brought to the Council by the Spanish delegation. His *Advertencias al concilio de Trento* (1555–1556) was sent to the provincial synod of Toledo and contained a description of various Tridentine decrees. The *Advertencias necesarias para los reyes* was written in response to the admonition from Trent to the bishops to preach the word of God themselves. It was written at the earliest in 1546. It was not sent, initially, to the King but rather to Don Cristóbal de Rojas, bishop of Córdoba, who was chairman of the local councils in Spain that had been set up to promulgate the decrees of Trent.

Many of the ideas in this document are echoed in Pedro de Valencia's writings. Only suitable candidates should be appointed to legal positions and those who are self-promoting should be passed over.<sup>39</sup> Advice is given not to indulge in extortion.<sup>40</sup> Valencia, in his tract *Sobre el precio del trigo*, also counsels the King to prevent the 'poderosos' from raising prices by creating artificial shortages. Ávila admonishes the King to protect his subjects from poverty.<sup>41</sup> Valencia, in his *Respuesta a unas réplicas [...] sobre el precio del pan* exhorts the King to impose a just minimum wage. Ávila's attitude to work is remarkably similar to that of Valencia in the *Discurso contra la ociosidad*: "Let everybody have a job. Idleness is very common in Spain and having a trade much looked down on".<sup>42</sup> Ávila warns against excessive expenditure and luxury.<sup>43</sup> Valencia advised the King to impose sumptuary taxes in his *Discurso acerca de la moneda de vellón*.<sup>44</sup>

Juan de Ávila views kingship as of divine origin:

Tell them [the bishops] the Gospel says, speaking of Jesus Christ our Lord, *omnia dedit ei Pater in manus* (the Father gave all things into his

<sup>39</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 213.

<sup>40</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 214.

<sup>41</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 217.

<sup>42</sup> "Que todos tengan oficio de trabajo. El holgar es cosa muy usada en España, y el usar oficio muy desestimada": Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 219.

<sup>43</sup> Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 219.

<sup>44</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 121.

hands). [This is a paraphrase of Jn. 17: 2]. That even if he [the king] has not been given as much, he has been given a lot, and as God has placed in his hands his own honour and service, whatever he orders has to be obeyed, and wherever he goes, many will follow.<sup>45</sup>

The king's good reputation, on earth and in Heaven, comes from working tirelessly for the good of his realm, taking Christ as his model:

And there can be no more glorious enterprise with which a king can perpetuate his good name, on earth and in heaven, than to work for the good of his realm, both in the temporal and in the spiritual spheres, as Jesus Christ our Lord, true model for kings [said] *non venit ministrari, sed ministrare et dare animam suam in redemptionem por multis* (he [the son of man] is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life in redemption for many (Mt. 20: 28)). He is the example whom kings are to follow, and he is the one who will help them [in their task]. He will reward those who follow him and punish those who do not.<sup>46</sup>

The final reference to the rewards and punishments meted out by Divine Providence is echoed more than once in Valencia's *Tratado acerca de los moriscos*. Ávila expresses this idea in greater detail in a subsequent section:

For which reason the good life of the king and his humble prayers to God contribute a great deal to success in business, and getting good people to commend these affairs to God, and valuing greatly the advice of those who serve God, for there often comes to pass what the scripture says: *Anima viri sancti annuntiat aliquando vera* (the soul of a holy man discovereth sometimes true things (Ecclus. 37: 18), and human prudence can err).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> "Dígales [a los obispos] que dice el Evangelio, hablando de Jesucristo nuestro Señor, que *omnia dedit ei Pater in manus*; que aunque a él [el rey] no se le haya dado tanto, hásele dado mucho, y puesto Dios en sus manos su honra y servicio, pues lo que él mandare ha de ser obedecido y por donde él fuere le han de seguir muchos": Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 211.

<sup>46</sup> "Y no puede haber empresa más gloriosa para perpetuar un rey su nombre en la tierra y en el cielo que trabajar por el bien de sus reinos, así en lo que toca a lo temporal como a lo espiritual, pues Jesucristo nuestro Señor, verdadero dechado de los reyes, *non venit ministrari, sed ministrare et dare animam suam in redemptionem por multis*. Él es el ejemplo a quien han de seguir los reyes, y él que les ayudará para ello, y él que ha de galardonar a los que le siguieren, y castigar a los que no": Ávila, *Obras*, VI, p. 221.

<sup>47</sup> "Por la cual la buena vida del rey y humilde oración de Dios es una muy gran parte del acertamiento en los negocios, y el hacer [que] buenas personas los encomiendan a Dios, y preciar mucho el consejo de los que sirven a Dios, porque no pocas veces acaece lo que la Escritura dice: *Anima viri sancti annuntiat aliquando vera*; y errar la prudencia humana": Ávila, *Obras*, VI, 227.



*Benito Arias Montano and the Dictatum christianum*

Arias Montano's educational manual had been written as a response to the conflict in the Netherlands. Its core precepts of fear of God, penance and love of neighbour were derived from biblical sources common to all the Christian traditions in conflict there. Later, it came to be used for educational purposes in the schools of Arias Montano and Pedro de Valencia. There is a lengthy section in which advice is proffered to kings, princes and magistrates. Once again, many of the ideas expressed are to be found later in the writings of Pedro de Valencia. Kingship is conceived, once again, as being of divine origin. The king must, also, uphold and defend the laws and be a father of the nation:

If you consider carefully and dispassionately the true nature of the authority of kings, emperors and princes, you will see clearly that God instituted these supreme and sovereign dignities so that those who possessed them would be called caretakers and defenders of the laws and Fathers of their People.<sup>48</sup>

Here again the virtue of the king is a *sine qua non*; kings must not oppress their subjects with excessive taxes but instead be moderate and virtuous in their habits:

Let them not tire poor, miserable Christians with too many taxes and impositions, but let them show that they are, as it were, examples and models for other men, overtly impartial, blameless and just, and reveal by their habits principles of moderation, modesty and of every virtue. And let them understand and be certain of the fact that that they, no less than other Christians, are bound by that pact and agreement that they made in holy Baptism.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> "Si atentamente, i sin pasión, se considera qué cosa sea en realidad de verdad la autoridad de los Reyes, Emperadores y Príncipes; se verá claro, que instituyó Dios estas supremas y soberanas Dignidades, para que los que las tuvieren, se llamen y sean celadores, i defensores de las leyes, i Padres de los Pueblos": Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, pp. 220–221; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 335.

<sup>49</sup> "Ni fatiguen a los Christianos pobres, i miserables, con demasiadas imposiciones, i cargas: sino muestren que son, como unos egemplares, i dechados a los demás hombres, de pública igualdad, inocencia, i justicia, siendo en sus costumbres particulares regla de templanza, modestia i toda virtud. i entiendan, i estén ciertos, que están no menos que los demás Christianos, obligados a aquel pacto, i concierto, que hicieron en el sagrado Bautismo": Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, pp. 218–219; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 333.

If rulers are guided by the three virtues extolled in the *Dictatum* then they will, at all times, administer justice with great integrity:

If then the princes, and governors and all those in the Christian state are guided along the path shown by the three points of this *Christian Lesson*, fear of God, penitence and charity, and diligently take care to fulfil the obligations of their positions, they will lose no opportunity to administer justice with full integrity.<sup>50</sup>

Self-indulgent and feckless monarchs, who seek to impress by a show of pomp and excessive display, offend God and will bring down chastisement on the state:

[...] Princes who surround themselves with pomp, pageantry and luxury, and lord it over their subjects merely to indulge their own foolish whims and vices and take care to flaunt openly their ambition and love of grandeur, not only greatly offend God and burden their people with their faults but also [threaten] them with danger, serious loss of property, their lives and souls.<sup>51</sup>

The king is urged by Arias Montano to defend the poor against the rich and powerful:

[...] God instituted these [...] dignitaries, so that those who held them [...] would defend the poor and helpless from the unjust oppression of the grantees, the rich and the powerful.<sup>52</sup>

Those in public office must not use it to their advantage to acquire great wealth:

Besides this it is very immoral, and greatly condemned in God's judgement, that princes, or lower magistrates should try to acquire great

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<sup>50</sup> "Si pues los príncipes, i gobernadores, quantos ai en la república christiana, se guiaren por el camino que les enseñaren estos tres puntos de esta *Lección Christiana*, temor de Dios, penitencia, i caridad, i emplearen su cuidado, i diligencia, solo en cumplir con las obligaciones de sus oficios: no perderán ninguna ocasión de hacer justicia con toda entereza": Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 241; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 355.

<sup>51</sup> "Los príncipes que usan de pompa, aparato, i regalos, i señorean sus súbditos por sólo sus desvariados antojos, i vicios, i cuidan de hacer ostentación de ambición, i grandeza, no sólo ofenden mucho a Dios, i gravan a los Pueblos con estas culpas, sino también con los peligros, graves pérdidas de hacienda, vidas i almas": Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 222; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, pp. 355, 337.

<sup>52</sup> "[...] instituyó Dios estas [...] dignidades, para que los que las tuvieren [...] defiendan los pobres i desvalidos de la injusta opresión de los grandes, ricos, i poderosos": Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, p. 221; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 335.

wealth and property from the dues of public office in order to leave [them] to their heirs, and not contenting themselves with an honourable wage for their work, as much as is necessary to live a modest life, they allow themselves to be carried away by an insatiable greed to have more and to acquire wealth.<sup>53</sup>

These ideas were echoed by Valencia in the advice he gave to his cousin Alonso Ramírez de Prado, which we have examined already. Before discussing Pedro de Valencia's own ideas on kingship we will further explore his abhorrence of the divorce between transparent virtue and expediency.

*Pedro de Valencia and Epictetus: Virtue and Expediency*

Pedro de Valencia sought in Stoicism a system of ethics for everyday use and, like his teacher *el Brocense* and the philosopher Justus Lipsius, he looked for points of similarity between Christianity and Stoicism. All the scholars believed in the social responsibility of the *contubernales* and many of Lipsius's students went on to take part in public life.<sup>54</sup> Valencia, as I have constantly reiterated, campaigned for many social issues, through his treatises to Philip III and to various royal chaplains.

An obvious similarity between the neo-Stoic Valencia and the Stoic Epictetus is the latter's distinction between what is in one's power and what is not, between moral choice and 'externals' (see below), and the Christian juxtaposition of God and Mammon (Mt 6: 24; Lk 16: 13). Another resemblance is that Epictetus considers the soul to have been entrusted to each person by God. It is man's responsibility to care for and improve on what he has been given before returning the soul to God after death: "He [God] hath delivered yourself to your care, and says, 'I had no one fitter to be trusted than you: preserve this person

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<sup>53</sup> "Demás de esto es grandísimo desorden, i mui condenado por el juicio de Dios, que los príncipes, o magistrados inferiores, quieran de los derechos de los oficios públicos adquirir grandes riquezas, i haciendas, que dejar a sus herederos; i que no contentándose con una honrada paga de sus trabajos, qual es lo necessario para pasar la vida con modestia, se dejen llevar de una cudicia insaciable de valer más, i más, i de adquirir dineros": Arias Montano, *Dictatvm christianvm*, pp. 228–229; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, p. 343.

<sup>54</sup> Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, p. 24.

for me, such as he is by nature; modest, faithful, sublime, unterrified, dispassionate, tranquil'. And will you not preserve him?"<sup>55</sup>

This idea is recalled in the New Testament parable of the talents (Mt 25: 14–30; Lk 19: 12–27). St. Paul's concept of the mystical body (Rom 12: 5) is in some way reflected in Epictetus's notion of a commonwealth of gods and men: "And what is a man? A part of a commonwealth, principally, of that which consists of gods and men".<sup>56</sup> In his essay on statecraft, Valencia insists that natural reason leads to God, as the philosophers have shown.<sup>57</sup>

Epictetus, in his *Discourses* and in the *Enchiridion*, expounds at length on certain basic tenets of the Late Stoa. Each person, to achieve virtue, must distinguish between what is in his power and what is not. Externals such as the body, the reactions of others, health, physical freedom and death cannot be controlled. Nonetheless, each person has full command of his own moral actions. He cites Socrates, very frequently, as an *exemplum virtutis*.<sup>58</sup> There are many references to Socrates' choice of moral integrity over personal freedom and over his very life.<sup>59</sup>

In the reference to Epictetus from Valencia's *Discourse on Affairs in the Council of State* there is a constant reiteration of the exact equation of virtue and usefulness:

And thus it is evident that what Epictetus teaches [is] that, in general, we must be convinced and accept that, what is pious, religious and just can be equated with what is useful and appropriate, [otherwise] we cannot conserve and maintain religion and pious affection for God,<sup>60</sup> because it is natural for man to take badly and not to tolerate that what is good be taken away, and to freely consent that evil be done to him. Thus, he desires, seeks and procures what he perceives to be useful and, if anything outside himself impedes his getting it, he has it taken away. And if he cannot, he gets angry and considers it to be his enemy, and sees

<sup>55</sup> Epictetus, *The Moral Discourses*, p. 82.

<sup>56</sup> Epictetus, *The Moral Discourses*, II, p. 76.

<sup>57</sup> Valencia, *Discurso sobre materias del Consejo de Estado*, MS 11160, BNE, fols 63r–63v.

<sup>58</sup> Robert Dobbin claims that there are fifty references to Socrates in the *Discourses* and other writings. Epictetus's representation of Socrates is, according to Dobbin, that of a Stoic *avant la lettre*: Epictetus, *Discourse I*, p. xvi.

<sup>59</sup> Epictetus, *Discourse I*, pp. 4, 57; *Discourse II*, p. 71.

<sup>60</sup> "To sum up, remember that unless piety and self-interest coincide, piety cannot be saved in any respect" Epictetus, *Discourse I*, p. 52.

himself as unfortunate,<sup>61</sup> because he could not acquire the good that all animals desire and seek, and towards which all their aims are directed. And so, if we are not convinced and believe firmly that the best thing in all our affairs, and for our position and advancement in society, is what is just and good, in keeping with the divine will and law,<sup>62</sup> not only will we hate our fathers, mothers and teachers, and all superiors and prelates and all men who prevail upon and urge us to live virtuously, and who prevent us from following our whims, but we will hate God himself within ourselves, because he is the Supreme Being, and greatest of princes, who impedes our unjust desires and actions.<sup>63</sup>

Epictetus cites Socrates's submission to the will of God, in the context of arguing that philosophy is not merely about ideas but must be put into practice:

But this is the proper goal, to practise how to remove from one's life sorrows and laments, and cries of 'Alas!' and 'Poor me!' and misfortune and disappointment; and to learn what death is, and exile, and prison, and hemlock, in order to be able to say while in prison, "Dear Crito, if this is how the gods want it, then let it be so".<sup>64</sup> "For universally, be not deceived, no animal is attached to anything so strongly as to its own interest. Whatever therefore appears a hindrance to that—be it brother,

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<sup>61</sup> If a person's interest is in externals then he will logically strive to achieve them. Epictetus puts it most succinctly: "If it is in my interest to have land, it is in my interest to steal it from my neighbour. If it is in my interest to have a coat, it is in my interest to steal it from a bath. This is the source of wars, factions, tyrannies, plots": Epictetus, *Discourse I*, p. 43.

<sup>62</sup> "God is beneficial. Good is also beneficial. It should seem, then, that where the essence of God is, there too is the essence of good. What then is the essence of God? Flesh?—By no means. An estate? Fame?—By no means. Knowledge? Right reason? Certainly. Here then, without much ado, seek the essence of good": Epictetus, *Moral Discourses*, II, p. 80.

<sup>63</sup> "Y assi es evidente lo que enseña Epictecto [sic] que en grál devemos persuadirnos, y tener entendido que es una misma cosa lo pío, religioso, justo, útil, y conveniente, no se puede conservar ni quedar en pie la religión, y pío afecto con Dios, porque es natural al hombre llebar mal, y no sufrir que se le quite el bien, y consentir de buena gana q<sup>e</sup> se le de el mal, y assi lo que concibe como útil lo apetece, pretende y procura; y si alguna cosa de las de fuera de si, le estorva el conseguirlo procura quitarla de por delante, si no puede, enójase con ella, y tiénela por enemiga, y assi mismo por desdichado porque no pudo salir con el bien que es lo que todo animal apetece y sigue, y por cuya causa hace todo lo que hace de manera que si no nos persuadimos y creemos con firmeza que lo más conveniente p<sup>a</sup> nuestras cosas, para nuestro estado, y aumento es lo justo y lo bueno y conforme a la divina voluntad y ley no solamente aborrecemos a los padres, madres y maestros y a todos los superiores y prelados y a todos los hombres que nos inducen e impelen a vivir virtuosamente y no[s] estorvan a seguir nuestros antojos sino al mismo Dios querremos mal dentro de nosotros porq<sup>e</sup> él es el supremo y más fuerte príncipe que nos impide los apetitos i intentos injustos": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Epictetus, *Discourse I*, p. 10.

or father, or child, or mistress, or friend—is hated, abhorred, execrated. This is father, and brother, and family and country, and God”.<sup>65</sup>

The socially destructive nature of excessive self-interest is also expressed in the passage from Epictetus that has been translated by Valencia: “[...] and thus it happens that, if for you external things constitute your good and evil, neither parents will be kind to their children, nor will brother to brother, but every situation, everywhere will be full of enemies, those lying in wait and calumniators”.<sup>66</sup>

This unequivocal and absolute equation of virtue and usefulness by the Stoics is expounded by Valencia in his arguments against the politics of expediency. As we have stated already, he points out that Divine Providence undermines, in this life, kingdoms built on injustice. I shall attempt to show how Valencia uses the virtue versus expediency argument in his opposition to the expulsion of the Moriscos. However, first we will discuss in general perceptions of Divine Providence in early modern Spain.

### *Divine Providence*

Belief in Divine Providence was perhaps the norm in sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Spain. In “La historia del cautivo” (The Captive’s Tale), in *Don Quijote*, Part I, the captive captain, Ruy Pérez de Viedma, ascribed to Divine Providence the loss of La Goleta, in Tunisia, on 23 August 1574.<sup>67</sup> Juan de Mariana also considered that the defeat of the Armada (1588) was a punishment for serious sexual sins committed by King Philip II.<sup>68</sup>

### *Providentialism and the Catholic Monarchs*

In folk memory, there remained many events considered providential from the careers of Philip III’s great grandparents, Ferdinand and

<sup>65</sup> Epictetus, *Moral Discourses*, II, p. 121.

<sup>66</sup> “[...] y así se consigue que si las cosas externas son los bienes y los males, ni el padre sea amable a los hijos, ni el hermano al hermano, sino que todo en todas partes esté lleno de enemigos, de asechadores y de calumniadores”: Valencia, MS 11160, 75; Epictetus, *Moral Discourses*, IV, p. 227.

<sup>67</sup> Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, I, Chap 32, p. 421.

<sup>68</sup> Mariana, *BAE*, XXXI, p. 405.

Isabella. The royal chroniclers had detailed many signs of divine approval to legitimize the reign of Isabella. Hernando del Pulgar (c. 1436–1492) considered that the ascent of the Queen to the throne had been miraculous and providential:

But, with the help of God most high, we shall write down the truth of the things that came to pass, in which those who read this Chronicle will see the effects of God's Providence, clearly manifest in his works, concerning the succession of this princess to the kingdoms of Castile and León.<sup>69</sup>

As José Cepeda Adán points out, the reconstruction and unification of Spain out of social chaos and disorder, in a very short period of time, seemed to many contemporaries of the Catholic Monarchs to be nothing short of miraculous. Hernando del Pulgar describes the phenomenon thus: "Because to write about times of such injustice converted, by the grace of God, into times of justice; of such disobedience into such obedience, such corruption into such good order, I confess my lady, that it would take a better head than mine to record such events for all time".<sup>70</sup> All the chroniclers consider providential the victory of the Catholic Monarchs over the rival claimants to the throne, Juana 'la Beltraneja' (1462–1530) and Alfonso V of Portugal, to whom she had been bethrowed. Juan de Dios Mendoza Negrillo gives many other examples from the fifteenth-century chroniclers of this providential view of history.<sup>71</sup>

The defeat of John I of Castile by Portugal at the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1385 is considered by Hernando del Pulgar to be God's pun-

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<sup>69</sup> "Pero escreuiremos con la ayuda del muy alto Dios la verdad de las cosas que pasaron. En la quales verán los que esta Crónica leyeren los efectos de la Prouidencia de Dios manifestos claramente en sus obras, cerca de la sucesión desta Princesa en los reynos de Castilla y León": Pulgar, H. del Pulgar, *Chronica de los muy altos y esclarecidos reyes Catholicos don Fernando y Doña Isabel de gloriosa memoria* (Valladolid: Sebastián Martínez, 1565), BAE, LXX, p. 229; *Letras. Glosa a las coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, ed. J. Domínguez Bordona (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1949), pp. 35–36. See also D. de Valera, *Crónica de los reyes católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: *Revista de Filología Española*, Anejo VIII, 1927); Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, p. 391.

<sup>70</sup> "Porque escreuir tiempos de tanta iniusticia convertidos por la gracia de Dios en tanta justicia, tanta inobediencia en tanta obediencia, tanta corrubción en tanto orden, yo confieso, señora, que ha menester mejor cabeza que la mía para las poner en memoria perpetua": Pulgar, *Glosa*, pp. 57–58 s; J. Cepeda Adán, "El providencialismo en los cronistas de los reyes católicos", in *Historia de España: Estudios publicados en la revista 'Arbor'* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1953), p. 187.

<sup>71</sup> J. de D., Mendoza Negrillo, *Fortuna y providencia en la literatura castellana del siglo XV* (Madrid: Anejos del BRAE, 1973).

ishment for the outcome of the Battle of Montiel (1369).<sup>72</sup> Peter I of Castile (1350–1369) had been killed at this battle and his illegitimate half-brother, Henry of Trastámara, usurped the throne. Pulgar gives biblical references to kings who lost their kingdom through sin. In Letter VII of his *Letras. Glosa a las coplas de Mingo Revulgo* he cites the case of Rehoboam, son of Solomon.<sup>73</sup> (Pedro de Valencia also uses this example in the *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*.<sup>74</sup> See below.) The chroniclers *el bachiller* Alonso de Palma and the author of the *Crónica incompleta* describe the defeat of Portugal at the battle of Toro (1476) by the Catholic Monarchs.<sup>75</sup> This battle marked the end of the War of Succession and established Isabella on the throne of Castile. Alonso de Palma, comparing the victory of Toro with the defeat of King Amalech in the Old Testament (I Sam. 15: 1–9), declared that the triumph of Ferdinand and Isabella showed divine retribution for the Portuguese victory at Aljubarrota. He claimed that his book would show how God could punish right down to the fourth generation.<sup>76</sup> Palma describes the reaction of Isabella when news came of the victory at Toro:

And the Queen, our lady, gave thanks to God, who is the vanquisher of battles, and all knowledge and strength come from him, and from his blessed Mother, because he protected the King our lord, and made him victorious in that battle against him [Alfonso of Portugal], our adversary, and his people.<sup>77</sup>

*Bachiller* Palma has not only ascribed the victory in battle of the Catholic Monarchs to divine aid but has also, by implication, cast aspersions on the enemy. God's judgement was shown by this victory: "Oh

<sup>72</sup> Pulgar, *Glosa*, p. 45.

<sup>73</sup> Pulgar, *Glosa*, p. 44. Rehoboam, son of Solomon, was King of Judah from 930 to 915 BCE. His tyrannical government led to the division of the Twelve Tribes into two kingdoms: that of Judah, of which he was the first king and that of Israel, to which Jeroboam was elected king: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 94.

<sup>74</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 94.

<sup>75</sup> Anon., *Crónica incompleta de los reyes católicos*, ed. J. Puyol (Madrid: RAH, 1934).

<sup>76</sup> A. de Palma, *Divina retribución sobre la caída de España en tiempo de Juan I*, ed. J. M. Escudero de la Peña (Madrid: La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1879), pp. 8–9.

<sup>77</sup> "E la reyna nuestra sennora, fizo luego gracias a Dios, que es el vencedor de las batallas, y el saber y la fortaleza son de'l, y a su bendita Madre, porque guardó el Rey nuestro sennor, y lo fizo victorioso en aquella batalla contra él su Aduersario y sus gentes": Palma, *Divina retribución*, p. 56.



wondrous conquest, where God, who is verily a judge, pronounced his sentence and declared his truth by means of arms [...]”.<sup>78</sup> Tyrannical kingdoms cannot endure: “For the tyrannical empire cannot last long; firm is the one confirmed by virtue”.<sup>79</sup> God’s pleasure at the victory of Toro was shown through the forces of nature:

And that Friday afternoon was a bright day, with a joyful sun, a day, which was not like the one before or after; God and nature showed forth the joy of the day.<sup>80</sup>

Pulgar describes the dramatic procession of thanksgiving undertaken by Isabella when she heard of the victory:

The Queen, who was in Tordesillas, on hearing of the King’s victory [...] ordered that the clergy of the town be brought together, and have a long procession, in which she walked barefoot [...] giving thanks to God [...] for the victory that he had given to the King, her husband, and to his followers.<sup>81</sup>

Dr. Palacios Rubios considered that the conquest of Navarre by Ferdinand in 1512 was due, also, to Divine Providence:

For these reasons, and for others reserved to Himself alone, God decreed that the kingdom be taken from the kings of Navarre and be bestowed on your majesty. Because it is God who, as punishment for iniquities, transfers kingdoms from people to people, as Sacred Scripture says. Thus he transferred the empire of the Assyrians to the Babylonians, from the Babylonians to the Medes and Persians, from these to the Greeks and from the Greeks to the Romans.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> “O vencimiento tan marauilloso, donde Dios, que es verdaderamente juez, dio su sentençia y declaró su verdat por la vía de las armas”: Palma, *Divina retribución*, p. 58.

<sup>79</sup> “Ca el ynperio tiránico no puede mucho permanecer; firme es aquél que por virtud es confirmado”: Palma, *Divina retribución*, p. 61.

<sup>80</sup> “E era aquel día viernes en la tarde, hiziera el día claro, de sol muy alegre, que antes y después en aquella sazón ni fiziera; mostró Dios y la naturaleza el alegría del día”: Palma, *Divina retribución*, p. 64.

<sup>81</sup> “La reyna, que estaba en Tordesillas, sabida la victoria que el Rey ovo [...] mandó juntar la clerecía de la villa, e facer gran procesión: en la qual fué a pié é descalza [...] dando gracias a Dios [...] para la victoria que había dado al Rey su marido e á sus gentes”: Pulgar, *Crónica*, p. 296. It was in thanksgiving for the victory of Toro that Ferdinand and Isabella built the Franciscan monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (1476–1504).

<sup>82</sup> “Por estas razones, y por otras solo a Él reservadas, ha decretado Dios quitar su reino a los Reyes de Navarra y otorgarlo a Vuestra Magestad. Porque es Dios el que, en castigo de las iniquidades, transfiere los Reinos de gente en gente, como dice la Sagrada Escritura. Y así trasladó el inperio de los asirios a los babilonios, de los babi-

Undoubtedly, the *converso* background of chroniclers like Hernando del Pulgar brought both Judaic messianism and a very detailed knowledge of the Old Testament to their writings.<sup>83</sup> However, Judaic belief in a righteous, vengeful God, 'el Dios de las batallas' met the political needs of a regime anxious to have its legitimacy publicly recognised.

### *Divine Providence and raison d'état*

Using the term 'consejo de estado' rather than the more frequent 'razón de estado', Pedro de Valencia is in the camp of those who believe firmly in Divine Providence:

He [the King] has faith in Divine Providence and knows that neither can God be pleased with any unjust thought or deed, nor can he be manipulated or softened by gifts or beseeched to approve or favour injustice, [...] He [God] is the owner of all goods, including the temporal and visible ones, and they cannot be got or had from any other hand [...] in accordance with his immense mercy he dispenses good things and punishment and suffering, peace, health, fertility, war, famines and plagues; he transfers kingdoms from one nation to another because of injustice and oppression.<sup>84</sup>

### *Divine Providence and Fortune: 'la secta de los políticos'*

Valencia, then, did not doubt the existence of Divine Providence. However, he realized that others did; he accuses the *políticos* of replacing Providence with an arbitrary notion of Fate or Fortune:

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lonios a las medes y a las persas, de éstos a los griegos, y de los griegos a los romanos": E. Bullón y Fernández, *Un colaborador de los reyes católicos. El doctor Palacios Rubios y sus obras* (Madrid: Librería de Victoriano Suárez, 1927), pp. 188–189.

<sup>83</sup> Cepeda Adán, "El providencialismo", p. 79.

<sup>84</sup> "Él, [el rey] que tiene por fe este sentimiento de la Divina Providencia y sabe que ni le puede agradar a Dios obra ni pensamiento injusto, ni se ha de torcer ni ablandar por dádivas o ruegos para que apruebe o favorezca las injusticias. [...] Él es el dueño de todos los bienes, también de los visibles y temporales, y no se pueden alcanzar ni haber de otra mano [...] conforme a su misericordia inmensa dispensa los bienes y los castigos y males de pena, la paz, la salud, la fertilidad, las guerras, las hambres la pestes; transfiere los reinos de unas naciones en otras por las injusticias y opresiones": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 31.

These [those who chose to be ruled by the wisdom of Satan] would wish to abolish all the laws of the world and all the kings, princes and judges, with all the coercive power of the forces of the law and, furthermore, they would like to remove God and his Providence from Heaven and Earth. And as they cannot in reality do this, they deny him in their hearts by persuading themselves that God's government or justice do not exist on Earth, and that [all] men's affairs, good and evil, adverse and prosperous, come about by Fortune and that there is no God. This is at the root of Atheism; there is scarcely any 'político' who chooses worldly expediency in their own affairs, and in those of the state, who is not an Atheist or of weak faith and takes it [belief in Providence] to be a matter of opinion. Because nobody can suffer, and passively accept his condemnation, unless he is of suicidal tendencies, or mad.<sup>85</sup>

This equation of *los políticos* with Atheism is also found in the work of Gerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios. He describes ten different types of Atheists. The sixth were Machiavellian politicians:

Atheistic politicians, disciples of Machiavelli, who put *raison d'état* before divine law, and believe firmly that good lies in what brings them greatest profit, [personal] advancement and retention [of their position].<sup>86</sup>

In his reference to 'consejo de estado humano' Valencia is criticising those who would make political decisions outside the context of a religious faith. He abhorred the distinction, which the *políticos* made between the expedient and advantageous and what was just and honourable. In the treatise he wrote for a member of the Council of State he wrote:

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<sup>85</sup> "Estos [los que escogen el gobierno de la sabiduria diabolica] quisieran quitar todas las Leyes del mundo y todos los Reyes, Príncipes y Jueces con toda la fuerza cohatiba de la Justicia y mas quisieran quitar a Dios del Cielo y del Mundo y su Providencia. Y como no pueden en el hecho quitarlo en opi[ni]on dentro de si persuadiendose que no hay gobierno ni Justicia de Dios en la tierra, y que las cosas, los bienes y males, adversidades y prosperidades de los hombres, acontezen ahora por Fortuna o que del todo no hay Dios; esta en la origen del atheismo, que casi no puede haver politico que elija el consejo de estado humano en sus cosas, o en las publicas, que no sea Atheo o poco firme en la fee, y que la tiene por opinion. Porque nadie puede sufrir y estar quieto con opinion de su condenacion, sino es que este desesperado o fuera de si": Valencia, MS 11160, fols 68<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> "Atheistas politicos, discipulos de Machiavelo, que anteponen a la divina ley su razon de estado, y aquella tienen por buena fe, que es de mayor provecho para su aumento y conservacion": G. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Diez lamentaciones del miserable estado de los Atheistas de nuestros tiempos* (Brussels: Roger Velpio & Huberto Antonio, 1611), ed. Fr. Otger Steggink (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1959), p. 258.

Not all just and virtuous deeds were considered convenient by them and were not to be undertaken if not deemed useful.<sup>87</sup>

'La secta de los políticos' and *Secular Politics*

The term *la secta de los políticos* is considered to have arisen in France following the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day on 24 August 1572. One of the main instigators of the massacre was Queen Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589), daughter of the Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, to whom Machiavelli dedicated *The Prince*. In France she was considered to be the embodiment of Machiavellian duplicity:<sup>88</sup> *The Prince* was called 'Catherine's Bible' by her enemies "[...] and it eventually acquired the reputation as a manual for cruel autocrats while the name Machiavelli became synonymous with scheming, evil and tyranny".<sup>89</sup> A group of French politicians, who had fought for religious freedom, including La Noue, Bodin and Du Plessis-Mornay, determined to make politics independent of religion, as they considered that this was a private matter.<sup>90</sup> This belief received legal recognition in France, when Henry IV granted religious freedom to the Huguenots at the Edict of Nantes (1598).

The term *políticos*, according to José Antonio Maravall, was used pejoratively also at the time of Pedro de Valencia to refer to those politicians and political theorists who were inspired by the Roman historian Tacitus. Publius Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55 AD–c. 120 AD) was a Roman historian who profoundly influenced political thinkers in sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Spain. His most widely read books were the *Historiae* and the *Annales*. The critical edition published by the Dutch academic Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) was widely read in Spain.<sup>91</sup> "If Charles V at one time surrounded himself by Erasmus Philip II would choose followers of Tacitus [...] beginning with Antonio Pérez himself; Justus Lipsius was made Royal Chronicler with

<sup>87</sup> "No todas las obras justas y virtuosas les eran convenientes, ni se havian de seguir no siendo utiles": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> J. Héritier, *Catherine de Medici* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1963), pp. 299–363.

<sup>89</sup> L. Frieda, *Catherine de Medici* (London: Wiedenfeld & Nicholson, 2003), p. 17.

<sup>90</sup> H. Méchoulan, *Le sang de l'autre où l'amour de Dieu: indiens, juifs et morisques au Siècle d'Or* (Paris: Fayard, 1979), p. 249.

<sup>91</sup> J. Lipsius, *Ad Annales Corn. Taciti liber commentarius siue notae* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1574).

an annual pension of 1,000 pounds".<sup>92</sup> The earliest books to disseminate interest in Tacitus in Spain were commentaries of the *Emblemata* of Andrea Alciati. Franciscio Sánchez de las Brozas, *El Brocense*, published a commentary.<sup>93</sup>

The *Aforismos* derived from Tacitus, thought by some to embody Machiavellian duplicity, used to be is considered the work of Benito Arias Montano, the teacher and mentor of Pedro de Valencia.<sup>94</sup> Arias Montano is no longer thought to be the author.<sup>95</sup> However, Arias Montano's political ideas do seem to embody some duplicity.<sup>96</sup> The works of Tacitus had been available in Spain since the early sixteenth century. In fact Arias Montano had the complete works in his library.<sup>97</sup> Valencia's friend at court, García de Figueroa, in his correspondence with Justus Lipsius, shows a keen interest in Tacitus and Seneca.<sup>98</sup>

Like the Machiavellians, the *políticos'* view of history was a largely secular one where examples from the past were studied in order to provide guidelines for current events. Their rational assessments and aphorisms incorporated observations on the working of human passions. This systematic study of human psychology differed from earlier political studies, which were mere exercises in rhetoric.<sup>99</sup> Maravall considers that the political philosophy of Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos and Juan Alfonso Lancina to be as secularised as that of Machiavelli, despite the fact that they were approved by the official censors: they had got them approved under the guise of commentaries on Tacitus.<sup>100</sup> Álamos de Barrientos was the mentor of Philip II's secretary Antonio

<sup>92</sup> Sánchez Lora, "El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano", p. 38.

<sup>93</sup> F. Sánchez de las Brozas, *Comentarii in Andrea Alciati Emblemata* (Lyon: Giulio Rovillio, 1573); J. A. Maravall, "La corriente doctrinal del tacitismo en España", *Cuadernos Hispano-Americanos*, CCXXXVIII–CCXL (1969), in *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español: siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1975), pp. 84–91.

<sup>94</sup> D. W. Bleznick, "Spanish Reaction to Machiavelli in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIX (1958), p. 549.

<sup>95</sup> N. Fernández Marcos, "De varia Republica: política y Biblia en Arias Montano", *Silva. Estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica*, II (León: Universidad de León, 2003), p. 39.

<sup>96</sup> Sánchez Lora, "El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano", p. 51.

<sup>97</sup> Rodríguez Moñino, "La biblioteca de Benito Arias Montano", p. 572.

<sup>98</sup> Ramírez, *Epistolario*, p. 406.

<sup>99</sup> J. A. Maravall, "Maquiavelo y maquiavelismo en España", in *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español: siglo XVII* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1975), p. 80.

<sup>100</sup> J. A. Rodríguez de Lancina, *Comentarios políticos a los Anales de Cayo Vero Cornelio Tacito* (Madrid: Melchor Álvarez, 1687).

Pérez and is considered by Maravall to be the most secularised of the followers of Tacitus.<sup>101</sup>

Pedro de Valencia rejected the secularisation of politics adocated by the *políticos*. He was quite insistant that God's Divine Providence would protect those who followed his ways and punish those who did not:

Because the Supreme Lord and Judge knows, watches over and protects with his Providence and grace the path of the just, and the path of the unjust and evil will come to an end, and if it comes to an end it will destroy those who may be travelling along it and it will end at a precipice.<sup>102</sup>

Valencia applies to the world of politics the model of the harmonious interaction of body and spirit that has been described in the previous chapter. The notion of instinctual, sensorial 'ojos inferiores', when used in isolation from the 'ojos superiores' of the spirit, is directly related to the philosophy of the *políticos*. He calls it 'el consejo y arte de vivir humana'.<sup>103</sup> Politics that fails to take cognizance of the universal moral law undermines the ethical foundations of society, envisaging a world in which God and Divine Providence have no part:

[God] is the supreme and most powerful prince who restrains unjust appetities and intentions, which is the state in which Lucifer, his accomplices, and those who have been condemned to Hell exist, and those who go there have chosen to govern in accordance with demonic wisdom, which teaches and advises the pursuit of the pleasures of the flesh as beneficial, and the loathing of setbacks as evil.<sup>104</sup>

In conclusion, Valencia believes that the gratification of the senses together with the quest for wealth and excessive human respect leads to anarchy and Atheism. Divine Providence is then replaced by

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<sup>101</sup> B. Álamos de Barrientos, *Tacito español ilustrado con aforismos* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1614). Maravall, *Teoría española del estado*, p. 379.

<sup>102</sup> "Porque conoce, mira y ampara con su Providencia y gracia el Supremo Señor y Juez el camino de los justos, y el camino de los injustos y malos perezera, y si se perdiera destruiria a los que por el caminaren y vendra a parar en despeñadero": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 64<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 30<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> "[Dios] es el supremo y mas fuerte principe que nos impide los apetitos e intentos injustos, que es el estado en que esta Lucifer, y sus complizes, y los condenados en el Ynfierno, y antes de ir alla todos los que escogen el gobierno de la sabiduria diabolica, que enseña y aconseja à seguir como bienes los gustos carnales y aborecer [sic] como males los disgustos": Valencia, MS 11160, fol. 68<sup>r</sup>.

Fortune. This is a direct attack on Machiavelli who had written extensively on Fortune, which he depicted as the unpredictable and unplanned in human affairs.

*Machiavellian Fortune*

In the development of the concept of Fortune, which he derived from the classical Fate, Machiavelli highlighted the conflict between reason and faith. St. Thomas had, in the *Summa*, argued for the reconciliation of both. However the Averroists in the thirteenth century had rejected the Thomist arguments and had come down on the side of reason. Averroism had been revived in Renaissance Italy in the University of Padua. It was this school of thought that influenced Machiavelli. Fortune was seen as a fickle capricious woman or as a river that was flowing torrentially. She could, however, be partially restrained by men's free will. This took audacity and courage:

[...] Fortune is a woman, and it is necessary to beat her and maul her when you want to keep her under control. It is noticeable that she allows herself to be won over more by these types of men than by those who proceed dispassionately.<sup>105</sup>

The seventeenth-century Spanish dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681), on the other hand, is firmly in the camp of the 'ethicist' anti-Machiavellians. In his play *La cisma de Ingalaterra* (*The Scism of England*) Princess María [Mary Tudor] defines the anti-Machiavellian viewpoint very succinctly when she refuses to take an oath of allegiance to her father's religious innovations: "I do not wish/that for *raison d'état*/God's law should be perverted."<sup>106</sup> However, she becomes part of this duplicity later in the play. In the closing scene, which follows the one quoted, her father Enrique whispers to her "Be quiet and dissimulate" (*Callad y disimulad*), and she agrees to take the oath. In this play Wolsey or Volseo is represented as an example of negative statecraft and Machiavellian duplicity.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, p. 123.

<sup>106</sup> "No quiero/que por razones de Estado/la ley de Dios se pervierta": *La cisma de Ingalaterra, Comedias que nvevamente corregidas pvblica Ivan de Vera Tassis y Villar-roel su mayor amigo, Octava parte* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1684), BAE, XI.

<sup>107</sup> Rupp, *Allegories of Kingship*, pp. 80, 98.

In the *auto sacramental* *No hay más Fortuna que Dios* (*The Only Fortune is God*) Calderón rejects explicitly Machiavellian Fortune. It is incompatible with the presence of God:

Donde hay Dios  
no hay Fortuna (233).<sup>108</sup>

In his juxtaposition of *la Discreción* (discernment) and *la Hermosura* (beauty) Calderón is contrasting *la hermosura del alma* (822) with *la hermosura del cuerpo* (821). They are not direct equivalents of Valencia's two forms of *sabiduría* as *la Discreción* in the *auto sacramental*, being a natural rather than a supernatural attribute, initially makes an error of judgement and joins the dance celebrating Fortune's gifts. However, her ability to learn, from experience, how to distinguish Good from Evil is symbolized by her re-clothing Good and Evil in their own cloaks which *la Malicia* had earlier swapped. The Devil gives a definition of Fortune:

[Fortuna es]  
Una inventada deidad, que  
si bien lo apuras  
en las vanidades toda,  
y en las verdades ninguna,  
la hallarás, pues en sus aras  
nada luce, y todo alumbra (104–109).<sup>109</sup>

*Fortuna* in the *auto* is contrasted with *la Justicia Distributiva* who represents Divine Providence. Again it is the Devil who describes her role:

Dios, con providencia suma,  
asiste a todo, y que nada  
desampara y desayuda,  
haciendo que su Justicia  
a cada uno destribuya,  
desde la hormiga más vil  
a la más noble criatura,  
lo que más le importa para

<sup>108</sup> "Where God exists there can be no Fortune": Calderón de la Barca, *No hay más Fortuna que Dios*, ed. A. A. Parker (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), p. 9.

<sup>109</sup> "A fictitious deity/if you examine the subject closely/you will find it is in all the vanities [of life]/and not at all where there is truth/as on its altars/nothing shines, and or lights one's way".



que admita, a honra y gloria suya,  
 el gracioso don del ser,  
 que sin él no fuera nunca (67–77).<sup>110</sup>

*Fray Juan Márquez and 'la secta de los políticos'*

Fray Juan Márquez wrote *El gobernador christiano* (*The Christian Governor*) at the request of the third Duke of Feria, Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba. As Pedro de Valencia had close contact with the Dukes of Feria, I decided to examine this work. Márquez writes extensively on Machiavellian politics. The book was a response to Machiavellian political theory and was very popular in its time. Márquez states that the *políticos* advocate dissimulation if it benefits the state:

It is well known that, nowadays, what causes the Church of Jesus Christ most trouble is a presupposition that the authors of this sect [of the *políticos*] make use of, profess, and teach without the least embarrassment. The Prince, if it were for the good of the state, and it were a means of conserving it in a temporal way, can dissimulate, deceive, break his word, give it without intending to keep it, give to understand inner thoughts which are not true, and achieve by astuteness and guile what he could not always achieve by force.<sup>111</sup>

He challenges the *políticos* to take off the mask and reply to the following queries: do they believe in God, Divine Providence and the immortality of the soul?:

Let the *políticos* take off their masks; let those who follow them speak clearly, and let them tell us if they feel that there is a God, who knows what is happening here below, and whose Providence is available to them. Let them tell us if they are convinced that the body will rise from

<sup>110</sup> “God with supreme Providence/assists everything and leaves nothing/unprotected or neglected/, making sure that his Justice/gives to everyone/, from the lowliest ant/to the most noble creature/, what it most needs/that it may acknowledge, for his honour and glory/, the gracious gift of being/which without him would not exist”.

<sup>111</sup> “Muy sabido es que lo que oy mas guerra haze a la Iglesia de Iesu Christo es vn presupuesto, de que se valen los autores de esta seta [de los políticos], y le professan, y enseñan sin salirse al rostro las colores. Que el Principe, si le estuuiere bien al estado, y fuere buen camino para la conseruacion temporal, puede fingir, engañar, quebrar palabra, darle sin animo de cumplirla, dar a entender que tiene lo que no tiene en el coraçon, y conseguir por astucia, y buena maña lo que no todas vezes podra por fuerça”: J. Márquez, *El gobernador christiano. Dedvcida de las vidas de Moysen y Iosve. Principes del Pueblo de Dios* (Salamanca: Francisco de Cea y Tesa, 1612), p. 73.

the dead, and that the soul is immortal, and that there will be reward and punishment for each person, in accordance with their deeds?<sup>112</sup>

Like Valencia, Márquez juxtaposes 'lo útil' and 'lo honesto':

[...] the difficulty with virtue arises from the clash between what is useful and what is good; and if expediency calls for one thing and it is then justified by one's conscience, all laws made to restrain man from the lure [lit. spur] of sensual pleasure would have been made in vain.<sup>113</sup>

He strongly condemns those who use religion cynically for political purposes:

[...] the *políticos* of these times [...] want Princes to make religion a question of *raison d'état*, and to embrace what might be best for the conservation of their power, and the obedience of their vassals. This is quite incredible blindness and abominable stupidity.<sup>114</sup>

He abhors those who change religion for political reasons and refers to the tragic end of Shechem who ravished Dina, daughter of Jacob, but agreed to be circumcised in order to marry her. However, he planned, secretly, to take the herds of Jacob. His intended treachery was forestalled by Simeon and Levi, Dina's brothers; these killed him three days after being circumcised (Gen. 34: 24–27).

Those Princes who change religion for *raison d'état* can expect such unhappy events, Princes who lend an ear to the doctrine of the *políticos*, and who have the gratification of the people as the fundamental principle of their faith, paying no heed to the truth of what they are saying but interested only in its usefulness.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> "Quitense pues los politicos la mascara, y hablen claro los que los siguen, y digan nos si sienten que ay Dios, que saue lo que passa aca abaxo, y tiene prouidencia de ellos. Si estan persuadidos que la carne ha de resucitar? Y que es inmortal el alma? Y que ha de auer pena, y premio eterno para cada vna, segun la diferencia de sus obras": Márquez, *El gobernador christiano*, p. 293.

<sup>113</sup> "[...] la dificultad de la virtud nace del encuentro que tiene lo util cõ lo honesto; y si porque la vtilidad pide vna cosa, la justificasse luego la cõciencia seria vana toda ley q̃ se hizo para enfrenar al hõbre cõtra la espuela de los bienes del sentido": Márquez, *El gobernador christiano*, p. 294.

<sup>114</sup> "[...] los politicos del tiempo [...] quieren que los Principes hagan materia de estado la religion, y abracen la que mejor les estuuire para la conseruacion de la potestad, y obediencia de los vasallos, increyble ceguedad y abominable torpeza": Márquez, *El gobernador christiano*, pp. 171–172.

<sup>115</sup> "Tan infelices sucessos pueden esperar los Principes que muden de religion por materia de estado, que dan orejas a la doctrina de los politicos, y tiene el gusto del pueblo por regla de su fe, no curando de la verdad de lo que dicen, sino de solo el prouecho": Márquez, *El gobernador christiano*, p. 172. The Protestant Henry of Navarre,

Márquez's quotation cited above recalls Valencia's condemnation of dissimulation and political expediency in the *Tratado*. It particularly offends God when disguised as religious zeal

[...] and when something is done out of political expediency, and for man's convenience or for human purposes, to try to cover it up by calling it piety, zeal or religion is sly and greatly offends God, who is simple and good.<sup>116</sup>

*The Anti-Machiavellians, Divine Providence and Thomas Aquinas*

The anti-Machiavellians all attempted to combat the secularization of politics by arguing for the existence of a Divine Providence, which operated at the heart of human affairs. St. Thomas in the *Summa*, in the section on merit, had discussed the notion that divine pleasure or displeasure could be expressed through the presence or absence of material prosperity.<sup>117</sup>

Question 114, article 10. Do temporal goods fall under merit?

In the Old Testament *Book of Deuteronomy* temporal goods were promised as a reward for just living (Deut. 28: 1–4).<sup>118</sup> In the initial propositions, St Thomas refers to two specific passages from Exodus and Ezekiel. In the first passage (Exod. 1:2) the Hebrew midwives of Egypt, who disobeyed Pharaoh's command to massacre newborn Hebrew boys, were rewarded with gifts of houses (Aquinas, 1a2ae, p. 227). Similarly, in the Book of Ezekiel, the king of Babylon was given the land of Egypt as a reward for working on behalf of the Lord (Aquinas, 1a2ae, p. 229):

There will be a reward for his army, and I have given him the land of Egypt because he has laboured for me (Ezek. 29: 18–20).

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on becoming King of France as Henry IV, became a Catholic. He allegedly stated that "Paris vaut bien une messe" (Paris is well worth a mass). He was assassinated by Ravaillac in 1610.

<sup>116</sup> [...] y quando una cosa se hace por conveniencia política y por comodidades, o intentos humanos, quererla cubrir con nombre de piedad, celo, y religión, es astucia, que ofende mucho a la divina simplicidad, y bondad": Valencia, *Obras*, 1V, 2, p. 100.

<sup>117</sup> Aquinas, *Summa*, 1a2ae, 1975, vol. XXX, pp. 227–231.

<sup>118</sup> "Now if thou wilt hear the voice of the Lord thy God, to do and keep all his commandments, which I command thee this day, the Lord thy God will make thee higher than all the nations that are on the earth. And all these blessings shall come upon thee and overtake thee: yet so if thou hear his precepts. Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the droves of thy herds, and folds of thy sheep".

However, the exegesis in Aquinas's *responsio* is less cut and dried. The benefit received by man is of two kinds: one is an unqualified good, or *bonum [...] simpliciter*, and the other is only good in a restricted way, *bonum [...] secundum quid*. The absolute good relates to man's eternal destiny and the restricted one to man's happiness in the here and now. Divine Providence gives man just so much in the way of temporal good and evil that will enable him to reach his goal of eternal life:

For God gives just men so much in the way of temporal goods, and evils too, as will profit them on the way to reaching eternal life (Aquinas, 1a2ae, p. 229).

The gloss modifies the absolute judgment of the Old Testament. St Gregory had pointed out that, in the passage from Exodus, the midwives had been given merely material goods instead of an eternal reward, as their compassion had been diminished by deceit (Aquinas, 1a2ae, p. 227). In the passage from Ezekiel the ulterior motive of the king of Babylon is also pointed out (Aquinas, 1a2ae, p. 231). The infliction of evil as punishment is very much a question of attitude; the wicked regard temporal evils as punishment as they do not see them as an aid towards the attainment of eternal life. The just see them as necessary medicines (p. 231). The notion of a righteous, punitive God is rejected by St. Thomas; Divine Providence cares equally for the just and the wicked. However, only the just know how to take advantage of life's blessings and misfortunes:

All things fall out equally for the good and the wicked, in regard to the substance of temporal goods and evils. But this is not so in regard to the end in God's plan; for the good are guided by such temporal benefits and misfortunes to blessedness, not so the wicked (Aquinas, 1a2ae, p. 231).

Seen always within the framework of eternal life, St. Thomas' exegesis is far from simplistic; temporal good and evil is very much a question of attitude and perspective. God's ways are not men's; his reasons are often inscrutable. In the words of Fray Francisco Garau:

[God] by whose Divine Providence nothing happens without reason, although [this may appear] quite inscrutable.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> “[Dios] a cuya divina providencia nada sucede sin razon aunque por alta inexcrutable”: F. Garau, *Tercera parte del sabio instruido de la naturaleza, con esfuerzos en el tribunal de la razon; alegados en cuarenta y dos maximas politicas y morales. Contra las vanas ideas de la politica de Maquiavelo* (Barcelona: Cormellas por Thomas Loriente, 1700), p. 31.

God however, needs man's co-operation so that his divine will may be fulfilled. Man is, thus, in the words of St. Paul, a coadjutor in the divine plan. So the notion of Providence, unlike Machiavellian *virtù*, leads to virtuous actions. The Prince should exercise all the cardinal virtues with faith, trusting that, should it be God's will, unfavourable situations will be changed. Such belief in Divine Providence was considered by the anti-Machiavellians to be political realism *par excellence*. Their attitude is aptly expressed by José Cepeda Adán: "God is at the center of history and is present in the deeds both of individuals and of nations. He chooses kings and nations according to their merits and failings".<sup>120</sup>

*Pedro de Rivadeneyra (1526–1611)*

Another political theorist who equated the new art of secularised politics with Atheism was the Jesuit Pedro de Rivadeneyra, one of the strongest of the anti-Machiavellians. Rivadeneyra believed that religion should be the motive force of all statecraft. The State was best served by following God's laws:

[...] this is the true, certain and sure *raison d'état* and that of Machiavelli and the *políticos* is false [...] uncertain and deceitful. Because it is a sure and infallible truth that the state cannot distance itself from religion, nor can it conserve itself, without preserving religion itself.<sup>121</sup>

Rivadeneira juxtaposed Machiavellian *raison d'état* with a Christian one that is based on a belief in Divine Providence:

[...] these impious *políticos* separate *raison d'état* from the law of God. And so that nobody may think that exclude out *raison d'état* (as if there were none) and the rules of prudence on which, after God, states are founded, grow, govern and are conserved, above all these things I say that there is *raison d'état*, and which all princes should keep in mind if

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<sup>120</sup> "Dios está en el centro de la historia, y está presente en el acontecer tanto de los individuos como de los pueblos. El elige a los reyes y a los pueblos según los méritos y deméritos": Cepeda Adán, "El providencialismo", p. 186.

<sup>121</sup> "[...] ésta es la verdadera, cierta y segura razón de Estado y la de Maquiavelo y de los políticos es falsa, incierta y engañosa. Porque es verdad cierta y infalible que el Estado no se puede apartar bien de la religion, ni conservarse, sino conservando la misma religion": P. de Rivadeneyra, *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que debe tener el principe cristiano para gobernar y conservar sus Estados. Contra lo que Nicolas Maquiavelo y los politicos de este tiempo enseñan* (Madrid: P. Madrigal, 1595), BAE, LX, p. 456.

they wish to govern successfully and preserve their states. But this *raison d'état* is not one but two: one that is false and apparent and another that is certain and divine; one that makes the state into a religion and another that founds the state on religion; one the teaching of the *políticos* and founded on vain prudence and on vile human means, the other on the teaching of God, which depends on God himself and on the means by which he, with his paternal Providence, reveals to princes and gives them the strength to use it well, he who is Lord of all states.<sup>122</sup>

Following this line of reasoning, it was the height of irrationality to reject Divine Providence in favour of Machiavellian *raison d'état*. For Jerónimo de Zeballos *raison d'état* was a 'sinrazón de Estado':

The *raison d'état* that distances itself from what is just (and just here means the same thing as virtuous in a Christian sense) is not reason of state but a state without reason.<sup>123</sup>

#### Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas (1580–1645)

Valencia's younger contemporary, Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, desired passionately to see the state reformed so that Christian ideals would inspire all its actions.<sup>124</sup> His ideal of kingship resembles that of Pedro de Valencia, as we will see in the final chapter. However, he too was concerned with what he perceived as the rise of hedonism and

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<sup>122</sup> "[...] estos hombres políticos e impíos apartan la razón de estado de la ley de Dios. Y porque ninguno piense que yo desecho la razón de estado (como si no hubiese ninguno), y las reglas de prudencia con que, después de Dios, se fundan, acrecientan, gobiernan y conservan los estados, ante todas las cosas digo que hay razón de estado, y que todos los príncipes la deben tener siempre ante los ojos si quieren acertar a gobernar y conservar sus estados. Pero que esta razón de estado no es una sino dos: una falsa y aparente, otra sólida y verdadera; una engañosa y diabólica, otra cierta y divina; una que del estado hace religión, otra que de la religión hace estado; una enseñada de los políticos y fundada en vana prudencia, y en humanos y ruines medios, otra enseñada de Dios, que estriba el mismo Dios y en los medios que Él, con su paterna providencia, descubre a los príncipes y les da fuerza para usar bien dellos, como Señor de todos los estados": Rivadeneyra, *El príncipe cristiano*, p. 456.

<sup>123</sup> "La razon de Estado que se apartare de lo justo (y justo quiere decir aquí tanto como cristianamente virtuoso) no es razon de Estado sino Estado sin razon": J. de Zeballos, *Arte real para el buen gobierno de los reyes y príncipes y de sus vasallos* (Toledo: Diego Rodríguez, 1623), p. 105.

<sup>124</sup> F. de Quevedo y Villegas, *Providencia de Dios padecida de los que la niegan y gozada de los que la confiesan. Doctrina estudiada en los gusanos, y persecuciones de Job* (obra póstuma) (Zaragoza: Pascual Bueno, 1700), fol. C4r.

Atheism. The author felt that hedonists and Atheists did not believe in Providence:

Atheists, denying that there is a God, Providence and an immortal Soul consequently, despise everything attested to by God.<sup>125</sup>

Job is the Stoic hero of Quevedo's treatise who, despite many adversities and ill health, never ceased to believe in the immortality of the soul and in Divine Providence. Human reverses were part of God's divine plan:

Divine Providence takes care of everything.<sup>126</sup>

Injustice to the innocent will be punished by God:

God punished them with such appallingly acts of destruction that it seemed as if vengeance alone gave him pleasure. All the great Kingdoms, Empires and Emperors have perished by the means through which they thought to rise above others.<sup>127</sup>

For Quevedo, those who deny Divine Providence are not merely Atheists but believe solely in a hedonistic gratification of the senses:

Solomon wrote this book of Ecclesiastes against Atheists, whose God is their stomach, earthly delights their glory, gluttony their happiness and good fortune; for their life comes to an end like that of the animals, which they live in similar fashion.<sup>128</sup>

They totally lack faith. They believe that:

It is better to see what you desire than to desire what is not known; that is to say that more credence should be given to what you see than to Faith. And this is literally the root of all Atheism.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> "Los ateistas, negando que ay Dios, Providencia y Alma immortal consiguientemente desprecian a todo lo que con Dios se autoriça": Quevedo y Villegas, *Providencia de Dios*, p. 5.

<sup>126</sup> "La Providencia Divina de todo cuida": Quevedo y Villegas, *Providencia de Dios*, p. 37.

<sup>127</sup> "Dios los castigava con ruines tan atroces que parecia que solo le agradavan las venganzas. Todos los grandes Reynos, Imperios, y Emperadores se han perdido por dõde pensavan levantarse": Quevedo y Villegas, *Providencia de Dios*, p. 37.

<sup>128</sup> "Solomon escribio este libro de el Ecclesiastes contra los Atheistas, que solo tienen por Dios al vientre, por gloria los deleytes, por felicidad y bienaventuranza la golosina, pues su vida muere como la de los animales, que la viven como ellos la viven": Quevedo y Villegas, *Providencia de Dios*, p. 55.

<sup>129</sup> "Que es mejor ver lo que se desea, que desear lo que no se sabe; es dezir, que se de mas credito a los ojos que a la Fe. Y esto es la raiz literal de todo el Atheismo": Quevedo y Villegas, *Providencia de Dios*, p. 57.

We shall end this section with a long quotation from the *Tratado*, which establishes Pedro de Valencia firmly within the group of the 'ethicist' anti-Machiavellians who believed, firmly, in Divine Providence:

I will give as main premise and principle that, even though it may be obvious and well known, it is also an important element of statecraft [to be bound by one's conscience], in fact there is nothing that is more important. God, our Lord, whose [name] is blessed and glorious for all time, is the Supreme King and Lord. All creatures belong to him and his will is done in great and little matters, and there is no force, nor guile, on Earth or in Heaven, that can impede or delay the effect of his counsel or intentions, to prevent what he wishes to take place from infallibly happening, and to come about in its own time and place. This King does not sleep and cease to pay attention: one cannot conceal or carry out without his knowledge any deed or thought, He is the master also of all temporal goods, and they cannot be acquired or possessed from any other hand.<sup>130</sup>

When usefulness and religion are no longer synonymous, then religion dies. Expediency has no place in the life of a Christian:

Because as a philosopher [Epictetus] says: "When utility and religion are not synonymous, religion is lost, because it is contrary to man's natural inclination and practice to embrace and follow what he believes to be bad for him". This is as plain as to say that one cannot at the same time be a *político* [a follower of secularism in politics], a Machiavellian and a Christian.<sup>131</sup>

This abhorrence of the separation of virtue from expediency and the description of two kinds of wisdom, an earthly one and one which leads to God, have both been described in other writings of Pedro de

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<sup>130</sup> "Diré para presupuesto principal, lo que aunque sea notorio, y mui sabido, es también importante en Consejo de Estado, que no hay cosa, que lo sea más. Dios, nuestro Señor, que es benito y glorioso eternamente, es el Señor y Rey Supremo, cuja es toda criatura, y cuja voluntad se hace en todas las cosas grandes y pequeñas, y no hay fuerza, ni industria en Tierra, ni en Cielo, que pueda impedir, o retardar el efecto de su consejo y propósito, para que dexé de salir cierto, y infalible lo que el quiere que acontezca, y se haga en sus tiempos y lugares. No duerme este Rey ni se descuida: no se puede encubrir, ni hacer a escondidas suyas obra ninguna ni pensamiento. El es el Dueño de todos los Bienes también de estos visibles, y temporales, y no se pueden alcanzar, ni haver de otra mano": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 90–91.

<sup>131</sup> "Porque," como dice un filósofo: "en no consistiendo, y estando en lo mismo la utilidad, y la religión, se pierde la religión, porque es contra la natural constitución, y aplicación del hombre, abrazar, y seguir, lo que entiende que le está mal. Esto es tan llano como decir que no puede uno juntamente ser político, machiavelista, y cristiano": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 95–96.



Valencia. Their elaboration in the *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos* is, I suggest, to express concern that expediency will not come before justice in the resolution of ‘el problema morisco’.

*El tratado acerca de los moriscos: Divine Providence*

As one reads the *Tratado* one is aware that Valencia is concerned that powerful people at court, for whom expediency and self-interest come before virtuous behaviour, are attempting to influence the King and bring about the expulsion of the Moriscos. His principal argument against *raison d'état* and self-interest is Divine Providence: God will punish in this life those who do not live according his commands. He flatters the King by imputing to him true Christian values. Yet, there is an implied criticism of self-seeking members of the court, whom Valencia must have observed. Let's look at the quotation that opens this chapter again:

One must be fully satisfied with such a pious, benevolent and truly Christian king, who will not for any risk [to the state?], or for [personal] advantage or temporal convenience do anything that offends the Divine Majesty of the Supreme King, which is the only fear of Christian Kings and of all those generous in spirit.<sup>132</sup>

Those who are putting forward extreme measures, as cruel of that of extermination, have the demagogic power to provoke the common people, *el vulgo*, to unjust vengeance. However, Valencia trusts that the King and his closest advisers will resist such pressures, and will be zealous at all times to uphold the glory of God and to protect the reputation of the King and the realm:

But this proposal [the *Tratado*] is being offered to his Majesty the king, our Lord, and to the members of his most inner Council [the Council of State], whose strength, integrity and generosity of spirit we must be sure will not be perturbed by the presence of danger, and with your zeal for the Glory of God and the public good, your own reputation and that of

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<sup>132</sup> “También se debe tener toda satisfacción de un Rey tan pío, y benigno, y verdaderamente cristiano y católico, que por ningún riesgo, ni provecho, ni comodidad temporal, hará cosa con que sepa que se ofende la divina magestad del rey supremo, que es el único temor de los reyes cristianos, y de todos los ánimos generosos”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 90.

the realm, your passions will become stirred up and inflamed, and you will show greater valour and courage when the need is greatest [...].<sup>133</sup>

He argues this point at length so that the King's counsellors may follow this true 'consejo de estado' (statecraft) that does not put expediency before virtue:

It is no wonder that I am writing at length, because I think that I cannot say anything greater or of more importance for the realm in my [whole] life, and I would be prepared to do a great deal of work and write a long treatise, with many examples and reasons that I have collected and could present [to the Council], in order to persuade all his Majesty's present and future counsellors of this true and constant principle of statecraft.<sup>134</sup>

In the *Tratado* he uses this argument against repressive anti-Morisco measures and he gives numerous examples from Scripture and the Classics in support of his belief in Divine Providence. In the following quotation he refers to Jeroboam, King of Israel, who, for reasons of expediency, ceased to follow the law of David:

[...] Jeroboam, first king of Israel, is the foremost example of faithless and unjust kings, who practise *raison d'état*, and follow the path of ill-omened perversity.<sup>135</sup>

Jeroboam's restoration of idolatry to promote his own political advantage was short-lived and brought down the wrath of God upon him, and upon his successors:

This was the beginning of the end and the destruction of that kingdom. The counsel was obviously inspired by *raison d'état*, and thus Jeroboam, and all his successors, understood it to be most expedient, and neither

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<sup>133</sup> "Pero esta consultación se propone a la magestad del rey nuestro señor, y a las personas de su más interior Consejo, de cuia fortaleza, y entereza de ánimo generoso debemos estar ciertos no se perturbará con la presencia de el peligro, y con el celo de la gloria de Dios, y de el público bien, y de la reputación propria, y de el reyno, se inflamará, e incitará, y mostrará mayor su valor, y brio en la mayor necesidad": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 89.

<sup>134</sup> "No es maravilla que me alargue, porque pienso que no puedo decir mejor cosa ni más importante para el bien del reino en mi vida, y tomaría yo a trueco de mucho trabajo y largo tratado con muchos exemplos, y razones que tengo juntas y pudiera traer, persuadir este verdadero, y firme fundamento de consejo de estado, a todos los consejeros de su Magestad que son y han de ser en todos tiempos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 95.

<sup>135</sup> "[...] Jereboam, primero rey de Israel, es la caveza y exemplo de los reyes infieles, y injusto [sic], que siguen el consejo de estado, y camino perverso y de mal fin": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 93.

the voices of the prophets, nor the menaces of God, nor the miracles he performed to bring them back to the old and true faith were sufficient, until God, after so many requests, destroyed the kingdom and sent it into captivity and perpetual wandering, without hope of being restored. As that is such an outstanding example of bad statemanship and, because Jeroboam was succeeded by other kings, he is taken as being the foremost among evil kings.<sup>136</sup>

Jeroboam, however, was not the first to engage in such pernicious practices. The pharaohs of Egypt had come before him as had Saul, first king of the Israelites, who was punished by God for taking up arms against David, God's anointed king.<sup>137</sup> Valencia then cites, in translation, a passage from Demosthenes, which states that unjust gains do not last:

“It is not possible, it is not possible”, he says, “that a man acquire firmly-based, secure power by means of injustice, deceit, perjury and lies, but that empires gained and won in this way withstand some misfortune but last for a short time” [...].<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> “Esto fue el principio de la perdición, y de la destrucción de aquel reyno. El consejo fue mui aparente en razón de estado, y assí Jeroboam, y todos sus sucesores, lo aprehendieron como convenientíssimo, y no bastaron para sacarlos de aquella persuasión, ni las voces de aquellas profetas, ni las amenazas de Dios, ni los milagros que hizo para reducirlos a la antigua y verdadera fee, hasta que Dios, después de tantos requirimientos, destruyó el reyno y embió el reyno a captividad y dispersión perpetua, sin esperanza de restitución. Por ser aqueste tan notable ejemplo de mal consejo de estado, y por haver tenido Jereboam sucesión de reyes, que le siguieron, se toma él como cabeza de malos reyes”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 94.

<sup>137</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 94–95.

<sup>138</sup> “No es posible, no es posible—dice—que un hombre con injusticia, engaños, perjuros, y mentiras, adquiera potencia firme, y segura, sino que los imperios, que por esta vía se ganan, y adquieren alguna vez, y a algún golpe resisten, y duran por breve tiempo”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 95. The ideals of Demosthenes seem very similar to those of Pedro de Valencia in a passage which the latter translated and sent to his friend at court, Don García de Figueroa: “I would be perfectly capable of pleasing you in my speech, and telling you things that were gratifying, but I have never desired to be a counsellor that followed that path [...] it is not the hallmark of a good citizen to compose proposals for reform (*arbitrios*), in which I am given the most important role and the state the least; rather [a good citizen] offers advice on how the state may improve, and grow in strength, and advises always what is best, and not what is easiest”: Valencia, MS 12968/120, fol. 4v. (Bien supiera yo hablaros a vño gusto, y deçiros cosas q̄ agradaran, pero nunca he querido ser de los consexeros q̄ siguen este camino [...] no me parece es de buen çudadano imbentar arbitrios con q̄ yo me haga luego el primero y la republica sea la postrera, y se ponga en el infimo lugar; sino proponer consexos con q̄ la republica se mexore, y se acreciente y aconsejar siempre lo mexor, no lo mas façil).

Although a state conquered in this way may flourish for a time, it will collapse in the end because it is founded on injustice. These words of a Gentile philosopher should bring shame to the Christians who do not follow this path of virtue. How can one have any faith in a man for whom God, or a virtuous life, do not come first? Thus, Divine Providence must not be ignored as sacred scripture and philosophers have shown. Valencia thus hopes to persuade Philip III not to expel the Moriscos, an act he deems unchristian and unjust.

In the final chapter we shall examine Valencia's perception of the ideal Christian king, through the biblical and classical metaphor of the Shepherd King.



## CHAPTER TEN

### PEDRO DE VALENCIA'S NOTION OF KINGSHIP: 'EL BUEN PASTOR'

The most sovereign kings and princes of the world, under the rule of God, govern playing their part, not as masters but as under-shepherds, placed there by their only Lord and Master, who loves men and who will take an account of the harm or loss of the least lamb from the flock.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Pedro de Valencia and 'el rey pastor'*

The above passage is taken from the speech that Pedro de Valencia wrote for his patron, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa y Dormer, second Duke of Feria, on his appointment as viceroy of Sicily in 1602. It was written in the first person so I assume that he was ghosting it for the Duke. Kingship is equated with the pastoral care of one's subjects and with a temporary stewardship for which an account will be required from the Under Shepherd or earthly king from God, the Head Shepherd. Valencia uses similar imagery in other political writings: when advising his cousin Alonso Ramírez de Prado on how to conduct himself at court, when appointed *fiscal de hacienda* in 1590, and in the political tract *Sobre la enfermedad y salud el reino*, written about 1618. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the central ideas of Valencia's perceptions of kingship, transparent virtue, prudence and courage, are implied also in the *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*.

The theme of the Good Shepherd is found frequently in the Bible, as the Jews were commonly herdsmen: in the Old Testament, in the Book of Samuel, Yahweh made David shepherd of all the tribes of Israel (2 Sam 5: 2; 7: 7); in Isaiah 44: 28 the prophet recounts how Yahweh

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<sup>1</sup> "Los reyes i príncipes más soberanos de la tierra, debajo del imperio de Dios, gobiernan haziendo sus veces no como dueños sino como pastores menores puestos por el único dueño i Sr. q̄ ama los hōbres i q̄ a de tomar cuenta del daño o pérdida del menor cordero del rebaño". P de Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 475.

made a shepherd of Cyrus the Great of Persia (559–529 BCE), who conquered Babylonia in 539, freed the Israelites from the Babylonian captivity and allowed them to return to Judah; in Jeremiah 2: 8 and 3: 15 and in Ezequial 34: 8 the shepherd is used as a metaphor for a divinely-appointed king who will be a true shepherd to his flocks.<sup>2</sup> The Shepherd King is also linked to the Messiah: King David, who liberated his people and foreshadowed the messianic role of Jesus, is thus described.<sup>3</sup> The Messiah, Jesus himself, is described in John 10 as the Good Shepherd who is prepared to give his life for his sheep: “I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep” (Jn 10: 11); the parable of the Good Shepherd is found in both Matthew and Luke (Mt 18: 12–14; Lk 15: 4–7). St Peter, in his epistle, reminds his readers that they were like lost sheep who have now returned to the shepherd and guardian of their souls (I Pe 2: 25); In the Epistle to the Hebrews, St Paul prays that: “May the God of peace, who brought from the dead the great pastor of the sheep, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the blood of the everlasting testament, fit you in all good, that you may do his will” (Heb 13: 20–21).

Illustrations of the good shepherd, who is returning with the lost or sick sheep on his back, were a common theme in the Catacombs. There is one such fresco on the ceiling of Lucina’s vault in the Catacomb of Callixtus in Rome from the mid third century of the Christian era.<sup>4</sup> Representations of the Passion are very frequent there but often subsumed in this image of the Good Shepherd, who sacrificed himself for his flock (Is 53; Jn 10: 11–14).<sup>5</sup> The Good Shepherd as a decorative motif derived from Roman ornamentation;<sup>6</sup> it was also a theme in bucolic literature. Thus, both Gentile converts and Christians of Jewish origin linked this motif to the Shepherd King of the Gospels. The iconographic transition from Roman art was probably quite smooth as the early Christian representations are similar to the Roman

<sup>2</sup> Jesus also commands Peter three times: “Feed my lambs, feed my sheep”: Jn 21: 15–17.

<sup>3</sup> “Susitaré para ellas un pastor único, que las apacentará. Mi siervo David, él las apacentará, él será su pastor. Yo Yavé seré su Dios, y mi siervo David será príncipe en medio de ellos. Yo Yavé lo he dicho” (Ez 34, 23–24).

<sup>4</sup> W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1961), plate 7.

<sup>5</sup> P. du Bourguet, *Early Christian Art* (London: Weidenfeldt & Nicholson, 1972), p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> Bourguet, *Early Christian Art*, p. 47.

shepherd in style, pose and attributes.<sup>7</sup> There is a fifth-century bucolic illustration of Virgil from a manuscript in the Apostolic Library in the Vatican.<sup>8</sup> There you can see how it resembles early Christian art such as the three illustrations of the Good Shepherd on a fourth-century sarcophagus from the Catacomb of Praetextatus. The literary sources for the *rey pastor* lies in pre-Hellenic literature.<sup>9</sup> Pedro de Valencia's main influence was Dio Prusensis or Dio Chrysostom.<sup>10</sup>

Dio claims that his main source for the motif of the shepherd king is Homer: if a king is to rule over others he must be what the poet terms 'a shepherd of the people' (*Iliad*, 4, 296, for example).<sup>11</sup> He cites Homer (*Iliad*, 2, 205–206) as claiming that the good king derives his authority from Zeus so that he may use it for the welfare of others: "[...] to the best of his ability he is to devote his attention to himself and his subjects, becoming indeed a guide and shepherd of his people". The good king puts his confidence in the gods, who are supremely good and just; next after the gods he honours his fellow men: "Who is more helpful to flocks of sheep than a shepherd?"<sup>12</sup> Dio claims that Homer's view of the ideal king (*Odyssey*, 19, 114) is one for whom virtue is a *sine qua non*. The personal qualities of prudence, temperance, justice, self control and courage define this essential virtue: "Such a king considers virtue a fair possession for others but an absolute necessity for himself".<sup>13</sup> The good king does not divorce his interests from those of his subjects, but rejoices and thinks himself to be prosperous when he sees his subjects prospering also. The bad king seeks wealth and pleasures: "if [the bad king] lacks even the quality of a good shepherd, who takes thought for the sheltering and pasturing of his own flock, and, besides, keeps off wild beasts and guards it against thieves; nay he is the very first to plunder and destroy them [...] Much rather I would

<sup>7</sup> Bourguet, *Early Christian Art*, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Virgil, *Georgics* III, Vat.Lat.3867, 44' in Bourguet, *Early Christian Art*, p. 199.

<sup>9</sup> I. Rodríguez, "Origen prehelénica de la imagen 'camino' y 'pastor', *Helmántica*, VII (1956), 274–287; C. de la Huerga, *Obras completas*, I (León: Universidad de León, 1990), p. 231.

<sup>10</sup> J. L. Suárez Sánchez de León, *El pensamiento de Pedro de Valencia. Escepticismo y modernidad en el humanismo español* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 1997), n. 50, pp. 274–275.

<sup>11</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Complete Works*, I, *Discourses*, I–XI, trans. J. H. Cohoon (London/New York: W. Heinemann, Loeb Classical Library, 1932), *Discourse I*, p. 53; *Discourse IV*, p. 189.

<sup>12</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse I*, p. 9; *Discourse I*, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse IV*, p. 109.



call him a tyrant and oppressor".<sup>14</sup> Finally, according to Dio, Homer believed that the most kingly virtues are courage and justice, although all the others follow in their train.<sup>15</sup>

The image of the Good Shepherd, thus, has two sources: biblical and classical. The humanist and biblical scholar, Pedro de Valencia, would have been familiar with both. A century earlier, Juan del Encina, in the Dedication to Ferdinand and Isabella of his translation of Virgil's *Eclogues*, considered the office of shepherd to be the most noble and royal, citing as sources Christ, the Good Shepherd, and classical authors, including Virgil and Pliny:<sup>16</sup> "Do not be offended, magnanimous prince and princess, that I dedicate to you a book about shepherds, as there is no name more suited to the royal state, and one which our Redeemer, who is the true king of kings, is proud to bear, as can be seen in many passages of Sacred Scripture".<sup>17</sup> The association of Ferdinand and Isabella with Christ the Good Shepherd implies a utopian ideal of monarchy, one which Encina expresses explicitly before *Eclogue IV*, where he proclaims that, with the Catholic Monarchs, there had begun a new Golden Age.<sup>18</sup>

José Antonio Maravall considers that another source for the image of *el buen pastor* was the new Christian humanism, informed by a revival of interest in the works of Seneca, which together resulted in the utopian vision of the 'gobierno pastoril'. This notion is encapsulated in verses from the famous sonnet of Hernando de Acuña (c. 1520–c. 1580) which extols universal monarchy—'un monarca, un imperio y una espada' (one monarch, one empire, one sword), and which heralds a Golden Age of religious unity under the leadership of Charles V: "There now approaches, Oh lord [Charles V], or it has arrived already/the glorious age promised by Heaven/[in which there will be] one flock and just one shepherd in the world/reserved for your age by Providence".<sup>19</sup> The 'pastor bonus' culminates in Alfonso de Val-

<sup>14</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse III*, pp. 121–123.

<sup>15</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse II*, p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, Book X.

<sup>17</sup> "No tengáis por mal, magnánimos príncipes, en dedicaros obras de pastores, pues que no ay nombre más conveniente al estado real, del cual nuestro Redentor, que es el verdadero rey de reyes, se precia mucho, según parece en muchos lugares de la Sagrada Escritura". Encina, *Antología*, p. 262; Maravall, *Utopía*, p. 350.

<sup>18</sup> Encina, *Antología*, p. 284; Maravall, *Utopía*, p. 348.

<sup>19</sup> "Ya se acerca, señor, o ya es llegada/la edad gloriosa en que promete el cielo/una grey y un pastor solo en el mundo/por suerte a vuestros tiempos reservada". *The Penguin Book of Spanish Verse*, ed. J. M. Cohen (London: Penguin, 1966), pp. 149–150.

dés's King Polidorus, a tyrant whose conversion leads to a representation of the ideal king in the guise of a shepherd: "Be your true self again, Oh Polidorus [...], do you not know that you are the shepherd and not the lord and that you will have to give an account of these sheep to the lord of the flock, who is God?"<sup>20</sup> Polidorus then repents of his former tyranny and laments thus:

[...] I began to think that I was a shepherd and not a lord and that I had to give an account to God of my sheep [...] what little care I had taken in grazing them [the king's subjects] and in governing them, and that I had treated them, not as a father would his children, nor a shepherd the sheep of his master, but a lord would treat his slaves [...] Is this what being a king is? [...] Let's see: do these sheep not belong to God. Are you not merely a shepherd?<sup>21</sup>

This perception of the ideal king, as expressed in Valdés's *Mercurio y Carón*, will be repeated in the *Dictatum christianum* of Benito Arias Montano and in Pedro de Valencia's translation, *Lección cristiana*.

The 'utopía del rey pastor', as described by Maravall, implies universal Christian government and is associated with the reign of Charles V. However, there persisted the hope that such government would continue in the reign of his son. Marcel Bataillon shows how Arias Montano's teacher in Alcalá de Henares, Cipriano de la Huerga, used this biblical image of the 'rey pastor' in the sermon he preached when Philip II became king of Castile. This renowned biblical scholar held up as model to the new monarch his father, Charles V, whom he envisaged as the Good Shepherd. Charles V had tried to heal the ills of his flock in Germany but to no avail:

[...] how well he understands that men are sheep and princes are their shepherds, and that these sheep are prone to various sicknesses, and cannot be cured against their will. He has spent many years trying to cure that flock of sheep that God had in Germany, by fire and sword and the remedy of God's medicine. It has not come about in the way that he, as a

<sup>20</sup> "Torna, torna en ti Polidoro [...] ¿tú no sabes que eres pastor y no señor y que has de dar cuenta destas ovejas al señor del ganado, que es Dios?": A. De Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, ed. J. F. Montesinos (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1947), p. 166; Maravall, *Utopía*, pp. 348–352.

<sup>21</sup> "[...] comencé a pensar que era pastor y no señor y que había de dar cuenta a Dios de mis ovejas [...] quán poco cuidado había tenido de apascentarlas y gobernarlas y como las había tratado, no como padre a sus hijos, ni pastor a las ovejas de su amo, sino señor a sus esclavos [...] ¿Esto es ser rey? [...] Veamos: estas ovejas, ¿no son de Dios? Tú, ¿eres sino pastor?": Valdés, *Diálogo*, p. 166.

good shepherd, would have wished, because the sheep have not accepted the cure. Thus, seeing the difficulties inherent in this matter, he is very prudently setting aside a large part of his possessions, as he is tired of carrying so great a weight on his shoulders.<sup>22</sup>

Cipriano de la Huerga was preaching on the feast of the Good Shepherd. However, he focused his sermon on the theme of good versus bad government, stressing the importance of the love of the shepherd king for his flock. Wise men like Homer, Sophocles and Xenophon used this metaphor when describing kings. Xenophon found the terms shepherd and king synonymous: “Xenophon [...] said that the offices of king and of shepherd were the same. Not merely because of the great deal of work involved in government, but also because of the way of governing, which must be carried out with love”.<sup>23</sup> It is love which makes a good shepherd: “[...] love defines the good shepherd just as its absence defines the bad one: [...] because the shepherd who does not love his flock is of little worth”.<sup>24</sup> The hired labourer does not love the sheep but is interested only in money and does not increase the size of the flock: “[day labourers], not content with increasing Christ’s assets, or with being paid their wage, steal all they can and, instead of being shepherds, they are public robbers”. Many wear shepherd’s garb but lack the qualities of a good shepherd: “How many wolves have there been in this life disguised as shepherds and how many thefts have been covered with up with a mitre and with a rochet, with a crozier and with sandals! How many foxes, since the beginning of the world, have

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<sup>22</sup> “[...] Quán bien entendido deue tener que los hombres son ovejas, y los príncipes sus pastores, y que estas ovejas están sujetas a diversas enfermedades, y no pueden ser curados sino por su voluntad. Muchos años ha gastado en querer curar aquel atajo de ovejas que Dios tenía en Alemania, aplicando el hierro y el fuego y la medicina de la palabra de Dios: no ha sucedido como el buen pastor quería, porque las ovejas no han consentido en la cura, y así vista la dificultad deste negocio, con grande prudencia dexa mucha parte de sus estados, cansado de tener sobre sus ombros una carga tan pesada”: M. Bataillon, “Charles-Quint Bon Pasteur selon fray Cipriano de Huerga”, *BH*, L (1948), p. 403; Fray C. de la Huerga, *Obras completas*, I, (León: Universidad de León, 1990).

<sup>23</sup> “Xenophón [...] dixo que el officio de rey y de pastor era todo uno. No sólo por el demasiado trabajo de la gobernación pública, pero también por el modo de gobernar, que todo ha de ser amoroso”: Huerga, *Obras*, I, p. 261.

<sup>24</sup> “[...] tanto tiene uno de buen pastor quanto tiene de amor y tanto le falta para hazer bien aqueste officio quanto de amor de sus ovejas le falta [...] Porque el pastor que no ama su ganado poco vale”: Huerga, *Obras*, I, p. 278.

been concealed beneath the sceptre of the royal crown"!<sup>25</sup> The preacher hopes, finally, that the new king, Philip II, will imitate both his father, Charles V, and Christ the Good Shepherd: "One cannot but think that such a Christian Prince will follow in everything our most victorious Caesar [Charles V], both in government as in property, and one cannot fail to believe that he will imitate the Good Shepherd, Jesus Christ, who gave all one could give in order to give to his sheep life, health, freedom, grace and glory, *ad quem nos perducatur* (towards which he leads us)".<sup>26</sup>

Once Philip II was king, Felipe de la Torre, a Spanish academic in Louvain, dedicated to him a mirror of princes called *Institución de un rey Christiano*, in which the *rey pastor* embodies Christian kingship: "[...] if he asked his people for taxes, it was solely with the end of 'guarding his flock like a good shepherd'".<sup>27</sup> Fray Luis de León, in the *Nombres de Cristo*, compares the duties of a shepherd with those of an exemplary prince, whose role is to gather up the sheep which have strayed and to unite them all: "His calling is to bring about unity".<sup>28</sup> This theme of unity is one to which I shall return when analysing Valencia's *Tratato acerca de los moriscos*.

The association of kingship with the Good Shepherd also formed part of the popular tradition. In the visionary dreams of Lucrecia de León, Philip II is represented as a negligent shepherd whose flock is massacred while he sleeps:

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<sup>25</sup> "[los jornaleros], no contentos con no mejorar la hazienda de Christo, ni con sacar su jornal, hurtan todo lo que pueden y, en lugar de ser pastores, son robadores públicos"; "¡Quántos lobos ha habido en esta vida disfrazados con trajes de pastores y quántos hurtos se han dissimulado con una mitra y con un roquete, con un báculo y con unas sandalias! ¡Quántos raposos, desde el principio del mundo, han estado escondidos debaxo del scepto de la corona real!": Huerga, *Obras*, I, pp. 272–273. In the exemplary novella *El coloquio de los perros* Cervantes describes such bad shepherds who are in fact slaughtering some of their master's flock and using them for themselves: Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, II, pp. 310–311.

<sup>26</sup> "No se puede pensar de un Príncipe tan cristiano que dexé de suceder en todo a César invictísimo así en la gobernación como en la hazienda, ni se puede creer que deje de imitar al buen pastor Jesucristo, que dio todo lo que se pudo dar, para dar a sus ovejas vida, salud, libertad, gracia, gloria, *ad quem nos perducatur*. Huerga, *Obras*, I, p. 284.

<sup>27</sup> "[...] si pidió tributo a los pueblos, fue sólo con el fin de 'como buen pastor guardar su ganado'": F. de la Torre, *Institución de un rey cristiano* (Antwerp: Martín Nucio, 1556), fols 101–102; Maravall, *Utopía*, p. 353.

<sup>28</sup> "Su oficio todo es hacer unidad": L. de León, *De los nombres de Cristo*, I, *Obras completas de fray Luis de León* (Madrid: BAC, 1967), p. 447; Maravall, *Utopía*, p. 353.

[...] at the foot of the hill we found King Philip, dressed as a shepherd, and he had seven sheep [...]. And I saw that this shepherd was settling himself down between some blackberry bushes, and while there he lay down and fell asleep, on his left side, and he had the shepherd's crook, at the right. And while he was sleeping, I saw a foreigner coming from the direction that he [the king] had come from, which was towards England [...] and when he got to the sheep, he took them by the ears and cut their throats and skinned them, removing all the flesh, he returned with it in the direction that he had come from, and from the top of the hill he threw it into the sea, and he filled the sheepskins with straw.<sup>29</sup>

As I have said already, apart from the *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*, the documents in which Valencia's ideas on kingship are most developed are (a) in the letter to Alonso Ramírez de Prado, (b) in the speech he wrote for the Duke of Feria, when the latter was appointed Viceroy of Sicily, and (c) Valencia's own analysis of what constituted *Las enfermedades i salud del reino* (*The Illnesses and Health of the Realm*).

(a) *The Letter to Alonso Ramírez de Prado*

As I have shown in Part II, Chapter 8, this letter advises Ramírez de Prado on how to carry out his office of *fiscal de hacienda* virtuously and without corruption. Arias Montano had also written at length on this topic in his commentary on the Book of Judges. In his book, there are many observations on the best form of government and the type of person to choose as magistrates and other political charges. There are also criticisms of contemporary society, a denouncement of those who are ambitious for government positions and the comment that many posts are filled with unsuitable people. Arias Montano does this particularly in the *Apology of Jotán*.<sup>30</sup>

Valencia writes of the difficulty of being a good public servant, as there are many temptations to amass a personal fortune, and many

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<sup>29</sup> “[...] al pie de la cuesta hallamos al rey don Felipe en hábito de pastor, el cual tenía siete ovejas [...]. Y vi que este pastor se asentaba entre unas zarzas moras, y estando allí se quedó recostado y dormido sobre el lado izquierdo, y en el derecho tenía el cayado. Y mientras dormía, vi que por la misma parte que yo había venido, que era de hacia Inglaterra, venía un hombre extranjero [...] y llegándose a las ovejas, las tomaba por las orejas y las degollaba y desollándolas y quitándolas toda la carne, volvió con ella por la parte donde vino, y desde lo alto de la cuesta la echó en la mar, y los pellejos de las ovejas los llenó de paja”: *Sueños y procesos*, p. 207).

<sup>30</sup> Fernández Marcos, “*De Varia República*”, pp. 29, 31, 34.

corrupt practices exist at court.<sup>31</sup> The material rewards may often be small for the upright man, as was the case for Jacob when working as a shepherd for his father-in-law, Laban (Gen. 31: 1–12):

Being a shepherd is not easy when it resembles the way that Jacob says he served his father-in-law.<sup>32</sup>

In setting out the duties incumbent on those who hold this office Valencia cites a passage from the Old Testament Book of Ezekiel. This sets out the duties of shepherds towards their flocks and states God's expectation that the shepherd will put the welfare of the sheep before his own. This passage is also cited by Arias Montano in his *Dictatum christianum* and was referred to in the speech written for the Duke of Feria. The quotation encapsulates Valencia's concept of kingship as a divine stewardship, for which God will demand an account. The passage from Ezekiel is taken from Valencia's translation as found in the *Lección cristiana*:

“Woe to the shepherds of Israel” (says God) “who feed themselves. Should not the flocks be fed by the shepherds? You ate the milk and you clothed yourself with the wool and you killed that which was fat; but my flock you did not feed. The weak you have not strengthened and that which was sick you have not healed: that which was broken you have not bound up and that which was driven away you have not brought back again: neither have you sought that which was lost: but you ruled over them with rigour and with a high hand. And my sheep were scattered because there was no shepherd: and they became the prey of all the beasts of the field and were scattered. [...] Therefore ye shepherds hear ye the word of the Lord: Thus saith the Lord God: ‘Behold, I myself come upon the shepherds. I will require my flock at their hand’” [...] (Ezek. 34: 2–10).<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> “La antigua hacienda de la República era mucha y bastaua para sustentarla en todas sus neçessida[d]es ordinaries, aun extraordinarias. Començaron a no bastar porque luego, de prinçipio, començaron las rentas públicas a enajenarse y a haçerse haciendas de particulares, y que no se emplean en vsos públicos” (Formerly, the income of the state was high and sufficient to sustain it in all its ordinary and even its extraordinary needs. It began to be inadequate because the public revenues began to be transferred to private individuals and not to be used for the people [of the state]): Valencia, *Obras*, IV, I, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> “No es nada suauel el ser pastor siéndolo de aquella manera que dice Jacob que lo fue él de su suegro.”

<sup>33</sup> “Ai de los pastores de Israel, (dice Dios) que se apacentavan a sí mismos. Por ventura, no apascientan los pastores al ganado? Comíais la leche, i vestíaisos de la lana, i matávais lo mas grueso, i no apacentávais mi ganado: las ovejas flacas no las fortalecistes, i a la enferma no la sanastes, i a la quebrantada no la ligastes, i a la descarriada

Sebastián de Covarrubias illustrated Ezekial's passage in the *Emblemas morales* and took the motto from Virgil's *Third Eclogue*: *Et svccvs pecori, et lac svbvcitvr agnis* (the vigour it taken from the sheep and the milk is taken away from the lambs). He specifically linked bad shepherds to dishonest governors: "This image represents the censure of prelates, kings and lords who, caring little for their subjects and vassals, encroach on their property and consume their lives".<sup>34</sup> Valencia continues: as the good shepherd will care for and ensure that the number of sheep in the flock grows larger so the public servant will restore and increase the royal finances and make up for past depredations:

With regards to the royal finances, whose increase has been entrusted to your zealous care, [...] I want you to take great care and to be very diligent so that during your administration they will not diminish, as up to now they have been constantly decreasing; rather, that they will increase justly, as far as possible, and that past losses will be made up.<sup>35</sup>

Valencia reminds Ramírez de Prado that a good minister, like the good shepherd, will fear God and will put the good of the people before his own. At times he will even incur personal risks: the good minister, 'armed with the fear of God' puts the public good first and carries out all his ministerial duties, even though it brings him no material gain and even, at time, causes him harm; the bad minister looks after himself and his family and cares little for the public good:

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no la redugistes a la manada, i a la perdida no la buscastes, sino señoreávaislos con sobervia, i aspereza. Hanse derramado mis ovejas por falta de pastor, i echóse comida a todas las fieras del campo, i desaparecieron. [...] Por tanto pastores oíd la palabra del Señor. Esto dice el Señor Dios: Atended i mirad, que yo mismo me lo avré con los pastores, i les demandaré mi ganado." The quotation is not in the chapter on the duties of kings but in that of "Pastores i Governadores": Arias Montano, *Dictatavm christianvm, sive commvnes et aptae disciplvorvm Christi omnivm partes* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1575), trans. P. de Valencia, *Leccion christiana o Tratado de lo que los dicipulos de Christo deven saber. Traducido por Pedro de Valencia* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1739), facsimile ed. M. Andrés Martín (Badajoz: Instituto Pedro de Valencia, 1983), pp. 206–207; Valencia, *Obras*, IX, 2, pp. 321, 323.

<sup>34</sup> "Debaxo desta figura son reprehendidos los Prelados, los Reyes, los señores, que curando poco de sus subditos y vasallos, les van comiendo las haciendas, y consumiendo las vidas": S. de Covarrubias y [H]orozco, *Emblemas morales, tomadas de Don Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco. Dirigidas a Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoual, duque de Lerma* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1610), fols 14<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> "Acçerca de la Haçienda Real, que le está encargado el zelo y acreçentamiento della a v. m. [...] quiero ponga mucho cuidado y diligencia, para que durante su administración no venga a menos, como hasta aquí siempre cada día a ido menguando, antes en todo lo justo y posible crezca y se repare de pérdidas pasadas": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, I, p. 10.

This is the difference between a good and a bad minister: he who, armed with the fear of God and the simple precepts of his wisdom, puts first the public good and the carrying out of his duty as a public servant, even though this brings him no personal gain and even entails risks and personal danger [...]; he who follows the other appalling wisdom [that of the flesh] [...] [thinks] "I will get rich here, I will be respected [in society], I will set up my children well", he is planning to increase the wealth of his family, to leave behind entailed estates, all of which is so common: *Mercenarius est etc., non est illi cura de ovibus* (Jn 10: 13) [the hireling flieth, he hath no care for the sheep].<sup>36</sup>

Plato expresses a similar idea in *The Republic*: "Then we must chose from among our guardians those men who, upon examination, seem most of all to believe throughout their lives that they must eagerly pursue what is advantageous to the city and be wholly unwilling to do the opposite".<sup>37</sup> The good public servant will use his skills and talents, not to his own advantage but for the good of society. Plato pointed out that each man exercises his skills for the good of others. So, as a doctor works to heal his patients, so also a public servant will work for the good of the state. The talent for government of Plato's philosopher-guardians of the city will cause the people to invite them to govern: "The natural thing is for the sick person, rich or poor, to knock at the doctor's door, and for anyone who needs to be ruled to knock at the door of the one who can rule him".<sup>38</sup> When speaking of the best way the guardians of the city may defend it, Plato uses, also, the analogy of a shepherd and his flock. He condemns incompetent shepherds, who put the flock at risk by inadequate training of sheepdogs: "The most terrible and shameful thing of all is for a shepherd to rear dogs as auxiliaries to help him with his flocks in such a way that, through licentiousness, hunger, or some bad trait of character, they do evil to the sheep and become like wolves instead of dogs".<sup>39</sup> In Thomas

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<sup>36</sup> "Ésta es la diferencia de buen a mal ministro: el que armado del temor de Dios y de los preçettos sencillos de su sabiduría pone por delante el provecho público y el haçer el deuer en raçon de offiçial de tal offiçio, aunque sea no solamente sin ganancia pero aun cõ riesgo y daño suyo [...]; él que sigue la otra abominable sabiduria [la de la carne] [...piensa] 'por aquí enriqueçeré, por aquí seré honrada, pondré bien mis hijos' que piensa en acreçentar su familia, dejar mayorazgos, y todo esto tan vsado: 'Mercenarius est etc., non est illi cura de ovibus'" (Jn 10: 13) [the hireling flieth, he hath no care for the sheep]: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, I, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Plato, *The Republic, Complete Works*, ed. J. M. Cooper (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Co., 1997), p. 1048.

<sup>38</sup> Plato, *The Republic*, p. 1112.

<sup>39</sup> Plato, *The Republic*, 1051.



More's *Utopia*, should the people chose a king (the political system he describes is a form of democracy) then he should care more for the welfare of the people than for his own, as a shepherd's duty is to feed his sheep before himself. Officials in Utopia must not be haughty. They are called fathers and must show that character.<sup>40</sup>

(b) *The Speech for the Duke of Feria*

Valencia's speech for the Duke of Feria, an extract from which I have cited above, makes extensive use of the metaphor of the good shepherd. Following a flattering description of Philip III as the Christian king who is most virtuous and obedient to the divine will, Feria hopes to emulate the royal virtues:

[...] the Catholic king of Spain, Philip III, our Lord, [is] the prince of most saintly habits and intentions, and the most subordinate and obedient to the divine will that is known in the Christian world. [...] I must make every effort to imitate him and to put into practice his royal virtues in this kingdom.<sup>41</sup>

As viceroy Feria will promote the welfare of the state and avoid using his office for personal gain:

I come [to this position] with a most ardent and determined desire and intention to dedicate myself to the public good, and to the peace and the tranquility of the state, without concern for the accumulation of personal wealth.<sup>42</sup>

Valencia, then, uses once again the image of the 'rey pastor'. As is his wont, it derives from two sources; a classical one and a biblical. The classical one is attributed to Cyrus the Great. Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, had become, for Greek writers, a model for the

<sup>40</sup> T. More, *De optimo reipublicae statu deque noua insula Vtopia libellus uere aureus* [...] (Louvain: Thierry Martens, 1516), *The Complete Works of Thomas More*, IV, ed. E. Surtz SJ & J. H. Hexter, 4th ed. (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 195. This point will be further developed in the sections on the speech of the Duke of Feria and the treatise *Sobre las enfermedades y salud del reino*.

<sup>41</sup> "[...] el rei cathólico de Esp<sup>a</sup> D. Philippe 3<sup>o</sup>, N. S.<sup>a</sup>, el príncipe de más santas costumbres i intención i más subordinado i obediente a la divina voluntad q̄ en el orbe christiano se conoce [...] devo hazer todo esfuerço p<sup>a</sup> imitar y egercitar cō este su reino sus reales virtudes": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 475.

<sup>42</sup> "Certifico que vengo con mui ardiente i determinado deseo i intento de proporcionar el público [sic] bien i paz i tranquilidad de la república sin cuidar de accrecen-tam<sup>to</sup> de mi interés propio": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 476.

upright ruler.<sup>43</sup> The biblical reference is to the passage already cited from the prophet Ezekiel (Ez 34: 2–4). Valencia makes the same point that he had earlier to Ramírez de Prado: as a good shepherd has a large and healthy flock so a just ruler will have prosperous subjects:

On this point Cyrus the Great, and the first in Persia, used to say that all the art of royal politics consisted in increasing the number of subjects and making them better and richer, as the shepherd's aim is to increase the number of his flock and make it fatter and healthier. From this will follow the wealth of the shepherd and [for the king] the increase of his forces. [If the king were to] attempt to achieve his aims by ill-treating, and afflicting, and impoverishing his vassals he would only bring about, ignominiously, harm and culpable loss.<sup>44</sup>

In the context of bad rulers, Valencia cites again the lament of the prophet Ezekial:

In accordance with this aim of the public good and the improvement of and profit for the subjects entrusted to his care, God will seek an account not merely from ecclesiastical prelates but from all princes and governors of peoples. He will threaten with his anger and with punishment those who have used their pre-eminence and power for pomp and pleasure and personal interest and who do not come to serve the state but to be served by it. "Woe to the shepherds of Israel" (says God) "who feed themselves. Should not the flocks be fed by the shepherds? [...] But you ruled over them with rigour and with a high hand" (Ez 32: 2–4).<sup>45</sup>

Plato also used this metaphor to criticise four of the most famous rulers in Athens, Pericles (448–429), Cimon (510–450), Miltiades (550–489)

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<sup>43</sup> *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. L. G. L. Hammond & H. H. Scullard, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 250). As I have mentioned previously, Cyrus is also represented as a shepherd who cares for the people of Israel by allowing them to return to Jerusalem after the defeat of the Babylonians (Is 44, 28).

<sup>44</sup> "En esto decía Cyro el Grande i primero de Persia q̄ consistía todo el arte del gobierno político i real, en multiplicar los súbditos i hazerlos mejores i más ricos, esto es en hazer felices a los reinos i repúblicas, como el fin del pastor es hazer más en número i más sano i gordo su ganado, de q̄ se sigue la riqueza del pastor i las fuerças i accrecimientos; q̄ maltratando i affligiendo i empovreciendo a los vasallos se pretenden[i]ere, i no se pueden conseguir daños i perdición culpable y afrentosamente": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 476–477.

<sup>45</sup> "Conforme a este fin del público bien i mejora i utilidad de los súbditos encargados, toma Dios cuenta no sólo a los prelados eclesiásticos, sino a todos los príncipes i gobernadores de pueblos, i amenaza con su ira i con castigo a los que han usado de la superioridad i poder para pompas i deleites i intereses propios, i no vienen a servir a las repúblicas, sino a ser servidos dellas: *Vae pastoribus [Israel], qui pascebant semet ipsos! Nonne greges a pastoribus pascuntur?* [...] *Et sed cum austeritate imperatis, et cum potentia* (Ez 32: 2–4): Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 477.

and Themistocles (524–459): all four were entrusted with large and easily governed populations but depleted their numbers and made the people wild and unmanageable: “Plato condemns them in the *Georgics* [of Virgil] as bad governors, saying that one cannot consider to be a good shepherd of Athens the person who, having been entrusted with the stewardship of the best and easiest of flocks of sheep leaves them worse, wilder and unmanageable”.<sup>46</sup>

Valencia then modifies this image of the shepherd and his flock. The ‘rey pastor’ will not rule in an absolute way but rather as a ‘padre de la república’. The king’s behaviour will be guided by a loving concern and respect for his subjects, treating them as children rather than as vassals:<sup>47</sup>

It will seem to those who know this comparison that it gives a great deal of superiority to princes and absolute power over their vassals but it is modified by another older title and one more appropriate to kings. It is that of Father of the State. This name not only entrusts one with the care of one’s vassals and with their well being and material prosperity, but [with the task] of winning their respect and love as rational beings and as if they were your own children.<sup>48</sup>

He describes the esteem in which Roman emperors held this title:

The Roman emperors, when they received the empire, sought no title more than that of Fathers of the State, and incorporated it into the oath. On other occasions they repeated even more this blessing over themselves. *Ita dij me ament sicut ego vos* (May the gods love me as I do you). This prayer should not be taken for granted by any Christian, and above all by princes, and thus God will love them and be good to them as they love and are good to those in their charge.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> “Los condena Platón en el *Georgias* por malos gobernadores, diciendo que no puede ser tenido por buen pastor de Athenas el que, aviéndose encargado del ganado mejor, más fácil i manso de gobernar, lo deja peor i más bravo i intratable”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 477.

<sup>47</sup> Dio Chrysostom uses this metaphor in his *Discourses* on kingship: the term Father of his People is used in *Discourse* I, pp. 13, 23,

<sup>48</sup> “Parecerá q̄ ellos sepan esta cõparaciõ da mucha superioridad a los príncipes i poder absoluto sobre los vasallos pero modérase otro nõbre más antiguo i más propio de los reyes. Es él de Padres de las Repúblicas. Éste es que no solam<sup>te</sup> encarga el cuidado, commodidades i provecho de los vasallos sino la estimaciõn i el amor como de racionales, i de propios i iguales como hijos”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 477–478.

<sup>49</sup> “Los Emperadores Romanos, quãdo recibían el imperio, ningún título más pretendían que él de Padres de la patria en la forma del juram<sup>to</sup>, en otras ocasiones repetían esta bendiciõ más aun sobre sí mismos. *Ita dij me ament sicut ego vos*. Esta imprecaçiõ ni qualquiera christiana i más los principes deven tenerla por dicha y cierta

For Arias Montano, however, the king as 'el padre de una familia' had, at times, to use stern measures when confronted with public disorder such as that he experienced in Flanders. Nonetheless, these should, at all times, be tempered by mercy.<sup>50</sup>

The image of the 'rey pastor' is once again developed by Valencia in his analysis of the political and economic ills of Spain and the imperial possessions in an *arbitrio* (analysis of the ills of the state), which he directed personally to Philip III.

(c) *Sobre las enfermedades y salud del reino*

This document is directed to the King himself and is a detailed analysis of what Valencia perceives to be the political and economic ills of Spain and the Spanish Empire. Although we refer nowadays to the Spanish Empire, in the seventeenth century, as John Elliott has pointed out, the term used would have been 'la monarchía española', the empire, then, being the Holy Roman Empire. The document was written in Valencia's later years, after 1613 and probably close to 1618, when the extent of Spain's monetary ills were causing great concern.<sup>51</sup> Valencia criticizes, in a very direct way, foreign policy towards the New World and the economic and political consequences of this: "The damage to the crowns of Castile and Leon [...] comes from your majesty's imperial sovereignty over kingdoms and provinces outside Spain and the wealth of gold, silver and spices in the East and West Indies" (India and America).<sup>52</sup> Valencia is aware that the resources of peninsular Spain have been over-stretched by its rule over so many countries:

It is not being proposed in this document that they be given up, because with the present state of affairs it would not be apt or wise. My intention is to seek another means of maintaining these heavy, outstretched

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p<sup>a</sup> sí y assi los querrá Dios i les hará bien como ellos quisieren i lo hizieren a los q̄ están a su cargo": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 478. After the execution of the Catilinian conspirators in 63 BC Cicero was hailed in the Senate as *Parens Patriae* or *Pater Patriae*. Afterwards, the title *Parens Patriae* was accepted by Julius Caesar. Augustus was given the title by the Senate, by the equestrian order and by the whole Roman people in 2 BCE: *Classical Dictionary*, pp. 788–789.

<sup>50</sup> Sánchez Lora, "El pensamiento político de Benito Arias Montano", pp. 40–41.

<sup>51</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 501.

<sup>52</sup> "Los daños que padeze la corona de Castilla i León [...] son, la Monarquía imperio que tiene vuestra Majestad sobre reinos i provincias fuera d'España i las riquezas de plata i oro i espezería con las dos Indias orientales i ocidentales": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 513.

arms, without destroying or laying low the forces of the heart and head [the crown of Castile and Leon], which is becoming weary and weak, and there are not enough people to send to so many excessively remote places.<sup>53</sup>

The ideas expressed by Valencia echo those of notable jurists of the sixteenth century. Domingo de Soto, Diego Covarrubias y Leyva (1512–1567) and Fernando Vázquez de Menchada (1512–1569) opposed the idea of empire because of the threat it posed to the true nature of civil community. God had instituted society for the collective good of its members. A ruler should only exercise *imperium* over an area in which he may adequately care for the welfare of his citizens and subjects. Large political communities were unnatural.<sup>54</sup> According to Vázquez de Menchada, the sea had been created to keep men apart. Sancho de Moncada claimed that God and nature had limited empires by natural frontiers.<sup>55</sup>

Economically, the influx of American silver has led to a degeneration of mores within society, as habits of idleness have set in, and people have also developed a taste for excessive luxury: “The wealth of gold and silver caused idleness and luxurious living, and it came about as if a great inheritance from America had come to a labourer. At this he and his children and servants left the tilling of the land and became pampered gallants, idle gentlemen, braggarts and inveterate gamblers. Eventually, they pawned their property and became burdened with debt, and they could no longer return to work in the fields and to cease to indulge in fraud”.<sup>56</sup>

Valencia uses as metaphor for the situation of Spain a man with two women in his life. There is, first of all, his wife, who is taken to

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<sup>53</sup> “No se propone por esto, que se hayan de dejar, porque en el estado presente, ni sería conveniente, ni seguro. El intento es buscar modo para sustentar estos brazos estendidos i pesados, sin destruir ni postrar las fuerzas del corazón i cabeza [la corona de Castilla i León], que se cansan i debilitan, i no hai espíritu que basten para enviar a tantas, i remotas i demasiadas partes”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 513–514.

<sup>54</sup> Soto, *De iustitia et iure*, p. 306.

<sup>55</sup> A. Pagden, “Heeding Heraclides: empire and its discontents 1619-1812”, *Spain Europe and the Atlantic World. Essays in honour of John H. Elliott*, ed R. L. Kagan & G. Parker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 317–320.

<sup>56</sup> “Las riquezas de oro i plata causaron oziosidad i regalos, i acontezió como si a otro tal labrador le hubiese venido una mui rica herenzia de las Indias, i con ella él i sus hijos i criados se dejasen de la labranza i se hiziesen regalados galanes, holgazanes caballeros, valentones i jugadores perdidos en fin se empeñasen i se cargasen de deudas, que ni son ya para volver al trabajo del campo i dejar de hazer mohatras [...]”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 514.

represent the Iberian Peninsula, and then there is the mistress, who stands for Spain's Empire and extra-peninsular possessions. In pointing out the impossibility of this situation, Valencia recalls historical precedents of the harm brought to the mother country by such large empires. He considers that history shows that nations that have over-expanded have suffered harm and eventually total catastrophe. There has also been a deterioration of morals in the mother country. Although Ferdinand and Isabella brought an end to the 'Reconquest', new wars and the discovery of America have been like another invasion, which offered Spain a poisoned chalice.<sup>57</sup> Valencia advocates that the King should focus his attention on the Iberian Peninsula and paints a utopian picture of a united Peninsula living in harmony under God's law.<sup>58</sup> Within this context he describes, in detail, his perception of kingship using, again, the image of 'rey pastor.' He first describes the ideal of an absolute but benevolent ruler who will usher in a Golden Age:

[...] if, through the mercy of heaven, there is in the empire a prince benign, just and wise, uniting absolute power with wisdom and good intentions, there is no known good that he does not desire and no command that will not come about, and a Golden Age will follow, public peace, as in the peaceful empire of Augustus and in the happy centuries of Trajan and Mark Anthony, the philosopher, and of other good emperors.<sup>59</sup>

Then follows the reference to the 'rey pastor':

There would be achieved a type of government like that of God, which is absolute, that is the type of government that Plato prefers above all others (*Republic*, 440 d), like the rule of the shepherd over his flock, who does what he wishes without the sheep having a right of reply. Because man, by his reason, has dominion over the animals and, like a god, is their master. Thus, when a prince is found, who through his intelligence, learning and virtue and principally because of divine anointment, spirit

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<sup>57</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 517. John Elliott uses this image to describe the attitude of the Count-Duke of Olivares towards the overseas empire, although he does not give an exact source: J. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1986). 1986, p. 26.

<sup>58</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 515.

<sup>59</sup> "[...] si por merced del zielo suzede en el imperio un príncipe benigno, justo i sabio, juntándose el poder absoluto con la sabiduría i buena intenzión, no hai bien, que se entienda, que no se quiera i mande i que no se ponga por obra, a que se sigue un siglo de oro, una pública paz, como en el imperio de la paz de Augusto i en los felizes siglos de Trajano i Marco Antonio, el filósofo, i de otros buenos emperadores": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 522.

and validation is incomparably greater than his vassals, and is almost like an angel beside other men as is said of David:

This man would be above others and a king by nature as the queen is in the beehive, and she is called the mistress or queen, and it would be wise for all to give in and submit to her absolute will, without imposing any condition that would limit her power.<sup>60</sup>

Such a view of kingship sees it as a type of absolute meritocracy that exists when the shepherd king has renowned moral qualities; the Prince should be of superior intelligence, learning and virtue. When these personal moral qualities exist they are transformed by special divine gifts, which set the king apart from other men. Valencia accepts, unequivocally, the divine origin of kingship, which he expresses forcibly in the phrase ‘por unción, espíritu y valor comunicado de Dios’ (divine anointment, spirit and validation). Such absolute power given to the king, however, is dependent on the moral fibre of the monarch and is not always appropriate. Thus, kings should be subject to the law and seek the advice of others. This is the notion of ‘monarquía mixta’ advocated, among others, by Juan de Mariana in *De rege et regis institutione*.<sup>61</sup> Valencia continues:

But as such excellence is very rare, and usually princes, because they are brought up in isolation, without experience, in luxury, and with little education and censure, they need more direction than that of their own will, it was right that they be given limited powers, subject to the laws, and obliged to take advice and be subordinate to justice and the public good, things that very few have wished to subject themselves to, because they have not excelled in virtue by nature, grace and education but given preference because of birth and rank.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> “Consíguese un género de gobierno semejante al de Dios, que siendo absoluto que es él que Platón prefiere a todo género de gobiernos, como el imperio del pastor sobre el ganado, que hace lo que quiere, y sin que las ovejas tengan voz para contradecir. Porque es el hombre sobre los animales por la razón como un Dios dueño dellos. Así quando se halla un príncipe, por ingenio, doctrina y virtudes y principalmente por unción, espíritu y valor comunicado de Dios, que excede a los vasallos con ventaja incomparable, y casi es como un ángel respecto de los demás hombres como se dice de David:—Éste sería superior y rey por naturaleza tanto más que lo es en el enjambre de las abejas la que las gobierna, que la llaman la maestra o rey, y convendría a todos remitirse y someterse a su absoluta voluntad sin condición que limitase el poder”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 522–523. The metaphor of the queen bee is similarly used by Dio Chrysostom, *Discurso IV*, p. 197 and by Erasmus: Erasmus, *Institutio*, p. 31.

<sup>61</sup> J. de Mariana, *Del rey y de la institución real* (Barcelona: Literario-Editorial, 1880), pp. 57, 70, 162, 184, 191.

<sup>62</sup> “Mas porque tal exzelencia es mui rara, i de ordinario los príncipes, porque se crían retirados, sin experienzia i con deleites, i con no mucha doctrina, i sin repreh-

Good laws must be complemented by a virtuous and well-educated Prince:

Monarchies and kingdoms, even if they have good laws, counsel, and government orders, both verbally and in writing, are neither sufficient nor do they accomplish anything, unless they execute and carry out [their policies], and this does not come about if God does not provide a prince, outstanding in all the virtues, and who has the resolve and the effectiveness of an Alexander, an Augustus or a Trajan. When God gives such intelligence to princes, they neither manage to perfect it nor enjoy it if they lack education, discipline and cultivation [of the spirit], as a healthy plant needs a gardener.<sup>63</sup>

Valencia advocates a benevolent paternalism as a means of limiting absolute power. Arias Montano also used the title of 'padre de la República', as I have detailed above:

The legitimate king (I mean legitimate by birth) of a nation, of a kingdom is like the father of a family; he knows and treats his subjects like children and has no other power than that conferred on him by the kingdom and the laws; nor does he dare to commit an offence.<sup>64</sup>

The King, in his role as 'padre de la misma familia', will protect the state by having loyal counsellors who avoid excessive expenditure and involvement in war.

It is incumbent on your majesty, who is father of the family itself [the state], to protect it, for which action there is no advice of greater importance than that your majesty recognize, and have as true counsellors, and

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sión, han menester más dirección, que la de su proprio dictamen, convino que se les diere el poder limitado, sujeto a las leyes, obligado a tomar consejo, i subordinado a la justizia, i a la pública utilidad, cosas que a mui pocas han querido sujetarse, porque no han sido exzelentes en virtudes, por naturaleza i grazia i enseñanza, sino preferidos en poder por nazimientto i estados": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 523.

<sup>63</sup> "Las monarquías y los reinos, aunque tengan buenas leyes y consejos y órdenes de gobierno, por escrito y de palabra, no les bastan ni aprovechan, si no es que se ejecuten y pongan por obra, y esta ejecución nunca se hace si no es que Dios provea de un principe insigne en toda virtud y que tenga resolución y valor eficaz como vn Alexandro, vn Augusto, vn Trajano y con tales ingenios quando Dios les da a los Príncipes no llegan a perfección ni a goçarle si les falta enseñanza y disciplina y cultivo, como la buena planta ha menester hortelano": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 525.

<sup>64</sup> "El rei lejítimo natural (digo lejítimo por nazimientto) de una nazió, de un Reino es como padre de una familia, conoze y trata los súbditos como hijos, no tiene otro poder más dél que le dan el reino i las leyes, ni se atreve hazer desafuero": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, 518. Valencia had expressed this idea, previously, in his *Discurso sobre el precio de el trigo*: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 1, p. 31.



loyal ministers, those who try to curb expenses, avoid wars and other occasions of expenditure.<sup>65</sup>

In the passages cited, Valencia has first traced the ideal of a benevolent absolutism, then he has expressed reservations, in an open trenchant way, on the problems posed by the frailty and fallibility of princes. He has pointed out, finally, that, in the absence of a 'príncipe perfecto', kings must take great care to use the advice of loyal and honourable advisers. The insistence on the duty of the good shepherd to increase the number of the flock recalls Valencia's assertion that the true conversion of the Moriscos should be of greater importance than the preaching of Christianity to those in far-off lands:

It is very strange that Spain travels over land and sea and arrives at the extremes of East and West, at Chile, China and Japan, in order to convert infidels [...] and she does not pay any heed to or take any trouble with the conversion or confirmation in the faith of those at home who are baptised, and she is under an obligation to teach them and to confirm them [in the faith] and her obligation is both spiritual and temporal.<sup>66</sup>

Let us now examine the *Tratado acerca de los moriscos* in the light of the perceptions of kingship that we have been discussing.

(d) *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*

In the quotation from Hernando de Acuña, cited above, religious unity was described using pastoral imagery: "that there be one fold and one

<sup>65</sup> "A Vuestra Magestad, que es padre de la misma familia, toca el amparo della, para el cual no había advertenzia, que tanto importe, como que v<sup>ta</sup> Magestad conozca i tenga por verdaderos consejeros i ministros leales, a los que tratan d'escusar gastos, desviar guerras i otras ocasiones dellos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 527.

<sup>66</sup> "muy de extrañar es que sea España, la que rodea el mar y la tierra y llega hasta los fines del oriente y del occidente, a Chile, a la China y al Japón, por convertir infieles, que no sería muy culpable si no los fuese a buscar y que no cuide ni haga diligencia para conversión o confirmación en la fe de éstos que tiene dentro de casa, que están bautizados y le corre obligación de enseñarlos y confirmarlos en la fe y que le va tanto hacerlo para lo espiritual y temporal": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 115. A few years later, in 1609, Valencia was asked to review critically writings of Fr. Alonso Sánchez, a Jesuit missionary in China and the Philipines. He did so without enthusiasm as he believed, as we have seen already in his paper on the sickness and health of the kingdom, that the Spanish crown should concentrate on its own subjects and only consider missionary expansion in the direction of Africa: M<sup>a</sup> I. Viforcós Marinas, & J. Paniaguda Pérez, "Pedro de Valencia, a propósito del P. Alonso Sánchez", *El Humanismo Extremeño. Estudios presentados a las 3<sup>as</sup> Jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Zafra y Fregenal de la Sierra en 1999*, ed Marqués de la Encomienda et al. (Trujillo: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1999), p. 475.

shepherd". In the *Tratado*, a theme to which Valencia returns again and again is that of unity among all Spanish citizens. As we have seen, he opposed, implicitly, the Purity of Blood statutes, arguing that Baptism erased all the hierarchies that had existed in the Old Testament. He approaches unity from various perspectives: cultural, biological, historical, the security of the state and ethical. Like many of his contemporaries, he believed that the suppression of the Moriscos' cultural distinctiveness would facilitate assimilation into society and erase the ties to their Islamic past:

The third [thing that makes enemies of them] is the difference in language, handwriting and form of writing, which is quite distinct [...] also the difference in dress, customs, habits and food, which tends to cause discord and prejudice, even among those of the same language, province and costume.<sup>67</sup>

These prohibitions should be imposed by ordinary courts and not by the Inquisition; as the Moriscos are 'flacos en la fe' (of weak faith) they must be treated with tolerance and understanding, as was the practice in the early Church with those who continued to be circumcised. The Inquisition merely hardens them against Christianity.<sup>68</sup>

Although Valencia conflates uniformity in dress, customs, diet and language with disharmony in society and links it with crypto-Islamism, he accepts fully the 'Spanishness' of the Moriscos. Unlike the Catholic Apologists, for Pedro de Valencia the Moriscos do not constitute the 'other', but share the same physical characteristics as *cristianos viejos*:

[...] All these Moriscos, with regard to their natural constitution, and, consequently, with regard to their intelligence, temperament and spirit, are Spaniards like its other inhabitants, because they have been born and reared there, and this can be seen in the way they resemble its other inhabitants.<sup>69</sup>

Valencia argues that history has shown the folly of divided societies, in which some are accorded less rights and status than others.

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<sup>67</sup> "La tercera [cosa que nos los hace enemigos] es la diversidad de la lengua y de la letra y forma de escribir en todo diferente [...] también la diversidad en el traje, costumbres, usos y comidas, cosas que suelen causar discordia y parcialidades, aun entre los de una lengua, provincia y traje": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 80–81.

<sup>68</sup> Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 98–99.

<sup>69</sup> "[...] todos estos moriscos, en cuanto a la complexión natural, y por el consiguiente [en] cuanto al ingenio, condición y brío son españoles como los demás que habitan en ella, pues ha casi novecientos años que nacen y se crían en ella, y se echa de ver en la semejanza o uniformidad de los talles con los demás moradores de ellos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 81.

The strength of the Romans lay in their legions, whose soldiers were taken from all over the empire. They were chosen for their valour and strength and given full Roman citizenship: “The defence [of the Empire], I say, was in the hands of its legions and armies. They choose as soldiers, from the whole Empire, from everywhere, the bravest and strongest young men. When they accepted them as soldiers they made them Roman citizens, if they were not that before”.<sup>70</sup> Romulus, on conquering the Albanians and the Sabines, made them Roman citizens and integrated them with the others. Such a policy made Rome great: “Romulus, when he conquered the Albanians and the Sabines, made them Roman citizens and integrated them with the rest, and this counsel was continued and always practised and is responsible for the greatness and the prosperity of Rome”.<sup>71</sup> These new Romans were so fully integrated that their origins were forgotten: “For this reason they were most successful in mixing them [with the other citizens] and in forgetting their names and lineages, so that there were great numbers of them and there was no distinction between the descendents of the old citizens and the new ones”. This complete integration was termed ‘permixti3n’ by S3neca, as mentioned in Chapter 4.<sup>72</sup> Such good sense is not the practice in Valencia’s own society where the Moriscos are considered inferior: “[...] because they, as they are treated now, do not consider themselves to be citizens, as they do not hold honourable positions or public office and are considered inferior, shamed and kept apart from others in the churches and the confraternities, and in other places and assemblies”.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> “La defensa estaba en las manos, digo, en las legiones y ej3rcitos. Escogían en todo el imperio, en cada parte, los mancebos de m3s valentía y fuerzas para soldados. En el recibirlos para soldados los hacían ciudadanos romanos, si no lo eran antes”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 132.

<sup>71</sup> “R3mulo, luego como venció a los albanos y sabinos, los hizo ciudadanos romanos y los mezcl3 con los dem3s, y este consejo se continu3 y llev3 siempre adelante y fue la causa de la grandeza y prosperidad de Roma”. Valencia declares his source to the history *Antiquitates romanae* by Dionysius Halicarnaseus (60 BCE–10 CE: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 120–121.

<sup>72</sup> “Por eso lo acertaron ellos mejor en mezclar y confundir el nombre y el linaje, de manera que fuesen innumerables sin diferencia ni distinción de los descendientes de los antiguos o de los nuevos ciudadanos”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 122.

<sup>73</sup> “[...] porque ellos, en la forma que ahora est3n, no se tienen por ciudadanos, no participando de las honras y oficios p3blicos y siendo tenidos en reputaci3n tan inferior, notados con infamia y apartados en las iglesias y cofradías, en en otras congregaciones y lugares”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 81.

Following the passage cited above, in which he described the similarity in appearance of Moriscos and *cristianos viejos*, Valencia refers to the political writings of both Plato and Aristotle: "And so Plato, Aristotle and others who write about the state teach that those who are barred from becoming magistrates, judges and public servants are not truly and fully citizens, and their status is that of slaves."<sup>74</sup> Such practices lead to great resentment among those who are excluded from full rights of citizenship and thus threaten the security of the state: "Aristotle reprimands a great deal the republic of the Lacedaemonians [Spartans] because in their land they had those Helots [slaves]. They ought to have either expelled them or made them friends and citizens, so they would mix with them and become integrated with the rest". Using medical imagery, Valencia considers that such a situation is like a boil that is festering and threatens to infect other parts of the body.<sup>75</sup> He continues: "One should note that, for all the slaves that a household or state possesses, it is maintaining so many enemies".<sup>76</sup> When some citizens feel aggrieved, public security is menaced: "[...] for as long as some of the citizens feel resentful and unhappy there, the state lacks security and peace and cannot control and subject the disgruntled ones, even if they were tied up with diamond fetters".<sup>77</sup>

Plutarch, in his life of the reforming King Agis IV of Sparta (c. 245–241 BCE), extols the practice of Licergus (c. 700–630 BCE), the legendary lawgiver of Sparta, who judged citizens by their customs and deeds instead of according to their lineage: "Licergus, their lawgiver, did not distinguish between strangers and citizens because of their birth, but

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<sup>74</sup> "Y es así como Platón y Aristóteles y otros que tratan de repúblicas lo enseñan, que los que son excluidos de magistrados y judicaturas y oficios del gobierno no son verdadera y enteramente ciudadanos, y se refieren a nombre y condición de siervos": Plato, *De legibus*, Book 6; Aristotele, *Politics*, Book 3, c. 1, in Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 81.

<sup>75</sup> "[...] porque es como un achaque o apostema perpetua que se tiene con daño y riesgo ordinario de corrupción, con que se venga a inficionar y corromper los miembros sanos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 82.

<sup>76</sup> "A la República de los lacedemonios [...] reprehende mucho Aristóteles por haber tenido en la tierra aquellos 'ilotas', que debiera o haberlos echado fuera o hecho amigos y ciudadanos, que se mezclaren y confundieran con los demás; [...] "Conviene tener entendido que cuantos esclavos hay en una casa o república, tantos enemigos mantiene": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, pp. 82–83.

<sup>77</sup> "[...] mientras alguna parte de los ciudadanos se tuvieren por agraviados y descontentos de la república, no puede ella estar con seguridad ni paz ni tener quietos y sujetos a los descontentos, aunque los ate con grillos de diamante [...]": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 128.

for their customs and way of life”.<sup>78</sup> Valencia criticises attitudes of exclusion of his own society; arrogance and self love lead people to care only for their own flesh and blood and lack the generosity of an open society. Such pride makes one remember and fear God’s threat against Babylon and other unjust empires (Is 33: 1). He reiterates his assertion that unjust kingdoms cannot survive: as the *pastor mayor* will punish the careless or wicked *pastor menor*, so will divine vengeance ensue from any unjust decision taken on ‘el problema morisco’. It is particularly reprehensible to disguise worldly motives with professions of religious zeal:

And when something is done out of political expediency, and for man’s convenience or for human purposes, to try to cover it up by calling it piety, zeal or religion is deceitful and greatly offends God, who is simple and good. Under such a pretext, to kill, or exterminate, or diminish their numbers, would be counsel very similar to that of King Saul, under very similar circumstances.<sup>79</sup>

From the general Valencia then moves to the particular: even though there may be very few sincere Christians among the Moriscos one cannot anathematize a whole group, particularly when they have been baptised: “However small the number of faithful may be [...] one should hold back and not anathematize a whole people, who at the very least have been baptized and who profess the faith, until they have been convicted according to the law, or until the community gives grounds for a just war”. Such a deed would be not merely unworthy of a benevolent and pious king but would be unjust and inhumane; only God can wipe out whole cities and nations, as happened in the case of Sodom, where he only pardoned Lot.<sup>80</sup> To expel all the Moriscos

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<sup>78</sup> “Que Licurgo, su legislador, no diferenciaba a los forasteros y los ciudadanos por nacimiento, sino por las costumbres y modo de vivir [...]”: Plutarch, *Agis*, 6, 2–3: Valencia, *Obras*, IV 2, p. 127. The Morisco Miguel de Luna made this point also in his *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo*: “[El rey Jaçob Almançor] no tenía atención a sangres ni a altos linajes” ([King Jaçob Almançor] paid no heed to blood lines nor to those of high lineage): Luna, *Historia verdadera*, p. 251.

<sup>79</sup> “Y cuando una cosa se hace por conveniencia política y por comodidades i intentos humanos, quererlo encubrir con nombre de celo, de piedad y religión es astucia que ofende mucho a la Divina Simplicidad y Bondad. Querer, pues, con tal pretexto matar o acabar los moriscos o irlos apocando, sería consejo muy semejante a aquel del rey Saúl en materia semejantísima”: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 100. In an attempt to hold on to power against David, God’s elect, Saúl planned to exterminate the Gabaonites: (2 Sam 21: 1–6).

<sup>80</sup> “Por pequeño número que haya de fieles [...] se debe retener la mano y no hacer anatema toda una nación, a lo menos bautizada y que profesa la fe, mientras no fueren

would involve expelling many who are innocent, including children. Such an injustice would cause the kingdom to be destroyed: "Even if nothing is taken from them, banishment in itself is a grave punishment, and affects a greater number of people and amongst them many innocent children [...] nothing that is unjust and that offends God, our Lord, will be of use and have a happy outcome for the kingdom, rather it will quickly bring about its perdition".<sup>81</sup>

Valencia then makes a direct and emotive appeal to the King. How can one justify before either God or man an act of such great injustice as mass expulsion? What Christian heart could bear to see such a vast number of baptised people on the beaches, who were crying out to God and the world that they were Christians and that their property and children were being taken from them out of greed or hatred? Valencia continues his rhetoric by challenging the king directly: "That this deed was being carried out by the greatest king on earth, the only one that was truly Christian and Catholic, if not out of avarice at least out of cowardice, out of fear of disarmed men who had surrendered, and that he had in his kingdom, under his will and control".<sup>82</sup> Valencia's perception of kingship is here influenced greatly by Dio Chrysostom.<sup>83</sup> The most important qualities that a king should have are those of courage and good judgement, or justice: "[Kings and princes] have to be brave and have natural good judgement, [qualities] that have been increased supernaturally from on high, and an aptitude for government, which is the anointing from on high, which makes them truly superior".<sup>84</sup> Even with such qualities, kings and princes need also good guides as one cannot become a good fencer without a skilled

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uno a uno legítimamente convencidos o la comunidad diere causas de justa guerra": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 102.

<sup>81</sup> "Aunque no se les quite nada, el destierro de suyo es pena agrande y viene a tocar a mayor número de personas y entre ellos a muchos niños inocentes [...] ninguna cosa injusta y con que Dios nuestro Señor se ofenda será útil y de buen suceso para el Reino, antes le apresurará perdición": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 104.

<sup>82</sup> "Que esto hacía el mayor rey del mundo, el únicamente cátolico y verdaderamente cristiano, si no por avaricia a lo menos por cobardía, de miedo de hombres rendidos y desarmados y sus vasallos, que los tenía en medio de su reino en sus manos y voluntad": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 106.

<sup>83</sup> The divine source of a good king's authority is from Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 205–206 and is found in *Discourse I*, p. 9; the most important kingly qualities are in *Discourse II*, p. 85.

<sup>84</sup> "[Los reyes y príncipes] han de tener valor y discreción natural, sobrenaturalmente acrecentada con aliento e impulso de lo alto, y con espíritu de gobierno, que es la unción de arriba que los hace verdaderamente superiores: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 129.

fencing master. Valencia ends his treatise with a prayer that God may send strong, wise and prudent counsellors to the King:

May God through his goodness open the eyes of this kingdom, and give its superiors and counsellors the spirit of prudence and advice, so that they may recognize and choose, and spirit and strength, so that later, in time, they do what is most fitting for the service of the king, our Lord, and for the public good of the realm and for the edification and advance of the Catholic Church, for the glory of God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.<sup>85</sup>

Valencia has thus used the image of the shepherd king to inspire Philip III to act wisely and justly when deciding how to solve 'el problema morisco'. He has also issued an indirect threat by pointing out the consequences of behaving otherwise. Aware of the King's dependence on others, he has reiterated the importance of choosing wise and upright counsellors and reminded the king that he himself is responsible, ultimately, for whatever decision is taken. Decisions that are taken for selfish reasons and that do not put the welfare of the kings' subjects first will incur the wrath of the Almighty: Divine Providence will punish in this life political decisions that are inspired by political expediency. The Moriscos should not be expelled *en masse*: such a decision would be both illegal and unjust and would be punished by God.

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<sup>85</sup> "Dios por su bondad abra los ojos de este reyno, y les dé a los superiores y consejeros de el espíritu de prudencia y consejo para que conozcan y elixan, y aliento, y fortaleza para que hagan luego con tiempo lo más conveniente al servicio de el rey, nuestro Señor, a el público bien de el reyno, y a la edificación, y aumento de la yglesia católica, para gloria de Dios, por Jesu-Cristo, nuestro Señor": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 139.

## CONCLUSION

Both the Catholic Apologists and Pedro de Valencia used Divine Providence to argue for or against the expulsion of the Moriscos. The Catholic Apologists contended that millenarian prophecies and apocalyptic visions were signs of divine warning before the event and of approval, after it had taken place. The legend of Santiago Matamoros also bolstered their arguments: a vision of the King challenging the Dragon of the Apocalypse and urged on by Santiago's war cry "¡Cierra, España, cierra!" (Close in on them, Spain!) was reported to have been seen in Santiago de Compostella in 1609. Aznar Cardona interpreted this apparition as predicting the overthrow of the forces of Islam by Philip III, leader of the foremost Christian nation and crusading right arm of the Counter Reformation. Failure to banish all the Moriscos would have incurred divine wrath, which had revealed itself in apocalyptic phenomena seen in Aragon and Valencia in the early seventeenth century. Aznar Cardona saw the King as an embodiment of the third plague-bearing angel of the Apocalypse and Guardian of the Gates of Paradise, standing with his two-handled, blazing sword to expel "the bold betrayers of its holy laws". The Apologists contended that Philip's conquest of Spanish Islam was predicted also by the Great Conjunction of 1603, as such rare celestial configurations heralded great changes in world religions.

Pedro de Valencia also cited Divine Providence when he attempted to persuade Philip III not to expel the Moriscos. Whereas the Catholic Apologists saw all the Moriscos as apostates and crypto-Muslims, Valencia knew that such a blanket condemnation was both untrue and unjust. Mass expulsion could not be undertaken on either ethical or legal grounds: the Moriscos were baptised Christians unlike the orthodox Jews, expelled in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella. Valencia wrote at length on the duties of kingship, postulating a king of transparent virtue, a shepherd king who put the good of his subjects before all else. He argued that Divine Providence would punish those monarchs who put political expediency before moral rectitude and cited many instances from Sacred Scripture and history in support of this point.



He urged Philip III to stand up to those people who would clothe self interest in religious terminology.<sup>1</sup>

Valencia and the Apologists both rely on Sacred Scripture to support their arguments. However, the underlying perception of God is quite different. Valencia's God is the loving and forgiving Christ of the New Testament whereas the Apologists' one is the wrathful Yahweh of the Old Testament. Citing St. Paul's insistence that tolerance and compassion were hallmarks of Christianity, Valencia repeatedly described the Moriscos as 'flacos en la fe' (of weak faith) and stressed the importance of leading them towards Christianity by maternal compassion and good example; in this context he rejected, indirectly, the Purity of Blood Statutes that had legislated for a two-tier Christianity, in which the 'nuevos convertidos de moros' were relegated to second place and excluded from positions of honour in society. His patience, tolerance and faith in the eventual conversion of the Moriscos and the intelligent, thoughtful methods proposed to achieve this found no echo among those defending the expulsion. The Apologists' arguments are tinged with racial prejudice and implicitly adopt the hierarchical values of Old-Testament Israel, where converts were not accorded the same status as those born Jews. Bleda and Aznar are anti-Semitic in their attitudes and fail to see that to reject all the Moriscos indiscriminately is to ignore those whose conversion was genuine.

The difference between Valencia's perception of God and that of the Apologists was very apparent in the controversy about the fate of the Morisco children. The latter believed that parents considered to be crypto-Muslims were deemed to have forfeited their rights to their own children and argued that if these children had been validly baptised they could be taken away from their heretic parents to be reared by *cristiano viejo* families. In reality, what was being proposed was the *encomendado* system that, in practice, differed little from slavery.<sup>2</sup> Valencia, the humane Christian humanist, decried the cruelty of such a measure and stressed that the primordial Christian virtue was charity or love: "Taking from them something which is theirs, and is much

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<sup>1</sup> "If their property is taken from them, the whole deed becomes tainted, as it arises from that greed, even if it is represented otherwise" ("Si se les quitan las haciendas, infámase todo el hecho, como procedido de aquesta codicia, aunque se le dé otro color": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> This system had been used after the Second Revolt of the Alpujarras (1569–1571): N. Cabrilla Ciézar, "Almería en el siglo XVI: moriscos encomendados", *RABM*, LXXVIII (1975), 41–68.

loved, is a very harsh and serious punishment and requires greater justification".<sup>3</sup>

The *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos* was Pedro de Valencia's attempt to influence, directly, Philip III in the resolution of 'el problema morisco'. Although he considers the various solutions that have been put forward, his main objective is to offer his own proposals. Like most of his contemporaries he does not discuss the notion of cultural diversity, which was so eloquently argued in 1567 by the noble Morisco Don Francisco Núñez Muley. Valencia would have been quite familiar with the Moriscos as there were many in Extremadura. Hornachos, some of whose Moriscos became corsairs in Salé, Morocco, after the expulsion, was close by.<sup>4</sup> He had spent part of his childhood and adolescence in Priego de Córdoba where there was a large community of Moriscos.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Valencia's division of Moriscos into crypto-Muslims and a minority of true Christians is based on personal experience. Difficult as the task may be, he advocates new conversion attempts but only after serious efforts have been made to change the minds and hearts of the Moriscos to make them receptive to Christianity. His proposals for more effective evangelization show keen psychological and pedagogical awareness.

Valencia's assertion that the Moriscos will be won over to Christianity by love places him in the tradition of Hernando de Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada: "These must be taught, as St. Paul said, like little children whom one coaxes with milk, and not by harsh treatment".<sup>6</sup> Valencia was quite convinced, like many anti-Islamic polemicists, that after a preliminary introduction to the principles of philosophy,

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<sup>3</sup> "Quitándoles algo de lo que es suyo y tan querido es más riguroso y grave el castigo y require mayor justificación": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> An anonymous play called, simply, *Los moriscos de Hornachos* was published in *Modern Philology* at the turn of the century. It is based on historical events, which have been described in two articles by Marc Pelorson. It appears to have been written in the year of the expulsion as propaganda in favour of the expulsion. The Moriscos are represented as stereotypical practitioners of 'la secta de Mahoma', who indulge in idolatrous worship of Muhammad, practice Islamic rites and savagely murder Christians (Anon., *Los moriscos de Hornachos*, ed. M. C. Bourland, *Modern Philology*, I (1903-1904), 547-562; II (1904), 77-96.

<sup>5</sup> Juan Aranda Doncel gives the number of 11,000, the number found in the census of 1581: J. Aranda Doncel, *Los moriscos en tierras de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1984), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> "Estos han de ser enseñados, como dezía San Pablo, como niños con leche, y no con mantenimiento duro": Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica*, fol. 186<sup>v</sup>.

exposure to Christianity would lead all right-minded Moriscos to embrace 'la verdadera religión'. However, he stresses that attitudes must be changed. The Moriscos must be attracted to Christianity by the loving good example of the *cristianos viejos*. They must be warmly embraced within the Church and all discriminatory attitudes must be foregone. Once members of the Church, they must have full access to material honours and the inferior status conferred by the *limpieza de sangre* statutes must be quite obliterated. By means of an analogy with Roman history, Valencia points out that a state that esteems some of its citizens less than others and forces them to live apart is laying up trouble for itself in the future: "For it is like an abscess or constant disease, which is harmful and carries the risk of contagion, so that the healthy members may become infected and diseased".<sup>7</sup> He urges the use of preventative medicine or *epicrassis*, so that by disseminating the Moriscos and assimilating them fully into Christian society, the potentially harmful humour of the dissident Moriscos may be neutralised: "When the expulsion of the [evil] humour is not feasible, blood-letting, purges or other violent methods are not used, but by means of what is called *epicrassis*, the humours are corrected, by invigorating nature, tempering and changing the venom with the infusion of better humours, good diet and the ingestion of medicinal foods".<sup>8</sup> As we shall see in the next paragraph, the *epicrassis* advocated by Valencia contrasts sharply with the more violent medical imagery used by the Apologists.

The attitudes of the Apologists differed greatly from those of Pedro de Valencia. The latter believed that all Moriscos were crypto-Muslims and quite beyond redemption and judged them by the harsh standards of the righteous, wrathful Yahweh of the Old Testament. In their review of the history of Islam, they used as sources mediaeval anti-Islamic polemic, messianic prophecy and numerology. They were ardent support of the Purity of Blood statutes and their hostility towards the Moriscos was reflected in the medical imagery used by

<sup>7</sup> "Porque es como una apostema, y achaque perpetuo, que se tiene allí con daño, y riesgo ordinario de corrupción, conq<sup>e</sup> se venga a inficcionar, y corromper los miembros sanos: Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> "Cuando la expulsión del humor no es hacedera, no usan entonces de sangrías ni purgas ni de otros remedios violentos, sino solamente por lo que llaman *epicrassis* procuran enmendar los humores, confortando la naturaleza, templando y alterando la malicia con <inmisión> de mejores humores, con buena dieta y uso de alimentos medicamentosos": Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 2 p. 109.

them; the expulsion of all the Moriscos was necessary for the good of the *cristiano viejo* majority just as amputation of part of the body is, at times, necessary to maintain the health of the whole: "These are the venom, the poison, the abscess and the deadly putrefaction of which our Catholic Galen of Galens has purged the Christian state of Spain".<sup>9</sup> Blas Verdú urged, similarly, a curative purging: "And thus Philip III, when he saw that Spain was burning with fever, because of the intermingling of the evil humour of the Moriscos [with that of the *cristianos viejos*], he pricked the vein and purged her [...]"<sup>10</sup> The Patriarch of Valencia, Don Juan de Ribera, urged Philip III to "cut off the arm to preserve the body".<sup>11</sup>

Bleda and Aznar Cardona, perhaps the most virulent of the five writers examined, went to great pains to link Muhammad with the Antichrist, which ties in with the reiterated associations they made between Muhammad the Devil. For their biblical exegesis, they cited recognised authorities such as Nicholas of Lyra and Joachim of Fiore, whose exegetical writings were so much used by the formulators of ambivalent, messianic, political prophecy. Much of the Apologists' biblical exegesis of the Book of Revelation, The Book of Daniel, the Epistles of St. John and the Psalms derived from mediaeval commentaries that linked Muhammad with these prophetic books. The numerology of the Kabbala was used to 'prove' once again the identification of Muhammad with the Antichrist; the opening of the fourth seal in Revelation was cited to show that the horse ridden by Death could be equated with Islam, which has brought death and persecution to the world and which can be linked also to Islamic sensuality. Such hostile and uncritical attitudes towards Islam would have undermined all attempts at the evangelization of crypto-Muslims. Bleda and Blas Verdú, both Dominicans, had spent some time attempting, unsuccessfully, to instruct the Moriscos.

Pedro de Valencia's plea to Philip III did not succeed and his fear that political expediency would prevail would seem to have been realised;

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<sup>9</sup> "Estos son el veneno, la ponçoña, la apostema y la corrucion [sic] pestilente de q̄ nuestro catolico Galeno de Galenos ha purgado el cuerpo mystico de la Christiana republica Española": Aznar Cardona, *Expulsion ivstificada*, fol. 62<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> "Y assi Felipe. 3, viendo que ardia en calentura España con la mezcla de tã mal humor como es el morisco, picole la vena y purgola": Verdú, *Engaños y desengaños*, fol. 139<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> "[...] cortar al braço para conservar el cuerpo": Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles*, p. 721.

from 1610, the year after the expulsions from Valencia, the works of the Catholic Apologists began to be published and attempted to justify retrospectively the royal edicts. Perhaps some were commissioned? Valencia's advice, that balanced reason and faith, could not prevent the mass expulsion; his scepticism, reasoned arguments and use of many precedents taken from history and sacred scripture were to no avail. Instead, the prejudice, unscholarly credulity and anti-Semitism of the Apologists, which formed the ideological framework of their texts, heralded the expulsion as part of God's plan and as a great and glorious deed. Such a perception of the event also inspired Philip III to commission in 1610 the execution by local artists in Valencia of eight very large paintings of the expulsion of the Moriscos from various ports in Valencia and their arrival in North Africa. All but one of these paintings can still be seen at the Fundación Bancaja in Valencia.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> One of the paintings is in private hands. The entire collection was put on exhibition in the Bancaja and thus can all be seen in the exhibition catalogue, published in 1997: *La expulsión de los Moriscos del Reino de Valencia* (Valencia: Bancaja, 1997).

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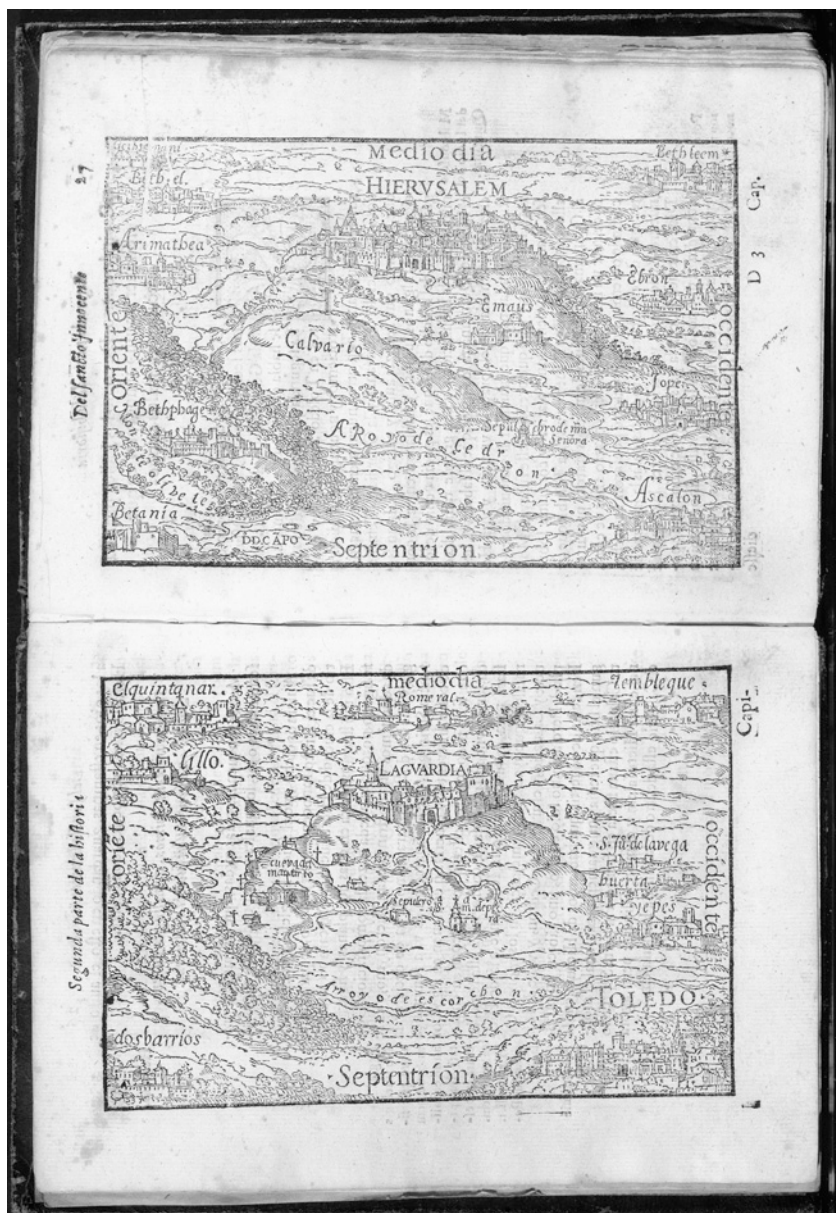
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BENEDICTVS ARIAS MONTANVS

Hispania illustras patriam, MONTANE, secunda  
Doctrina fama & fertilis eloquij.  
Surgit fulminea per te noua gloria linguae,  
Vatibus & sacris lux rediituna datur.  
Maeste bonis animi vir magne & postera saecula  
Munere victuro demerere Pater.

Bf

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