Saving the Lost Sheep: Mission and Culture in Pedro Guerra de Lorca’s *Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis ex secta Mahometana: Ad Parochos, & Potestates* (1586)

Dissertation

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by

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ABSTRACT

In the present study I analyze the *Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis ex secta Mahometana: Ad Parochos, & Potestates*, written by doctor of theology and citizen of Granada Pedro Guerra de Lorca in 1586. In order to respond to the various themes of the *Catechisms of Instruction*, I have divided the study into six chapters. The first two chapters deal with the “Morisco question” of early modern Spain and the Christian polemic in the West against Islam from the Middle Ages to Early Modernity. In chapter three, I discuss Pedro Guerra de Lorca’s own polemic against Islam. I dedicate chapter four to Christian mission and the Church as portrayed by Lorca. Chapter five constitutes a consideration of the author’s portrayal of the Moriscos and their cultural traditions, and in chapter six I analyze the theologian’s proposed methodology for assimilating the Moriscos. I argue that Lorca’s catechism is unique because it engages central problems dealing with the Moriscos in early modern Spain, provides unparalleled descriptions and interpretations of Morisco culture, sometimes not even available in *Aljamiado* literature, and emphasizes a sincere desire for the full incorporation of these New Christians of Muslim descent at a volatile and difficult time of Spanish history. I have appended to the study my own translation of the *Catecheses* into English.
Dedication

Dedicated to my wife Anna.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are a number of people I wish to thank in the process of writing this dissertation, as well as preparing for the doctoral degree. I wish to thank my wife, who has supported our family and me through our present endeavors. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to my advisor, Vicente Cantarino, who introduced me to the *Catecheses mystagogicae* of Pedro Guerra de Lorca. At the time, I was very much struggling with my studies. I spoke with him, and I found a tremendous mentor. Of course I also wish to thank my committee members Lúcia Costigan and Jonathan Burgoyne, who have offered assistance along the way, not only in the writing of the dissertation, but in my professional preparation in general. Gratitude is also due to Elizabeth Davis, who has provided invaluable input throughout my studies and on my current project. I would be remiss to not recognize the entire faculty of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese for an engaging program of scholarly study, and the support it offers to its graduate students. Finally, thanks to the Susan Karpus and Loanne Crane Awards, administered through the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, which helped finance my time in Spain, thus allowing me to become more intimately familiar with the culture and document I have studied for this project.
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INTRODUCTION

PEDRO GUERRA DE LORCA’S CATECHESES MYSTAGOGICAE PRO ADUENIS EX SECTA MAHOMETANA: AD PAROCHOS, & POTESTATES (1586)

The year 1492 generally marks the transition of Medieval Spain into the modern world. It was the year in which King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabel of Castile conquered Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in Hispania, expelled the Jews, and sent Christopher Columbus on the voyage that would lead to the discovery of the New World. The events contributed to the religious fervor of a Catholic nation, and it was only thirteen years earlier that the same monarchs had established the “Modern” Inquisition to persecute heterodoxy. The zeal and politics of the monarchs would eventually win the title “Catholic” from Pope Alexander VI (1596), in part to balance the title already conceded to the French king as “The Most Christian.” Nonetheless, they and their successors took it to heart. Under the leadership of Ferdinand and Isabel, for example, all the Muslims of the kingdoms of Granada and Castile were “converted.” Following an uprising initiated in 1499, the Granadan rebels were pardoned under the condition of baptism. In 1501, their peaceful co-citizens chose between exile and baptism, and a similar edict was promulgated in 1502 in Castile. The Muslims in the
kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia would experience a similar fate between 1526-1528, now under Charles V, Roman Emperor and king of Spain, an unfortunate result of the disastrous baptisms during the Germanías revolt (1519-1522). Spain now had the task of teaching doctrine to hundreds of thousands of Muslims who had been converted under questionable circumstances. The new converts were now legally Christian, and they came to be known collectively as “Moriscos,” New Christians of Muslim descent.

By the 1580s instruction and incorporation had not gone well, and it became common consensus among many Old Christians and much of the church leadership, most notably the Archbishop of Valencia and Patriarch of Antioch Juan de Ribera (reigned 1568-1614), that the Moriscos were as Muslim as the Moors of Africa and that they could never be assimilated into Christian society. It is at this time that the first real considerations of a mass expulsion from the peninsula begin to take place, particularly in the Juntas de Lisboa (1582), Portugal now under Spanish rule. The proponents of such a measure (and more drastic measures) felt justified by the fruitless catechetical efforts among the Moriscos by missionary priests, as well as the recent rebellion in the Alpujarras (1568-1571), which not only cost thousands of Spanish lives and the intervention of Philip II’s half brother Juan de Austria, but also the relocation of virtually all the Moriscos of Granada to Old and New Castile (1569-70). Nonetheless, Philip II, being the staunch Catholic that he was, would refuse such a measure, leaving it to be carried out by his generally inept, but no less pious son Philip III, who decreed the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of baptized Christians from his empire (1609-1614), certainly a unique event in history. But there were many voices opposed to such a
measure, and despite the unfortunate turn of events through the 1560s, 70s, and 80s, many clergy and devote laity continued to advocate the incorporation and assimilation of these New Christians of Muslim descent. Among these voices was that of Pedro Guerra de Lorca, citizen of Granada and doctor of theology.

Pedro Guerra de Lorca’s *Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis ex secta Mahometana: Ad Parochos, & Potestates, or Catechisms of Instruction for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect: to Pastors and Authorities*, calls for renewed efforts on the part of church and secular leadership, most notably, King Philip II. Published in 1586 by Pedro Madrigal of Madrid, it comes at a volatile time in Christian Spain’s “Morisco question,” that is, how to instruct and incorporate this particular group of New Christians not only into the Church, but also into the dominant, Christian culture. The tensions are felt throughout the *Catechisms* as the theologian attempts to convince his reader that the Moriscos are worth saving, reminds King Philip of the duties of a Christian prince to his subjects and the Church, to whom he is ultimately subject, and viciously attacks lazy priests, dissimulating judges, and self-interested lords who stand in the way of the Church’s mission to its flock. Lorca’s text is, however, primarily a catechism, and so it serves as a guide for those who minister to the Moriscos, whether ordained clergy or lay leadership. Writing in Latin, Lorca employs theological polemic against Muhammad and Islam, provides model sermons for instructing the Moriscos in the Christian faith, and dissertates on the meaning of Morisco cultural practices, as well as canonical and secular law.
The theologian’s breadth of knowledge, scope of discussion, and personal experience, as portrayed in the *Catechisms*, are so thorough that the text is altogether unparalleled in contemporary catechetical literature. Pedro Guerra de Lorca, in fact, includes some discussions on Morisco culture so valuable that they serve as some of the best sources available on the same. Pedro Longás attested to such in his still fundamental study *La vida religiosa de los Moriscos* (1915) when he addressed Morisco wedding celebrations, as well as death and burial rites practiced among these New Christians. The scholar Julio Caro Baroja mentions the theologian on two occasions in his study *Los moriscos del reino de Granada* (first published in 1957), affirming that Lorca “ha subrayado tal vez mejor que ningún otro autor algunos de los caracteres de los moriscos” (128). Moreover, Lorca’s perspective and interpretations of these customs and others, as well as the manner of catechizing and assimilating this population provide a valuable window into the Morisco question of sixteenth-century Spain. As Vicente Cantarino writes in his article “Notas para la polémica contra el Islam en España” (1991), Lorca’s catechism is notable for “el conocimiento que demuestra de costumbres moriscas” and its “argumentación en favor de una integración social de la población morisca, niños en escuelas cristianas, insistencia en costumbres cristianas, prohibición del uso de la lengua Árabe” (140-141). It’s “valor documental” is “de primer orden” (*ibid.*). Even scholarship in the present decade relies on this text, as when Benjamin Ehlers describes certain Morisco customs in his study *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* (2006), citing the *Catechisms* via Longás’ work (32).
Nonetheless, there has been no full-length study of Lorca’s *Catechisms of Instruction* up to the present date. Any scholarly discussion of the fundamental text has been relegated to a few pages within studies whose breadth and focus prohibit further development on the *Catechisms* themselves. This neglect may be, in large part, due to the primary language of the text, which, as we have observed, is Latin. However, it may also be due to the unfair portrayal of the text by Louis Cardaillac, a fundamental scholar of the theological nature of the Morisco-Christian polemic. In his *Moriscos y cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)* (1979, originally published in French in 1977), the investigator writes, “no tiene ningún conocimiento íntimo de la religión practicada en secreto por los moriscos” (320). In the same lines Cardaillac insists that Lorca follows the polemical common places against Islam within his text, and that he relies exclusively on Christian sources (*ibid*). Lorca does in fact employ many of the common places of the traditional medieval, Christian polemic against Islam. However, Cardaillac misleads the reader into believing that this use of the polemic implies nothing more than ignorance on Lorca’s part, or that all the text has to offer is theological polemic. In the present study I wish to fill the gap in our current knowledge of Lorca’s catechism through a study the same, and, through it, I hope to follow Longás’, Caro Baroja’s, and Cantarino’s footsteps in rightly indicating the great value of this text while at the same time correcting its misrepresentation by Cardaillac.

Following the introduction, I have divided the study into six chapters, the latter four of which address a specific theme of the primary work after a historical and ideological contextualization (chapters one and two). With the term “ideological” I
simply refer to the world-view on which Lorca bases his own interpretation of the problems which he addresses throughout the text, such as society, salvation, and assimilation. I neither question nor affirm these world views, since my purpose is only to provide the context and background necessary or helpful for understanding and appreciating the *Catechisms*. In the first chapter, I provide a brief discussion of the history of the Moriscos in Spain and their religious and cultural practices. Chapter two focuses on the medieval and early-modern Christian polemic against Islam, and its adaptation in a number of catechisms published in Lorca’s century. The third chapter is dedicated to Lorca’s own reading of Islam, his portrayal of the Muslims, and this tradition. In the fourth chapter we discuss the author’s understanding of Christian mission in his society, that is, who the Church is and to what it is obligated. We dedicate the fifth chapter to the theologian’s presentation of Morisco religious and cultural traditions, and thus who the Moriscos are and the significance of their way of life. The final chapter constitutes a focus on Lorca’s methodology for application: what the “remedies” he offers for the instruction and assimilation of these New Christians are and why he believes they might work.

My study, however, is more than a simple report of Lorca’s work within its context. In it I emphasize the missionary aspect of the polemical and catechetical literature of the Middle Ages and sixteenth-century Spain (chapter two) and of Lorca’s own project in the *Catechisms of Instruction* (chapters three through six). In cultural studies, there has been an increased focus on the political agenda of the Crown and the Church in early modern Spain. Such work as Elizabeth Mary Perry’s *The Handless*
Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain (2005) or collections such as Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain (1992), while not inaccurate, have deemphasized and, at other times, completely lost one of the principle goals of what has been simplified to an issue of one culture wishing to impose itself on another: that of a human desire for the well-being of another (i.e. his or her eternal salvation). Cardaillac notes the primary role that this played in the conflict in the already cited study: both Islam and Christianity believe that they are the way to salvation and require each faith to proselytize (83-84). Recent work by Maria Jesus Aldana García (1998) and Feliciano Delgado León (1996) has reiterated this point, but I would suggest that such a voice lacks in cultural studies in the North American academy at present. Part of my study is a response to this need.

I hope my study is not mistaken, however, as a defense of intolerance or an attempt to see the “brighter side” of religious and cultural persecution—something akin to “peaceful conquest” that has been so criticized in Colonial Studies. Rather, it is an attempt to more fully understand its complexity within a particular problem and a particular text, erasing the false opposition that seems to have been established between the desire for power or control and the salvation of other people—as if religious discourse were nothing more than rhetoric meant to conceal hidden motives. Religion was not simply a pretense, it was a motivating factor, and a very human and well-intended one, if well-intended means the desire to do someone good. I recognize other elements in religious acts: self-benefit (by evangelizing another I will receive a prize from God) and protecting the faith and culture of one’s own community (outsiders
with other values or beliefs might corrupt my own culture’s values and beliefs) are those that immediately come to mind. These concerns are present in both the historical context of Lorca’s work and in the *Catechisms* themselves, which I recognize throughout the study. However, the desire that the religious other be saved and enjoy the common good of the dominant (or, not dominant) has been too deemphasized. I believe that this desire is present throughout the sixteenth century in Spain’s dealings with the Moriscos, throughout the Middle Ages in the anti-Islamic polemic, and, particularly, that it is the principle motivating factor in Lorca’s catechism.

In the immediately following pages I introduce both the author and the text of the *Catechisms of Instruction*.

**Pedro Guerra de Lorca and the Catechisms of Instruction**

We know nothing about Pedro Guerra de Lorca except what we might infer from the *Catechisms of Instruction*. The title page and front matter indicate that he is a doctor of theology of Granada, specifically, as the royal grant of Lorca’s publication rights indicates, “vezino de la ciudad de Granada.” Though the author offers a clue to his origin in his *scholia* on the “Life of Muhammad,” it is not very helpful:

> We take up this work with zeal for the holy Iberian martyrs in the presence of the most pious archbishop of Granada, in these last days, from the native land in which we were born, though from the Herreras of Iberia in the Santillano Valley, born from the Guerra family. (15v)

Where this valley is I am not sure. The theologian also provides nothing more than slight clues concerning his preparation, which likely took place at the University of Alcalá de
Henares. Lorca cites Greek on several occasions, once specifically in the context of the Complutense Bible, the humanist project initiated by Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436-1517) at this university, a major center for humanist Biblical studies and theology founded by the same (76v). He later refers to his coaetaneos and their studies in the Complutense on a difficult issue of canon law (87v). Elsewhere our author speaks of the “lectures” of “the light of the School of Theology of the Complutense,” Doctor Mantius (138r).

Despite his obscure background, Lorca appears to have enjoyed a high position among his co-citizens, as his knowledge of Morisco culture, “laws about to come out,” and certain anecdotes indicate, in addition to his consistent and bold directives to King Philip II. Lorca alludes to his status among fellow-Granadans and ministers among the Moriscos, for example, within his dedication to his king, “Some individuals, in need of my assistance and comfort in the work of this time, come, [...] [so] that I address you to this extent about their [the Moriscos’] spiritual salvation” (6r). Again, in the “Exhortatory Epistle,” the author writes:

Truly indeed, zeal for our neighbors’ salvation, many presbyters’ insistence, and parish priests’ request for this catechetical work’s compilation and publication impel me until we are assured in the Lord that the need of such a work for the support of the pastors and the solace of their charges is about to cease. (9r-v)

With regards to the “presbyters,” that is, the bishops, Lorca even directs them, in the eleventh catechism, on how to use the *Catechisms of Instruction* and divulge them to their priests, a task which is required by their office (116r). Lorca evidently commands
this respect from experience, which he incorporates throughout the text: conversations with Moriscos, eye-witness accounts, warnings to the reader that he is not making matters up; he has seen and experienced the problems he discusses first-hand, and therefore best knows their remedies.

We might still ask, however, if Lorca was so important, why do we not know anything more about him and why did he not write any other works? Our historical knowledge of the players and important figures in the “Morisco question” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not wanting, and so neither can I fully answer this question. Lorca writes his Catechisms of Instruction rather late in the whole affair: there is already serious discussion of a general expulsion at the official levels of state, central figures such as the archbishop Juan de Ribera are becoming increasingly vocal proponents of the hopelessness of the sincere conversion of the Moriscos, and there was simply no need for another Latin catechism for the instruction of the Moriscos in the few years remaining before such a measure became reality (1609-1614). Ribera himself published a catechism out of obedience more than conviction in 1599, but it was unoriginal and in Spanish. Finally, the University of Oxford holds two additional texts, commentaries on the Summa teologiae of Saint Thomas Aquinas, written by a Pedro de Lorca, of the Cistercian Order. However, the years of publication, 1614 and 1616, are probably too late, given the advanced preparation and experience the Catechisms suggest for our author at the time of their publication.

How this work was received or whether it actually served the purpose for which it was intended by its author is also difficult to say. I have not found mention either of
the work or of its author in any of the primary documents available through modern editions or studies, nor have those scholars who have addressed the *Catechisms of Instruction* suggested such evidence (Cantarino 1991, Baroja 1957, Cardaillac 1977, Longás 1915). Its language likely made the text accessible only to a very choice readership, and there was simply no need for a second edition, given the general expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609-1614. Nonetheless, the work did appear to enjoy some success as indicated by current holdings of the only known edition of 1586.²

Through my own bibliographic research I have found 36 copies of the work contained in 22 depositories in four countries: Spain, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. Most of these copies originated from the libraries of colleges of particular religious orders, largely the Jesuits. Of course the Company of Jesus was an important presence in the missions in Spain and abroad, as well as education in general. David Coleman has recently indicated their role in the instruction of the Moriscos of Granada under the archbishopric of Pedro Guerrero in his study *Creating Christian Granada* (2003).

The copy with which I have worked originates from library of the Abadía de Montserrat via Doctor Vicente Cantarino. Those passages difficult to read or missing I have supplemented with the electronic facsimile the University of Granada has made available from its holdings on-line. Each of the following depositories contains one or more copies, though I have excluded “Private Holdings”: Biblioteca de la Abadía de Montserrat, Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca de la Provincia Franciscana de Castilla-La Mancha, Biblioteca Público del Estado of Hesca and of Burgos, Cantoblanco of the
Universidad Pontificia Comillas de Madrid, the Real Academia Española, Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla, Seminario Mayor o Conciliar de San Julián, Universidad Complutense Madrid, Universidad de Granada, Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, Universidad de Sevilla, Universidad de Valladolid, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich, the University of Oxford, the University of Leeds, Cambridge University, Newberry Library, and Princeton University.

The *Catechisms of Instruction* are a collection of sixteen distinct catechisms, each pertaining to its particular theme. The work begins, however, with several introductory sections, including a charged dedication to King Philip II, an “Exhortatory Epistle” directed to “the presbyters and beloved pastors of the proselytes,” the intended readers, and lengthy sections of polemical material. The titles accurately reflect the themes of these passages: “The Life of Muhammad the False Prophet and Minister of the Devil,” followed by the author’s *scholia* on the same, an alphabetical “List of the False Muhammad’s Errors,” and, to conclude, “On Muhammad’s Errors in General.” In the dedication, Lorca invites Philip II to live up to his Christian calling and work alongside the Church as it responds to the needs of the Moriscos, brothers faltering in the faith. The exhortatory epistle invites all Christians, but particularly bishops and priests to wake up, save the lost sheep, and not hide the talent that Christ has given them, otherwise they will be condemned to Hell. In the “Life,” Lorca copies lengthy sections of Saint Eulogius’s *Memoriale sanctorum* and *Apologeticus martyrum* (martyred 859), whose interpretation he provides in the *scholia*. The “List” summarizes the polemical content of the individual catechisms, and each point is followed by an indication of where to find
it in the main text. The “Errors in General” are two intense folia enumerating all the heretics with which Muhammad corresponds.

Each of the catechisms properly speaking begins with a scriptural verse, all of which come from the letters of Paul. Since Paul is generally censoring his Gentile converts for “Judaizing” in these passages or, at the very least, offering arguments on the passage of the Old Law in the light of Christ’s coming and his gospel, these passages have a long history in Christian orthodoxy’s apologetic against Judaism, heresy, and Islam. Usually an introduction of a few lines follows, where Lorca reflects on the dire situation of the Moriscos and Spain and, therefore, the immediate need for the Church to respond. Lorca then tells his reader how he can help, interprets the original context of the Pauline teaching, and then applies it to the Moriscos. The actual application is often rhetorically directed to the Moriscos, and thus might serve as a model sermon to be adapted by those who actually preach to them. The reader’s attention is then brought to the practical problems that Lorca wishes to address. Approximately half of the catechisms are dedicated to explanations and interpretations of Morisco customs and why and how they should be removed. Several catechisms are dedicated to methodologies for evangelizing or instructing different populations: Muslims (slaves or in foreign missions), Morisco children, and Morisco adults. Lorca writes the remaining catechisms to discuss the role of ecclesiastical and secular authorities in this work, together with the pertinent laws already existing or that should exist.

Lorca does not typically keep these themes separate, and he often alludes to or even discusses those issues early on that he wishes to take up in a later catechism,
likewise repeating similar arguments already made in earlier catechisms. Regardless, the organization of his work makes sense and his arguments are generally clear. Also clear are the titles of each catechism. These are the titles listed in their order, which might serve as an indication of their contents: “On Denying the Sect of Muhammad,” “On Putting Aside Dress and Language,” “On Avoiding Invocation to the Devil,” “On Abolishing the Rite of Circumcision,” “On Fleeing Fornication,” “On Overcoming Other Rites of the Muhammadan Sect,” “On Avoiding Superstition Concerning Foods,” “On Prohibiting Communion with Saracens,” “On Making a Proselyte from the Muhammadan Sect,” “On the Teaching of Children,” “On Catechizing the Unlearned,” “On Caring for the Dead,” “On Laws Existing and Laws to be Made,” “On Punishing Heretics,” “On the Spiritual Government of the Proselytes,” and, finally, “On the Temporal Government of the Proselytes.” In addition to their theological and polemical content, catechisms 1-7 and 12 contain information on Morisco culture, some of which is difficult to find even within the Aljamiado literature, as Pedro Longás indicated many years ago.

If his own statements are to be trusted, Lorca was asked to produce this work by bishops and priests alike, as we have indicated above, and it was written for them. But the motivation was also interior, as the theologian indicates in the dedication, “Zeal for the house of God consumes me” (6r). For Lorca, this manifests itself in a number of ways, namely, “solicitude for the sick,” whom he otherwise calls neighbors and brothers in the faith; his accountability to Christ for the “talent” he has received (i.e. the priesthood); and his duty to contribute to the well-being of his nation, as Cicero
indicated many centuries before (6v). The effort required for writing such an extensive
and thorough catechism and the variety of themes he addresses certainly suggests the
theologian’s sincerity, though it may have been complimented by some professional
ambition. He concludes the dedication with a subtle and unusually brief appeal to royal
favor in six words: “and me [...] raised up in your favor” (8v). What he wishes to offer is
clear: (1) a refutation of the “Muhammadan Sect” and “those intensely devoted to the
works of the flesh” and (2) the needed knowledge to identify the Muhammadan
“sickness” among the proselytes and heal it (6r-v). Though Lorca’s primary intended
readership is bishops and priests, his mission essentially involves these, the king and
other secular officials, Old Christians, and even Moriscos already stable in their faith:
“All Catholics who profess to be [...] instructed by Christ, [...] as they are ministers of a
gift and have accepted the talents, will have to give an account of each one to God” (9r).

The theologian clearly outlines how he wishes to go about the present work (6r-v). Each section ultimately includes (1) refutation, (2) motivation, (3) identification, and
(4) instruction. The refutation is generally realized as polemic against Islam, whether
against Muhammad, the Qur’an and Islamic “doctrine,” or the Muslims themselves. By
attacking these matters, Lorca believes, as was custom, that he proves that Islam is not
a true religion and that Christianity is. The motivational aim of the work is for his
readership, that is, to inspire them to lay all worldly care and fear aside and to work
among Christ’s sheep, whether those slightly ill or those thoroughly diseased and lost.
This motivational factor is always present; it takes the form of promises of success and
heavenly reward, threats of divine punishment and eternal condemnation, and showing
just how desperate the situation is for the Moriscos as New Christians in danger of condemnation and for Spain as a Christian nation. Throughout the Catechisms, Lorca attempts to identify the “sickness” among the Moriscos, and, though it includes accurate and inaccurate discussions of Islamic belief, it is more generally geared towards traditions that he closely links to “superstitions” alive among these New Christians. If his readership learns to recognize these customs or, if it already knows about them, understands the real meaning behind them, then it might begin to combat them, which constitutes Lorca’s end goal: action. The theologian explains how different sectors of the Church might actually go about the catechesis, cultural assimilation, and regulation of the proselytes.

**Source material and authorities for Lorca’s Catechisms of Instruction**

Pedro Guerra de Lorca generally credits his sources and the marginalia are full of authorities ranging from the Greek and Latin doctors to the most recent papal decrees and works by such authors as Juan de Torquemada or Cisneros, as well as the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Heavily basing many of his arguments on canon law, Lorca typically cites the original contexts, whether from the councils of Toledo or a decree by Clement V. The bulk of these references, however, are from the collections found in the Corpus Iuris Canonici. The Corpus includes the Decretum Gratiani, the Decretales Gregorii P. IX, the Liber sextus decretalium Bonifacii P. VIII, the Clementis P. V. constitutiones, and the Extravagantes. It is the authority of canon law from 1582 onwards in the early-modern period, when Rome produced the first standardized edition of the primary collections of canon law circulating at that time. As is standard practice, the theologian refers to the
sections by the first several words of the chapter in which the authority might be found, together with an abbreviation of the divisions of the particular collection. A brief summary of what these abbreviations may be helpful for the reader. For the three parts of the Decretum, they are “C” (causa), “D” (distinctio) or “q” (questio), and “c” (capitulum). For the Decretales, the Liber sextus, and the Clementis the divisions are “L” (Liber), “t” (titulus), and “c” (capitulum). The Extravagantes follow the divisions of the previous three collections, though only after the distinction between the Extravagantes Ioannis and those not from the aforementioned pontiff.

Because Lorca also addresses the secular authorities to a significant extent, however, he is careful to provide arguments for his approach to the assimilation and instruction of the Moriscos in civil law, too. In varying instances, the theologian cites the Partidas of Alphonse X of Castile, the Wise (1221-1284), and royal law under John II of Castile (1405-1454), the Catholic Monarchs, Philip I (1478-1506), Charles V (1500-1558), and Philip II (1527-1598). Lorca generally limits his citation of the first two of these monarchs to penalties for committing heresy, practicing magic, justifying slavery, and breaking certain matters of law designed to protect the faith, such as Christian women having sexual relations with Jews or Muslims. From the Catholic Monarchs onwards, our author cites laws specifically pertaining to the governance of the Moriscos and those ministers who deal directly with this group of New Christians such as secular judges and magistrates. Those laws or royal pragmatics dealing with prohibitions of certain Morisco customs pertaining to dress, language, marriages, birth, and the like, are of particular interest to Lorca because of his own approach to these issues. The same is true for
those prohibitions against the bearing of arms by the Moriscos and the unlimited mobility of the Moriscos. Though he often cites only the original context, much of the civil law comes directly from the Nueva recopilación, which was the normative collection of civil law in Spain beginning in 1567. It is divided by book, title, and law.

Another important source for Lorca’s Catechisms of Instruction is the polemical work of his predecessors. The theologian sometimes cites these sources and sometimes does not. His two principal sources seem to be the works of Saint Eulogius (d. 859), as made available by Ambrosio de Morales’s edition of 1574, and Theodore Bibliander’s collection of polemic published in 1543 and again in 1550. Lorca’s reliance on these works is to be expected, as the former was a major success in Spain and the latter was the most comprehensive and available collection of polemic against Islam in early-modern Europe. The entire “Life of Muhammad the False Prophet and Minister of the Devil” comes from sections of the Apologeticus martyrum and the Memoriale sanctorum, as Lorca notes in the subtitle and the marginalia. However, Lorca also borrows an erroneous polemical point on Christ’s conception by Mary from another section of Eulogius’s Memoriale in the “List” and in the first Catechism (17r-v, 25v). It might be noted that Saint Eulogius and his contemporary and friend Alvarus of Cordoba (d. c. 861), who composed the martyrial of Eulogius as well as the Indiculus luminosus, were the apologists of the martyrial movement in Islamic Cordoba of the 850s. Due to the circumstances, their texts are extremely violent against Islam and Muhammad in general, and Lorca adopts this tone in his own polemical material.
For our purposes, the important works of Theodore Bibliander’s collection include Robert of Ketton’s twelfth-century Latin translation of the Qur’an, completed under the auspices of Cluniac abbot Peter the Venerable (d. 1154), Riccoldo di Montecroce’s (d. 1320) *Confutatio*, and the fourth book of Juan Luis Vives’ *De veritate fidei Christianae* (published posthumously in 1543), entitled “Contra sectam Mahometi.” Lorca cites all three of these works, though he only refers to Ketton’s translation as the “Qur’an rendered in the Latin language,” and he plagiarizes a significant part of the first chapter of Montecroce’s *Confutatio* in the “On Muhammad’s Errors in General” without making any reference to the original work. I reason that Lorca was relying on Ketton’s version of the Qur’an because most of our theologian’s Qur’anic citations match word for word with it. The same is the case with “On Muhammad’s Errors in General” and Riccoldo’s *Confutatio*, though in this case there is the added support of Lorca’s citation of the sixth chapter of Riccoldo’s work in the ninth catechism, “On Making Proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect” (94v). Finally, we might note that Ketton reorganizes the Qur’anic material in his translation, resulting in the impossibility of citing the sacred book with accurate references to its divisions. Lorca, of course, adopts this problem. Both the *Confutatio* and Luis Vives’s *De veritate* pit logic against Islam, the Qur’an, and Muhammad to ridicule all three and exalt Christianity, and this approach is likewise employed by Lorca throughout his *Catechisms*.

Lorca cites only experience for his cultural knowledge of Morisco tradition. Some of this knowledge must have been common place for many living in Granada until the expulsions from 1569-1570. Such may well be the case of Lorca’s portrayal of Morisco
dress, body piercing, and language, though his intimacy to what they “mean” may be
due to personal interaction with the Moriscos, as he himself indicates (36v). Other
points of knowledge appear to be from unique experience, either through actual
witness or discussions with Moriscos willing to open up to him. Such is the case with the
theologian’s portrayal of magic and augury practiced among the Moriscos in the third
catechism, where he writes, “These [rites] have presented themselves to us [i.e. Lorca],
our pastors will easily learn the rest [...] from the very proselytes...” (47r). Elsewhere
Lorca alleges that pregnant servants, though Christian, of Muslim lineage, are easily
duped into sexual promiscuity with their masters. He adds, “And let no one discern that
this thing has been said by us for nothing,” and then appeals to the authority of his
knowledge, “If someone knows the carnal mores of Arabic women, he also accepts the
true testimony from those slaves tinged with that blood” (54v). Such appeals are
common place for Lorca, and though the author cites Christian travelers as a source for
information on wedding celebrations in the fifth catechism, he seemingly does so only
to confirm that these celebrations he has described correspond to those observed in
Africa by Muslims (64v).

1 I thank Professor Elizabeth Davis for bringing this source to my attention.
2 Most references to the Catecheses are made according to the title I have indicated.
However, Louis Cardaillac, in his Moriscos y cristianos, cites “in gratiam parochorum et
saecularium potestatem” in place of “Ad Parochos, & Potestates.” In a brief reference in
Entre monjes y musulmanes: el conflicto que fue España (1978), Vicente Cantarino cites
the title as Cardaillac, completing it with “in quibus varii errores Mahomedi repelluntur”
(235). Nonetheless, it is the same year and publisher as I have indicated.
CHAPTER 1

THE MORISCOS: A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

Pedro Guerra de Lorca’s *Catechisms of Instruction for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect* engages in one of the greatest “questions” of his century, that of Christian Spain’s struggle to religiously instruct and culturally assimilate the Moriscos. The theologian refers to the contemporary debate throughout his text, and he often engages it with his own suggestions, with supporting arguments for those steps he considers “productive,” and interpretations of historical events over the previous decades pertaining to the Moriscos. As we have briefly discussed in the introduction, Lorca likewise cites law (both civil and canon), papal bulls, and personal conversations at length to convince his reader of his own project for the instruction and assimilation of the Moriscos, as well as to show that his ideas are in conformity with his king’s and his church’s mission. Lorca likewise offers descriptive, sometimes brilliant, pictures of contemporary Morisco culture, as well as an interpretation of the meaning of such practices as clothes and the food prepared at wedding feasts. In order to understand Lorca’s text, then, the reader needs to have some understanding of the history of the Moriscos in Spain, as well as a general idea of their religious and cultural life. In the present chapter, I wish to offer the context of this debate that plays a central role within
the *Catechisms of Instruction*. In the first section, I provide a brief history of the Morisco problem, in the second I review some of the main aspects of Morisco cultural and religious life. At the beginning of each section, I have provided a brief description of my sources, as well as why I have chosen them.

**The Morisco Question**

There have been a great many studies written on the Morisco question. In my own presentation of the problem, I have chosen to follow several of the foundational texts of the field, as well as a few more recent studies. The two “fundamental texts” on which I base the following discussion are Pascual Boronat y Barrachina’s *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (1901) (2 vols.) and Henry Charles Lea’s *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (1901). The work of these two historians continues to serve as the groundwork of all modern studies of the Moriscos, and the latter has even recently enjoyed a translation into Spanish replete with critical and historical notes (2001). Though both works contain ample documentary material, Boronat’s collection is the most extensive source of primary documents available in a published study. Many recent studies, though worthy in their own right, are largely derivative in terms of historical information. Two other works which I have found of great value are Benjamin Ehler’s *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* (2006) and James B. Tueller’s *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain* (2002). These studies provide new insight into their respective topics. Ribera was a key political figure in the most concentrated Morisco region of Spain, and Ehlers’ study is a welcome contribution on
our historical understanding of his rule. Tueller provides a unique focus on the Moriscos: that of the Moriscos of Castile, before and after the exile of the Granadans. The Moriscos of this kingdom were recognized to be better assimilated and instructed in the faith, and Tueller’s study balances the common belief that the Moriscos were all “secret-Muslims.” I introduce other studies as appropriate.

My choice of texts is also conceptual, as particularly those of Boronat and Lea provide a point of departure for my own reading of this history. Again, though the studies of Boronat and Lea date 1901, the problems they discuss and their perspectives continue to influence contemporary scholarship. Boronat consistently refers to the “ley histórica” that would prevent the mixture of Christian and Morisco culture, and therefore make inevitable their expulsion. Lea, however, suggests that Spanish intolerance and an inconsistent Church and Crown made their sincere conversion and cultural assimilation impossible. Boronat has been discounted, as few contemporary critics would defend such a “historical law.” Rather, I would suggest, most critics agree, fundamentally, with Lea, and blame bad governance, greed, and self-interest for the catastrophe of the general expulsions. I agree, too, but focusing exclusively on these factors lead to a misplaced logic: that this eventual failure excludes the possibility that Crown and Church sincerely sought the salvation of the Moriscos out of human concern for the cultural other. Lea reflects this logic, as he accepts contemporary “complaints” with little complication, ultimately affirming that “… the Church ignored its responsibility and did nothing to win over and instruct those whom the Inquisition was persecuting for their ignorance” (48). What Boronat offers and Lea and latter critics deemphasize is an
emphasis on the religious obligations Spain was attempting to live by. While not denying Spain’s failure, in the following pages I wish to show, not unlike Boronat, that it nonetheless did seek to respond to its “Christian mission,” no matter how inconsistently.

First, however, we might explain the term “Moriscos”: it refers to the Christians who converted from Islam in the late fifteenth century and the first third of the sixteenth century. These Christians were descendents of the Mudéjares, that is, Muslims who remained after the conquest of the Muslim taifas by the Christian kingdoms. As Anwar G. Chejne notes in his study *Islam and the West: The Moriscos, A Cultural History* (1983), the term becomes current in the fifteenth century, though “The history of the Mudéjares began in 1085 with the fall of Toledo to Alfonso VI.” (2). As the Christian forces progressed towards the south after the Berber and Arab invasions beginning in 711, the capitulations to those cities and regions that surrendered were generally generous, if they surrendered, and allowed the Muslims to continue practicing their religion. As the last Muslim kingdom in the Peninsula fell to the Christian forces of the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile, the last ruler of the Nazri dynasty Boabdil agreed to similar conditions in December of 1491. The war itself lasted from 1582 to 1592, when Boabdil handed the keys of the city to the Catholic Monarchs. The terms, however, were violated within the first decade, and conversions followed. Thus began the “Morisco question.”

Immediately after the conquest of Granada, the Catholic Monarchs appointed Fernando de Talavera (1428-1507) as the first archbishop, who left his bishopric of Avila
in 1492 to respond to his new duties. Confessor to the queen, his approach to the new archdiocese was one of tolerance and missionary zeal. He sought to convert the new Spanish subjects, but honored the terms of the treaty at the same time. Thus, Henry Charles Lea describes the archbishop in ideal terms: “Talavera was a true apostle, whose zeal was tempered with charity and loving kindness” (26). Even if masses of Muslims came to the Church in the newly-conquered kingdom, as Lea suggests, the results were unimpressive to the Catholic Monarchs, who visited in 1499 and invited Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros to aid in the work. The archbishop of Toledo proved considerably more aggressive, even consecrating the mosque of the Albaicín as the church of San Salvador. During his time in Granada, mass baptisms occurred, purportedly a product of threats and torture, particularly of the renegados or the elches (converts to Islam from Christianity before Granada fell), and who were protected under the Capitulaciones.

The forceful approach by the Franciscan cardinal produced an uprising in the city in 1499 as a crowd of angered Granadans surrounded the Alcazaba where Cisneros sought refuge until the Count of Tendilla and Talavera came to his aid and brought temporary peace. Lea writes that these two individuals “promised them pardon, as it should be understood that they had not revolted but only sought to maintain the capitulations, which should be strictly observed in the future” (34). After Ximénez sent letters defending his action to the Catholic Monarchs, the archbishop of Toledo found support for his actions and returned to the Albaicín and “offered the alternative of conversion or punishment” (35). These Muslims opted for the former, and they thus became “Moriscos.” James Tueller explains why Cisneros decided to ignore the
provisions of the *Capitulaciones* for these wayward Christians in his study *Good and Faithful Christians*: “Ximénez, insisting that these former Christians were renegades and heretics, began to return them forcibly to the fold of Christianity” (17). For Cisneros it was a question of Church law taking precedence over civil law, and Pedro Guerra de Lorca would later defend the cardinal’s action in like manner, explaining that Cisneros and Talavera “only [received] those to baptism whom they knew [were] born from one believing parent by the trustworthy testimony of witnesses” (97r). Since canon law required that a child follow the faith of the “better parent,” the two bishops, Lorca contends, were required to enforce the Christian pledge of these apostates for the good of their own salvation.

Regardless of any justification the Crown and Church might have offered, the Granadans were dissatisfied and open rebellion spread to the neighboring Alpujarras in the same year. Crushed by 1501, the new Spanish subjects were given the choice of baptism or exile, and the vast majority chose the former. Thus, the “Morisco question” really begins: there were tens of thousands of “New Christians” whose conversion was not only questionable, but entirely unprepared for, at least in the sense that these converts from Islam had received no Christian instruction or formation prior to baptism. The need for this instruction was great, and it would soon be compounded by Isabel II’s pragmatic of 1502. In this year, the queen issued a decree expelling all the *Mudéjares* from the kingdoms of Castile. Similar to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, it was understood (though not stated) that the people in question might remain if they accepted baptism into the Church. Though many left, the vast majority stayed, and they,
too, needed instruction in their new religion. Preaching, catechesis, and the publication of catechisms thus took on a central role in Spain’s attempts to fully incorporate these new members into the flock of Christ. These attempts often took place only in law, due to lack of funds, and, often, reliable ministers. Nonetheless, sincere and reportedly productive attempts were made by such figures as Juan de Dios (1495-1550) and Juan de Ávila (1499-1569), zealous workers of the Church in sixteenth century Granada who enjoyed wide-spread support among the populace.

These initial baptisms have been rightfully criticized as a breaking of a treaty (in the case of Granada) and religious intolerance. However, left as such, the concerns of the Crown and Church are left too simplified. Lea describes, for example, the conditions of expulsion in the pragmatic of 1502 in Castile: the Mudejars had to leave through the ports of Biscay, or they would face death; they could not go to any of the other kingdoms of Spain, nor even to Barbary or Turkey; children under fourteen (males) or twelve (females) were to remain; and those adults who were found in the kingdom after April would be condemned (44). Thus, the scholar argues that the edict was “hypocritical,” since it created the appearance of choice between exile and baptism, but only made the latter possible (45). However, both the Crown and Church believed that Muslims did not know God, and that they would spend an eternity of suffering and agony after this life. By encouraging them as much as possible (punishment, exile, or baptism), they believed they were securing the possibility of salvation for their “infidel” neighbors. Such an approach was justifiable for Christian leadership in early modernity, including the secular leadership. As Thomas Aquinas wrote in his On Kingship, “The aim
of any ruler should be directed towards securing the welfare of that which he undertakes to rule,” and ultimate welfare is salvation (1:2). We might discern this desire in the words of the general pardon of the Granadan rebels in February, 1500, published by Lea, conditioned on baptism: “por facer bien e merced a los vecinos e moradores mis vasallos nuevamente convertidos...” (40). The difficulties presented to the Mudejars were cruel, but the “evangelical mission” was conceptually present.

Despite the fate of the Muslims in Granada and Castile at the turn of the century, the Mudejars of the Kingdom of Aragon, which included Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, were protected by the strong interests and autonomy of the powerful lords. Nonetheless, in 1510, the Cortes de Menzón reflected the fear of these lords that similar events might take place, and they would guarantee that the Muslims of the kingdom would neither be expelled nor forced to convert. This situation, too, however, would soon change. While Charles I, king of Spain, was receiving the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire in the Low Countries, the Germanías rose up against the land-holding nobility in 1520. Since the Muslim vassals of the lords were a major source of revenue through their agricultural work and exorbitant taxes, they soon became the target of the uprising. The Old Christian guildsmen believed that if these Muslims became Christians, they might no longer serve as a cheap and unfair form of wealth for the nobles. Thus, groups of the rebels rampaged through the countryside of Valencia giving the Muslim vassals the option of baptism or death, though many were killed even after accepting baptism. Lea traces the progression of these baptisms from Játiva to Gandía and beyond.
(63-66). The rebellion was finally crushed in 1522, but the damage had been done, and the Church and Crown wished to reap the benefits.

Thousands of Muslims had received baptism at the hands of the Germanías, and it was unclear whether these baptisms should be binding. Many of the lords assured their vassals that the baptisms were invalid, and that they could therefore return to the practice of Islam. However, because of the “indelible” mark of baptism, the matter could not be so easily decided. Did the violence imposed on the Mudejars invalidate their ability to receive the sacrament? Furthermore, many of the “converts” had attended Mass and received other sacraments within the Church before returning to their previous faith. Were they not apostates? Finally, what should be done with the mosques that had been consecrated as churches during the same rebellion? The delicacy of the situation would be remembered even up to the years of expulsion, but the matter was nonetheless decided against the “Moors,” and, from the Church’s view, in favor of their salvation. For example, citing Juan Bautista Pérez, bishop of Segorbe, Boronat explains the two reasons for preserving the validity of the baptisms:

el uno porque no fue aquella violencia precisa qual fuera si les ataran y los baptizaran contradiziendolo ellos, sino solo fue violencia condicional, que escogiesen bapismo o pena, la qual aunque no se deviera hazer, pero ellos quedaron obligados a guardar la ley xpiana por ellos recibida [...] el otro fundamento fue porque ya avian purgado la dicha violencia y ratificado el bapismo con aver despues continuado a yr a missa y recebir sacramentos y tratarse como a xpianos. (132)
Nonetheless, the topic was greatly debated, and it took the intervention of theologians, secular leaders, and the pope to come to terms with what had happened. As Lea tells us, Charles V, having returned to Spain, sent to Pope Clement VII asking for a dispensation in 1524 from his promise to the Cortes not to seek the conversion of the Mudejars, which he received in the same year (73-74). In 1525, Charles V issued an edict of expulsion, giving the Muslims of the Kingdom of Aragon between one (Valencia) and two months to leave (Aragon and Catalonia), unless they were baptized (86-87).

Given the difficult time frame, the interests of the lords, and the fact that the "Moors" were not eager to leave the land that had been their home for hundreds of years, the Mudejars of the Kingdom of Aragon soon became Moriscos, and Spain found its long-sought religious unity. The Emperor had many reasons to favor baptism beyond that of the desire for the salvation of his subjects: it would break some of the power of the lords, it would reduce the animosity of his Old Christian subjects, and it would win the favor of the Church. Nonetheless, such concerns do not mean that neither Crown nor Church were not also seeking the good of the Mudejars (Moriscos upon baptism), according to their own understanding. After citing the papal bull of the 15 of May, 1524, Charles V writes, in a letter contained in Boronat’s collection, in 1525 not only that “we wish that the only and Christian law of the faith of Christ be observed un-violated by all those inhabiting the aforesaid kingdoms and principality,” but that the pastors of the Church also be solicitous for “restoring the healthy and the convalescing worshipers of Christ to the benefit of salvation...” (405). Thus, the twofold goal of preserving the Christian republic and saving the “convalescing” (i.e. the new converts) are present.
When we dismiss such comments to cover up the “rhetoric” of political ambition, we create a false opposition and fail to appreciate the complexity of motives. While such language undoubtedly helped “justify” what the crown wished to do, it also indicates, in part, why it wanted to do it.

Nonetheless, catechetical efforts were wanting or completely failed, and the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Aragon, particularly of Valencia, and those of Granada remained, in large part, culturally distinct. Many Moriscos continued to practice Islam. Some did so in secret, but other communities lived isolated enough from the dominant Christian culture that they could openly follow their faith. Other Moriscos professed the Christian faith, but continued to dress, speak, and live differently from their Old Christian counterparts. In his aforementioned work, James Tueller writes, “Both before and during the expulsion, the Spanish Catholic Church policed the religious life of the Moriscos as a potentially heretical intersection of Christianity and Islam” (3). Tueller further explains, however, throughout his book that whereas the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Granada (before their expulsion) and of the Kingdom of Aragon remained largely unassimilated, those of the kingdoms of Castile were often regarded as orthodox Christians and indistinguishable from their Old Christian neighbors. Despite the differing degrees of orthodoxy and assimilation of the various Morisco communities, many officials of the Crown and the Church failed to discriminate. Drawing on Boronat’s study, Tueller notes that “As early as 1580, royal counselors assumed that the Morisco ‘nation’ was ‘as Moorish as the Moors of Algiers’” (ibid.).
Spanish policy towards the religious and cultural assimilation of the Moriscos wavered between “gentle” instruction and aggressive coercion. Generally opposed in their ideological stances, both Henry Charles Lea and Pascual Boronat y Barrachina recognize this inconsistency (*passim*). In Granada, for example, the Inquisition made some visits to the kingdom in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, but was not established in Granada until 1526. Throughout the first decades, however, the friction between the Moriscos and the Old Christians resulted in the segregation of the city, thereby allowing the former to continue many of their traditions within the privacy of their communities, as David Coleman explains in his study *Creating Christian Granada*. In the region of the Alpujarras, however, the Moriscos experienced greater autonomy due to their isolation, and could therefore even practice their ancestral religion openly. This *modus vivendi*, however, came to a turning point when Charles V visited the city in 1526 and received complaints by the Moriscos regarding the corruption of royal and ecclesiastical officials. The Moriscos alleged that while officials exacted taxes and tithes from them and would accuse them of being secret Muslims, they did not receive instruction in their new faith. These officials even stood in the way of their incorporation into the Church by their bad example.

The results were not what the Moriscos had hoped for, though the commission that the emperor set up to investigate the abuses did confirm their complaints. Coleman describes two principle duties of *junta* in the royal chapel of 1526, “… to identify what did and did not constitute crypto-Muslim practice among his Morisco subjects; and […] to eliminate the endemic corruption among church and state officials whose abuse of
power [...] inhibited the Moriscos’ effective assimilation” (119). The resulting pragmatic of the same year would have lasting consequences for the Granadan Moriscos. Boronat traces the process of the junta, and cites their decision “que mientras se vistiesen y hablasen como moros, conservarian la memoria de su secta y no serian buenos christians” (216). The prohibitions included language, dress, baths, dances, weddings, and other cultural traditions of the Moriscos. Though Pedro Guerra de Lorca alleges that these prohibitions were put aside for a time because of the Turkish threat on Vienna (their application required the impossible presence of the emperor, who went to his brother Ferdinand I of Austria’s aid) (37r), the reason was more likely the 80,000 ducats offered by the Moriscos for its stay (Boronat 216, Lea 217, Coleman 123). The cultural prohibitions were given a plazo of forty years, but other provisions for the instruction and assimilation of the Moriscos remained, including the introduction of the Holy Office.

Similar policies were developing in neighboring Valencia, too. After the crown confirmed the legitimacy of the baptisms wrought by the Germanías revolt, it also demanded that the remaining Muslims of Valencia attend religious instruction, wear a distinctive half-moon in blue on their hats, not carry arms or work on festive days, adore the Eucharist when being paraded through the streets, and “no tocasen á la zala ni practicasen otras ceremonias moriscas” (Boronat 153). The aggressive edict resulted in numerous revolts, and eventually in the already mandated baptism of the remaining Muslims in the kingdom (now to be completed in 1528). Regardless of the mass conversions, the Moriscos of Valencia managed to arrive to an agreement with the Crown and the Inquisition in 1526 (published in 1528) protecting many of their cultural
practices and avoiding the introduction of the Holy Office into their affairs for forty years for 50,000 ducats (Lea 96). The provisions were affirmed for Valencia and extended to the entire Kingdom of Aragon in 1528 due to the intercession of the cortes, though the Inquisition would often ignore them (ibid.). Louis Cardaillac portrays the state of Islam and Christianity until the general expulsions of the seventeenth century in these terms: “la comunidad morisca mantendrá vivas sus costumbres religiosas y, en la medida de sus posibilidades, continuará en secreto practicando el Islam” (32). The affirmation reflects the tensions in the Kingdom of Aragon and in Valencia in particular.

Therefore, though there were, legally speaking, no more Muslims left in Spain, there were hundreds of thousands of poorly instructed and unconvinced Christians of Muslim descent. The task at hand, therefore, was their religious instruction and their assimilation into the dominant, Christian culture. The former appeared clear, since Islamic and Christian doctrine were ultimately exclusive: the Moriscos would participate in the sacramental life of the Church, know and recite the appropriate confession of faith and the prayers of the faithful, and come to accept and believe Christian doctrine. This full incorporation into the Church would require the rejection of the five pillars of Islam: the confession of faith, the prayer, the zakat, the hajj, and the fast of Ramadan. The latter problem of assimilation would be more hotly debated, since it was unclear whether such practices as language, dress, bathing, names, and wedding celebrations could rightfully be considered “un-Christian” or particularly “Moorish.” As we have seen in the royal actions of the 1520s in Granada and Valencia, the crown was willing to waver on this problem, and many Christians, New and Old alike, believed that such
customs could rightfully be regarded as regionalisms rather than opposed to Christian culture.

Throughout the following decades, the Moriscos would walk a fine line between Christianity and Islam, and it appears that they were always suspect of being, at best, bad Christians or, at worst, secret Muslims. Many Moriscos who were convinced Muslims were largely isolated from the Islamic world and would fall into non orthodox practices and beliefs. Some Moriscos were sincere Christians, but their faith was often a mix of Christianity and Islam, and other Moriscos would hold onto both faiths as mutually compatible. In his study of the records of the Holy Office in Cordoba between 1569-1600, “Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces a través de las relaciones de causas del tribunal de la inquisición de Córdoba” (1989), Juan Aranda Doncel reports a number of interesting cases. In two, Moriscos allegedly denied the virginity of Mary (22), which stands in direct contradiction to the Qur’an. In another case, a Granadan Morisco captured during the rebellion in the Alpujarras (1569-1571) stated that she lived as a “good Muslim” among Muslims, and a “good Christian” among Christians (19). However, even those Moriscos thoroughly convinced of their Christian faith suffered in their status as New Christians, as another Morisco reports to the same office, “los moriscos estaban en esta tierra como alimañas que ni eran moros ni xpianos” (23). Part of the suspicion on the part of the Christians was due to the practice of taqiyya, which allowed the Moriscos to remain “faithful” Muslims while outwardly practicing Christianity. As Cardaillac points out, one of the dangers of this practice was that outward conformity could eventually result in a heterodox and hybrid faith (91).
There were a number of efforts to respond to these difficulties and the resulting tensions between the Old and New Christian communities, as well as to instruct the Moriscos in their new faith while protecting them from undue oppression by their neighbors or the Inquisition. These efforts included edicts of grace, royal orders to the Inquisition to proceed “benevolently” with the Moriscos, ending the segregation of living quarters, ecclesiastical and secular support for intermarriage between Moriscos and Old Christians, and laws prohibiting Old Christian discrimination against their New Christian neighbors. Pedro Guerra de Lorca recalls many of these initiatives throughout his *Catechisms of Instruction*, and asks for their renewal. Nonetheless, there remained considerable and mutual resistance to any attempt on the part of authorities of bringing together the two populations. For example, Louis Cardaillac speaks of attempts by authorities to force the Moriscos to bury their dead in the same cemeteries as the Old Christians in Valencia and Aragon. The scholar tells us, “... el decreto real disgustó tanto a moriscos como a cristianos viejos [...] ‘como si fueran condenados en alguna cosa infame’” (39). However, not even authorities were in agreement on these attempts.

When the archbishop of Toledo suggested that the Moriscos only be allowed to marry Old Christians in 1598, he was told that Old Christians would never submit to such unions and, even if they did, the Old Christians themselves would be perverted by the tenacity of the Moriscos (Lea 293-294). Nonetheless, the attempts show that there was a concern for the “salvation” of the Moriscos, both temporal and eternal.

Regardless, the Moriscos had good reason to resent their situation within the Spanish context, not only because of the questionable circumstances of their or their
ancestors’ conversions, but contradictory and discriminatory laws and practices. Two obvious forms of this discrimination occurred in the realms of vassalage and laws and practices based on *limpieza de sangre*. The first of these problems applied only to the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Aragon, whose ancestors had remained after the conquest of Valencia in 1238 by Jaime I of Aragon. We have discussed the context of their baptism, first under the Germanías and, eventually, by royal edict. However, the goal of the Germanías’ action was to rid the lords of their easy wealth through the labor and taxes of their Muslim subjects. If they became Christian, which they did, then they would no longer be subject to their lords. It did not happen. As the king sent preachers to instruct and baptize the new converts, the lords resisted. Boronat explains that “no quisieron tolerar que sus vasallos se convirtiesen, ni menos, perder sobre ellos los derechos que tenían...” (139). By 1528, Charles V had to concede to the wishes of the lords to proceed with the baptisms of the Muslims. Lea captures the predicament of the situation for the Moriscos: they were obliged to live as Christians and were now subject to the Inquisition, “but remained Moors as respected liabilities and inequality before the law” (183). Many ecclesiastics would violently criticize the lords for such a practice, and even question the legality of the arrangement, including Pedro Guerra de Lorca in his *Catechisms of Instruction* (131v). But such an agreement does not negate the Crown’s wish for the salvation of these subjects, but only its ability to enact it.

Preoccupation with *limpieza de sangre* or “purity of blood” was a phenomenon prevalent throughout early-modern Spanish society. It first applied to *Conversos de judíos*, but later came to affect the Moriscos, too. In his study *Les controverses des*
Albert A. Sicroff traces the development of statutes discriminating against “impure” Christians in different contexts beginning in the fifteenth century, when massive numbers of Jews converted to Christianity, either due to outright popular violence or to remain in the peninsula after the orders of expulsion. Many Old Christians doubted the sincerity of the converts, but also resented their ascent in social status, both within the Church and within the noble families (29). The first of these statutes occurred in 1449 in Toledo, when a popular uprising against New Christians was provoked. Alonso Cota, a New Christian, offered aid to Don Alvaro de Luna who was raising funds to defend Castile against the aggression of Aragon (32). The citizens of Toledo felt that this petition for one million maravedís violated their privileges, and despised Cota’s actions (ibid.). After the crowd was calmed and a series of “official accusations” against the New Christians were made, it was decided that the “Conversos étaient indignes d’occuper des charges, privées ou publiques, dans la ville de Tolède et dans tout le territoire sous sa juridiction” (35). This suspicion and exclusion of the New Christians would eventually come to be adopted by various religious and secular organizations throughout Spain, but was largely popular, and severely criticized by intellectuals, theologians, and even royal officials.

The degree to which the Moriscos were subject to or victims of these statutes and practices, whether of gremios, religious orders, or public office is not as clearly understood as in the case of the Conversos, but discrimination played a part in making their assimilation difficult. Sicroff explains, for example, that the role of Moriscos within high society, politics, and ecclesiastical posts is simply not well understood (26).
Furthermore, it seems that many Moriscos did enjoy significant status that could be difficult for the Conversos to attain. Tueller cites the Junta de Teólogos debating the impending expulsion in his study Good and Faithful Christians, “What should be done with the Moriscos [...] who are clergy, public officials, militia members...?” (154). Despite the exceptions, however, many scholars cite the discriminatory practice based of limpieza as a significant factor in the “Morisco question” (Ehlers 22, Tueller 167, Cardaillac 53, Lea 197, et al.). Pedro Guerra de Lorca attests to the same at several points in his Catechisms of Instruction, even advocating that those Moriscos who assimilate should be “freed from all the infamy of New Christians” (133r). The theologian suggests the same for those Moriscos who marry Old Christian women, since he views the discrimination as a major barrier to their assimilation (ibid.). Such critique speaks to the real goal of religious and cultural assimilation Lorca and others held for the Moriscos, and thus stands in opposition, even if ineffective, to popular practice.

As the latter half of the century progressed and Philip II rose to the thrown (1556), Spanish policy towards the Moriscos became increasingly aggressive as it became more and more evident that their instruction and incorporation were not progressing. The particular concern was with the Moriscos of Valencia and of Granada, since these kingdoms constituted the heaviest concentrations of the New Christians. As Boronat explains, Philip II’s policy towards the Moriscos was at first inconsistent, and he appears to have been simply attempting to keep the matter under control in the face of more pressing matters with France and the Low Countries (223-224). Lea further contextualizes the situation in the first decade of Philip II’s reign. The Moriscos of
Granada had been seeking protection from the confiscation of goods by the Inquisition, and offered Philip II 100,000 ducats, who referred it to the Suprema (222). Nothing more came of it, but it was an anticipation of the great problem on the horizon: the renewal of the laws of 1526 under Charles V (223). These laws not only sought the prohibition of Arabic, Morisco dress, and other cultural traditions, but also limited the ability of nobles and churches to offer asylum, which many Moriscos, including Monfíes (Morisco bandits), were depending on for their protection (224). Despite warnings of the appending danger, the king issued the decree in 1566, which was published in January of the following year (Lea 227-228, Boronat 247 ff). Such a refusal to accept payment or to postpone the enforcement of these laws speaks to Philip’s desire not only of ending cultural difference, but “winning” the salvation of his Morisco subjects.

This renewal and the aggressive attempt to actually put the provisions into practice would, nonetheless, prove to be lethal, both for Spain and the Moriscos. The provisions provoked the rebellion of the Alpujarras (1568-1571), which resulted in thousands of deaths for both “Christians” and “Moriscos,” the exile of the vast majority of Granadan Moriscos from the kingdom to different regions of Old and New Castile, and an intensified fear and suspicion of Old Christians and secular and ecclesiastical authorities of the Moriscos in general, regardless of their regions of origin. The severity of the situation might best be appreciated by turning to Boronat’s study, which is usually defensive and sympathetic to the Spanish crown’s and church’s policy. The city was full of non-native Granadans, alfaquies and monfíes were stirring up the native population, and the tension was so intense that the Marqués de Mondéjar requested
military aid from Philip II, who hesitated and did nothing: “semejante política [...] fué muy fatal para el porvenir [...] de nuestra península” (245-246). The rebels initially attempted to animate the Albaicín into rebellion in December of 1568, but failed—an experience that Pedro Guerra de Lorca would recount in his *Catechisms of Instruction* (128v). The rebellion nonetheless escalated in the nearby sierra of the Alpujarras, and would eventually require the intervention of Philip II’s half-brother Don Juan de Austria.

The war itself was plagued by murders and destruction by both sides of the conflict, and the lack of discipline in the Christian militias resulted in massacres of entire Morisco towns, some of which reportedly surrendered (Lea 238 ff.). Though the war came to an end in 1571 and the kingdom was left in peace, Granada was left virtually emptied of its native citizens. Many rebels had been killed, and others had been taken into slavery. Children who had been captured would serve only until twenty years of age, and then receive their freedom, as the *Nueva Recopilación* dictated (Lea 265). The peaceable citizens had been exiled by royal orders in 1569 and 1570. In his study of Granada, Coleman places the number of exiles around 80,000 people, leaving the countryside of Granada and entire neighborhoods of the city abandoned (185-186). The effects extended well-beyond Granada and the Granadan Moriscos, as Tueller writes: “Exiled Granadinos only made every Morisco community suspect. Possible enemies were spread throughout the Kingdom of Castile [...] The problem of evangelization and assimilation became general and not just one for Granada, Aragon, and Valencia” (27-28). The Moriscos of Granada had proven that they were capable of threatening the political stability of the entire peninsula, and, though this particular population was now
dispersed, there remained significant and threatening numbers in the Kingdom of Aragon, and the Moriscos of Castile that had largely assimilated were now subject both to the influence of less acculturated Moriscos and the suspicion of their Old Christian neighbors.

Philip II’s policy towards the Moriscos thereafter proved somewhat more careful. Whereas in Valencia the Moriscos were permitted to reach an agreement with the Inquisition preventing the confiscation of goods for 50,000 sueldos anuales in 1571 (Ehlers 83, Boronat 275), the exiled Granadans were strictly controlled. Following the Nueva Recopilación, Lea outlines some of the provisions: all of the exiles had to be registered in their new residence, where they were required to remain under penalty; nobody was allowed to return to Granada or travel in the Kingdom of Aragon under penalty of enslavement or the galleys; the new arrivals had to live interspersed among the Old Christians; arms were prohibited along with Arabic; and, when possible, children were to be raised by Old Christians (266-267). Lorca would cite many of these laws in 1586, arguing that they were salvific for the exiles and Spain if they were only applied in practice (passim.). The theologian also reminds his readers of the need for similar laws in Valencia, which, he insists, have already been suggested by a Valencian action but yet needed the support of the king (39r, 127v). Boronat includes the plan for a very similar action in his “Colección diplomática” of volume 1 of his study, and the attitude of its writers reflects that of Lorca: “para que [...] de aqui adelante bivan como christianos, y no tengan escusa para su mala vida con dezir que no han sido doctrinados ni
enseñados” (533). Regardless of the perceived benefits for the Moriscos of Valencia, Philip II thought it best to leave such recommendations aside for the time being.

The following decades witnessed repeated, but often poorly executed attempts at instructing and assimilating the Moriscos, now concentrated in Castile and the Kingdom of Aragon. Though particular to Valencia, the document immediately discussed above contained in the “Colección diplomática” of Boronat serves as a good example of some of these attempts: careful oversight by the bishop or his delegates of parish priests and catechetical instructors (rectores), regular visits of the Moriscos in their homes, the prohibition of Arabic, mandatory catechesis for Morisco adults, Christian schools for Morisco children, increased authority and protection for the alguaciles and other law enforcement officers for overseeing the Moriscos, provisions for priests and churches for isolated areas, imposition of fines on Moriscos who do not conform (which are to be applied to the maintenance of the church itself and the poor, “por que no piensen que esto se haze por llevarles sus dineros”), winning over the leading Moriscos through favors and privileges, and penalties for Old Christians that mistreat the Moriscos, among others (536-537). Though the dynamics of the “Morisco qruestion” were irreversibly changed following the rebellion of the Alpujarras, there was still hope that Spain might successfully instruct and incorporate these New Christians. However, the same cycle of corruption, resistance, and lack of funds would inhibit these attempts just as they did those of the first two-thirds of the century.

In face of the perceived failures, many ecclesiastical and royal authorities would soon despair of any hope for the Moriscos, and the first considerations of a general
expulsion began to take place in the 1580s. Juan de Ribera is undoubtedly the most
discussed ecclesiastical official in the debates about a general expulsion of the Moriscos
from Spain. Boronat, often an apologist for Ribera’s actions during his reign as
archbishop of Valencia, recognizes that, “en terreno religioso,” Ribera is, “el principal
promovedor de la expulsión” (85). In his study of the archbishop’s policy towards the
Moriscos in Valencia, Ehlers traces Ribera’s active promotion of the expulsion of the
Moriscos in a series of letters written to King Philip II and the Gran Inquisidor Quiroga in
1582 (99 ff.). The king would put off such recommendations, and even Philip III would
resist the measure for a number of years despite the archbishop’s advice. However,
Ribera was by no means alone in his belief that any attempt to instruct the Moriscos
would end in failure. In 1582, the Consejo de Estado would debate the same problem in
the Juntas de Lisboa, Portugal now under Philip II (I of Portugal), though it
recommended only the expulsion of the Moriscos of Valencia (Ehlers 106). Through
councils and memoriales, various ideas were entertained over the following decades,
including castration, enslavement of male Moriscos for the galleys, or their execution
(Lea 296-297).

Notwithstanding serious debate among secular and ecclesiastical authorities, as
well as numerous “final” attempts at winning over the Moriscos, the decision was made
for a general expulsion by Philip III, who succeeded his father in 1598. The Council of
State met in 1602, and considered the Morisco question. The participating members
(the Duque de Lerma (the favorito of the king), the Conde de Miranda, Juan de Idiáquez,
and friar Gaspar de Cordoba) agreed to recommend the expulsion of the Moriscos,
beginning with the Moriscos of Valencia and Aragon, and then following with those of Castile (Boronat 48). The council felt that expulsion was the most humane of other suggestions that had been made in the Junta de Lisboa of 1582, where “se platicaron medios sangrientos de hecharlos sino de quitarles las vidas y dar barreno a los navios reservando solamente los que se pudiesen cathequizar...” (ibid.). King Philip III initially agreed to the recommendation and suggested it be carried out as quickly and conveniently as possible (49). Lea briefly outlines some of the provisions: the Moriscos had a month to rid themselves of their property and leave Spain; they received “safe passage” to Barbary, or, if they wished to go to a Christian kingdom, the crown would attempt to “ensure their good treatment;” those that stayed would be executed (311).

This decision did not come to immediate fruition because of the more pressing issues abroad, and the Council of State was hesitant to impose such an edict due to security and religious concerns. If pushed into such a desperate situation, the Moriscos may well-resist to the point of shedding blood, and these people were baptized Christians and many of them were innocent of what might otherwise be considered a corporate crime. As Lea notes, there were more attempts at instructing and assimilating the Moriscos in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and “as late as 1607, we find the Council of State resolving to await its results before attempting severer measures” (312). Tueller traces hesitance towards the actual application of the expulsion within the Council of State as late as the year of expulsion (149). Nonetheless, by 1604, a peace settlement with England, the same with France a few years before, and a truce in the Low Countries removed some of the prohibiting factors, and in 1608 the
Council of State discussed the expulsion again. Though the lords of the Kingdom of Aragon might resist losing their profitable vassals, the Duque de Lerma suggested that the king might appease them by giving them “las haziendas de sus vasallos” (Boronat 116), and important clergy assured the king that he could morally execute the orders on account of Morisco perfidy. It was finally agreed, and the edict was published in 1609 in Valencia, in 1610 for the remaining realms of the Kingdom of Aragon, and in 1611 in Castile, which would require until 1614 to complete.

However, even amidst the expulsions there was concern about the “ethics” of such a measure, and various provisions ideally designed to avoid the loss of the innocent. Women married to Old Christian men could stay, the elderly would be allowed to remain, and there were various loopholes for “good Christians” to remain, though, as Tueller shows, this latter provision was difficult to implement, and the Crown appeared more and more bent on throwing out all the Moriscos (201 ff). However, one of the most difficult questions, and which show a true concern for the salvation of the other, is that of Morisco children. Those children who had not reached the age of reason were innocent of any crime, and they were baptized Catholics. It would be morally negligent and against the laws of the Church to send them to a land where they would be forced to apostatize. The debate would be taken up as the expulsion became eminent for each respective kingdom, and the officials, civil and ecclesiastical, would waver between the practical and the ideal. Parents would react desperately if their children were taken from them, and so many instances their parents would be given the choice to leave their children or take them with them. On other occasions, the Moriscos were told that if
they left for a Christian nation, they would be allowed to take their children, otherwise they would be confiscated. Some parents would lie, while other times the officials would turn a blind eye. However, thousands of children would be left, as in the case of Valencia, where Ribera would order the polemical decision to re-baptize them (i.e. administer a “conditional baptism”), since he could not be sure they had ever been baptized. Regardless of the outcome, even in such an event as the expulsion, the Church and Crown held nominally to their “Christian duty.”

The Moriscos: Religious Practice and Cultural Traditions

Lorca’s *Catechisms of Instruction* are only comprehensible within the context of the “Morisco question,” but the problem of the Moriscos in early modern Spain is, naturally, more than a political history of dates, edicts, and official action. Lorca’s text reflects this reality, and it is, in large part, the theologian’s reflection over matters beyond those we have discussed immediately above that make his *Catechisms of Instruction* unique. There have been a number of excellent studies on Morisco culture and religious practice, and I wish to turn to these studies at this point in order to offer further context for Lorca’s work. I have briefly discussed Pedro Longás’ study of the *Vida religiosa de los moriscos* (1915), which remains fundamental for present scholarship. Relying principally on *Aljamiado* literature, the Spanish presbyter discusses the professions of faith, ceremonial rites, and prayers among the Moriscos. I have also drawn on Barbara Fuchs’s recent *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (2009), Anwar G. Chejne’s informative *Islam and the West: The Moriscos, A Cultural and Social History* (1983), Cardaillac’s *Moriscos y Christianos* (1979),
and a number of essays from the collections *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change* (1999), *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (1992), and *Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces (1492-1609)* (1989). I have organized my discussion around the major themes that Lorca addresses in his catechism: (1) the principal religious practices of the Moriscos, and (2) “secular” traditions such as wedding celebrations, dress, and Morisco professions.

To begin with the religious practice of the Moriscos, it is helpful to look to orthodox Islam. There are five fundamental practices in Islam that are often referred to as its “Pillars,” which we briefly mentioned in our discussion above. They are the confession of faith (“There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet”), the prayer, the zakat (mandatory alms-giving), the hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca), and the fast of Ramadan (the month when Muhammad began to receive the revelations which would compose the Qur’an). The Moriscos widely practiced all of these with the exception of the hajj, which, because of the oppressive policies on religious practice and travel in Spain, was next to impossible. The zakat was also made difficult, which was supposed to be collected by Muslim authorities (i.e. it ideally required the Muslims to live in an Islamic state), but was nonetheless practiced. In his study, Chejne suggests that the Moriscos added a “sixth pillar,” Jihad, which is holy war (63). This “war,” however, was not simply attacking non-Muslims (obviously difficult in the Morisco context); it was also performing good deeds within the Islamic community (*ibid.*). Other
important practices among the Moriscos included the practice of circumcision, the observance of dietary laws, funeral rites, and, though unorthodox, magic and augury.

Concerning the profession of faith, Longás provides the most thorough description for the student of the Moriscos. The presbyter grounds its importance for the Moriscos, writing, “La fe es una cosa que guía al hombre al conocimiento de Dios y a creer que él es el mayor de los bienes [...] En la fe [...] debe el hombre apoyar y cimentar todas sus obras…” (1). He then outlines the “articles of the Muslim faith,” which are, in abbreviated form, that: God is one, and the creator and governor of all things, without any companion; Muhammad was sent by him with the Qur’an, which is a perfection and revocation of previous laws, and directs the works of believers; all creatures, including the angels, will die, since God alone is immortal, and all souls will be judged according to their works; two angels will ask each person upon death who or what his or her Lord, prophet, and law were, and the believer will be saved by his profession, but the doubter will be held in Hell until the day of judgment; when the final trumpet blasts at the end of the world, all creatures will die, and the last to die will be the angel of death; there will be a resurrection to judgment, beginning with the angels and following with the people—the first of which will be Muhammad; all those who have been resurrected will be gathered at midday before the power of God, and God, with Muhammad, will judge each individual before all people, being placed either at the right (the good) or the left (the bad), who will receive their due recompense; Muhammad will intercede for the Muslims, and God will listen to him, drawing them from the pit; all will pass over the
bridge asirat to reach heaven, but only the good will successfully do so, while the bad fall into Hell (2-6).

Prayer for those Moriscos who strived to maintain their ancestral faith was likewise practiced according to Islamic norms, along with non mandated prayer. As Longás explains, prayers were practiced five times a day: before sunrise, at midday, in the afternoon, at sundown, and at night (31). As we see in Lorca’s text, this practice could be misconstrued, whether out of ignorance or willfully, as sun and moon worship (17r-v, 43r-v). This practice was mandated by God to Muhammad during his night journey to Jerusalem and then to heaven (Sura 17). The prayers were in the direction of Mecca, and, as Chejne states, the first included two prostrations, the second and third prayers included four prostrations, the fourth included three prostrations, and the last include four (60). Since prayer required a legal state of purity, it was preceded either by major or minor ablutions. The former was the washing of the entire body and only necessary on certain occasions (such as certain festivals and after intercourse), and the latter was a purification of only certain parts of the body: the hands, and then any other dirty parts of the body, such as the feet, face, mouth, and nose, as both Chejne and Longás note (59 and 16 ff.). These ablutions might often occur in public baths, which was one of the reasons that the Crown and Church constantly forbid the public baths of the Moriscos. When water was lacking, the Moriscos, just as any Muslim, might perform the required ablutions with sand.

The zakat or mandatory alms-giving was also widely practiced among the Moriscos. In Dar al-Islam, this tax was rendered to the Muslim authorities, who would
then distribute it to the right charitable ends. In his essay “Los moriscos y los cinco pilares del Islam” (1989), L. Patrick Harvey notes the difficulty that this tradition presented for the Moriscos, since “va implícito [...] la existencia de un estado o por lo menos una organización paraestatal de naturaleza islámica” (94). Nonetheless, citing the fatwa of Ahmad bu Juma (1504), the scholar explains that the donation could be done clandestinely and relaxed according to the necessities of the context (95). Thus, “Among the Moriscos,” Chejne writes in his study, “[these taxes] were collected by a local chieftain or a trustworthy person who would see that they went to the needy” (61). The same scholar reports that the expectation was that the families give between 2.5-10% of their wealth, though it cannot be known to what degree they complied (ibid.). Longás develops this problem somewhat further, as he explains that the Islamic tax continued to be rendered to the monarchs of Spain after the conquests of Muslim territory, and therefore the Mudejars (before conversion) and, subsequently, the Moriscos, made the zakat over and above this imposition (234). The Moriscos also gave alms on special occasions, as both Longás and Chejne discuss: weddings, religious festivals, and charity (232, 244 ff and 61). Those who were exempt due to lack of means compensated through prayer (Longás 232, 242).

Fasting during Ramadan is another pillar of Islam that the Moriscos maintained. Numerous are the documented procesos of the Inquisition against Moriscos who allegedly abstained from food and drink during the Muslim fast (see, for example, Doncel 17, Cardaillac 26, Longás 224). Save those who were exempted, the Islamic faithful would not eat or drink during the entire month from sun up to sun down,
though they would feast at night. Intercourse was likewise prohibited, except at night. Longás is again the scholar who describes the event in greatest detail: all those who had reached puberty were obliged to fast, it was a time of purification and penance, and celebrations such as weddings were to be postponed (216). The Moriscos needed to make special exceptions due to their situation, but could compensate for their obligations through charity. These exceptions included those Mudejars or Moriscos who were working for a Christian and their fasting would put them at jeopardy; slaves whose masters would not permit their fasting; those faithful who were in jail (whether of the Inquisition or some other Christian authority); and other cases where fasting would lead to the suspicion of Christians, such as travel with a Christian or an invitation to a meal by a Christian neighbor (219-220). Such individuals would ideally make up the fast at a more convenient time, or compensate through alms-giving. Forty days following this fast, the Moriscos celebrated a feast requiring the slaughter of a lamb, known as the Pascuas de moros, which was also widely recognized among Christians (Chejne 63, Cardaillac 35).

Though circumcision is not mandated in the Qur’an, it has been handed down by tradition. There are few detailed studies on the practice of circumcision by the Moriscos, despite the fact that it is often prohibited in edicts and critiqued in catechisms, including Lorca’s own work. Bernard Vincent’s study “The Moriscos and Circumcision” (1992), responds to this need, at least in part, and so I base my observations on his work, which, as Vincent states, is the first significant study of this practice. Citing a study by Mercedes García Arenal, this scholar relates the report of a Morisco from Belmonte to the
Inquisition that “all the *moriscos* of the kingdom of Valencia, about half from Aragon, and none from Andalucía and Castile were circumcised” (*ibid.*). Bernard Vincent confirms through his own investigation that the statement, at least in regards to the Valencian Moriscos, is true, though the exiled Granadans in Andalucía and Castile appear to have widely practiced circumcision as well (82). Until the 1560s, many Moriscos continued the customary practice of circumcising in the first year (84). After the second Alpujarras Rebellion, the Moriscos were more closely watched, and the Moriscos would postpone the rite to avoid persecution (85). In regions where the vigilance of priests and Old Christian neighbors made it especially difficult, the delay may have been as much as seven years (*ibid.*). The ceremonies were often performed by family members, again, for the sake of secrecy, or other members of the community, such as barbers (86-85).

Another observance held by much of the Morisco community was that of Muslim dietary law. One of the easy indications in early-modern Spain of who was a “good” Christian was whether the individual ate pork and drank wine (Jews and Muslims reject the former, while only Muslims reject the latter). Lorca likewise severely criticizes Moriscos who refuse to taste pork, and suggests such abstainers are suspects *de levi* of heresy (80v, 140r). However, the theologian is more measured on wine, and critiques those Moriscos who abuse it immediately after baptism, and those who refuse it (81v). But there is much more to Muslim dietary practice, and both Christian leaders such as Lorca and the Moriscos wishing to retain their ancestral faith knew it, and for this reason the laws of certain regions often forbade the Moriscos from practicing the office
of butcher. Beyond certain illicit foods, animals had to be hunted or butchered in the appropriate way. Describing the slaughtering of the animal itself, Longás writes that the butcher had to be in a state of legal purity, the animals faced the direction of the kiblah, and thanks were rendered to God before cutting the animal’s throat “de modo que la nuez quedase a la parte de la cabeza, cortando de un solo tajo el garganchón y los ligamentos del cuello” (265-266). As Longás further explains, the Moriscos took special interest in acquiring meat that had been sacrificed according to their law, and they would designate an individual from their community to acquire the live animals and prepare them in secret, or, in more isolated regions, even openly raise and slaughter the animals (266-267).

Also oft addressed by contemporary, Christian discourse was the problem of funeral and burial rites that the Moriscos often practiced. Whereas Christians traditionally buried their dead in consecrated land or even within a church, the Moriscos opted for unconsecrated and un-used (for burial purposes) land, which was referred to as \textit{tierra virgen}, or “virgin soil.” But there was much more to death for the Moriscos, and Lorca dedicates great space to the theme in the twelfth catechism, “On Caring for the Dead.” Pedro Longás cites the theologian in his own work on the subject, though he mainly relies on other \textit{Aljamiado} and Christian sources. At the moment of death, the Morisco was constantly encouraged to recite the profession of faith of Islam, and to persevere to the end (284-285). Citing Lorca, the scholar also suggests that the Morisco would lie on his or her face in order to say this prayer and escape notice of any Christian witnesses (\textit{ibid.}). Following death, the body would be washed and a series of prayers
recited over it, often performed by the spouse of the deceased, or his or her parents (285-286). The cadaver would then be wrapped in clean cloths and perfumed, placing the body with its face towards the *kiblah* (the direction of prayer) (287). The dead would then be carried to the gravesite, where prayer would be performed, unless they died in holy war, were condemned by “the supreme authority,” or were still-born children (288-289). The body would be buried deep within the ground with a letter in Arabic with saffron for comfort to the dead and courage when he or she was interrogated by the angels Munkar and Nakir, and a number of prayers would follow (294 ff.).

Magic held a precarious role throughout Christian and Muslim Spain. When present, orthodox religious leaders rejected these practices as superstitious at best, and demonic at worst, but the common people continued to put trust in them. The Moriscos were certainly no exception, and, perhaps because Christian oppression had increasingly isolated them from the mainstream Islamic world, they more easily incorporated these practices. Chejne suggests the same in view of the increasing dependence on non-orthodox sources: the Moriscos “had to rely more and more on oral traditions, direct experience, and superstitions derived from their Latin environment as well as from the Arabic cultural legacy.” (116) Chejne’s study offers a good background for our discussion of Lorca’s own catechism on magic practiced among the Moriscos (“On Avoiding Invocation to the Devil”) and description of the meanings of dreams in the fourteenth catechism (“On Punishing Heretics”) later on. The scholar notes that the Moriscos appeared to have accepted magic along with more orthodox practices, not realizing that there was any objection to its inclusion (117). Chejne writes, “Ascientific notions were
often intermingled with divinations, horoscopes, magical formulas, amulets, magical seals, magical letters, and inscriptions,” and even astrology was considered decisive in human affairs (*ibid.*). In her study “Nozaita Kalderan: partera y experta en el Corán” (1989), María Teresa Narvaez emphasizes this point in the context of the *Tafsira* of the Mancebo de Arévalo, specifically, in his “Parátika [plática] entre el Mansebo i Nozajta Kalderán.” The scholar writes that the Mancebo criticizes her most probably for “las prácticas mágicas o astrológicas,” but he quickly learns to respect her deep wealth of learning and her role in the community in matters of faith and tradition (143).

The role of women, in general, in religious and cultural traditions might also be noted at this time. Though in his investigation of the Cordoban inquisitorial records Doncel finds that most of the *procesos* were formed against men, the Morisco women “juegan un papel básico en la transmisión de las creencias y prácticas religiosas a los hijos. También, conservan más que los hombres los valores culturales propios,” such as the use of Arabic in the home suggests (14). The scholar also notes that it was common practice that the women among the Morisco community could be counted on for certain prescribed prayers (19-20). Doncel likewise reports an example case where a seventy-year old woman was persecuted for being a dogmatist (*ibid.*). In her essay “Moriscas and the Limits of Assimilation” (1999), Mary Elizabeth Perry focuses on the role of Morisco women in conserving religious piety in their homes, and suggests that the burden of women increased as men became increasingly subject to the close oversight of authorities: the secrecy of the homes offered some protection for such activities (277). Lorca appears to address this specific problem at various points
throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*, though he never assigns the Morisco women the role of dogmatizers outside of the home. On two occasions he suggests that women are far too zealous in breastfeeding their children all the way up to seven years, and they thus influence them with their un-Christian character (101r, 146r). Elsewhere, the theologian blames Morisco women for being the most superstitious in clothing, as well as of vital importance in the practice of magic (35r, 45r).

Though there are reports of polygamy among the Moriscos, such practice appears somewhat rare, especially in regions where contact with Old Christians would have made it very difficult. Rather, actual wedding celebrations constituted a culturally distinct ceremony for the Moriscos, though they were often practiced in the open. These celebrations took place after the ceremony in the Church, and many Spaniards believed that they were nothing more than a regionalism. In a well-known letter by a respected Christian from the Morisco community in 1567, appealing to the king against the enforcement of the cultural bans in Granada of 1566, Francisco Núñez Muley captured the ambiguity of this ceremony as well as other celebrations: “Wedding ceremonies, singing, dancing, and other entertainment are not obstacles to being good Christians, nor do they constitute Moorish ceremonies” (Chejne 21). The Morisco even notes that the *Alfaquíes* “frown upon them” (*ibid.*). Pedro Guerra de Lorca also suggests the ambiguity of the event in his fifth catechism, when he laments that so many pious Christians witness these celebrations and never question their orthodoxy (63r).

According to Longás, certain requisites preceded a licit marriage: valid witnesses, an *algualí*, who would represent the bride, and therefore was her father or a close family...
member, and the payment of a dowry (274-275). With these parties present, an exhortation concerning the obligations of a marriage would be given to both the groom and the bride, and they would swear their fidelity to the marriage (275-277). The Spanish scholar continues to describe the following celebrations: they are full of elaborate rituals, precious gifts, rich foods, and the like (277 ff.). Longás’ own description is a lengthy quotation of Lorca’s work, and so we will wait to enter into further detail until we address that section of the *Catechisms* later on.

Dress among the Moriscos was also a common point of polemic. As Lorca would write in his *Catechisms of Instruction* in 1586, many Spaniards believed that Morisco dress “should not be set aside, as if permitted to that nation in the same way as theirs [is] to the Belgians or the Franks” (32v-33r). If Lorca found himself opposing many of his contemporaries, the theologian also enjoyed the support of many, as the laws of 1526 and, again, 1566 show. In addition to the value of Lorca's second catechism, “On Putting Aside Dress and Language,” a good source for a discussion on Morisco dress is Barbara Fuch’s recent *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (2009). In her study, this scholar provides a description of several of the “Moorish” dress items, while showing how it was adopted by the Old Christians, too. For my purposes, I wish to simply provide some of the items of dress she describes: *chapines* (“early modern women’s high platform shoes”); *borceguíes* (“laced half-boots”); the *toca* (a kind of headdress); the *marlota* (“the ceremonial cloak regularly worn for juegos de cañas”); and the *camisas* (“chemises”) (63-67). Lorca speaks of the wooden “platform” shoes as indicative of Morisco women’s pride, of the laced boots in rich colors of blue,
and other articles of clothing, but also henna-decorated hands and legs, feathered hats, and medallions with the hand of God and the key to Spain. Whereas Fuch’s rightfully emphasizes how this “style” was adopted by the wider, Christian population, through Lorca and other authorities, we see how this dress might have been interpreted and read. Thus, the matter of clothing was a point of sharp debate among Christian authorities, and an integral aspect of culture for the Morisco community.

The Moriscos were also an integral part of the Spanish economy and were known for their participation in certain professions. In the agricultural regions of Granada and Valencia, they were recognized for their ability to produce rich harvests even in non-ideal situations. Furthermore, they often served as gardeners in urban regions, where they were famous for similar results. In what becomes a harsh rebuke by Lorca of the Granadan citizens wishing that their Morisco employees return after the exile to regions of Old and New Castile, the theologian describes their work in these terms: “with their art and industry they till the soil with the hoe; they create irrigated gardens from uncultivated land; they secure three and four harvests a year from well cultivated land; and they hand over audacious yearly taxes to their lords” (88v). But the Moriscos were more than agricultural workers. Lea provides a brief list of these professions as provided in the Castilian cortes of 1592: they are traders, “shopkeepers, caterers, bakers, butchers, inn-keepers, water carriers” (210). Furthermore, the practice of the profession of mule-driver by the Moriscos, and those professions that allowed them to travel throughout the kingdom, were among the hottest points of contention, since it was believed that these individuals served as couriers between Morisco
communities and even foreign allies. These individuals were also often blamed for murders and thievery along their routes.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we have reviewed the Morisco question, its political history and the religious and cultural life of the Moriscos. Both of these themes are very closely linked, as has been made evident throughout our discussion. We might conclude by emphasizing that the Crown’s policy towards the Moriscos differed from region to region and time to time. Whereas Barrachina and Lea generally oppose each other in their historical perspective, both agree that official policy was inconsistent and often counterproductive. The first archbishop of Granada, Talavera, insisted on following the Capitulaciones in his treatment of the native Granadans, while the Catholic Monarchs and Cisneros preferred a more aggressive approach, thereby precipitating popular revolt. In the Kingdom of Aragon, the lords maintained enough influence to prevent the mass conversion of the Mudejars, but the popular uprising of the Germanías produced a national catastrophe with long-lasting consequences. Matters were complicated, and its players, those who decided policy and those who suffered through it, were responding to these difficult circumstances. Pedro Guerra de Lorca responds to the same reality, and his Catechisms of Instruction is deeply imbued with the theologian’s understanding of the situation and his own proposed project, often in harmony with official policy, royal and ecclesiastical. Thus, this chapter has been necessary to form the context for the primary work of our study. In the following chapter, we expand this problem to
include the Christian polemic against Islam, throughout the Middle Ages and into Early Modernity.

3 In his CD-Rom *Historia de España*, Vicente Cantarino traces the term “Morisco” from the Latin “Maurus.” “Maurisco” is found as early as the tenth century and is equivalent to “Moors,” particularly after the Almoravid and Almohad invasions (tenth through thirteenth centuries). Again, as this scholar notes, in his history of the rebellion of Granada (1568-1571), Mármol Carvajal speaks of “Moriscos” and “Mudejars,” as well as foreigners. Generally, in the catechetical literature, “Morisco” means “New Christian of Muslim descent,” which corresponds to Lorca’s use of the term. Cantarino also notes that in the kingdom of Aragon, it was common to refer to this region’s “Moriscos” as “Tagare,” or “resident of the frontier,” which would also come to mean those expelled Moriscos living in Northern Africa. I thank Professor Cantarino for bringing this information to my attention.

4 In his study of Ribera’s pontificate, Benjamin Ehlers explains how these subjugated Muslims became vassals: “Mudejar rebellions in Castile, Aragon, and Valencia in the later years of the thirteenth century led to a climate of fear in which Christian kings repealed the initial surrender agreements and reduced their Muslim vassals to a seigneurial arrangement through increased dues, services, and restrictions” (12).

5 For further discussion and detail about these events, see Boronat y Barrachina’s *Los moriscos españoles* (170 ff), Lea’s *The Moriscos of Spain* (322 ff), Mikel de Epalza’s *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (127-128), chapter 6 of Tueller’s *Good and Faithful Christians*, and Ehlers’ *Between Christians and Moriscos* (145 ff). I thank Professor Cantarino for the note on “conditional baptism.”
CHAPTER 2
THE CHRISTIAN POLEMIC AGAINST ISLAM FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO EARLY MODERNITY

Equally central to the contextualization of Lorca’s *Catechisms of Instruction* is a discussion of the anti-Islamic polemic of the Christian Middle Ages and early-modern Spain, in particular. A central task for the assimilation of the Moriscos by Spain was catechesis, and this meant instructing the New Christians in doctrine, but also in un-teaching them the “lies of Muhammad.” The task was twofold: a polemical attack against an ancestral tradition viewed at odds with Spain’s Christian identity, and an attempt to proclaim to the Moriscos what their Christian neighbors believed to be the truth (and therefore the way of salvation). In his study, Cardaillac perceptively notes that the conflict between Christians and Moriscos has a religious base, and that “los cristianos, persuadidos de que fuera de la Iglesia Católica no hay salvación, quieren salvar el alma de los moriscos a cualquier precio” (83). This effort often took the form of written catechisms, preaching, and regular instruction of the Moriscos by priests. Part of this instruction was polemic. By showing that Muhammad was unholy and a liar, that the Qur’an was inconsistent, together with its tradition, and that Muslims, often referred to as “Arabs,” were a stupid and barbaric race, the preachers believed that they
discredited the foundations of a faith opposed to natural law and the human intellect. Furthermore, evaluating Islam by certain standards, the proponents customarily showed how Christianity was good and true.

Since Lorca’s own *Catechisms of Instruction* is specifically geared towards the Moriscos, it participated heavily in this tradition, and thus appropriately completes its title with *for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect*. In this chapter I wish to provide the context for this integral part of Lorca’s text, which presents a diversity of purposes within its pages. Just as the anti-Islamic polemic of his own century, the theologian employs attacks against the Prophet, the Qur’an and Islamic tradition, and the Muslims themselves both to exalt his own religious tradition and to proclaim the “lie” of Islam to its would-be followers. This polemic, however, has a long history in the peninsula and Western Europe, and Lorca is likewise surrounded by other authors in the sixteenth century who drew on this tradition. In order to respond to these influences at work in the sixteenth century and Lorca’s own work, I have divided this chapter into two sections. The first concerns the anti-Islamic polemic of Western Christendom, though I focus specifically on works in the Peninsula. In the second section I provide an overview of the catechetical literature of Lorca’s own century, and I emphasize its missionary aim through examples of several specific works. I begin each section with a brief overview of the primary or secondary works which I discuss.

*The Polemic against Islam: The Middle Ages in Western Europe and the Peninsula*
Amidst the geographical advance of Islam beginning in the seventh century, Christian intellectuals formed a response through polemical literature, attempting to protect the fold of the Church and combat what they considered the lies of Islam. By attacking the Prophet, the Qur’an and Islamic teaching, and even the Muslims, the writers warned their Christian readers of the dangers of the new faith, and, sometimes, attempted to argue with and win Muslims over to the Christian faith. The East responded much more quickly to this task than the West, as many scholars have observed. Among the most notable of these writers is Saint John of Damascus (d. ca. 749), the son of a financial minister to the caliph Abd al-Malik. In the West, most of the comparable treatises against Islam are first written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though there are significant precursors, such as in the writings of Christians living under Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula. Among the more discussed works of Christian polemic in the West against Islam are the works of Saint Eulogius (d. 859) and Alvarus of Cordoba’s (d. ca. 863) Indiculus luminosus, the anonymous Liber denudationis (translated from a lost original in Arabic in the twelfth or thirteenth century), Peter the Venerable’s Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum and Liber contra sectam siue haeresim Saracenorum (twelfth century), the Liber disputationis Raimundi Christiani et Homeri Saracenii by the well-known Franciscan Ramon Lull (d. 1315), and even sections of Thomas Aquinas’s (d. 1274) Summa contra Gentiles. After introducing studies I have found useful, I rely on some of these works to discuss the medieval polemic.

Two of the fundamental studies of the medieval polemic against Islam are Norman Daniel’s Islam and the West: The Making of an Image, originally published in
1960, and James Kritzeck’s excellent *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (1964). Relying on a number of primary texts, Daniel explains the fundamental points of the medieval anti-Islamic polemic, as well as its history and observes its continuation into the modern world. His work is a handbook for any student of the polemic. Kritzeck’s study places the great abbot of Cluny’s own polemic within the context of the twelfth century, and emphasizes Peter’s opposition to crusade and his missionary attitude towards the Muslims, as well as his critique of Western Christendom’s lack of intellectual response to its most significant religions opposition. His study also includes an edition of Peter’s own polemical works. I have also found Thomas E. Burman’s *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200* (1996) extremely helpful, since it responds to an absence of scholarship on the same time period and region. Again, the scholar complements his study with a bilingual edition of the *Liber denudationis* (ca. 1085-1132). Equally valuable are the brief but informative studies of María Jesús Aldana García (1998) and Feliciano Delgado León (1996) of Saint Eulogius and Alvarus of Cordoba, along with editions of their works. Finally, Vicente Cantarino’s article “Notas para la polémica contra el Islam en España” (1991) offers a thoughtful synopsis of the medieval and early modern polemic, which I have drawn upon for both parts of this chapter.

Roughly parting from Daniel’s own presentation of medieval Christianity’s attack against Islam, we might divide our discussion into Christian attacks on the Prophet, “his doctrine,” and the Muslims, as we have suggested in passing throughout the study. Let us begin with attacks against Muhammad, whom the Christians regard as an imposter
and a pseudo prophet. This attack was based on Christian understanding of what a prophet should be, what holiness was, and what divine calling demanded. In the first place, a prophet must bear signs from God that give evidence of his calling: Muhammad disavowed the power to work such signs, but such prophets as Elijah, Elisha, Moses, and, finally, Christ abounded in them, who also was foreseen by the scriptures. Muhammad was not. Furthermore, these men and all of God’s chosen messengers are either holy at their calling or made holy. Holiness, here, is regarded as set apart from the carnal cares of people, such as sexual pleasure, desire for power or fame, and abuse of the subordinate. The polemicists believed that Muhammad’s sexual activities and political ambitions, together with the fighting he employed to pursue them, represented an antithesis to the real prophet, and certainly to Christ, who fled from political power. And, finally, in the Christian tradition divine calling was one of self-denial and suffering, which the Christians did not see in Muhammad. They considered him, rather, the one who persecuted those who spoke the truth or, at least, a violent imposer on those who resisted him.

Beyond the attacks against the Prophet, the polemicists criticized Islamic doctrine on several grounds. The primary target was that of the Qur’an, which is the supreme authority in Islam. The Christian writers argued that it was contradictory to itself, teaching one thing in one passage and teaching the opposite in another. The primary reasoning of this point was that truth cannot contradict itself, and that if a text is revealed by God, then it must be true in its entirety. Another polemical point was that of the language of the Qur’an, which was not allowed to be translated. Because it
remained in Arabic, it remained impervious to non-Arabic speaking Christians who might have refuted it. But the doctrine itself was sufficient for polemical purposes, since it contained heretical teachings on Christ, for example, and mixed truth with lie. Whereas in orthodox Christianity, Jesus Christ is full God and full man, Islam teaches that he is a great prophet and law-bearer. Furthermore, in Islamic tradition, Christ does not die but escapes to heaven, thereby taking away one of the foundational truths of Christian theology. Beyond this problem and others, the truths that Muhammad taught (since the polemicists have rejected the possibility that God revealed them) are known by natural reason alone, and the lies often contradict natural reason. Rather, Muhammad contrived a miscellaneous rule of life out of the Old and New Testaments, and the paganism that already existed in the Arabia of his day. He did so to attract as many followers as possible, complimenting it with carnal promises reflecting his own life.

If Islam is inherently carnal, full of lies, and no more than a sect contrived of miscellaneous doctrine, then its followers must be stupid, blind, coerced, or all three. Thus, the Christian writers often attack the Muslims themselves, often as a race, which they designate as “Arabs.” The first Muslims were easily fooled because they were pagans or heretical Christians, not firm in their faith anyway. They were lured by Muhammad’s promises of temporal power and riches, as well as carnal delights in this world and in paradise. Since the first Muslims were nothing more than Arab traders in a wasteland, they could not have had the intellectual skill to perceive the inconsistencies and false doctrine that they were being fed. However, as Islam progressed through the neighboring regions, it did meet increasingly well-educated Christians and Jews, some of
who opposed the new faith and were, according to the polemic, severely oppressed (or martyred) or forced to accept Islam through the use of the sword. Though there were wise Muslims such as the philosophers Averroes and Avicenna, they could only tacitly oppose Muhammad’s teachings, and may have even accepted them due to their own carnal lusts, rather than their intellectual assent. This is certainly the case, the polemicists allege, with some Muslims who have recognized that Islam is a lie, but are either afraid of the consequences of rejecting it or too drunken with delight to do so.

Broadly speaking, these are some of the main polemical attacks on Islam, designed to question its validity in the face of Christianity. Now we might provide some examples from the primary works which illustrate these points. The first work to which I would like to call attention is the *Indiculus luminosus*, written by Alvarus of Cordoba, friend of Saint Eulogius, whose work we later discuss in the context of Lorca’s *Catechisms*. Alvarus’s *Indiculus* is an apology for the martyrrial movement of the 850s in Islamic Cordoba. However, in his defense of the voluntary martyrs, he must show that “Muhammad’s law” opposed Christianity, since many contemporary critics among the Christians thought otherwise. Thus, the writer presents the Muslim rulers as “Chaldeans” and refers to their nation as Babylon, thereby relating the subjection of the Church to an Islamic state to that of Israel’s captivity in Babylon, “Cursed are all those who spurn you and all those curse you” (PL 521c-d, Tobit 13:12). The zealot then turns to the Prophet and the revelation he received from Gabriel, whom he believes to be Satan, since he reveals a gospel that Paul condemned as opposed to the pure truth revealed in Christ (PL 523a-b). The dogma of Islam is presented as opposed also to
natural law, and Muhammad is seen in the prophecies of Daniel and of the Behemoth and Leviathan of Job (PL 535a-b). Beginning in the twenty-third paragraph of the same section, Alvarus makes his most concentrated attack on Islamic doctrine, explaining that its errors “are to be laughed at” and should be regarded with “abomination by the whole Church.” A descriptive and grotesque attack against perceived Islamic sexual practice will be what stands out in the following sections.

Alvarus’s text is charged with religious and political violence in more than one direction: he charges that the Muslim rulers are attacking the Church and slaughtering its saints, and at the same time he violently and graphically tears apart Muhammad, Islam, and the Muslims. In such a text it is easy to lose sight of the twofold goal, which I would suggest remains present throughout the text: an affirmation of convinced Christians and a missionary spirit to win over the Muslims to the Christian faith. Norman Daniel too easily dismisses Alvarus’s stance as fanaticism and an unhealthy obsession with Muslim sexuality (17-18), while Kenneth Baxter Wolf, in his *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (1988), reduces the entire martyrrial movement to the results of a strict penitential order reminiscent of Visigothic Spain. I do not deny that these factors played an important part in the movement and, in particular, Alvarus’s work, but there is more. The affirmation of a militant Christian faith is present throughout: the martyrs are God’s servants, and they are being oppressed by God’s enemies. However, even these enemies must be and might be won over by the martyrs and by the arguments of the faithful, which is the duty of the Church: its most erudite members have always preached against error for the salvation of those who hear (PL 115c); through the
sacrifice of the faithful, nations have and will be converted (PL 516c ff.; 524c-d);
preaching the truth wins even the “Gentiles”; and, it might be argued, the Indiculus is largely dedicated to winning another lost group, those Christians opposing the martyrial movement.

Alvarus, Eulogius, and the Martyrs of Cordoba are often referred to as an example of “Mozarabs,” or Arabicized Christians. Such a title may be inappropriate for a group of Latins, but a work whose author undoubtedly does represent Mozarabic polemic is that of the Liber denudationis, as Burman has argued in his already cited study (2). Originally written in Arabic, the work shows considerable intimacy with Islam and, again, as Burman shows, a somewhat Islamicized spirituality (17). The text offers a carefully laid out argument against Islam “condemning the infidelity which the devil had stamped upon our hearts […] that is, <the circumstances> of the Qur’an...” (241, 243). The work divides the Muslims into four classes: (1) those forced by the sword, (2) “rural men whom Muhammad persuaded” and have been duped by the Devil; (3) those who remain in Islam because it is better than Paganism; and (4) those who simply wish to live “the laxer life among a multitude of women” in both this and the next world (243). The Qur’an is full of contradictions, composed of lies, and, what truth it has in it, it has borrowed from the Old and New Testaments (247 ff, 281 ff). The Prophet could offer no evidence of his divine calling either in scripture or through miracles, and he granted himself divine permission to have as many women as he wished, as when he was caught having intercourse with his slave Mariyah by two of his wives (247 ff, 253).
The summary of polemic within the text might go on: attacks on particular Qur’anic passages such as the Night Journey, attacks against the pilgrimage to Mecca, and attacks against Islamic doctrine of Christ. Also, as Burman notes, while the author shows some knowledge of Islam (significantly more than Alvarus, for example), he might have easily learned it through living in Muslim Spain (54-55). Part of the aim of the work is to combat “falseness” and affirm Christians and recent converts in their convictions, whereby the author thanks God for having “taught us the paths of truth, and displayed to us the signs of His power…” (241). However, the writer significantly alleges a conversion experience. Whether this experience was true or not, it emphasizes a desire on the author’s part for evangelization, since he offers himself as an example of what may occur through the “denuding” of Islam. “We” have been “brought [...] back to penitence...” and “we ask that He [...] allow you, O foolish one, to understand this book...” (243). Though the author ridicules the Muslims, he identifies with them and admits his past “blindness,” thereby attempting to both establish a link of familiarity and speak honestly according to his own belief. The intimacy of the narrative is emphasized throughout with the use of the second person plural (vos), and the author speaks with Muslims rather than Christians (at least, one assumes, in the original Arabic). Thus, the work serves as an evangelical text, not simply a degrading portrayal of Islam.

Among other significant polemical works, that of Peter the Venerable is of great interest. In his excellent study, Kritzeck contextualizes the abbot of Cluny’s journey to Spain in 1142. Intending to visit and strengthen Cluny in the peninsula, he took up the side project of studying Islam for missionary purposes (14). In a Western Europe...
increasingly bent on crusade against the infidel, the abbot advocated proselytizing through dialogue (21). Thus, his polemical work is squarely situated in missionary intention. This intention comes most clearly through his Liber contra sectam siue haeresim Saracenorum, which Kritzeck suggests is the first systematic refutation of Islam in Latin (195). Throughout the work he employs many of the common places of the polemic: most notably arguments against Muhammad’s divine calling on the basis of Christian concepts of prophecy, as well as against Muslim belief that the gospel of Christ has been corrupted by his followers. More notable, however, are statements as found in the first book, where he addresses himself to the “children of Ishmael” and explains the strange occasion for writing the work: “It may seem marvelous, and perhaps it is, that I—a man most removed from you in place, strange in tongue, separated in profession, alien in customs and life, from among the western most men—write to you who live in the East or South” (231). The abbot therefore recognizes the cultural divide, and attempts to bridge it through love: “I approach […] you, not as ours often do with arms, but with words, not with force, but with reason, not with hate, but with love,” as is required by God and natural law, since all species love their own (231-232).

It is even in this missionary spirit that Peter writes his more aggressive Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum, designed not to be translated into Arabic and serve in missions to Islam (as he hoped for the Liber), but for Christian readers. Here, as the title suggests, the abbot attacks Islam as a Christian heresy. Peter alleges that Muhammad adopted the heresies of Sabellius, Nestorius, Manicheus, Arius, Porphyrius, and mixed them with Judaism (207-209, 205). And the Prophet, the abbot adds, did not simply
copy these doctrines, but "weaved [them] in his own barbaric way" (205). Kritzeck enumerates the doctrinal issues that Peter addresses in the *Summa*: he denies the divinity of Christ, the Trinity, the sonship of Christ, his death and resurrection, and he includes wrong dogmas on the final resurrection and the day of judgment (118 ff.). The Qur’an is thus composed of the teachings of Jews and a heretic named Sergius, together with many lies (129). By associating these heresies and "Judaizing" practices with Islam, Peter effectively situates it within the context of the Church’s history, both showing his Christian readers that the religion indeed teaches falseness and that it should therefore be opposed. But he makes the matter more pressing, as Peter tells of Muhammad’s "rise to power" among the Arabs, and what heresiarchs could not accomplish in the early Church, God has allowed through Muhammad. It is a call to action. Not with the sword, but with arguments and proselytizing—a task that he has taken on, since no one else was willing to respond to the call (211).

Others would respond, however, including Thomas Aquinas. His *Summa contra Gentiles* is broadly dedicated to defending the truth of the Catholic faith while opposing those assertions contrary to its teachings. The saint approaches the tremendous task in four books, the first three of which are dedicated to those truths that might be positively proven by reason, and the fourth is dedicated to those truths of the faith that cannot be proven, but can be shown to not oppose reason. The first books include issues such as the existence of a Supreme Being who is omniscient and omnipotent, the goodness of creation, and the proper end of rational creatures, which is contemplation of the Divinity. The last book includes a defense of such doctrines as the double nature
of Christ, the Incarnation, the Trinity, and the sacraments of the New Law which replace those of the Old. The approach is supremely intellectual, and he approaches different opponents on different grounds, as he explains in the second chapter of the first book.

Here the theologian explains that the office of a wise man is “to declare the truth which the Catholic faith professes, while weeding out contrary errors.” But the contrary errors are proposed and believed by different groups of people, to which Aquinas must respond in different ways. Heretics accept the whole canon with the Catholic Church, and therefore their errors may be refuted with the help of the Old and New Testaments. Jews share the Old Testament with the Christians, and therefore Aquinas might approach their errors with the aid of these books. However, Pagans and Muslims reject all of these texts, “Wherefore it is necessary to have recourse to natural reason, to which all are compelled to assent.”

Aquinas periodically addresses Muhammad and Islam specifically, and he reflects some of the main issues that we have discussed above. For example, in chapter six of book one, we witness a critique of the Prophet and the means of the spread of his “sect.” Whereas Christ used his lowly apostles to spread the truth of the gospel, together with powerful “signs and wonders” by the Holy Spirit in them, Muhammad “enticed peoples with the promise of carnal pleasures.” The saint continues to attack “Muhammad’s” doctrine, too, alleging that it mirrored his own way of life and the baseness of his followers, “wherein it is easy for carnal men to obey.” Those truths that Muslim doctrine contains are easily explainable by human reason, and therefore give no evidence of divine revelation, and he neither bore signs nor was witnessed to by the
previous prophets. Rather, Muhammad “asserted that he was sent in the power of arms, a sign that is not lacking even to robbers and tyrants.” And then Aquinas criticizes the followers of Muhammad, explaining that whereas in the Christian tradition wise men could not help but assent to the truth of the New Testament, “those who believed in [Muhammad] from the outset were not wise men [...] but beastlike men who dwelt in the wilds, utterly ignorant of all divine teaching.” In fact, the Prophet preferred to mix the Old and New Testaments with “fables, as one may see by perusal of his law,” and was careful not to entrust the Bible to his followers so that they might not perceive the truth.

Aquinas, likewise, is not simply attacking a religious other: he wishes to offer arguments whereby “the Muhammadans and pagans [...] may be convinced” (1:2). Another figure who follows closely in the intellectual tradition of the Angelic Doctor, and now within the Peninsula, is Ramon Lull (d. 1315). In his Liber disputationis, the Franciscan priest presents a dialogue between Homer “the Saracen” and Raimundus “the Christian.” Raimundus, who was in the Holy Land attempting to win over infidels to Christ, specifically, “those worshiping Muhammad,” was incarcerated and Homer came to him in order to “dispute with him concerning the faith” (CCSL 131:172). The Muslim scholar would argue through philosophy that the Trinity and Incarnation were impossible in God, and the Christian missionary would seek to prove the contrary (173). The focus of the polemic, therefore, is entirely doctrinal, and topics are debated ranging from the Trinity to which religion follows the Decalogue. Though, admittedly, Aquinas places the Trinity and the Incarnation within the fourth book of his Summa (i.e. truths
not contrary to reason, but, nonetheless, beyond the capacity of the intellect to prove),
the spirit is one of intellectual exchange and openness. It is also significant that Lull
recognizes the sincere spirit of his Muslim opponent, who is coming to him in an
attempt to win the Christian over to the true faith. Naturally, the Muslim’s arguments
will not withstand the Christian’s truth, but in the context of the polemic it shows a
recognition of mutual human values (that of the desire for the other’s salvation), and
emphasizes the ultimately missionary aim of Lull’s work.

Ramon Lull, who knew Arabic and wrote a great many works of religious and
polemical content, serves as a fitting conclusion to our discussion of the anti-Islamic
polemic in the Middle Ages. His attack against Islam is intellectual, and his purpose is
sincere: that of providing arguments for Christian missionaries, a conviction he
supported with a martyr’s death in North Africa in 1315. The polemic texts that we have
reviewed are aggressive and, generally speaking, pejorative. They attack Muhammad in
cruel terms, portraying him as the disciple of heretics, Jews, and the Devil. He is a
perverse man who seeks power and sex. They attack Islamic doctrine and the Qur’an
itself, the revelation of God to the Prophet. The polemicists argue that it is self-
contradictory, and that it in no way could represent a revealed law because of its
content and its promises. Finally, the polemic even attacks the Muslims themselves,
suggesting they are a stupid and ignorant people, or, at the very least, blinded by their
own carnal desires. Nonetheless, even in the most militant attacks, such as we have
described in the Indiculus, there is always present a twofold aim: that of affirming
Christians in their faith, and that of winning over Muslims to Christianity. Both goals are
supremely human and are based on more than simple hate: these texts show that, though the polemic was undoubtedly built on misunderstanding and closed-mindedness, it was also built on concern for the well-being of their own Church and the religious outsider.

**The Catechisms of Early-Modern Spain: Polemic and Instruction**

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire begins a major advance into Christian territory. It conquers Constantinople, the last vestige of the old Roman Empire, in 1453, and Belgrade falls to Islamic forces in 1521. Even Vienna suffers directly from Ottoman aggression, as the Muslim ruler Suleiman I (1520-1566) unsuccessfully lays siege to Vienna in 1529 and again in 1532. Europe was worried, and the polemic intensifies. Though I have argued that in the above polemical texts there is a missionary zeal present along with the attack against Islam, the political enmity between the two religious-political systems of Islam and Christendom also gave way to other kinds of texts. Vicente Cantarino observes this situation in his “Notas para la polémica contra el Islam en España,” explaining that “la amenaza real que el Islam representaba fue causa de un renovado interés por la polémica [...] medieval nunca totalmente olvidada” (133). Within the fifteenth century, for example, Juan de Torquemada supports Pope Pius II’s call to crusade in 1460 with his *Tractatus contra principales errores perfidi Mahometi* in 1465. As the same scholar shows in his “Juan de Torquemada’s Crusade against Islam” (1992), the polemicist here wrote for political purposes and out of fear of Ottoman aggression (247).
However, by the end of the fifteenth century, though the threat of the Ottoman Empire still lurked, the spirit in Spain changed: under Isabel and Ferdinand, soon to be entitled the “Catholic Monarchs,” Granada was conquered and the spirit was one of euphoria. J. H. Elliott captures this spirit in his classic study *Imperial Spain: 1469-1716*:

As the Castilians saw the kingdom of Granada crumble before them, and the hopes of centuries realized at last, it was natural that they should think of themselves as entrusted with a holy mission to save and redeem the world, threatened as it was by the new advance of Islam from the east [the Turks] (94)

As we have discussed in chapter one, the new Muslim subjects would soon be incorporated into the Christian fold, a consequence of broken promises, religious zeal, and political rebellion, as in Valencia in the early 1520s. With the conversion of the Moors, however, the polemic did not pass away; it simply acquired a more immediate purpose: that of the indoctrination of the New Christians of Muslim descent or the “Moriscos.” As Cantarino notes in “La polémica de Luis Vives contra el Islam,” this factor together with the threat of the Turks to all of Europe combined to create “un renovado interés por la composición de obras de polémica anti-islámica y por la traducción y publicación de textos compuestos siglos antes” (9).

We have mentioned earlier the *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque succesorum vitae, ac doctrina*, the collection of the Protestant reformer Theodore Bibliander (1543, 1550), and a major component of this trend. The collection contains an introduction by the Lutheran theologian Philipp Melanchthon (d. 1560), an apology for the work by Bibliander, and several texts from the *Corpus Toletanum*, most notably
Ketton’s translation of the Qur’an, the *Doctrina Mahumet* and the *Liber Generationis Mahumet et nutritia eius*, translated by Herman Dalmatia, and Peter’s *Summula*, as well as a number of polemical works of a later date, such as part of Juan Luis Vives’ forth book *Contra sectam Mahometi* of the *De veritate fidei Christianae*. Specifically within Spain, however, though they contain ample polemical material, application is more immediate: the conversion of the Mudejars or the instruction of the Moriscos. A number of texts are often discussed, including Juan Andrés’ *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515), the archbishop of Valencia Martín Pérez de Ayala’s (d. 1566) *Doctrina Christiana, en lengua Arauiga, y Castellana* (1566), Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s (d. 1556) *Antialcorano* (1532) and *Diálogos Christianos* (1535), and Juan de Ribera’s (d. 1611) *Catechismo para instrucción de los nuevamente convertidos de moros* (1599). In the following pages, we will turn to several of these texts to show how early modern Spain both adopted and adapted the polemic to its new context, and thereby complete the groundwork for our discussion of Lorca’s *Catechisms of Instruction*.

In the current section I have relied on a number of good studies of the polemical and catechetical literature of early modern Spain, as well as editions of some primary works (I have used facsimiles of first editions for others). I have already mentioned a few of these earlier, including Elisa Ruiz García’s recent study and edition of Juan Andrés’ *Confusión* (2003), Francisco Pons Fuster’s study and edition of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s *Antialcorano* and *Diálogos Christianos* (2000), as well as Vicente Cantarino’s articles cited immediately above. I must also mention again Luis Cardaillac’s study
Moriscos y cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640), which is the most authoritative and thorough study of the polemical and catechetical literature for the Moriscos, as well as the Moriscos’ response.

Rather than restating the common polemical points, which have remained the same, I have discussed primary texts, following, more or less, their chronological order, beginning with Juan Andrés’ Confusión and concluding with Juan de Ribera’s Catechismo. I again emphasize the polemic’s missionary aim within the context of this literature, though each text is unique due to the circumstances in which it was written. Finally, I argue that, whereas texts such as those by Pérez de Chinchón and Martín de Ayala show a pastoral approach towards the Moriscos and an appreciation for their complex reality, Juan de Ribera’s Catechismo dismisses the Moriscos as secret Muslims and approaches them in unrealistic terms, thereby representing a regression.

Juan Andrés’ Confutación o confusión de la secta Mahometana was published in 1515. As Elisa Ruiz García explains, we do not possess a lot of information on his life: he was the child of an alfaquí (Muslim doctor) from Játiva, and Juan was practicing this office when he converted to Christianity in 1487 upon hearing the Dominican friar Juan Marqués preach in the Cathedral of Valencia (37). The priest recounts the experience in his own work (89). Upon ordination as a priest, the Catholic Monarchs called him to preach to their new subjects of Granada, which reportedly led to the conversion of “an infinite crowd of Moors” (90). García tells us that after Isabel I’s death, Ferdinand bowed to the pressure of the Aragonese lords and prevented his similar involvement in that kingdom (39). Regardless, he wished to work for the salvation of his brothers, and came
to write: a translation of the Qur’an and the six books of the Sunna in Aragonese to be used by missionaries (no longer extant), and then the *Confutación* (38-39). As the title suggests and the author explains, he wrote the work “porque los ignorantes moros [...] conozcan el error en que están y en que su falso propheta Mahoma los ha puestos” (92).

Thus, the *Confutación*, as might be expected from such an author and in such a context, is before everything a missionary work, but this necessarily includes attacks against Muhammad and Islam. Since the “Moors” are the ones who have accepted this doctrine, they are likewise portrayed in negative terms, even though their conversion is the end for which the text has been written. This latter message comes out most clearly in Andrés’ constant use of “dime agora tú, moro...” to conclude his anti-Islamic arguments, rhetorically reducing his interlocutor to stupid silence. As Cantarino notes in his “Notas para la polémica contra el Islam en España,” the *Confutación* is notable for the author’s intimate understanding of Islam, but that the polemical arguments and tone are part of a European tradition (138). Andrés employs the Qur’an and the Sunna throughout the text to refute the beliefs of the Muslims, and treats such themes as the sexual activities of Muhammad, the inconsistencies of the Qur’an, and the violent spread of Islam. One of the more pathetic images Juan offers is of Paradise, where the women witness the adultery of their husbands with pure virgins, and they are left with nothing (194). The priest also explains the truth of Christian doctrine and its superiority to Islam, and he emphasizes doctrine on Christ’s divinity.

The tone of the entire work is harsh, and Juan’s background creates no sympathy on his part for the Muslims. Rather, it does quite the opposite: he appears “on-fire” for
his new faith, and, perhaps, he also wished to show the sincerity and reasonableness of
his own conversion. Cantarino notes the many authorities the convert cites in the
introduction to confirm the orthodoxy of his own work, so full of references—albeit
pejorative—to Islamic religious works (137). Nonetheless, he holds this conversion out
as an example of God’s grace in his own life, and the possibility of the same in the lives
of other “Moors.” The purpose, it seems to me, is threefold: rendering thanks to God,
encouraging fellow Christians in their missionary efforts, and offering his brothers, still
outside of the fold of Christ, an example of conversion. Thus, at the end of the work, the
priest addresses his interlocutor: “moro, que mire[s] en todo lo susodicho, que todo lo
dixe por darte luz […] Y has de saber que no he puesto todo lo que ay en este libro
maliciosamente…” (229). And then, in Latin, the language of the Church, he concludes,
“Laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus” (Psalm 123:7; 124:7 NAB) (330). The “we”
is unclear. Might it eventually include the “Moor” to whom Juan directs the work?
Though the efficacy of the demeaning approach and the one-sidedness of Andrés’
perspective might be questioned, his words and experiences speak to his sincerity.

Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón’s Antialcorano and Diálogos Christianos are
published within two decades of Juan Andrés’ work (1532 and 1535), but in a different
context. Where Juan wrote for Muslims, Chinchón writes for baptized Christians.
Chinchón is the well-known translator and student of the works of Erasmus of
Rotterdam, but little is known about his actual life and why he ceased to publish
following the 1530s. As Francisco Pons Fuster, in his edition of Pérez de Chinchón’s
Antialcorano and Diálogos Christianos (2000), ventures, his silence was likely due to
censorship of polemical works in Spanish and the growing suspicion of Erasmus’s orthodoxy (45-46). The Antialcorano has nonetheless enjoyed the attention of a number of scholars, most notably Cardaillac, who, invoking Ramon Lull as a counter example, describes it in these terms: “hace razonamientos muy semejantes pero sustituyendo el conocimiento personal del Islam y la estima que sentía Ramon Llull por un desprecio sin límites” (315). Fuster complicates this statement, noting that Pérez de Chinchón shows no sympathy for Islam, but, “En cambio su actitud respecto a sus interlocutores y oyentes moriscos, teniendo claras connotaciones paternalistas, es de comprensión” (48). The scholar also argues that the theologian shows ample evidence in his texts of an involvement in the Morisco question in general (10). Finally, as Fuster points out, for Pérez de Chinchón the Moriscos are not Muslims, and any Islamic belief remaining among them is due to ignorance, not infidelity (48). The Diálogos also have the merit of a debate not between a Christian and a Muslim, but a Christian and a Morisco.

The Antialcorano is composed of 26 sermons on a variety of topics that affirm the Christian faith while attacking, as tradition, Islam through its Prophet and the Qur’an. The author is knowledgeable of Islam and the polemical tradition, but its dynamic has changed. The sermons are directed to Christians, but the work is “contra los moros y su alcorán,” as the author tells us in his “Epístola,” thereby bridging the link not yet destroyed between the present and the past (73). Nonetheless, whereas in the previous polemical texts that we have discussed the authors must argue that the Church is called to evangelize all peoples, here the author demands that the Church cares for its own sheep, “pues todos somos miembros del cuerpo místico de la yglesia cuya cabeza
es Jesu Christo [...] con quien estamos unidos por la charidad” (75). Soon thereafter, we see the marginal note, “Ygualdad de christianos” (76). The author then dedicates the next pages to explaining the need for workers in the vineyard, since there are so many enemies attempting to draw these New Christians from the faith. And, he adds, priests are under obligation to respond, or they will face Christ’s anger. Thus, the polemic continues, but a new dynamic transforms it; it now takes place between Christian brothers, not Christians and Muslims. Though Chinchón seems somewhat disillusioned with the conversion of these subjects in his Diálogos, he criticizes the lords for standing in the way, and demands anew religious instruction, as is required by the Church (386 ff).

In 1566, another significant catechism is published, considerably different from what we have considered to this point: Martín de Ayala’s Doctrina Christiana, en lengua Arauiga, y Castellana. Ayala came to Valencia having served as bishop in Gaudix, Segovia, and Ciudad Rodrigo, and he only reigned in his last seat for two years (1564-1566). Despite his short life, his impact on Valencia was significant. He advocated the instruction of the Moriscos in their first language (a regional form of Arabic), and produced the Doctrina and began another catechetical work that would serve as the basis for Ribera’s Catechismo. In the Doctrina, the Archbishop of Valencia addresses his interlocutors in a spirit of unity similar to that of Chinchón’s text: “Recebid, hijos muy amados en Christo, de vuestro Pastor y padre espiritual (que de todas entrañas deseea vuestra salvación) esta breve Summa de la doctrina Christiana...” (2). The text is not polemical per se, but an attempt to provide basic Christian instruction to the Moriscos
of Valencia in a language readily accessible to them. It includes a pronunciation guide for the catechists, and, above the Arabic (written in Latin letters), the reader finds Spanish. The *Doctrina* thus serves as an immediately applicable way of teaching: the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the *Credo*, the *Salve Regina*, the Ten Commandments, the *Seis mandamientos de la sancta madre yglesia*, the seven mortal sins, the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, the seven sacraments of the Church, the theological and cardinal virtues, and then a guide to the prayers and parts of the Mass.

This text is unique, then, because it represents a complete transition from polemical works, which heavily influenced the catechetical works of early-modern Spain, to that of Christian instruction for Christians of Muslim descent. The purpose is entirely that of “winning salvation” for someone who is no longer a religious other. Nonetheless, the strangeness of this group is still recognized, along with some of the theological and religious issues that divide the Old and New Christians of Valencia. Certainly, there is the problem of language, which the archbishop seeks to negotiate through the *Doctrina* and, as he promises in his “Epístola” to the Moriscos, missionaries who will speak their native language. The text even puts parts of the Mass in Romance, so that the Moriscos might not be lost in such parts as the *Sanctus* or the *Agnus*. But there is more: certain polemical issues are prevented ahead of time, and the authority of the Church is reaffirmed in face of Morisco resistance. Rather than keeping the Sabbath, the third commandment reads “guardaras los domingos y las fiestas de guardar” (8). The fourth commandment includes not only father and mother, but the Christian authorities, clergy and laity (9). The six commandments of the Church explain to the Moriscos that they
must tithe, go to confession, receive communion, and fast on designated days (11).

Certainly, all of these issues were standard practice for Christians in early modern Spain, but the reader senses the underlying tension and the tacit response to it.

Juan de Ribera’s *Catechismo para instrucción de los nuevamente convertidos de moros*, published in 1599, was a revision of Ayala’s own work, which never came to fruition. Ribera was ordered to publish this catechism by Philip III in the last few efforts by the Crown and Church to instruct the Moriscos, particularly of Valencia, in the Christian faith before taking the drastic measures of the expulsions. It is the end of the sixteenth century, and the author is still approaching the Morisco as a Muslim. The presentation is that of a dialogue between a priest who knows Arabic, an aid to the bishop of Gaudíx, referred to as the Maestro, and a Muslim discípulo who is traveling with license through Spain to seek out the true religion. The tensions are readily felt as the Muslim must convince his teacher that he is not simply traveling the countryside to cause problems as so many others Africans (1). Pascual Boronat y Barrachina praises the work: “la materia teológico-expositiva de que trata el primer libro, así como la moral y ascética tratadas en el segundo, se hallan acomodadas a la instrucción del morisco más ignorante y a la capacidad del más ilustrado...” (15).

The catechism is certainly full of *materia teológica-expositiva*, as the opening letter by Ribera indicates: “En ella se tratan todas las materias necesarias para instruir un infiel a la Fe del Evangelio” (2). However, in the catechism’s attempt to offer all the reasons necessary for the instruction of the infidel, it far too closely mirrors Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa contra Gentiles* for the instruction of the Valencian Moriscos. It
approaches the Moriscos, for whom it has been written, not as poorly instructed Christians, but as secret “Moors.” In fact, the catechism assumes that the Moriscos are well-educated Muslims interested in the subtleties of intellectual debate on the “true religion.” Thus, the *Maestro* begins by explaining his methodology for showing the *Discípulo* that Christianity, and not Islam or Judaism, is the true faith. He wishes to show:

> que hay Dios, y que es uno, y gobernador del mundo: y luego declaro que cosa es el hombre, y qual es su ultimo fin y paradero, el qual prouo ser solo Dios; y tras esto trato del camino que hay que ir el hombre a Dios, que es la verdadera religion; la qual prouo, que no puede ser conocida por fuerças naturales, sino por sola revelacion divina, y tambien que no podian ser muchas las verdaderas religiones, sino sola una: y assi examino las religiones que hoy andan por el mundo con tal titulo, y en esto prouo ser falsa la secta de Mahoma, que tu has seguido hasta agora, y ser solamente verdadera la religion Christiana... (14)

Against the “Sect of Muhammad” the author employs the common places of the polemic: the pseudo-prophecy of Muhammad and his depraved life, the Qur’an’s contradictions, its miscellaneous doctrine, the violent spread of Islam, and the depravity of its followers. Though the purpose of the arguments is to win the intellectual assent of its interlocutor, the Morisco, the text appears to be a regression in the catechetical literature: the Moriscos are Muslims, and they should be approached as such. In this sense, the *Catechismo* reflects the political climate of the latter sixteenth century, as well as Ribera’s own increasingly aggressive stance towards the Moriscos.
I would like to conclude this chapter by considering one last polemical work of the sixteenth century. The fourth book of the great humanist Juan Luis Vives’ *De veritate fidei Christianae* (1543) is not a catechism, nor does it fall into the same class as Juan Andrés’ *Confutación*, written for immediate application in missions to the Mudejars of the Kingdom of Aragon. The text is written in Latin, and its author wrote it in Italy and from a pan-European perspective. However, because of its significance for the early modern anti-Islamic polemic (it was included in Bibliander’s collection), and Lorca’s own references to it, its brief discussion belongs in this study. Vicente Cantarino has studied this particular work in his “La polémica de Luis Vives contra el Islam” (1991). The scholar explains that the primary intention of *De veritate* is “la presentación razonada de la religión cristiana, ofrecida con tono y estilo ‘humanitas’, alejado de los tecnecismos y razonamientos secos de los ‘dialectos’…” (11). The fourth book “Contra sectam Mahometi” is presented in typical Renaissance fashion as a Christian and an *Alfaquí* discuss the great wonders of God’s creation in a pastoral scene. The discussion soon turns to foundational issues: death, the body and the soul, and the proper end of human beings—thus, the problem of religion. While it is not permitted Muslims to dispute with Christians concerning religion, the Christian feels that this one is not like others and is worthy of a disputation (366).\(^\text{14}\) The first section is thus the Christian’s sly way of tricking the Muslim into further discussion (“Quod sit disputandum de religione”), and the polemic follows.

Vives repeats the polemical points of the Middle Ages and pits reason against the ignorance of Islam. His purpose is twofold: destroying the lie of Muhammad, and
building up the true faith. Thus, the humanist scholar argues that the authority of a law rests on the life of its legislator. Following the line of legislators of Islam (Moses, Christ, and Muhammad), he shows how Muhammad bore no sign or holiness of life that would validate his claims (372ff). He then argues that Christ was indeed the last messenger, and that it was fitting that God made flesh should be the last of God’s law-bearers (379ff.). The difference between these two, the Christian tells his Muslim interlocutor, is great, since “Christ [was] a most wise doctor; Muhammad completely lacking any erudition, not even understanding his own Qur’an...” (380). In the following sections, the Christian points out the problems of the Qur’an, including its language, shows that the scriptures (which do not announce Muhammad’s coming) could not have been corrupted, defends the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ, and attacks Islamic marriage law, among other themes. In this work, there appears an absence of conversion, and the reader is left with the impression that the main goal of the author is simply the ridicule of Islam and the exaltation of Christianity. As Cantarino points out, the real difference of the work from its predecessors is its humanist rhetoric and an absence of Christian authorities and Biblical citations, “tampoco es su preocupación el Islam en España, ni los moriscos hispanos, musulmanes o islamizantes, de su tiempo, sino Europa y la amenaza militar del Islam invasor en el Este” (34). Lorca, nonetheless, will view it as a helpful tool when proselytizing Muslims (rather than Moriscos) (94v).

**Summary and Closing Comments**

In the present chapter I have reviewed the anti-Islamic polemic of the Middle Ages and its adoption and transformation in early modern Europe, most particularly, in
Spain. These texts all portray Muhammad, Islam, and, often, the Muslim adversary in pejorative terms. However, in all of these works, even in the apologetic and polemically charged *Indiculus* of Alvarus of Cordoba, there is an underlying or overt goal of winning the salvation of fellow human beings. Together with this goal, and perhaps at times clouding it, is a desire to affirm Christians in their faith and exalt their own religion at the expense of Islam. However, these goals are not at odds, they go together. Establishing truth requires the refutation of error, and these authors were all thoroughly convinced of the truth of their faith. This conviction certainly comes through in the medieval works of polemic, but such authors as Peter the Venerable and, much later, Ramon Lull do their best to approach the religious others in terms they believe might be acceptable to them. While the efficacy of these attempts may and has been rightly questioned, their sincerity and desires are affirmed by the words of their books. Finally, this polemic and missionary zeal strongly influenced early modern Spain and its catechetical literature. In Spanish-language works, the Latin discourse found new expression, and after the conversion of the Mudejars, immediate application in the instruction of fellow-Christians. Even a work such as Vives’, whose context and language is distinct, proved conceptually useful for catechesis by individuals such as Pedro Guerra de Lorca.

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6 Burman offers the examples of phrases borrowed from the Qur’an found in religious literature and even translations of the gospel, such as the *basmalah*, “In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate” (*ibid*.).

7 All references and English translations from the *Liber denudationis* follow Burman’s bilingual edition appended to the cited study.
As Burman explains, the jealousy of Muhammad’s wives, in this case A’ishah and Hafsah, due to the Prophet’s relations with his slave Mariyah is a traditional explanatory commentary of Sura 66 (42, 281).

All citations come from Kritzeck’s edition of Peter’s polemical works. Translations are mine.


All my citations from the primary text come from Elisa Ruiz García’s edition.

All my citations of Chinchón’s catechisms come from Fuster’s edition.

My citations of this text come from the first edition of *Doctrina Christiana*, published in Valencia by the Casa de Joan Mey in 1566.

My references for this work come from *Joannis Ludouici Vivis Valentini opera omnia* by Gregorius Maiansius of Valencia (1782-1790) (8 vols), republished by The Gregg Press Limited in 1964.
CHAPTER 3

LORCA’S POLEMIC AND CATECHESIS

Pedro Guerra de Lorca borrows from others for attacking the Prophet, Islam, and the Muslims, and he is in fact following the long tradition which we have briefly addressed in chapter two. In this sense, Cardaillac is correct when he states that Lorca is drawing on Christian sources, though he reduces it to nothing more than a desire to ridicule his opponents (320). The theologian paints a vivid picture of a perverse man who passes himself off as a prophet, though he also has the help of a heretical Arian or Nestorian monk, Jews, and Satan. Muhammad’s ambition is what drives him to the course he takes, to promulgating a law that justifies his lust for women and violence, lures the carnal Arabs into his sect, and accommodates weak Christians and Jews through its mixture of heresy and the rites of the Old Law. The “Moors” and, particularly, the Arabs are thus a stupid and barbaric people, and, though they left their pagan practices to worship one God, it is not the Trinity, but rather an invented fiction. The Prophet is a step between Arius, who denied Christ’s equality to God the Father, and the final Antichrist, who will deny the “goodness” of Christ. Islam is, quite possibly, the diabolic power described by the prophet Daniel (7:7 ff.), the forth horn that rose up and overcame the other three (Asia, Africa, and Europe). It is the religious and political
enemy of the Christian republic. Likewise, its followers are the enemies of the Church
and blind. However, they, too, might be won over to the Church.

Like many of his predecessors and contemporaries, Lorca is not simply writing to
tear apart another faith. The theologian writes so that he might rebuild what he
considers a surer foundation, as he tells the reader in the ninth catechism, “On Making
Proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect”: “I should desire even more that he be turned
to Christ than doubtful or tottering concerning his sect” (91r-v). If at times the actual
evangelical application of the polemical literature of the Middle Ages is dubious, the
catechetical literature specifically written for the instruction of the Moriscos has an
immediate and credible reason to be, at least within Christian doctrine. As Saint
Augustine writes in De civitate Dei: “Remember [...] that among those very enemies [of
the City of God] are hidden some who will become citizens; and do not think it fruitless
to bear their enmity until they shall come to confess the faith” (1:35, trans. by Dyson).

The Christian mission requires that its believers, and especially its priests, seek to
redeem the lost, and this mission is what Lorca and his contemporaries are attempting
to fulfill. Two major means of accomplishing it are refutation of what is “wrong” and
instruction in what is “right.” In this chapter, I wish to show that this approach is indeed
that which Lorca takes in his own Catechisms of Instruction. In doing so, I wish to
counter not only Cardaillac’s oversimplified portrayal of the text—dismissing it as
nothing more than a simple repetition of common places—, but also emphasize the
missionary nature of Lorca’s text. I show that Lorca’s use of the polemic is both to
inspire his Christian readers and to instruct the Moriscos.
Polemic: Setting a Context and Un-Teaching the Lie

Lorca employs a significant amount of polemic against Islam in almost every one of the sixteen catechisms that comprise the *Catechisms of Instruction*, as well as the introductory material preceding the first catechism. I would like to suggest that this polemical material serves distinct immediate goals within its different contexts, but the same ultimate end: the salvation of the Moriscos. In the introductory sections, the polemical material serves the very purpose that “polemic” suggests, that of negatively portraying the opponent to ridicule him or her and at the same time animate the reader to action. Vicente Cantarino has argued for a similar and contextualized reading of Juan de Torquemada’s *Tractatus contra principales errores perfidi Mahometi* (1465) of the late fifteenth century, written for the specific purpose of animating the Christian kingdoms to Crusade against the advancing Turkish armies (1992). Through these sections we will see heavily politicized readings of Islamic doctrine and arguments *ad absurdum* built on some polemical points often avoided since they are recognized to be untrue. These points serve to animate the Christian reader to action. However, Lorca’s attacks on Islamic doctrine and the Prophet Muhammad takes on a distinct immediacy from the first catechism onward, where the major concern becomes that of convincing the Morisco or, in the ninth catechism, Muslim of actual error and its opposition to Christian truth. Though not absent in the previous sections, the immediate goal is distinct: it is meant to instruct the reader in ways in which he might actually teach the Moriscos or, in the ninth catechism, the Muslims.
Another unique aspect of Lorca’s use of the polemic, within the context of instruction, is that the theologian generally avoids subtle theological argument or even prolonged discussion of doctrinal issues. Whereas these issues are often the focus of previous and contemporary polemical or catechetical literature, and, in the context of Ribera’s catechism, turn into well-developed scholastic expositions, Lorca keeps his discussion of the same very basic, and generally closely linked to the scriptural passage of the respective catechism. Furthermore, Lorca prefers to attack specific rites, and his focus is almost entirely on actual practice, rather than abstract doctrine, though he does not avoid the latter. Our theologian prefers to speak of the concrete, and this approach in fact defines his entire catechism and helps makes it unique. Additionally, Lorca generally addresses Christian doctrine in the same way: he juxtaposes Christian rites and sacraments to Islamic ritual practice and, though he contextualizes it in a larger, theologically-oriented framework, he keeps the theological discussion to a minimum. Perhaps the most significant exception to this approach is that of, again, the ninth catechism, where he specifically wishes to address the problem of converting actual Muslims. I will argue that this approach is pastoral and shows appreciation and unusual perception on the part of the author of missionary practice among the Moriscos.

**Polemic: Ridiculing the Enemy and Animating the Christian Church**

In the first sections of the *Catechisms of Instruction*, Pedro Guerra de Lorca evokes a brilliant Christian past for the Iberian Peninsula, beginning with the Visigothic kings and drawing its legacy through the Middle Ages to the Catholic Monarchs Isabel I and Ferdinand II and, finally, to Philip II himself. Within this context, Lorca draws on
significant and violent polemical material attacking Islam, its Prophet, and the “Arabs” themselves, portrayed as a barbaric race that invaded Christian Spain. With the conquest of Granada and the politics of the Catholic Monarchs, this presence of a foreign religion was finally brought to an end. Nonetheless, the work has not been fully accomplished, as Lorca points out in the first words of his dedication to Philip II, referring to “that pestilent sickness of the remnants of the Sect of Muhammad, still not extinct in Spain, but even daily reborn and regenerated to our great detriment” (6r). The entire dedication, the following exhortatory epistle, the “Life” of Muhammad, the following scholia, the alphabetical list of Muhammad’s errors, and, finally, “On Muhammad’s Errors in General” represent an intense attack against Islam not simply in the face of Christianity, but in the face of Christian Spain and its religious inheritance, as well as its present place in the Christian world. The first two of these sections address the king and the pastors of the Church, both bishops and parish priests, with a sense of great urgency and in light of the legacy of Christian re-conquest. Islam is a foreign invader and the New Christians continue to be affected by it. These individuals should not be lost, but rather won back from a foreign influence. Thus, his attack has an immediate end and distinguishes the Moriscos as fellow Christians.

One way in which Lorca achieves this purpose is by copying significant sections of Saint Eulogius’s *Apologeticus martyrum* and *Memoriale sanctorum*, and later developing some of its major points in the latter introductory sections. Through Eulogius’s polemical and apologetical texts, Lorca portrays the rise of Islam in the context of the height of the Visigothic Empire, its fall, and the heroic resistance of the
Christian martyrs of Cordoba in the middle of the ninth century. In the *scholia* immediately following, the theologian brings the plight of the martyrs to the sixteenth-century reader and makes it the inheritance and common mission of Christian Spain. The pure evangelical truth was at that time in danger, and the sacrifice of the martyrs is the same as that of the missionaries among the Moriscos: the love of enemy and the desire for winning the lost demands the lives of the pastors of the Church. The great enemy is thus not so much the Moriscos themselves, who are being won back from this foreign invader, or even the Muslims, but Muhammad, Satan, and those who promulgate the false sect. The evil of this sect is portrayed in the “List,” and these errors are squarely placed not only in the long fight of the Church against the errors of heresy, but the ever present struggle for the Truth in the early-modern world of religious strife and the Reformation.

To begin with the first folio, Lorca initiates his dedication in the language of polemic as he addresses King Philip II:

> When I silently considered, Oh Catholic Philip, that pestilent sickness of the remnants of the Sect of Muhammad, still not extinct in Spain, but even daily reborn and regenerated to our great detriment, I dedicated myself to labor more attentively in extinguishing them by our side’s strength, as well as the offering appropriate to a doctor. (6r)

Islam is thus presented as “Muhammad’s” sect, not worthy of the title of “religion,” because it is not from God. It is, furthermore, nothing short of a sickness, and a sickness that opposes not only the Church’s well-being, but the nation’s health. Throughout the
first folia of the *Catechisms of Instruction*, the theologian makes five direct references to Islam and numerous inferences, and every one of them is presented in nationalistic terms: Muhammad, Islam, and its defenders are treacherous enemies who lie in weight to attack and overthrow Spain, as well as those “neighbors” who are weak in faith. Lorca strongly reminds the king of his duties towards the faith and his nation as he cites canon three of the Sixth Council of Toledo, demanding that the governor of Visigothic Spain maintain a pure, religious nation, fighting all those opposed to the truth (8r). The dedication is thus a call to action, and Muhammad, Islam, and the Muslims are a treacherous enemy, “bitter” and “veiled” (7v, 8r). Lorca shows through it that catechesis is an immediate matter.

The exhortatory epistle presents little direct polemic, but is present by inference and serves to emphasize the immediate need for the Church to respond in time of trouble. Its polemical draw is within the context of Lorca’s warning to the priests of their duties as pastors of the Church. The enemy here is represented by Satan, and Islam is suggested. They are at the doors and actively pursuing the sheep, and they threaten not only the salvation of the flock, but its shepherd. After warning the reader that all Christians are required to invest the talent of Christ’s faith in their neighbors, particularly those ailing in the faith, Lorca writes concerning the Moriscos, “Indeed, this day of salvation has shined upon this people, if they so witness their presbyters and pastors working for their instruction” (9r). The “wolves” are even now attacking “this people,” and the pastors who run from them are running to their own ruin (9v). Christ himself came to save these sheep, and spilling his blood for them he overcame the
enemy. Nonetheless, the enemy still lurks on and presents a constant danger. The priest who does not respond will be held accountable, and thus becomes his own mortal enemy. As Lorca concludes, alluding to Luke 6:38, Christ “will give a good measure, packed together, shaken down into their lap to those who labor for the salvation of their sheep too little or greatly” (11r). Thus, by portraying an “enemy,” Lorca seeks to inspire his readership to concern and to action.

In these sections, Lorca has addressed the principle Christian leaders to whom he directs the entire Catechisms of Instruction. His goal is not to teach them of Christian doctrine. He wishes to show these readers that there is a need: the security of the nation and the security of the Church. By providing a common enemy—Islam—the theologian hopes to inspire these leaders to real action. However, this action is not that of exclusion. Lorca makes clear through these sections and even the polemic that the Moriscos are not outsiders. They must be saved. Their enemy is common with the nation and the Church, even if they have fallen ill.

The section immediately following the dedication and the exhortatory epistle emphasizes this purpose as it negatively portrays an enemy and inspires the reader to renewed militancy. Significant portions of Saint Eulogius’s virulent attacks of Islam constitute the entirety of this section. These works were rediscovered in the sixteenth century and later published by the royal court historian Ambrosio de Morales in 1574. At that time Morales published the Memoriale sanctorum, Documentum martyriale, and Apologeticus martyrum, along with Eulogius’s letters and an account of his martyrdom, written by fellow apologist and friend Alvarus of Cordoba.¹⁵ As Feliciano Delgado León
notes in his recent study of Alvarus’ *Indiculus luminosus*, “The discovery of these martyrs was made at a key moment in Mediterranean politics against Islam. The martyrs of Cordoba became the embodiment of a contemporary ideal” (60). Lorca draws on this ideal for his own *Catechisms* as he copies sections from the *Apologeticus martyrum* and *Memoriale sanctorum* in his work for the “Life of Muhammad the False Prophet and Minister of the Devil.” Thus, Lorca’s principle source for his portrayal of Muhammad comes from a pseudo-biography that the saint found during his stay in a monastery near Pamplona around 848. Inaccurate and extremely pajorative, it portrays Muhammad’s rise to glory and power through astuteness and the magic of the Devil, as well as his hideous death. Eulogius includes it in the *Apologeticus* to show that Muhammad is indeed one of the psuedo-prophets about which Christ warns his disciples in Matthew 24:11 (1:14). Lorca includes it in his *Catechisms* for the same reason: to make his reader conscious of the baseness of the enemy.

It is with the “Life” that Lorca begins his citation of the saint’s text, and he does so with no introduction, perhaps with the goal of shocking his reader. Its polemical nature is obvious from the start, and so is its purpose, which is to portray Muhammad, Islam, and its presence in the Iberian Peninsula as negatively as possible. Thus, Lorca begins the citation within the context of the summit of Visigothic rule:

The heresiarch Muhammad rose up in the time of Emperor Heraclius, in the seventh year of his reign, in the course of Era 661, in the year 618 of Christ’s birth. At this time Isidore, bishop of Spain, shined forth in the Catholic truth, and Sisebut reached the royal height in Toledo. The Church of Blessed
Euphrasius was built in the city of Illiturgus over his tomb. And in Toledo the temple of Blessed Leocadia was raised up as a marvelous work and lofty achievement by order of the aforementioned prince. (10v)

In contrast to the proper names of his land’s glorious past, the saint continues with rather vague points on the Prophet’s life. Muhammad was orphaned soon after his birth and he came under the care of a certain widow, for whom he managed a trading business. On his journeys he learned about Christian doctrine, manipulating it to his own carnal desires and political ambitions, and he eventually won great confidence from his patroness and married her “according to the barbarous law in condemnation” (ibid.). Thereafter the “Spirit of Error” appeared to him in the form of a vulture, passing himself off as the archangel Gabriel. Tricking the “barbaric Arabs” into believing that he was a prophet, Muhammad led his people through a series of military victories.

We might note at this point that Lorca has made two significant connections with the dedication and the epistles within these first lines. One is the Christian glory of the Visigoths. Lorca speaks of the Sixth Council of Toledo in his dedication, which was roughly contemporary to this phase of Visigothic rule (began in 638). The actual canon calls the king to eradicate the “perfidy of the Jews” from Spain (PL 84.396A ff.), and thus was a measure designed to exalt this Christian purity that would be threatened again a century later by the “heresiarch’s” followers. Furthermore, by using this term “heresiarch,” the theologian defines Islam in the context of Christian truth, and makes it one of a series of threats to which the Church’s pastors have had to respond. I believe that in this way, then, Lorca has carefully chosen this beginning in an attempt to make
the passages immediately significant for those who occupy the offices which he addresses in the first pages of the *Catechisms*.

Such connections will continue, as Lorca continues the citation. After establishing “their capital” in Damascus,18 Muhammad “composed psalms in the mouth of insensible animals” (11r). Among these was a “red calf,” a “spider web for trapping flies,” and “certain songs of a hoopoe and a frog, so that the stink of the one might belch forth from his mouth and the chattering of the other might not cease on his lips” (*ibid.*).19 The Prophet, through “his Qur’an,” spread heretical teachings on biblical figures (most notably the Virgin and Christ, who was nothing more than a great prophet) and justified his own licentious desires as indulgences granted by God.20 Thereafter, knowing that his death was approaching, Muhammad told his disciples to expect his resurrection on the third day. When the third day arrived, his faithful companions thought that their presence frightened the angels, who needed to come to raise him from the dead, and so they left the body unguarded. Attracted by the stench, dogs came and consumed part of the corpse. The leftovers were buried and the dogs were sought out and killed, a tradition which, claims Eulogius, continues among the Arabs to his day.21 Eulogius concludes, “Certainly it worthily befell him that a prophet so great and of such a kind filled the belly of so many dogs, one who not only handed his own soul over to the flames, but the souls of many” (*ibid.*). He adds that he might have included more, but that this material sufficed to warn his readers of the inventor of such a religion (11v).

Leaving the pseudo-biography, Saint Eulogius further explains his purpose for inserting such a text in his apology, which suggests a similar aim for Lorca. Eulogius
attacks Christian detractors of the martyrs and their violent opposition to Islam, noting that all Christians are called to combat error and speak truth. Lorca’s message appears to be the same as he continues the citation:

Behold the people given to such error and the leader of so much and so great an impiety do not fear to be judged under the name of the pious religion, asserting with no prudence that those new soldiers of our times have been killed by men worshipping God and holding a law, so that, perhaps with some reflection, they might realize that if the religion or law of such people is to be declared true, the vigor of the Christian religion will certainly weaken. (ibid.)

The next several lines of Eulogius’s argument are dedicated to a series of biblical citations affirming not only the validity of the Gospel, but the impossibility that any doctrine could change or replace it (Galatians 1:9, Matthew 24:4, and 1 John 4:1). The saint declares, “By what logic is it to be believed that a demonic man full of lies bring forth truth? A man completely wrapped up in errors hand on a religion?” (ibid.).

Muhammad is the greatest heresiarch, continues Eulogius, since Christ’s Ascension and, taught by the Devil, brought forth all the ancient heresies that the great patristic writers had fought to destroy. Eulogius invites his reader to seek more information about the lies of this sect from its very believers or, if preferred, in his own Memoriale sanctorum (13r). And it is to the Memoriale that Lorca turns, as well, which is a further development of Muhammad’s crimes and biblical warnings against speaking as a prophet when not sent by God (13r-14r).
Lorca makes this message more explicitly his own in his marginal notes and his *scholia*. The reader is forced to make a decision: will he be one of those who detract from or contribute to the Church’s mission? Will he respond as the martyrs, or attend to his own well-being? The marginal notes thus serve the purpose of highlighting the text itself and appear to have the twofold purpose of poorly portraying the Prophet and emphasizing the duty of the reader to respond to the great danger he represents to Spain and its Christians: “The death of Muhammad, whom the dogs mangled” (12r); “[Eulogius] condemns the prudence of those who killed the saints for the impious religion according to Muhammad” (12v); “The unspeakable judgment of Muhammad concerning Christ Our Savior, as he has it in the Qur’an...” (13r); and “The impious crimes of Muhammad” (13v). Lorca reiterates and expands on these points in the *scholia*, concisely attacking Muhammad, Islam, and those who follow them: “He who was a small spark of Hell in Arabia, slowly growing and inflaming the globe, ignited nearly half of it and dragged it down to the eternal flame” (14v); Muhammad’s followers “vainly committed a thousand murders... [because] they believed themselves to be offering a service to God” (ibid.); “He teaches Christ with a blasphemous tongue... taught by Sergius the Arian monk” (ibid.); and, “Who might read these things that will not seize... not so much a rod for averting and banishing the senseless Muhammadan clangs, as a sword for slaying the worshipers of Muhammad...?” (15r), to cite a few. Lorca thus introduces some of the major themes of polemic within the context of the Christian legacy and the duty of Spain, and through it he offers a militant interpretation of a militant text and calls his reader to respond.
In this sense, Lorca’s citation of the *Apologeticus* and *Memoriale* is more than a misrepresentation of Islam; it is an important insight into Lorca’s concept of Christian society and its influence on his approach to Islam in the *Catechisms*, particularly in these first sections. In other words, Lorca sees Muhammad as a threat to the eternal well being of all Christians, more immediately, of the Moriscos, and he even includes the Muslims. This view of the world does not simply mean that Lorca is “unable to see” the problem from the perspective of the Muslims, for example. Though it suggests this world view, it also suggests his human concern for his own culture, the Moriscos, and for the religious other, which is the Muslim. He thus necessarily sees the problem also as two world orders at war: Christendom versus Islam. As Vicente Cantarino argues in his book *Entre monjes y musulmanes: El conflicto que fue España* (1978), for Eulogius and the movement that he represents, “… los árabes, su religión, su lengua y su cultura son orientales y totalmente irreconciliables con el cristianismo o con aquellas formas visigodo-romanas que, por alianza de siglos, se habían convertido ya en cristianas” (76).

In this chapter, we are witnessing Lorca’s response to the “árabes” and “su religión,” and the need to protect his own people and religion. Such a vision, though developed independently of Eulogius’s writings, is decisive in the consciousness of sixteenth-century Spain, as well as in Lorca’s *Catechisms*, who adopts Eulogius’s vision as his own and harnesses it in these passages to make it that of his reader.

The portrayal of Muhammad, Islam, and the Muslims in pejorative and polemical terms reaches further extremes in the “List of Muhammad’s Errors in General.” It thus further ridicules in order to animate. Though this section serves as a quick reference
guide to the polemical points addressed in the respective catechisms, in this particular context they are presented without the accompanying religious instruction in Christian doctrine. In this sense, this list is more than a guide for the rest of the text. It is, rather, a concentrated and un-contextualized attack complimenting the previous sections of polemic. They call the reader to action, because they portray the enemy in vivid terms and lead the reader on to the rest of the Catechisms of Instruction. For example, point number nine under “C” suggests that “Sex with beasts is regarded licit for certain disciples of Muhammad after a long penance completed in this life. Fifth Catechism” (16r). If the reader searches the fifth catechism, he or she will find that “Arabs customarily punish this with death for some and the amputation of their members...” (58r). Again, under “L,” the theologian writes that “The moon [...] should be revered with worship of latria by Muhammad’s worshipers. Third Catechism” (17r). The allegation is so qualified in the third catechism that one might readily question its validity: Lorca is either suggesting that the observation of certain days as religiously or superstitiously significant is equivalent to moon (and sun) worship (43r-v), or, more likely, that the presence of night and day in Islamic paradise is equivalent to the adoration of the two luminaries (44r).

Among the many other polemical points of this section (there are fifty-two of them), two more are worthy of note: that of the baptism of Jews and that of the virginity of Mary, where the points are brought ad absurdum. Concerning the first, Lorca suggests that “Baptism is only necessary for salvation for those who pass from Judaism to Muhammadism. Ninth and Fifteenth Catechism” (16r). It is a rather unusual and
absurd polemical point, but at least he fields an explanation in the indicated catechisms:

“He wished the Jews to be received to his sect by this law and sign: that they first be soaked with the baptismal waters, [...] [so that] they might be regarded as supported by the Moorish religion, not the Judaic superstition” (145r). The logic operates on the belief that Muhammad hated the Jews and that he liked the Christians, and therefore required the Jews to first become Christians. Logic reaches its most tenuous point, however, when Lorca addresses the problem of the Virgin Mary, where he first alleges that “Mary conceived by the seed of Joseph, by means of the power of the Holy Spirit, so she did not remain Virgin. First Catechism” (17r-v). Immediately following this point, Lorca adds, “If Mary did remain virgin, she will be united with Muhammad (as he himself wishes) in the next life” (17v). This last point is not found in any of the catechisms, and thus only serves as a polemical point based on a questionable conditional clause. However, he has touched on two sensitive questions for an early modern, Spanish Christian: apostasy (in this case, a Jew becoming a Christian only to become a Muslim) and the virginity of the Mother of God. Outraged, the reader might join with the catechetical mission at hand.

Finally, “Muhammad’s Errors in General” also operates as polemic rather than religious instruction, with the eventual end of instruction in mind. The heresies with which Lorca is identifying Islam would likely mean nothing to the Moriscos, or Muslims, but are significant for an educated Christian readership. In this section, Lorca identifies “Muhammad’s” teachings with Arius, Sabellius, Eunomius, Carpocratus, Manicheus, the Donatists, the Origenists, the Anthropomorphites, the Priscillianists, the Begards and the
Beguins, Simon the Magician (from Acts 8), the Anabaptists, Tatianus, and the Cynic philosophers, all within folia 18v-19v. The first five in the list deny Christ’s double nature and the Trinity in some way and Christian theologians related them to the Qur’anic doctrine on Christ, which denies his divinity. Likewise, the other individuals or schools deny some other fundamental doctrine of orthodoxy, whether it is on the nature of salvation, the sacraments, or the Divinity. Peter the Venerable mentions the better part of these in his *Summula* in the twelfth century. Lorca, however, relies on Riccoldo di Montecroce, whose *Confutatio legis latae Saracenis* forms part of Bibliander’s collection. We find a list towards the end of chapter 1 with roughly the same order, accusations, and vocabulary as in Lorca (86-90). However, Lorca does not simply copy it; he adapts it by closely relating it to his contemporary context (Anabaptism). Thus, Lorca inspires his readers by defining Islam not only with the early heresies that plagued the Christian Church, but the protestant heresies plaguing it in his own day. It must be fought on Spanish soil, and the Moriscos saved.

The “Muhammad’s Errors in General” bring the preliminary sections to a close, and the first catechism begins, which, while the goal to inspire is never absent, the application for instruction is more immediate. Thus, these first sections serve as a directive to the Christian reader and are not intended to be related as catechetical material. It informs, but more importantly it inspires. By defining or portraying Islam as an enemy and Muhammad and “his followers” as plotting against Spain and the Church, the theologian captures his reader and, in a sense, forces him into a decision. Will he work for the salvation of the Church and its members (including the Moriscos), or watch
as God’s sheepfold is attacked? This motivation is the goal of the anti-Islamic polemic of the opening sections of the *Catechisms of Instruction*.

**Polemic in the Context of Instruction: Un-Teaching the Bad to Teach the Good**

Whereas the polemical content of the introductory sections of the *Catechisms of Instruction* are presented in a politicized and nationalistic context, within the individual catechisms the arguments and attacks against Muhammad, Islamic doctrine, and the Muslims are generally presented in the context of instruction in Christian doctrine and truth, and therefore serve the purpose of religious instruction rather than motivational polemic. Lorca’s use of the polemic extends throughout the catechisms and is often repetitive. I have divided my review of Lorca’s attack against Islam, though now in the context of catechesis, in three sections: Muhammad, the Qur’an and Islamic tradition, and the Muslims. Regarding Muhammad, the strongest and most direct discussion by Lorca is made through the work of Saint Eulogius, but the theologian does dissertate on his “questionable” morality and status as a law-giver at various points in the catechisms themselves. In these contexts, the purpose is clearly that of instruction: Muhammad was deceived by Satan and his own desires, and therefore could not have promulgated a holy law. Christ, however, is a worthy law-giver. With respect to the law itself, Muhammad’s is inconsistent and destructive, but Christ’s is pure, peaceable, and works holiness in those who follow it. Finally, Muslims refuse to question their law and are blind: otherwise they would see that it opposes natural reason and cannot be from God. Christians, however, are free from all slavery and blindness, and their lives are gradually
transformed for the better. In this constant contrast, Lorca offers the alternative to the lie, and thus invites the Moriscos from that lie to the truth.

Lorca attacks Muhammad outside of the context of the polemic of Eulogius’s works, and he does so in a fashion designed to argue with and convince the Moriscos that he was not a prophet. In order to do this, Lorca charges that Muhammad did not receive a divine revelation, but rather made up a doctrine from various sources. For example, in the first catechism, “On Denying the Muhammadan Sect,” Lorca alleges that Muhammad received his doctrine from Satan, but also Sergius, an Arian Monk (24v). In the same passage, the theologian suggests that Muhammad further adapted these influences to his own way of thinking—“he had pulled out the rest [of his doctrine] from his own demented mind”—and therefore produced an even more perverse sect (ibid).

But Muhammad and his demonic sources did not seek to simply create a new sect, but also to rope in the “People of the Book,” which included Christians and Jews. Lorca believes that Muhammad adapted aspects of the laws of each in order to attract these groups to his new “sect.” For example, in the sixth catechism, “On Overcoming Other Rites of the Muhammadan Sect,” Lorca writes that Muhammad suggested “remitting offenses” was better than vindication, but that vindication was just and therefore the rightful law (69v). He did this specifically “in order to gratify himself to both Jews and Christians” (ibid). It is for this same reason that Muhammad accepted Christ as a prophet, but rejected his divinity, and likewise accepted the Mosaic Law (passim.). If the points themselves mirror those in the introductory section, here they are designed to convince the Moriscos that the bearer of Islam was not divinely inspired.
Another way that Lorca attacks Muhammad is by interpreting the Prophet’s sexual relations in pejorative terms: a holy person would not behave in this way, according to the Christian tradition. The theologian followed the story of Zayd and Zaynab in Eulogius’s version of Muhammad’s life, where the Prophet married the divorced wife of his servant. However, our author also brings up another episode in somewhat vague terms in the fifth catechism, when “he was reprimanded by two of his wives for the defilement of his Jewish slave, a gift given to him” (59r). Lorca follows the traditional polemic based on his relations with his servant Mariyah and the offense that two of his wives took when they caught him in bed with her, along with the accompanying revelation (Sura 66:1). But Lorca steps beyond these stories to attack Muhammad’s sexual activities, where he writes, for example, that “he was the rival of many other men, committing more than enough adulteries…” (94r). The theologian develops this point to critique the Prophet for “granting himself” permission, through the Qur’an, to possess any and as many women as he wished, even beyond the limits imposed on other Muslims (94v). In this phrase, Lorca combines all the accusations and stories he has shared with the reader up to this point: “[he] granted himself an abundance for stealing from his slave [Zayd] [...] and abusing his purchased slaves, and keeping more, if he could support them…” (ibid.). For Lorca, a messenger from God would not seek so many women, and he certainly would not abuse his followers in order to attain them.

Citing Saint Gregory, the theologian explains his point: “Indeed his doctrine is rightly disdained whose life is condemned” (94r). These stories thus serve as a means of
convincing the Moriscos—or, in the ninth catechism, the Muslims—that the Prophet of Islam was not chosen by God. Lorca, and writers before him, believed the logic was manifest, and that thinking people should be convinced by it. Thus, Lorca’s attacks against Muhammad are not primarily bent on “destroying” another; it is rather thought to build up something surer and truer. If Lorca does not show that Muhammad was a “depraved” man, then the Moriscos or Muslims will not be able to reject him as a prophet and accept the true Christ in his stead.

The theologian likewise questions Muhammad’s prophetic calling by his lack of signs and the means of promulgating his law. In various passages Lorca repeatedly criticizes Muhammad for claiming that he was a prophet while admitting that he did not have the power to perform signs (33v, 94v, 95r). For Lorca, this means that the surest way of promulgating his law was war, which the theologian constantly asserts is the Prophet’s surest “sign”: “he had come in the sword, not in the power of miracles, to bring men from various religions to his sect” (33v). This sign, of course, is a sign that he is not divinely sent at all, but rather a self-proclaimed ruler. But Satan did teach his prophet a few tricks, which the Muslims mistook for signs. In the ninth catechism, Lorca explains the three miracles of the dove, the flowing milk, and the camel who ascends to heaven, which “his defecating demon” taught him (95v). In the first, Muhammad, with the help of Sergius, taught a dove to pluck food out from his ear so that onlookers would believe it was an angel coming from heaven with new revelations. In the next, the Prophet hides a skin of milk in the earth and strikes it with a staff, whence the milk begins to spring forth. In the last, Muhammad prepares a camel in the darkness of night
and pretends that it has taken him to heaven and back. The stories are polemical classics, and, according to Norman Daniels, have no origin in Islamic tradition (52). Their lack of foundation in Islamic tradition, though, makes no difference, since they serve as “examples” of Muhammad’s desire to deceive others. Lorca’s aim, then, is “catechetical,” as he provides as many reasons as possible: a divinely sent messenger does not have to result either to violence or trickery, but proclaims the truth openly and with supernatural power and authority.

Finally, Pedro Guerra de Lorca argues that if Muhammad was a bearer of divine law, the scriptures would have foretold his coming. The traditional polemic often argues against Islam on several points here, since Muslims might refer to prophecy by Moses and Christ of a coming advocate, as Norman Daniels explains (73). Lorca appears silent on this matter. He nonetheless offers an unexpected argument against the allegation that the gospel had been corrupted by the first followers of Christ, and therefore does not attest to Muhammad’s coming (84v, 93r). The theologian might have ridiculed the mere possibility of such corruption when so many peoples in so many different regions all had the scriptures, and that, though the Jews and the Christians are enemies, their scriptures agree, as is custom. Instead, he prefers to rest his argument on the authority of the Church, which he opposes to Muhammad: “Since it is guided by the spirit of God, it cannot err; however, a particular man, an idiot, stupid, and carnal, errs by the whole way and the whole sky” (93r). The theologian expands on this problem further, however, when he does admit the possibility of Muhammad’s coming having been foretold in Daniel. Lorca cites chapter seven, verse 25: “He shall speak against the Most
High and oppress the holy ones of the Most High, and he will think that he can change feast days and the laws” (96r). Lorca refers to “some” who read this passage as referent to Muhammad, though Jerome sees this prophecy as rightly understood of any Antichrist who comes preaching against the Word (ibid). Lorca believes the results are the same: Muhammad could not have been a prophet, because Muhammad is not spoken of in the scriptures as Christ and he speaks blasphemies against Christ.

Lorca, however, wishes his reader to bear in mind that “I should desire even more that he be turned to Christ than doubtful or tottering concerning his sect” (91r-v). Here he speaks specifically of the “Muhammadans,” since winning them to Christ is the object of the ninth catechism, but the same attitude holds true for his instruction of the Moriscos, wavering between Islam and their professed Christian faith. Therefore, the theologian offers the counter example to Muhammad, which is Christ, and welcomes them to him. Christ received his doctrine from the Father, and he never spoke on his own. Whereas Muhammad sought political power and his own glory, Christ sought the well-being of his followers and the glory of his Father. He is the “teacher of both all humility and truth” (29v). The authority of his doctrine is attested to by the Apostle to the Gentiles, who proclaims that the gospel that he preaches is not from man, but from God himself, “thundering from the heavens” (passim.). Not only was Christ’s life holy and flawless, but he was so pure that he offered himself on the cross as expiation for humankind’s sins (94r, 98v, 112r). Christ came with such authority that he worked marvelous signs: healing the sick, calming the storms, and even raising the dead to life, and, furthermore, he possessed such authority that he gave the same power to his
disciples (7r, 11r, 29v, 46v). It is through these signs and the willing self-sacrifice of his followers that the gospel spread. It did not require violence or trickery. And, finally, unlike Muhammad, Christ is foretold by the prophets (30r, 58v, 84v). All of these things point the Moriscos (and Muslims) to Christ, who will give them all the necessary grace for perfection (passim.). Thus, the polemic becomes instruction.

Another point of attack for Lorca is that of Islamic law itself. One of the arguments that underlie the author’s thought throughout the text is that Islamic law is destructive to its followers. Among the most notable examples are those pertaining to marriage and divorce, which Lorca believes opposes the possibility of establishing a partnership and a family built on mutual love. Out of fear of divorce, women must constantly keep their appearance up and provide financially for themselves in the event of separation, which will inevitably come (60r-v). And perhaps one of the theologian’s most emotive passages is found here where he speaks of the children, whom he recognizes are “dearly beloved by them” (60r). Nonetheless, their “interest” is “poorly looked upon” by Islamic divorce law, since “[upon divorce] the offspring separated from the breast not only passes under paternal jurisdiction but also [...] never again falls into the maternal embrace...” (ibid.). For this reason, the love a children towards their parents “grows cold” (ibid.). Lorca also notes this “destructive” nature of Islam in the “law of retaliation” and what he considers an inability to receive forgiveness for certain crimes. Concerning the latter, in the sixth catechism Lorca takes up the theme of murder, which he alleges, under certain conditions, is an unforgiveable offense in Islam. Thus, he writes, “In this penal description no place is left for penance or mercy, but he is
enrolled as a future citizen of Gehenna from that moment” (70v). Laws such as these, according to Lorca, oppose the basis of a strong community, and only bring division, fear, and despair. They are therefore not from God, who seeks unity among believers and offers hope to sinners.

Lorca perceives another sign of falsehood in Islam in the Qur’an itself, which he believes to be self-contradictory. A holy law must be all truth, and truth cannot contradict itself. Lorca offers this argument in two different ways: one is through specific examples, and another is that of the Qur’an’s acceptance of Jews and Christians. In one intense section of the ninth catechism, Lorca cites Riccoldo’s Confutatio, referring to what he believes to be Qur’anic teachings as written by Muhammad:

He does not have and, afterwards, does have, the authority for bringing forth miracles; he has come in the sword for devouring nations and he does not wish to commit an offense against anyone; Christian men should both be killed and loved by his followers; anyone is saved in his sect alone, and everyone, if they do good, will be saved in their various sects; adultery is a grave sin and sometimes is not regarded a sin; it is permitted to wage war against Christians by plunder and theft and [it is not permitted] to do any harm [to Christians]... (94v)

The list continues, and concludes with the statement, “He alleged all of these and many more contradictory propositions, which the reader will stumble upon everywhere in his Qur’an” (ibid.). Among these “propositions,” Lorca develops the problem of “various sects” as a contradiction in itself, since, if God wished to bring a better law, he would have wished that all people follow it. In the eighth catechism, for example, Lorca cites 1
Corinthians (3:4-8), where Paul criticizes the community for opposing Paul to Apollos, whereas they should be instead claiming unity in Christ. After citing Ketton’s Qur’an, he asks, “If there is only one gospel, why does he not call all to its observance?” (85r-v). Satan, Lorca insists, preaches division, not God (ibid.).

Lorca also argues that Islamic doctrine opposes natural reason. One of the principle targets of this argument is that of Islamic paradise, which we will take up shortly. But more basically, Lorca critiques Islam for opposing arguments on religion—its refusal to be subject to intellectual inquiry. At the end of the first catechism Lorca attacks this point in a breathless manner, telling his reader to “consider the invention of the false prophet Muhammad, consisting in no reason, and his vain religion, lacking in all truth” (30r). It is therefore easy to “accuse, reprove, and persecute” (ibid.) In the second catechism the theologian repeats this accusation. Now it is in the context of the prohibition to translate the Qur’an from Arabic and that of Islam’s “violent” spread. Lorca insists that Muhammad wished that the sacred book not be translated so that the “Arabs” “might not ever again rebound from it [...] for he who was led by Christian piety and love of neighbors [...] having made use of a translation, could have [...] proven the inconsistency of his sect” (33v). On the same folio, Lorca writes that Muhammad commanded that his followers “not set out for the defense of their sect armed with either reasoning or arguments,” but with the sword (ibid.). Thus, the followers of Islam are duped, because they accept on faith what they might easily show by reason (such as the eternity of the soul, the existence of God, or the final judgment, etc.), and accept other things present in Islam that might be easily proven false (Muhammad’s divine
calling, the divine origin of the Qur’an, etc). Lorca’s sole hope for converting Muslims (as opposed to instructing Moriscos), in fact, rests on the possibility of convincing them to use their reason (92v ff.).

However, in order to avoid simply destroying the faith of his charges or, in the case of the ninth catechism, the Muslims, Lorca seeks to provide another foundation on which to build their salvation, which is the Christian faith. The Church offers life-giving laws, and the means by which they might receive salvation. Thus, having forsaken Islam, they might have hope. Baptism is the beginning of this hope, which Lorca reiterates throughout the Catechisms, but the Moriscos are already baptized, and therefore are in need of different ministry. For example, whereas Islamic law allows for divorce and therefore undermines the security and love of family, the Church upholds the indissoluble knot of matrimony, such as Lorca explains in the fifth catechism. It is a sacrament; it is a visible sign of a spiritual reality and it makes that reality present for those who participate: “and together they will consecrate their souls and bodies to marital chastity,” thereby mirroring the mystery of Christ and his bride (60v). Lorca further emphasizes the power of the sacraments amidst the promises of Muhammad in the twelfth catechism, “On Caring for the Dead.” Here the theologian ensures the priests that they must administer confession, extreme unction, and the Eucharist as viaticum liberally so that the dying Morisco might both maintain and obtain the hope of eternal life (118v). But if the sacraments are the Church’s principle means of administering Christ’s grace, these are part of a law that offers a guide for right living. According to Lorca, “Muhammad’s law” brings death and destruction, but the Church’s
and, therefore, Christ’s law brings new life and perfection, which is even now being administered to the Moriscos (32r).

The Gospel of Christ is likewise offered as a contradiction to the Qur’an, since it is all truth and the fulfillment of what came before. Lorca constantly brings the sacred books of the two religions into contrast. It is all perfect, and therefore opposes any “corrector” or replacement, as Lorca argues in the eighth catechism, taking on the person of Paul: “... the gospel of Christ […] is only one: but [the gospel] of the pseudo-prophets is contrary to this…” (84r). Lorca further develops his argument by citing Galatians (1:11-12), attempting to convince the Moriscos that Christ’s message as it has been handed down by the Church is the only authoritative word of God, since God alone is its source (ibid.). In the second catechism, Lorca juxtaposes the “miscellaneous” character of the Qur’an (made up of, Lorca alleges, parts of the Old and New Testaments), to the “pure and sincere religion of the Gospel” (33v). It is a book that calls all people to unity, but the Qur’an allows for a variety of sects. The gospel is peaceful, but the Qur’an encourages war. The gospel calls to purity and selflessness, but the Qur’an allows for every vice and justifies the abuses committed not only by Muhammad, but his disciples. These contrasts are the principle means by which Lorca attempts to crush any last vestige of belief in the one faith, and build a foundation on the other.

The Christian tradition, Lorca further argues, also shows that it is not opposed to natural reason, and even those truths that cannot be proven can be shown credible. This assertion is an attempt by the theologian to offer a ready alternative for the Morisco or the Muslim who has begun to question the principle assumptions of Islam.
Mirroring the argument of theologians such as Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa contra Gentiles*, Lorca asserts that certain truths of the faith could be arrived at through reason, just as the philosophers were able to attain through the subtlety of the human intellect truths such as the existence of a Supreme Being and Creator, the eternity of the soul, and the rightful end of intellectual creatures (25v, 95r). Many of these truths, Lorca points out, Muhammad accepted, but he perverted them and required that “his followers” accept them on faith (26r, 121v). The theologian thus rhetorically asks in the ninth catechism, “What kind of merit for the Muhammadan faith is there, which is held concerning visible things and comprehended by natural reason?” (93r). He points out that the Church proclaims these same truths without the perversion, and openly investigates them so that its faithful might understand and not be ignorant. And even those truths of the Church beyond human understanding “are very much shown [to be] credible” (94r). Such are the truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation, which Lorca seeks to defend in the face of Islam in various passages of the *Catechisms of Instruction*. Thus, by offering the intellectual tradition of Christianity, Lorca hopes to provide what he believes Islam lacks: the support of human intellect.

Yet another point of Islamic doctrine that Lorca attacks is paradise, which he argues is unworthy of the human intellect. This problem is one of “end,” that for which a being is created and where it is called to rest. In the Christian tradition, eternal rest for an intellectual creature must be intellectual, since this faculty is what makes people like God. Paradise is a restoration and perfection of humankind’s likeness to God and its ultimate and only joy is contemplation of the Divinity. Thus Lorca writes that
Muhammad disregarded the soul’s “essence and its natural desire” towards God and “reduced it in his appetite and made it fall from its dignity” (95r). Elsewhere, Lorca sums up his understanding of Islamic paradise in virgins, food, and drink. He alleges that they “are forged together for a carnal beatitude, and it was not fashioned for the soul…” (43v). It is also at this point that the theologian suggests that Islamic paradise is the equivalent of idolatry because the sun and the moon will illuminate them rather than God (*ibid*.). In the twelfth catechism Lorca makes his most virulent ridicule of Islamic paradise, but the context is telling. Here he paints “Muhammad’s” paradise in vivid hell-like terms. Each expected pleasure has been conceived in its opposite: embraces with virgins are now torments, the food and drink are now pit and brimstone, and the fountains of honey and rivers of milk are now flame and smoke “and a woods thick with terror” (118r). Here Lorca is attempting to give his reader language to share with the dying Morisco, frightening him onto what he considers the true path and into heaven, away from the promises of Islam that would lead to eternal destruction.

Thus, the theologian’s purposes for this polemic material within the context of the catechisms steps well beyond the simple desire to tear apart the Muslim faith or, for Lorca, the remnants of the Moriscos’ ancestral faith. Lorca is attempting to instruct and win over those he fears might be lost. This goal is further emphasized in this case, as in the others, by his offering an alternative, which is Christian beatitude. As I have suggested immediately above, the theologian offers arguments as to why true beatitude must be intellectual, and why the soul can only find its true rest in the contemplation of God. However, the theologian wishes to go beyond theology and serve as a pastor, and
thus offers more emotive words for inspiring his reader and, through him, the Moriscos. Such is the case at the end of the twelfth catechism, where he appeals to both the pastoral reader and the ultimate end of the work, which is the Morisco. Here, both body and soul are promised immortality, a point which would not need emphasized if Lorca was simply attacking Islam (since Islam accepts both). Lorca seeks to comfort the dying, not destroy his or her faith: “... immortality is certain for both [body and soul] for those who have died in Christ,” and they will “live in Christ and rise to eternal glory with him, no longer to see the second death” (122v). As we noted at the beginning of this chapter, Cardaillac accuses Lorca of simply ridiculing Islam, but there is more. The cruel words are for a purpose, and here what appears to be “hate” for a cultural other blends into hope for his or her well-being.

Now we come to the last of Lorca’s attacks on Islam that I wish to address in this chapter, which is the theologian’s portrayal of Muslims themselves. If Muhammad and Islam are so bad, then why do so many people follow it? In order to answer the implied dilemma, Lorca must show that those who follow it are defective or, at best, misled. He appears to attempt this goal through two means: classifying them as a race and attacking them as such (“Arabs”), and showing that others fall into the “Muhammadan Sect” due to the violence and trickery of his followers. The frequency that Lorca uses the term “Arabs” to refer to Muslims is telling, and it almost always occurs in a pejorative context. They are portrayed as Muhammad’s cohorts, and are perhaps his only “natural followers.” The terms he employs to describe them are “carnal,” “stupid,” “blind,” and “barbaric.” The exceptions to the rule are the “Arab doctors” who ridicule Islamic
paradise, most specifically Avicenna, but who seem to continue as Muslims either from fear or from lust (i.e. they enjoy the supposed moral “laxity” of Islam) (26r, 95r). Other Muslims, often referred to as “Moors,” and crypto-Muslims among the Moriscos, or “secret Moors,” however, are not innately flawed. Portraying them as fooled or enticed by base desire and false promises, Lorca seeks their salvation. The most telling example is found in the eighth catechism, “On Prohibiting Communion with the Saracens,” where he even calls dogmatizers back to the faith and warns the Moriscos to avoid them if they refuse.

Equally interesting and significant for this theme, however, is Lorca’s approach to the Moriscos who have fallen into heresy, whom Lorca seeks to bring back to the fold. Have they fallen because they are evil? While the theologian criticizes them severely, he offers some sympathy, which is found throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*, and he continues to identify them with the fold of Christ. Lorca even contextualizes this problem for his reader, removing it from the paradigm of Christianity versus Islam and placing it in the more universal issue of salvation versus perdition. Thus, for example, in the fifth catechism, Lorca begins with strong language seemingly critical of Muslims as if a race: different animals are caught by different bait, including “tender meat” (56v); and it is this bait that Muhammad uses “so that he might easily catch unlearned and carnal men as in a grave…” (*ibid.*). However, Lorca quickly identifies all people with this fall, which “trapped our parents and brought them to miserable ruin,” and enslaved all to sin (*ibid.*). Thus, the “Moors,” whether open or “secret,” share in a common humanity, and therefore Christians are called to their aid. It is in the fourteenth catechism, “On
Punishing Heretics,” that the significance of this approach comes to light: “Woe to him who is alone, because when he falls, he will not have someone who lifts him up” (136v). Even the Inquisition, for Lorca, serves primarily to succor, rather than punish, though, admittedly, they go hand in hand for the theologian.

Finally, even in the “polemical” material, largely based on doctrinal difference, we should note that Lorca’s “theological” discussions are not developed to the degree of many of his predecessors and contemporaries, and certainly not nearly to the profundity of Ribera’s catechism. Lorca, rather, generally keeps his theology basic and applicable. This practice is true in his attacks against Islam as well as his exaltation of Christianity, at least within the catechisms designed to be immediately applied to the Moriscos. For example, each catechism, as we have noted, begins with a Pauline verse, which closely links practice (which we address in chapter five) with belief: practices such as circumcision or the avoidance of certain foods, remnants of the Old Law, are contrary to the grace received at baptism; the process of dying and grieving has everything to do with the theology of beatitude, to which Lorca makes more of an emotive than an intellectual appeal; and so on. Whereas a catechism such as Ribera’s begins with arguments on the First Mover, true to Thomas’ model in the Summa Contra Gentiles, Lorca begins with a discussion on Muhammad’s biography and the senselessness of ablutions when baptism has been received and confession is present to remedy faults, even grave faults for which, according to Lorca, Muhammad could promise no sure way of forgiveness. If it is customary to argue that the Bible could not have been corrupted because too many people possessed the text at any given time, Lorca emphasizes that
the authority of the Church is more than adequate to combat such a proposition. Such an approach is pastoral, and further emphasizes the missionary aspect of his work and approach. The theologian wishes to push belief and trust rather than subtle understanding, which is more appropriate for philosophers than common people.\textsuperscript{25}

At last, we come to our final point for this chapter, which is Lorca’s distinction between the Moriscos and the Muslims. I have noted this distinction in passing throughout the chapter. This point, however, is not minor, since it defines the theologian’s approach and perception of the primary aim of the work, which is the instruction of Christians. This distinction is not new, but it is important. For example, Francisco Pons Fuster has noted a similar approach in the catechisms of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, and suggests that such an approach shows “el conocimiento directo” of the author of the missionary field (10). It thus emphasizes the pastoral knowledge and approach of the author. Lorca draws the distinction so clearly that, in the ninth catechism, he rhetorically apologizes for discussing the Muslims at all, writing, “let our proselytes patiently bear it if we negotiate [the salvation] of their brothers just as their salvation” (91r). This perceived difference between the two groups stands in sharp contrast to Ribera’s approach, whose dialogued catechism takes place not between a Christian priest and another baptized Christian, but between a priest and an African Muslim. This individual is not only Muslim, but well-educated and thoroughly convinced by careful philosophical discussion likely beyond the Moriscos, who, in large part, were relatively poorly instructed in both Christianity and Islam, and largely held to their belief through faith rather than philosophical assent. Thus, we see that Lorca’s distinction

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translates into actual practice, preferring immediate and concrete application in the case of the Moriscos to the theological discussions appropriate to a learned disputation.

Concluding Remarks

In the preceding pages I have provided an overview of Pedro Guerra de Lorca’s use of the Christian polemic against Islam, and I have argued that he employs it with two distinct ends. Whereas in the introductory material the theologian appears to seek polemical rather than immediate instructional ends, the vast majority of his attack against Islam is geared towards the religious instruction of the Moriscos or, in the ninth catechism, entitled “On Making Proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect,” the conversion of Muslims. In his excellent study Islam and the West, Norman Daniels criticizes the Christian polemicists for being too obtuse to accurately or sympathetically approach Islam. For example, the scholar notes that Christian writers customarily failed to appreciate the authority of the Qur’an, and explains, “The Qur’an in Islam is very nearly what Christ is in Christianity: the Word of God, the whole expression of revelation” (ibid.). Whereas “the Bible receives its significance from Christ [...] Muhammad derives his from the Qur’an” (ibid.). Lorca complicates this problem, citing Saint Augustine’s Contra epistolam Manichei: “I would not believe in the gospel unless the authority of the Church would impress it upon me” (93r). In other words, for Lorca, the gospel receives its authority from the Church, and the Church is the source of salvation. For these writers, there is one faith, and the intellect is rightly employed only after it has accepted the truth (i.e. “faith seeking understanding”). Lorca, his contemporaries, and his predecessors did what they had to do according to their
understanding of humanity, not contrary to it. As Thomas Aquinas writes in the first pages of the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, “Just as it is of the wise man to contemplate especially the truth of the first principle [...] so it is his to contradict the contrary falseness” (1, 2). Thus, Lorca uses polemic to excite his readership, but he also uses it to save the Moriscos. In fact, I have suggested that even the “polemical” end of the beginning sections is aimed at the ultimate end of instructing the Moriscos, since it inspires its readers to this aim.

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15 It is a version of this edition (via Francisco Cardinal Lorenzana y Butron’s 1785 edition, see Colbert (1962)) that eventually finds its way into Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*, volume 115. Edward P. Colbert, in his *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850-859): A study of the Sources* (1962), discusses the circumstances surrounding Morales’s publication of the text, and notes that it was actually Bishop Ponce de León who discovered the text and may have been responsible for its preparation for publication (435 ff.)

16 PL 115:859. References in the text refer to the book and the paragraph or the book, chapter, and the paragraph, as is custom. When I refer to the Eulogius’s works in the context of Lorca’s *Catechisms*, I simply provide the folio where it is found in the *Catechisms*.

17 Heraclius ruled the (Eastern) Roman Empire from 610-641, and lost Syria and Palestine after Muhammad’s death. The emperor became regarded as a heretic (monoenergism and monotheletism) by the Church (Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* 207), which, for some polemicists, would explain why he lost so much of his empire to the Muslims. See, for example, the Conc. Lateranense 649. under S. Martinus I, *De Trinitate*, can. 18 (ed. Denzinger), as well as the *De haeresi Heraclii et principatu ac lege Machumeti [Disputatio Christiani eruditissimi]* in the second volume of Bibliander’s collection (1).

18 The Prophet’s home was Medina. Damascus, conquered in 634. under Umar (d. 644), the second caliph, was not established as the administrative center of Islam until after Ali’s (fourth caliph) assassination in 661. After this event, Muawiyah (d. 680) establishes himself as caliph, moves his rule to Damascus, and begins the Umayyad dynasty. For more historical inaccuracies, see the first catechism, “On Denying the Sect of Muhammad”, where Muhammad earns the title “Sultan” in Egypt (f. 23v).

19 Eulogius alludes to Suras 2.67, 29.41, 7.133 and 27.22, respectively.
20 Specifically, Eulogius refers to Sura 33.37, which addresses whether Muhammad should marry Zaynab, whom Zayd had divorced, as briefly discussed earlier in this chapter.

21 As Norman Daniel observes in *Islam and the West*, “... most of this outrageous material, ingeniously mixing fact and fancy, would reappear in later ages. So, above all, did its almost indescribably venomous tone” (19). For a more orthodox version of Muhammad’s death, see A. Guillaume’s translation of Ibn Ishaq’s *The Life of Muhammad* (679 ff.).

22 The polemical point, as Lorca suggests, is found in the works of Saint Eulogius (*Memoriale* 1.7). Norman Daniel explains the absurdity of this accusation, “The claim [...] that Islam teaches that the mother of the Lord would lose her virginity in the future state is a libel on Islam that we shall never come across again [after the work of Saint Eulogius]” (18). It might been documented, however, through Inquisitorial causes, that many of the Moriscos rejected the virginity of Mary, undoubtedly an unorthodox reaction to the imposition of Christian belief. See, for example, Juan Aranda Doncel’s “Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces a través de las relaciones de causas del tribunal de la inquisición de Córdoba” (22) in the *Actas del 111 simposio internacional de estudios moriscos: Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces (1492-1609)*.

23 Compare Lorca’s “Mahomedus inter haereticos a doctoribus antiquis annumeratus est, quia multa a Christianis didicit, rediditque sed vt genio suo, & veneri indulgeret, cum omnibus fere haericis coincidit” and “& omne Arrianorum venenum, quod in alijs diabolus sparsim disseminavit, in vnum Mahomedum evomuit” (f. 19v) with Peter’s “ab optimis doctoribus, Iudeis et hereticis, mahomet institutus, Alchoran suum condidit, et tam ex fabulis Judaicis, quam ex hereticorum nemiis confectam nefariam scripturam, barboro illo suo modo contexuit” (205); “Inter ista, omnes pene antiquarum heresum feces, quas diabolo imbunte sorbuerat, reuomens, cum Sabellio trinitatem abnegat...” (207); and, finally, “Quae quidem olim diaboli machinatione concepta, primo per Arrium seminata, deinde per istum Sathanan scilicet Mahumet, proverta, per Antichristum uero, ex toto secundum diabolicam intentionem complebitur” (208).

24 Though Lorca does not mention Riccoldo here, the similarities are too striking to conclude otherwise. For example, compare these passages: “illud enim quod in principio per Arrium seductor diabolus non potuit perficere, hoc per Mahometum adimpleuit” (Lorca f. 18v) and “… illud quod in principio in mundo per Arrium seductor diabolus non potuit perficere; hoc post haec marcescente quidem in ecclesia zelo, malicia autem crescente per Mahometum adimpleuit...” (Riccoldo 87-88); “Cum Carpocrate negat Christum esse Deum: sed Dei tantum Prophetam. Cum Cerdonio affirmat impossibile esse Deum habere filium, ob hoc quia vxorem non habet” (Lorca *ibid.*.) and “Principalis igitur intentio Mahometi est, persuadere, Christum neque deum, neque filium esse Dei... In quibus cum Carpocrate haeretic conuenit. Item affirmat, impossibile esse Deum habere filium, properterea quod uxorem non habet. Cum eodem rursus haeretic etiam in hoc conuenit” [he brings up Cerdonius next in the list] (Riccoldo 88); “Cum Donatistis
pernegat omnia ecclesiae mysteria, quae a Christi persona efficaciam habent. Addit blasphemiam inauditam cum Origenistis, daemones per suum Alcoranum saluari posse” (Lorca ibid.) and “... negat omnia ecclesiae mysteria, quae a divina passione efficaciam habent. In quibus cum Donatistis haereticis conuenit. Dicit autem & daemones salvari posse, per Alcoranum & quod multi eorum cum hoc audissent, facti sunt Saraceni, sequens in his aliquo modo Origenem, qui dicit saluandos fore daemones” (Riccoldo ibid.), among many others.

25 Such an approach by Lorca is not a value judgment, but a simple recognition of human limits, as Aquinas explains in the *Summa contra Gentiles* (Book 1, chapter 4).
CHAPTER 4

CHRISTIAN MISSION AND THE CHURCH IN THE CATECHISMS OF INSTRUCTION

As is evident by this point, Lorca takes the evangelical mission of the Church quite seriously and subordinates all other concerns to it, and he expects his readership to do the same. His most powerful and consistent image for this reasoning is that of Christ’s parable of the talents of Matthew 25:15-30 and Luke 19:12-25. It pervades his entire sense of existence, if we are to judge by its role in the *Catechisms of Instruction*. Its first image is found in the dedication: Lorca applies it to himself, but he tacitly pushes it onto King Philip II. “Another care vexes me,” the theologian writes, “just as I have received the talent, I might give a good account of it to its Lord, hearing God the recompenser, ‘Because in little you were faithful, enter into the joy of your master’” (6v). Lorca applies the same idea for his king shortly thereafter, “The name of the Catholic King bears an honorific title,” but one that brings with it an obligation to complete what Ferdinand and Isabel, Philip I, and Charles V did not: the instruction and full incorporation of the Moriscos into Christian society (8r). Lorca will bear the same message to the presbyters and priests of the Church, always implying the other part of the parable, the consequence of not rightly investing the talent. Lorca ultimately brings this message for all of Christian society: secular judges, Old Christians, the
Moriscos. The responsibilities of each of these groups as well as Lorca’s means of evaluating them are the subject of our chapter, together with their antitypes. In doing so I show that Lorca’s text forces his reader into action, and makes the Church’s evangelical mission the center of all society. I first provide a brief overview of the sectors of society that Lorca addresses, and then discuss each in more detail.

In the eleventh catechism, “On Catechizing the Unlearned,” Lorca describes in mystical terms the role of the priest in Christian society and within the Church, “The Church, the bride of Christ, has two breasts full with milk by which the preachers are understood by the holy doctors who pasture their fawns [...] by word and example” (114r). All society, for Lorca, should mobilize to pasture these “fawns,” the people of God, and, particularly in the context of our author’s catechism, the Moriscos. Lorca builds an entire web and hierarchy of relationships on this mission, and this labyrinth will guide us through the following pages. The primary focus of Lorca’s text is the pastors and their bishops, who bear the ultimate and most immediate relationship to Christ, the head of the Church. The secular authorities, principally the crown and elected officials, constitute Lorca’s second major focus: the other “sword” of the two swords of the Church. But Lorca’s project also includes the Old Christians, who, as baptized Catholics established in the faith bear a responsibility for helping the Moriscos stand firm. On particular occasions the Moriscos well-instructed will also work as missionaries to their brethren. Finally, Lorca addresses the Church glorified, most notably, the saints and the doctors. There is an active role in this catechetical effort for the Martyrs of Cordoba and Saint Eulogius, but also past exemplary bishops and the great Christian
apologists and catechetical writers, from Saint Cyril of Jerusalem to Saint Thomas Aquinas.

We begin with a consideration of the first group to which the *Catechisms of Instruction* are addressed, the “parochos” or pastors. The very term suggests something much more intimate than a priest alone: these are the individuals who have a moral and immediate obligation to the Moriscos. It is thus appropriate that Lorca addresses them in the context of Christ’s parables of the Good Shepherd who seeks the lost sheep and brings it back, even if it means laying down his own life: “What Christ Our Savior has provided for finding the one sheep alone and leading it back to his sheepfold he has also given to the pastors for watching over, just as to them who will give an exact account of it to its Lord” (9r). These are among the first words of Lorca’s “Exhortatory Epistle,” which is directed to the “presbyters and beloved pastors of the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect.” The theologian intertwines the two offices, drawing on the common title of “pastor” to impress the responsibilities of both. The theologian thus cites the *Vita* of Saint Gregory, who notes “with great tears”: “Woe to me, because if my sin makes even one of the sheep of Christ perish, since I have promised my soul for it, I will have to restitute its loss to its lord, nor will another surety loose the debt from me” (9v). And the good pastor of the Church seeks the good of their charges rather than power over them, as Christ indicates in Luke 10 concerning the “faithful and prudent servant, whom the master sets over his home…” (10r). In this sense, the duty of the pastor is more directed to confirming recent converts rather than seeking new ones,
and those who do not realize this and fail in their duty will be condemned at Christ’s second coming (10v).

The work of the pastor, therefore, is that of a shepherd, and this is the role Lorca will assign to him throughout the Catechisms of Instruction. He must find the lost sheep, reclaim it, and carry it back to the fold of Christ. Such a mission, faithfully carried out, will result in the salvation of the Moriscos, but also of those who work among them. The bishops and parish priests exercise this role in distinct ways, and most of Lorca’s practical instructions and exhortations are directed to the latter. He calls the pastors at the parish level to preach the truth and reveal the lies of Islam, whether in the Qur’an or in tradition, and they are the primary contact of the Church with these new Christians. Thus, in “On Putting Dress and Language Aside,” Lorca explains Paul’s letter to the Romans, chapter 10, verse 17, “Now faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard […] comes through the word of Christ” (40r). If the pastors do not preach, then the Moriscos will not be saved. The obligations of the pastors, which Lorca recognizes to be difficult, are supplied by an authority from Christ, who invests each priest with the same authority that he exercised on earth, though he exercised it by his own power and the priest by a gift. If the Moriscos fail due to their negligence, the failure is also theirs.

Through this kind of assurance and exhortation, Lorca attempts to motivate the priests. In the third catechism, then, which is “On Avoiding the Invocation to the Devil,” immediately after describing augury and the practice of magic among the Moriscos, including witches, the theologian cites Luke, chapters nine and ten, where Christ gives
his disciples authority “to tread upon serpents and scorpions” (46v). He explains the authority in the context of the obligation that it bears:

... the priests of Christ have authority for treading serpents, expelling enchanting demons, taking away all divination or superstition from their midst, and, finally, since the insignia of the royal and priestly dignity have been bestowed upon them by God and poured out by the Holy Spirit, exercising their authority against demons, they will exercise these duties. And still yet, they will not flee terrified...

(ibid.).

It becomes evident that part of the problem of getting priests to work among the Moriscos was simple fear, whether of bodily harm from physical violence or even augury and magic, and so Lorca attempts to show the pastors their divine authority and responsibility. In the fifth catechism, Lorca likewise combines a reminder of priestly duty with motivations, this time in the sense of a goal just short of being accomplished:

[Let the pastors] apply themselves to this task, which Christ, the Church, the Christian Republic, and their own salvation demand from them. The proselytes’ docility, benevolence, eagerness for hearing the word of God in their received faith have so reassured me that I expect they will come to their senses before long [...] You will sense it, that the cause is finished for this sect, not only will your adversaries, the worshipers of Muhammad, at last despair, but you, so solidly founded on the teaching of the Church, with the proselytes reduced to a sound mind, will also have marched down unto this battle ground on time. (61r)
Our author will repeat these kinds of exhortations throughout the text, and he is always conscious of not only reminding pastors of their obligations, but showing them that the work is possible.

However, Lorca knows that the pastors of the Church do not always fulfill their office. Thus, he also threatens pastors with the risk of eternal damnation. Sometimes the theologian’s warnings are tacit and simple reminders that there is always an alternative to heaven for those who do not apply themselves. For example, at the conclusion of his “Exhortatory Epistle,” Lorca invokes Luke 6:38, writing, “If this our labor provides anything to pastors [...] let us attribute it a gift received by Christ [...] who will give a good measure, packed together, shaken down into their lap...” (11r). Rather than simply alluding to the reward, Lorca continues, assuring that every sentence he composes works towards his goal, “... to those who labor for the salvation of their sheep too little or greatly” (ibid.). In the catechism, “On Caring for the Dead,” Lorca again reminds his reader of the mutual salvation of the priests and the Moriscos, since the pastor who administers the sacraments at the right time will save “both his and his subject’s [...] soul” (119r). But there is the opposite risk, that both fall into Hell, or, in this particular circumstance, the priest will bear the penalty by himself: “If [...] a proselyte from that sect is duly expunged by wholly confessing his sins [...] then he should be admitted to the three sacraments [...] Otherwise, the priest will be injurious against himself and his parishioner by manifest judgment” (118v). The priests are required to offer what they have received, and if they do not, when the proselyte is dragged to Hell, the pastor “will be dragged to Hell with them” (114v).
Through these passages, the reader is affirmed in the common message of the catechism: that all society must mobilize in the mission of the Church. Here the priests are especially directed to put all cares aside except one: the salvation of their neighbors. In the third chapter, we witnessed the motivating end of the anti-Islamic polemic. In these passages we see that Lorca’s concept of the priesthood likewise subordinates all things to evangelization. Whereas this end may seem obvious, current literature has reduced the priest to an imposer of culture, an “imperial” force. In the *Catechisms of Instruction*, we see that he indeed does serve his society, but not simply in self-propagation. He serves for the good of the cultural other, at least in the only way that Lorca could understand it in the context of his religious belief.

The bishops likewise have their obligations, which largely revolve around assisting and supervising their flock by supervising the parish priests. As we have noted, this duty in large part is already invoked in the opening words of the “Exhortatory Epistle,” where Lorca reminds the bishops of their pastoral role. Particularly, the bishops must “not entrust [the flock] to hired pastors, who are unwilling to keep the voracious wolves from the sheep fold and flee from them” (9v). As vicars of Christ, they bear the ultimate responsibilities for the flock, and they are thus required to assure that the rest of the pastors under their authority are exercising their obligations. At times this means the removal of bad priests, at other moments it means the facilitation of their work. Such facilitation may include providing the funds to pay those who work among the Moriscos, as well as rewarding those pastors who have been found faithful. Thus, Lorca writes in the catechism “On Catechizing the Unlearned” that the bishops must
“exterminate mercenary pastors from their flock” and “inquire from their pastors during their visits whether they have completed that catechesis” (116r). Finally, “every year the bishops [...] will visit their pastors and proselytes in order to weigh out in return rewards for the good, the deserved recompense for the bad” (ibid.). The bishops thus make sure that their sector of society faithfully fulfills its role.

And the bishops fill a role much greater than simple oversight: these ministers of the Church must be preachers and they must provide the guidance and example necessary for their pastoral staff. In fact, Lorca expects the bishops to be the principle means of the divulgence of the Catechisms of Instruction, as he notes, again in the eleventh catechism on adult catechesis, “The form for saving and catechizing the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect will be given in writing by the bishops to their beloved pastors, which they will assemble from these catechisms as they may wish” (ibid.). Catechesis, Lorca insists throughout his work, is the principle method of preaching the truth and, therefore, opposing falsehood. Such catechetical work is the primary responsibility of all bishops. Lorca reminds his reader of this duty in the third catechism, “On Avoiding Invocation to the Devil,” citing the IV Lateran Council, “If any bishop is negligent or relaxed about purifying the ferment of heretical depravity from his diocese [...] let him be deposed from the episcopal office...” (47r). It is through preaching that a bishop best fights heresy, which, in this case, is belief in magic and omens. Though the pastors must bear the brunt of this load since they are out in the field working with the Moriscos, the bishops must supply the example.
Pedro Guerra de Lorca establishes an antitype, those who hinder this work within the Church: pastors and bishops speak the truth, but there are preachers of falsehood. These individuals are more than heretics or confessors of a religion other than orthodox Christianity; these individuals are its active promulgators. The leader of these false preachers is Satan, who discipled Muhammad, as we have discussed in the third chapter. There is also Luther, as in the fifth catechism, or the Anabaptists, in “On Muhammad’s Errors in General.” Lorca juxtaposes these groups to the pastors violently in the very order of the introductory sections: “The Life of the False Muhammad and Minister of the Devil” immediately follows the “Exhortatory Epistle,” and “On Muhammad’s Errors in General” draws direct links between the “heresiarch” Muhammad and other heresiarch’s in Church history. We have discussed these in the previous chapter. Likewise, however, there are secret-Muslims, “secret observers of the Muhammadan Sect,” as Lorca often declares, who seek to undermine the good faith and good progress towards assimilation of the Moriscos. The theologian most clearly defines them in the eighth catechism, “On Prohibiting Communion with the Saracens”:

They are children of perdition, workers of evil, brought up under the darkness, they envy or detract those coming to the light, ignoring the counsel of God thundering, which no one knows except for him, they desire to pervert the judgment of God and establish their own [...] if they had wished to become meek with their brothers, no, indeed, if God had granted, they could have changed counsel with them. (83r)
“Their brothers” are the Moriscos who have turned to Christ in sincerity and have begun to conform themselves to Christian culture, but these false prophets heard the word of God and rejected it and seek to turn other peoples’ hearts back to their old faith. These individuals are present throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*: they are standing by the Morisco on his or her death bed, they are waiting at a male child’s birth to circumcise him, and they are at home waiting to un-teach the children everything they have learned in catechesis.

One way in which Lorca develops the difference between these groups, preachers of truth and preachers of falsehood, and likewise defines the duty of pastors, is in terms of signs: both have recognized the message of God, but the former have embraced it while the latter have rejected it and make others blind to it. This juxtaposition most commonly plays out in the context of “sacraments,” that is, practices signifying and acting as a means to receive divine grace (confession versus ablutions for forgiveness, for example). This element of “revealing” the truth is likewise Lorca’s own contribution to the struggle, since he “explains” and interprets Muslim rites and Morisco traditions for his readership so that the pastors might “rightly” understand and make others understand. Thus, the doctor reads and understands signs, while the preacher of heresy brings ignorance and a misunderstanding of what things really mean. Lorca provides the ultimate example of the preacher through Saint Eulogius, who writes about the holy martyrs in *Memoriale sanctorum*:

Now these very saints, divinely inspired onto this destruction of their body, have stepped out on account of their confession to the truth, in no way do they turn
from the observation of the aforesaid commands. Because even loving their enemies on account of God, greatly desirous for their salvation, lest they long be kept in the labyrinth of impiety, they did not desist from reproofing them. And blessing these who hate Christ, it has seemed better to instruct their frenzy through the spilling of their blood than through the words of doctrine... (13r-v)

The spilling of blood is what the priests are called to do to oppose Satan, if such is necessary. They hold a legacy: that of their ancestors the martyrs. They also hold a common enemy: the corrupters of their brothers (i.e. the Moriscos). Thus, Lorca writes in the scholia of the same, “Indeed, this our labor is directed to this, which (I hope) God will make prosper” (14v).

Secular authorities, too, bear a similar Christian duty, and Lorca is forceful and direct even when he addresses King Philip and the examples set by his predecessors. The king, as the leader of the secular arm of the Church, must guide all of his subjects to the True King and the eternal kingdom, and this includes facilitating their instruction and assimilation, as well as driving those who oppose this mission from the kingdom. Lorca first and most directly addresses the king in his dedication, whom he portrays a soldier of the Church, and therefore its servant: “... the soldier advances so that alone he is sure to either unite them [heretics] again [to the Church], or, if they refuse to drive them far from her, fight them as if against strange and barbarous peoples” (7v). In this case, Philip II is called to “rise up against those secret worshipers of the Sect of Muhammad, and against the veiled enemies of all of Spain, so that they may wholesomely taste and drink in the remedies...” (7v-8r). The king is thus an inheritor of the work already begun
by Ferdinand and Isabel, “Just as these at that time finally pushed Judaism and Saracenism from all the borders of Spain [...] so let [...] our Philip take it upon himself to make preparations [...] for those things they left unfinished…” (ibid.). Lorca repeatedly addresses the king in such fashion, surprisingly direct and with little praise, which he explains in the first catechism, where he begins by addressing pastors. He writes these catechisms so that they might “recognize the sickness” and heal it, and he hopes that the work will wake these priests up to their duties, “But I have also [...] desired that our most invincible and most Catholic King Philip might arouse his ears, attentive, to all these things” (21r). It is the king’s duty to protect his subjects from all those who would harm them, and, in this case, the Moriscos are these subjects, and they are more threatened than they are threatening.

Thus, because of his mission, Lorca does not always flatter his king or his predecessors. In one passage, the theologian offers a somewhat dissimulated reprimand of King Philip II’s recent position towards the Morisco problem, and within another catechism he directly criticizes a decision by the Catholic Kings as nothing less than cruelty and royal negligence, since they failed in removing what was opposed to the full incorporation of the Granadan Moriscos into Christian society. For the first example, we turn to the eighth catechism, where Lorca explains yet again why he has written these catechisms:

I exceedingly thirst for their spiritual salvation, just as Christ has provided me an abundance for thirsting, and, solicitous, I seek it, and I will not stop daily knocking on the hearts of their princes and all other authorities until the Lord
God, according to his will, grants that I find it. Whereby I will not be reluctant to approach them with due reverence and civil respect, just as I have begun and I should speak to the lord my king Philip, separating [the proselytes] among them so that he might provide for their singular salvation and command that the provisions be executed. (89v)

Here Lorca appears to suggest that the king is neglecting his duty; he is failing to bring to fruition the provisions already in place for the Moriscos at the time they need his aid most. The 1580s were certainly difficult years for those who were working among the Moriscos. Only a decade earlier the rebellion of the Alpujarras showed that a large contingent of these New Christians constituted a real political threat, and ecclesiastical authorities such as Juan de Ribera were growing hopeless. Our author reminds the king that it is a matter of enforcing those laws that have been passed; he must give the backup of those provisions made for the Moriscos, because it is his Christian duty.

In order to reinforce this position, Lorca provides a powerful example of a failure on the part of the Catholic Kings in the context of the conversion of the Granadan Moriscos in the second catechism. Advised by prudent counselors, the Catholic Kings, Lorca tells the reader, issued forth a law that the Moriscos adjust “to our exterior rites and custom of language” (36r). However, the law was quickly repealed, which ultimately rendered the conversions senseless, as a descendant of these converts personally revealed to Lorca (36v). In fact, these very laws, Lorca tells us, “are preserved in the royal chapel as testimony to their [the Moriscos’] impiety as much as to royal negligence” (ibid.). The theologian continues and sharpens his critique of Ferdinand and
Isabel a couple of folia later, where he writes, “that clemency of the Catholic [Kings], which should rather be called cruelty by us,” has brought civil war and death in Granada (38r). Our author reminds the king of this “cruelty” again in the eighth catechism as he warns Philip of the same danger present in Valencia if he does not quickly enforce, with military might, the assimilation of these New Christians (89v). It is thus the king’s duty to both protect his kingdom and his subjects (including the Moriscos), and any neglect in this office, which is, in Lorca’s eyes, wholly religious, will be judged harshly by posterity.

The secular arm of the Church, of course, is more than the king, and Lorca offers a particular focus on judges, who exercise the secular counterpart of the parish priests. The theologian addresses these officials on several occasions throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*, and Lorca succinctly defines their duty in the sixteenth catechism, “On the Temporal Government of the Proselytes,” where he writes that they must “seek out every wrongdoer and wicked man and punish them with the due penalties” (161r). In this sense, the judges are the front line of the battle for the salvation and incorporation of the Moriscos, and their primary duty is, like the priests, to recognize those signs that indicate the sickness of “the Muhammadan Sect” as they work in conjunction with their spiritual shepherds, and thus they must “thoroughly read” the catechisms (161v). In the fifth catechism, these officials must recognize the severity of fornication, especially of Christian women (Moriscas) who have relations with non-Christians. In the same catechism, these judges must not permit that Morisco girls prostitute themselves or be prostituted. In the tenth catechism the judges must likewise recognize the danger of parents who do not actively encourage the religious instruction of their children, and, in
the eleventh catechism, they must also enforce the travel limits imposed on Morisco adults and fine those who are absent from their home towns and parishes. The theologian offers an example for the judges: “Doctor Lievana,” who was “elected judge against the Moriscos by the royal senate” (161r). As a well-informed medic, he was able to prosecute secret “Moors” who had committed a murder in Tendilla, and thus provide a remedy for those Moriscos who might have otherwise followed their example (ibid.).

The judges, then, are secular aids to the priests, and, thus, also shepherds of the Church’s and of Christ’s sheep.

Though Lorca does not offer, in any real sense, a “Muslim” counterpart to the judges as he does the pastors of the Church, the theologian does dedicate significant language bitterly attacking secular judges and authorities who do not exercise their obligations towards the Moriscos. These judges are either incapable or, more likely, all too willing to overlook those signs that indicate an underlying illness among their “patients,” those Moriscos who have been brought before them. Lorca reminds these judges that “they have been appointed for the judicial execution of the law, not its relaxation” (162r). In the second catechism our author appeals to his own experiences to warn these judges again that they are neglecting a divine duty. In this context, he chastises judges who do not enforce the restrictions on dress and language:

I wish them to so diligently handle this cause for the Catholic faith that they exercise their office with these subjects even as prepared medics or surgeons, as much by freeing the infirm among them from sickness as by cutting out the rotten, lest they be a cause of ruin and perdition for the healthy. Now in these
days when I see any elected judges being sluggish in this matter, that is, in carrying out these pragmatics opportunely issued by so great a legislator, since this is on behalf of the Catholic faith [...] I do not blindly approach our Philip [against them] (38v)

He suggests the penalty for this behavior in the summary of the catechism, which is that they “pay the penalty when an account of their duty is demanded from them” (41v). In fact, Lorca gives a specific example of this neglect (here, by religious judges), and critiques the king for not having responded to such gross negligence when he could have. In this case, it is “the judges of the holy Areopagus” who did not enforce the banishment of dress and Arabic (ibid.).

Finally, we move beyond the leadership of the Church, whether ordained or secular, and we begin to address the duty of the Old Christians as Lorca describes it. These individuals are baptized Catholics, and, as such, they are required to carry the message of Christ. They, too, will be held accountable. Thus, “All Catholics who profess to be thoroughly instructed by Christ, insofar as they are ministers of a gift and have accepted the talents, will have to give an account of each one to God” (9r). The account that the Old Christians must keep is that of overseers; “older brothers” watching out for those faithful who are new. Lorca places their interaction with the Moriscos in the center of his plan, as he explains in the eighth catechism, “those things that are lacking from their faith the common people will supply day by day by virtue of their capacity and, likewise, their fellow-citizens and neighbors, old disciples in the school of Christ and his apostles” (87r). Slightly below, Lorca tells the pastors that the Old Christians are
partners in this ministry, and that they must be informed by their pastors for the good of the flock (87v). And this call is more intimate than the need to help their “neighbors,” they are “brothers,” and the Old Christians stand as the opposition to the Moriscos’ false brothers, who are those who seek to divert them from the Christian faith (ibid.). For this reason, Lorca addresses these “common people” in nearly every catechism: he calls them to be watchful at Morisco wedding celebrations, he calls them to constantly remind the pastors and the bishops of their duties to the Moriscos, and he even asks that they keep a watchful eye for “wolves in sheep’s clothing” in order to report them to the proper authorities.

The opposition to faithful Old Christians, as we might expect, are non-faithful Old Christians. Particularly, Lorca attacks those Old Christians, whether the common people or lords with vast land holdings, who are more interested in their worldly gain than in their salvation and that of the Moriscos. The theologian addresses this issue most directly in the eighth catechism, “On Prohibiting Communion with the Saracens.” Here, he takes up the issue of whether the Granadan Moriscos exiled to Castile during the second rebellion of the Alpujarras (1568-1571) should be permitted to return home, even if just for those times needed for agriculture. Lorca vehemently opposes such a measure, and he thus responds to his opposition:

If however the Granadan citizens determine against us that I seem opposed to their private interests in this matter, we will give them an answer. We judge that the service of those natural citizens will be most useful: with their art and industry they till the soil with the hoe; they create irrigated gardens from
uncultivated land; they secure three and four harvests a year from well
cultivated land; and they hand over audacious yearly taxes to their lords (88v)

In other words, those Granadans (Old Christians) who oppose Lorca’s stance are simply
greedy: they want to abuse the Moriscos as a cheap source of wealth. These individuals
care absolutely nothing for the salvation of their brothers in the faith, and they should
learn Christ’s calling to something greater than self-interest. The theologian expands on
this position more directly shortly thereafter, when he writes that, “They should be
more attentive to the spiritual salvation of their neighbors on account of the law of
Christ and fraternal love, rather than their own corporal [well-being]” (ibid.). Thus, all of
society must subordinate all things to the gospel, even the economy, for it to function as
Christ demands.

It is also worthwhile to recognize that our author assigns an active Christian duty
for the instruction of the Moriscos to the Moriscos themselves. This duty is, in some
sense, general to all the Moriscos, but he also suggests there is a special role and
obligation for those who have been well-instructed in the faith. The theologian alludes
to this vision in an interesting way at the beginning of the tenth catechism, “On the
Instruction of Children,” where he writes:

I keep in mind to say to the many who are losing hope concerning the salvation
of these New Christians, “The hand of the Lord is not too short to save all
people,” as Isaiah preaches, “if they give assent to the evangelical truth.” But if
they refuse to receive it, at least the pastors laboring for them will be saved, and
they will say, “God has left us seven thousand children from among them who have not bent their knee before Baal [2 Kings 19:18]” (99v)

Lorca thus opposes, yet again, the Old Christians who have given up hope on his project, but he has even gone beyond it: it is impossible that everything could be lost. Shortly thereafter, the theologian assigns an active role to the children in the catechism, calling on them to be missionaries to their own parents, bringing Christ into the home and providing the good example (104r). These children may eventually become priests, and be valuable field-hands in the missionary field (105v). And, in the eleventh catechism, though Lorca admits that it is more difficult, he suggests an active participation on the part of parents recently instructed, “Who will both be able to preach Christ anywhere and decisively defeat and overcome any Muhammadans hostile to them” (111r). This preaching might take many forms, one of which the theologian address to some extent in the twelfth catechism, where the dying Morisco leaves a blessing to his family and a pious cause, therefore providing an eternal inheritance along with the temporal (119r).

The Church militant is Lorca’s focus throughout the Catechisms, but he also assigns a very real and active role in society to the Church glorified. The most notable role the theologian reserves for the Martyrs of Cordoba and their defender Saint Eulogius. Lorca alludes to this through the saint’s own words in “The Life of Muhammad the False Prophet and Minister of the Devil,” where Eulogius speaks of the martyrs in heaven, who, “without a doubt [...] are even obtaining, through their prayers and supplications, the salvation of those who frequently and constantly attack the members of the Church” (13v). The theologian expands on the statement considerably in his own
scholia, where he calls the priests to say the divine office in memory of not only Eulogius, but the martyrs, as a “treasure of the ancient history of the saints, as if now brought forth from the earth” (15v). Part of such a remembrance is motivational: it connects the priests working among the proselytes to something bigger than themselves as they carry on a hard won legacy. But it is also operative as the saints appeal to the Almighty for the salvation of those whose salvation they themselves desired so long ago. Lorca is sure of such an approach, and he thus concludes his scholia appropriately: “… truly the priests will finish their task, if they constantly look to their ancestors or natural sons” (ibid.). This intervention or holy supplication will, “beyond doubt,” result in “the sudden breach of the Muhammadan people, unworthily winning the glory of the saints” (ibid.).

The martyrs and “natural sons” of Spain are one of the main cooperators in Lorca’s project, but the theologian also includes in the Church Universal the doctors of the Church, to whom he assigns an active role and with which he also establishes a close link for his priestly readership. It is in the first catechism that Lorca begins to evoke this presence within the larger work, not simply his own written work:

We have brought together various catechisms as if univocal sources for driving away the evil disposition or uniform plans for increasing this work, according to the example of those which the holy fathers, as much the Greek as the Latin, already once issued for the enlightened of Jerusalem and published for the catechesis of the unlearned. (21r)
In the margin our author establishes a list of the major writers that he will evoke throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*: Saint Cyril, Saint Hilary, Saint Gregory, Saint Basil, Saint Chrysalis, and Saint Augustine. Though he leaves him out here, Thomas Aquinas will likewise be a major informant for his readers. The list might also include past popes and bishops and scholars of canon law, whose words penetrate the entire text and fill the margins. And these companions are more than writers of books and evidence of Lorca’s erudition; they accompany the pastor on the road and they constitute “the storerooms of the Church” to which the theologian refers time and again. In the tenth catechism on instructing children, Saints Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine warn teachers that they must be kind to their pupils to encourage a love for learning (101v). In the eleventh catechism on instructing adults, Ambrose and Augustine explain the duties of instruction for an adult who has been baptized (110r), to provide a couple of examples. Paul, of course, is present warning and admonishing in every catechism.

Finally, it is perhaps very basic an observation, but for that very reason equally worthwhile to note that Lorca also assigns an active role to God. Cardaillac wrongly dismisses this role as if a last hope or a convention, suggesting that Lorca asserts that “no se puede hacer nada por ellos salvo rezar” (320), referring to Muslims who refuse to use their reason. For Lorca, God is the one who rules hearts and to whom all have recourse; only by depending on or fearing God will any work ultimately take effect at all. He is not simply a last resort for the hopeless cases. Perhaps the most powerful of
examples of Lorca’s reliance on and hope in divine aid is in the twelfth catechism, “On Caring for the Dead.” Here the theologian writes:

I have very often heard many things happen between the cup and the lip, and so I have become accustomed to praying for [the Moriscos] to the highest God that he will not suffer those proselytes to depart from the evangelical doctrine at the point of death, that, merciful towards them, he might make them stand in the faith. (116v)

Lorca so depends on the active participation of God that, even if a Morisco refuses to confess and receive the last rites of the Church on the death bed, he demands that the priest stand at the bed side, because God just might change the moribund individual’s heart (119r). If the proselyte persists, “even now, after great care has been applied, he will absolve him by some form of prayer” (ibid.). The reader begins to get the message: it does not matter what one does, whether it be the Morisco or the priest, God is working. It is God who has invested the priests with authority and it is God who has made the sacraments efficacious to their salvation and it is God who will make the seed grow and mature. And it is such an active role that the theologian insists, “However much anyone pledges their souls for [the Moriscos’] salvation, I shall never promise mine...” (89r). It seems an odd thing to say for such a zealous missionary, but he explains that it is not his place nor is it necessary. Christ has already done it: “God is capable of raising children of Abraham from those rocks” (ibid.).

Satan is thus the antagonist in this situation, who is likewise an active element in Lorca’s portrayal of the Christian world. God is truth and, though Satan cannot be a
complete lie or he would not exist, he is the father of lies. Muhammad, for Lorca, is bad, but Satan is the one who made him worse and who opposes the entire Church and humankind. In this sense, the common enemy of Old and New Christians unites them both, and it becomes a point of sympathy throughout the catechism. In the third catechism, “On Avoiding Invocation to the Devil,” Lorca openly blames Satan, rather than Muhammad, for Islam, and thus places the danger that this faith presents in the wider context of salvation history:

That open lie is well-known which is regarded in the Holy Scriptures concerning the Devil, the crafty serpent, on account of the seduction of our first parents, fabricated in this way, ‘You certainly will not die eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,’ contrary to the word of God, ‘at the moment you eat from it you will surely die.’ However, where the death of soul and body pursued man due to his sin, then God was then not only found true with man, but the Devil a liar. (42r)

It is the “lie” that binds human history to the need for God’s intervention in the corruption of humankind’s ability to rightly understand and interpret the world, and this difficulty is one experienced by all people. Lorca emphasizes that God is always ready; he is always waiting to deliver human beings from this quandary, but Satan is always attempting to stop them from accepting it. “Therefore,” Lorca continues, “the crafty and cunning serpent […] as if envious from ancient days, devised a way […] in which he might destroy almost the whole world and draw it into a new error” (ibid.). Such is the case at the moment of death. Here the Devil delays the patients from receiving the
sacraments “hour by hour until their mind fails, the light flees from their eyes, their hands loosen, and the body separates from the soul,” thus dying separated from God (117v). To oppose this enemy, the priests must be persistent and they must pray to God for his intervention (ibid.).

Pastors, bishops, the king, judges, Old Christians, Moriscos, martyrs and saints, doctors, and God constitute Lorca’s picture of the Christian world, and each play an important role in a society ordered to its proper end. Each of these groups faces opposition, whether this opposition is Satan, Muhammad, secret Muslims, or just bad and uncommitted Christians. All of these individuals or groups take active roles in the theologian’s project. It is through this juxtaposition that Lorca is able to establish a world in tension and force his readers to make a decision, since there is no real neutral position left. And this is Spain’s duty and the identity to which Lorca assigns it: Spain and its citizens must take a stand and approach their Christian calling seriously or it will fail. Failure is not only the loss of the Moriscos to Satan; it is the loss of salvation for all those whose duty it is to work for their instruction. It is thus that Lorca constructs a Spain constituted by Old and New Christians mutually dependent upon each other and whose success likewise depends on a full commitment to God and to his Church. The enemies are everywhere, and they may take many forms, but they all must be opposed and actively sought out. This purpose is the one which Pedro Guerra de Lorca seeks to fulfill through his Catechisms of Instruction as he identifies each member of the Church and shows each group how to recognize its own duty as well as its enemy. Lorca’s work is about definition and providing clarity to a world yet distracted, whose organization and
recognition will bring the much desired goal: the mystical body of Christ realized in the concrete, the unity of Christians.
CHAPTER 5

TRADITIONS AND THE MORISCO OTHER AS PORTRAYED BY LORCA

Lorca’s *Catechisms of Instruction* reflects the theologian’s contemporary, Christian society, and serves as a valuable resource for understanding the concerns of the Spanish Church for these New Christians. Through this text, we see how an individual grappled with Christian mission in this context. We have reviewed two means thus far: that of the anti-Islamic polemic to both motivate the Christian reader and to “un-teach” Islam, and Lorca’s vision of a society mobilized to reach out to the cultural other and win his or her salvation. In this chapter we address the most unique aspect of the *Catechisms of Instruction*: Lorca’s portrayal of the Moriscos and their cultural traditions. As we have noted earlier, Cardaillac has alleged that Lorca “no tiene ningún conocimiento íntimo de la religión practicada en secreto por los moriscos” (320). On the other hand, Cantarino, Caro Baroja, and Longás have highlighted Lorca’s knowledge of Morisco culture. In the present chapter, I show that the theologian is not only knowledgeable of religious practice among these New Christians, but also secular traditions. In fact, he thinks about them to an extent far surpassing contemporary catechisms. He discusses religious customs ranging from ablutions and circumcision to
magic, and he places great weight on more “benign” practices such as dress, language, and wedding celebrations. I ask why he dedicates so much space to practices often absent in other catechisms, and argue that these discussions attest to the theologian’s contact with the Moriscos, and that he attacks these practices not out of a belief in his “cultural superiority,” but as practical barriers to their salvation. To accomplish these goals, I discuss Lorca’s representation of religious and secular customs among the Moriscos, his explanations on how he knows these practices, and the significance he assigns to them.

**Religious Practices among the Moriscos According to Lorca**

Much of Pedro Guerra de Lorca’s description of religious practices among the Moriscos might be grouped together with his theological polemic, but a careful reading shows that he has approached these themes from a different perspective. The theologian’s knowledge of Islamic doctrine appears to come from a book: it is the classic approach to Islam in the Christian West throughout the Middle Ages into Early Modernity. However, Lorca’s concern about actual practice is distinct, and it is often complicated beyond any consideration of these themes as discussed (if at all) in contemporary catechisms. Though some of Lorca’s errors on Islamic theology may even be grounded in personal contact, such as unorthodox beliefs on the Virgin Mary, in this chapter and in this section we focus on practice. And Lorca provides his reader with a wealth of material. A number of catechisms are dedicated to describing and, therefore, “diagnosing” particular “rites”: “On Denying the Sect of Muhammad” is primarily a discussion on ablutions; in “On Avoiding Invocation to the Devil” Lorca addresses magic;
“On Abolishing the Rite of Circumcision” offers a title accurately reflecting its content; “On Avoiding Superstition Concerning Foods” addresses dietary practice; and in “On Caring for the Dead” Lorca describes rites surrounding death. The theologian also addresses some of these themes in other catechisms as well, and sometimes adds additional information and thus insight into his understanding of Morisco religious culture. We address these problems here.

As we noted in the first chapter, prayer is one of the five pillars of Islam, and, in addition to words, consists in prostrations and, preceding prayer, ablutions. Lorca discusses the latter of these issues to a significant degree. In the first catechism, “On Denying the Sect of Muhammad,” after a very general attack against Muhammad, “his” doctrine, and the spread of Islam through violence and a “carnal law,” the theologian turns to ceremonial washings, “consisting only of natural water, to be performed under order five times a day for the purification of venial sins…” (26r). He explains the theological significance of “washing,” and its foundations in the Old Law: it signified the waters of baptism in the New Law, but is devoid of foundation now and, since Islam adopted this washing after Christ, has always been empty of significance in Muslim practice. Nonetheless, Lorca understands the role of ablutions in preparation for prayer, and thus describes how they might be performed in the absence of water, when “Moors” are “required to complete the signs of the ablutions with the hands grasping the sand, scratching proportionately both hands, the knees, the crown of the head […] at the time set aside for the ablutions” (27r). These practices, Lorca insists, are maintained “in Asia, Arabia, Africa, and Spain, so that [“Moors”] are kept attentive to
the Devil” (ibid.). Such practices are “carnal,” he explains, because they are purely external, and they effect nothing for the purification of the spirit. And then the theologian turns to his charges: the New Christians, “vulgarily,” he adds, “Moriscos” (27v), whom he wishes to avoid such practices as empty and fruitless.

Lorca’s approach to this ritual washing before prayer might be expected, but his reasoning for it is helpful for the reader in understanding why he addresses it at all. In the first place, the theologian recognizes that these practices may continue among the Moriscos simply as “tradition,” though they are no less harmful for this reason (ibid.). In fact, he spends the next several lines of the catechism explaining the penalties that should be applied to the Moriscos who tenaciously practice ablutions, though he refers to them as “Christians” rather than Moriscos or New Christians, probably because canon law on heresy only applies to Christians. However, the theologian’s attention quickly turns, and he softens his approach: “I certainly do not wish to always lead […] with threats, terrors, and penalties…,” since “that would be the mark of a soul greatly prone to cruelty” (28r). Rather, Lorca wishes to use all the “medicinal remedies” available to the Church for treating the “illness” of heresy and apostasy. After offering his prayers for many Moriscos who are firm in the faith, he divides the rest into four groups based on their religious and cultural practices:

Therefore our patients are in four classes, as if occupying beds, now (as God will grant us) to be cleansed by us from the errors of that brainless man and restored to good health. These who occupy the first class are they who keep the dress, language, name, ceremonies, and rites of that sect after having received
baptism, but who openly confess to be Christians. I do not know whether they are secretly Moors by religion. In another class, as if a hospital shelter for convalescent patients, are those who have readily renounced all the exterior elements or precepts and have begun to adjust themselves to the Christians in all ways. In the third class, I have thought to place together all those who regard their line and origin from Arabia or Africa, descendents of their ancient fathers, worshipers of Muhammad. They observe some ceremonies or rites, whether perhaps mindful of their old sect or by ancestral tradition. In the last place, I count those born from a wandering or marital union, that is to say, from a proselyte parent from the Muhammadan Sect and an Old Christian. (28v)

Those who practice ablutions may fall into the first group or the third. That is to say, they are either “secret” Muslims or simply ignorantly practicing something that their fathers have handed on. Beyond ablutions, though, the significance of the passage will be felt throughout the rest of the Catechisms of Instruction: (1) Moriscos should be evaluated according to their external practices; (2) Moriscos should be taught the rites of Christianity to oppose these practices; and (3) all Moriscos, even if they are all but “secret Moors,” may be saved.

Lorca’s primary concern, then, and the very reason that he spends any significant time describing “practices” rather than solely focusing on doctrinal issues are the well-being of his Christian neighbor. He despairs of no one, and his approach is focused on exterior practice, which is pastoral in nature. In other words, this “citizen of Granada” is not approaching a people as if a doctrinal abstraction; he knows them as people and

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approaches them as such. This approach is further emphasized when he discusses
prayer. Though he does not describe the actual words of prayer, he does recognize its
outward gestures. Now in the third catechism, whose primary focus is on magic, Lorca
writes that “it is necessary for the pastors to recognize [the Moriscos’] manner of
praying toward the first star or the moon [...] so that as often as they see them turned to
the moon they then distract them from prayer...” (47v). The theologian is, of course,
wrong about a Muslim praying towards the moon or the first star (unless it happens to
be coming up in the direction of Mecca), but such an error could be due to hearsay or
mistaken observance. The more important point, though, of the phrase is that the
pastor or responsible Christian should not lie in wait to see if the Morisco actually
completes the prayer: he should stop him and avoid it altogether. Lorca approaches the
actual practice as one would approach suicide victims: grab the knife and make sure
they don't hurt themselves, and then worry about preventing future attempts. The
humanity of the gesture is, even if built on paternalism and misunderstanding, telling.
And the misunderstanding detracts little from Lorca’s knowledge of the Moriscos or
their tradition. Together with his human concern for another, the error only suggests a
sincere interest, and is compensated for in his descriptions of other traditions among
the Moriscos.

Such is the case in the fourth catechism, where Lorca addresses another practice
among the Moriscos: that of circumcision. As we noted in the first chapter, it is known
that the Moriscos continued to practice this rite throughout the sixteenth century,
especially in regions less-assimilated. It makes sense, then, that Lorca would be
somewhat knowledgeable of it as a priest in Granada. Though he writes his *Catechisms of Instruction* after the expulsions of the Moriscos from the region, he must have matured as a priest working among the Moriscos. The fourth catechism is Lorca’s principle discussion of the rite, though he takes it up at various other points, too. Our author offers the standard reading as he explains why the sign was given as a covenant to Abraham and why it no longer “signifies” anything, but was only a sign for the covenant that Christ was going to establish. Individuals are initiated into this covenant through baptism.

Lorca first explains these matters to his reader, and then he relates them as if in a sermon to the Moriscos. There are two kinds of circumcision, a spiritual and a physical. The Old Law preached the latter in signification of the former, which happens in baptism:

... let whoever keeps that shadow of the Old Law know that he opposes himself against the evangelical truth, since circumcision is now a fatal sign, beneficial to no one, but harmful to everyone. In fact Christ has now died for us for no reason if it is asserted that by that law justice or justification is accomplished [...] On the contrary, if it prefigures something to be fulfilled, so then Christ will come again to die and make satisfaction to his eternal Father, in order to not only purge those sacraments, but also even now provide his true faith to these who preach circumcision even up to this time. (50v-51r)

Christ, of course, did rise from the dead and has provided the true sacraments to which the Mosaic Law pointed, and thus Lorca juxtaposes baptism to the old sign of the
promise. The triple immersion of baptism signifies the Triduum of Christ’s burial, “so that everyone who is committed to the water, as if to the grave in imitation of Christ, might completely die at that time to sin so that he might rise to mighty works” (52r). The theological issue has been answered.

Lorca’s experience, however, and tendency to approach the Moriscos as human beings rather than a reason for theological debate drives him into a somewhat more problematic approach. Circumcision in Islam is a false sign, but the sin of those who use it depends on the intention of the one circumcising or circumcised. There are different reasons that the Moriscos practice it. Depending on these reasons, it may or may not be detrimental to their salvation and baptismal commitment. First is the question of “natural circumcision.” Morisco boys are sometimes born circumcised because their fathers are circumcised. Unnatural circumcision, however, may occur due to: (1) perfidy, (2) paternal tradition, and (3) piety. The first is worthy of capital punishment for the one circumcising and any adult who approves of it, since it is a clear sign of apostasy (50v, 54v). The second is worthy of a lighter punishment, so that those who practice it might be corrected, “for if someone is circumcised only in imitation of their parents, the detachment of that prepuce will not be any more beneficial than the cutting of the nails or the hair” (54v, 50v). And, finally, some circumcise themselves in imitation of Christ: “But if as a devout man he wished to shed some blood from his prepuce on account of imitating Christ [...],” he is gravely misled (50v). However, Lorca offers no suggestions on a penalty for such a practice, and though he opposes it, the theologian appears to
accept that even a false sign might be committed by a faithful Christian, and such an error may require only an admonition on the part of the priest.

Thus Lorca’s approach to the problem of circumcision is again what might be expected from a Christian theologian in early modern Spain. However, his recognition of the complexity of the problem and the varying motives of those performing or receiving the rite gives evidence of his thoughtful perception and his sincere desire for the salvation of the Moriscos. If Lorca was solely interested in imposing a theological truth, he would have no reason to make such distinctions. Rather, these distinctions serve to “diagnose” what he considers an “illness,” and direct the pastor to rightly interpret this practice among their charges. The theologian emphasizes the hope he has for such an approach earlier in the catechism, where he explains Abraham’s blessing to his children. According to the traditional Judeo-Christian interpretation, he argues that Isaac is the rightful heir of God’s promise. However, rather than emphasizing “Saracen” descent through Ishmael, the “slave child,” Lorca insists that baptism is “abundantly sufficient for their spiritual regeneration so that they now too be considered children of so great a patriarch through faith in Christ” (49r). He reminds his Christian reader that the Moriscos are not “Ishmaelites, Hagarens, [or] Saracens, but Christians” (ibid.). Lorca then expounds on the significance of other gifts that Abraham gave to the children of Hagar and those of his concubine Ketura, which, in short, signified their future salvation (49r-v). Learning such things “our gladdened heart is greatly strengthened in the undertaken labor and our staff is exalted for taking up these brothers in the faith of
Their tradition of circumcision, though empty sacramentally, now becomes an indication of their previously promised salvation and hope for the pastors.

Lorca dedicates space and knowledge to helping the reader understand the actual practice of circumcision among the Moriscos. The theologian makes sure the reader recognizes the complexity present in addressing the problem. The most pressing role, however, of the pastors, is to prevent circumcision among the children, since it identifies them with the Old Law and a religion not their own. Again, Lorca’s experience comes through the text and is placed at the service of his Christian reader working among the Moriscos for “their salvation” \((\text{passim.})\). After explaining how some children are born circumcised, he warns that the pastors must note whether a newborn has his foreskin \((53\text{r})\). The pastor must continue visiting the child throughout infancy, and take careful note of him at baptism to make sure that the proselytes do not substitute one infant for seven—a point that the theologian takes up at some length in the tenth catechism, “On the Teaching of Children” \((100\text{v})\). There and in the fifteenth catechism, “On the Spiritual Government of the Proselytes,” he further develops the point, and tells his reader about the practice among Morisco women of breast feeding their children to seven years, which provides them with the opportunity of further teaching them about their ancestral traditions and, at worst, religion \((101\text{r}, 146\text{r})\). Priests and Christian neighbors must keep watch. Though Lorca’s portrayal of Morisco religious and “non-religious” culture is often pejorative, it is again written based on real knowledge and a desire to do good.
The seventh catechism, “On Avoiding Superstition Concerning Foods,” constitutes Lorca’s focus on dietary customs among the Moriscos. Lorca, as is his custom, places the discussion in the context of the theological significance of the Old Law and its “pointing towards” the New. The old dietary restrictions are no longer binding and are opposed to Christian freedom. The theologian initiates the catechism with Paul’s admonition to the Roman’s: “Now take up anyone who is weak in faith, but not for disputes over opinions. One person believes that one may eat anything, while the weak person eats vegetables” (14:1-2). Lorca notes how Paul is criticizing those Christians who abused certain foods as much as those who avoided foods forbidden by the Old Law (74v). After an explanation of why certain people avoid certain foods because of a weak stomach, Lorca emphasizes that no person may any longer rightfully avoid foods for religious purposes, except on feast days set aside for fasting by the Church (76v). Though the dietary restrictions in the Old Testament might be interpreted in various ways, all foods were made clean just as all peoples were made clean before God with Christ’s sacrifice—as God indicated to the apostle Peter in his vision of the sheet lowered from heaven, full of unclean animals (Acts 10:11-15), as well as the decision of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15:28-29). However, again, since Islam adopted many restrictions after Christ’s coming and after the practical problems of the first Christians were overcome, they have always been devoid of divine authority and significance. The theologian then cites several passages of the Qur’an and explains why they cannot be from God. Thus, Lorca provides the theological basis for his opposition to such dietary practice among the Moriscos.
However, the theologian leaves the theological problem and the traditional explanation for more practical matters in the same catechism. Whereas he severely attacks those Moriscos who abstain from pork, he only offers a mitigated critique concerning wine. Sometimes people avoid certain foods such as pork because it disgusts them, not for any religious purpose. Such is the case with the Persians, Lorca explains, who avoid pork because “it is of a sordid and offensive animal” (81r). Some Moriscos claim their abstention from swine flesh to be for a similar reason, but Lorca thinks that most people that claim such a tradition are lying (ibid.). He shares earlier his experiences in the matter, “For if by chance they truly or falsely discover swine flesh or fat is mixed in the [...] food [...] they manage violent vomiting with their own hands and provoke nausea on the spot” (80v). He insists that he has “never endured this patiently,” and that all proselytes should gradually learn to tolerate pork flesh, even if little by little, so that they might not be regarded with suspicion by their Christian brothers or provide a bad example for their children. However, the theologian fears the opposite concerning wine: many “new converts” abuse it as if Old Christians. A “little wine” suffices to show that they are enjoying the freedom granted under the New Law (81v). In fact, it seems that for Lorca eating a little pork would suffice, and the real issue at stake with wine is one of distinction: he wishes that the New Christians do not appear different from their Old Christian neighbors, “which would be a think greatly injurious for them” (ibid.).

The theologian thus begins to conclude the catechism on a tenuous note, tacitly criticizing both Old and New Christians, and suggesting that some problems are simply matters of appearance. Lorca also returns to another issue to which he already alludes
at the beginning of the catechism with Paul’s letter to the Romans: the problem of walking in Christ should not be reduced to one of diet, either for the Old or the New Christians. Thus, among the Moriscos who are good Christians, Lorca cautions, “I desire in Christ a sober mind and fervor of spirit for fulfilling the law of Christ, not that vomiting follow close after the nausea from overabundant food and wine” (ibid.). In fact, the Moriscos and the Old Christians are called to “exulting in Christ and not in food and drink,” and there exists a danger that too much focus on dietary customs and distinctions may go against sincerity in faith (82r). By such cautionary statements, the theologian shows his reader that he is experienced in both Morisco and Old Christian practice, and that both customs need certain regulations to help Old and New Christians be better witnesses of their common religion. Perhaps it is also a tacit critique of a common sentiment portrayed in the literature of the period that to be Christian is equivalent to eating pork and drinking wine. Regardless, the theologian brings his reader to the real goal: the Moriscos should share at table with the Christians, but principally so that they might more fully participate in the spiritual table, where “they will taste with heart and mouth [...] drinks and foods rendered sweeter and more pleasant than honey [...] and they will have full enjoyment of the same with Christ for eternity and beyond” (82v).

Lorca again provides unique information on Morisco religious practices in his twelfth catechism, “On Caring for the Dead.” The theologian describes various aspects of death and burial for his reader so that he might recognize any signs of the “Muhammadan perfidy” and protect the dying and his or her posterity from losing faith.
at this difficult time. Here the author’s personal experience and zeal for the Moriscos and the Church come to the forefront. The moment of death is a promising and dangerous occasion. Even if a person has led a life “dedicated to Muhammad,” he or she might be saved by a sincere return to the Christian flock in the final moments of life. However, the opposite possibility also exists: a faithful Christian might waiver in the faith at this moment and be condemned to Hell. “I have very often heard many things happen between the cup and the lip,” Lorca tells his reader, “and so I have become accustomed to praying for them to the highest God” (116v). Through the sacraments and exhortation the priests will come to the rescue, administering the saving remedies of the Church in time. Lorca’s choice passage for this catechism is from Corinthians 15, where Paul exhorts the faithful to stand firm in belief in the Gospel and Christ’s resurrection. The theologian juxtaposes Christian teaching on the afterlife to Islamic teaching, a matter which we have addressed in the first chapter. In addition, however, Christian traditions and the sacraments of penance, communion, extreme unction, and communion as viaticum are juxtaposed to a series of Morisco traditions, described and interpreted by Lorca for the concerned pastor of the Moriscos.

Among those traditions that indicate imminent eternal death for a proselyte or the work of secret Muslims after his or her death are the position of the moribund individual, the preparation of the body, the choice of the grave site, the preparation of the actual grave, and the use of a horse or mule to see if the deceased has gone to heaven or not. By preventing these practices, the dying Morisco might be saved.

Concerning the position at death, Lorca writes, “Let the [medical] doctor order that the
invalid lie in the bed face up and raise his eyes as about to pray to God [...] so that he might not be considered some worshiper of Muhammad if he lie on his face” (119v). By preventing this practice, “… the proselytes [will] die in the Lord, not in Muhammad” (ibid.). And it is also a question of reputation, since “they will leave no suspicion of a mark of heresy after themselves, but, rather a good name, which, as Salomon testifies, is better than many riches” (120r). The pastors must likewise guard the sick from any temptation to apostatize by “followers of Muhammad,” as well as the body from these secret Muslims after death, witnessing the entire preparation of the dead (120v). Here the pastor must watch for undue washing or anointing of the body, the placement of drink, food, or coins in the grave, which might pay for the long journey from the grave to heaven that night (121r).26 “If, rising from the dead, he ascends to the heavens or descends to the lower regions,” Lorca rhetorically asks, “what need does he have of food or drink, coins for the necessary expenses along the way?” (ibid.). Lorca then “exposes” the custom of letting a horse or donkey loose to freely graze around the site of burial, if it does not flee from the recently buried cadaver, then it is interpreted as a sure sign that it is no longer present in the grave (121v).

Such practices, Lorca tells his reader, are “abundantly sufficient for bestial men,” but Christians are called to a more firm faith (ibid.). This faith is built on the foundation of the Christian religion: the resurrection. Christ’s resurrection is the true sign of what is to come for those who die in him, as Paul teaches in Corinthians 15 and Romans 8 (117r-v). These are Lorca’s words to the proselytes before he turns to the pastors and explains the means of leading the Moriscos to this truth through the fundamental ministries of
the Church: her sacraments. “Those things which the ministers of Christ have received freely [the sacraments],” the theologian admonishes his reader, “they should administer freely to others” (118v). If the proselyte is well disposed, then he or she must be admitted to penance, communion, and extreme unction: “Otherwise, the priest will be injurious against himself and his parishioner by manifest judgment” (ibid.). Even if the proselyte refuses, the pastor must stand near and continually insist, “since God is accustomed to softening the heart of man [...] even in the blink of an eye” (119r). Even if the proselyte losses speech, if there is anyone willing to vouch for the dying individual that he or she had requested the Holy Sacrament before losing speech, then “let him be reconciled by the imposition of hands and the Eucharist poured out to him, as has been decreed in many councils” (120r). In the face of canon law to the contrary, Lorca insists that in such dire circumstances, the benefit of the doubt should always weigh in the favor of the proselyte (ibid.).

Our theologian is unusually aggressive in this situation; his zeal for the Moriscos and their salvation even pushes the language of the catechism towards art: the healing remedy is poured out, evidently in the form of the consecrated wine, to the dying victim. Nonetheless, he does not simply wish to throw the sacraments at the Moriscos hoping that they will somehow be saved by them. Lorca requires, when possible, more from his dying patient; Lorca requires outward signs of a valid faith, not simply for the benefit of the Morisco, but for his or her family and a good name. Before administering extreme unction, but after confession and communion, the proselyte must make a profession of faith and an abjuration of Muhammad, “without any faulty language, so
that while he is ordered to profess these words, ‘I deny Muhammad, I choose...,’ the proselyte does not substitute any word” (119r). If his reader doubts such a possibility, Lorca warns, “I have witnessed this, I commit it to writing” (ibid.). And likewise, Lorca assures his reader, much good will be achieved if the patient establishes a pious cause, chooses a grave close to the alter, and requests a mass for a quick escape from Purgatory (119r-v). After this has been accomplished, the holy oil may be applied and communion received as viaticum (120r). These sacraments stand in direct contrast in power and origin to the “Muhammadan rites,” and, if received properly, free the soul of Purgatory, providing a true food that lasts to heaven (ibid.).

In these passages we witness both Lorca’s knowledge of Morisco religious customs, which Cardaillac suggests he does not possess, and the motivating factor for including so much description within the catechisms: the salvation of the Moriscos. Our author continues to demonstrate this knowledge and motivation in the catechism dedicated to explaining and preventing the practice of magic among the Moriscos, “On Avoiding Invocation to the Devil.” Magic survived among the Moriscos not so much as a remnant of Islam as one of popular belief and practice. Nonetheless, Lorca identifies it with Islam, and he begins the catechism through apostrophe, paraphrasing the scriptural passage for this catechism (Colossians 2:8-10):

“Let no one captivate you” in the sublimity of words “through philosophy,” that is, admirable and skilled oration for persuading; “or by vain deceit,” that is, the unnecessary and harmful tradition of perfidious men; “or by the elements of the world,” that is, the observation of days; namely, days and nights coming forth
from the sun and the moon; “and by the elements of the world,” and creatures produced by God. (43r-v)

Magic, for Lorca, is equivalent to idolatry, because faith in something other than God (the stars, lots, augury by birds, etc.) is equivalent to believing something created has an autonomous power, that is, that it can operate and govern without God granting or allowing it such authority (ibid.). Practices of the Mosaic Law are included in this category, since Muhammad invested these rites with their autonomous authority, given that Christ had already come, who “did not receive any single grace given to him according to a measure, as Moses once [did], but the fullness of grace” (ibid.). However, the Moriscos practice much more, Lorca claims, than the Old Mosaic Law: they perform divination, trust in signs and omens in the sky or found in birds, and observe other rites of magic otherwise condemned in the Old Testament.

It is in this context that Lorca explains Morisco “magic” to the reader, specifically for the pastors, so that they might recognize it and stomp it out. Satan, who once taught the Pagans magic, now “makes the proselytes from that sect hasten back to certain demonic incantations so that they consult their God and seek from him the beginnings of things and responses” (45r). The Moriscos, Lorca suggests, look to the “ambiguous promises” of Satan in place of the truthful promises of Christ, relying on birds, lots, incantations, and invocations to demons, even “dancing beans” (ibid.). The proselytes run to their witches and all kinds of divination (ibid.). In the fourteenth catechism he expands on the interpretation of dreams, which I have translated below for its interest and as evidence to Lorca’s knowledge of such practice among the Moriscos:

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if the sight of gold or silver has appeared in their dreams, they conclude they will be rich; if frightened away by the likeness of ferocious animals or by a ghost, they think for certain that they are going to be run through with spears or arms; if eggs are represented to the dreamers in that sleep, these prefigure seditions and verbal quarrels, as if hiding under eggs. Also, if someone sees himself dead or his neighbor in death in dreams, now risen from his sleep, he freely promises and imagines for himself a long life. If in the midst of those spectacles not very coherent among themselves someone sees some uncovered woman, early that very morning the dreamer foretells that the death of her husband threatens, and by revealing the dream by all means credible, she herself flees any light occasion whatever of death as if from the face of a serpent. At last, if the person corrupted by a dream observes flowing brooks of water flowing through meadows and stones, green fields blossoming, small fish swimming through the waters in their fantasy, certainly happy with such a vision conveying something good, he divines that riches of goods are going to quickly come to him. However, on the contrary, if flesh or food supplies flavored with flesh appear in his dreams, seduced by vain augury, he concludes that bad fortune in external goods is going to happen to him. (141v-142r)

Returning to the third catechism, some of this magic may be due to ignorance, but other magic is equivalent to heresy, “which occurs for evil since he who conjures Satan believes him to have authority by himself for working without intermediary and with
active power, not permissive” (45v). The interpretation of and belief in dreams fall into the group of “magic” or divination considered heresy (141v-142r).

“Secular” Practices Among the Moriscos in the Catechisms of Instruction

There is little doubt that Lorca is not as knowledgeable of Morisco religious practices as a Morisco might be, but he is by no means ignorant of these practices when judged in comparison to his professional contemporaries. Furthermore, our author’s willingness to set theological arguments aside in certain passages to address practical problems faced by parish priests and missionaries shows evidence of a very human and pastoral approach to the Moriscos. Some of the descriptions that the theologian offers are significant because of his interpretation: they show why he believes practices such as dietary restrictions and circumcision should be avoided, but nonetheless carefully evaluated by pastors. At other times, Lorca’s depiction of certain customs is significant as “documentation.” Such is the case with the interpretation of dreams: belief in magic and dreams was common among Old and New Christians, but to find a detailed description of these practices in a catechism for the Moriscos is unique. Another case in point is Lorca’s description of a Morisco wedding celebration. Our author’s depiction of this celebration constitutes one of Pedro Longás’ principle sources for his portrayal of the same, simply because no better sources exist (277). Our discussion of the theologian’s approach to “secular” practices among the Moriscos begins with this particular passage, since it serves as a good transition from the previous section: it is “secular” in as much it is composed of a civil contract, but “religious” in as much as it is
full of religious significance through prayer and tradition. Such will be Lorca’s argument against not only this celebration, but also dress, language, and traditional names.

The fifth catechism, “On Fleeing Fornication,” thus contains one of the most unique passages in the catechetical literature of Spain. After attacking Islamic marriage and divorce law, as well as working in a slander against “Luther and his followers” for likewise promulgating a religion of the flesh, Lorca enters into a discussion of a Morisco wedding celebration. Also generally contained within a depreciative vocabulary and interpretation, there are moments that the theologian presents these customs with no evaluation whatsoever, even employing phrases mirroring admiration and a general appreciation for the love of the spouses and the richness of the banquet. Again, Lorca describes these traditions in great detail to identify them for his reader and explain why they “smell” of the “Muhammadan sickness.” Lorca, then, identifies the “secular” customs contained within the wedding celebration as innately imbued with religious meaning. To grasp the complexity, however, of his perception, we begin with Lorca’s words, unique enough to merit the lengthy citation:

The married maiden, yet untouched by her spouse, returns to the home with her eyes closed, not using her feet, but rather supported by the clasped hands of two young men or relatives. For, following the custom of the land, the bride should be guided to the marriage being contracted because of the modesty of the witnesses. She is not permitted to raise her eyes to the sky, nor touch the ground with her feet. Arriving to the groom’s home, she enters with the right foot, so that everything might succeed rightly, and crosses the threshold. Now if
she were to enter with her left foot, then everything of that day would increasingly worsen and the wedding might be frustrated. For in fact, the Arabs imagine that at that time the left foot might be under a certain constellation of stars, for which reason they begin to foretell sinister events from that day against the effected wedding. And because they believe that fate is inevitable, led by their portents and divinations, they search out sinister omens about the contracted marriage and confirm things to come by a certain divination. Now after she is greeted by the music and enters into the bedroom prepared in the heart of the home, there she will remain a little. She sits with all the matrons accompanying her, rests a little, and, according to the Arabic custom, takes possession of her future home. Afterwards, she is also splendidly guided to a bed richly decorated with precious clothes and chairs, a large group of women preceding her amidst the sound of flutes, *sonajas*, and mandolins. Now in the meanwhile the men are enjoying themselves with the groom in another room. When she at last settles in the bed, she covers herself with her own hands with a white sheet, and the bride is enriched and the attending women draw near to her and offer her every precious gift. On account of reverence the bride is not permitted to speak or open her eyes. But so that she herself does not deviate even a little from the observation of these ceremonies, she has two instructresses at either side (whom the Arabs call *Magitae*, as if teachers), who are thoroughly informed concerning these rites. After the offering of all those things that pertain to the female world of the witnesses is completed, the men
are received at once, so that they might offer money, which offerings, according to custom, are given by the bride as a gift and a prize for the labors of the instructresses, by which reason that offering consists of little cost. Furthermore, if it happens that those offering gifts, especially family and friends, request that it might be permitted them to see and contemplate her face, such a pious request is granted them, and with the sheet covering her face lifted, her eyes still closed, they congratulate her on this state, wishing her as much as him every good thing, as is the custom of the land. This well-wishing and gift-giving thus completed, she is abundantly adorned with precious dresses and robes, so that she might rise with the women for the banquets at the appropriate time, still silent. Two meals, one for the day and one for the night, are splendidly prepared, seasoned to Arabic palates as according to the custom the cooks have. Thus a thousand foods are sprinkled with honey and raisins. Now the meats, prepared only in oil, not with pig fat, are cooked for a short time over the fire. Those foods that are prepared without honey and oil taste as if they were not unseasoned. And there are generally as many foods put on the flame as there are guests, so that the seasoned food might better excite and satisfy the appetite. When the meat has been served, sweets cooked with abundant cheese or with cherry or apple filling are brought in their order to the modest table, together with pies and delicate foods. In the middle of the table the servants, who try to satisfy each and everyone’s palate, frequently place honey cakes, bunches of raisins, together with dried figs, so that the prepared foods might not make the those
feasting averse nor provoke nausea. And if it were not that the served foods prepared according to the mores of the land consisted in so many superstitions, indeed, they should be served to the table of the king and never prohibited to these feast-goers [...] Now let us return to the bride, the table removed from her midst, who is finally to be given to the spouse at that time as night approaches. Still in silence to this point, she descends to the marital bed. She is, according to their customs, not permitted to mourn her virginity or let out any sigh, but rather she is to welcome the leaping spouse. When the light of the new day arrives, the husband gets up, his wife left un-greeted, taking both a bucket and a basket for carrying water and food, which is his duty. When he returns, he knocks on the shut door with a stone until his wife answers and she speaks to him for the first time in marital affection. And placing the food together with the water in their place, she begins to take care of the home. Then the instructresses come, and they congratulate her union with her husband, and they pray to the god (as I understand) of Muhammad, that she might receive offspring from him.

(63r-64v)

“As I understand” is the frame of the entire description and interpretation, as it is situated at the end of a lengthy catechism of polemic, and followed by the pejorative words, “These are the rites of the Sect of Muhammad.” These rites, as Lorca has been informed by “some pious priests and alms-giving men of ours” who have traveled in Africa, are shared by Muslims elsewhere (64v). Nor is Lorca capable of letting the choice of food at the feast escape a brief interruption on the senselessness of Islamic dietary
restrictions (64r). And, finally, there is the ever-present critique of “Muhammadan” aversion to chastity: the bride may not mourn her virginity, the spouse leaps into bed, and, after the instructresses pray “to the god of Muhammad,” they cut the bride’s hair to neck-length so that it might not hinder her husband’s advances. But every negative word that appears explaining the “real” meaning of these “rites” is accompanied by a counterpart: a Morisco woman is now characterized by “modesty” as she progresses through the ceremonies, men are congratulating each other as if school boys, food is “splendidly prepared,” even if it excludes pork and wine, and then the spouses greet each other “in marital affection.” What underlies the entire *Catechisms of Instruction* clearly surfaces: Lorca is writing about and for a people he seems to know, the Moriscos. Lorca sympathizes with the Moriscos as human beings and fellow Christians, but the theologian sees remnants of a “false sect” in these customs preventing the full incorporation of the New Christians into the Christian fold. “Charity” requires that he drives the Moriscos away from anything that might lead them astray, since their salvation rests on it.

Lorca begins the second catechism, “On Banishing Dress and Language,” in an almost amusing fashion, citing Ephesians 4:20-24, which includes these words: “put away the old man of your former way of life [...] and put on the new self, created in God’s way in righteousness and holiness of truth” (31r). Paul’s meaning, of course, is an interior renewal and the accompanying changes of life style that grace demands and effects, and this is Lorca’s first teaching for the Moriscos. The baptized Christian is transformed in two ways, namely, “the remission of sins, which is called the healing of
the sickness, and the removal of what has been contaminated by it, which happens gradually by it being perfected in the renewal of his image” (32r). The theology is certainly time-honored, and the theologian consciously emphasizes the need for true interior conversion, as Paul here demands. The remission of sins happens, however, at baptism, and therefore the work at hand for the pastors of the proselytes is that of perfection, that is, administering the necessary instruction so that the Moriscos might participate fully in the life of the Church and her sacraments, the medium of Christ’s grace. However, between the title of the catechism and the previous folia, the reader might anticipate what the author means by “the removal of what has been contaminated.” “Therefore,” Lorca reasons at the end of the same folio, “those who strain to understand this renewal in God, they should put aside the former way of life according to the old man,” in whose desires many proselytes have chosen to be “detained as if by fetter and shackle.”

The word “choice” is a significant one, because a baptized Christian “has died with Christ” and will likewise “rise with him,” and has therefore received the necessary grace for salvation and freedom from the law of sin. However, he or she always has the option to reject this salvation, to alienate him or herself from the fold of Christ. For Lorca, the choice to even look different establishes a disposition towards such an alienating journey. In a marginal note, Lorca writes, “Tal debe el hombre ser, como quiere parecer” (32v). Lorca offers a more direct interpretation in the text itself, “He who has Christ inside also longs to appear Christian on the outside” (ibid.). “To appear”
here quickly applies to language as much as it does dress, and other outward signs, such as hair and body art. For example, towards the latter part of the catechism he writes:

   It is expedient for a particular nation surviving in a vast reign to skillfully mold itself to the rest of the citizens in cult, dress, language, and religion, and not the reverse, that account be taken for the conservation of their rites and particular language, particularly where it concerns their catechesis. (39r)

And, in addition, such assimilation will remove the distinction existing between Old and New Christians and allow communion (39v). It thus becomes a question of simple distinction, it seems, and one of practicality. However, Lorca writes this in the latter folia of the unusually lengthy catechism, in which he spends the better part critiquing the opinion that dress and language are nothing more than a regional distinction. The pastor’s work, then, is that of striving for “the freedom of mind in the spirit of God for these [held captive], so that he might make his charges conformed to Christ in both man and religion” (32v). Conformed to Christ, that is, dressing and speaking like Christians.

   Lorca, however, is not working from an assumption of the innate superiority of “Christian” culture, he is, rather, arguing that traditions, whether dress or language, become irrevocably imbued with a meaning beyond the obvious: covering the body or practical communication. In this our theologian is perceptive, and he severely criticizes his opponents, but not without explaining his reasoning, “The issue for us is with these New Christians, who should put on Christ interiorly and exteriorly and completely forget the thousand superstitions of that sect if they wish to be saved” (33r). Clothing or
language is of no merit; it is the choice that they indicate, the interior reality of the individual, with which Lorca takes issue:

If there were a difference clearly distinctive between Christians and others, so that whoever using such dress confesses his faith, it would be a mortal sin for the Christian man to bear the dress of a Moor or a Jew, since this would be nothing more than to confess himself due to fear to be Moor or Jew. For this reason let him be called a Moor on account of the unjust retention of his dress and the Arabic language, whoever he is who, although he has been soaked and washed with the water of baptism, even now wishes to be distinguished from the Christians by the retention of the dress of the Moors. (*ibid.*)

What is more, this dress and tongue “abounds in a thousand superstitions and equally serves for the observance of that false sect” (*ibid.*). Lorca ties certain clothes to Muslim rites such as prayer. Thus the decision to look different is a decision of apostasy, because the dress and language has long been one of distinction not simply between secular traditions, but religious belief. In short, for Lorca Morisco dress and language are “superstitious,” Christian dress and language are “practical” and “civil” (32v, 39v).

Lorca attempts to back up his own argument through Morisco witnesses and his own knowledge, which he manifests through a careful description and interpretation of Morisco garments and the like. In a marginal note, Lorca notes that the remedy suggested by the proselytes themselves for “banishing the Muhammadan Sect from the borders of Spain” is that of the prohibition of “Moorish” dress and language (36r). On the next folio, the theologian cites a native Granadan whose parents converted under 182
the Catholic Monarchs: if these had prohibited language and dress at that time, the proselytes would now be good Christians (36v). Before this witness, however, Lorca has already identified the underlying meaning of “Arabic” dress. He describes how it is specifically designed so that the Muslims might more quickly accommodate themselves to their rites, such as ablutions and prayer, which accompanies a relation of Friday prayer. The “Moors” wear a “linen shirt hanging only to their navel and linen pants from the navel extending down to the ankles, bound with only one cord called a xareta in Arabic, covered, however, by a linen cloak, or an Alquicerius [...] for performing head prostrations” (34r). Upon entering the alxema or “temple,” they leave their shoes at the door, “either wooden or leather [...] and they do not wear them tied, according to their perfidious religion” (34v). The Muslims, Lorca alleges, even place a white vitta with a feather on their heads, which help to weigh them down so they might more easily perform their prostrations (ibid.). The more religious men among them puncture their arms and legs, color them with a powder, and tent them “with a marvelous variety of letters or symbols in praise of their God” (ibid.). Whether the theologian’s interpretations are accurate might be debated, but they do appear to be based on actual observation.28

Another custom among the Moriscos that Lorca attacks is that of maintaining two names: a traditional Arabic name, and a Christian name, received at baptism. Lorca takes up this discussion in a number of catechisms. In the first catechism, he alludes to the problem in the context of baptism, rhetorically asking rebellious Moriscos from Játiva (1583) why they have “given” away their Christian name and turned away from
the “Christian militia” (23r). However, our author enters into more detail in the eleventh catechism, where he decries the “impunity” with which the Moriscos use two names, defending such use as family custom devoid of religious significance. Here he writes specifically about the practice in Valencia:

... if you say, “Oh, if you do not mind, tell, Valencian Morisco, by what name are you called in church, and, to be sure, by what name in your home by your parents?” He will immediately say with a shameless face and a lying tongue, “In the church I am called Juan, but at home, Hammed.” (109v).

He refers to these New Christians as “Moriscos of the Muhammadan militia,” and suggests that such names are based on the root of “Muhammad” by simply subtracting a number of letters out of respect for the Prophet (ibid.). Use of such a name, for Lorca, is again a denial of their Christian name, and therefore closely tied to their rejection of baptismal vows. The issue is so important for the theologian that he emphasizes the need for Moriscos to learn to pronounce the saint’s names correctly, and argues that mispronunciation of their Christian names suggests maliciousness on their part (111v).

Such an observation by the theologian again attests to his familiarity with the Moriscos, as well as his practical approach to and seriousness about their incorporation into Spanish society and the Christian Church.

**Economic Life and the Role of Morisco Women in the *Catechisms***

Pedro Guerra de Lorca’s *Catechisms of Instruction* thus present a great deal of information about Morisco customs, as well as the theologian’s own interpretation of these customs in the context of the religious instruction of these New Christians. To my
knowledge, no contemporary catechism written for the instruction of the Moriscos addresses these themes to the extent that Lorca does in his own work. At the very least, these cultural descriptions show that the *Catechisms of Instruction*’s author is not ignorant of Morisco religious and secular culture. In fact, if the various requests from his co-citizens for the writing of this catechism are to be trusted (as I discussed in the introduction), the theologian was very much respected for his knowledge and experience among the Moriscos. What we have discusses suffices as proof for such a conclusion, but Lorca offers more. In addition to his discussion of topics ranging from ablution to the use of two names among these New Christians, our author also addresses certain aspects of Morisco professions and work, as well as certain practices of Morisco bandits, known as Monfíes. The theologian is also perceptive concerning the role of women in Morisco culture and its conservation, though, as may be expected, with the traditional bias against that sector of society as unusually “sensual” and “superstitious.” In this section, the last of the chapter, we consider these passages of the *Catechisms of Instruction* in the context of Lorca’s missionary zeal.

Lorca discusses a variety of professions practiced among the Moriscos, especially in the context of training children, but his particular focus is that of mule driver and merchant. It was a common concern in Spain that Morisco drivers or merchants served as a means of communication between Morisco communities, and even between pirates or Africans and the Moriscos. Lorca shares this sentiment, but also suggests that many Moriscos attack Christians along the way and escape without notice. This argument is taken up in the last catechism, “On the Temporal Government of the
Proselytes.” He therefore suggests that those who practice this profession wear a blue cap, “as if hay on their horns (as once ferocious bulls), which will be certain safety for them and others making the journey” (157v). The theologian further suggests this distinction should only be practiced until the older Morisco generation passes away, so as to avoid marking their innocent children with such infamy (ibid.).

Lorca’s observation seems rather general, until it is placed in the context of an earlier description in the same catechism, where he discusses how exactly some Moriscos attack Christians along the journey, together with Monfíes:

While wherever those wicked men make a journey, they immediately make use of any occasion offered for slaughtering a Christian man, whose hairy brow they hold tightly, so that it might not flee from them because it is bald. The first of them (the others hiding), dissemblingly approaching with a club full of knots, strikes the side and crown of the head, and easily kills the wretched man deprived of his senses with a sword or longer pin, and, according to the custom of the land, inflicts only five wounds and does not add a sixth. They call the method of this violent death Hanze, because it consists of five wounds, as if a sacred number among the Arabs. Other murderers rush up faster than eagles and glory in exercising Ganzua against the man ridden of life, that is, vengeance by the act Hanze, such that the ancient proverb now in times past might go forth from them, “He is not considered a good Moor who does not inflict a wound onto the cadaver of a Christian man.” (153v-154r)
The significance of the passage is twofold. Lorca has experience as a citizen of Granada who has worked among the Moriscos, or he would not likely know this information in such detail. Also, despite this particular knowledge of the “violence” of such Moriscos, he advocates only a measured limitation of the Moriscos in this profession (a distinctive marking, which is to be done away with after the present generation). The theologian is attempting to deal with the “Morisco problem”: how to protect “Christian society” while not making the incorporation of these New Christians more difficult.

Our author also addresses another Morisco profession to a considerable extent, though this one is specific to Morisco women: prostitution. Prostitution is legal in Lorca’s society, but it is still considered a sin, both for those who practice it and those who pay for it (i.e. “fornication”). Thus, since Lorca is seeking the salvation of the “proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect,” he concentrates on the part of the problem he believes might be beneficial to his own mission. The theologian advocates that laws be passed against Morisco women becoming prostitutes, and justifies the discriminatory law by closely linking an “insatiable” desire for fornication as being inherently “Muhammadan.” The majority of this argument takes place in the fifth catechism, “On Fleeing Fornication.” There he suggests that fornication is not considered such in Islam if payment is received for the offence, and that women will even cry “Batil, Batil” after a rape, “as if they were saying, ‘Give a reward for the act, so that we might be found clean from sin before our Muhammad’” (61v). The accusation may not be dismissed entirely, as there has been documentation of Moriscos suggesting that sex outside of marriage is not a crime if payment is received.²⁹ Thus, if Morisco women are to be saved from
falling into apostasy, they must be prohibited from indulging in their “natural” inclination. This avoidance is especially important in the case of Morisco girls, who should be taken from prostituting parents and raised by Old Christians, later to be given in marriage to an Old Christian man.

We address Lorca’s consideration of prostitution further in the following chapter, but it serves somewhat as a transition into the last topic of our chapter: Lorca’s perception of the role of women in Morisco culture. Though he takes up the theme in several passages throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*, one unique passage concerns dress. With respect to “style,” Lorca writes that “the world of Arabic women has two kinds of garments, the former poorly sewn together for celebrating the rites of their sect [...] the others for more easily exercising their sexual desire” (35r). Their hair is cut short so that their husbands might more easily approach them, they wash themselves not only for prayer, but to be more attractive, and they “wear their wooden shoes on their feet so that they might be able to float over the water, not to mention pompously march when they indulge in their sacred ablutions” (*ibid.*). The theologian further discusses wound boots that make the women “appear fatter,” since that is considered attractive among the Moriscos, and how they decorate their hands with thyme and henna for the same purpose (35r-v). Finally, Lorca explains certain medals “hanging from their neck” with a sculpted hand “signifying the power of God” on one side and “a key on the other, as if sent from the heavens for opening the gates of African Spain to them” (*ibid.*). The description is interesting, but the interpretation is highly charged. Regardless, Lorca’s portrayal of dress suggests that he has observed
Morisco women in his society, and he has thought considerably about how their dress should be interpreted.³⁰

Our author further suggests this contact in his discussion of magic, as well as the role of women in the upbringing of their children, to which we have alluded earlier. In the context of the third catechism, Lorca speaks of “witches” that followers of the “false sect” often consult, “taught in every art for wisely casting spells, from which they learn the events of future matters” (45r). In the twelfth catechism, Lorca again refers to women and their role in preserving “magic” among the Moriscos, whom he considers “more superstitious in view of the men, and more given to incantations, dreams, and omens” (122r). Though pejorative, Lorca’s perception of women as bearers of these customs is not inaccurate, as attested to by the Tafsira of the Mancebo de Arévalo that María Teresa Narvaez discusses in “Nozaita Kalderan: partera y experta en el Corán,” which we discussed in chapter one. Lorca likewise assigns a central role to nursing women in the religious and cultural upbringing of their children throughout the Catechisms of Instruction. We discussed the age of seven years as a weaning date early in this chapter, and the theologian considers it so dangerous that he advocates Old Christian nurses when possible and, in any case, that the mothers be forced to wean their children at the age of two (53r, 146r). That way the mothers do not indoctrinate their children. Again, though pejorative, Lorca recognizes that women do exercise an important role in conserving Morisco culture, and he addresses the “problem” so that the ministers of this catechism might be made more perceptive.
Concluding Remarks

These passages that we have addressed comprise Lorca’s discussion and consideration of Morisco culture. Some of these traditions, such as ablutions or circumcision, appear to have clear religious significance, and so any reader might expect the theologian to discuss them at length and advocate their removal from these New Christians. However, such as is the case with circumcision, Lorca shows that he is more perceptive: not all religious rites “Islamic” in origin among the Moriscos are intentionally religious, but they still must be removed. Other traditions, such as dress or marriage celebrations, which appear more secular in nature and for which Lorca might have some sympathy, he condemns outright. In as much as Lorca remains an outsider to Morisco culture, Cardaillac’s statement on Lorca’s “lack” of knowledge is somewhat fair. All of our author’s discussion of these customs is through the lens of a Christian missionary who believes that the distinctive cultural practices of the Moriscos are barriers to their full incorporation not only into Spanish society, but into the Christian Church. For Lorca, such practices as dress and language are linked to a Muslim past, and therefore must be removed. Dietary restrictions and circumcision, too, are linked to this past, but here he offers caution: these “rites,” too, have become deeply rooted in tradition, and the intention of their practitioners might not merit severe censorship. Finally, Lorca seems to know the Moriscos and, in his own way, care deeply for them and the practical realities facing their instruction. Whatever Lorca’s motivation, such a deep and broad discussion of these issues is not only uncommon among the contemporary catechisms, they are absent. In this sense, Cardaillac’s statement is a misrepresentation of the
Catecheses, and Cantarino, Caro Baroja, and Longás are right to note the significance of Lorca’s work.

26 Longás, in his oft-cited study, suggests that religious custom actually prohibited the Moriscos from burying coins with the cadaver, and is surprised that Lorca suggests such a practice: neither Aljamiado literature nor archeological finds could confirm Lorca’s allegation (287, 294). However, Caro Baroja suggests such a practice via a number of other sources (though not in reference to Lorca’s Catechisms), and explains away its lack of orthodoxy as a custom dating to pre-Islamic times (118).

27 See endnote 29 below.

28 Pío Baroja appears to give Lorca’s descriptions and interpretations a certain credence as he describes the “character” of the Moriscos and their style preferences in his already cited study (128).

29 See, for example, Juan Aranda Doncel’s article “Las prácticas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces a través de las relaciones de causas del tribunal de la inquisición de Córdoba” already discussed in chapter one.

30 Barbar Fuchs, in her study Exotic Nation (2009), describes many articles of clothing in use by Moriscos and adopted by many Old Christians: they include chapines (“early modern women’s platform shoes”), Borceguíes (“laced-half-boots”), tocas de camino (“similar to turbans”), the marlota (a kind of ceremonial cloak), and camisas (chemises) (63, 67).
Throughout the entire Catechisms of Instruction Pedro Guerra de Lorca is greatly concerned with the assimilation of the Moriscos, as he indicates even in the first catechism where he judges the differing groups of these New Christians according to their degree of assimilation. However, catechisms eight, ten and eleven and catechisms thirteen through sixteen constitute the author’s most concentrated discussions of this theme. The eighth catechism is on “Avoiding Communion with the Saracens,” and the tenth and eleventh catechisms are written for instructing pastors on the methodology for catechizing children and adults, respectively. Lorca writes the thirteenth catechism on laws already made and those that should be issued for the Moriscos, and he composes the fourteenth catechism for laws concerning the correction of and penalty for heretics. Finally, the fifteenth and sixteenth catechisms are on the spiritual and temporal government of the proselytes. The issues the theologian discusses in these catechisms are not new or unique, but the fact that he discusses them in the context of a catechism and that he assigns these issues so central a part of his spiritual project is. Again, Lorca has stepped beyond theological arguments and model sermons, which are the typical content of contemporary catechisms, and he has entered into discussion and
thoughtful consideration of the practical issues at hand. Lorca does so with authority and experience; he guides pastors and secular judges step by step, he considers different situations and difficulties that might present themselves, and he explains his reasoning for his approach to assimilation.

In the present and final chapter, I argue that Lorca bases his approach to the assimilation of the Moriscos into mainstream society not so much on the basis of belief in cultural (Spanish) superiority as much as on the same logic of his interpretation of “Arabic” dress and language. Lorca believes that cultural traditions carry with them great significance, and that it is only through the rejection of a culture closely tied to an Islamic past, distinct from that of the “Old Christians,” that the Moriscos will finally and completely let go of the “remnants of the Muhammadan Sect.” Thus, catechesis is an affair that includes all sectors of society: the priests, secular rulers and their subordinates, most notably the local judges and magistrates, and the common (Old Christian) people. We have discussed the responsibilities of each of these groups within the context of the Church’s mission in Spain in chapter two, but now we look at the concrete actions the theologian directs each to take, as well as the failures he suggests into which they frequently fall. Within this context, Lorca again expands on his first-hand knowledge and the rumors and reports he has heard from other regions: a seminary founded in Rome for children fleeing from heretical parents, the practice in Portugal of not penalizing heretics in goods, or the signs in the cadaver of a murder victim that indicate that it has indeed been the work of Moriscos or a monfi, as we have already discussed. I have organized the chapter along the following themes: catechesis or direct,
religious instruction; combating communication between the Moriscos and “secret-Moors” and heresy; and civil government. The sectors of society involved in each of these areas blend, but generally speaking they are the work of the priests, judges (civil and religious), and, again, legislators and judges, respectively.

**Religious Instruction**

“On the Teaching of Children” is the culmination of Lorca’s frequent comments on what to do with children among the proselytes. His first concern is that of baptism and avoiding circumcision, and our author thus repeats many of those ideas he has already expressed in the fourth catechism. Here, however, Lorca has room to establish a greater project for the theme. He tells those who have lost hope for the salvation of the Moriscos that God can save anyone who is willing to be saved, but that, even if they reject God’s salvation, adapting a passage from 2 Kings 19:18, there are “seven thousand children from them who have not bent their knee before Baal” (99v). Having received baptism, they will be “planted alongside running water capable of sanctifying; as if new plants they will give their fruit in their time” (*ibid*.). The priests take on the primary responsibility in this catechism as they must go and are present soon after the birth of each baby and note the characteristics of the child and, if male, if he has been born with the foreskin attached. Old Christians must serve as the midwives (100v). Lorca is again concerned about preventing circumcision, and though he does not believe that a child himself is guilty for being circumcised, the theologian does believe that this mark will drive the child to identify himself with a people separated from the true God and his
religion. It is rather through the grace of baptism, then, that the child will most likely be fully incorporated into and identify with the Christian community.

Many Moriscos likewise viewed these first days of a child’s life, especially if male, as an important time to identify him with their traditions and ancestral religion. As we have noted, the more culturally assimilated Moriscos in Castile tended to practice this rite less than in other regions such as Valencia, but it was widespread. Specifically, Lorca warns the priests that it is common practice among some Moriscos to present a single child multiple times for baptism, thereby protecting other children from Christian initiation: “I greatly fear from some parents, lest they even take their children from the holy font, submitting one for seven [...] and so they maliciously harm them with their rite of circumcision [...] and make them guilty of that sect” (100v). Even after baptism, parents, Lorca alleges and recent scholarship confirms, would take the children back home and use hot water to rub off the chrism oil and would then perform their own ceremonies to consecrate the child (100v). Lorca claims that this consecration is “to Muhammad.” Nonetheless, for this very reason the work of the pastor extents not only to making sure that each newly born child is actually baptized, but that for the next eight days he makes sure that the male is not circumcised. He should continue the visits as long as possible (101r).

And thereupon begins the work of actual catechism, when the child is old enough to understand and learn the truth of the Catholic faith. Beginning in the seventh year, the children must be consistently taught about the faith by their pastors or designated teachers. These priests must “keep an account of their children in a written
memorial, which is read before and after catechesis” (101v). Lorca suggests a program based on rewards and punishment: those who are present upon the reading of the list will receive praise and those absent will be immediately “accused of their negligence” and “learn to fear their teacher” (ibid.), though the pastor must bear in mind the age of the pupil when dealing out a punishment. The strictness of the program certainly comes to no surprise given the zealous and radical approach Lorca advocates throughout his Catechisms; however, he is also an idealist. Thus, citing Saint Ambrose’s Ad Laetam, the theologian emphasizes the need for a kind teacher who avoids all cruelty, for, “In the first place, the nobility of a teacher is his love of learning” (ibid.). Likewise the teacher must not abuse the whip, lest the children learn to hate learning and develop a tenacious resistance to any instruction the Church attempts to instill in them (ibid.).

Through this careful and consistent instruction, Lorca believes that the children may even become teachers and models for their parents, and thus his program for the catechism of children ultimately translates into a program for the entire Morisco community.

However, also among the first steps of this instruction and assimilation of children, and perhaps its central task, is a very real separation from familial and maternal care, which Lorca considers corruptive: “Moreover, nurtured by maternal milk, so that [the child] does not drink up her most wicked character with so much sucking, he will be under the care of the common people from the seventh to the twelfth year” (101r). Lorca then turns from ordained pastors to the pastoral role of all Catholic Christians, whom the Council of Trent reminds of their duty, that they “take up the
children of proselytes for their initial instruction and formation in the Christian discipline” (ibid.). They are, then, in a very real sense, “pastors.” In every case, Lorca explains, “we expect this pious work from the common people” in each step of their Christian initiation: baptism, sustenance for those children who need it, formation in faith and good character (106r). Many of the Old Christians must likewise train these children in their crafts, particularly those children who have been separated from heretical parents, so that they might not only become good Christians, but productive members of society (ibid.). It is through good conversation and intimate contact with Old Christians that the Moriscos, and especially children, will be best assimilated. Lorca’s hope is that the Morisco children will learn a whole new way of life which the theologian identifies with the Christian faith, and so “to be a Christian” is more than adherence to a doctrine, it is an adherence to certain cultural practices.

Lorca thus appears very much in favor of separation of children from their family, even if he does not judge it absolutely necessary. The reader gains this sense as the theologian explains when a child should be separated and thereupon develops what to do with him. For example, immediately after discussing how a teacher should treat his pupils, Lorca directs the conversation to that of “perfidious” parents. As the children attend daily catechesis, Lorca warns the pastor how to look out for the resistance of parents who attempt to erase everything the child has learned each day: “... their parents subvert the children, un-teaching them, when they have come to an older age, one by one those things that the pastors have taught them not without great labor” (102r). Among the Moriscos, Lorca alleges, there is the custom of allowing their children
to freely choose their faith after teaching them the doctrine of the Islamic faith, and, since “they will show greater faith to their parents than to their pastors,” it happens that they often choose Islam (*ibid.*). Signs of such practice are readily available, such as when a child runs inside to warn his parents upon seeing a priest approach (*ibid.*). Lorca believes that this practice is so common that his bias is against allowing children to dwell at home during the years of catechesis, when the children are most vulnerable to the influence of their parents. At best, children might become teachers of their parents, but usually they should be removed from their sphere of influence altogether.

Once they are removed, “real work” may be initiated, which really constitutes the bulk of Lorca’s tenth catechism. What he proposes is an intensive form of indoctrination. His vision is rather grand: he wishes many of these young New Christians to become priests. Lorca’s main concern is with boys; the girls, as Lorca’s suggests throughout the fifth catechism, are relegated to temporal servitude to a good Christian lady and then married off to an Old Christian. Lorca points to several laws and examples for this educational project: a school for vagabond Morisco children in Cordoba proposed by García Suárez Carvajal in 1577, the seminary in Rome finally built for children of heretics by Gregory XIII, and orders by Trent (1543-1563) and the Toledan council of 1583 for similar foundations (103r, 105r). Though he indicates some debate that took place about whether such seminaries were really for New Christian children, since they were intended for the *pauperum filios*, Lorca responds that the poorest children are those of heretics, and that it is by divine mandate that Christian society must not only care for their basic needs, but integrate them fully into the Church. In
such seminaries the children would be taught “letters and good customs,” many even coming to serve at altar in the priesthood (105v). Lorca expands on the benefits of such a project for all of Spain and the cause of the Catholic Church, writing that, just as in Rome, these children would “rush forth as well trained dogs bravely barking and teach their parents and descendents [the faith]” (*ibid.*). Such children, the foundational hope for Lorca, should be trained and fully admitted to the sacraments, as should all proselytes who have rejected the dress and language and other traditions of the “Moriscos” (105v-106r), again emphasizing cultural assimilation together with doctrinal instruction.

Another interesting point in these folia is the theologian’s logic, which appears extremely conservative at first glance but then turns progressive. Lorca believes that one of the barriers to such a project actually taking place, besides the issue of financing, is a certain prejudice and practice to which he must answer: the issue of blood and inheritance. Could children of Moriscos and heretics actually be not only good Christians, but Christian leaders? The theologian offers a mitigated “yes,” which might be found most clearly on the verso side of folio 104: “Indeed, sometimes children of such heretics are born somewhat disposed by nature to the paternal vices, if they are carnal, nonetheless, not so to the spiritual [vices]...” There is hope, as long as the Church pastors these children with zeal. Christian schools provide a fundamental role in this hope, but it is also provided by a significant change in years of inquisitorial tradition: protection from the damage to reputation and finances suffered by children of heretics. Citing councils and canonists, Lorca argues that children must not bear the guilt of their
parents, and, as in other places such as Italy, Spain must stop harming those who are innocent of heresy (103v). This need is especially appropriate, from Lorca’s viewpoint, for those children who report their parents to the authorities of the tribunals for heresy, after warning them twice, which is that allowed to a child out of family affection (104r).

It becomes evident, then, that though Lorca himself is opposed to a culture and a tradition, he is so not in an attempt to protect “Old Christian” interests, but the people whom he seeks to incorporate fully into Spanish religious life.

There is also great difficulty and frustration experienced in the late sixteenth century over the catechesis and full incorporation of Morisco adults into the Church, and it is already felt within the tenth catechism, as the theologian comes very close to advocating the wholesale separation between Moriscos and their children. It is likewise a difficulty that Lorca recognizes at the beginning of the eleventh catechism, but amidst which he refuses to give up. His program is based on strict and frequent indoctrination and vigilance over the adults of every parish, and here the need to “restrain” the patient so that he or she might accept the remedy is clearly felt: to make sure that these New Christians attend catechesis, they might be taxed every time that they are absent from their obligations (112v). At the same time, the theologian appreciates the basic problem of understanding: if nobody explains the Church’s doctrine and, quite especially, its ceremonies, the Moriscos will never appreciate them. Thus, Lorca begins the catechism with a passage from 2 Timothy 4:2-4: “Preach the word opportunely and inopportunely: convict, beg, chastise in all patience and doctrine...” (108r). It is through consistency that adults will irresistibly “come to their senses,” and the means are signified by the two
breasts of the Church spoken of in Song of Songs: word and deed; prayer and catechesis (ibid.). While it is true that adults will resist or often do resist, there is hope, according to Lorca, because the Church has the benefit of the two swords: through aid by the secular arm, the Moriscos will attend catechesis, and through the authority of the priest, God’s word will be spoken to them.

Lorca thus explains, “For if they hear it on the outside, before too long by the grace of the Holy Spirit they will feel God moving on the inside and taking away that harmful fiction [remnants of Islam] from their hearts” (108v). Thus, no one should lose hope, but hold tight to the goal and read the Church fathers and the stories of the saints who, paraphrasing Saint Paul to the Hebrews, chapter 11, “conquered kingdoms, worked justice, inherited the promises, shut the mouths of lions” (109r). The Moriscos, Lorca tells the reader, are often of two minds: they are Christian on the outside, but Muslims on the inside (109v). The theologian exemplifies this “double heart” by the names in common use among the Moriscos: a Christian name for the Church and an Arabic one for the home (ibid.). Though it may or may not be due to a real desire to live as a Muslim, the use of an Arabic name indicates that the Moriscos may not yet be fully Christians and that they are even separated from Christ (110r). It is for this reason that the proselytes must renounce their Arabic names as well as other traditional practices, Muhammad, and such rites as ablution: “teach the good and un-teach the bad,” Lorca tells us (ibid.). The adults must attend not only Mass on holy days, but an instructional session that evening. The Mass includes a careful explanation of the ceremony, which Lorca describes in some detail from blessing oneself with holy water upon entering to
the *introit* to the ministry of the word and the sacrifice of the altar (111v-112v). At vespers the Moriscos return for a review where the priest quizzes the proselytes over what has been discussed at Mass. Lorca insists that the constant repetition and the accountability required from the Moriscos will create such disciples that they “are capable of preaching Christ anywhere and also defeat and overcome the Muhammadans hostile to them” (111r).

Lorca aims for the full incorporation of the Moriscos, then, and such a goal reaches beyond doctrinal instruction. He opposes all those practices that he believes inhibit their assimilation. In this catechism, Lorca focuses specifically on the preservation of two names, which he amplifies in some detail, as we have discussed in chapter five. However, he also reiterates this opposition in the context of clothing and language: the Moriscos must learn to say the names of the saints clearly, without corrupted speech, and those who insist on holding onto their traditional dress should not be admitted to the sacraments (112r-v). These individuals, however, must be welcomed to the sacraments and not suffer discrimination based on their lineage once they have conformed to Christian culture (113r). For the theologian, well-instructed and assimilated New Christians must enjoy the same privileges as Old Christians and be treated as such: “… with all those who have advanced in faith and Christian doctrine and are readied for the reception of the sacraments, let the pastor conduct himself as with those old in the faith” (*ibid.*). Lorca insists, “Since what they [the pastors] have accepted freely, they are required to give freely according to the command of the very legislator himself [Christ]” (*ibid.*). This approach also holds outside of the doors of a church, as we
will discuss shortly. Therefore, just as in the case of the children, Lorca’s logic is extreme but consistent: the theologian rejects any belief that these New Christians are less than the Old Christians; they only need extra help.

**Assimilating the Moriscos through Community and Law**

It is in this sense, too, that these Moriscos, though grown adults, need protection from certain people and the theologian addresses this need to its greatest extent in the eighth catechism, “On Prohibiting Communion with the Saracens.” The Pauline letter Lorca chooses for this catechism is from the first chapter to the Galatians, where Paul chastises the Galatians for assenting to a gospel other than the one they had accepted from the apostle to the Gentiles (83r). Lorca’s customary manipulation of the biblical verses directs it to the Moriscos, decrying their tendency to return to old habits and traditions after having received the gospel of Christ. After sternly warning those “secret-Moors” who seek to subvert their saved brethren, the theologian explains how Christian society must prevent this perversion of their New Christians. The Moriscos must hear Paul’s exhortation in Ephesians 4:4-6: “You are one body, one spirit, just as you have been called in the one faith of your vocation, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, and father of all” (85r). Again, Lorca’s first threat is that of the removal of children from parents who show evidence of apostasy, and likewise explains the danger of heresy among New Christians, who might easily fall from the faith (86r). The Old Christians must willingly associate with and establish good relations with their New Christian neighbors and make them feel welcome to prevent this fall (ibid.). Those who subvert others from the faith must suffer stiffer penalties than those who are subverted, and all
Moriscos must be kept from any contact with the “Gazis” or recently converted “Moors” who were notorious for not only practicing, but having great knowledge of Islamic rites and customs (86v).

As is his custom, Lorca prefers to speak very specifically of examples to support his own stance and approach to the Moriscos’ assimilation into Christian society. In this catechism he provides it through the rebellion of the Alpujarras from 1568-1571, and criticizes those who oppose his proposition that the Moriscos be forced to live among the Old Christians permanently. The doctor of theology, again, speaks from firsthand experience: if the Moriscos exiled to Castile are permitted to return to Granada, “they will quickly recall to memory every teaching of Muhammad, which had been thrown to the hind knapsack by them” (88r). Moors from the African shores and Morisco bandits will quickly subvert all the work that had been accomplished through great effort, “And the small distance of place will not delay those who already long know the paths of the entire kingdom [...] a thousand times trodden by them and stained with the spilled blood of Christians; and they recognize their tracks as if sniffing dogs” (ibid.). Lorca insists that everyone recognizes this danger and that it makes no sense to not only expose the Kingdom of Granada to such risk but the very Moriscos who are now assimilating quickly in Castile. He most violently attacks the lords, whom he believes are driven solely by profit and not any concern whatsoever for their own salvation or that of the New Christians they so consistently exploited (88v). In fact, Lorca tells his reader, he will pester the authorities until the same feat is accomplished in Valencia, and he reiterates that three things are necessary for the salvation of the Moriscos: (1) the
obliteration of traditional language and dress, (2) complete separation of the Moriscos from any possible influence of “Saracens” who frequently invade from Algiers and Fez, and, finally, (3) the Moriscos be warmly welcomed by the Old Christians as pilgrims and neighbors in faith (89r-v).

These three “necessary” elements for the salvation of the Moriscos really characterize not only the remaining catechisms, but the theologian’s entire work. And it is the doctor of theology’s great concern for each of these elements that make the Catechisms unique. It is thus to be expected that Lorca further addresses the “catechesis” of the adults and children in a much more aggressive context in the fourteenth catechism, “On Punishing Heretics.” Here Lorca reviews the varying levels of “suspicion” of heresy and what behavior or language warrants concern on the part of priests and Old Christians who serve as the watchdogs of the faith. Nonetheless, Lorca insists that he writes on this theme for the good of the Moriscos, “Since those who are ill in the faith easily fall from it” (136v). They need neighbors close by to help pick them back up, and this correction may be a simple admonition or a report to the appropriate authorities, most often the inquisitors of the Holy Office. Lorca employs a passage from Saint Paul’s letter to Titus 3:10-11, where the apostle tells his reader to ostracize a heretic after a second warning, knowing that “by his own decision he is condemned” (ibid.). It is in this context that the theologian distinguishes between two groups: some are sick and need healing; others are lost and need to be eliminated from the flock so that they might not contaminate others (137r). The latter are those Moriscos or New Christians who have already been warned, but have refused correction. Our author
explains that during Paul’s time it was right to give two warnings since the faith was newly established, but now that the faith has been long established and all the New Christians have been instructed in it and have the example of the Old Christians, no more than one warning should be needed (ibid.).

Such an approach to heretics was the standard inquisitorial practice in the sixteenth century: a “relapsed” heretic was often relaxed to civil authorities for execution. Nonetheless, Lorca’s fourteenth catechism offers much material pertinent to our current thesis, that is, that he is seeking the full incorporation rather than the alienation of the Moriscos based on religious and cultural assimilation. One of these points is Lorca’s definition of those practices that constitute the varying degrees of suspicion for heresy: *de levi, de vehementi, and de violenta* (light, vehement, and violent). In the first class are those Moriscos who still speak Arabic and dress in traditional garments (139v-140r). These individuals are also slow to interact with the Old Christians and cold in observing the rites and traditions of the Catholic Church, as well as avoiding traditionally prohibited foods such as pork (ibid.). It is also tradition and ignorance that lead many Moriscos, according to Lorca, to practice circumcision, magic, avoid wine, and preserve a Christian and an Arabic name. Regardless, these practices are directly contrary to the faith, and warrant a greater degree of suspicion (*de vehementi*) and investigation by the authorities of faith (140v-141r). Other offenses in this degree include belief in dreams, that is, that certain dreams signify certain events in the future: gold or silver, wild animals, sheep, death, a marred aspect of a spouse, flowing water; all of these visions signify future prosperity or bad fate, and thus they
oppose the Catholic doctrine of free will (141v-142r). Those suspect *de violenta*

consistently practice Islamic rites and promote Islamic doctrine out of open perfidy
rather than tradition or ignorance, and evidence should be gathered against them so
that the Inquisition might build a good case and remove them from society (*ibid.*).

Lorca even suggests specific punishments that should be imposed for these
“crimes,” ranging from a simple and private warning in light of a quick abjuration (*de
levi*) to relaxation (*de violenta*). The theologian is not particularly concerned with making
an example out of those New Christians he believes might very well be saved, and he
actually questions whether it would be worthwhile, as he notes that the *San Benito* is
held in esteem by the Moriscos (138r). However, the issue of Morisco children again
arises in this catechism, though in a new light. What should be done with children who
were born to Christian parents and baptized, but grew up as Muslims? Lorca notes,
“This is a common case concerning a child, son of Christians, driven by Moors into
captivity and their false religion,” and then eventually returned to his or her parents
(*ibid.*). Lorca answers that, according to a careful reading of canon law and the lessons
of “the light of the theological school of the Complutense,” Doctor Manti*
us, they must
adhere to their baptismal calling. If the child refuses, then he or she must be prosecuted
by the Inquisition and, here, be made an example of so that other New Christians do not
attempt a similar defense (138r-v). Despite the hard judgment, Lorca still prefers that
the child be first convinced to live out his or her calling outside of the courts, and that
the priests, whether pastors or inquisitors, carefully confirm the child in the faith and
attempt to right those errors already grounded in by their adoptive parents (*ibid.*). A
heavy hand is generally the last resort for Lorca, especially in the case of children, but he is willing to advocate any means necessary to attain the ultimate goal, which is, of course, the assimilation and, according to him, the salvation of the Moriscos.

**The Government of the Proselytes**

In the remaining catechisms, Lorca is concerned with civil government, though this theme certainly does not exclude either the Church or its pastors. There are “two swords” of the Church, and they must work together to accomplish the sure salvation of these proselytes. In the thirteenth catechism, the doctor of theology offers his reader an explanation and evaluation of that very means by which all of society is connected and organized: law. It is through a just law issued forth by a proper authority and adhered to by the populace that the Christian Republic dwells in peace. It is thus also through law and its practice that the Moriscos and Spain might begin to or more fully dwell in harmony. Lorca begins the catechism with Paul’s admonition in his first letter to Timothy 1:8-9: “Moreover, we know that the law is good if someone legitimately uses it; knowing this, that the law has not been made for the just, but the unjust and those not subjected, the impious and sinners” (124v). Lorca explains the verse in the context of Paul’s letter, and how a law is good because of its end, which should be holiness and salvation, “and upon accomplishing that goal, it loses the strength of law and from there it obliges no one to its observance” (125r). Paul is of course speaking of the Old Law versus the New Law, which Lorca has addressed to great extent throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*, but here Lorca applies it to temporal law.
All law, Lorca tells the reader, has a twofold virtue: “directive and [...] coercive; the first is for good and just men, the latter [...] drags the unjust to the observance of the law...” (125v). Divine law is from God the supreme legislator and guides all to salvation, transforming bad people into good, if they are willing, and encouraging those who live justly to continue. Temporal ministers of God’s justice must keep this end in mind so that they might issue forth temporal laws that direct their subjects to salvation (ibid.). To remind his readers of these obligations, Lorca cites Proverbs 8:15-17, “By me kings reign,” etc., and then he explains, “I understand this word to have been said for the law-makers, who should acquire good judgment for composing laws through love of God” (ibid.). Lorca again addresses those laws that the Catholic Kings, Philip I, and then Charles V failed to institute in Granada: the prohibition of Arabic dress and language, as well as other traditional Morisco practices (125v-126r). After praising Philip II for enforcing it and encouraging him to enforce it even among the exiles in Castile, the theologian actually reprints many of the passages under the law Charles V agreed to postpone in 1526, which are followed by those reissued and enforced by Philip II in 1566 (126v-127r). These laws, according to Lorca, are needed for the entire Christian republic: they force the Moriscos to assimilate, they punish Morisco bandits or “Monfíes,” and they even force the Old Christians to treat these New Christians with respect and love. Such laws, then, meet the requirement of a good law, and, since their end has still not been met, they must continue in letter and in practice.

The theologian likewise repeats laws that he had to some degree addressed in other catechisms, such as the penalties for circumcising one’s children or slaves, which,
in short, include loss of them by their parents or owners. Lorca also takes up a
vehement defense of the enslavement of the Moriscos who rose in rebellion against the
king in the Granadan rebellion (1568-1571). There are two kinds of slavery that Lorca
wishes to discuss: that of Morisco adults, whether men or women, and that of Morisco
children. In the first part of the catechism, he focuses on the former. The question to
which he is responding appears to be whether it is just to hold Christians (i.e. Moriscos)
as slaves, though they were born free. Citing numerous laws, from Alphonse X’s Partidas
to the Fourth Council of Toledo and a bull issued by Pius V in 1569, Lorca insists that
Philip II had a right to enslave those who rose up against him in civil rebellion. In fact, as
many defenders of Philip II’s policy alleged, he might have justifiably executed them,
and by sparing them he was merciful (131r-v). By slavery, the theologian explains, these
rebellious Moriscos might be saved, since it separates them from contact with free
Moors (whether open or secret), and also prevents them from subverting their faithful
brethren who were relocated to Castile from Granada (ibid.). Lorca even insists that,
based on their contract with the Catholic Kings following a rebellion at the turn of the
century (1499-1501), the Moriscos agreed to perpetual enslavement if they ever left the
Catholic faith or if they rebelled (130v-131r).

And then Lorca moves onto the children, but now in the second section,
appropriately subtitled, “On Laws to be Made.” In the context of the enslavement of
Morisco adults, the theologian again shows his great concern for a younger and “more
hopeful” generation. And, as made evident by the title, he does not believe that Spain is
responding adequately to the needs of this population. Lorca first addresses, then, the
problem of children of heretics. They must not lose their inheritance to the Inquisition, especially if they testify against their parents (132r). Our author dedicates some space to explaining his argument, which he will return to in the later catechisms: these children must not only keep their inheritance, but be crowned with laurel and paraded through the streets, inspiring other children to do the same and not to fear the consequences (132v). Though even a reader in the sixteenth century might question the efficacy of such a measure, given the not uncommon practice of the Morisco community of not only shunning but punishing Moriscos who accused or confessed before the Inquisition, Lorca is attempting to establish a new and radical culture in Spain. In a kingdom infatuated with statutes of pureza de sangre, Lorca not only advocates respect for these children, but their praise, their inclusion in trades traditionally closed to New Christians, and even the priesthood. The theologian is no doubt a product of his age in his religious zeal, but he also follows it with a logical program aimed not at alienation, in his mind, but inclusion.

The second part of the thirteenth catechism includes two other areas where Lorca would like to see some change and progress. One is a law encouraging intermarriage between Old and New Christians, and the other is new regulations prohibiting discrimination against adult Moriscos who have assimilated and proven themselves faithful Christians. In this sense, Lorca’s hope and “progressive,” relatively speaking, campaign extends beyond the younger generation. It was not uncommon for ecclesiastical and secular leaders to advocate intermarriage in hopes of assimilation. What uniqueness Lorca’s angle offers is that he is advocating that Morisco men marry
Old Christian women, and that upon doing so they “become immune from all subsidies and taxes of the Moriscos and free from all the infamy of New Christians” (133r). There is, Lorca insists, no better remedy for the assimilation of the Moriscos, since the men would be enticed by legal benefits and the children would “drink up with the succored milk” the good, Christian habits of the mother (ibid.). Lorca, though, eager to incorporate the Moriscos, goes beyond intermarriage. All New Christians found faithful must be immune from all the infamy and legal restrictions to which they are subject in Spain, even if they are immediate descendants of heretics (134r). Contrary to what he seems to suggest in the first half of the catechism, the theologian maintains that nobody is obliged to those contracts and penalties incurred by their forefathers, and that laws enforcing such long-standing debts (here he speaks specifically about taxes) are not only unjust, but counterproductive (134r-v).

Lorca, then, is serious about his goal to “win the salvation of the Moriscos” by every means possible, whether it be through force and coercion or economic and social benefits. And, likewise, he opposes long-standing practice in his native land that inhibits this full incorporation. After establishing the fundamental purpose of law, praising and defending those laws he believes are productive, and proposing others, it makes sense for the theologian to turn his attention to “The Spiritual Government of the Proselytes,” which is the title of the penultimate catechism. Here the pastoral authority is called upon to encourage their charges to be subject to the law and live in peace with their Old Christian neighbors. Lorca begins with Paul’s admonition to Titus (3:1-2): “Admonish them to be subject to the princes and authorities, to obey their law, to be prepared for
every good work, to curse no one, not to be litigious, but modest, showing all gentleness to all men” (143v). The theologian emphasizes to his priestly reader that this catechism is not least of the work before them, but rather experience and knowledge teaches the Church that it must actively engage in promoting obedience to secular authorities, as it is only through the cooperation and mutual support of the two swords of the Church that the Christian republic might stand: “Therefore, let those who have been distinguished with the spiritual duty and power for the government of souls hear the Apostle [...] Admonish them to be subject to the princes and authorities” (144r). Again, the theologian reiterates that laws are good for those who wish to do good and coerce those who do not wish to do good. Regardless, all laws tend to peace, and if the Moriscos follow them then they will adapt to their Old Christian neighbors and all conflict will eventually pass away (145r-v).

Lorca here inevitably repeats matters that he has already discussed, though he does amplify them to some degree. The first matter he takes up anew, as has been the case throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*, is that of the children and parental care. A good parent will actively pursue the catechesis of his or her children, and so those who resist must be separated from their children, at least from the ages of seven to twelve (145v). The theologian again address the issue of nursing, and this time he insists that children must be weaned at two years of age, which opposes the already discussed Morisco tradition of nursing children to seven years of age, “by which they are assimilated even more to their maternal character and their boys always become effeminate and feeble” (146r). Lorca also repeats his call for Christian schools to train
Morisco boys either in a trade or in the liberal arts, eventually, Lorca hopes, destined to the priesthood. What our author adds in this catechism is the problem of finding, regulating, and paying a school teacher. Whereas before he vaguely suggested that these teachers not be cruel, here he demands that an abusive teacher be thrown in prison, but that a good one be praised and receive rewards (146v-147v). They should be paid by church offerings or public funds (147r). Lorca’s tone and project has not changed; it has just become more specific.

The doctor of theology likewise addresses the importance of prohibiting any communion between the Moriscos and the “Gazis,” recently freed and converted Muslims, and that the New Christians maintain intimate contact with the Old Christians, who are required to live up to their responsibility as good role models (147v-148r). The Old Christians also must serve as watchdogs, especially if they suspect any violent activities on the part of a Morisco, and he likewise insists that, if necessary, Moriscos should be given temporal rewards for each step they take towards assimilation (148v-149r). The theologian suggests that “soon they [the pastors of the proselytes] will lift them from temporal to spiritual things, warning them to transfix their lives by offering piety and obedience to their rulers” (ibid.). These methods which Lorca advocates, or, more appropriately, advocates anew in the fifteenth catechism attest to his concern for something beyond the destruction of a culture due to a belief in his own culture’s superiority: they indicate a vision, and a vision that is very human. Lorca desires “salvation,” the good of the Moriscos, of the pastors, and of all of Spanish society. And he therefore also desires unity. Lorca establishes this vision quite clearly in the
concluding lines of the catechism: pastors and Old and New Christians will all
“perpetually give thanks to [God],” and the pastors will “read through these things and
turn through the laws in hand night and day made for the government of those New
Christians: for we rush by slow pace for completing our course” (ibid.). The goal here is
not just the completion of the *Catechisms of Instruction*; it is the realization of an entire
project.

The compliment of the penultimate catechism is the sixteenth and last
catechism, appropriately entitled “On the Temporal Government of the Proselytes.”
Lorca begins this catechism in much the same way as the previous one, though now he
appeals to the cooperation of the secular arm of the Church as he cites Paul to the
Romans 13:3-4: “Do you wish not to fear authority? Do good and you will receive praise
from it. Indeed he is a minister of God, a vindicator of anger against he who does evil”
(151r). The theologian reminds the secular authorities, from the king to the local judges
and magistrates that they too are ministers of the Church, and they will likewise be
called to account if they grow lazy in their divine calling (ibid.). Lorca feels that the need
is immediate as he encourages the priests to beg the authorities to discharge their
duties, and he concludes, “I will exhort the rulers and authorities and the judges chosen
by them that what they have received the common people of the Moriscos necessary
for the salvation of their charges, they quickly command be executed” (151v). Secular
authorities are thus required to defend the faith and the faithful even to the point of
shedding blood, and the highest authority must provide the highest example. In this
case Philip has set a good example, but Lorca calls him to spur on the bishops, rectors,
the leaders of the royal senate, even the pastors in the work at hand (152r). Through a system of rewards for the good and stiff penalties for the bad, especially those who violate their baptismal calling, which is equivalent to treachery, the Moriscos will slowly “come to their senses” and adapt to Spain’s religious and cultural “norm” (152v).

Aside from general admonitions, Lorca again revisits those problems he has considered central throughout the *Catechisms of Instruction*, many of them already discussed a second time in the previous catechism. The Moriscos must live among and accommodate themselves to the Old Christians, not only keeping themselves free from “remnants” of Islamic law and tradition, but the mere suspicion of such practice (153r). Children, especially vagrant children, of the proselytes should be placed in publically financed schools or even seminaries, though this time Lorca calls on Philip II himself to force these seminaries to be built and accept Morisco children (155r-v). However, Lorca does provide some new information for a more detailed argument even in these final folia, and this information is generally directed for the benefit of judges. The first point of interest is the signs that the author describes that might identify a murder victim as a victim of Moriscos and Monfíes. As we discussed in the fifth chapter, the body will have five wounds, which, Lorca contends, is a number held sacred by the Arabs (153v-154r). Upon finding such a corpse, the judges must act quickly and make an example out of the suspects by quick execution. Though the theologian cites a specific case in the lands of Tendilla and the thorough and quick response by “Doctor Lievana,” the reader wonders if Lorca himself had witnessed such crimes, especially as he insists that by prohibiting
the abuse of alcohol and women (i.e. prostitutes) by the Moriscos the judges might avoid many murders in the first place, since these activities unduly “excite” them (ibid.).

After calling on the king and secular authorities to prohibit Arabic dress and language again, though this time with the addition of the dangers of allowing certain Moriscos to travel and practice the profession of a tradesman, Lorca addresses the judges directly (157r-158r). Tired of witnessing lazy judges who do not enforce the laws already known and readily accessible, the theologian reminds these lowly authorities: “... if a moribund person grows sicker, [and] the medicine is prepared too late, the ill person will also die in his morbid perfidy [...] nay more, the prefect will also perish who managed the office of the medic and rejected the medicine fixed by law” (ibid.). He goes on to ask, “Indeed why are holy laws made, if there is absolutely no one who upholds the law?” (ibid.). Judges must execute the laws, which is what they have been chosen for by the higher authorities, and, according to Lorca, there are too many who prefer to make it up on their own and only enforce those they wish (158v). Lorca’s vision is not only based on accountability of these judges, but on a partnership with the priests, with whom they should work closely for the spiritual salvation of the proselytes (ibid.). To reemphasize the obligation of these judges, then, Lorca reprints an entire section of a pragmatic issued for the Granadan exiles in 1572, demanding that judges strictly adhere to the laws passed for them. These items range from strict record keeping to limiting the mobility of the Moriscos, not only from their homes but from their parishes, and ensuring that teachers of schools for the Moriscos receive their fair pay, among others (159r-161r).
Lorca concludes the catechism, and thus the entire work with the following words:

Whereby I shall exhort all the ministers of this catechesis in the Lord that after they have set their hand to the plow they neither look back or grow lethargic so that they might not hear the penalty enjoined in the gospel: “They will not be fit for the kingdom of God” [Luke 9:62]. And thus, since these who bear the sword for punishment of the evil and the protection of the good have given themselves to so great a catechetical work, if they now remove some of those who err from their Muhammadan errors, they will say with the Apostles: “We are useless servants; we have done what we were obliged to do” [Luke 17:10]. And although they are unmindful of the divine retribution for so great a labor devoted to their subjects, renouncing Muhammad and his carnal works, and joining them to Christ and the Church, he will nonetheless grant it who said, “Your reward is great in heaven” [Matthew 5:12], to whom is glory forever. (160v)

The closing lines might have served for any of his catechisms and they most certainly would have corresponded to those which we have considered in this chapter. No other catechism contemporary to the Catechisms of Instruction include such extensive and detailed sermons, chapters, or catechisms on the practical problems of governance. I do not make such a statement in a vain attempt to suggest that these problems were not discussed, but rather that they were discussed outside of the catechetical literature. Furthermore, Lorca’s discussion of such matters as communion between Moriscos and “Saracens,” methods to be employed in catechism classes, laws, and spiritual and
temporal government show evidence of consistency, logic, and, in the author’s context, a sincere dedication to a goal. This goal is that of the religious and cultural assimilation of the Moriscos; it is the only way, Lorca believes, that these New Christians might truly be “Christian” and “Spanish,” both of which God demands his servants to pursue.
Primary Works


**Secondary Works**


---. *Historia y Cultura de España*. Versión 4.0. The Ohio State University, 2005. CD-ROM.


Meyerson, Mark D., and Edward D. English, Ed. Christians, Muslims, and Jews in


APPENDIX A: TRANSLATION OF THE CATECHESSES MYSTAGOGICAE PRO ADUENIS EX

SECTA MAHOMETANA: AD PAROCHOS, & POTESTATES
NOTE ON THE PRESENT TRANSLATION

The Catechisms of Instruction for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect: To Pastors and Authorities (1586) by Pedro Guerra de Lorca not only merits a serious book-length study, it merits a serious, scholarly edition and translation. The following pages represent an initial step towards that goal. Because of time restraint and the length of the document, what I have provided is a very basic translation of the entire text, from the title page to the original index. To my knowledge the translation is accurate. Regardless, as with any translation, it is best used alongside the original Latin text. Furthermore, Lorca’s Catechisms contain some unusual Latin phrases: these may be unique to Lorca’s text, or just plain wrong. In these cases I have provided the best solution I have been able to find, sometimes in consultation with Vicente Cantarino. A critical apparatus is needed to better address these concerns, however, and such has not been possible for the dissertation due to time.

The liberty I have taken with the text, which is, of course, tremendous, is translation, which I have attempted to make as literal as possible. I have attempted to mirror the original format in all other aspects. The text is divided into two columns: the left and wider column contains the main body of the text; the right and narrower column contains the marginal notes, placed as closely as possible to their original location in relation to the main text. Furthermore, I have placed the folio numbers in
brackets in the margin, as well as other notes of use, such as biblical verse numbers when it is obvious to which verse or verses Lorca is referring. Lorca’s references to the Qur’an via the Latin translation are inaccurate: the Sura numbers refer to Ketton’s divisions, not the Qur’an or modern translations.

In Lorca’s own table of contents there is no indication of folio number. I have placed the page number corresponding to my own translation in my own table of contents for the convenience of the modern reader. Because Lorca’s index indicates the folio number, I have simply altered the numbers to correspond with the actual folio (the original document starts numbering eight folios in with “1”), and to indicate whether these references are found on the recto or verso side. I have made no attempt to keep alphabetical lists alphabetical, nor have I rearranged the material.

Lorca also abbreviates his citations of many titles to which he makes reference, especially of canon law or the works of the Church Fathers. Where I have been able to do so, I have expended these titles to their full-length. However, due to time and resources, I have opted to leave others in their abbreviated state so as not to inaccurately portray these titles. Division abbreviations, such as “book” or “chapter” or “canon,” I have often left abbreviated. The reader may refer to the introduction of my study for an explanation of the divisions of the principle sources to which Lorca makes reference.

Lorca cites Greek on two occasions, whose letter is very difficult to decipher. Rather than misrepresenting the text with a “correct” spelling of the Greek, I have simply included the image from the original edition. I am not a Greek scholar, and those
with whom I have spoken have not been able to decide whether the print is simply unclear or wrong. The next question would be whether Lorca wrote the Greek correctly or not. Regardless, he defines what it says in Latin, and I have not attempted to improve it. At other points, Lorca cites in Spanish. These passages I have left in the original Spanish, providing an English translation within the text in brackets.

The present translation is a first step of a larger, more critical project, but I hope that the reader will find it useful and that it will help him or her better understand a tremendously valuable document. It is valuable for the reasons indicated in my study: it is a mirror into early modern Spain and a theologian’s unique approach to the cultural other, documenting Morisco practices and a Christian’s interpretation of the same. We might note, however, that this document does not represent the Roman Catholic’s current approach towards the religious other, whether this other is Muslim, Jewish, etc. The interested reader should see the appropriate sections of Vatican II’s *Lumen gentium* (1964) and *Nostra aetate* (1965), where significant conciliatory steps took place.

I wish to thank Professor Cantarino for his input on many passages. All errors, of course, belong entirely to me.
Catechisms of Instruction for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect.

To Pastors and Authorities.

To Phillip II of Spain

Catholic King

By the Author Pedro Guerra de Lorca, Doctor of Theology of Granada

Madrid

Pedro Madrigal,

1586
The book whose title is *Catechisms of Instruction for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect, or the Proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect*, by the author Pedro Guerra de Lorca, Doctor of Theology, contains nothing contrary to the faith or to good costumes. Indeed, on the contrary, I esteem the author’s zeal for the house of God to be worthy of the highest praise, and I believe his doctrine for the instruction of the converts from the sect of Muhammad to be useful.

Madrid, 14 of January, 1585.

Pedro Lopez de Montoya,

Doctor of Theology

Tassa

Yo Pedro çapata del Marmol, secretario del consejo de su Magestad, doy fe, que los señores del dicho consejo, de pedimiento y suplicacion del doctor Pedro Guerra de Lorca, vezino de Granada, tassaron un libro intitulado Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis, &c. Que con licencia de su Magestad imprimio, a tres maravedis el pliego en papel. Y al dicho precio, y no mas, mandaron que se venda. Y que primero que se venda ningun libro, se imprima esta tassa en la primera hoja de cada volumen. Y para que dello conste, de pedimiento del dicho doctor Pedro Guerra de Lorca, y mandamiento delos dichos señores, di la presente firmada de mi nombre, en la villa de Madrid, a diez dias del mes de Otubre, de mil y quinientos y ochenta y seys años.

[I, Peter Çapata del Marmol, secretary of his Majesty's council, give faith that the lords of the said council, upon the request and petition of Doctor Pedro Guerra de Lorca, citizen of Granada, approved a book entitled *Catechisms of Instruction for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect, Etc* to be printed with license from his Majesty at three maravedis per folio on paper. And they ordered that it be sold at the said price, and no more. And that before any book be sold, this valuation be printed on the first page of]
each volume. And so that this may be effected, upon the request of the said doctor Pedro Guerra de Lorca, and upon the order of the said lords, I gave the present signature of my name, in the town of Madrid, on the 10 of October, in the year 1586.

Pedro Çepata del Marmol
Por Quanto por parte de vos el doctor Pedro Guerra de Lorca, Vezino de la ciudad de Granada, nos a sido fecha relacion, que con licencia nuestra auiades compuesto intitulado Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis, seu proselytis ex secta Mahometana, y atento lo mucho que en el auiades trabajado, nos pedistes y suplicastes os mandasemos dar priuilegio por veynte años para lo poder imprimir y vender, y no otra persona alguna sin su poder, o como la nuestra merced fuesse. Lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo, y las diligencias que por su mandado fueron hechas conforme a la prematica por nos fecha sobre la impression de los libros, fue acordado que deuiamos mandar dar esta nuestra cedula para vos en la dicha razon, y yo tuuelo por bien. Y por la presente vos damos licencia y facultad, para que por tiempo de diez años primeros siguientes, que corren y se cuentan desde el dia de la data desta, vos o la persona que para ello vuestro poder ouiere, y no otra alguna, podays hazer imprimir el dicho libro, que de suso se haze mencion, so pena que cualquiera persona o personas, que sin tener para ello nuestro poder le imprimiere o vendiere, o hiziere imprimir, o vender, pierda toda la impression con los moldes y aparejos della, y mas incurra en pena de cincuenta mil marauedis cada vez que lo contrario hiziere. La tercia parte para la persona que lo denunciare, y la otra tercia parte para nuestra camara y fisco: con tanto que todas las vezes que ouieredes de hazer imprimir el dicho libro durante el dicho tiempo le traygays al nuestro consejo, juntamente con el original que en el fue visto, que van rubricadas las hojas, y firmado al fin del de Miguel de Ondarça çaula, nuestro escriuano de camara de los que residen en el nuestro consejo, para que se vea si la dicha impression esta conforme al original, so pena de caer e incurrir en las penas en la dicha prematica. Y mandamos a los del nuestro consejo Presidentes y Oydores de las nuestras audiencias, alcaldes, alguaziles de la nuestra casa y corte, y chancillerias, y atodos los corregidores, Asistente, gouernadores, alcaldes mayores y ordinarios, y otros juezes y justicias cualesquier de todas las ciudades, villas y lugares de los nuestros Reynos y señorios, y a cada uno y qualquier dellos, que guarden y cumplan y ejecuten esta nuestra cedula y
merced que assi vos hazemos: y contra su tenor y forma, ni de lo en ella contenido no vayan, ni passen, ni consientan yr ni passar por alguna manera so pena de la nuestra merced, y de veynte mil marayedis para la nuestra camara. Dada en el Pardo, a veyntcinco dias del mes de Otubre, de mil y quinientos y ochenta y seys años.

[Because it has been related to us on your behalf, doctor Pedro Guerra de Lorca, citizen of the city of Granada, that you had printed a book with our permission that you had composed entitled *Catechisms of Instruction for Those Coming from the Muhammadan Sect*, or *the Proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect*, and attentive to how much you had worked on it, you requested and petitioned us that we order you be given privilege for twenty years to print and sell it, and no other person without your permission, or as our pleasure might be. Which upon being considered by our council, and the measures that by its order were completed according to the policy made by us on the printing of books, it was agreed that we should order that our permission be given to you in the said reason, and I agreed. And at the present we give you license and authority, so that for the time of the next ten years, which begin and are counted from the day of this date, you or the person who has your permission for it, and no other person, may cause to be printed the said book, which is mentioned above, under the penalty that whatever person or persons who prints or sells or causes to be printed or sold the said book without your permission, should lose the entire printing with the molds and equipment used for it, and also incur in penalty fifty-thousand maravedis each time that he does the contrary. A third for the individual who denounces the him, and a third for the judge who sentences him, and a third for our chamber and treasury: under the condition that every time you print the said book during the said time you bring to our council, together with the original that was reviewed in it, in which the pages are sealed, and signed at the end by Miguel de Ordança Çabala, our royal scribe of those that reside in our council, so that it may be seen if the said printing is in conformity to the original, under the penalty of falling under and incurring the penalties of the said policy. And we order those of our council, Presidents and Judges of our audiences, greater and lesser
magistrates, corregidors of our house and court, and chanceries, and all the corregidors, the Asistente, magistrates, alguazils, and whatever other judges and justices from all the cities, towns and places of our kingdoms and lordships, and every one and whatever one of them, that they keep and conform to and execute this our order and will that we so make for you: and that against its order and form, or what is contained in it they will not go, or proceed, or consent to go or proceed by any means under the penalty of our will, and of twenty-thousand maravedis for our chamber. Given in the Pardo, on the 25th of October, in the year 1586.]

Yo el Rey
Por mandado de su Magestad.
Juan Vazquez
Titles of the Catechisms Surveyed with their Holy Scriptures

First Catechism

On Denying the Sect of Muhammad, a lesson is considered from St. Paul’s Letter to the Galatians, chapter 4, “Whereas now, oh Galatians, etc.”

Second Catechism

On Putting Aside Dress and Language, a reading is selected from St. Paul’s Letter to the Ephesians, 4, “Now that is hardly the way you learned Christ, etc.”

Third Catechism

On Avoiding Invocation to the Devil, a lesson is introduced from St. Paul to the Colossians, chapter 2, “See that no one deceives you, etc.”

Fourth Catechism

On Abolishing the Rite of Circumcision, a passage is applied from St. Paul’s Letter to the Galatians, 5, “Stand firm, and do not let yourselves be fastened to the yoke of slavery, etc.”

Fifth Catechism

On Fleeing Fornication, a reading is introduced from the Words of the Apostle to the Ephesians, 5, “Among you there must not even be mentioned fornication or any impurity, or covetousness.”
Sixth Catechism

On Overcoming Other Rites of the Muhammadan Sect, a scripture is selected from chapter 6 of Romans, “I speak in human terms because of the weakness of your flesh, etc.”

Seventh Catechism

On Avoiding Superstition Concerning Foods, a reading is applied from chapter 14 of Romans, “Now accept the weak in faith, etc.”

Eighth Catechism

On Prohibiting Communion with Saracens, Galatians, chapter 1, is considered, “I am amazed that so promptly you are turned away, etc.”

Ninth Catechism

On Making a Proselyte from the Muhammadan Sect, a scripture is presented from St. Paul’s Second Letter to the Corinthians, 6, “Do not wish to burden yourselves with the unfaithful, etc.”

Tenth Catechism

On the Teaching of Children, a lesson from 1 Corinthians, chapter 3, is considered, “As infants in Christ I gave you milk to drink, etc.”

Eleventh Catechism
On Catechizing the Unlearned, Paul’s Second Letter to Timothy, 4, is recalled, “Preach the word, insist opportunely and inopportune, etc.”

Twelfth Catechism

On Caring for the Dead, the passage from St. Paul’s First Letter to the Corinthians, 15, is explained, “I want to make clear to you brothers the Gospel, etc.”

Thirteenth Catechism

On Laws Existing and Laws to be Made, Paul’s teaching, 1 Timothy, 1, is brought to bear, “Now we know that the law is good, etc.”

Fourteenth Catechism

On Punishing Heretics, St. Paul’s invective against the heretics is explained, “After the first and second admonitions avoid the heretic, etc.”

Fifteenth Catechism

On the Spiritual Government of the Proselytes, Paul’s admonition to Titus, 3, is related, “Admonish them to be subject to the leaders and authorities, etc.”

Sixteenth Catechism

On the Temporal Government of the Proselytes, St. Paul’s paradigm to the Romans, chapter 13, is applied, “Do you wish not to fear authority? Do good, and you will have praise from it, etc.”

PRAISE BE TO GOD
To Philip II, Catholic King of the Spains.

Pedro Guerra de Lorca, Doctor of Theology of Granada.

S.P.D.

When I silently considered, Oh Catholic Philip, that pestilent sickness of the remnants of the Sect of Muhammad, still not extinct in Spain, but even daily reborn and regenerated to our great detriment, I dedicated myself to labor more attentively in extinguishing them by our side’s strength, as well as the offering appropriate to a doctor. And, with God granting it to us, it might come about that I attend as much to the health of the body as to the soul of my neighbors, who have been weakened in faith, and negotiate it in all ways. But let me begin to explain in their own order those things which have distracted me from other cares, whether willingly or unwillingly, and have brought me to such a work: where our heart has also been opened towards your obedience, Most Excellent Phillip, and some individuals, in need of my assistance and comfort in the work of this time, come, persuading themselves that I address you to this extent about their spiritual health. In the first place, zeal for the house of God consumes me, I think if perchance, God descending on our part to battle against these Muhammadans, I might throw down their false doctrine with its defenders intensely devoted to their Muhammad and the works of the flesh to the ground by way of this true and pious refutation. From there, the solicitude for the sick impels
me here and there at every little moment, that if it happens that our prayer is now at last answered (just as I daily entreat God), I might lead all of them to eternal salvation through arousing them to right judgment and good understanding of God. Since this anxious and solicitous time, another care vexes me. Just as I have received the talent, I might give a good account of it to its Lord, hearing God the recompenser, with those converts from the Muhammadan Sect converted to God, as if our treasure increasing, “Because in little you were faithful, enter into the joy of your master.” All things balanced to the just scales have not allowed me to deter from this labor, desist from this very work already taken up, to remain exhausted in the middle of the journey, or, finally, hastening in our course in my hope, to depart from the desired goal at last finally to be grasped. And what is more, another consideration comes to mind, which once compelled the Prince of Rhetoric to overcome many labors for the well-being of his country. Namely, man has been devised by nature in such a way that he seems to be born not for himself alone, but for his country and his friends. His sound lesson courageously and sweetly drove not just the oft mentioned men of his time, which indeed that age had and cultivated many, to apply all the works of virtue for both country and friend at the proper time, but indeed everyone who remains up to this age of the world. At last, moved by these things (the most high and most excellent God putting this in order for us accordingly),

Matthew 25[15-30]  
Luke 19[12-25]  
Cicero, Book I, De officiis.
to the one Theology of my most sweet and joyous spouse, the royal priesthood of Christ, as if a suitable and eloquent companion to be married and joined in our way, at that time I at last persuaded myself. With these things presiding, and relying on and greatly seduced by the delights of my heart, I willingly prepare myself for such a work. Indeed, what now still exists, after I have procured the spiritual art of a physician from God and from his Christ, first author of this great good, who brought me, although unworthy, to the steadfast priesthood, except indeed to carry out a surgeon’s and a doctor’s duty by raising these invalids and encouraging whoever is weak in faith. For indeed, he who is physician and remedy, priest and sacrifice, anointed and anointing, Jesus Christ our Lord, gave the authority for treading upon serpents and scorpions and curing all sickness and infirmity to his apostles and to all priests. Moreover, even though something has deterred one from an enjoined duty and holy purpose, namely, that same condition of evil men, which indeed is so often accustomed to refuse the doctor, pursue him with evil words, attack him with insults, and abhor the medicine – because the condition innately susceptible to illness does not agree with healthy things, nor does it judge well between things, how eye-salve stinging or caustic to the eyes, how the remedy prescribed for the ears, how the lozenge smelling badly to the nostrils, might be best for recuperating strength – I at last esteemed this thing now to be done by me, so that –
alone unable to stop the tongue of this sick man, hold it back from insults, bind his hands or feet for applying the medicine, by which, as if unwilling, he might accept it, and magnify you, the one great Philip, blazing in royal and supreme authority, who the whole world knows suitable, or, rather, most capable to greater goodwill, – I have come supplicant and have humbly begged that you might desire to present yourself as a companion to me by your innate virtue for lifting up this sick one, who has newly fallen miserably upon thieves, that is, demons and Muhammad, lying in ambush over all of your Spain, indeed, the created world, so that we might lead him to the inn together after we have lifted him up, lying in the road. And while one brings forth the remedies from the storeroom of the Church and steadfastly binds the filthy wounds with the wine and oil of Christ, the other meanwhile might hold him just so long, lest perchance he refuse to be treated, and we might manage his cure between us until he recovers pristine health. I do not really think that I have asked much from such a generous and liberal prince, such as our Philip is judged by all, since he customarily exposes himself to all danger, spares no labor, and opposes untroubled one by one the evils arising in his republic for the wellbeing of his subjects, by which he alone makes it safe and free again. And if the institution of the Roman Church makes war against its bitter enemies, the soldier first advances so that he alone might be sure either to unite them again, or, if they refuse, to drive them far from her and
fight them as if against strange and barbarous peoples. Certainly he himself knows in what way it is very fitting for the son of the Church, otherwise provided with might and authority, to refute all heretics, to have an armory against them at hand, to get the weapons ready, girded with the sword and blade. Adorned with these things, he rightly employs them not so much to hand these ones over to sudden extermination, hurling the spear and shooting the arrows, but, even with them being quickly pierced through as with the spear of the orthodox truth, indeed, to guard and defend from the arrow flying by day, and the danger lurking in the darkness, from the attack and the Devil at midday. Since to now he has rightly struggled against some heretics, some of whom he has subjugated, truly he will now at last extinguish the rest, with God guiding. One thing is left for him to accomplish: to rise up against those secret worshipers of the Sect of Muhammad, and against the veiled enemies of all of Spain, so that they may wholesomely taste and drink in the remedies prescribed by the prelates and the spiritual doctors at this acceptable time. And if they do not wish to come to their senses because of their treachery, let them pay the deserved recompense for their crimes, so that, if they remained unpunished, they plot more and more as stealthy dogs against our Spain as the days progress and they completely destroy her. For surely our Philip should be mindful of this work, as if discharging his task, because the name of the Catholic King bears an

[Psalm 90:5-6, Vulgate; 91:5-6, NAB]

[8r]
honorific title with which he has been honored by his ancestors, Ferdinand and Isabel. Just as these at that time finally pushed Judaism and Saracenism from all the borders of Spain and made them exiles with their word, so let their great grandson our Philip take it upon himself to make preparations and take measures for those things they left unfinished, since this work worthy of exceptional praise responds to such a title. Truly, that doctrine of their published decree incited those princes to this example. This in a word certainly incites our Philip further, root and true progeny of such kings, and legitimate heir of their ancestral virtue, when soon hereafter, ascending to the dignity of the Spanish kingdom (just as has been demanded in the decrees of the Sixth Council of Toledo, canon 3), he has been bound to accomplishing in a sure oath. Now that our Philip is about to make an early execution of this decree, amid other not small or trivial matters which spread about concerning such a ruler, he plainly proves this one: that with him the defense will be much more secure for all the citizens of Spain and the foundations of all of the Christian religion secure, when he is not said to be only Catholic King and defender of the Christian faith, but, in this very matter, too, at last for some time, to have also clearly proven it in everlasting glory to the whole Christian world. Because you have begun as by the right way, Catholic and invincible Philip, I beg that you continue. And you who subdued the recently
rebelling native citizens of the kingdom of Granada, 
overthrown the arrogant, pardoned the subjected, that 
now at last you bring the rest of these and all the rest of 
the converts from the Muhammadan Sect under your 
authority to the Christian religion and the common 
bond with the rest of the Spanish citizens, Old 
Christians, and that you consider it worthy to always 
foster and guard on account of your royal kindness. 
Further, that you accept with graceful countenance this 
our labor for lifting up all those in the faith and well 
taken up for catechizing, and by which the fruit of this 
work might grow, and, Spain increased with many 
faithful, might pride itself greatest among all the nations 
of the world. Oh that Christ Jesus might grant our 
prayers, and to you, most great Philip, sure stronghold 
of the Christian religion and only ornament of good 
deeds, long save you and extend and save your posterity 
in the Spanish kingdoms to the last day of the world. 
Farewell, and me, much devoted to your name and 
bound to your perpetual service, raised up in your favor.
EXHORTATORY EPISTLE

To the Presbyters and beloved pastors of the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect. The author prays for their spiritual salvation and an eternal reward for their labor.

Truly this one concern has entirely compelled me: all Catholics who profess to be thoroughly instructed by Christ insofar as they are ministers of a gift and have accepted the talents will have to give an account of each one to God. After they have accepted the talent, let them be held not only to negotiate their neighbors’ salvation who are sick in the faith but also call to memory their presbyters and parish priests until all the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect are instructed at this acceptable time of their salvation. Indeed this day of salvation has shined upon this people, if they so witness their presbyters and pastors working for their instruction. Truly indeed the zeal for our neighbors’ salvation, many presbyters’ insistence, and pastors’ request for this catechetical work’s compilation and publication impel me until we are assured in the Lord that the need of such a work for the support of the pastors and the solace of their charges is about to cease. Truly, I do not think that anyone might escape notice: what Christ Our Savior has both provided for finding only one lost sheep and leading it back to his sheepfold and has given to the pastors for watching over, just as to them who will give an exact account of it to its lord, he has also enjoined under mandate that

Matthew 25
Matthew 18
Luke 15
they do not entrust it to hired pastors who are unwilling to keep the voracious wolves from the sheep fold and flee from them. Truly in order that the pastors of the Church do not dare to give as pretext an excuse for this matter, it is demanded of them in the consecration of their sacrament that they not only care for the sheep given to them by the first pastor and Vicar of Christ for their care, but also give a complete account of them, so that those who do less than this should be loosed, as if becoming offenders, even for the loss of only one of these sheep for which Christ has died. Now Pope Saint Gregory the Great lamented with great tears for this grave burden enjoined upon him. Thus he used to cry out in these words: “Woe to me, because if my sin makes even one of the sheep of Christ perish, since I have promised my soul for it, I will have to restitute its loss to its lord, and another surety will not loose the debt from me.” Now, too, Saint Bernard, while he desired to redeem a certain abbot of his order who had died with his tears due to the bond of mutual charity, he decried his own election as abbot saying, “He was abbot and now I am. He has already given an account of his duty and I know not what kind of enjoined office I am to live up to.” Moreover, for reason of this most notable danger, many are the men of fearful conscience who altogether refuse the episcopal burden and elect more soundly to live responsible for themselves alone rather than to be deficient at times in caring for the

John 10.
Oath of the Episcopates in their ordination.

In Vita D. Gregorii Papae.

In a certain letter.

[10r]
salvation of their neighbors. The Angelic Doctor praises the decision of these men and the desire of those who flee from the condemnation of such a burden. By his intelligence, he judged well between the petition for the chair of theology and the episcopal office. “For,” he says, “it is right to desire the former rather than the pastoral office, because it requires remarkable charity. Indeed, he who desires an episcopate, to which the virtue of charity is contiguous, he, as if presuming of its possession, is plainly convicted of prideful boasting and, thus, of a lack of charity, if indeed he had it. On the contrary, he who humbly does not refuse the labor of the imposed burden, attentive to the salvation of souls, is thus commended by Saint Paul: ‘He who desires the office of presbyter desires a good work.’” But once the pastors of the Church have accepted the duty of both laboring for and benefitting their charges, rather than dominating them, they strive with fidelity and prudence to impart both breads so that that evangelical paradigm might be said of them: “Who do you believe is the faithful and prudent servant, whom the master sets over his home so that he gives them the allowance of wheat on time.” And because our instruction is going be about the formation of the New Christians, or the Moriscos, in the faith, for all the bishops of the Church, to whose care those are now subject, I shall place the example of the archbishops of Granada and Valencia before their eyes. They, while still living, not sparing sleep, labor, food, or drink, remained perpetually

Saint Thomas, *Quodlibet questiones* 3, q. 4, ar. 9 and 22. Q 185, artic. 1 and 5.

Thus the holy doctors explain this passage [1 Timothy 3:1].

Luke 10

The archbishops of Granada and Valencia labored for the salvation of the Moriscos.

[10v]
vigilant in drawing them softly to Christ and gave their beloved pastors a certain catechism in writing to be rendered by them. Truly they, leaving no stone unturned in such a work, whether meanly instructed in the Arabic tongue or in their own common language, pleaded with them concerning the spiritual salvation of their subjects and announced the word of Christ at a fit time. This is because they learned from the Apostle, “Faith is from hearing, now hearing is perfected by the word of Christ,” as well as the judgment of Solomon, “Where there is no hearing, do not squander speech.” Whereby, so that I might conclude, in the last place I will relate to our pastors that which Christ Our Savior once uttered concerning the vice and shame of the perfidious and shameful Pharisees. “Woe to you,” he says, “scribes and Pharisees, who travel sea and dry land so that you might make one convert, and when one is made, you make him twice the son of Gehenna as you.” It will be proper, then, not so much to labor in making a proselyte as much as to assure with all our strength that indeed he does not fall away from the received faith. This is certainly the intention of Christ our teacher in rebuking not only the Pharisees, but also the future pastors of his church. Thus let everyone to whom Christ speaks in the parable presented learn to search fervently for the lost sheep, reclaim it when discovered, carry it reclaimed on his shoulders, and return it to the sound pasture of the Church. “For then greater joy will come to the angels of God over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine

Romans 10[17].
Sirach 32[6]
Luke 11
Ezekiel 34
[Matt 23:15].
Luke 15[7, 10]
Matthew 18[13]
[11r]
just who need no repentance. For which reason, supplicant, we all beg Christ Jesus, the model of all pastors, who comes to us to search out and redeem his sheep and gave his body and blood for them as food and drink, so that, liberal, he confers to the priests, substitutes in his place in his church, the spirit of grace for searching out, finding, curing, and bearing on their shoulders every lost sheep, by which it might happen that they win their and their subjects’ souls in Christ and arrive happily to the celestial pasture. But if this our labor provides anything to pastors for reducing these sheep to the fold of Christ and catechizing the unlearned, let us attribute it a gift received by Christ, the first author of all good, who will give a good measure, packed together, shaken down into their lap to those who labor for the salvation of their sheep too little or greatly. Finally, we have placed certain summaries of each catechism for the benefit of the readers. Thus, if the longer catechism tires the reader, more briefly summarized and its great variety related, it might please the reader and encourage him to complete the reading.

[Luke 6:38] Summaries of the catechisms will be useful to the readers.
The heresiarch Muhammad rose up in the time of the Emperor Heraclius, in the seventh year of his reign, in the course of Era 661, in the year 618 of Christ’s birth. At this time Isidore, bishop of Spain, shined forth in the Catholic truth, and Sisebut reached the royal height in Toledo. The Church of Blessed Euphrasius was built in the city of Illiturgus over his tomb. And in Toledo the temple of Blessed Leocadia was raised up as a marvelous work and lofty achievement by order of the aforementioned prince. Also at this time the aforementioned Muhammad, nefarious prophet, the ten years of his rule reaching completion, died and was buried in Hell. To be sure, his beginnings were thus:

When he was an orphan he came under the support of a certain widow. And while he roamed as a greedy usurer in his trading, he at last began to assiduously attend the gatherings of the Christians. Since he was a more astute child of the darkness, he began to commit to memory some of the Christian teachings, growing wiser than anyone among his dull Arabs. Now inflamed in his desire, he joined to his patroness according to the barbarous law in condemnation. Soon the Spirit of Error, appearing to him in the image of a vulture, displaying himself a mouth of gold, said he was the angel...
Gabriel, and procured that he appear a prophet. Now when he was utterly filled with the tumor of pride, he began to preach unheard of things to the dumb animals, and, as if with certain reason, he ordered that they turn from the worship of idols and adore an incorporeal God in the heavens. Likewise, by the hidden judgment of God, who once said by the prophet, “Behold, I will raise the Chaldeans over you, a bitter and quick people, walking over the length of the earth, so that they might possess shrines not belonging to them, whose horses are quicker than the evening wolves and their faces as a burning wind, in order to persecute the faithful and reduce the land to waste,” he allowed them to do harm. For and in fact, first they killed the Emperor’s brother who had dominion in that land, and, celebrating the triumph of the glorious accomplishment of this victory, they founded the beginning of their reign in Damascus, a city in Syria. Finally, the same Muhammad composed psalms in the mouth of insensible animals, such as one remembering a red calf. Also, he composed a story of a spider web for trapping flies. Thereafter, he wrote certain songs of a hoopoe and a frog, so that the stink of the one might belch forth from his mouth and the chattering of the other might not cease on his lips. He scattered other psalms, too, in honor of Joseph, Zachariah, or even of Mary, the progenitress of the Lord, in his own style for seasoning his errors. And while he endured in such an error of his own prophesy, he longed for the wife of his neighbor, by the name of

Habakkuk, chapter 1[6].
Zayd, and subjected her to his own desire. Her offended husband was horrified, and, unable to deny her to his prophet, he allowed the wicked crime. He even recorded it in his law, as if from the Lord’s word, “Now when his wife had become displeasing in the eyes of Zayd and he had divorced her, we joined her in marriage to our prophet, which is an example for the rest of the faithful and for those to come who desire to do it, that it is not a sin.” After committing such a great crime, his soul’s and body’s death approached together. And he, sensing that his perdition was imminent, because he knew that in no way could he return from the grave by his own power, he prophesized that he would rise on the third day through the angel Gabriel, who appeared to him, as he said was custom, in the likeness of a vulture. After he had given up his soul to the underworld, anxious for the miracle that they were promised, they decided to keep zealous vigil over his body. When on the third day they saw that it was rotting and they could not discern its resurrection in any way, they said that the angels were not coming because their presence was frightening them. Thus, arriving to such good counsel (in their opinion), they left his body without guard, and immediately, in place of angels, dogs finding his stink devoured his side. After returning they handed over the remains found of his body to the smoke. And they decreed the slaughter of dogs each year to avenge the offense against him, since they rightly have participation right there with him, they who

The death of Muhammad, whom the dogs mangled.
have worthily merited undergoing martyrdom for him. Indeed, it worthily befell him that a prophet so great and of such a kind filled the belly of so many dogs, one who not only handed his own soul over to the fires, but the souls of many. Indeed, he committed many other crimes which are not written in this book. This much has been written so that the readers might know how great this man was. Behold the people given to such error and the leader of so much and so great an impiety, they do not fear to be judged under the name of a pious religion, asserting with no prudence that those new soldiers of our times have been killed by men worshiping God and possessing a law, so that, perhaps with some reflection, they might realize that if the religion or law of such a people is declared true, the vigor of the Christian religion will certainly weaken. And if the news of the holy faith has penetrated the crossroads of the whole world, which in truth should be confessed, reaching all the nations of the earth, we are even now confident that no part of the world will be without its light. Above all, because the sound of the Apostles has reached all the earth and their words to the ends of the earth, indeed we confess any other gospel other than the one the Apostles gave to the gentiles, which we confess to be the word of salvation, to be greatly cursed, just as the Apostle says, “If anyone preaches another Gospel than the one you received, let him be cursed.” And the Truth tells his disciples with his own mouth, “Many false prophets will arise and seduce [12v]
many, and they will render great signs and miracles, so that even the elect, if it be possible, are driven into error”. And again, “Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits whether they are from God.” By what logic is it to be believed that a demonic man full of lies bring forth truth? A man completely wrapped up in errors hand on a religion? While that abominable man brings forth evil from the wickedness of his heart’s treasure and administers a guide of impiety to the ignorant people, each runs to the edge, into the eternal chaos, about to pass into punishment. The Lord speaks through Hosea about him and others like him, saying, “These men have ruled and they set up leaders not from me and whom I do not know.” Finally, among the other authors of heresy after the Ascension of the Lord, this unfortunate one alone, teaching a sect of new superstition through the instigation of the Devil, distanced himself far from the community of the Holy Church, blaspheming the ancient authority of the law, turning away from the divine inspiration of the prophets, stomping on the truth of the Holy Gospel, and detesting the doctrine of the apostles. He, insinuating through his own sect the ridiculous rather than the causes of necessary things, taught with his blasphemous mouth that Christ was the word of God and his spirit and indeed a great prophet, but provided with no divine power, similar to Adam, not equal to God the Father. On account of the merit of his sanctity, filled with the Holy Spirit, he became well-known by means of miracles and [13r] The unspeakable judgment of

signs and portents through the power of God. He was not efficacious by his own majesty or divinity, but rather he was worthy of obtaining many things from the Omnipotent through his supplicant prayers as a just man and united to God in pious servitude. Preaching not only these but other unheard of sins of falseness through the invention of the Skin-Changer, by whom, transfiguring himself into an angel of light, he was taken possession of. He built lofty temples in which his most despicable dogma might be observed. In the ultimate rite of his idolatry, he constructed a tower raised above the other buildings with a prominent pinnacle, from which the doctrine of his sacrilegious fury might be preached to the people enticed by the poison of his treachery. Even today the priests of his impiety, taught by him, observe this rite. Thus, with the jaw bones loosened, as in the custom of an ass, and their impure lips, they do not call out the horrendous proclamation until they first plug their ears with either finger. This they do because that very prophet of theirs can not suffer to hear what they announce to be carried out by others, as if it were a certain proclamation of a crime. They say that while my uncle Eulogius, of blessed memory, heard this bray, he was accustomed to singing this psalm to himself while immediately protecting his brow with the standard of the cross, “God, who is similar to you? Do not shut your mouth nor keep silent, God, because behold, your enemies, Lord, have sounded and those who hate you raised their head.”

Muhammad concerning Christ Our Savior, as he has it in the Qur’an, Sura 4, 13 and 11.

The priests of the Moors cry out about their sacrifices and prayers from the towers.

Psalm 82[2-3] [Psalm 83:2-3, NAB].
Moreover, as soon as we hear the crier’s deceitful voice, we immediately pray, “Save us Lord from the evil news, both now and forever.” And again, “Let all those who adore statues be confounded, and those who glory in their own images.” Indeed, anyone of the Catholic faith who wishes to know the insanity of his error will find it more clearly by questioning the faithful of this very sect, because any one of them affirms to hold and believe it sacred, so that they proclaim the doctrine of their prophet not only with private, but with public voices. He will also find many things in certain writers of ours, who, armed with zeal for God, have flamed up with the honorable pen against the very unchastity of this prophet. And indeed we, in the brief work *Memoriale sanctorum*, explain, refute, and pierce some of the errors of this sect.

Now these very saints, divinely inspired onto this destruction of their body, have stepped out on account of their confession to the truth, in no way do they turn from the observation of the aforesaid commands. Because they, even loving their enemies on account of God, greatly desirous for their salvation so that they are not long kept in the labyrinth of impiety did not desist from reproving them. And blessing these who hate Christ, it has seemed better to instruct their frenzy through the spilling of their blood than through the words of doctrine so that, with the vanity of superstition abandoned, they might strive not only to believe in Christ, but, to be sure, to struggle even to the point of

Psalm 96[7] [Psalm 97:7, NAB].

This on account of the abbot Speraindeo, as is considered concerning him in 1 *Memoriale Sanctorum* in the first chapter, folia 22 and 23 [13v]
death on his account. Without a doubt they are even obtaining through their prayers and supplications the salvation of those who frequently and constantly attack the members of the Church. Trained by the example of the true teacher, as they are brought to their passion, cursed they do not curse, beaten they do not complain, threatened they keep silence. In this way they decry only one thing: that which is a mockery concerning God and opposes his terrible majesty. Namely, the sacrilegious prophesy of that most false and lost little man, who, thoroughly armed with a diabolic spirit, did not fear to put himself in the place of the prophets and holy preachers, as if promoting himself to a divine evangelist, even though the evangelical truth had spread to nearly the entire globe, and the light of the Christian faith was not lacking to the knowledge of the Gentiles, because its sound went out to all the world, the floods of baptism already open to the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for the purification of the sinner and the menstruating, most of all in the East, where the mystery of the incarnation of Christ worked in a certain way with special effect. It was also in that place that this most impious and perverse prophet was born and raised. Seized by I know not what insanity, even though the lamps were already shining forth in the world, he did not dread to throw himself headlong into such a snare of perdition and was not frightened to irreverently make himself the assassin of so many souls. For this reason it is written, “The 1 Peter 2[22-23]
The impious crimes of The impious crimes of Mohammad.
Wisdom 1[11]
mouth that lies kills its soul.” Of this the prophet Zechariah once spoke, saying, “On that day the Lord of Armies says, ‘I shall destroy the names of the idols from the land and they will never again be remembered. And I will remove both the false prophets and the unclean spirit from the land, and it will be that when someone prophesizes again, his father and his mother will say to him, ‘Who begat him, you will not live, because you have spoken a lie in the name of the Lord.’ And his progenitors will tear him to pieces because he prophesied.” Therefore, it is worthy of the honored crown to resist this depraved and most foul prophet and worthy of the highest monument to destroy the cult of such a great scoffer. Thus it is that, if our time had him present, by no means would it be for the Christians to shrink back from his destruction, how much more is it not right today to destroy his venomous doctrine, curse his sect, detest his teaching, which leads to the destruction of such a great multitude and committed it to the everlasting abyss. Indeed, it would have been, as I deem it, better to do penance then for the murder of one man than to expiate the ruin of so many peoples, suitably judging it necessary to look after the whole flock while they had attempted to pluck the contagion of one animal from among them. Seeing how to persecute the pious just by cursing them, furnishing adversity against the elect, is not without sin, in the same way, I believe, it is of great merit to overthrow the impious, go against the enemies of the Church, make

Zechariah 13[2-3]

[14r]
war against the unbelievers, and to kill the adversaries of the faith with the spear of the word of God, according to the psalmist, rising armed in perfect hate against those hating God, we do not worry concerning their ill will, to whom impiety is dear. And the doctrine of the fathers does not allow those to be held without fault who are stupefied in shameless silence towards the heretics’ teachings and do not oppose the enemies of the faith from the region or exercise vengeance against the heretics with zeal for the Creator. Arnobius Rhetor says this well while he interpreted the one-hundred thirty-ninth Psalm: Whoever has spared the heresiarchs or the preachers of falseness and has not slain them with the sword of his faith, who doubts that it will turn out for him as it did for Saul? Or he who has thought to furnish his mercy to those dwelling in heresy, who will similarly deny their exclusion from the kingdom of God, just as Saul is shown to have been excluded from his human kingdom? Sparing the Amalechite in vain compassion, he suddenly anguished over his own loss of God’s blessing and the scepter of his reign. And if this is promised to those who do not resist the opponents of the truth, indeed how great of a danger of retribution will there be for those who disparage the elect? Because not only do they not wish to fight the heretics, but even oppose those who do fight, girded with the weapons of slander. These things gathered on the life of Muhammad will suffice to have placed it in the open. The rest is omitted to be read in Saint Eulogius.

Psalm 128 [Psalm 129, NAB]

6

Arnobius Rhetor. [1 Samuel 15]
THE AUTHOR’S SCHOLIA FOR THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

1. Muhammad is born. Saint Eulogius describes sufficiently clearly the time of the false prophet, Muhammad, and his character. He also condemns the silence of the Emperor Heraclius as well as the idleness of the Christian princes of that time in extinguishing Muhammad along with his false teachings. He who was a small spark of Hell in Arabia, slowly growing and inflaming the globe, ignited nearly half of it and dragged it down to the eternal flame. Oh that God might grant us (however much the Devil might oppose our efforts) that we might report victory over him and call those devoted to Muhammad back to the religion of Christ and the obedience of the Roman Church by this our labor and catechetical work. Indeed, this our labor is directed to this, which (as I hope) God will make prosper.

2. They were distinguished by no wisdom. The holy doctor speaks of the Muslim doctors, or the teachers of the Sect of Muhammad, who devoted their own souls so much to their Muhammad that they immediately condemned to a terrible crucifixion however many spoke something against their prophet, announcing Christ Jesus and his Gospel. And likewise they vainly committed a thousand murders. While they did this, they believed themselves to be offering a service to God. Accordingly, judging their religion false and
impious, the holy martyr testifies that they were distinguished by no wisdom whatsoever.

3. He teaches Christ with a blasphemous mouth. This error of Arius is recounted, declaring Christ a creature and less than the Eternal Father. Muhammad, taught by Sergius the Arian monk, blindly drinks up this error with many others. However, shortly afterwards Muhammad kills his teacher by the cunning of the Devil so that those barbarians, deceived by him, might not attribute his sect to Sergius or might not be thoroughly taught about his false teaching or falsehood by Sergius himself.

4. Also the saints themselves. He frequently makes mention of the holy martyrs attacking the Sect of Muhammad, for Saint Eulogius moved his soul to commit to writing (God ordaining thus for his holy ones) their glorious martyrdoms. In truth, while he completed his work against the Sect of Muhammad, he inscribed both the character and the madness of his worshipers against the saints bearing the testimony of Christ. There are few things concerning them, for, gasping, he hastened to the history of the martyrs, with whom he finished his life almost last in that martyrrial persecution. Alvarus of Cordoba, his disciple, left us his glorious martyrdom in writing, and it has been appended to his works as a most worthy reading by the work of the most erudite royal historian Ambrosio de Morales.

5. And the highest trophy. The holy doctor alludes to the perseverance of the Christian soldiers, as much in
despising the threats of the tyrannical leaders as in
 refuting the errors of the impious Muhammad.

Moreover, this persecution began in the time of Abd ar-
Rahman, king of Cordoba, but it intensified in the time
of his son Muhammad. For the royal palace expelled the
Christians and seizing a slight occasion began to rage
against those remaining that were leading their life
huddled together with the Moors by royal
authorization, as it is contained in book 3 *Memoriale
sanctorum*, chapter 1.

6. Truly indeed it was not without fault. Here the ignited
spirit of so great a doctor and martyr, Eulogius, is
acknowledged as much for writing against that most
foul man’s errors (if he is to be called a man and not
rather more appropriately a devil) as bearing testimony
for Christ. Who might read these things that will not
seize, on the spot, undaunted, as if turned to fury, not
so much a rod for averting and banishing the senseless
Muhammadan clangs, as a sword for slaying the
worshipers of Muhammad, about to carry back, with
Christ’s favor, a certain victory over their enemies? Thus
I wish for the leaders of the Church and the rectors of
souls to consecrate themselves at this time as much to
the fight against this vain sect as to the catechesis of the
proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect, since many
New Christians from that sect are being mustered in
Spain as well as in other parts of the world. And
thereon, so that while they prepare the divine offices as
much for the holy patrons as for the fathers of their own

Saint Eulogius, Book 2,
Memoriale sanctorum,
Chapter 16.

The author’s wish for
those proselytes’
salvation.

[15v]
dioceses to be fulfilled for their honor, they might divide this treasure of the ancient history of the saints, as if now brought forth from the earth, by dividing it among themselves, and they might offer their offices to be fulfilled by the clergy for each of the martyrs with their glorious martyrdom. Certainly it is not right that the most glorious witnesses of Christ be defrauded by us of their just honor and ecclesiastical office. For as many years the holy martyrs have gone into hiding, we, enriched by so great a treasure, must return more courageous in order to imitate their works and fulfill their offices with solemn devotion. This will yield, beyond doubt, to the glory of God glorifying them and the honor of the saints reigning with Christ and the sudden breach of the Muhammadan people unworthily bearing the glory of the saints. We take up this work with zeal for the holy Iberian martyrs in the presence of the most pious archbishop of Granada, taking council in these last days, from the native land in which we were born, though from the Herrerra of Iberia in the Santillano Valley, born from the Guerra family. Truly the remaining priests will finish their task, if they constantly look to their ancestors or natural sons. The recompense will be granted to us by God with the holy martyrs praying.
LIST OF THE FALSE MUHAMMAD’S ERRORS, which are either attacked by declaration or briefly refuted, arranged in alphabetical order for the reader’s ease. By reading these things, the reader will easily understand the life of Muhammad and his followers, as well as his religion.

A.

1. Abraham should come to be honored as the father of Muhammad and his Saracens. They themselves boast to consider their ancestry from him. Fourth Catechism.
2. Hagar, slave of Abraham, to be more venerated than Sarah, is regarded the mother of Ishmael and of all the Ishmaelites. Fourth Catechism.
3. Their souls, once stripped from the body, pass through fountains of water and flame and are plunged into other substances. Fifth Catechism.
4. Animals which do not graze and do not have a divided hoof are not eatable. Seventh Catechism.

B.

5. The use of baths serves the followers of Muhammad for expiation of venial sins. In washing, they are permitted to enter their temple, others, similarly, are not. First Catechism.
6. Baptism is only necessary for salvation for those who pass from Judaism to Muhammadism. Ninth and Fifteenth Catechism.

C.

7. Christ is one of three prophets who have given the law of God to the people, not, however, the natural son of God. First Catechism.

8. Circumcision is obliged for all Muhammadans, as well as other legalities of the Old Law, under grave sin. Still, it is not obliged the eighth but some other day. Fourth Catechism.

9. Sex with beasts is regarded licit for certain disciples of Muhammad after a long penance completed in this life. Fifth Catechism.

10. Sex with boys is judged lawful not only for those who have completed a long penance but also others who have esteemed it healthier for themselves to completely reject marriage. Fifth Catechism.

D.

11. God is one in essence and power, not however three in persons, who exalted Muhammad as his prophet, whom he himself ὁ λόγος τῆς θεότητος that is, depicted entirely fashioned in gold. First Catechism.
12. God only has three legislating prophets: Moses, Christ, and Muhammad, who reformed the entire law of the Gospel. First Catechism.

13. God is not infinite, but circumscribed by place, limited by a certain strength, and very powerful with respect to a finite measure and power. First Catechism.

E.

14. The Gospel of Christ, as well as the Pentateuch, should be observed by the Saracens devoted to their Muhammad. Ninth Catechism.

15. He is said to be lawless who does not profess the Muhammadan Sect and does not live according to it, outside of which no one can be saved. Muhammad said this among his earlier prophecies, afterwards he taught the contrary. First Catechism.

F.

16. Muhammad’s and his followers’ faith opposes natural reason and is grasped by the power of nature. First Catechism.

17. Muhammad admits fate, which the Arabs call Chizmia, in all matters, which cannot be avoided, according to which he removes thanksgiving for benefits received. Fourteenth Catechism

G.
18. The Archangel Gabriel, who brought the law of God to his Muhammad, should be greatly revered.

19. Gluttony, particularly at night, is permitted for the Saracens from the appearance of the first star until the morning light, anticipating the daytime fast. Seventh Catechism.

H.

20. Homicide is enjoined on the Arabs against those who either do not admit or detest their law, against whom Muhammad declared war lawful. Sixth Catechism.

21. A man living in the Muhammadan Sect can come to such a degree of perfection that he might become completely impervious to sin. Fifth Catechism.

22. Greater promises were made to Ishmael than to Isaac, which the Muhammadans fully enjoy in this life. First Catechism.

23. The invocation or the incantation of demons should be kept in use by the Arabs, whom, as brothers, they should call to their aid. They might be saved by the observation of the Qur’an. Third Catechism.

24. The fast of the Muhammadan Sect, prolonged during a number of years, so renders a man impervious to sin that the sins of the rest of his life will not be
ascribed to him. This is also granted to pilgrims to the house of Mecca according to a special law of ancient Moorish tradition. Sixth and Seventh Catechism.

L.

25. Muhammad’s law, as he himself boasts, was given to him as corrective of the Gospel, which Christ’s apostles incorrectly interpreted. And therefore Muhammad is called the sword of God, since he came in the sword for making this correction of the Gospel. First Catechism.

26. Poorly learning the law of Christ, the apostles set out to corrupt it. Muhammad achieved its true and sound sense. Eighth Catechism.

27. Five ablutions, either with water or stone, should be completed each day by the Saracens for the remission of venial sins. They are not taken away except by means of water, or some other means when supplying a lack of water. These ablutions should be done before prayer so that it is offered pure. First Catechism.

28. The moon, which is the cause of effects in these lower things, should be revered with worship of latria by Muhammad’s worshipers. Third Catechism.

M.

29. In Muhammad’s sect, marriage may be annulled by the will alone or by the consent of either spouse, with the return of the value of the marriage dowry. However,
the divorced wife may be taken back by her husband with certain conditions. Fifth Catechism.

30. Saracen marriage allows plurality of wives. They are allowed to have as many as they are able to support, provided that a distinction is kept between wives and concubines. Fifth Catechism.

31. Solemn matrimony may be celebrated by the Hagarens as many as four times during life, concubinage, however, with their purchased slaves, thousands, as well as fornication as much as you like, if it is compensated with a small payment.

32. Mary conceived by the seed of Joseph by means of the power of the Holy Spirit, so she did not remain Virgin. First Catechism.

33. If Mary did remain virgin, she will be united with Muhammad (as he himself wishes) in the next life. Even the virginity of so great a mother is to be violated by him. Oh inexpiable offense! Saint Eulogius in the Life of Muhammad.

34. Death will indeed be a physical passage to a paradise of delights, promised to the Arabs by their Muhammad, for the dead will quickly rise. Twelfth Catechism.

35. The dead will undergo a brief purgatory for their sins in their graves; therefore they will quickly fly to paradise. Twelfth Catechism.

36. The dead will take up their bodies in the grave and they will be restored in that very spot by the provided foods so that they might quickly prepare the trip to their paradise. Twelfth Catechism.
37. Women will not rise in their own sex after this life, but rather in the masculine, and they will be united with new wives just as the men. Twelfth Catechism.

38. Virgin spouses are to be created by God from the branches of the trees in order to satisfy the appetite of his Saracens. Twelfth Catechism.

N.

39. The birth of Muhammad is ordered to be celebrated with more abundant and solemn worship than that of other prophets, because he was the last of all the prophets. First Catechism.

O.

40. Prayer should be made towards the moon at its rising by the Saracens, which they venerate as God. And as the night draws near they pray to God. Third Catechism.

P.

41. Muhammad concocted a paradise in the delights of the flesh, not of the soul, at which the educated Arabs laugh. Twelfth Catechism.

42. Graver sin is not expiated by ablutions but only a greatly sorrowful heart. The Arabs become greatly afraid to commit it, because they do not always believe
themselves capable of achieving this. First Catechism.

43. Pork flesh is not to be touched or eaten by the Muhammadans, because they are unclean animals and they will be rendered unclean if they partake of them. Seventh Catechism.

Q.

44. Anyone can be saved in their own sect, whether Jew or Pagan or Christian. Muhammad alleged this at the end of his life so that he might please everyone, although he had taught the contrary before. First Catechism.

45. However the worshipers of Muhammad were in this life, such will they rise in the next, neither their face nor looks change. Twelfth Catechism.

R.

The resurrection of the Saracens happens daily in its integrity, which the wild animals grazing over the cadavers amply testify to have happened, if they do not flee away from the dead bodies. Twelfth Catechism.

S

46. The grave should be selected by the Saracens in an open field and in a place where no one else has been buried.
They themselves call this virgin soil. Twelfth Catechism.

T.

47. The law of retaliation should come to be observed by the Saracens, even after the Gospel, as long as like offense is paid for like offense. Sixth Catechism.

V.

48. It is a sin to drink wine. It is not even permitted to use it for medicinal drinking. Muhammad testified that it was so that prayer might be performed soberly. Seventh Catechism.

49. Virginity should not be preserved by the Saracens, neither in this life or the next. Fifth Catechism.

50. Virgins bathed in light will be created by God in paradise, in whose embrace the Arabs will not sense the passing of time. Twelfth Catechism.

51. Those are called pure virgins who do not suffer menstruation. Moreover, each is given to multiple men on account of their merits. Fifth Catechism.

Z.

52. Jealousy is not a virtue, according to which it is not permitted that a wife be jealous, better still to divorce. Fifth Catechism.
These are the graver errors of Muhammad reviewed by us. However, the rest, in my opinion, cannot be numbered, but now those heretics in whose errors Muhammad consented should be noted.
Muhammad has been counted among the heretics by the ancient doctors, because he learned and disseminated many things from the Christians, but in such a way as to indulge his own taste and sexual appetite, since he coincided with nearly all the heretics. For that which the Seducer, the Devil, could not accomplish at the beginning through Arius, he carried out through Muhammad. Furthermore, all the poison of the Arians that the Devil disseminated one by one to others, he vomited out unto the one Muhammad. This one was a most vile merchant, a leader of thieves, a messenger of Satan, precursor of the Antichrist, the complement of all falseness and heresy. This one denies the mystery of the Trinity with Sabellius. He supposed Christ to be a creature with Arius and Eunomius. He denies that Christ is God, but only a prophet of God, with Carpocratus. He asserts, with Cerdonius, that it is impossible for God to have a son on account that he does not have a wife. He thinks, with Manicheus, that Christ was not crucified, but rather some other person similar to him. Together with the Donatists, he completely denies all the mysteries of the Church, which have efficacy from the person of Christ. He adds an unheard of blasphemy with the Origenists: according to his Qur’an, demons can be saved. He makes common cause with the Anthropomorphites, who assert that God is corporal. With Cherinthus he places the greatest
happiness in carnal delights. He permits circumcision with the Ebionites. With the Priscillianists, he takes away the free will of man and introduces fate. He devises two beginnings of things, namely, a good and a bad God, along with the Manicheans. With the Begards and Beguins, he feels concerning the perfect soul that it imparts virtues by itself and might reach such a degree of perfection that it might be made incapable of sin. On the contrary, he himself adds that sins, after completing a long penance, are not sins in such great penitents. He agrees with the same Manicheans, saying that the nature of the body has sins sown in it and, from this, it always tends towards evil. Alluding to Simon the Magician, he asserted the indiscriminate use of women, though at least redeemed for a price. By this condition he conceded permission for every work of the flesh, which the Anabaptists, heretics of our own time, widely continue. In some way he supports the falsehood of Tatianus with respect to the distinction of foods. For that one forbids some foods just as he, considering commands from the Old Law. Together with the Cynic philosophers and other carnal heretics, that most foul one of a dog teaches that it is permitted that women unite sexually and have coitus with the likeness of dogs. Finally, Muhammad fell into many heresies beyond these, which would be long to recount.
The reading from Saint Paul to the Galatians, Chapter 4[9-10], is studied, “However, now, oh Galatians, since you know God, rather you are known by God, how do you turn again to the weak and destitute elements, which you wish to serve anew? You observe days, and months, and seasons, and years.” From this reading, all those elements full of superstition, which should first be prohibited to the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect so that they might become altogether forgetful of it, are extensively explained.

The detestable and to-be cursed religion, utterly alien to any purity and piety, of many New Christians is known to such a degree among all the nations of the world that this sad condition of so many men to be redeemed by us, as if with extreme tears, should touch and constantly drive the pious souls of their prelates and priests and those devoted to their salvation so that with all other concerns put aside they might be applied to the remedy of these who are ailing at this time. For and in fact here the burning desire of our soul, which our undertaken labor for writing this work abundantly testifies, already now presses on, so that in driving the hearts of the prelates and stirring up the pastors seized as if by a deep sleep, we might take up the time and ointment, to whom, I hope, God, by his mercy, will give
for lifting up these infirm in the faith both the skill of healing and the knowledge for removing any superstitions of their old sect, since he himself “is rich in mercy, gives abundantly to all and is not begrudging.” For and in fact, the open testimony and the examples thrown before our eyes not only of the known perfidy but also the repugnance for the divine law of these proselytes, that is to say, of these coming from the Muhammadan Sect to Christ and dwelling among us, very well known to the bleary-eyed and the barbers, utterly suffice for all those on whom it falls to act concerning their salvation and catechism on account of their office, so that they might turn themselves completely to their remedy and the medics, experienced in their custom, recognizing the rites, the superstitious incantations, the spurious ceremonies of their vain sect (all of which have given birth to the most pestilent sickness, now at this time prowling among them), might eagerly employ the life-giving remedy, however greatly bitter or caustic. Certainly it is appropriate for the priests, as doctors of souls, to know both the diseases and the remedies for curing them, since Christ has granted them, as Mark testifies, “The power for curing sickness and casting out demons.” Now I have mentioned an authority more extensive than that which is believed to formerly have been conferred to the priests of the Old Law, which the Lord conferred to them through Malachi, “The lips of the priest guard knowledge, and they will search for the law
from his mouth, because he is the angel of the Lord of Armies.” There the name angel conveys the virtue of the office of healing and, sometimes, it is customarily used in some substitutes for medic or remedy of God in the Sacred Scripture. But since the matter of the aforesaid illness has come from many causes or humors, which combined and coalescing as if by uniform effect have augmented the disease and brought a graver threat to the life of the infirm. Thus we have brought together various catechisms as if univocal sources for driving away the evil disposition, or uniform plans for increasing this work, according to the example of those which the holy fathers, as much the Greek as the Latin, already once issued for the enlightened of Jerusalem and published for the catechesis of the unlearned. In this way we have preserved each catechism with respect to the people in whose interest each is, writing so that, having been thoroughly read, they might satisfy not only their offering, but still also (because the salvation of so many souls hangs from these) they might stand near, greatly attentive for providing them with the salutary remedy. But now, in the first place, the common matter is discussed as much with the ecclesiastical leaders as the secular. But I have also certainly greatly desired that our most invincible and most Catholic King Philip might arouse his ears, attentive, to all these things. Certainly it is in his interest to keep these New Christians remaining in his kingdoms away from any recruitment by any superstitious cult, and thus, to keep them from the
common fellowship of the Africans, Numidians, and Hagarens, and, from there, that the exiles from Granada, now at last well ordered to Christian piety with the old inhabitants of Castile, so that they do not return to their vomit, might not go back to their own longed-for homes and dwellings. Yet, while we get well ready for such a great work, behold Paul, sounding the horn of the Church, as if considering the matter with our proselytes, and we hear him reproving them from his heart, just as once the Galatians, under these words:

“However, now (oh proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect) since you know God, rather you are known by God, how do you turn again to the weak and destitute elements, which you wish to serve anew? You observe days, and months, and seasons, and years. I fear for you.” Certainly it has been agreeable to redirect this reproach, taken up by such a great Apostle for the Galatians with zeal for restoring their salvation, to these proselytes. Indeed, just as the Galatians adhered to their Moses, returning to the precepts of the Old Law and the mute elements after they had both heard and retained the Gospel of Christ in with their hearts, so also many from these (I speak with sound reverence of those standing firm in the faith), slighting the faith of Christ, have turned as if dogs to their vomit, that is, the Muhammadan fable and their idols, dared to conspire against divine and human majesty. And although the rebels have payed the consequences, we also greatly thirst and long for the salvation of all.

The reading from Paul is considered.

[21v]

The rebellion of Granada is mentioned, carried out under the year 1568.
those remaining in Christ Jesus, certainly moved by Christian piety. Therefore Paul speaks thus to them, “Now you are children, since you know God, but before you were slaves,” not in the slavery of the carnal ceremonies of the law, as the Jews once were, but of your demonic idols, which you use to worship as your gods. Because indeed, then not knowing God, you served these things which are not by nature gods, but the opinion of irrational men. They accomplished so much among their contemporary and unlearned men that they presented the reverence due to God alone either to wood or stone, well carved like a human effigy, first for furthering the unique history of friends, afterwards, with the Devil’s instruction, for spreading the superstitious cult. The Apostle condemns this religion for idolatry while he determines that God alone, one by nature, or if you will, essence, but Triune in persons, should be served. He even adds for the Galatians, “Before your conversion to Christ, indeed you did not know him and so then at that time your ignorance seemed to pretend some excuse for you. Still now, since you have heard Christ from me, in whom you were taught and grounded, there is no excuse left for you if you desire to go astray. Rather, you will be lacking, weaker by far than you once were. Surely there is no longer room left for going astray, since the truth has been revealed, by which you plainly know Christ by faith”. And he immediately adds, “More correctly, you are known by God,” and confirmed through divine

Wisdom, chapter 14, and further chapter 13.

In *Clementae, De Judaeis et Sarracenis*, it is determined that the rites of the Saracens should not be tolerated [in Christian territory].

[22r]
grace, the foundation in your faith. Why, if you have accepted the true knowledge of God through an inner faith from him, by what reason do you now turn back to servitude to new errors before the knowledge of God? Why have you been dragged towards, while you have been made proselytes by the Jews, to the slavery of sin by them? Finally, why have you elected to return, after the sound tradition of the Gospel, which you freely received from me, to the elements or the carnal precepts of the Old Law, which belong to those Jews, your deceivers, the beginnings of their religion, utterly sick and destitute, because they can neither aid them nor confer grace after the sufficient promulgation of the Gospel. However, these elements, while that law stood, were firm and stable while they subdued their followers and moved them slowly forward for the purpose of holding the knowledge of faith. They also lead them by the hand, as if by a certain pedagogy, for prefiguring the future truth of the Gospel. Truly, now they are considered shadows of the truth at the present time, in want of Christ the Legislator, empty and infirm, and they do not prepare in any way for the reception of faith or grace. They no longer bind anyone to the worship of God. Finally, they no longer prefigure anything. They are certainly of no benefit to their worshipers in such great Muhammadan perfidy, held by the Devil, and they confer to them nothing of any good. And so you wish to serve anew these elements destitute of strength and empty, as if made senseless and destitute of any reason,
though you should rather remain secure in universal and Christian liberty, which Christ has generously given to his followers. If indeed you dispose yourselves to observe festive days, as the Sabbath and the beginnings of months, new moons, and determined times of certain festivals, indeed, since you do not refuse to be subjected to such carnal precepts, I fear for you, (oh!, Paul, lamenting, says it) lest I have labored without cause and usefulness for you, in instructing you and calling you to the true faith. And truly the Apostle does not fear on that account, where one might think, that the Galatians might take from him the prize through their apostasy, but rather it greatly guards for the future, so that the labor undertaken for them might not appear vain and they have been thoroughly (by their great evil) deprived of Christ Jesus. What if Paul had seen those New Christians from the kingdom of Granada, whom the most vigilant Cardinal Francisco Ximénez and Fernando de Talavera, that one bishop of Toledo, this one, to be sure, of Granada, begat as fathers their children, and begat again not without great anguish, now, in these recently passed days, avidly returning to Muhammadism? What, in addition, if he had caught some Valencians, natives of Játiva, newly confederated with the king of Algiers for the purpose of visiting their Muhammad by sea, by land, despoiling the road? I do not doubt that he would reproach them much more sharply than he once did the trivial Galatians, since these had returned, as if dogs to their

The rebellion of the Granadans and the desertion of the natives of Játiva from the faith in the year 1583 is insinuated.
vomit, not to the law given by God in the hand of Moses
his servant, but the invention of the vain man
Muhammad, which they had abjured in their baptism,
and they placed their necks under the sword for its
observance. Oh what great sorrow! Who bewitched
you, Paul would say, oh men of the Christian militia, to
whom have you given each of your names in baptism,
already long well inscribed? Who, finally, lead you into
such great error and evil? Who, at last, compelled you
so that you wish now to be newly embraced not by lies
of man, but precepts of the Devil related by a thousand
ditties, after many years have passed since your
conversion? I fear for you, since so much and so great a
labor for you by the aforementioned princes of the
Church has been vain and fruitless. More precisely, I
esteem it more dangerous when this same Christ the
Redeemer of all, who died for you, comes as avenger
rather than Savior. The Devil, the most cunning of all
those living on the land, has a thousand tricks for
harming and deceiving human kind. For just as the poet
said, whoever has a thousand names has a thousand
arts for inflicting harm by his deprived nature. Thus so in
this circumstance, wise in his maliciousness, a thousand
years transferred from here, or a little less, he subjected
the greatly known imposter Muhammad. As if he
adopted a son, he selected his disciple, he appointed his
minister, and, at last, he substituted a vicar in the land
for deceiving nearly the entire world. He amply taught
him his sophistical arts and demonic incantations or

Genesis 3
illuminations so that his disciple might leave thoroughly instructed by such a teacher. For and in fact, the Devil, appearing in the image of a vulture to his Muhammad, already grown old, made himself out to be the archangel Gabriel with feathers and a gilded mouth, sent to him by God for his instruction. He, as he is craftier than all living things on the land, by easy business seduced this man unlearned and desirous of human glory, and he easily obtained from him that he call himself the prophet of God and market [him] so that he might be considered in the highest honor by his barbarians. As he was already rich by reason of his marriage contract with his lady Khadija, opulent with riches, elected prince of that people, he established by every means many victories so that his power might be magnified. Moreover, it happened that while Muhammad was waging civil war against the Jewish inhabitants of Arabia, the Roman Emperor Heraclius was also preparing a great army against Chosroes, King of Persia. In this war, the Saracens and Hagarens maneuvered with their leader Muhammad. Descending to the aid of such a great emperor, they served under him. However, after Heraclius had subdued Chosroes King of Persia with his army, after a short time, haughty with such a victory, he confirmed part of the kingdoms to the new leader Muhammad and, deciding to leave those people worshiping the Stone in peace, he dissolved all of his army. Thus dismissed, as they were vagrant men, they wandered in uncertain settlements.
To be sure, so that they might not grow lazy, they quickly adhered to the one Muhammad. And Muhammad, as if made more insolent and powerful by the auxiliary, starts up new wars with those new troops, appoints leaders, establishes victories, and, finally, with both Arabias subdued, he was proclaimed leader of the Saracens and Hagarens by an oath of war by all. As he was already king and false prophet, the Devil procuring and God permitting both titles to him, he received his sect, or pattern of living, from his defecating demon, and he began to slowly promulgate it to his followers, since before they lived as barbarians without a law, without a leader, without a religion, as if brutish animals and dumb cattle, which nature had created inclined and obedient to the stomach. Certainly, so that the prince Muhammad could seduce many other nations of the world to himself by his art and the industry of the Devil, he used so many impositions, inventions, and open lies as it would be greatly extensive to put in order, though I shall disengage myself from them quickly. In the first place, in fact, he indulged the Christians in the wider divulgence of his sect, saying that Christ Jesus was a great prophet, from Mary, sister of Aaron, conceived and born by the power of the Holy Spirit. On account of his reverence, he stipulated under capital offence that his followers not curse either Christ, greatest prophet of God, or Mary, his mother. From there he left to the Jews their vain and unclean ablutions, ceremonial precepts with

What kind is the sect of Muhammad and how it was promulgated.
that notable rite of circumcision, and the law in its integrity. He wanted them to first be baptized and become Christians if they were to be received into his new sect and common partnership with his Arabs.

Indeed, they were then regarded with hate, truly just as now the faithless Jews are to all peoples, by reason of their inveterate perfidy, of which they were superstitious worshipers. On that account, Muhammad enacted that unless they first came to profess Christ, they would never be admitted to his Muhammadism.

However, Muhammad’s lust progressed much further, with an innate desire for dominating, so that he sent his legates to Emperor Heraclius and the other Christian princes, so far as to make them rather sure that his law was given to him by God by the hand of the angel Gabriel, which all were obliged to embrace and keep if they wished to be saved. Heraclius and the other Christian princes, having received the message, mocked such a law giver and imposter, and from there they sent those legates empty and without a response. Now since the Christian men of Arabia and the inhabitants of Egypt at that time, where the Arian heresy flourished and was extending through nearly all the world, were vacillating greatly in their faith, (especially since they saw that the ancient churches had fallen from their faith and ecclesiastic discipline and, as if all of a sudden, shaken), thus the blind come to the blind guide, Muhammad, of course, so that the Evangelical paradigm was fulfilled in them, “If the blind provides guidance to the blind, both A grave sin, concerning whose penalty [is] in the Fourth Council of Toledo, canon 57, chapter, Iudaei qui. Matthew 15[14]
fall into the pit.” And so they bound the Muhammadan invention together to the Arian error and subjected themselves to the servitude of the Devil. By this it happened that in a brief interval of time the Muhammadan Empire took up both its origin and expansion with the new sect. For first in Damascus, from there in Egypt, afterwards in Asia and both Arabias, Muhammad, leader of the Hagarens, dominated, since the Christian princes resisted too little. He was proclaimed, in the Egyptian tongue, Sultan [Soldanus], that is, king, whom even now the Arabs commonly call, with a slightly corrupted expression Zultan [Zultanus], this is, king. At last that carnal sect gave birth to such a great authority for its inventor by these arts and tricks. That seducer of the people had induced these things from the Pentateuch of Moses and the Gospel of Christ, as if a miscellaneous and mutual doctrine, which Sergius the Monk, truly the minister of the Devil, certainly already a professor of Arian heresy, suggested to him. Still, he had pulled out the rest from his own demented mind, as if from some riddle, for the ruin of the barbaric peoples. To such a degree was that devil fiery and cunning. Now the prophet Daniel had seen this empire (as learned men of our time skillfully interpret) from far off in his vision of the four empires of the world, rising and falling with the advance of the times. And indeed he saw four great beasts rising from the sea, of whom the fourth was greatly terrible and marvelous and strong, having great iron teeth and, likewise, ten horns. And
behold, another horn, small, rose from their midst and three of the first horns were torn from his face. Muhammad, with his small horn, this is, lesser power, uprooted both of the Roman Empires, prefigured under that terrible beast. And he easily overcame the three horns, without a doubt Asia, Africa, and Europe, already for a long time subjugated to such a great empire. Even now this terrible beast, with the increased power effected by fortune, dominates far and wide in those parts of the world. The prophet put below, concerning this, “And behold, the eyes were as the eyes of man in that horn and its mouth will utter remarkable things.” Indeed it is proper to understand the keen vision and sharpness of mind of such an imposter through the eyes of that beast, since we know he was familiarly versed with his Devil, to whom he had paid homage, and taught by him in all evil things. Therefore, he had learned these things for deceiving his Hagarens and Saracens, he now comes forth and has spoken marvelous things, words full, of course, of falseness. For instance, by a change of name, not original of the Hagarens, he judged that they be called and considered Saracens, that is, children of Sarah, so that they could have a part in the promises to Isaac, though previously, in truth, they got the name from the city Saraka of the Arabian province, as conceived, born, and raised in that very place. However, that promise of the eternal mountains is not bound to them, just as not even to Ishmael their gains, but only a certain temporal recompense, which that Daniel, chapter 7. So explains Hector Pint. [?] 

Super Danielem. The prophecy concerning Muhammad is clearly extended.
great father Abraham, dying, seeing from afar, promised to his son Ishmael, born from his slave Hagar. And for in fact it sufficed the son of Hagar and his successors that a spacious place be made for living in that land Paran, in the wilderness. The scripture says in that very place of Ishmael, “A fugitive and wanderer, Ishmael lived in the land Paran in the wilderness, and he became a bowman.” But indeed he advanced many other audacious lies, which I shall add, so that we might prove the vain mind and credulity of that man. He proposed a great God, *Alla Quibir*, to be worshiped by all as if as a sure sign to his people, the mystery of the Triad subsisting in the persons altogether rejected and a thousand times cursed by him. For he preached the Son, certainly the only Word of the Father, begotten by him, but still not consubstantial to him, calling him *Zurulla* in the Arabic tongue, as if breath, or the word of the Father, certainly consenting with Arius, by whom the impious Muhammad gave birth to this error together with many others. Moreover, the succession of his lineage appears thus: that he was conceived by the Virgin by the power of his Holy Spirit, but still with the human seed of her husband Joseph, while born at a prefixed time from Mary, she being left corrupted. He did not even recognize any other difference between the birth of Christ and ours, except that the Holy Spirit intervened through his great grace by divine privilege, bearing Christ into the light a mere prophet. From there, he did not acknowledge the distinction of persons in

[25v]

Genesis 20[21].

This error is held in the Qur’an, Sura 2 and 11, concerning which see Saint Eulogius, book 1 of Memorial of the Saints, folio 18.
one essence or the hidden divinity of Christ or the divine presence, to which his humanity was united, or, at last, the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mother of God. Rather, he proposed by his own invention one God circumscribed by time, measure, strength, and power, who adopted the prophet Christ to himself as a son. This was the ridiculous faith of Muhammad, inferior by far from that which Aristotle, along with other no-less-known philosophers, professed, illumined by natural light alone at the hour of death, saying, “Cause of causes, have mercy on me.” Truly he called the God of infinite power the cause of the effects of all things in this lower world into which the final resolution of all creatures would be made. Besides, he heard many times of the third person of the Triad from the Christians, the prior teachers of Muhammad, that is, that, from the Father and the Son, as the love of each, and of the very same substance, this person proceeds from them as of one beginning, eternal and consubstantial. However, on account of his levity, he did not wish to believe this doctrine on the Trinity, so firm and stable, nor captivate his understanding as an offering of faith. From there the earthly man, knowing earthly and human matters, chose to follow the false precept of his depraved nature. And accordingly he determined for his followers that that which could be grasped by human understanding or judgment alone should only be held in faith and his own opinion. This was Muhammad’s, the false law-giver’s, opinion of God and his vain religion. However,
it was most fitting that this God permit eternal rewards for the good and punishments for the bad. Now Muhammad inferred such carnal, futile, and imaginary ones as he himself was, such that it should be believed that not God, but rather the demented Muhammad, burning in carnal lasciviousness and knowing carnal things alone, had invented them. For he promised good men, those fearing God, pure women, that is, not suffering the monthly flow, produced from the branches of the trees in paradise in perpetual embraces. However, he threatened evil men with a share in the eternal flame and the damned. To this point all the Muhammadan religion returns and is propped up with carnal delights in this and the future age, and they endure into all time, which the Arab doctors ridicule. But he also gave the law concerning how to acquire the remission of sins, not overshadowed by the Spirit of Truth, but emanating from his own spirit of error. Perhaps he had heard God’s promise received through the prophet Ezekiel concerning the pure water that was to wash our filth, as a certain figure of baptism. “I will give you,” says the Lord, “pure water and you will be made clean from all your defilements.” And the impure Muhammad enjoined this purity upon his worshipers, consisting only of natural water, to be performed under order five times a day for the purification of venial sins, whereas he left as punishment great sorrow and great heart-felt pain for the graver sins, as if a useful penance and pleasing to God at all times, because he was unable...
to find another remedy for this sin. Whereby this new sect, dissenting from the very Gospel of Christ in all its precepts and ceremonies, rejoices with many names, we have considered it useful to explain them. In the first place, “carnal sect,” in as much as it has been altogether dedicated to the works of the flesh, or it should come to be called by its own name, “impurity itself,” after all its avarice (so that I might agree with Saint Paul). Because if ever a law should be called by the extended phrase “of the flesh”, it will be in this case, because it entices its worshipers to sin, with license granted for all sexual enjoyment, insomuch as in this manner the doctors define the law of the flesh, because it nourishes, fosters, and condemns carnal man in carnal delights. In addition, it is rightly termed a “law or ministry of death” for a law to now use in part that one outdated by Christ and, with the truth coming, figurative, and, if you will, extinguished of figure. For instance, so that I might now speak of ablutions, even now to be performed five times a day according to Muhammad’s precept, because they do not effect purity of soul or body, unless they supply something for polluting it. To be sure, these ablutions are commanded in Leviticus for purifying a woman and for one suffering the flow of his semen, which did not consist simply in water, but a pure heart, offering some gift or sacrifice for the sin, by which at last the mandated purity was conceded by the law. In this sense those ceremonies are considered figures by the holy fathers, but naked and external and alien from

Muhammad in the Qur’an, Sura 10, says that thus God does not pardon grave sin, but only venial.

Thus the Master’s Sententiae in 2 dist. 30 and the doctors in the same place.

[27r]
any purity of spirit by Muhammad. But for that reason the impure worshipers of that sect tenaciously observe these five ablutions to be completed five times a day and they hold onto them for the sake of their invented religion, so that if they overlook them even but once in a day, they believe they can by no means evade the anger of their prophet and the vengeance of the most high God. From where if the Moors are found in a deserted place and belaboring in want of water, they will at least be required to complete the signs of the ablutions with the hands grasping the sand, scratching proportionately both hands, the knees, the crown of the head, on account of the law they have received, at the time set aside for the ablutions. By this accomplished ceremony they free themselves from anger and they are rendered pure and holy again by such an ablution. Oh ridiculous mind of such a great prophet, as if water alone, or a washing carried out with a stone or a scratch is able to work something in the spirit of inner man? These are the particulars of that sect, or the precepts entirely of human invention, indeed empty and entirely destitute elements, which in general oblige the devoted worshipers of Muhammad, demented sorcerer, wisely and maliciously casting a spell, and they freely offer them both the aforementioned reward for their observance and the pleasure of the flesh, which they maintain inwardly and quite devotedly execute externally in Asia, Arabia, Africa, and Spain, so that they are kept attentive to the Devil. Wherefore, a sect or law

Ablutions are commanded to be done with sand where there is no water.
will be called “of the flesh” by everyone which, comprehended by human reason alone, has depended on a human or demonic legislator and, finally, granted license for all the works of the flesh. In this manner, Saint Paul might now speak, as if to the Ephesians, to its confessors, “Therefore I declare this to you and I testify in the Lord, that you must no longer walk as the Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their senses, having their understanding clouded by the darkness, alienated from the life of God through the ignorance which is in them on account of the blindness of their hearts, who, losing hope, have handed themselves over to sexual impurity for the practice of all impurity for greed.” Let the reader see this sect depicted with living colors and its impure worshipers turned over to the base sense, already perceived and accused by Saint Paul. Because if these New Christians, vulgarly, Moriscos, as if deriving their origin from the Moors whose parents were greatly devoted to Muhammad, secretly keep and retain this pernicious dogma with their mind and heart according to the tradition of their parents, as there is rumor, I wish that there not be this tradition. Therefore, I have recommended prayer for these who are acknowledged to be strong and stable in their accepted faith: that they watch in order not to fall, whom the priests will readily aid with the preservative remedies, so that they might not succumb to the disease being reborn and be dragged to the edge of the great abyss. As for the rest, straying from the faith, for
whose salvation I greatly thirst, I shall take care to admonish, and I shall say with the Apostle: Why, since you know God, rather you are known by God, how do you turn again to the weak and destitute elements, which you wish to serve anew, overlooking the sacraments of the Church and the Apostolic traditions, in which there is the remission of sins? Why do you crucify Christ Jesus again, the redeemer of all of human kind and the price paid on the cross to the Eternal Father for your freedom? Why have you trampled the son of God and regarded the blood of the New Testament unclean? Or perhaps you believe a lesser punishment is deserved for such a great offense? On the contrary, the Apostle judges a greater one. I fear for you, sure of your damnation, unless you immediately come to your senses. The Church has already separated all of you for just causes from its sheepfold, as if scabby sheep, and has inflicted the punishment that should be inflicted, maintained in the chapter Contra Christianos, book six De haereticis. For just as a Christian going or returning to the religion of the Jews is condemned as a heretic if he has confessed or is convicted, just so by the same standard it will be necessary to judge concerning a Christian man turning or returning to the sect of the Saracens, since either is judged a apostate from the faith and a violator of the baptism received. And the most erudite doctors of canon law add that all those are regarded with that name of apostate who, distinguished by the Christian name, have made, Hebrews 10

Arnaldus Albertinus q. 22, § 40, and [Juan de] Torquemada, book 1, chapter 21, De potestate ecclesiae.

Thus it is in 4 Toledo,
commissioned, or, if you will, permitted sacrifice to their idols. If therefore those wandering in a slight article or tenaciously asserting what does not harmonize with the Catholic faith or the traditions of the Church undergo the judgment of a heretic, by how much more those who fall into apostasy, who completely wander from every doctrine of the faith and are dragged by their own pleasure on account of that concupiscence of the flesh and invention induced by Muhammad. Because, if we return to the prophecy of Daniel considered earlier, the empire of Muhammad, prefigured in that horn, exalts its men to this to the harm of the Christian state, and the false Muhammad is worshiped in many places, and, according to the proverb, Muhammad is easily found by those desiring him in Granada, Valencia, Africa. However, I certainly do not wish to always lead the pastors, doctors trained for these souls, with threats, terrors, and penalties established by law against these proselytes. Indeed, that would be the mark of a soul greatly prone to cruelty, but rather I wish to make use of a certain discretion, the custom of the expert doctor who cures the sick, just as a sure account of the illness demands, sometimes with bitter medicine and sometimes with mild, and correctly distributes his concoctions, scripts, and medicinal remedies to each one. Therefore our patients are in four classes, as if occupying beds, now (as God will grant us) to be cleansed by us from the errors of that brainless man and restored to good health. These who occupy the first
c. 59, *Iudaei qui*, and c. 60, *Nulla communio*.

Book 2 [Book 5, Title VII], chapter *De haereticis*.

A proverb is declared, Muhammad in Granada.

[28v]

The four classes of Moriscos.
class are they who keep the dress, language, name, ceremonies, and rites of that sect after having received baptism, but who openly confess to be Christians. I do not know whether they are secretly Moors by religion. In another class, as if a hospital shelter for convalescent patients, are those who have readily renounced all the exterior elements or precepts and have begun to adjust themselves to the Christians in all ways. In the third class, I have thought to place together all those who regard their line and origin from Arabia or Africa, descendents of their ancient fathers, worshipers of Muhammad. They observe some ceremonies or rites, whether perhaps mindful of their old sect or by ancestral tradition. In the last place, I count those born from a wandering or marital union, that is to say, from a proselyte parent from the Muhammadan Sect and an Old Christian. Concerning them, we have a decree: that they follow the faith of the parent of the better condition, as it has already been enjoined since the days of old upon those born from a believing parent and an infidel. I have considered all these things on account of distinction, not debate, so that the spiritual doctor of souls, by his knowledge, prudence, and discretion, might know the facts between leprosy and leprosy, to heal at this time the various patients without his own loss and (God thus disposing for them) reduce them to good condition and whole health. This is in fact Paul's advice, more correctly, precept to those on whom it falls on account of their office. "Lift up," he says, "the
sick in faith,” this is, it will be your duty to confirm and make solid the one well-instructed in the Catholic faith. Use your curing and succoring hands, oh Priests and Rectors of souls, according to the authority granted to you by God, so that with sloth and torpor (which evil is inexpiable) you do not become numb and pay the worthy penalty for the talent hidden in the earth. Bring forth from the storeroom of the Church the various ingredients, the sound remedies, the salutary concoctions, the well-besmeared ointment, so that you might be able to heal those sick, now distinguished by us, by diverse means. Page through the vast storeroom of the books of remedies for so many infirm of the holy fathers, in which you will find many methods not only for confirming brothers in the faith, but also, certainly, for educating them in good customs. Turn yourselves from secular affairs to the library of those, in addition to other doctors, who are disputing concerning the complete conversion of the Christians from the Muhammadan Sect coming to the Catholic faith, and enjoy another’s labor, so that by their support, as if aided by the fellowship of good doctors, you might administer the cure of your patients, whose care you might undertake before God. Likewise, consider the exorcism of the Saracens of Lord Nicetas the Colossian or the abjuration recently mandated for these types, with the catechetical work of Saint Gregory Nyssenus, in which he [Lord Nicetas] briefly relates the formula to be observed in baptism and to be repeated after the

remissionibus [Cardinal Henricus de Segusio]. Romans 14[1]
violation of baptism for making a proselyte from the Muhammadan Sect, customarily observed by the Greek as well as the Latin fathers. Learn in the meanwhile with Paul, the Prince of the Church and the first Vicar of Christ, to confirm your brothers in faith, having accepted authority from him and his successor, to whom it was said, “You, once you have turned back, strengthen your brothers.” And elsewhere Christ promises the keys for binding and loosening to Peter, which he conferred upon him and, by him, which the presbyters and rectors of souls receive for purifying lepers, as Saint Jerome has under these words, “The same way in which the priest judges the leper clean or unclean in Leviticus, so also the bishop and presbyter binds or loosens. But greater authority is found with the priests of the New Law, for those have received the authority for judging only between leper and leper and the knowledge for discerning who is clean or unclean. But these have the means of binding and loosening each leper from Christ, the keys of the celestial kingdom gathered to them.” Thereupon, say to those small of heart, “Without faith it is impossible to please God,” and again, “Unless you believe you will not understand” the great judgments of God or the mysteries of the Catholic faith, which the royal prophet bears witness to be a profound depth. “Give a reason for that faith, hope, and love which is among you,” and just as our faith works through love and, the reverse, without works is dead, unto whose obedience
(according to the Pauline decree) it is necessary for us to captivate our understanding. John the Evangelist hands this [faith] on, confirmed by many signs and miracles, saying, “These signs which Jesus performed have been thus written so that you might believe that Jesus is the son of God, and, believing, you might have eternal life in his name.” In fact, this is the foundation or summit of our faith, “For nobody is able to place any other than the one that has been placed, which is Christ Jesus.” As Saint Ildephonsus subtly explains: this saying of the Apostle is to be understood concerning the humble Christ, teacher of both all humility and truth. At last, attend, vigilant for your flock, priests, to the spirit of mildness and gentleness of Christ Jesus, which you should humbly request from him so that you might become obliging and fruitful for your sheepfold. Indeed, it will be fitting to pursue, follow, and emulate so great a pastor in the steps of faith, if you long to pursue the salvation of his sheep. Concerning this, Isaiah reports, “A bruised reed he will not break, and a flickering wick he will not extinguish, he will lead judgment out,” that is, until he drives judgment to victory, “And the gentiles will hope in his name.” At last, hear and fulfill the command of Christ concerning the Evangelical promulgation to all the people and preach to these concerning whose salvation you bear responsibility: “Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but whoever does not believe, will be condemned.” And so from henceforth, consider the invention of the false 1 Corinthians 3

In the book De perpetua virginitate beatae Virginis and Cyrillus, Catechesis 4 [illuminandorum], explains ten dogmas of our faith for the illuminated.

[30r]

Chapter 42[3-4]. Matthew 12[19-20].

Last chapter of Mark [15-16]. John 3[36].

The Epilogue.
prophet Muhammad, consisting in no reason, and his vain religion, lacking in all truth, and, from there, worthwhile to accuse, reprove, and persecute with a thousand curses this faith grasped by natural reason and human nature with respect to its place, time, and condition of its people. This work will be easy to accomplish for the priests of Christ, strengthened by his power and aid. Wherefore, since all these duties are of the priestly office, those who gasp slightly for the eternal reward will gird themselves at once for carrying them out, and they will easily come to Christ their reward.

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST CATECHISM

1. The Sect of Muhammad consists of a great many lies and ditties.
2. It opposes natural reason and promises vain and carnal delights in this and the next live. It should therefore come to be repudiated.
3. Muhammad employs ablutions for the remission of venial sins, but he demands great sorrow of heart for the graver sins.
4. Arabs do not dare to commit a lethal sin, since they are freed from it with difficulty.
5. The matter may be easily attacked by the priests with the grace and spirit of Christ, since that sect is vain and inconstant.
6. The priests, greatly vigilant for their flock, require the reading of the holy doctors and the councils of the Church for the assault against this sect.

7. The Church has special remedies for those who grow sick in the faith, whom the priests of Christ should cure from their leprosy on account of their knowledge and authority.
SECOND CATECHISM, ON PUTTING ASIDE DRESS AND LANGUAGE

A reading from Saint Paul to the Ephesians 4[20-24]: “That is not how you learned Christ, assuming that you have heard of him and were taught in him, as truth is in Jesus, that you should put away the old man of your former way of life, corrupted through deceitful desires, and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, and put on the new self, created in God’s way in righteousness and holiness of truth.”

The evangelical sacraments handed down by Christ the legislator and his apostles are not equally accessible to everyone, and not a few, less diligently and less soberly explaining them, often bear ruin in place of salvation, teach error in place of the knowledge of truth, and introduce a new sect in place of the knowledge of the gospel. In the number of these is Muhammad, who, when he heard many things from the Christians, interpreted all of it wrongly so that he did not take off the old man with his works and did not dress himself with the new. But leaving Muhammad in the flame of Hell, let us turn to those who, after they were reborn in Christ, are enveloped blind and wretched by the great error of that vain sect, from which (if God grants it) they might be freed by our labor and diligence. Thus, seizing the censoring rod against them, let us introduce Saint Paul in these words, “That is not the way you learned Christ, assuming that you have heard of him and were taught in him.” That is to say, Christ came to the

This passage is appropriate according to Saint Augustine, Book XIV of De Trinitate, Chapters 16 and 17.
lower parts of this world as if at the sixth hour, that is, the sixth age of humankind, as if in the senility of the old man, whom he openly taught us to lay aside and to put on the new, who was created according to God. But due to our maliciousness, it happens to us that we are still not found conformed to Christ, nor have we put on this new man, because we have still not completely turned to Christ, as if grounded and rooted in him. Indeed, those who turn to God with their heart from that deformity by which we use to be conformed to this age by worldly desires will be able to be reformed if they listen to the Apostle saying, “Do not conform yourself to this age but be transformed by the renewal of your mind,” so that that image might begin to be reformed by whom it was formed. Indeed, it cannot reform itself as it was able to deform [itself]. And in another place he likewise says, “Be renewed in the spirit of your minds, and put on the new self, created in God’s way in righteousness and holiness of truth.” But truly this renewal or reformation of the mind happens in the spirit, which is called the mind, “since you have taken off the old self with its practices and have put on the new one, which is being renewed in the knowledge of God according to his image who created it.” Now what he had called in another place “according to God,” he has already clearly explained, “according to his image who created it.” Now for that which he had put in justice and holiness of truth he has changed by synonym to the knowledge of God. Therefore, that Romans 12[2] Ephesians 4[23] Colossians 3[9-10]. So it is [according to] Saint Anselm on these words.
renewal and reformation of the mind happens according to God or according to the image of God. Now it is said “according to God” so that it is not thought to be made according to some other creature. Again, therefore, “according to the image of God” so that in that matter it is understood that this renewal takes place where the image of God is, that is, in the mind of man. Thus, let us not so understand “according to his image who created him” as if there is some other image according to which it is renewed, not that very one which is renewed. In which renewal two things are openly involved, the remission of sins, which is called the healing of the sickness, and the removal of what has been contaminated by it, which happens gradually by it being perfected in the renewal of his image. These two are insinuated by the Royal Prophet in a certain Psalm under these words, “God pardons all your sins and heals all your infirmities.” And again in another passage, by the Apostle saying, “Even if the outer man is wasting away, our inner [man] is being renewed day by day. Now it is being renewed in the knowledge of God, that is, justice and holiness of truth,” since day by day inner man is made better through being perfected for good. Namely, it transfers its love from the temporal to the eternal, from the visible to the invisible, from the carnal to the spiritual, and it seeks to restrain its appetite from those [lower] things, abate lust, and diligently bind those [higher] things to itself through charity. Now it only does as much as the
Divinity gives in aid because man is not sufficient to contemplate any good himself, but his sufficiency is from God. In this drawing-near and progression, man is so bound to God that his image shines out in him more and more and, now conformed to it, he is at last united to God in glory. Therefore, those who strain to understand this renewal in God should put aside the former way of life according to the old man who is corrupted according to deceitful desires, in which, through their own will, through accepting the sect of some false man, they are detained as if by fetter and shackle. Let each trained and pious pastor, with incredible diligence so that he might carry back a victory over such an enemy, strive to make an effort with all vigor and might at achieving the freedom of mind in the spirit of God for these [held captive], so that he might now make his charges conformed to Christ in both man and religion. But if the first renewal, in which it will be necessary to more greatly struggle, happily comes about for them, the latter will be much easier. For according to the proverb, “He who has Christ inside also longs to appear Christian on the outside,” not, moreover, a professor of some other sect contrary to Christ. And so that we turn to the matter proposed in our catechism, let not he who has been sealed and reborn through the name of Christ elect to be distinguished by any means as a sectarian of Muhammad in outer dress or practice, and thus in inner religion. Rather, conformed to Jesus Christ according to the inner man, let him strain to...
become like him in piety, modesty, religion, and dress distinctive of the contrary religion, now for some time in customary use by the Christians, not, then, to the impious Muhammad. Indeed this false prophet, provided with diabolic astuteness, as if poorly skilled in the office of mender, so dressed the man [who is] worshiper of his sect and attentive to him on the outside that he rendered him entirely ready and disposed to his false religion and the daily exercise of its ceremonies, ablutions, prayers. Thus it is that the outer dress uniformly responds to his false religion and his religion to its dress. From there he who is guided by the false religion of the Moors and is surrendered to their profane cult is plainly recognized either by his dress or his speech. But before we make manifest the secret of the notorious superstition lying under this dress and the Arabic tongue, it is necessary that we refute the objection of those who have judged themselves to know something in this matter. They suppose that the dress of the pagan Moors and Algarabia, the native language of Arabia, should not be set aside, as if permitted to that nation in the same way as theirs [is] to the Belgians or the Franks. To these it is easily responded that we do not say anything at present concerning the dress, language, or practice of the Saracens or the Hagarens. For although I wish those already reborn in Christ to look after themselves more than they do, I do not do violence to them to change their dress or abandon their language. The issue for us is with these New Cyril 4, Catecheses

Our clothing corresponds to necessity, not superstition. The tacit objection by his adversaries is rebutted.
Christians who should put on Christ interiorly and exteriorly and completely forget the thousand superstitions of this sect if they wish to be saved. Nor do I give any advice in this matter to the proselytes with whom I have issue except that I relate the command of our legislator Christ to them, which I learned well in his school. That is to say, there is a four-fold difference, as Cajetan has it, between the Catholic faith and other sects, whether of the Moors or the Jews, concerning these things they are together. For if there were a difference clearly distinctive between Christians and others, so that whoever using such dress confesses his faith, it would be a mortal sin for the Christian man to bear the dress of a Moor or a Jew, since this would be nothing more than to confess himself out of fear to be Moor or Jew. For this reason let him be called a Moor on account of the unjust retention of his dress and the Arabic language whoever he is who, although he has been soaked and washed with the water of baptism, even now wishes to be distinguished from the Christians by the retention of the dress of the Moors. Nor do I see how it might happen that someone newly converted to the faith from the Muhammadan Sect might be able to guard it intact if he chooses to even now retain his old dress with his native tongue, which abounds in a thousand superstitions and equally serves for the observance of that false sect. I have considered it worthwhile to explain this in the progress of this catechism. For and in fact, that Muhammad was a astuteness for the conservation of his sect.

The words of Cajetan are in *Summa. verbo.*

*Habitus mutatio.*
false prophet and the son of the lying Devil, since he surely knew by the art of his father that his invention had been freely received by these barbarous and unlearned men as a sure religion, so that it might not immediately fall, he enjoined this one thing under anathema to his Moors: that they not permit his law, given to him by God through the angel Gabriel under the Arabic idiom, as if a sacred language, be translated into any other [language] whatsoever, which he did so that, once driven into error by such a demon, they might not ever again rebound from it, having translated this sect into another language. For he who was led by Christian piety and love of neighbors, with the difficulty of that language overcome or having made use of a translation, could have easily attacked the worshipers of Muhammad and proven the inconsistency of his sect. He impelled another thing in addition [to this], that they not set out for the defense of their sect armed with either reasoning or arguments, but rather that they descend either with a lance and shield or an unsheathed sword alone (just as fighting each of their enemies is their custom) to singular combat and quickly settle the declared duel with whatever detractor of Muhammad or his sect. For just as he had come in the sword, not in the power of miracles, to bring men from various religions to his sect, hindering the pure and sincere religion of the Gospel, so they, as greatly dedicated to their Prophet, would need to bear arms for The error of Muhammad, concerning which [see] Arnaldus q. 13, § 31. The custom of the Arabs
imposing that sect one at a time and vindicating it from its enemies. From there each Moor wears a double-bladed sword hanging from their right shoulder for the purpose of preserving their religion. For that religion, false and replete with vanity, consists in the force of arms, not in any piety whatsoever. See the audacity, the craft, and the truly snake-like astuteness of that most cunning man, namely, with what kind of arts and devices he both seduced and holds the barbarous worshipers of both Arabias even now in his errors. But let us draw closer to faithfully enumerating the superstitions of that sect lying under its dress and language, if we have been enjoined to wholly examining them. And indeed we presented something above on the ablutions enjoined by Muhammad to be accomplished five times a day, which we will now square away for the benefit of the pastors. The Moors, disciples of Muhammad, not rejecting that importune command, so quickly accommodate themselves to its execution that they go out into public as if with the vestments of their founding fathers sewn from wool and linen, already well girded for performing the ceremonies of their sect. For and in fact, clothed with a linen shirt hanging only to their navel and linen pants extending from the navel all the way to the ankles, bound with only one cord, called a xareta in Arabic, however, covered by a linen cloak, or an Alquicerius (so that I might use their tongue), exceedingly oblong, for completing head prostrations at the time of the
appointed ablutions. Washed, they go to their temple or alxema, first called (as they observe according to custom) by their priest or Alphachinus, who has a hoarse throat from regularly calling from the highest pinnacle of the temple, performed five times a day. All of them having entered into the temple and separated in various and oblong rows and upright in a narrow place listen to the vain prayers of Muhammad from their teacher and recite [the prayers] one by one and verbatim, and precisely complete his ceremonies and offer their hearts to the God of Muhammad. And at last with their heads lowered as if nodding to their preacher, they withdraw purified only with water, soon about to return to another ablution (unless they are detained by a legitimate impediment). They thereafter quickly collect their shoes, either wooden or leather, which they had left at the doors of the Alxema without guard, and they do not wear them tied, according to their perfidious religion. To be sure, at paschal gatherings and lunar feasts they discharge certain baths both solemn and less solemn (they are called greater Guadoc and lesser) for their old rites so that they know how to distinguish between ordinary and solemn ablutions.

They put a white vitta on their heads, consisting in a thousand bindings on whose high point either a white plume or of another color is fixed so that, covered with so much weight they might more quickly and gravely lower their heads when they devote their souls to Muhammad. In addition, some of them, [34v] Solemn baths and less solemn.
as a means of greater piety, puncture, according to the
custom of the Gentiles, their arms and thighs with
needles, sprinkle the wounds with powder, paint [them]
with a marvelous skewed variety of letters or symbols in
praise of their God so that they might be considered
more dedicated to their Muhammad. These things are
well known among all the Gentiles, which provide the
outer dress, the religious practice, the ritual sect of the
Moors. All of these things, since they are full of various
superstitions, should come to be completely but aside
and forbidden to the proselytes from the Muhammadan
Sect, both so that they might be made altogether
forgetful of their old sect and they might also better
accommodate themselves to the Christian religion that
they have accepted. Those who, swearing the words in
baptism, have renounced Satan and his works and have
put on the white garment of Christ, so that they might
dawn it immaculate on the day of judgment, are
likewise required by the force of the outstanding
promise to pull off, abjure, and persecute Muhammad
with curses and not differ it to another time, but
vehemently execute [it] at this more suitable time for
their salvation. Who denies these things? Perhaps a
blind, stupid, or insensible man, whom it will be
necessary to leave in his foolishness and pray to God for
him, that henceforth he might know better. But let us
eagerly run to explaining the female world of Arabic
women, from which we will pluck out those
superstitions oriented towards that sect as much [35r]

The threefold account
as the rest pertaining to the custom of the pagans, as if poorly massed and crammed together. Accordingly, the world of Arabic women has two kinds of garments, the former poorly sewn for celebrating the rites of their sect, however, the others for more easily exercising their sexual desire, since they are by natural inclination insatiable in satisfying their lust for procreation. Their hair hangs only to their neck, so that they are not overwhelmed by its weight if it were longer as they raise their heads at home to Muhammad. Moreover, they perform their ablutions as much for their venial sins as for satisfying their sexual desire. They dawn garlands braided into their hair so that they appear more elegant to their, may I not say to other, men. They also wear littler shirts so that they might likewise be well equipped for their daily rituals and received within the home of their husband. In place of a longer cloak they substitute the Alcandora, either linen or silk, decorated with a thousand longer threads and colorful silks. Now since this garment is so precious, it is only worn by the more wealthy, which they put on after having been cleansed by the ablutions or they return from the baths and they fall into the sweet embraces of their men.
What is more, they wear their wooden shoes on their feet so that they might be able to float over the water, not to mention pompously march when they indulge in their sacred ablutions. These garments pertain to their ritual acts; the rest to their sexual appetites. For they use a shorter cloak, which they call a Pollot, which does of superstition in the feminine dress is declared.
Saint Peter, 1, chapter 2 [3], orders that women should be modest in dress and conversation.

Another account of their superstition in their outer adornment.
not cover their legs. To here wound boots climb, sewn
with a thousand coils of the color dark blue so that they
might appear fatter. For fatter is considered more
beautiful among the Arabs and so they are greatly
occupied in winding them so that what nature has taken
away, they might now restore by the art of Venus. In
addition, they dye their hands as if smeared with
ointment with certain herbs, tomentum, specifically,
and ligustrum, well pulped. They dye their arms and
thighs, smear their hair not yet disordered with oils,
make use of baths as if food, and they are totally
occupied in satisfying their lust, and they never retire
satisfied. Indeed, so they might seem more sumptuous
and they are more apt for sex, they greatly indulge in
sleep and giving zest to their food. Having partaken in
these things, they descend to the baths and intercourse
with their men, and indeed they consume almost their
entire life in these matters. But another two
superstitions remain to be referred to by us, which their
maliciousness invented because of their gladness and
proud arrogance when they first stepped foot in Spain,
conquered by the Moors. For esteeming themselves as
queens, letting their hair go free, they raise diadems or
crowns on their heads, completely covered with a veil,
and they use a linen or silk toga, whiter and longer as a
symbol of their new gladness, although before they use
to wear a woolen and inauspicious [toga]. To be sure, on
medals hanging from their neck they quickly contrived
new symbols, as if daughters of an

\[35v\]

Tomentum is a wool-like
herb, es el tomiento [it
is thyme]. Ligustrum, es
la alheña [it is henna].

Pagan superstitions
invented by Arabic
women.

Those medals are
prohibited in the
enchanting demon, in which the African women ordered that a well engraved hand signifying the power of God be stamped by metal work on the one side and, to be sure, a key on the other, as if sent from the heavens for opening the gates of African Spain to them. Certainly this symbol placed by their men may be seen even now in the gates of the great citadels and their vestibules, bestowed in such great antiquity, as if the Arabs had wished to appeal through this hieroglyphic letter to the great hand of God and his powerful might, which the royal prophet celebrates saying, “The right hand of God has done a marvelous deed, his right hand has raised me up.” Truly this divine and outstretched hand permitted that key to the inhabitants of Africa for the retribution of the crimes of the Spaniards abounding at that time, by which they established each fortified citadel and happily ruled Spain for almost a thousand years. Truly, they set out to open the leading [gate]; Tarifus, their leader, called it in their language Gilblalphar, as if “secure port,” which up until now, with a slightly modified pronunciation, retains the name Gilbraltar. We have exposed these things from the feminine superstitions so that the reader’s mind might be confirmed in this opinion, that is, that it is necessary to remove the Numidian and Arabic tongue from all the borders of Spain for the salvation of our proselytes in whose benefit these things are made known by our writing. And, unless I am deceived, the aforesaid superstitions might be easily avoided by those
proselytes, together with that impious and unclean sect, 
if Algarabia is thoroughly forbidden to the children as 
much as to the parents, together with the banishment 
of their old dress. And if this prohibition is ordered for 
execution by all the judges, whose duty it is, just as I 
desire and daily beg from Christ Our Lord, all the 
Muhammadan religion, a dangerous blemish for Spain, 
might be removed from its borders and it might soon 
advance to that very pure and simple religion of Christ 
which calls everyone to liberty. And not only educated 
but also pious men have not been wanting in Spain who, 
since they were of this opinion, brought it before their 
Catholic Kings of blessed memory, Ferdinand and Isabel, 
the conquerors of the Kingdom of Granada, at which 
time the Granadans themselves asked to be made 
proselytes by these kings. Lead by their advice, they 
issued forth the early royal decrees that they 
immediately take off the old wolf skin together with the 
Muhammadan religion and put on the sheep [skin], 
adjusting themselves in a short time to our exterior rites 
and custom of language, whose protocols are preserved 
in the royal chapel as testimony to their impiety as 
much as to royal negligence. Indeed, that time was then 
the opportune occasion for issuing and executing these 
royal orders, which, although it is bald, unless it is 
preserved from the hairy brow, it flies in the air and 
once released, it can never be recuperated again. I have 
heard from a certain native Granadan citizen whose 
parents came to the faith of Christ at that

The efficacious remedy for banishing the 
Muhammadan Sect from the borders of Spain according to the 
opinion of those proselytes.

[36v]
time that they prepared sewn garments altered to our
custom according to the royal command and, because
of the following royal dissimulation, they handed them
over to be devoured by moths and worms. And while
that proselyte referred these things to me, at that time
he added, “If at that time that dissimulation had not
intervened, the publication of those new pragmatics
would not have bothered us, nor would our hardness
have perpetrated for our bishops and pastors the work
of renewing those laws, antiquated and rendered
senseless.” From this, since that time the common
people use to boast in almost everything that they had
bought off the proclamation and execution of those
pragmatics with their money and had bought a license
for imposing inflexible harnesses on their mules and
she-mules, which had then been prohibited by a recent
law. But, as is usual, the common people, uneducated,
often speak things stupid and alien to the truth, lead by
whatever small or slight an occasion. For and in fact the
Catholic Kings postponed their orders for another more
convenient time (yet there was no other more
opportune) making use of royal clemency with the
Moors, newly converted to the faith, still having
received no payment or offering for the granted
deferral. But thereupon the common people snatched
the occasion for boasting such words, though at nearly
that time the promulgation of a new law was made so
that that poorly introduced abuse of riding on mules,
harmful to the entire republic, would be removed from

The saying of a certain proselyte of Granada.

That law was promulgated for Granada in the year of
their midst so that the equestrian exercise and public
incursions of horsemen of light armor formed by
alternating turns not suddenly be destroyed, since,
before our faces and sea coasts Moorish pirates,
prepared for arms, were mounting horses faster than
eagles for disturbing the peace of the entire Christian
republic while our horsemen, just as if *literati*,
pompously sat on she-mules and mules. However, the
making of this law did not look at all to the Granadan
proselytes or even to the harnesses of their mules, if it is
now read over in subsequent publications, for whom it
has become habit to both subdue and restrain their
mules with the harness so that they become more
docile. But a short time later, Philip the archduke of
Austria whose title [was] the first, king of Spain, seeing
the matter spoiled by his Catholic in-laws, with the
advice of his magistrates, ordered that it be put into
effect when he first ascended to the height of the
kingdom. However, thus far putting this matter aside,
he took flight from his temporal kingdom to the eternal,
carried off by a certain sanguine fever. Charles V, the
invincible Emperor, son of such a great father, born of
Juana the Queen, succeeded him as much in his most
opulent rule as in his holy purpose by hereditary right.
And after marrying his most sweet wife in Granada, he
began to think about the opportune execution of so
pious an order, though while he prepared it, having
received a envoy from his brother, king of the Romans,
terribly oppressed by the impious Turks in Vienna,
requesting aid and auxiliary from him if he wished his brother [to be] saved with his kingdom. Distracted from the tainted issue of the proselytes, as if flying to him, he routed the Turk with only the news of his coming and redeemed his most beloved brother. And I am not led to asserting this matter by any rumor, but by the fame which filled all of Spain in those days. So great an emperor had been led by the advice of pious and educated men who burdened his conscience on this matter, first among whom was that Mota of Burgos, a theologian and chosen by the secretaries of so great an emperor from the beginning of his reign, but afterwards, chosen by his lord Palentine Bishop and designated the great bishop of Toledo, he died, not yet full of days. If God had exalted him to that Pontifical see and supreme court of the holy forum, I do not doubt that by his holy efforts he would have restrained the Moriscos, new worshipers of Christ, from their rites and, even by himself, well-ordered [them] to our religion. That Latin Luis Vives of Valencia, versed in every kind of discipline, succeeded him in the same prayers while he discussed the matter before his fellow Valencians, desiring salvation for the kingdom as much as for those men. But our oration hastens back to the second Philip, enjoying the breath of life and negotiating the salvation of his proselytes in every way, who, newly receiving the vows of the Valencian and Granadan prelates in their held assemblies and provincial acts, the year 1566 past, has already brought more salutary laws before the
Granadans, as a thoughtful and wise legislator. And he will now prepare [laws] for the Valencians, if my prayers brought before him together with his councilors prove of any worth. For with the civil rebellion violently coming between the Granadans, the year 1568 having passed, at its end our Philip now considers one thing alone as a certainty, what evil things to the citizens, what losses to the Granadan republic, what disasters to all of Spain that clemency of the Catholic [Monarchs], which should rather be called cruelty by us, has brought on one day of civil war, all of which the children of the first proselytes use to threaten against their co-citizens. But the first authors of such a great crime have paid their penalties to such a great prince, and he who had learned from such a great emperor, his father, to pardon the subjected and subdue the haughty has been very indulgent to the rest, as if to a common nation protected by him, and exiles to both Castiles. And moreover, it has happened out of divine mercy that he who alone has the knowledge for this matter has acquired for us greater blessings out of such great evils. For God also added a new kingdom to our Philip, follower of all justice. From there he rendered Granadan soil free from heretics and schismatics and, indeed, bequeathed [Granada] to the new citizens, worshiping Christ with piety, as a perpetual inheritance. Likewise, he released the remaining Moors to liberty and made them settle in both Castiles in true piety and will permit them to land safe and unharmed without fail in a secure

[38r] The blessings that were brought forth from the rebellion of the Granadans. For [in] Matthew 7 [Luke 7:36 ff.?] God harvests figs from thorns.
port, if they come to their senses, even to heaven. But up to now certain mandates remain to be settled, as much for the Granadan exiles as for the Valencians, when the opportunity for the matter demands. In the first place I shall refer that that Algarabia be banished together with the Numidian dress from all the borders of Spain at this time so that the Muhammadan Sect completely perishes with them. From there may neither threats nor penalties be lacking for the corregidors of the cities or the public magistrates delegated by him if in such a matter they are found less vigilant, which should come to be imposed when an account of the conduct of their duty is demanded. Indeed, though this has not been said to them, let them not greatly presume, let them be admonished for the future, either on tablets given to them sealed with the royal name or by the head of the supreme senate, what kind of an account of the proselytes commissioned to them might be required of them so that they might undergo either a reward or a penalty for their labor. I wish them to so diligently handle this cause for the Catholic faith that they exercise their office with these subjects even as trained medics or surgeons, as much by freeing the infirm among them from sickness as by cutting out the rotten, so they might not be a cause of ruin and perdition for the healthy. Now in these days, when I see any elected judges being sluggish in this matter, that is, in carrying out these pragmatics opportunely issued by so great a legislator, since this is on behalf of the

Let the prefects of the cities bear the care of the Moriscos. If not, let them pay the penalty in the tribunal.
Catholic faith, as has been sufficiently proven by us above, I have not blindly approached our Philip, by whom it will be easily granted that he likewise enjoin this task for removing the dress and *Algarabia* from these New Christians upon the magistrates of the holy forum anew, completely springing forth with superstitions as if worms and disturbing the pure worship of the Christian religion with their obscenity. And so, supplicant, I beg yet again that sparing neither labor nor expense he might make better provisions for the Valencians than for the Granadans, and suddenly surround them with an armed band and at last order [them] to all mildness and civil observance, whether with threats or petitions (if it is the same), and reduce [them] by their piety to the Christian norm and salubrious pasture of the Church, as if sheep wandering from the fold of Christ. Unless this happens by the force of arms rather than the petitions of the good, our Philip will surely accomplish nothing with them. For the depraved mores of this people, their invented religion, the growing damnation of their souls, does not lie hidden from him while to Muhammad they both publically and secretly consecrate all their works, render their names, and choose to serve under him in this life so that they might go to him in the future [life]. However, although I do not dare determine or set a time beforehand (although I wish they be given to this matter more quickly), consenting it to the Valencian prelates and magistrates of the faith, I shall faithfully

The magistrates of the faith should undertake the responsibility of removing their dress and *Algarabia* from those proselytes, as selected judges of the superstitious matter.
They unanimously declare that it is necessary that this kind of banishment from the kingdom of the dress and language of the Moriscos be made, but that its execution be deferred to their Philip to be enacted by him at the opportune time. In these words they urgently request the presence as much as the authority of their Prince for entrusting such a decree not to publication but action. But now at last, having reviewed the opinions of others, we will commit to writing our opinion on the manner of executing this mandate, whether to be tempered by Philip himself or by the vicissitude of time. There are those who suggest to the royal counselors on this account that they postpone the series of royal pragmatics already once issued for the Granadans for two years and that they declare and publish it without military strength, but only the voice of the public crier, although, as we have seen, giving two years of truce only subserves plotting rebellion. And there are also others who, desiring that injury and loss against those proselytes be avoided, are won by this opinion: that if they willingly embrace the prohibition of their dress and language, together with the state of marriage or another higher, they might gradually change their old religion and skin for the better. But doubtful about admitting this condition before them, I should not subscribe to this opinion. Indeed I fear the Numidians and their descendents and those bearing gifts. Such a great matter requires both the presence Valencian gathering, held in the year 1566. And law 15 and 16, the title Judios y Moros in la nueva recopilacion

The manner for executing the prohibition of the dress and language of the Moriscos is amply discussed.

The author’s opinion on
and the authority of so great a prince on account of their poorly restrained audacity so that it might be done almost at once and not prevented by these [Moriscos], since the danger resulting from the Granadans is already useful to us. But to this extent I will now briefly join one and another method for shunning these superstitions which use to lie hidden under that dress and language, as if serpents in the grass, to the first so that we might add the colophon to our catechism, lest the reading drag forward longer than customary. I shall say to our proselytes, “Be more greatly renewed.” You have already changed your skin, taken off the carnal passions, but now renew the hardened customs of your hearts; be renewed according to the apostolic command in the spirit of your minds and adjust yourselves to your leaders and the rectors of your souls. Indeed, these very ones watch over you, as if to give an account of your souls. Therefore, if you wish to make perfect your catechesis, patiently prepare your ears to the rhythm of Christian culture. And you should not contend that your instruction happen in reverse order, that is, under the Arabic language: and indeed, it will not be expedient to your salvation, and do not wish your leaders become Arabists anew on account of your consideration so that you might ridicule their postponement. Rather, on the contrary, adjust yourselves to their vernacular. Quickly! Quickly! Join yourselves quickly to your Catholic instruction and, attentive to your salvation, keep vigilant from such a great sleep! And truly I hardly doubt that

the manner of banishing Algarabia together with the dress of the Moors.

[Ephesians 4][39v]

Hebrews 13
the bishops in our age have been most vigilant, who
gathered their priests together for gaining command of
*Algarabia* for catechizing these unlearned people. And
likewise, others of this opinion have set up a public chair
in Granada for interpreting that language. I name these
by reason of reverence and dignity, Fernando de
Talavera and Gaspar Ávalos, bishops of Granada, most
saintly according to the opinion of men. On the other
hand, Cardinal Francisco Ximénez, Bishop of Toledo,
commended greater zeal than the first, however, he
least approved the achievement the with the translation
of our books into that language. Indeed, the hardness
and innate perversity of his other proselytes then at last
led to changing his plan (as belongs to the prudent), and
made him return up to Galicia for instructing others not
so unlearned. For such a great bishop, personally
receiving Charles V, the invincible emperor, shattered
by the Algerian sea and returning to the shore of our
sea, he suggested privately in conversation between
them that he was wasting oil and effort with his
Granadan Moriscos because, retaining their dress and
language, they had still not taken off Muhammad. The
Emperor having heard this removed him a little while
afterward to the supreme see of Galicia, the High Pontiff
nodding assent before the salvation of the Galicians.
From there, a few months having passed after the
promotion, he designated him to the highest-honored
pontifical see of Toledo. But jealous death, taking away
all things, kept him back from his see as much as from
Francisco Ximénez, the
Bishop of Toledo, did
not approve of the
translation of the Holy
Books into the Arabic
tongue.

[40r]
his cardinal dignity, but it could not keep him from grasping the eternal [dignity]. Therefore, undaunted, I shall assert this: it is expedient for a particular nation surviving in a vast reign to skillfully mold itself to the rest of the citizens in practice, dress, language, and religion, and not the reverse, that account be taken for the conservation of their rites and particular language, particularly where it concerns their catechesis. “Now faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard,” as Paul has it, “comes through the word of Christ.” For indeed, Christ, with Isaiah exclaiming, “will scatter many nations and because of him kings shall stand speechless, because those who have not been told have seen and those who have not heard, have pondered it.” And the Prophet adds in the same place, “Who would believe what we have heard and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?” Paul in the introduced passage and John in his Gospel expound these words concerning the unbelieving Jews, but they are extended to all the unbelieving to whom it has been granted by God to believe, desire to work, and accomplish his work according to his good will. But God’s word to them will not cast unless they understand our language by learning it to whatever degree. According to Solomon, “Where there is no hearing, do not pour out your words,” which is said to the elders and the prelates. For the wise one says, “Being older, you may talk; certainly the first word is rightfully yours, loving wisdom.” And among other things he says below to the younger,
“Listen silently, and also seeking, in the midst of great men do not presume to speak.” But if you argue that the Apostles spoke with various tongues, the response will be readily argued that far from doubt the reasoning for issuing a new miracle has now ceased, that they make use of catechizing in every tongue just as the Apostles at the sudden coming of the Holy Spirit. For the theological school does not admit a miracle without necessity, which at that time was there for the conversion of the nations. Let this be enough for them, that the promised and sent Holy Spirit teach them those things which look to the salvation of the diverse nations, and provide teachers in each language as co-workers and aids to God. And as Saint Gregory says in these words, “Again, unless the Spirit is present to the heart of the one hearing, the speech of the doctor is vain. Therefore, let no one attribute to the man teaching what he understands from the mouth of the teacher, because unless he who teaches is inside, the doctor’s outer tongue labors for nothing.” These [words are] Gregory’s. And so in this place, too, the Holy Spirit teaches us to pray for the unbelieving and to help them with our language and power, if perchance they recover and turn from the snares of the Devil and Christ the Savior of the world heals them. But if this instantaneous change of old dress and language happens, still another good will be added to us, and not inferior to the aforementioned ones: that we might be able to look after our own heads, which are openly threatened by

The objection is solved.

Saint Gregory on the exposition of this passage, the Holy Spirit will teach you all things.

The third reason is given why that banishment should happen.
the Arabic murderer, since they are not perceived by us in time, particularly if there is one faith and piety of action together with the common idiom of tongue. Therefore, I will address and beg the Catholic and invincible Philip as long as he lives, even a thousand times, that he might judge worthy to urgently call back all the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect in his dominion to the more civil and better religion and the manner of speaking common with us by those laws issued and held in practice by him. And, therefore, it will come about that by reason of that they might convert to Christ at this acceptable time by the work of their prelates and pastors. Indeed, that model prescribed for the kings of Spain in the Sixth Council of Toledo, in the third canon (but now to be renewed), for a given oath or fulfilling one openly tends to this end.

**SUMMARY OF THE SECOND CATECHISM**

1. The two-fold renewal of the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect should be sought by the priests, interior in the spirit, exterior in dress and language.

2. Dress and Algarabia, in the case of the New Christians, abound in many superstitions, thus they should be utterly removed. All the while, let the Arabs have their rites.

3. It was for the conservation of his sect that that diabolic astuteness of Muhammad might not be translated to any other language, lest it be open to
attack, but rather defended only by the use of the sword.

4. A three-fold superstition lies beneath the feminine dress. In the first place, for the enjoined rites of the sect. Another, for practicing sexual intercourse. The last one, on account of the arrogance conceived from ruling over Spain. Thus, by how much the more superstitious, it should be that much further removed.

5. There has been no other human remedy found for the banishment of that sect except that a strict banishment of the dress of the Numidians and Algarabia take place, according to the proverb of the Moors, “With the destruction of the Arabic language, it is inevitable that the sect pass away.”

6. Let the governors of the towns be solicitous for the salvation of their proselytes and observe the series of pragmatics issued for them. If not, let them pay the penalty when an account of their duty is demanded from them.

7. Philip, Catholic King, should have had avoided it that the judges of the holy Areopagus prohibited this banishment of Moorish dress and language as a greatly superstitious matter and contrary to the simplicity and truth of the Gospel.

8. A three-fold means for banishing dress and Arabic language is described, but it is observed by the author more useful and convenient to be entrusted to the authority of our Prince for its execution.
9. The proselytes from that sect should accommodate themselves to our vulgar language so that they might be instructed by their guides in the faith of Christ.

10. *Algarabia* banished from the borders of Spain, there would be that great peace, one faith, purity of action, and, at last, many occult homicides would be avoided.

11. Let these proselytes be called back to the observance of the laws edited for them at this time, by which, held in practice, they will be well ordered to all citizenship with everyone.
THIRD CATECHISM, ON AVOIDING INVOCATION TO THE
DEVIL

A reading from Saint Paul to the Colossians 2[8-10] is presented: “See to it that no one captivate you by philosophy or vain deceit according to human tradition, according to the elements of the world and not according to Christ. For in him dwells the whole fullness of the deity and you share in this fullness in him.”

We have spoken above about the little-firm foundations on which the Muhammadan Sect depends, stands, and endures. Now something remains to be said about its first author, to what point it was plagiarized for the teaching. That open lie is well-known which is regarded in the Holy Scriptures concerning the Devil, the crafty serpent, on account of the seduction of our first parents, fabricated in this way, “You certainly will not die eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,” contrary to the word of God, “At the moment you eat from it you will surely die.” However, where the death of soul and body pursued man due to his sin, then at that time God was not only found true with man, but the Devil a liar. Therefore, here the crafty and cunning serpent, wickedly considering the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ for human salvation, as if envious from ancient days, devised a way in his power, God permitting it, in which he might destroy almost the whole world and draw it into a new error. Indeed, he then at that time saw the faith of Christ growing in the
East with the cross exalted by Emperor Heraclius and, from there, being held in the highest dignity by the Christians. From there, attentive, he contemplated the idolatry of the Gentiles overthrown, Chosroes King of the Persians, abandoned, conquered by this very emperor. For he had not only crushed the idolaters by war, he also nearly destroyed their cult, the lofty tower-like temples having been destroyed which Chosroes had erected for the veneration of his gods. Indeed, since the astute Devil could not defend the worship of many gods any longer, nor deny the law given to Moses by God, he considered a certain middle ground so that he might be able to both deceive and trap the whole world by this fetter. And in order to carry out his work, he elected for himself before others a certain son of the Devil and of falsehood, an idolater by religion, poor by fortune, haughty in mind, exalted in spirit, famous for evil works, by the name of Muhammad, whom it will always be permitted to call him Muhammad, as if “liar.” Therefore the Devil was the first author and inventor of this sect, but Muhammad its champion and promulgator. He duly executed his office with his fortune telling, incantations, [and] illusions, the arts of his Master. For since the Devil was the prince of darkness, he thoroughly taught such a disciple in these arts and he established him as another Cham, father of the Arabic Gentiles. Also, consequently, Muhammad’s lust advanced to such a degree that he [the Devil] dared to transfigure himself into an angel of light and portray him Cham [Ham] begat Chus [Cush], from which the Arabs proceed. Noah cursed him. Thus according to Diodorus,
among his barbarians as a messenger of God for spreading his sect. Truly the defecating-demon appeared so intimate that, even when not called by him, he swore allegiance to him in his art of incantation in almost everything, his voice, presence, aid, and advice, and also to never abandon him when called. Why do I marvel at these things? Both Arabias were deceived by this impostor by the art of the Devil, likewise a great part of Africa overturned, and all of Numidia. If they had embraced Christ, they toppled in a moment and fell from their ecclesiastical discipline by choosing and following the false sect of one man. In this deception they are now miserably trapped and, together with their sect, they will see the times of the perfidious Antichrist. Muhammad will suffer the consequences, because he favored the Devil, because he adhered to pure falsehood, because he indulged in turpitude, because he placed the darkness before the light, because, at last, he exalted himself to so great an exaltation and pride with his Devil. But this is not marvelous to the Apostle. “Even Satan transfigures himself into an angel of light,” it is therefore not marvelous if his ministers are transfigured just as if ministers of justice. But so that Devil does not catch us off guard, the Apostle says to us what [he] once [said] to the Colossians, “See to it that no one captivate you by philosophy and vain deceit according to human tradition, according to the elements of the world and not according to Christ,” as if he wishes to say, “Keep the doctrine whole and uncorrupted which

book 4, chapter 5,
Lactanius, book 2, chapter 14, Caelius
Rhodiginus, book 22, chapter 2.

This sect will see the Antichrist, as many opine.

2 Corinthians 11[14]

The thematic passage is explained.
you have received from me. Follow the Apostolic laws and traditions, show your faith in which you in which you are rooted firm in all things, add the possession of all charity and virtue so that all of you perceive that which you have elected in your received faith to follow. And so keep it perfect so that you might praise the Benefactor through all things and remain in thanksgiving. Moreover I say this again, just as I had said before, “Let no one captivate you” in the sublimity of words “through philosophy,” that is, admirable and skilled oration for persuading; “or by vain deceit,” that is, the unnecessary and harmful tradition of perfidious men; “or by the elements of the world,” that is, the observation of days; namely, days and nights come forth from the sun and the moon; “and by the elements of the world,” and creatures produced by God. A grave crime is committed against God when they are worshiped as gods. Therefore, he warns them that they remain awake and sober in faith and all those things that look to it, greatly aware so that they might completely oppose all those who attempt to turn them from the faith, since they have been separated from Christ by their unbelief or perfidy or apostasy, and now at last miserably fettered by either the Mosaic laws or the rituals of the Gentiles. And so no one should hope in the antiquated law and the vain superstitions of the Gentiles, but rather firmly place all their hope and Christian confidence in Christ as the true promulgator of the Evangelical law, “For in him dwells the whole [43v] So [it is according to] Saint Anselm on this passage.
fullness of the deity bodily, and you share in this fullness in him.” This is the method of Saint Paul to be weighed carefully and carried out by us. Here the Apostle calls Christ the head of the Church, containing all the fullness of grace and divinity communicated to us by him, just as John who had seen him openly testifies, and therefore he depicts the person of Christ and his virtue as if by a paint brush wishing to distinguish the wide difference of the old law and Evangelical grace and reveal the vain worship of the gods of the Gentiles. He thus has it concerning the person of Christ, “In him dwells the whole fullness of the deity bodily.” Concerning the Mosaic Law he inserts, “The law brought no one to perfection.” He submits concerning the worship of idols consisting in the elements of the world to be “vain deceit and tradition of men according to the elements of the world.” And indeed, Christ did not receive any single grace given to him according to measure, as Moses once [did], but the fullness of grace so that he himself, who is the head of both churches, might fill up others with his grace and divinity. The pastors thoroughly reading these things so that they might reach for the desirable goal will more fully express this collation made by the Apostle as suggested until their disciples firmly learn it. Indeed, their faith placed in Moses and, likewise, Muhammad will lead them to nothing. For Muhammad followed the Mosaic Law in almost everything, as much in frequent ablutions as in temporal promises. For and in fact, unless the Jews

frequently wash their hands they do not eat bread and, returning from the market, they are exteriorly purified by elemental water, which the Moors imitate as if apes, and they employ five ablutions a day for purifying venial sins, as if elemental water had the power even for affecting the soul. From there that land of promise for sleeping with women and broadening the dominion of the tribes promised by God did not pertain whatsoever to the reward of the eternal mountains. Muhammad wrongly understanding depicted a paradise of delight for his barbarians flowing with milk and honey, in which he imagined virgins to be produced from the branches of trees for satisfying their lust. Therefore, food and drink and the enjoyment of virgins, or their combination, are forged together for a carnal beatitude, and it was not fashioned for the soul, [but] according to the elements of this world, and not according to Christ. And if the light of the sun or the moon intervenes in that beatitude, they venerate both the sun by day and the moon by night as if gods. This will be the greatest iniquity, which that holy and likewise patient Job utterly curses and reviles, saying, “If I looked upon the sun as it shone, or the moon in the splendor of its progress, and my heart was secretly enticed to waft them a kiss with my hand, which is an utmost crime and denial before God Most High, then let my arm fall from my shoulder and my forearm be broken with its bones.” Let every trained pastor see in what way the demented Muhammad follows the elements of the world and not in that same place the purification of cups and jugs.

The paradise of Muhammad established in the elements of the world.

Job 31[26-28, 22]

[44v]
Christ, in which that vain sect consists. But let us refer all these things to the Devil who shrinks back and knows how to make others shrink back from God to the mute elements and creatures of the world. He captures these, he renders them turned around, already previously turned from God. However, may the pastor not count their loss, let them join unto them reproof from the words of the Apostle: “See to it beloved children that no one captivate you by empty philosophy or vain deceit according to the elements of the world. For when we were children, we were slaves under the elements of the world, but when the fullness of time came, God sent his son, born of a woman, born under the law, so that he might ransom those who were under the law so that we might receive,” under Christ and not under legal ceremonies or the vain rites of the Gentiles, “the adoption of sons.” For these things said of the Jews should be extended by the pastors to the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect, for indeed it is of little benefit to follow the elements of either Moses or Muhammad and to thoroughly honor the vain ceremonies, signifying absolutely nothing, of either. To be sure, let the pastors both fully instruct these proselytes in the faith and draw them back from the worship of idols. So that they might more easily accomplish this, I will quickly run through their elements, kinds of idolatry, [and] various rites of ceremonies with a brief discussion. We have discussed the worship of *latria* furnished by the worshipers of this

Galatians 4[3-5]
sect to the sun and the moon, the great celestial luminaries, which they will contend is due to the only God, one and three, so that they might not exchange the glory of God and assign what is particular to God to these very creatures. This is attributed to the Ishmaelites as a crime and disgrace, “They exchanged the glory of God for the image of a grass-eating beast,” although they knew their God had always indignantly spoken of this when he had said, “I am the Lord, this is my name, and I will not give my glory to another and my praise to idols.” From there, may they not suffer to take up the beginnings of their votive offerings from the Devil. Indeed, the Devil demands it from them so that he might both be regarded and worshiped as their God. The malign defecating-demon has a thousand names and a thousand arts for harming, and he who once taught the Gentiles to hunt certain birds [and] from them good or bad omens, so now he makes the proselytes from this sect hasten back to certain demonic incantations so that they consult their God and seek from him the beginnings of things and answers. Surely they have still not exchanged the skin of Muhammad, nor taken off their old customs; they worship Muhammad’s demon in a thousand ways as God and look to his ambiguous promises. Now by these elements and also dead birds and cast-lots, they perform various incantations and call the demons to their matters. Now, too, they place some dancing beans in a certain number on the table and, attentive, they consider their sudden...
movement or rest for carrying out any matter whatsoever. And indeed they do not go forth for waging war unless they have been thrown. They search for all divination whether by empty dreams or casting lots, or simply by birds standing or flying in the sky. They visit witches at any moment, many of which that false sect of Satan has, taught in every art for wisely casting spells, from which they learn the passings of future matters, after these very ones have been deceived by the Devil. And at last they consult the God Accaron, that is, the God of Muhammad, and they spurn the triune and only God thundering from the heavens in all things. Therefore, they will hear the voice of God, which upon hearing their ears will ring and their hearts tremble with fear. “Thus says the Lord to Ahaziah, king of Samaria, because you sent messengers to inquire of Baalzebub god [of] Alccaron, as if there were no God in Israel from whom you could ask a word, thus you shall not leave the bed upon which you have lied, instead you shall die.” Behold the temporal penalty for such a great crime imposed on Ahaziah, on whom it would endure eternal if he did not quickly come to his senses by the fear he conceived. But these two things openly threaten them who seek and listen to the Devil by the aforementioned arts and carry through his answer, full of every treachery and falsehood. So then, when that King Alfonso XI was trying to route these demonic arts from Spain, he issued such a law in our vernacular idiom: “Qualesquier que va a los adeuinos, o Baruch 3[17], they amuse themselves in the birds of the air, that is, they search for omens and portents. [4 Kings 1:16, Vulgate; 2 Kings 1:16, NAB] [4 Kings 1:16, Vulgate; 2 Kings 1:16, NAB] 4 Proofs. [45v] Book 6, title 15 De las penas en el ordenamiento real. Law 6. Canon 4, the Altisiodoren Council. The same in the Illibert. Council, canon 62, De auguribus, &
cree en sus falsos dichos, es caso de heregia, y la mitad de sus bienes son para nuestra camara” [Whoever goes to the diviners or believes in their false sayings, it is a case of heresy, and half of his goods belong to our chamber]. According to canon 4 of the Altisiodoren Council, it has it thus: “It is not right to gaze at fortune tellers or auguries, or to look on impressed letters or lots that they call of the saints, or which they make out of wood or from bread. Rather, whatever a man wishes to do let him do everything in the name of the Lord.” But the Catholic king Juan whose title [was] II increased the penalty for fortune-tellers and augurs after he applies a long prohibition confirmed in passages of both testaments in this way: “¡Y porque mejor sea guardado, mando a los Alcaldes, e Iusticias de qualquier ciudad, villa, o lugar, doquier que fallaren los tales malhechores, que los maten, seyendoles probado por testigos, o por confession de los mismos” [And so that it be better obeyed, I command all the governors and judges from any city, village, or place, wherever such criminals are found, that they kill them, being proven against them by witnesses or by the confession of the same]. But nevertheless the invocation of demons that tastes of heresy is that which occurs for evil since he who conjures Satan believes him to have authority by himself for working without intermediary and with active power, not permissive. For “All power is from God,” and unless God regards himself permissively with the Devil as minister of his justice, as we read the case of Job, he
cannot execute anything by himself, nor inflict any harm whatsoever, or even aggravate sickness. And it is sometimes allowed that demons foretell future things, inflict sicknesses on human bodies, occasionally heal the sick; this is not done by their virtue, but by divine permission so that it is revealed what condition they are in faith and devotion towards God. In the Old Law, God has given surety concerning this cause so that the people do not rush together to the false prophets; and, concerning the penalty with which they should come to be punished, under these words: “If there arises among you a prophet or a dreamer who promises you a sign or wonder, and what he has spoken comes to pass, and he says to you, ‘let us go and follow other gods,’ whom you have not known, ‘and let us serve them,’ pay no attention to the words of that prophet or that dreamer; for the Lord, your God, is testing you to learn whether you really love him or not with all your heart and with all your soul. The Lord, your God, shall you follow, and him shall you fear; his commandments shall you observe, and his voice shall you heed, him you shall serve and to him alone shall you hold fast.” By these words it is apparent that those words are not spoken according to God by the diviners. If they come to pass, they should not for that reason be accepted as if they are effected by the Devil by his own power, but, rather, they come about with God permitting so that he learns the love of man towards himself by experience and weighs the fully merited penalty or


Saint Augustine, volume 3, Book 11 Super gen. Chapter 12, and the Magister in 2, dis. 21, and the Doctors there. Saint Thomas, 2.2, q. 96 through article 4, and
reward for his labor. Concerning that prophet the Lord has said thus: “Now that prophet or that dreamer shall be put to death, because he has preached that you turn from the Lord, your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt and ransomed you from that house of slavery.” Behold the manifest difference described by Moses between the wonders of the false prophet and the Highest God. Indeed, Moses compares the first signs with the latter and distinguishes them in three ways. First, because the false prophet, actually a dreamer, issues those, but these God himself thundering from heaven. Those deeds have been done as a mouse trap and snare for men, but these for the liberty of those who are trapped in miserable captivity. Those have happened by divine permission, but these, with God their author, go out in the world for his glory and human salvation. And just as those ancient prodigies were then once advantageous for the unbelieving people for attributing faith and religion to God, so these which are displayed in the new document issued to us by Christ will surely suffice for supplying firm agreement with matters of faith, and others should not be desired by these proselytes without necessity. So then, grounded and well founded in faith, as Paul wishes us all to be, now at last it is time for everyone to be separated from the signs issued by the Devil as false and to be thoroughly cursed. Therefore, let our proselytes for whom we labor say farewell with his signs and portents to the wisely enchanting Devil and mindful to what [46v] In a homily by Saint Maximus for the feast day of the Apostles Peter and Paul.
extent the princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, dragged Simon the Magician to the ground on account of that very element and dashed [him] against the rock so that with his feet broken against the rock he might renounce further flight. Now moreover, the priests of Christ have authority for treading serpents, expelling enchanting demons, removing all divination or superstition from their midst, and, finally, since the insignia of the royal and priestly dignity have been bestowed upon them by God and poured out by the Holy Spirit, exercising their authority against demons, they will exercise these duties. And more still, they will not flee terrified from those armed against one man. Namely, “Christ gave them power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and the twelve having been summoned Jesus gave them power and authority over all demons and to cure diseases, and he sent them to proclaim the kingdom of God and to heal the sick.” However, with the demons vainly scoffing at men and expelled by the Apostles at the saying of his name, rejoicing, the Apostles returned to Christ and said, “Lord, even the demons are subjected to us.” To whom, so they might not be suddenly reproached for the exaltation, Christ said on the spot, “Nevertheless, do not rejoice because the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice because your names are written in heaven.” And concerning the case of the Devil, as if a well-known example, he said thus, “I have observed Satan fall like lightning from the sky,” as if he said, “I do not wish you Luke 9[1-2] and 10[17-20] Saint Thomas 2.2, q. 96 through ar. 4, and
to be suddenly dragged to ruin, haughty on account of this granted power, as once the demons.” On account of this the pastors will forbid to their proselytes, as quickly as they can, this rite of notorious superstition of wisely casting spells on account of the power given to them. And they will cause those deceived by the Devil to stand before their bishops or the judges of the faith so that they might learn the penalty imposed by them whom they should invoke in their necessities, whether Christ Jesus the savior of the whole world or the demon of Muhammad, envying and opposing their salvation. For this rite of invoking the Devil tastes of heresy and tends to the aforementioned judges who investigate by their coercion the use and ministry of the Devil, whom they should punish not only with barking, but also with the pastoral staff so that they might proclaim all the laws, as in the chapter *Ut officium Inquisitoris*, in the beginning of *De haereticis*, Book 6. And in the chapter *Excommunicamus*, § *adiicium*, by the same title. And in *Clamentae I*, § *Sane de usuris*, and in many other passages. Truly, that decree of the Lateran Council under Innocent III openly witnesses how great a degree of diligence should be required by bishops in punishing those suspected of heresy: “If any Bishop is negligent or relaxed about purifying the ferment of heretical depravity from his diocese, when it is evident by certain proofs, let him by deposed from the episcopal office and another qualified man who desires and is able to confound the heretical depravity be substituted in his

Navarro in his *Summa*, can. 11, *De colendo vere Deum*, § 19 through to 42.

Laws against those who invoke demons or enchanters brought together by Arnaldus Albertinus, q. 11 through its entirety.
place.” These things in the same passage, canon 3, and again in the chapter Ad abolendam, De haereticis.

And it will not be enough for the pastors, as often as the opportunity presents itself by way of suggestion, to refute the aforementioned rites of foretelling, seeking omens, casting lots, and invoking demons, as vain and diametrically opposed to the Christian religion, but now, too, they will resolutely take care to strive that they be shackled from such great vanities, namely, this art, so that on the appointed days of Venus they encircle the houses, and, as if doing something else, they secretly observe and listen to what they are doing, what counsel they try to reach with their women or children for fulfilling their wishes. Indeed, that royal mandate on leaving the doors open on these days tended to this: that those passing by and especially priests and public magistrates, whose duty it is to mend these injuries, learned to avoid them by their presence. So too there was a prohibition of the baths issued then by the Prince for a similar reason, since certainly it has agreed to this very testimony: to what degree the aforementioned baths served these proselytes for their superstitions, impurities, and sexual acts. Therefore let that proverb say to these very ones, “Proselytes, avoid the baths, ‘Indeed, what does a dog have to do with a bath, if you are going to return there to the vomit of the Muhammadan Sect?’” In addition, that curiosity or contemplation of the new moon or consideration of it, with a special devotion

[47v] In the royal pragmatic of the year 1566 for the Granadan Moriscos. Two proverbs declared to the proselytes. In what manner the adoration of the moon should be avoided.
attached (to which the motion, diversity, generation, and corruption of these lower things they attribute), should be completely forbidden to them so they do not render to a creature what is only due to God, namely, glory and honor. From there it is necessary for the pastors to recognize their manner of praying toward the first star or the moon, appearing a superstition to us, so that as often as they see them turned to the moon they then distract them from prayer either by mutual conversation or, if they are certain concerning the completion of such a rite at that time, they severely attack them and make them stand before the judges so that they learn to worship Christ Jesus from the heart by the imposed penalty, not, moreover, the sun or the moon. Indeed, the condition of Almighty God should be made known to them, who says through Isaiah his prophet, “My glory I give to no other, nor my praise to idols,” and indeed no creature will be purer or more worthy than its creator. At last, on account of time let the beloved pastors advise their parishioners that they keep themselves from the game of dice, which they call Tabā, held in use by them for executing their fortune-telling and acts of augury, and also from their beans for casting lots, unless they wish to lose their game, more correctly, a temporal thing, and their life. Now too they will remove from their midst the use of other games, if superstition or military training invents them (as is that [game] of the throwing of stones for breaking the sweet cane so that from there, certain, the stone throwers

Prayer towards the moon is considered superstitious.

Isaiah 42[8]

The game of dice should be banished with others, as it is held in Decretis. 33, q. 2, c. Si per sortiarias. And in Sixtus V’s own motion, which begins Caeli, & terae, & ca.
might escape before the wrath of men by attacking from afar), whether by interchange or judicial authority, by which they might turn them attentive to mutual charity and fraternity. These have presented themselves to us, our pastors will easily learn the rest for shunning the superstitious rites and incantations of the demons, either from the very proselytes returning to their vomit, or from the reading of the doctors writing against the incantations of the demons, which they will, attentive, altogether banish so that they might make their subjects true proselytes, imitating Christ and abjuring Muhammad in all things. All these things are strictly prohibited in Sixtus V’s, High Pontiff, own motion, published in Rome on the ninth day of the month of January of this year 1586, and the matter falls to the Bishops or Inquisitors of heretical depravity by the order of such a great Pontiff.

SUMMARY OF THE THIRD CATECHISM

1. The Sect of Muhammad was published by him by demonic incantations, for the Devil taught his Muhammad this art.

2. The paradise of Muhammad, invented by the Devil, consists in carnal delights, by which it lures barbarous and unlearned men.

3. Those who have already been reborn in Christ and through Christ should cast out Satan and his arts of incantation and augury from their soul.
4. The penalties against diviners and enchanters are contained in the Old Law, and the human laws and Pontifical increase those penalties still.

5. Certain diviners and enchanters are heretics, certain ones are not, from where they should be distinguished for imposing penalties.

6. Let priests and spiritual rectors read the authors attacking those evil arts so that they might learn to refute and fight them.

7. The pastors are advised by us concerning many rites pertaining to these arts so that they might recognize them and act to punish those using them.
And the reading is taken up from Saint Paul to the Galatians, 5[1-3]: “Stand firm and do not submit again to the yoke of slavery. Behold, I, Paul, am telling you that if you are circumcised, Christ will be of no benefit to you. Again I declare to every man circumcising himself that he is bound to observing the entire law.”

Since that concerning the renewal of these proselytes according to Christ is eminently in our prayers, that they put him on and imitate him interiorly and exteriorly, I should vehemently desire that they are reborn by perfect circumcision in Christ, the spiritual alone, the carnal despised, now harmful and deadly to the them. For although they are called children of Abraham through Ishmael, the aforementioned circumcision will be abundantly sufficient for their spiritual regeneration so that they now too may be considered spiritual children of so great a patriarch through faith in Christ. And now so that they are rightly called not Ishmaelites, Hagarens, [or] Saracens, but Christians, as reborn in Christ, formed in the faith of Abraham and well rooted in Christ the son of Abraham, to whom recompense of the eternal mountains has been promised by God. Indeed there are children of Abraham in a three-fold distinction: first Isaac, another Ishmael, the rest from Ketura the concubine, by whom the holy doctors relate something allegorically.

They were called Sarakans [Sarracani] from the province Saraka, not Saracens [Sarracenii], except by corrupted speech. For they consider their lineage from Hagar, not, still, from Sarah.
For as many as are the children of the Church, as many are [the children] of Abraham. “One alone is my dove, my perfect one, the only one of her mother, the chosen of her progenitress.” And afterwards it shows how it will be found among others as appearing more honored and more excellent than all and ruling over all and the only one chosen for him, whose free heirs are of this spouse and truly free as able children of the promise and not children of the slave woman and not of a concubine, nor of any other servants without number. I mean that although Abraham had children by his concubine Ketura, they are not thus co-heirs with his son Isaac. Truly they received gifts of bequest by name, by which a certain figure might remain as an allegory of the divine word so that no one might despair of the calling of Christ. For the gifts that he gave to Ishmael and the children of Ketura were a figure of the good things to come for the conversion of their souls to faith and truth. Indeed, Abraham gave to this very Hagar, a slave and driven out by him as someone who would serve below in Jerusalem with her children, rather significantly on account of his hope of her return, a skin of water, by which he might reveal the strength of the bath of regeneration that was given to the incredulous for the gift of life and the conversion of all the Gentiles to the knowledge of the truth. But to the children of Ketura were these gifts, presents of money, gold and silver and clothing. And in a mystery Abraham enclosed in the satchels of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah

[49v] [Song of Songs 6:8, Vulgate; 6:9, NAB]
Saint Epiphanius, Book 3, Contra haereses, volume 2, folio 482, so explains.

What the skin of water given to Hagar by Abraham, when she was cast out by him, signifies.
frankincense, myrrh, and gold when Chedorlaomer and Birsha and the other kings were driven into captivity by the Sodomites and they plundered the wealth of money and a multitude of other things from each one, which Abraham then returned by the slaughter of the kings. And he did not dare to destroy those things which were already dedicated to God, but rather he gave this with other things as a gift to his children by Ketura, as we find in the traditions of the Hebrews. But truly at the coming of Christ, when these very children of Abraham by Ketura, who had been rejected by him and had settled in the Arabic regions of the country of Magodia, the Magi, who descended from the succession of their seed, brought the very same presents to the baby Christ in Bethlehem in participation of that very same hope when upon observing the star they came to adore him. These things [are from] Saint Epiphanius. While we discover and read these things, as if excavating treasure, our gladdened heart is greatly strengthened in the undertaken labor and our staff is exalted for taking up these brothers in the faith of Christ who, regarding their lineage either from Hagar or Ketura, come once formerly converted to the true faith or now for some time should come to be converted. Guided by these good birds and omens, I shall begin to say, “Stand firm and do not submit again to the yoke of slavery” so that perchance something bad not happen to you as once to the Galatians, reprimanded by Paul. Indeed you are now free after a very favorable admittance to the faith

From where the offerings of the Magi might have proceeded, which they brought to Christ. The Pauline passage is applied.
of Christ was given to you from above with true evangelical liberty. Therefore, remain in it until death and do not submit again to the yoke of slavery. Indeed before the yoke of idols and the rites of the false sect imprisoned you. And now, why do you wish to subject your necks to such a great yoke of dread and grave slavery even though you have learned by experience that burden [is] the gravest of all? Do not, I beg you a thousand times, submit again to such a great yoke of slavery, and not per chance the abolished rite of circumcision alone, which leads to all the slavery of the law and to miserable perdition. Indeed, Paul says to you, who is of known authority among you, as someone capable he learned this Gospel not from man but by Christ, “If you are circumcised,” as you are accustomed to doing, “Christ will be of no benefit to you.” Pay attention to the threatening danger from the now abolished rite. Although you have been reborn in Christ and buried with him through baptism into his death, if you make use of circumcision, your regeneration will be of no moment whatsoever, coupled with circumcision, because this carnal circumcision is of no benefit whatsoever, rather, indeed, it is greatly harmful to all those making use of it, with whatever intention it may be done. For if someone is circumcised only in imitation of his parents, the detachment of that foreskin will not be any more beneficial than the cutting of the nails or the hair. But if [it is in] observance of his old

[50v] Circumcision is not useful after baptism, Castro so proves in Liber contra haereses. Verbo lex, haeresis 1.
religion, since the promise of that law has been abolished and the power of the law emptied and the completion of that rite, now vain and futile, signifies absolutely nothing, it plainly brings spiritual death to the one who uses it. But if as a devout man he wishes to shed some blood from his prepuce on account of imitating Christ and take on such great pain on account of the example of Christ, since that sign prefigured Christ to come, it seems false and from there lethal to anyone making use of it. For if these prophetic sacraments were preserved after the coming of Christ, either Christ would come again for that which was promised or it was never promised in them. But neither of these should be said, since what they prefigured they testify that they have already come and that the sacramental bath of baptism which they prefigured has plainly succeed in the place of this sacrament. Therefore let whoever keeps that shadow of the Old Law know that he opposes himself against the evangelical truth, since circumcision is now a fatal sign, beneficial to no one, but harmful to everyone. In fact, Christ has now died for us for no reason if it is asserted that by that law justice or justification is accomplished; the Apostle understands the same thing. On the contrary, if it prefigures something to be fulfilled, so then Christ will come again to die and make satisfaction to his eternal Father in order to not only purge those sacraments, but also even now provide his true faith to

Saint Anselm seems to condemn the error of Cajetan, which Pius V determined to be scratched from his commentaries on the 3rd part of Saint Thomas Aquinas.
these who preach circumcision even up to this time.

And I will not only say to you, adds Paul, that if you are circumcised Christ will not be any benefit to you, but indeed I testify to every man circumcising himself, whether Jew or a follower of Muhammad, that he is a debtor to fulfilling the entire law, just as he who has received baptism remains committed to the observation of the Gospel. As if he wishes to openly say that not only one evil from circumcision will be added to you, certainly this, that the baptism received will provide nothing for you for salvation, but something greater: for now it will be necessary for you to undertake the law of old servitude so that even unwilling you must perform all the precepts of the law, although you freely chose the one to be admitted of renewing circumcision. But pressed down by such a great burden, you will quickly give way; but if you thirst to be lifted up and called anew to Evangelical liberty, holding circumcision in contempt, it will entirely come about by the divine mercy. The Apostle has spoken to this extent with his Galatians, but directing his words to all nations Saint Peter advances these reproving words, as if scolding them: “Why, then, are you putting God to the test by placing on the shoulders of the disciples a yoke that neither our ancestors nor we have been able to bear? On the contrary, we believe that we are saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, in the same way as they.” To this very firm decree all the Apostles attending the council subscribed, and they sent Judas and Silas to the council of the Apostles.
brothers so that they might refer the same things in their name, “Indeed it has seemed [best] to the Holy Spirit and to us not to place on you any burden beyond these necessities, that you abstain from meat sacrificed to idols, from blood, from the meat of strangled animals, and from fornication. Keeping free of these things, you will do well.” Behold circumcision banished by the Church of Christ and certain things prohibited as evil, the rest they allowed as [it would be] a cause of ruin for others at the time of the early Church. Moreover, after this decree, issued and promulgated by the Holy Spirit and such a council, I know not what moved that imposter, or even with his finger placed over his lips, to dissimulate in the renewal of this rite, since it is not found as a precept in his Qur’an. But whatever might have moved him to this occasion, I have chosen to write some words collected from his writings below for the benefit of the reader so I do not seem amiss. Muhammad, I quote, boasts among everyone to have Abraham as his father, concerning which he has many things in his Qur’an, and because he is called the father of many nations, he designates his Hagarens and Saracens as children of this great father, first conceived by Hagar, afterwards by Sarah. For he himself inverted both the order of the sacred page and the dignity due to Sarah, and he placed the Hagarens before the rest of the Saracens in honor and dignity, as if there is more due to Ishmael than to Isaac himself, the heir of the Patriarch by his own decision. Therefore, since

[Acts 15:28-29]

The explanation of the Apostolic decree. [51v]

Guillermus, Book 4, precept 8, which is the last one given by Muhammad. Two errors of Muhammad are attacked.
he either read or heard from others that circumcision had been handed on by Abraham and it was performed by the Jews on the eighth day after the birth of an infant, he wished this to be observed by his followers apart from the setting of its day so that they might be recognized as children of Abraham by this exterior sign. Muhammad gave his devout this command afterwards, not by a written passage, but by word, as if by the precept of a living voice. And they religiously or superstitiously retain it to this day, and they suppose that it should never be violated or overlooked at the moment of life. But since there is a double circumcision, the first carnal, the second spiritual, it is defined which of these should be observed by Saint Paul in the letter which was sent to the Colossians. To these he says thus, “In Christ Jesus, in whom dwells all the fullness of the Divinity, you were circumcised with a circumcision not administered by hand in the despoiling of the carnal body, but with the circumcision of Christ, buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised through faith.” For since that sacrament more effectively bore the figure of baptism than it offered the power of sanctifying in itself, it held more mystery in figure than it promised in face. From which all who are reckoned reborn and buried with Christ through baptism are called to spiritual circumcision with the Apostle, having despised the earlier carnal [circumcision]. Indeed the Apostle advances thus, you have already been filled with the

Saint Thomas 1.2., q. 102, article 5 to 1, teaches why circumcision was given to Abraham.

The double circumcision, carnal and spiritual, from Romans, chapter 3.

Colossians 2[11-12]

Saint Augustine, sermon 5 on the words of the Apostle and Psalm 118, and Saint Jerome, his book De vera circumcisione, Epistle 20 Ad Thesariam.
spiritual blessings of Christ Jesus and bathed with a participation in his divinity, in which you have been circumcised. You do not therefore have need to be greatly observant of these ceremonies of the Old Law, but firmly hold to the faith of Christ formed by charity that suffices for the salvation of all, and let no one separate you from this faith, “For even if I or an angel from heaven should preach another gospel to you other than the one that has been preached by me, let him be accursed.” Indeed the resurrection of Christ, which indeed happened on the third day from his passion, but on the eighth in the days of that Jewish week, this very [resurrection] spiritually circumcised you, not carnally. And therefore you have been spiritually circumcised with this great circumcision of Christ, and buried with him in baptism, and mortified to the vices and desires of the flesh so that, made co-participants in the baptism of his burial, you might also be co-participants of his resurrection and his new way of life. For and in fact the triple immersion of baptism appears as an image of the triduum of Christ’s burial so that everyone who is committed to the water, as if to the grave in imitation of Christ, might completely die at that time to sin so that he might rise to mighty works, “For what a man sows he will also reap, because he who sows these ceremonies of the carnal sect in his flesh will certainly reap corruption from his flesh, but he who sows in the spirit, from the spirit he will reap eternal life.” And they do not wish to be circumcised so that they might boast in

Galatians 1[8]

Galatians 6[7-8]

[52v]
your flesh, “But let it be far from me to boast except in
the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,” as if he wishes to say,
“All these pseudo-prophets now imposing circumcision
under precept, which Muhammad followed, will boast
in this matter, which faith you have surrendered to their
words, cutting away the superfluous flesh of your
prepuce. But I, on the contrary, by far I will boast that I
have preached Christ to you, that I have begat you
again, that I have freed you from carnal circumcision,
which you use to observe, and I have called you back
with all my nerves and the might of my preaching in
time.” And let me not wish that you undertake such
care for a separated foreskin so that allowing the lower
skin of your members to be drawn together by some
medicinal art by an instrument of attraction, called a
spathister, and by glue belonging to a bookbinder you
might superimpose the foreskin anew. Indeed this art is
of no benefit to the body and greatly harms the soul,
“Was someone called after he had been circumcised?
He should not reattach the foreskin. Was someone
uncircumcised called? He should not be circumcised.
Circumcision is nothing, and un-circumcision is nothing,
but rather the observation of God’s commandments.
The state in which someone is called he should remain
in it, whether servant or free.” The pastors will extend
all these things to the proselytes, committed to them on
account of their care and piety. And they will oppose
themselves more bravely against Muhammad so he
does not boast in his circumcision. Truly these very ones

Muhammad followed
the pseudo-prophets.

Saint Epiphanius, book
De pond. & mensuris,
commands that this
should be shunned.

1 Corinthians 7[18-21]
if they curse carnal circumcision on account of the enjoined duty according to the example of the Apostle placed right before their eyes, they are able to boast in the most highly extolled law, as if carrying back victory over Muhammad, and expect abounding recompense from God. Oh if only I might merit to procure from God what I insistently request, that he might pour out the gift of his grace on these proselytes for recovering and freely give the apostolic spirit to their pastors undertaking their salvation too little or not at all so that salvation might be granted to the [proselytes] and abundant recompense before God to the [pastors]. But although I wish them to be solicitous in this matter, I desire even more that they become more greatly solicitous in handling another which presents itself to them, namely, in guarding against the carnal circumcision of boys or infants. Concerning this they should come to be warned by us so that they carefully observe the recently born infants or already reborn by baptism with their own eyes, if they were either born circumcised or made so by the hands of their parents. For and in fact there is great significance between this and that, since the first is given by the fault of nature, but the other by the abuse and malice of their perfidious parents. Certainly mutilated and maimed nature which the seed emits from each part of the body customarily gives that which it has and meanwhile, if it is capable in strength, strives to supply the lack so that, capable, it strains to produce perfect offspring. If
therefore some come forth into this light observed with divided skin in the prepuce so that such a fault might be ascribed to nature and not the parents, let it be noted with letters in a book for the initiating of children at baptism when the purified child is raised up from the holy font. From there the pastors will govern the care as much of these children as of others so that even hanging from the breasts they visit [them] so their parents do not dare to perform the bloody rite on their children. Moreover, this zeal will endure in the pastors through the whole time of his infancy so that the parents, alienated from the faith of Christ, do not dare attempt anything evil against him. If moreover they extend their most pious care to childhood, I will praise them all the more besides, as long as such visitation is done with reasoned caution and without scandal. Indeed, much will have to be supplied in time for both Christian piety and the salvation of their subjects by their pastors. But if the perfidious parents, solicitous for the perversion of their children, know it and try to carry the boys off from the Church, let the pastors attack them with their sword stretched out and compel the parents with their children to enter into receiving catechesis. For and in fact wicked men hate to sin out of fear of a penalty, just as good men guided by the love of virtue. And I do not see what danger lies hidden under cautiously and prudently employing this diligence of the pastors, for it will be very prudent for both parents and children and they will keep themselves at

Sometimes infants are born circumcised.

[53v]
that time from these ceremonies and the children
reborn in Christ will avoid both the pain of the detached
foreskin and the great danger of Hell. But if this pious
solicitude provides too little, the penalties established in
law will compel the parents as much as the children to
return to their reason. There exists concerning this
matter an ancient decree from the Fourth Toledan
Council under these words: “Jews lifted to the faith of
Christ who administer these circumcisions to be
detested and other Jewish customs, let them be
corrected by pontifical authority and called back to the
religion of Christian truth. Moreover, those whom they
circumcise, if they are their children, let them be
separated from the fellowship of their parents. If slaves,
let them be handed over to liberty on account of the
abuse of their body.” Now concerning the Jews still not
converted to the faith of Christ, dashing into a similar
offense, the fathers in the Aurelian Council issued an
opportune decree in which the same penalties are
assessed to those circumcising their slaves or proselytes
under these words: “Furthermore we declare this to be
observed, that if any Jew presumes to make a proselyte,
who is termed a neophyte, into a Jew or lead a born
Christian to the Jewish superstition, either if the Jew
believes his Christian slave should be joined to him, or if
he makes a child born of Christian parents a Jew under
the promise of liberty, let him be fined by the loss of his
slaves.” And in the Eighth Toledan Council, the last
canon, it is defined under these words, “That the
decrees held in the Fourth Toledan Council in the said canon and others following on the Jews must be kept.”

These things should be turned back against these New Christians who have come to us from the Muhammadan Sect. And however many are wanting and hesitate in the filth of their sect should be corrected by pontifical authority, just as it has been decreed. Two things from this penal model worthy of drawing our attention will come to mind for the reader. One is bequeathing the penalty to be inflicted to pontifical judgment, and still another the precedent of the judgment holding good in a mixed offense, especially if the bare crime of the imposed circumcision is discovered. Certainly in what manner the boys will have to be separated from their perfidious parents and to what men or women given will have to be discussed in its place and time. However, now, what should be done concerning circumcised slaves remains, which is defined in the canon, since there is a greater abuse against the offended body and marked with the false sign than there is loss of money. But now it will be necessary for the rectors to turn to the catechesis of these who are circumcised, vigilant for their souls, and learn from them, namely, in what things of faith they have been perverted and wrongly taught by their masters, as much so that their masters suffer punishment as expiation as even now these very ones (having been conceded indulgence, if it should be conceded) might be called back to the Christian truth. Indeed, concerning
this cause precaution has been taken by the Catholic
king our Philip so that the proselytes from the sect of
Muhammad do not redeem purchased slaves nor have
native-born [slaves] from Arabia or Guinea among them,
whether acquired by a price or reward, so that the
foreseen danger that tends to the detriment of the
Catholic faith might be completely avoided together
with others emerging anew. For Christian slaves of their
lineage and condition easily slip into apostasy, whether
by advice or example or request. But the Indian slaves
still not well founded in the Christian religion, as if
immune from reason, are dragged to any pernicious
doctrine whatsoever. When their ladies are pregnant, as
if grasped by the flame of desire, they ask for carnal
union. And before this they do not risk being united
with them so that what a wall has hidden, a birth might
not reveal. And let no one discern that this has been
said by us for nothing. If someone knows the carnal
mores of Arabic women, he also accepts the true
testimony by these slaves tinged with that blood. As
they are by nature simple they are so easy that they are
deceived by anyone, much more by a lascivious woman,
worse than the crafty serpent. But we will begin the
lengthy discussion about these below. Let us come to
those penalties contained in civil law against those who
circumcise either their children or their slaves: the
graver ones have been enumerated by us, since capital
punishment is imposed. I. Rei

In the royal pragmatic issued in the year 1566 for the Granadan Moriscos, just as there was a decree in legal process in Granada in the year 1526, c. 4.

[54v]

The penalties of civil law for these who circumcise their slaves.
capitalis. ff. De poenis, and the only I., Ne Christianum mancipium, which laws are certainly corrective of the preceding and increase penalty upon penalty so that the wicked men learn to fear the lawmaker. Indeed, it is not without reason that he bears the sword, a defender against he who acts wickedly. However, concerning that word “capital punishment,” on account of what it might suppose, whether natural or civil, nothing definite is found among the experts of the law. From where it is necessary to define the matter with the theologians and distinguish the offense “so that the manner of his stripes might be according to the measure of his crime.” If indeed the perfidious masters administer the bloody rite on their children or slaves by apostatizing from the faith, these very ones who commit [the crime] as much as those who consent to those committing that same crime are worthy of death. However, if they [circumcise] only on account of paternal tradition, which they learned to follow and imitate as blind men, against these a lesser penalty will be sufficient with the manumission of their slaves. And at last, let everyone, if God grants it, be ordered to the norm of the Catholic faith by their pastors and they will not refuse to accept the penalty enjoined as salubrious penance. But oh what grief! What if our New Christians are not willing to be corrected or impeded from a rite so deadly to their bodies and souls? At that time it we should not lose hope concerning their salvation. Rather, supplicant, the vigilant pastors will go before God, from whom they will
humbly request that he bring forth a remedy to these men redeemed by him from that place where that common enemy to man of all lineage wounded them; and also that he take away that ancient blindness from the followers of Muhammad on account of his mercy; that he thoroughly dislodge the hardness of their hearts that has become callous against their souls; that he turns the dire slavery to the Devil wickedly vexing the Muhammadan peoples to the true liberty of the Gospel; that at this time he peacefully break up the society of Hell already once initiated with the Arabians by the help and assistance of their Muhammad; and, finally, that he pour out true remorse of heart and new hearts or viscera renewed in the Holy Spirit upon those proselytes upon whom he has already willed some time ago to confer the lavish anointing of the Holy Spirit in baptism, the sacrament of the remarkable divine regeneration, and a participation in his copious redemption. May the mercifully hearted and tender [God] grant this according to the prayers of their pastors and ours.

SUMMARY OF THE FOURTH CATECHISM

1. Allegorically many children descend from Abraham, even these from Hagar or Ketura, and not a few will receive baptism and from them many will be saved.
2. Abraham gave offerings to the children of Ketura as a mystery, from whom descending, the Eastern Magi brought the same [offerings] to the newly born Christ.
3. At this time circumcision is useful to no one, so that it is rather a false sign and signifying nothing.

4. Cajetan’s error in this material from his commentaries was erased by the judgment of Pope Pious V.

5. It was defined that circumcision should not be practiced in the Council of the Apostles, as well as other matters decreed necessary for that time.

6. Muhammad, as if by borrowing, received circumcision from the Jews, which, approving with a living voice, commanded that it could be done on any day of their whole life.

7. Muhammad’s errors concerning Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, Isaac, and Ishmael are noted.

8. A double circumcision is preached by the Apostle, the carnal abolished and the spiritual completed in baptism, as foreshadowed in the former.

9. The mystery of either circumcision is extensively explained by Saints Jerome and Augustine in certain cited passages.

10. Let the proselytes already converted to the faith not be anxious to superimpose the skin of the prepuce, but rather let them observe spiritual circumcision.

11. The priests, vigilant for the salvation of their charges, should prevent beforehand the carnal circumcision in boys by all means, by frequent visitation of them, lest their parents dare to circumcise them.

12. Sometimes the infants of the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect are born circumcised, sometimes they are made so by their parents, and thus they should
come to be inspected by their priests during the time of their whole infancy.

13. The established penalties in either law against those circumcising their children or servants are related, whose early enforcement will result.

14. In the enforcement of this penalty the intention of the one circumcising should be considered so that if he does it only on account of paternal tradition and not on account of a certain apostasy from the faith, he might be judged with less of a sentence.

15. Let the pastors teach their subjects that circumcision is now abolished after the Gospel of Christ and prove it lethal and death-bearing for all those using it.

16. Let the priests insistently pray for their subjects, that they might thoroughly forget this rite and others and be united to Christ through grace and, at last, be saved.
A passage is presented from the words of the Apostle to the Ephesians, chapter 5[3-4]: “Immorality or any impurity or greed must not even be mentioned among you, as is fitting among holy ones, no obscenity or silly or suggestive talk, which is out of place, but instead, thanksgiving.”

Fish are customarily caught with fishing hooks, so too birds with bird hooks, hawks thereupon with tender meat. And thus Muhammad taught this last kind of hunting so that he might easily catch unlearned and carnal men as in a grave and occupy them with that tender meat. Oh what misfortune, that same food once subjected our minds! It trapped our parents and brought them to miserable ruin and also made us servile to the cruel slavery of sin with them. “Our fathers ate unripe grapes, and our teeth were set on edge.” But in truth, he who placed the hook of food then now presently supplies the foul smelling meat in abundance by this contagion of sin the false Muhammad so that he might be able to carry out his work, driving so many myriads of people into Hell. And did it affect only Muhammad? By no means, but also Luther and his followers. Just as he once dragged after him a third part of the stars to the earth in his arrogance, he likewise tries to destroy nearly all the world by his ways and arts.

The Devil holds I know not what preconceived anger against that woman, that is, the Church of Christ, for “the dragon became angry,” says John, “with the
woman and went off to wage war against the rest of her offspring who keep God’s commandments and bear witness to Christ. It took its position on the sand of the sea so that it might swallow the sea. For on account of his thirst and rage, behold “he will swallow up the river and not be disturbed; indeed, he is tranquil though the Jordan surges about his mouth.” Therefore, he who use to go out to man as in secret with his traps, meat hooks, and occult suggestions, now presently, with Mars laid bare, makes open war against him. Indeed, “The Devil is prowling like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour. Resist him,” commands Saint Peter, “steadfast in faith, knowing that your fellow believers throughout the world undergo the same sufferings.” The prince of the Church also promises us concerning the victory, putting it thus soon after: “The God of all grace who called you to his eternal glory through Christ Jesus will himself restore, confirm, strengthen, and establish you after you have suffered a little.” I now want to persuade our proselytes from the Sect of Muhammad of this one thing, if perhaps (may it not be) they are held captive by the delights of the flesh or by the Devil to his will, deceiver of the human species. For since they have the testimony of God well sealed with the cross of Christ on them, they may presume to defeat such an enemy, overcome the restrained flesh, conquer their desires, and, at last, accomplish the declared victory. In so far that they hope, with purity of spirit and body, relying on innocence (which he who, without comparison among

Job 40[18, Vulgate; 23, NAB]

1 Peter 5[8-9]

In the same chapter and passage.
men, truly in and of himself, is most pure and holy, will
give), they will descend to do battle with the enemies
one by one. The victory is sure, if this purity is not
lacking to them and us. This is certainly the sweet odor
that God accepts, and so the Apostle says, “Immorality
or any impurity or greed must not even be mentioned
among you, as is fitting among holy ones.” Thus let
these vices be thrown completely from you so that their
mention might not even be found among you. Let no
one say that any of you are such, even only in word, but
be irreprehensible before God and men so that you
might give no place to evil suspicion conceived about
you. Nonetheless, it will be worthwhile to appropriately
define these terms, indeed so that the wickedness of
such vices might be placed as it were on a scale and one
might likewise shun them all. Thus, fornication, as it is
taken in regard to women, they are fornicators, as if
arentarii, who use to go to the theatrical arches and the
brothels, the places in which there were prostitutes, and
as greatly defiled men they would mix with them. Now
all incontinence pertaining to lust is called impurity
however it might be committed. And that is the worst of
all which is committed against the order of nature,
whether against self or another. Finally, Paul rejects all
impurity together with greed as something alienating
man from the most pure God. Moreover, it will be easy
to show what greed has in common with immorality:
certainly greed is the fornication of the soul, even as the
other aforementioned term is that of the body. For just

[57v] The passage of the paradigm is explained.

From where the word fornication came.
as he who fornicates uses something not belonging to him, so he who banally stoops to greed grasps out for the purpose of possessing things not belonging to him. And that which he has by robbery he strives to keep to himself. And so let each one of us thus keep himself from these sins so that he suffers no ill repute, just as it is fitting for the saints to be free from each of these vices and of the mark of scandal. Nor should only these sins be avoided by the saints, but rather those things which lay the way to any impurity, which are obscenity, by which the mind is inflamed to desire, as is suffered through the eyes and embracing; silly talk, which is stupid and vain words, containing nothing useful and no knowledge; also suggestive speech, leading to greater vices, now moving its listeners to laughter, then the buffoon to bringing forth more wit. To be sure, this suggestive talk, even if it is done with labor and study, pertains to nothing or anything useful, but only vanity and the weakening of the mind. Thus, these vices should not be named or committed by anyone, but rather let our life be compared with the saints so that constant thanksgiving appear before God, giving him praise in words and deeds for the blessings received. And the Apostle confirms the above rule, which he had declared directing his speech to those who understand: “Now let those who understand know this, that neither fornicators nor the unclean nor the greedy (which is service to idols) will inherit the kingdom of God.”

Confirmation of the above opinion. It is in 1 Corinthians 6[9-10]
Certainly this will be manifest to you, if you are understanding, what fornication or immorality or greed is. Indeed, fornication is a base thing, worthy of all rebuke. More base and detestable than this is immorality. Likewise, greed is service to idols: certainly money is God to the greedy. For just as one who worships idols renders worship to the imaginary thing which is due to the Creator, so the greedy man, when he should attend to God and wealth, renders worship to the effigy of money, from where greed is rightly judged idolatry. Hereafter, if you are understanding of what that kingdom of Christ is, which will not be possessed by fornicators, the impure, and the greedy, where there is no place for desiring except that which each one has, you will decide that it is necessary to abandon such vices so that an inheritance in such a kingdom might come to you. From there, if you take notice what Christ is, how holy, how innocent from all sin, and that he is true God, how just a judge, and highest of all good, you will clearly know why the fornicator with his perversity is excluded by the just judgment of God from the reign of Christ and of God. “Certainly nothing unclean or corrupt can enter the kingdom of God.” For this reason Paul determines that all fornication should be avoided as something impure so that the fornicator excluded from the reign of God might not be united with the penalty of the impure spirits for eternity. Now greed is joined in an appropriate way to fornication, which is regarded spiritual fornication, so that it will be
necessary to prevent that either rests within our souls. And this Muhammadan Sect rejoices in these words. Surely fornication, filth, greed, worship of idols, abomination in the temple of God, and pure lie are things proceeding from the Father of Lies and from his deceitful child. And by all these means or sins these Muhammadans choose to be estranged from the true God, which is to be greatly mourned. Oh that our proselytes, begotten by these carnal parents, might not dash against this rock, the Sect of Muhammad, so that that rock Christ might not suddenly fall upon them to crush them. Truly this penalty will necessarily be inflicted upon them as it has been written: “And whoever falls on this stone will be dashed to pieces; and it will crush anyone on whom it falls.” Let he who truly believes those things said about this tested stone, the corner stone, precious, the foundation of the Church, not be impatient, because soon they will be fulfilled for the salvation of humankind. For this rock is accustomed to justly striking the bad, just as lifting up the good to the heavenly apex and erecting the celestial temple. “Now after these things that man, an enemy and impure, also sowed weeds among the wheat of the Gospel,” and he went to seduce many peoples, and to bring those seized in his errors to the terrible slavery of the Devil. Concerning these errors, I can plainly confess that our natural capacities have not prevailed to reduce them with any subtlety to a certain number, since nothing certain is agreed in their regard even among the
Arabs, jealous confessors of this sect. Those which I have reviewed I will refer. In the first place, Muhammad gave license for many wives and their divorce, and, after that, remarriage under certain conditions, since the contract holds the matter of marriage so easily soluble among them, to be annulled by either spouse’s will alone. Thereupon he gave permission to celebrate four solemn weddings, if the man had the means to support four women and to treat them equally, not committing any offense against them in sexual intercourse.

Furthermore, he permitted sex with their purchased slaves. When he was reprimanded by two of his wives for the defilement of his Jewish slave, a gift given to him, these women indignantly bearing this on account of the inflicted offense, they put together a long grievance among their own and stirred up scandal. However, to pacify his wives as much as the rest of those thinking badly of their prophet, he promulgated dispensation to himself from God under these words, “Use your women and purchased slaves,” the Omnipotent and Merciful God says, “as it may please all of you devoted to your Muhammad. Indeed, you will sow your seed in them as you wish, because they are yours, and they should be furrowed by you as the land with your spade, and your seed should be sewn in them.” Interpreters of his sect have conjured up thousands of errors from this liberty and series of words. For from that day they place their seed in their women both according to the use of nature and indeed

This command is held in the Qur’an, Sura 3, from which the Muslim doctors conjure up their errors.

This error of Muhammad is punished. I. *Iulia de adulterijs*, & §.Instit. de publ. iudi. Item *Lex Iulia*. 
against it. They even abuse boys, and they do not incur any fault for it among their own, but, rather, such an insubstantial mark of ill repute that, the women abandoned, they shamelessly lie with boys to satisfy their desire. Nature itself greatly detests this crime, just as intercourse with beasts. Arabs customarily punish this with death for some and the amputation of their members, but not so for others, especially for men who have gone through a long penance in fasting and prayer, likewise for others who have completely renounced solemn matrimony. In the next place, they permit all licit fornication if payment is first offered to the fornicating woman. They have public brothels where available women are hired for a price there, then the fornicators are guided to the veiled woman’s home so that they might not be stained by shame in the public quarters or risk their peace and quiet. Adultery is punished gravely among them because of the scandal produced, for if it is done at a price and concealed in silence, it is not considered a crime. Insofar as if a man commits adultery, in like manner the woman may be united sexually with another man with impunity, and no place is given for repeating the offense, since equal offense is permitted. After these things, since Muhammad allowed the law of divorce with the payment of the dowry of the indebted woman, nearly all the Moors satisfy their own pleasure and fleshly desire, providing for the rejected woman with only money or prayers, if perchance they burned with love.
for her. Moreover, once divorced, if her own husband wishes to unite with her again, the imposed divorce is lifted by the voluntary consent of both, and so they celebrate new weddings. This is rather common among them, especially if the conceived female offspring is returned to the wife and she does not receive any other from the marriage. However, the woman who has been divorced two times cannot return to her prior husband unless she is carnally known by another, and she may then be reconciled to her old husband according to the divorce law. These and similar condemned things spring from Arabic marriages and wedding contracts. They do not consist in the indissoluble knot or the mystical sacrament or, finally, the sacramental grace of Christ. Now there comes a proverb from them: Christian marriage, which is only loosed by the other spouse’s death, is entirely intolerable. “Certainly,” these very ones say, “the bond of marriage is difficult, because it cannot be shaken off from the shoulders.” For the blind and wretched Arabs, with such licentiousness and nap of the flesh, are not capable of seeing the mystery underlying such a sacrament, which Paul, the trumpet of Christ, once sung: “This is a great mystery, but I speak in reference to Christ and the Church: For this reason a man shall leave his father and his mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh.” From there the Arabs poorly look upon the interests of the progeny born from such a marriage contract, which is usually dearly beloved and sweet to them. For when the
bill of divorce has been received, the offspring separated from the breast not only passes under paternal jurisdiction but also, as if born from a wondering concubine, never again falls into the maternal embrace and is completely abandoned to another spouse’s care. For this reason the love of the children for their parents and of the parents for their children grows utterly cold among the Arabs against the order and condition of nature. Certainly nature loves, indeed, desires, what is similar to itself and, by a certain blind instinct, unites itself to this thing, as the Philosopher argues. And moreover, from this it happens to the Arab women that they spend all their life poorly in caring for, fostering, and anointing their bodies, and in the midst of old age they appear in public without wrinkled forehead or changed aspect, as if marriageable girls, so that they might not suffer rejection by their lascivious men, a great harm for them. Indeed, while such fear slowly grows in these women given to Venus, the mutual love towards their husbands decreases. And, at last, by this law they are compelled to undergo a divorce imposed by them for any offense. Yet, informed, they provide for themselves like ants for the future time of divorce. They both sell themselves in their nuptial contracts as if for a price appropriate for property and make a stipulation for the promised dowry so that they might be maintained not a little by these things, either in old age or at the time of a ruinous divorce. However, these prices are customarily changed according to her

The devotion of Arabic women is condemned as carnal.
quality, condition, age, and physical features or intellectual gifts. Thus, it often happens that sometimes divorced women are worth more than others, and sometimes the reverse. Finally, see that all such men and women are full of licentiousness, filled with carnal desires which battle against the soul, but they are still not satisfied with their prostitutes’ embraces, or these women with their own men, even exhausted with strangers. Juvenalis certainly spoke about these, insofar as about the unchaste Messalina, though wearied with men, she still did not retire exhausted. Oh carnal men! Oh women of this age! Why do you immorally follow after irrational and brute beasts that nature has created prone to such cravings and obedient to such desire? But finally, because we have digressed longer than usual, let us eagerly have recourse to the pious and vigilant pastors, and exhort them so that they might call the natives of Spain, but also descendents of Arabia, whether multitudes or particular peoples, now at last melting away from their revel, back to the worthy religion through their authority, their doctrine, their integrity of life, their incredible chastity, so that men might be happy with their own wives and women, likewise, with their own husbands. These women will finally deliver their carnal passions and more lascivious trappings behind to the knapsack, induced by the example of their men and their severity of life, and, together, they will consecrate their souls and bodies to marital chastity. “Now the works of the flesh,” thus the Saint Peter desires all to keep themselves from these desires, 1 Peter 2


Exhortation to pastors that they remove these errors from the proselytes. Galatians 5[19-21]
Apostle has it, “are obvious: immorality, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, magic, and the like.” But indeed we oppose these with certain fruits of the Holy Spirit, and we find charity, moderation, faith, self-control, chastity, for destroying the works of the flesh. For the devotion of the pastors together with their great vigilance will give birth to such faith. For this reason I exhort them, in whose interest it is more than others, that they apply themselves to this task, which Christ, the Church, the Christian Republic, and their own salvation demand from them. The proselytes’ docility, benevolence, eagerness for hearing the word of God in their received faith have so reassured me that I expect they will come to their senses before long. I will procure this from them so that they might desire to be saved, the carnal desires and the impurities of the rejected sect entirely disregarded. Commit yourselves now (priests of Christ) to this vicissitude alone, implore Christ, gird yourselves with diligence, tear the works of the flesh away from your converts. You will sense it, that the cause is finished for this sect, not only that your adversaries, the worshipers of Muhammad, at last despair, but you, so solidly founded on the teaching of the Church, with the proselytes reduced to a sound mind, have also marched down onto this battle ground on time. But so that they might provide the work of surgeons, we shall subvent the attempt for binding the wounds of those sick in faith, and we will lay bear those most sordid vices of the flesh from the Muhammadan
dust that cling to the feet of these proselytes in order to drive them away. For instance, the desire of these women has advanced to such a stage that they rejoice rather to be united to the infidel Saracens rather than to men of their own religion, since they offer turpitude’s reward. They do this to the destruction of their own souls and bodies, and unless they are prevented by the fathers of the faith, the censors, they will not be restrained from these filthy acts by the simple warning of their pastors. Against these things the previously mentioned judges should take violent action, as if against apostates of the faith, and in the case’s process they will learn whether they have fallen into the crime of apostasy or heresy. But beyond the decrees of canon law against such apostates, or those committing disgrace with a man of another law, there is a law in the eighth book of the royal ordinance, under title 15, “On adultery and defilement,” ordinance 5, which says the following: “Grave crimen es el del incesto, y este es de la muger que comete maldad con hombre de otra ley: y este crimen es en alguna manera heregia, y qualquer que lo cometiere, allende de las otras penas en derecho establecidas, pierda la mitad de sus bienes para nuestra camara” [It is a grave crime that of incest, and this is in regards to the woman who commits evil with a man of another law: and this crime is in a certain way heresy, and whoever commits it, in addition to the other penalties established in the law, let her lose half of her belongings to our chamber]. I hope that this law, holy

Because Muhammad, in Sura 3, commanded that they join with men of their own sect rather than another law.

Arnaldus Albus, q. 2. through § 4.

[61v]
The law against the incestuous.
and just, be both considered and observed with the utmost attention, so that if a competent judge happens to come upon an incestuous woman deviated from the Catholic faith in this torpid act, he might restrain and fine her with a greater penalty according to the last chapter *Cum secundum leges, De haereticis*, sixth book: because the penance will provide an example for others as well as her own health. Now let them learn here to fear the censoring rod so they might not resolve to allow themselves to wander with impunity through every vice. But even with these evils corrected by the censoring rod, other things of no less account, worthy of correction, follow in order. For these women, when they have been offered payment or have been forced, poorly instructed by their parents, do not call it fornication. Thereupon those forced by fornicators do not censure the indecency, but rather they cry out for a reward in Arabic with these words: “Batil, Batil,” as if they were saying, “Give a reward for the act, so that we might be found clean from sin before our Muhammad.”

In addition, because either impotent in age or cold or evil doing or dirty, they loath their husbands, and smelling of stink and dung, they are divorced from them. They choose secretly to mix with adulterous men of the Christian confession, content in such a worthless, mean place. Exciting men, not excited by them, they freely indulge their desire. Those who are born from such wandering union should come to be handed over to the paternal care so they might not taste prostitution.

The chapter *Cum secundum leges, De haereticis*, book 6, in § on confiscation of goods.

The payment is called *Batil* by the fornicators in Arabic.

On this error Castro book 4. canon *haeres*.

A proverb is said on
as if wine and they are infected in both the faith and customs by either parent. Moreover, one more thing remains for which the priests should take precaution: that the daughters of these prostitutes be given in matrimony to honest men, not converts, but old in the faith, so that they might not begin to prostitute and wander according to the maternal norm, and, as I hear, fill themselves up with every desire. This matter should be given to the care and charity of the pastors to provide for. The laws bear witness to this work of charity and of their utmost value before God under these words: “Among the works of love, calling the one in error from the error of his ways is not the least.” But if these poorly instructed girls prefer to pursue promiscuous rather than pure sexual intercourse, with their parents (as often happens) nodding ascent, let the girls pay the penalty of their impurity with their parents. Furthermore, let them be separated from them, to be placed in temporary servitude to honest women by an appointed judge or urban prefect. It will be done quickly, so that they might become accustomed to the good mores of their female masters and thus abhor the fellowship of their faithless parents. Now I speak of certain girls from the Iberian reign newly transferred by the decree of expulsion to both Castiles. These girls hear poorly among everyone about this matter, and just as if suspect in faith, they should be ordered to a better life by opportune correction. Some, however, have accepted this condition more by evil desire and corrupt
nature than coerced by force or poverty, whence they begin to make a profit. Indeed, I wish that these girls, after desire has been repressed in time and religious instruction has been completed, to be done by upright women, be given to good men in marriage by the diligence of their pastors. I hope it might be done by them, enticed by the aforementioned reward, in so far as they might give a good account of their accepted duty before both God and men, and they may learn to heal and feel compassion for the wretches in Christ’s charity and love. I now turn to admonish and forewarn the secular judges that they might take up the same care of the Moriscos and incredible diligence with the priests by being both on guard for and correcting the mentioned evils. Indeed, it is agreeable that I undertake to demand only that alone: that they do not permit these girls to be prostituted or, by retribution, remain in the brothels so that the danger to their faith might not wrap them in the damnation of their own souls on account of the practice of bribery. For, ransomed for the price alone of a vile coin, with no penance whatsoever, they will never know how to avoid the sin of fornication or adultery. These matters have been discussed by us in order to shackle the carnal vices on time, anywhere they might be crawling. Now it is appropriate to move the pen and hand for the purpose of banishing the rites of the Muhammadan Sect involved by them in the sacrament of matrimony to the far side of North Africa and the Indies. For in the solemn nuptial ceremony

Let the Morisco girls not be permitted to be prostituted in prostitution houses.

[62v]

The rites to be avoided in solemn weddings are
celebrated by them you find thousands of superstitions
of the disavowed sect, if you will be present and
attentive to it, in which superstitions, being routed from
all of Spain, it will be necessary for pastors, judges, and
fellow citizens to employ no less care than in other
things smelling of the Sect of Muhammad. Indeed,
citizens of both Castiles will often be invited to Morisco
weddings, and sometimes they piously and religiously
serve the office of godparents (just as it is expedient to
do), for which reason I wish them to return most
informed and not to close their eyes to these nuptial
rituals. Thus, before they visit the church for discharging
this office, they might have more knowledge of those
rites to be shunned. Accordingly, in the first place it will
be necessary to take care that the maiden to be married
is not carried; though she hold her hands together
behind her back to rest them, not her feet, nor should
she advance with her eyes completely closed, as is in
use among the Arabs contracting marriage. Rather, let
the bride be required to walk on her own feet alone and
to open her eyes, as much for paying attention to the
nuptial ceremony as, likewise, adoring the sacrament in
its elevation with the due reverence. Indeed, these
pious instructions absolve the priest from their duty at
the end of the church ceremony. Let the godparents
keep these things in mind and report in order the things
being fulfilled by the husband and wife in the course of
their life at home. And I will repeat them a thousand
times, until they have adhered firmly to their memory.

thoroughly described,
which are deduced from
Sura 33 of the Qur’an
and are prohibited in
the new compilation of
laws De judíos y moros,
ley 16 [on Jews and
Moors, law 16].
But it is marvelous to say how many rites mutually accepted by that sect these converts procure to celebrate in order, even with a thousand witnesses present. We will review these rites at length so that they might be impeded by everyone. The married maiden, yet untouched by her spouse, returns to the home with her eyes closed, not using her feet, but rather supported by the joined hands of two young men or relatives. For, following the custom of the land, the bride should be guided to the marriage being contracted on account of the modesty of the witnesses. She is not permitted to raise her eyes to the sky, nor touch the ground with her feet. Arriving to the groom’s home, she enters with the right foot so that everything might succeed rightly, and crosses the threshold. Now if she were to enter with her left foot, then everything from that day would increasingly worsen and the wedding might be frustrated. For and in fact, the Arabs imagine that at that time the left foot might be under a certain constellation of stars, for which reason they begin to foretell sinister events from that day against the effected wedding. And because they believe that fate is inevitable, led by their portents and divinations, they search out sinister omens about the contracted marriage and confirm things to come by certain divination. Now after she is greeted by the music and enters into the bedroom prepared in the heart of the home, there she will remain a little. She sits with all the matrons accompanying her, rests a little, and, according to the Qur’anic Sura.

The woman covers her face and protects her genitalia according to the rite of this sect, the rest of the members of her body are not thus treated in the Qur’anic Sura.

The center of the home is called the heart of the home, according to their Arabism, thus in Psalm 45 the mountains
to the Arabic custom, takes possession of her future home. Afterwards, she is also splendidly guided to a bed richly decorated with precious cloths and chairs, a large group of women preceding her amidst the sound of flutes, *sonajas*, and mandolins. Now in the meanwhile the men are enjoying themselves with the groom in another room. When she at last settles in the bed, with her own hands she covers herself with a white sheet, and the bride is enriched and the attending women draw near to her and offer her every precious gift. On account of reverence the bride is not permitted to speak or open her eyes. But so that she herself does not deviate even a little from the observation of these ceremonies, she has two instructresses at either side (whom the Arabs call *Magitae*, as if teachers), who are thoroughly informed concerning these rites. After the offering of all those things that pertain to the female world of the witnesses is completed, the men are received at once so that they might offer money, which offerings, according to custom, are given by the bride as a gift and a prize for the labors of the instructresses, by which reason that offering consists of little cost. Furthermore, if it happens that those offering gifts, especially family and friends, request that it might be permitted them to see and contemplate her face, such a pious request is granted them, and with the sheet covering her face lifted, her eyes still closed, they congratulate her on this state, wishing her as much as him every good thing, as is the
custom of the land. This well-wishing and gift-giving thus completed, she is abundantly adorned with precious dresses and robes so that she might rise with the women for the banquets at the appropriate time, still silent. Two meals, one for the day and one for the night, are splendidly prepared, seasoned to Arabic palates as according to the custom the cooks have. Thus, a thousand foods are sprinkled with honey and raisins. Now the meats, prepared only in oil, not with pig fat, are cooked for a short time over the fire. Those foods that are prepared without honey and oil taste as if they were not unseasoned. And there are generally as many foods put on the fire as there are guests, so that the seasoned food might better excite and satisfy the appetite. When the meat has been served, sweets cooked with abundant cheese or with cherry or apple filling are brought in their order to the modest table, together with pies and delicate foods. In the middle of the table the servants, who try to satisfy each and everyone’s palate, frequently place honey cakes, bunches of raisins, together with dried figs, so that the prepared foods might not make those feasting averse nor provoke nausea. And if it were not that the served foods prepared according to the mores of the land consisted in so many superstitions, indeed, they should be served to the table of the king and never prohibited to these feast-goers. However, since they altogether stink of the Muhammadan Sect, pastors should no longer permit they be tolerated or kept in customary
wedding use. Either they will attend as guests (if it is permitted by their prelates) or they will go to the kitchen for the purpose of seeing those foods to be placed on the table, truly by which they might make the many myriads of the Arabic rites easy to be avoided. If these foods consist in so many rites, let them not allow them to eat them or be cherished, but let them turn their superstition into mourning, sadness, and bitterness as a penalty. Certainly they did not begin to hate swine flesh, together with pig fat, for any other reason except that they took up the custom since such meat was wrongly prohibited by their Muhammad. In fact, the animals which should be butchered for preparing and setting the table are sacrificed facing the sun with certain superstitions and words of offering. But in another fashion the butchered animals are thrown to the dung heap so they might not be tasted by anyone. On account of a similar prohibition, they do not drink wine, thus they use such foods that compliment water and are easy to digest. Now let us return to the bride, the table removed from her midst, who is finally about to be given to the spouse at the time that night approaches. Still in silence to this point, she descends to the marital bed. She is, according to their customs, not permitted to mourn her virginity or let out any sigh, but rather she is to welcome the leaping spouse. When the light of the new day arrives, the husband gets up, his wife left un-greeted, taking both a bucket and a basket for carrying water and food, which is his duty. When he

Arabs do not drink wine, Muhammad forbidding it because it was prohibited in Leviticus 10[9].
returns, he knocks on the closed door with a stone until his wife answers and she speaks to him for the first time in marital affection. And placing the food together with the water in their place, she begins to take care of the home. Then the instructresses come and congratulate her union with her husband and they pray to the god (as I understand) of Muhammad that she might receive offspring from him. Also, according to their duty, they cut the hair hanging down over her back to neck-length so that they may no longer be left to hang, lest they be an impediment to any of her husband’s advances. These are the rites of the Sect of Muhammad, even now held in practice by his secret friends, just as the citizens of Algiers practice them now, and the Fassis make use of nearly the same ones. Some pious priests and alms-giving men of ours navigating all the way up to Algeria to redeem captives indeed faithfully related these things. Consequently, then, the Spanish proselytes are much conformed in their rites to the inhabitants of Africa. From where all the rites should come to be rejected by the Philipian law edited for the natives of Granada in the year 1566. For this reason I will exhort in the Lord the pious rectors of souls, in whose interest it is to provide well in all things for their converts, that they read over this page from top to bottom and observe it in its integrity. By this they will offer a pleasing gift to God, clear obedience to their king Philip, and, to themselves and their charges, the appropriate remedy for salvation, aided by the grace of the spirit of Christ who himself
SUMMARY OF THE FIFTH CATECHISM

1. The license given for the works of the flesh by Muhammad brought so many people to the worship of his sect, which heretics of our time concede.

2. Two kinds of fornication to be fled are described by the Apostle: one is of the body, another of the soul, which is called greed.

3. Fornication is to be entirely avoided as something impure and which has no part in the kingdom of Christ and of God.

4. The carnal errors introduced by Muhammad are almost innumerable, which ones will the worshipers of his sect freely embrace?

5. Muhammad introduced the bill of divorce, together with plurality of wives, to his Arabs for satisfying their desires, which things hold them as if captives in such an unclean sect.

6. Muhammad gave permission to his Arabs to enjoy their wives and slaves as they wish, but the carnal Moors extend this permission to acts against nature, and they do it against the intention of their law giver.

7. Sin committed against nature with women and boys is not penalized among the Arabs, except as something of little weight. And sex with beasts is regarded to be worthy of death, except in certain persons.
8. Adultery is usually punished on account of the scandal and the offense against the husband. Still, not as a sin, if force or payment is made.

9. From the concession of divorce many evil things are found among the Arabs, which nature itself abhors and detests. They are discussed by the author in order for the ease of pastors.

10. There is a proverb that comes from the Moors: Christian marriage is not tolerable because it lasts until death. They say this because they do not know the virtue of such a sacrament and its three good qualities.

11. The zeal of Arabic women for cherishing and caring for their bodies is condemned as worthy of the flesh. Moreover, they indulge their desire and appetite.

12. The sin of incest, since it is grave, should be thus punished with the appropriate penalty in the person as well as the goods of the incestuous.

13. The sin of incest in some way associates itself with heresy, and thus the incestuous are subjected to the penalties of heretics.

14. Fornication or adultery is not considered a sin by the worshipers of this sect, if it is committed with some force or for a price, for which reason women are settled in the brothels so that they might seek this life in immorality among their carnal Arabs.

15. Let these girls converted to the faith neither wonder nor prostitute themselves, lest they easily fail, fallen
from the accepted faith into the aforesaid errors.
Rather, let them be given in matrimony to honest men.
16. All the rites held in common by the Moors and
observed by those proselytes in marriage are described.
These, as full of a thousand superstitions, should come
to be shunned and punished by the pastors.
SIXTH CATECHISM, ON OVERCOMING OTHER RITES OF
THE MUHAMMADAN SECT

And a reading is selected from chapter six[19] of
the Epistle to the Romans, where the Apostle says, “I am
speaking in human terms because of the weakness of
your flesh. For just as you presented the parts of your
bodies to serve impurity and lawlessness for lawlessness,
so now present them to serve righteousness for
sanctification.”

Taken hold of by the fear of delaying, pious lector, I had
thought to divide the preceding catechism, for whose
latter part, trusting in divine help, I now prepare for the
sake of the proselytes and their pastors. “God, who
alone knows how to give to all generously and
abundantly what they ask, and not begrudge,” those
things which serve our purpose and are greatly useful
for those falling ill in the faith. The afore-considered evil
matters or these carnal errors have sprouted from this
one beginning in these peoples; they have assigned the
true worship to be devoted to God to a creature on
account of their pleasure, as is clearly evident from the
maxims from the Apostle to the Romans: “God handed
them over to the desires of their hearts for the mutual
degradation of their bodies because they exchanged the
truth for a lie and revered and worshiped the creature
rather than the creator, who is blessed forever.

Therefore, God handed them over to degrading
passions, for their females exchanged natural relations

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for unnatural, and the males likewise performing their perversion on males.” While the doctor Barbatus discussed these words, he proposed this axiom, “The worship of the abominable idols is the cause of all evil, the beginning and the end.” Which it is right to repeat as if recommended for our proselytes: that furnishing the true worship to the true God they convert from their carnal errors and these very ones understand with Christ all purity and sanctification in flesh and spirit. And truly the Apostle does not order those who have been saved from their errors to simply serve the spirit and not the flesh, as if completely rendered spiritual, but he speaks generously and humanely to them, saying, “I am speaking to you in human terms because of the weakness of your flesh,” not asking from you what is grave or nearly impossible, but what you are well-capable of fulfilling according to the faculty of your power. Truly what I say is human and easy, not cruel, for just as you offered your members to serve impurity, which pollutes the flesh, and sinned against your bodily nature and chose to serve iniquity for iniquity, adding sins upon sins and dragging others to your impurity, so now after your conversion, since you are free from such great slavery to sin, prepare your hearts with the members of your body to serve justice, leading you to all sanctification and justification, so that, just as then no fear compelled [you], but only pleasure dragged [you] to the works of the flesh, just so now the delight of all justice, namely, of common virtue, though

Saint Jerome so explains

the Apostle.

1 Corinthians 6 and Romans 8.
still not perfected in you, provide [you] a guide to Christ in all things. If you are not able to do any more by any means, at least be so in good works as you were in carnal, so that Christian liberty might not find you weaker whom the custom of carnal and earthly pleasure held firmly in the flesh. For I believe that one should more liberally serve justice and purity of spirit than corporal turpitude. This one human thing I seek from you: that each one of your members that presented a ministry for sins be given a share in the acts of virtues, even now with the despotic will compelling the members of the flesh with its supreme power. If you can do no more, do even as much now as you did then so that you do not declare the faith with our teaching hard and insupportable or give more to slavery than to evangelical liberty, so that in the same way where no fear forced you to sin, but only the very lust for sin, so now might fear of punishment not urge you to sober and righteous living, but rather the delight of charity and the love of justice alone guide [you to sober and righteous living]. And even this is not perfect justice, and indeed the just debt to justice is not equal to that devoted to iniquity, and the love of one and the delight of the other are not equal, but to the right balance the debt is recognized more to justice than impurity. But for now I request something human of you, that you balance those old works of the flesh to the just scale and the new [works] of justice to the excessive so that you might now equally serve the beloved spirit as you
use to indulge in the carnal dispositions of the arrested spirit. But if I seek little from you, it is not because I desire you to increase very little in good, but because I know that you were greatly occupied in carnal desires and I long for you to be better occupied just as much in spiritual works. But if you wish to exchange your effort for the good zeal of virtue for certain promptness and a better condition, the human thing I have asked of you will carry back great virtue and profit of grace in the Lord. May he happily grant it to all according to the desire of our heart. Indeed, what are the works of the flesh? Or what is useful in them? Listen to the horn of Christ sounding in all the world and saying, “When you were slaves of sin, you were free from righteousness, what profit did you get from the things of which you are now ashamed?” But profit is in Christ Jesus, not the flesh, with the Apostle saying, “There is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus, who do not live according to the flesh.” Thus the law of the flesh leads each one captive to the law of sin, and when sin is conceived, it will bring forth death. Our pastors will extensively describe all these things in detail to their proselytes, provided that they have words prepared for them so that they might not hesitate in the old mud of their parents and, having grown old, they waste away in their errors and indecencies and their sorrows are suddenly multiplied in Hell. I wish those now living in the flesh to even descend to Hell in spirit and having wandered through the pit to ascend to us so that

[Romans 8:1, 4]

[James 1:15]

Let our pastors read Saint Jerome on those words to Titus, chapter 2, “Men love your wives,” and explain [it] for the proselytes.

Psalm 54[Vulgate; 55, NAB]
overpowered by such great fear they say to God with the royal prophet, “Overpower our flesh with dread, indeed we hold your judgments in dread.” And in having judged those things which they had seen they might learn a lesson which perhaps might be of some use to them. For and in fact they will see their Muhammad in the inner receptacle of the perfidious infidels (since in the earlier first the chaste infidels who heard nothing about the faith will have their homes) as if sitting on a bull, surrounded by his carnal Moors, men and women, placed in perpetual lamentation and sorrow, springing forth with worms, filth, and carnal stench, stinking of the filthiness, the foulness, the turpitude of the flesh, almost consumed by flame on the inside and the outside, and partaker in the penalties of all of his followers, destitute of consolation, lacking relief, tormented by the presence of his followers as if by a new flame. If he turns to them, grinding their teeth they will roar and hurl this word against him, “Why did you make us wander in your ways? Why did you lie so wickedly against our heads? Why did you wish to miserably destroy yourself and us likewise?” But if he looks back at his deceitful father with his wild eyes, he will hear the order by him to the other unclean spirits, “As much as that most foul-one of all delighted himself in the delights of the flesh, give to him as much torment.” Obeying him those malign spirits quickly execute such orders and launch a thousand taunts and jeers against that unclean, foul, stupid, filthy [man]

Psalm 118[120, Vulgate; 119:120, NAB]

The substantial penalty of Hell of Muhammad is described.

There are infidels either positively or merely negatively, as in Saint Thomas, Second Part of the Second Part, q. 10, article 1.

The accidental penalty of Muhammad.

[68r]
every day, even while they lead in a thousand souls
corrupted on account of that false sect together with
their deceiver, saying to him, “Take the worthy reward
of your perverse acts and lies and receive your people
to your solace, because, ‘It has fallen, it has fallen, the
great Babylon,’ Muhammad, and it has been made a
haunt for demons and a cage for every unclean spirit.”
This is the penalty of this imposter, corresponding to his
crimes. But the spiritual men will hear the contrary from
the Apostle, “But you are not in the flesh; on the
contrary, you are in the spirit, if only the Spirit of God
dwells in you. But if his spirit, which raised Christ from
the dead, dwells in you, the one who raised Christ from
the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also,
through his indwelling spirit in you. Therefore brothers,"
the Apostle adds, “we are not debtors to the flesh so
that we live according to the flesh, for if you live
according to the flesh, you will die.” For and in fact, the
beginning of death is in the flesh, but of life in the spirit
of God. Moreover, we were ashamed of the works of
the flesh, as deadly and unfruitful. Whereas there is no
benefit in that thing which bodily strength detests
through repentance; indeed, everyone recognizing the
truth is greatly ashamed in their former carnal acts and
rush to pursue eternal life, now sure of this: the one
serving the Lord has the gift of the Holy Spirit in the
present and will also possess the eternal life to be given
by the same Spirit in the future. Whereby thoroughly
instructed and well taught in these matters, they will

A passage from Revelation 18[2] is admitted concerning
Muhammad.

Romans 8[9-13]

So explains Saint Jerome.
will completely renounce their carnal works and they will never again return to the vomit of that sect so that those ancient proverbs might not be repeated about them, “The dogs [have] returned to their own vomit and the bathed sow in the wallow of its mud.” But on the contrary they will openly testify through all Christian piety and civility of life and, at last, pure and faithful fellowship to everyone that they have now thrown the false teachings of Muhammad together with its impurities and lascivious desires behind their back. For as their parents had been greatly carnal their children contract every turpitude of the flesh, not as if dust on their feet, but inserted and congenital in their intimate viscera, from them and live for a time in them. God created all the animals, certain ones of which [are] nourished in water, some out of it. Now our Arabs are equal to the first animals, as those conceived, born, nourished, and matured in their lascivious desires, in those same things they are now fostered and nourished. And they are nourished as aquatic animals living by baths, ablutions, things that foster [them] for daily and nightly lewdness, as if by daily bread. From where there are baths among them in their homes so that in the same way as a wine cellar among us they might be cleansed in them before and after coitus. For, as it pleases Muhammad, that exterior stream flowing away from the body washes impure souls from sin. But it surely effects nothing less, since it effectively infects their bodies and souls with his superstition, for both the [2 Peter 2:22]
soul is corroded by the stench and corrosion of sin and the body badly emits the smell of that carnal turpitude everywhere it is proper to sing with the poet about them:

*Pastillos Ruffillus olet, Gorgonius hircum.*

Moreover, since the lustful Arabs are drawn by the love of voluptuous women and they are glad to have intercourse with them alone, leaving the others, these very women apply all their zeal to attending to their voluptuousness whereby they truly swell with precious flesh. They refrain from external labor, indulge in sleep, hunt for rest, make use of the bath, and they are restored by fiery food and, rightly, particularly fat, so that thus they might readily evade the fat pigs from the thin and lean. But if at times this art is not able to help nature, they prepare an antidote for their lust by another art of theirs and thus march along in their ancestral fashion more voluptuous and corpulent with blue boots greatly multiplied with color, long *Alcandoras* hanging from their shoulders to their ankles, waving garments sewn according to the more of their land with which they go into public adorned so that they might both please their men and accommodate themselves to their carnal acts. Granted even now that they appear rather distinguished for their husbands, but rather modest to other men, just as it has be enjoined upon them, all of them will still burn interiorly as if with fire because of their innate lust. To these, since I desire their salvation from my heart, I will announce the will of God

Hortatius, Book 1, *Serm. sat. 2.*

[69r] The ceremonies of the Muhammadan Sect for increasing sexual desire should be taken from their midst.

1 Thessalonians 4[3]
together with Saint Paul, “This is the will of God, your holiness: that you keep yourselves from fornication, that each of you know how to acquire his own vessel in holiness and honor, not in lustful passion as do the Gentiles who do not know God.” Moreover, I say this to these and also to all proselytes in whose interest it now is to offer all their actions chaste and pure to God, which he will accept if he finds them thus. I now desist from speaking any more to them about their impurities, for I hope their conversion to the faith is about to happen so that hereafter, according to the command of the Apostle, “They may love their husbands and care for their children,” they may long for the works of the Spirit, be occupied in prayer, and afterwards turn back to that very thing, so that Satan might not tempt them.

Furthermore, now too is ridiculous what kind of prohibited grades Muhammad imposed against the order and law of nature for contracting marriage, for he thus addresses his followers in the name of God, “Do not marry women of another law and do not permit your daughters to marry men of another law, unless first they have converted to your law.” And again in another place, “All these women are prohibited and illicit for you, namely, your mothers and daughters, sisters, paternal aunts, granddaughters, maternal aunts, nurses, and the sisters, mothers, and daughters of your wives; if they have already been touched by you; but, on the contrary, daughter-in-laws and half-sisters are licit for you, who were licit for you at other times; indeed

1 Corinthians 7 [Titus 2:4]

The prohibited grades in the marriages of the Moors, as it is contained in the Qur’an, Sura 3 and 8.
God, pious and merciful, will effect indulgence.”

Therefore what the marriages of the Arabs will be like, in which only lust thrives, the order of nature is not guarded and natural law is perverted; and, led by error, they do not copulate with those not permitted, but as if cocks on hens they often brood with the others. But this perverse man conveyed perverse and unheard of teachings in the midst of the other carnal works introduced above, pure with violent quarrel, contentions, murders, so that he might please his followers and serve their hardness. For he gave the law of retaliation, already once held in use by the Jews, and asserted that an inflicted injustice could be repaired by an equal one without any sin on the part of the avenger. But if the avenger returns a greater injustice, that excess makes [him] guilty of a crime and liable to penalty, and afterwards the measure of the stripes will be according to the measure of the crime. At last the wild Muhammad and iron rod for the Christians gives a command, advice on remitting offenses, from where mutual love extends itself to the extent of this savage man and of the love of his followers, that among them vindication is in the law and forgiveness of an offense [is] only under suggestion. The crafty Devil taught this to Muhammad in order to gratify himself to both Jews and Christians by one command, disposed on account of the hardness of their heart to revenge, these truly sufficiently obliged to Christian clemency and forgiving offenses. But the evangelical law is considered

Exodus 21

Leviticus 4

Deuteronomy 25

[70r]
completely alien to this vindication, so that Paul greatly censures those fighting among themselves and gravely lifts the brow against them saying, “If possible, on your part, have peace with all men, not defending yourselves, most beloved, but leave room for wrath, for it is written, ‘Vengeance is mine, I will repay, for the Lord will judge his people and he will have mercy on his servants.’” But Muhammad did not wish to receive this truth and so he hesitated here in his repulsive mud, immersed in the midst of exercising revenge. For many times he makes a speech for his followers about inflicting war against all those incredulous of his sect, for which he assigned a two-fold reason on account of his demented brain: first on account of their incredulity, the latter as a penalty for their known perfidy. From there he often admonished his Moors to go out to pillage and fight against all Christians. But concerning those remaining in their home and not going out to fight, he reasoned this rule in his Qur’an under these words, “Those remaining in their home, not burdened by any sickness, let them by no means be tormented by those going out for pillage, for God gives his gifts to those going out just as also to those remaining, but he places those going out ahead of others, as deserving greater and more abundant [gifts].” From there he discussed below something else false concerning ordinary murder in these words: “Let no good man knowingly kill another good man. Indeed, unknowingly killing a good man let him atone for this and in addition make amends for the

Romans 12[19]
Deuteronomy 32[35-36]
In the Qur’an, Sura 8 and 9.
Law of Muhammad on inflicting the penalty on a murderer.
murder to the family, unless [it] wishes to forgive it. However, anyone who is unable to make amends, let him offer himself to God not only doing penance but also ceasing further from this matter and let him fast continuously two months,” these [are from] him. As if murder committed through ignorance might be redeemed by money and fasting, for in such a case it was necessary to distinguish the ignorance, for that which is found just excuses [a man] from all sin, but that which [is found] passive and rude establishes the murderer liable to death. But Muhammad, who regarded all truth with hate, as if not seeing in the middle of the light, took little or no concern regarding distinguishing this reasoning. But this legislator of barbarians further adds: the voluntary killer of a good man will suffer the perpetual flame of Gehenna and the wrath of God, the highest penalty for the man inferring and abhorring the same. In this penal description no place is left for penance or mercy, but he is enrolled as a future citizen of Gehenna from that moment. Oh miserable Arabic condition! Among them, he who kills a Christian man is made worthy of eternal life, however he who [kills] a Moor is thrust down on the spot to the eternal flame and common possession of the demons. He established it thereafter, on account of those wishing to avenge themselves, that no one ever take up the worthy penalties of someone committing an offense by private authority; better still by public. It was ordered by him that a place be given for self defense, and

[70v]

Two kinds of ignorance, a certain [kind] excusing [a man] from sin, another not.

Revenge should not be taken by private authority, according to Muhammad.
similarly to the opposition of witnesses. When this has been done, the lawsuit is resolved more quickly than can be said. Now the rebuttals able to weaken the declarations of those witnesses are chiefly these: if the summoned witness is ignorant of the law or too little devoted to their Muhammad in reciting the prayers of his Qur’an, whose danger to the matter is immediately given before the judge so that the born testimony might either be weakened or supported. We have considered that these things concerning the impurities and iniquities of the sectarians of Muhammad should be related in the present catechism. Now it is agreeable to refute the vain, putrid, and distinct dogma invented by this legislator which is enjoined in that sect in justice and the greatest holiness, and, as if extricated from other inquiries, to draw nearer for refuting it. For I know not how Muhammad preached of his justification not by sorrow of heart or likewise providing the virtue of the sacraments, but by the devote pilgrimage of the house of Mecca, the most celebrated temple among them, in which house all idolatry is contained within its orbit, and the worship of many gods was sustained from the beginning of its erection in that place. To this place there should be devoted remarkable sanctity and to the same place devotion by all, built not by abundant lamps shining there, not by marvelous work and the careful order of the walls, not by fairly distinguished marble columns, not by various windows stained and shining with gold, not by ceilings embellished and ornamented

The greatest justification of the Arabs is the visitation of Mecca and the pilgrimage, concerning which [see] the Qur’an, Sura 2. [71r]
with colors, not, at last, by roofs of sweet-smelling and precious woods well ornate, but by its first author, whom he himself vainly feigns to be Abraham, the great father of the many nations, in nearly the very place where he obediently prepared to sacrifice his only and dearly beloved son and placed [him] under the sword, if he had not been quickly censured by the angel.

Muhammad recalls this house in his Qur’an under these words, “Indeed, it was granted to Abraham to found, bless, and purify this temple for the pilgrims and those who live there for worshiping God and for establishing no partner with God.” And God commanded his prophet to persuade the aforementioned pilgrimage to this temple and preach the holiness of the place. From where they come there upon beasts so that by testifying to the benefit to themselves they might see and sacrifice them, by which they feed themselves, the poor, and the destitute and carry out their works and finish their devotions and circumambulate the temple many times. Which thing having being done will be of the greatest recompense. These [are the things of] Muhammad. Behold the ridiculous sanctification of his sect, held by so many Moors as cannot be told by us.

But another error has likewise overflowed these [Moors], more pernicious than this one, from having poorly understood those words which are introduced concerning recompense: that although they cannot be forgiven after grave sins these barbarians actually falsely believe either that that visitation makes Abraham built the temple of Mecca, Muhammad believes, but wrongly.
a man holy and incapable of sin, whom the others highly venerate, or that the sins committed [by him] are not ascribed to him so that promise made by Muhammad alone might not become empty. But oh what sorrow, the Arabs appear so devout to their prophet that they consider his body as if an idol, to which, hanging in the air by virtue of a magnet and elevated in the interior atrium, they perform their devotions, [and] lay out their prayers. And it is not marvelous that idolatry thrives until now in that temple; indeed, the worship of idols was never banned from that temple, but newly honored by that enchanter. For in the Arabic annals we read that Muhammad the leader of that false religion purged that temple from the worship of idols, to which certain sacrifices and solemn devotions use to be rendered on account of the creation of women for the use of men. However, afterwards, Muhammad having completed his life, the devotion to him by his followers [was] such that a great prophet might not be disappointed by the funeral rites and ceremonies rendered according to the custom of his native land, from where from that day the body of Muhammad, contained in that house, is watched over with great devotion by all the sectarians of that man, enclosed with an iron coffin and snatched in the air, which the uncultured barbarians given to idolatry began to both adore and follow with the highest religion with the demons urging [them] on. Not realizing they should attribute that work of nature to the power of a magnet because of their grave blindness, the ancient religion of the Arabs in Mecca.

Concerning this stone, The power of the magnet is released if they are thoroughly smeared with oil: so the natural scientists relate.
not the wisely enchanting Devil, who imprisons them in the great error of idolatry by the light elevation, as if miracles furnished by God. Therefore, by this great art of the Devil Muhammad is honored both in Mecca and in all of Arabia, just as both Saint Peter in Rome and Saint James in Compostela; still, they are honored and visited for different reasons, that one [Muhammad] so that punishment might be reduced for an ancestor, these [Peter and James] that they might raise their Christians into heaven with both their favor and patronage. But those already being lead by the good auspices of the Holy Spirit in the Christian religion, having left that sect behind their back, also manage in their devotions to not be imprisoned by the shackles of the Devil, or to go to Mecca, or in that very place or elsewhere render devotions to that abominable prophet, or, at last, return to their first way of life with that lying man, having already detested so great a lying man and ridiculous fraud. Therefore I will warn them in the Lord that they listen with attentive ears to Paul saying to them, “For just as you presented the parts of your bodies to serve impurity and lawlessness for lawlessness, so now present them to serve righteousness for sanctification.” In order that they quickly accomplish this, it will be by all means necessary that they opportunely receive from their pastors the true plan of justifying their souls before God and rush to obtain it, both by sorrow for their past sin and a firm intention of refraining from further sin. Indeed, God Plinius, Book 36, chapter 16. [72r] The epilogue from the thematic passage. Saint Thomas relates this, 1.2, q. 113 through the 15th article.
will quickly be near to those doing penance from their heart and will pour out the celestial dew of grace and a brave spirit for conquering all the enemies of the soul for those disposing themselves. But if they are still not able to endure to the full before Christian punishments, sorrows, and torments unto death, at least let them not place corporal delight before the love of justice so that little by little they might make headway to greater merits of justice and, now stronger and more devote to extraordinary holiness than once servants of impurity, they might not refuse to undergo any misfortune for fulfilling the justice of Christ. For just as he whom the terrors of any penalty whatsoever do not deter from carnal works is regarded as the most unrighteous of all, so the most just are supposed the reverse, who is called back from the false teachings of Muhammad to all the holiness of justice at this acceptable time for his salvation. Let the pious pastors teach all these things by the love of Christ to their newcomers so that, taught by them, they might now turn themselves completely to Christ and consecrate their souls and bodies at once to perfect evangelical purity, lifted by the grace and favor of Jesus Christ. May he mercifully grant it to us and them.
SUMMARY OF THE SIXTH CATECHISM

1. The worship of unspeakable idols is the cause of all evil, the beginning and the end. From Saint Jerome.
2. A poor effort towards the sins of the flesh should be equally rearranged towards the works of the spirit, although it should be devoted more towards virtue than vices, and the Apostle demands this from us.
3. All concupiscence of the flesh should be fled, from which no fruit is able to be gained. From there, anything that causes shame is evil and should be completely avoided.
4. The works of the flesh should be entirely renounced so that we might freely serve the spirit. For where there is the spirit of Christ, there is freedom.
5. As much as Muhammad delighted himself in the works of the flesh, so much he has of torments, which penalty awaits his sectarians, unless they first renounce carnal acts in this life.
6. The public baths of Muhammad should be forbidden to his followers, which only serve sumptuousness as much for the men as the women.
7. Let the women of the proselytes not be attentive to their increasing embellishment, but rather let them be zealous to please their husbands with all purity and chastity.
8. The degrees prohibited by Muhammad for contracting marriages are reviewed, which are seen as opposed to natural law.
9. The works of the flesh are violent disputes and contentions, which are permitted in that sect, as long as like offense is rendered for its equal, for only departure from the standard is sinful and worthy of punishment.

10. The Law of Retaliation flourishes among the Moors, but it should come to be executed by public authority and not private.

11. War against the Christians is ordered for the Moors, as well as the plundering of their goods, if they do not receive that sect.

12. Homicide among the Arabs is not always admitted a sin, and among them ignorance in murder excuses from sin.

13. The greatest justification among the Arabs is the visitation of the house of Mecca, from which he is considered holy who has adored the body of Muhammad by visiting that house.

14. The proselytes should be instructed by their pastors concerning true justification, which is simultaneously accomplished by heart-felt sorrow and the virtue of the sacraments, as long as man cooperates with the movement of the Holy Spirit.
SEVENTH CATECHISM, ON AVOIDING SUPERSTITION

CONCERNING FOODS

A reading from Saint Paul harmonizing the Jews and Gentiles in the selection of foods is selected from chapter 14[1-2] of his letter to the Romans: “Now take up anyone who is weak in faith, but not for disputes over opinions. One person believes that one may eat anything, while the weak person eats vegetables.”

Having followed Paul’s reason, I have firmly thought to myself that it should happen: the uprooting of the old man from all his superstitions and perfectly forming the new as much as God beneficent and good grants it to us. But if, as I have begun, I do not secure the first, I am sure that I cannot attain the desired goal. For and in fact the renewal of the spirit has never happened to anyone unless that old man has been pulled off, removed from his midst, and routed far away. Truly no one believes God is going to perfect the one sleeping in either ear, the contrary for the one piously and rightfully coming to him, as Saint Paul wonderfully taught both, providing testimony about himself: “Therefore we are not discouraged; rather, although our outer self is wasting away, our inner self is being renewed day by day.”

Therefore, the man who is being corrupted should not be regarded greatly, but rather he who is being reborn and renewed in the spirit day by day. Now it is sure that that corruption from the excess or dissonance of humors comes to pass according to the accepted
principle of the doctors, since most unkind and superabundant humors of the human body either increase from food consumed or, already increased, diminish, which hinder sickness if the patients have been equipped in time and selection with reasoned prudence. If however nature itself is already burdened and impeded by the appetite itself lying in wait against the health of man, it quickly succumbs to such a great burden and, unless by fasting, it cannot be repaired, and now failing it says with the Philosopher, “The corruptible body burdens the soul and thought burdens the one considering earthly matters.” We have already learned this by our unlucky fate by experience; for one food yet uneaten, but tasted by the lips, poured out such a great venom into our parents and their posterity that the integral nature then suddenly remained subject to infirmity and both deaths, “Our fathers ate unripe grapes, and our teeth were set on edge.” Moreover, the bitterness of the grape or the unripe state of the forbidden apple is beautifully designated so that we might understand by the example of a seed that sin was contracted by us. For just as “an infant is not without sin one day on the earth,” in whose soul the entire true and personal account of sin is discerned, so in his body and chiefly in his mouth the natural cause, namely, the very apple adhering among his teeth, indeed, the root of all concupiscence, is seen by faith, if someone attentively examines the teeth of the child, among which not the material but the

Wisdom 9[15]

Jeremiah 31[29]

In session 5 of the Council of Trent it is explained in its true sense.
spiritual apple is bound and touched and tasted by this very child, then enclosed in his first parent. But if one food was able to fill the whole man at that time, surely by chance an appointed fast from the same will not be able to make him return to his first health. Truly indeed, but not to restore him to complete health, on account of the notorious difference of the condition of the first and the latter (to which the first sin drove man, so deadly and destructive). For and in fact the condition of the whole nature stands so far distant from the condition now corrupted that the school of theologians well instructed by the Angelic Doctor plainly knows how to distinguish [them]. Oh the great evil that food begat for us, whose known effects we experience in our very selves. For on account of food the Jews fight with the Gentiles, whom the Apostle struggles to bring into harmony, having spoken with the Romans in these words: “Welcome anyone who is weak in faith.” Here Paul begins to reprove and tacitly as if with a needle prick his Romans, because while they judged all foods licit for themselves, they held others abstaining from meat in contempt; indeed, these, since strong in faith, were immoderately consuming meat. He condemns their judgment advanced against their brothers. And indeed it is not permitted to welcome the sick for disputes over opinions, but either to instruct [him] in love or to allow [him] to go in his conscience: For no one whom the law does not judge should come to be judged by the thoughts of others, but released in his

Saint Thomas, 1.2 q. 109 through the tenth article.

Saint Jerome thus explains this passage.
conscience. Indeed, one believes he can eat all foods, therefore, let him eat; however, he who is sick does not consider it should be done by him, let him eat vegetables; [all] under this law and condition, “The one who eats must not despise the one who abstains, and the one who abstains must not pass judgment on the one who eats;” indeed, God assumes judging him. Still, from the context of these words the reader will not discern anything towards an argument about the ceremonies of the Old Law, but only about the conscience of one eating or abstaining, whereas the Apostle leaves each in his own conscience. Indeed, the man sick in faith abstains from meat with reason and sometimes concludes by his own judgment that it is better to abstain than to eat so they do not cause him harm: whether his conscience urges it, still not perfected in the faith, or the infirmity of age demands [it], or the lack of heat in the stomach rejects food so that the crude indigested meat does not beget sickness. However, another who knows nothing profane or foul is not hindered by the aforesaid reasons; while he moderately eats meat, let him not condemn or judge another because of his food so that the blessing of our freedom might not be cursed. “For the kingdom of God is not a matter of food or drink, but of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the holy Spirit.” If indeed the Jews as they are accustomed argue with the Roman citizens in the passage on account of their superstitions; it will be necessary that these are gently taken up by those as Romans 14[17] Saint Anselm extends the passage to the Jews. Acts 10[15]
if more firm in the accepted faith, and, having explained that a certain sheet opened to the prince of the apostles in his vision and filled with clean and unclean animals, let them say to these infirm, “What God has made clean, you are not to call profane or unclean.” And so rise from your ignorance, kill each animal one by one, and eat of them; all foods are now clean for you and esteemed for your use by God. For and in fact, the truth coming, those things that use to pertain to that people in figure [now] bear the figure of absolutely nothing, nor are they contained under any prohibition. For you have been freed from that yolk of the ceremonies of the Old Law, which was the heaviest of all and borne with great difficulty by your parents, about which the Apostle spoke after his vision; the yoke of the Old Law was so grave that neither us nor our leaders have been able to carry it. But let us slowly descend to the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect, as if between Gentiles and Jews, whom it will be right to refute with the Pauline words, as if weak and little firm in the accepted faith.

Why do you carry on consenting to your Muhammad, rather, indeed, to the Jews regarding the distinction of foods after having received baptism? Why do you wish to walk in disputes over your opinions? Why do you rashly judge others, if either they eat or they abstain? I grieve your change, you who still have not pulled off Muhammad in your actions, but arranged around his table, you choose these foods tasted by him; the rest of the dishes removed from your midst by your
superstitions, although you regard others greatly. Until when will this your false religion endure? How long will you abuse our patience? Finally, to what point will I suffer you to be held back in your carnal desires and return to the vomit of your defecacious sect? If you have put on Christ, remove Muhammad from your heart and drive this guest from your table with disgrace. What does Christ have in common with Muhammad, already once excluded from his kingdom and not admitted to his table? What table of demons should come to be regarded as equal with the holy table of Christ? What unclean guest contends to sit with clean guests? Surely he will be quickly removed from the midst of the table because he had not been dressed in the nuptial garment, and he will be sent into the outer darkness, worthy of eternal punishment. Oh our proselytes whom I beget anew until Christ is completely formed in you, adjust your ears to the first Princes of the apostles. See what Paul relates to you: “The kingdom of God is not a matter of food and drink, but of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.” Discern what Peter has said, “Let that time that has passed be sufficient for doing what the Gentiles like to do: living in debauchery, evil desires, drunkenness, carousing, drinking, intoxications, and wanton idolatry.” Listening to these things, return to Christ from the heart and stop up your ears to such a great impostor. But if he cries out to you a thousand times in an hour, may you not even greet him so that you might not share in his evil works. He
whom you once renounced in baptism, there is no reason that you listen to him again, “realizing that such a person is perverted and sins, since he has been condemned by his own decision.” But let us begin to say from where Muhammad took up occasion for forbidding meats, wine, strangled animals, the blood of animals, and many other things, guided by his diabolic spirit, so that we might take account of the catechesis proposed by us. This Muhammad or man more astute than a demon promulgated three laws to these people: namely, to the uncultured barbarians, the dubious Christians, the fearful Jews. He made use of this art so that he could fashion laws to please all of them. For and in fact he gave each such commands as already were vigilant from the prior age among them, whether by tradition, writing, or, at last, confirmed by custom, and which then were firmly established, which it seemed a crime of sacrilege to violate or pass over. Therefore, as he understood that the consuming of meat had been forbidden among all the nations of the world on account of one or another of the aforementioned reasons, to bear the custom and perform to the highest degree the office of law-bearer for his followers, he approved the distinction of their foods one by one, and he ventured to prohibit some serving their sense of taste, which became his demented mind to transfix so that he might be valued for the authority of taking away and adding as was permitted for such a legislator. Making mention of only a few of these things in this material, we will
quickly sound the retreat. Truly it was appropriate for
the Apostles, first princes of the Church and founders of
the evangelical truth, to prohibit some things pertaining
to daily foods for those newly coming to the faith,
whether from the Gentiles or the Jews, which seemed
on account of that time to be greatly expedient for their
perfection and confirmation in the received faith, just as
the Holy Spirit granted them to both speak and
command. Concerning these we read the decree of the
Apostles, confirmed and approved by the Holy Spirit in
his acts in these words, “It seems right to the Holy Spirit
and to us not to place on you any burden beyond these
necessities, namely, to abstain from meat sacrificed to
idols, from blood, from the meat of strangled animals,
and from fornication. Abstaining from these, you will be
doing well.” These were sent with faithful envoys to all
the peoples over whom the name of the Lord Jesus was
invoked so that the controversy that had come up
between the Jews and the Gentiles on the observation
of the precepts of the law might be quickly dissolved by
such great judges. Nearly these words are read in the
Latin version, but a few more are contained in the
Complutense Greek version, which have thus,

καὶ δόσα μὴ θέλειν ἐαυτοῖς γινεῖσαι, ἄτέρεσι μὴ ἐνεῖλεν,

that is, whichever of these things you do not wish to be
done to you, do not do to others. However, the inserted
opinion will serve for understanding the decree, not for
correcting the letter of the Vulgate; to do that would be
a great sin. In these words there are four commands for

Acts 15[28-29]

The Hispanic edition
inserts these words.
the people, the first two of which, namely, the abstaining from animals sacrificed to idols and all fornication, have always been prohibited. However the rest concerning the blood of animals and suffocated meat are ordered for a time so that their consumption might not generate scandal between them and the Jews at that time. On account of this reason Paul testifies that he had circumcised Timothy at an advanced age on account of the Jews who were in those places so that they might be prepared to hold in less contempt he who was sent for their catechesis. But a little afterwards, when the Church engaged in peace and quiet, the last two prohibitions ceased. And foods have not been further prohibited to Christians though days [are] still sanctified for vigil and fasting, in which the putting aside of foods should be observed in all of the Church, not because carnal foods are on account of themselves illicit, but because these days should come to be sanctified by us as regarded holy under the relegation of such foods. For as Saint Jerome teaches, writing against Jouinius, the Apostles used this long discussion and account for editing this decree, and they did not take time for others. And, at last, the Apostles and the elders of Jerusalem send letters, “That nothing more be imposed of this burden on those who have believed from the Gentiles, except that they abstain from idolatry and fornication and blood and strangled animals. And they give them milk to drink as if to a little children and infants, not solid food. And they do not instruct...
concerning restraint, nor do they mandate concerning
virginity, nor do they challenge fasts, nor do they argue
with them concerning evangelical perfection. That
multitude of Gentiles did not have the need for a
command concerning chastity and perpetual restraint to
whom it was written that they abstain from idols and
fornication and among which fornication was heard, and
such fornication which indeed is not even among the
Gentiles.” To this extent the holy doctor responds
adequately to this question. From this passage it is
proven against the Jews and the Muhammadans
retaining some things from them that all the legal
precepts have already ceased, for the moderate
commands concerning blood and suffocation were
furnished as necessary for that time. Indeed, whatever
dominating rage, injustices, treacheries, deceits, and
other schemes ordered onto one’s neighbor against the
peacefulness of his life, which resides in the blood as if
in a seat and is conserved in its proper temper, all these
things are rightly understood represented by the
consuming of blood or an animal strangled in its blood.
For the soul of all flesh is in the blood, since blood [is]
necessary for life, as Philon writes with the other
philosophers. Perhaps from there it is said that the
Hispanaphrasis drank the blood of man and ate from
[his] flesh, to be on the prowl for someone’s vestment
of life. Indeed, he who is violently moved against
someone usually utters foolishly, “I was eating his flesh
and drinking his blood,” without the agitation of his
stomach. Wherefore the Lord so gravely hates irascibility against one’s neighbor that we should mutually bind ourselves for this reason with as much charity as he openly indicated with this command given to our ancestors, “Any man, whether from the house of Israel or of the aliens residing among them who partakes of any blood, I will set my face against his life since the life of the flesh is in its blood. That is why I have told the Israelites, no one among you may partake of blood.” For and in fact all these things pertained to them in figure, which, with the evangelical light rushing clearly forth, has become more clear to us than to them. But Muhammad, being blind and not knowing this light, more truly, regarding this very light with hate, did not want to come to it so that his works might not be disclosed by it. It is therefore necessary for us to draw nearer to the Muhammadan darkness and the laws issued by him in his Qur’an so that we might uproot his pernicious lies from its dark place and the obstacle for the feet of the people into the midst of this light and fatally run through its fundamental principles as if thoroughly ridiculous with our spears of truth. In the first place, he brings forth that decree in his Qur’an under these words: “However, these things are illicit for you: blood and any animal that has not been slaughtered, or by no means killed and strangled with the name of God, and burned with fire, or given up to death by a fall, and touched by a wolf, unless someone has killed it.” And a little below, “Say to those searching

Leviticus 17[10-12]

In the Qur’an, Sura 12.
from you what things are licit for eating, prudent and fragrant things are licit.” And again it says, “Extending to hunting, if dogs have been trained by him and they seize the beasts, invoking the name of God over them, he may eat them with the fear of God, under whom every number of things is.” And again, “It is permitted by God that license be given to you so that you may consume from the banquets of men and those among you, after you have eaten, marry their good women in the name of God who both fear God and believe in him and do not have any lovers, after you have given the offering to be given to them.” As if he wishes a banquet to be prepared before solemn matrimony according to the more of the land. But in another chapter he explains these his words: “While all those believing in God and obeying his commands licitly partake of all things over which the name of God has been invoked; however, let them not follow others not eating, who wish to drag [them] into their own error. However, may they not eat from other illicit foods, unless compelled by necessity.” And a little afterwards he says in this Sura, “According to some all beasts of the fields are licit for eating for any farmer, according to some only the sides, according to others not the sides, but all beasts are eatable, if the name of God has been invoked over them.” And a little afterwards, “All fetuses in the womb of beasts are licit for eating, if they are male, however, illicit if female. However, if they have been killed, all are a portion for consuming. Truly on account of their maliciousness we
have made all animals having an undivided hoof and the fats of cows and sheep illicit for the Jews, unless thoroughly mixed with their sides or their flesh or their bones. What is permitted they have forbidden, God most wise and holy will not take away their maliciousness from them. Still, the unbelieving will say some food was illicit for them or their parents, if only it pleased God. What their predecessors have observed,” Muhammad says to them, “This will be an unchanging command for you, so that you might not further follow an uncertain thing on account of your custom. Indeed God, by whose desire all follow a straight path, will strike down your disagreement.” Thus, see the outstanding servile flatterer, tingling the ears of all and diverting all men from truth. But if he had proposed anything received from God to his followers, by no means would it by chance be regarded vain before God, but in all cases constant and brought forth by a uniform spirit; so why did this fabulous man thus drive so many myriads of people into his mouse trap and the trap of the Devil? I cannot marvel enough or foresee a man dogmatizing false things and giving sibylline answers, but I am more greatly amazed at those who, giving themselves to so many clangs and fables, have adhered to such a man. Concerning which I will say with Isaiah, “This is a rebellious people, deceitful children who refuse to obey the law of God. They say to their seers, ‘Have no visions,’ and to the prophets, ‘Do not see for us what is right; speak flatteries to us, conjure up errors Isaiah 30[9-11] In the same chapter of Isaiah.
for us. Out of my way! Out of my path! Let the Holy One of Israel leave off from us!" But perhaps the Jews drawing near to Muhammad did not bear that word unpunished, and neither will that interruption falling on and driving them to the lake of Hell be lifted from them and their posterity. But it is right that the surviving followers of Muhammad inquire why they observe precepts distinct for them and other Gentiles without any distinction? Indeed they seem not only to have fallen from their faith but from devotion to Muhammad on account their pleasure. For so that I might give a certain example, swine flesh is regarded with hate equally by Jews Muhammadizing and other Gentile idolaters, although it has only been prohibited to the Jews, retaining the Law of Moses with this sect. Though they should have sought and asked for true understanding of that prohibition from their parents, they wished to digress to an ignorant man who neither knew letters nor had learned to form them in his life. But we are negotiating for the good of our proselytes their salvation; we shall explain only a few things about these prohibitions. Accordingly a two-fold prohibition is read in the Old Law for food or animals, made in general for that people: the first, of those animals not having a divided hoof; the latter, those not chewing cud, even if they have a divided hoof, all of which should be received in figure. Therefore, it established a law about terrestrial animals: those that chew the cud and have a divided hoof, they are kept for food; however, those to

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[79r]
Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14.
Saint Cyril, Book De spiritu & litera.
which one or another of these conditions is lacking, such as the hedgehog, the wolf, and the pig, they should be completely rejected so that not even their cadavers may be touched. These things should be discussed so we seek after their spirit, which the Lord intended in figure. Accordingly, to begin, the hooves have a certain suitable affinity with the teeth and here they are joined as related, if you consider their functions. For things convenient for eating are first culled with the hooves; from there they are joined with the teeth, and thus disposed the animals to be eaten are handed over to the stomach. Where by means of suitably chewing the cud sufficiently, which comes about by the teeth, and culling with the hoofs, from which the preparation of the food begins, he seeks likewise he who prepares food for man from these very animals. Now seeing that these animals which are given for eating the Lord uses as an example for explaining those qualities which he longs for in us, his faithful guests at his table, so that men could have such dishes for the body as they prepared for the soul, you might also say that this pedagogy was the cause of such doctrine. And something else, which had been hidden in these mysteries: for every animal dividing the hoof treads firmly because by vigorously pressing the earth not on the surface but the interior extremities of the hooves it is fastened to the same, and by this kind of strength and stability holy Moses also plainly figured that the Lord desires his followers to be firm in his faith and precepts. Truly, through chewing
the cud: to hold the divine precepts in meditation as if food always in the mouth and to complete the same in work. To these remarks I will add another mystery: for by these preserved laws, which were expedient for suitably furnishing worship to God so that they might more carefully preserve his commands, he excludes as if foods inauspicious and disagreeable to him the people of unclean animals and food from his commerce and fellowship by the name of unclean animals and foods. And indeed since they lived to such a degree immersed in the flesh that they never rose up to the spirit and contemplation of the life of the soul, they were inept dishes for the table of the Lord. In addition they oppose the Lord who invites them to knowledge of him and beyond that waits for their repentance, just as if wild animals to men, from where they prove to be completely useless to the faithful, except only for exercising their virtue in wars and infestations. In which thing Saint Peter sees a mystery, “heaven opened and a certain vessel resembling a large sheet coming down, lowered to the ground by its four corners, in which were all the earth’s four-legged animals and the serpents of the earth and the birds of the sky. He was ordered to slaughter from them and eat.” And refusing because they were unclean and prohibited by this law, it was answered, “What God has made clean, you are not to call profane.” Where you see the Gentiles from this passage were unclean animals, and by slaughtering, where the savagery of opposing God dies, and by eating,
where the sinner is prepared for repentance by the mouth and the stomach of the preacher and confessor, the Gentiles came to the Church. He has therefore already accepted the Gentiles to the faith and to the common school of his Church, this law having been abrogated, which were bound to be preserved to the times spoken of so that with that people thus having been united and released into liberty by Christ, the function of their mission already having been accomplished, those Gentiles where welcomed by the great bridegroom of the celestial kingdom to the banquet of his table in which the mysteries of our faith are placed like foods being set on the table. But Saint Theodoretus devises another more manifest reason for this matter under these words, “That most wise Doctor employed this kind of remedy to a disease contracted in Egypt, while indeed he indulged to make sacrifice on account of the Jews for their feebleness. And still those things which they previously worshiped he ordered they offer to sacrifice so that as long as they did this, they might know that what they themselves slaughtered as victims were not Gods. And thus abstaining also from swine flesh might pertain to them, since evidently they use to eat this in the lands of Egypt; now they use to spare the rest of the animals as their gods.” These [words are of] Saint Theodoretus, Book 7, *De sacrificiis*, which other holy doctors follow. Therefore, since the utterances of God concerning the Gentiles were entrusted to the assembled people, it would then be
necessary to accomplish those things sent as if to be reborn in Christ, which were fulfilled and removed by so great a lord. Which if they are considered from a distance, it will be discovered that everything that was in use among them which that antiquated law established concerning illicit or prohibited foods, the Muhammadan invention had also supplemented for itself. For they abhor swine flesh after their conversion worse than dog or snake, but with this law and condition having been granted to them: the Jews living in Spain openly discuss with king Reccesuinth us about their return to the faith and, with so great a king permitting, they receive it anew to be honored by them, as in the eighth acts and decrees of the Council of Toledo one may see. Therefore, these Jews frankly promise that they wish to preserve the baptism of Christ already then received by them and taste all the foods prepared with pig fat or greasy pork flesh, as long as they do not have to taste or swallow the lean flesh, not because they are obliged to the prohibition of this meat by any law, but rather because they are greatly regarded insipid and bland to their palate. Truly, those who have been born from these, together with the proselytes from the Muhammadan people, a little afterwards chose to rescind the plea contracted with such a king and return to these vain prohibitions and have grown old up to our times in their rites. For if by chance they truly or falsely discover that swine flesh or fat is mixed in the prepared food and have tasted Eighth Council of Toledo, the last canon and the petition of the Jews is contained in the Liber ludicorum, of the Fuero juzgo. [80v]
[it], they procure violent vomiting with their own hands and provoke nausea on the spot. I have never endured this patiently: that our proselytes not touch pig flesh, prohibited in their sect with their outer lips in their entire life, on account of which rite they are greatly suspect of having left the faith of Christ who believe it is all allowed to them, since no one censors them on account of such a great crime. Unless perhaps they are excused before the high judges of the faith (as once the Jews before the King) concerning this case because their stomach, provoked by such meats, since it never feeds on it, provokes nausea, refuses digestion, disdains meat, and better chooses to be restored by a daily diet more mean than this bland and insipid one. Indeed, for me, this does not happen with the appearance of truth, but let the invention please these very ones so that because their region commits frauds they might render the case and the crime to their provoked stomach. This officious lie is thus plainly known to them, but if meanwhile they are not drawn back from their superstition, let them taste this meat instead of others and admire its flavor and taste. From where I exceedingly wish that it might please our Catholic Philip as much as the public censors of the faith for the good of these proselytes, which should have been publicly related, that if someone originary from Judaism or the Muhammadan Sect did not use this swine flesh he might then be regarded as suspect of Judaism or the Muhammadan invention and worthy of certain punishing. I have said this on account

Doctor Arias, judge of the apostolic faith for the Granadan Moriscos
of those who falsely defame foods and lie against their own head so they might not hold their false law in contempt. Therefore, so that they might call all these converts suspected of heresy to judgment, I will warn and exhort the thousands of excellent censors of the faith in the Lord: so far as I am concerned, through careful reason, it is my opinion that the children of these New Christians will need to be recalled to a sensible mind: if they see their parents willingly taste that meat before others, not abhor the fellowship and commerce of the Old Christians, take part in their acts and pious works, and not draw back from the society of the faithful in any case or event, that would be greatly useful for the little and however greatly firm in the faith. For if once the Arabic tradition made the children as much as some of their parents (if indeed I do not make judgment concerning all) alien from the Catholic faith, on the contrary, now, by greater right, the pure evangelical doctrine faithfully passed on by their pastors will render all of them constant in the holy religion and more fervent with living charity. But if the prohibition of these animals were not by a granted law or antiquated tradition, but (as once the custom grew among the Persians) from not tasting pork flesh because it is of a sordid and offensive animal, surely I would have cared little, if our proselytes upheld such a tradition belonging to them. But I see them so greatly superstitious in this matter that all of them observe it on account of the law just as given by Muhammad after a thousand years from asserted it and suspect on account of this crime they should be punished as suspect in the faith, even de vehementi.

The Persians do not eat swine flesh as the historians relate.
their conversion, which they carry out with impunity, such as they dare to reveal those very to everyone. But, as I believe, they will restrain their lips with a superimposed finger if they undergo a penalty imposed by the fathers, censors of the faith, by which, becoming reasonable again, they will impose an end to these superstitions on the distinction of foods and they will better understand hereafter. In addition, these New Christians should come to be compelled by lay authority that they not become butchers as has been stipulated by law, nor that they dare behead any animals however small so that, having invoked the name of Muhammad, they might not perform the rite enjoined in their sect. But concerning the drinking of wine I now hear that some of them, who after their betrothal in baptism has taken place, content by reason of their paternal tradition or of the commands contained in that renounced sect use to abstain from the same, now use or rather abuse wine more immoderately than had been permitted. I will now demand from them: why do you not eat pig flesh, though you have found a reason for dispensing with the prohibition of wine? I know not what they might say, but one thing I know for sure: on account of his hate for those liberally drinking wine Muhammad, to whom drinking wine had been denied on account of his epileptic sickness by which he was often violently tossed, brought forth that law. Whereby I want these proselytes in like manner to enjoy the meats of all [animals] and a little wine so that food or

[81v]

In the Granadan act, chapter 9, held by the Emperor Charles V in the year 1526.

Wine had been prohibited in Leviticus 10[9].

Colossians 2, there is a passage in proofs for these matters.
drink might not distinguish them from Christian men, which would be a thing greatly injurious to them. But Muhammad questioned by his followers why he had made such a prohibition of wine to the loss of his followers, it is reported that he said so that his Moors might soberly pray, because these very ones entangled by carnal acts do nothing less. But those of them that have been born among us and nourished in the Christian religion, though they moderately enjoy swine flesh and wine, I desire in Christ a sober mind and fervor of spirit for fulfilling the law of Christ, not that vomiting follow close after nausea of food and wine being very abundant for them, unless a mixture is made for prescribed sleep. By this matter all those who indulge in intoxications, carousing, and drunkenness, as if brute beasts obeying their stomach, “they should be sober and vigilant in faith so that the roaring lion the Devil might not devour them,” I will warn with Saint Peter; with the apostle, “Do not become drunk with wine in which there is lust;” or I will exhort a thousand times with Hosea the prophet, “Return to your heart, I will speak once as to an onion, fornication, wine, and drunkenness take away the heart,” which passages our thoroughly trained pastors will review and, giving this lesson to our proselytes so that they might give thanks to God the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ for their vocation, they will benevolently discuss it with them: that now having abjured Muhammad with his obscene works they might sincerely turn to God.
Moreover, exulting in Christ and not in food or drink, and not in the other rites of the false religion, the sectarians of Muhammad will be judges, but the contrary for the pious and Catholic men, stable in the faith and fervent with charity. And as such called by their pastors they will worthily sit at the table of Christ and the reception of the sacraments and will taste with heart and mouth at the same time drinks and foods rendered sweeter and more pleasant than honey and the honeycomb, lying under those figures of the Mosaic Law, and they will have full enjoyment of the same with Christ for eternity and beyond.

SUMMARY OF THE SEVENTH CATECHISM

1. The former food enticed our first parents and now too makes us liable of the same sin, whose account is rendered in its true sense.

2. Food is able to distinguish whether a man is Catholic or confessor of another false religion.

3. All Christian men should be in agreement in food and drink, just as in faith, and they will not keep themselves from any food unless on account of conscience.

4. Saint Paul harmonizes the Gentiles and the Jews on the distinction of food. He also relates many things concerning making the selection of food according to the conscience of each one.

5. Blood and suffocation of animals were prohibited for a time by the apostles on account of the scandal to the [82v]
Jews and Gentiles. This scandal ceasing, the prohibition ceased.

6. The law of Leviticus concerning the prohibition of animals is explained in its true literal sense, founded on previous historical events.

7. The prohibition of animals not consumable is demonstrated ridiculous, which was made by Muhammad to please his followers and the Jews joining him.

8. The decree of the Eighth Council of Toledo for Jews not eating pig flesh is extensively explained.

9. Those who abhor pig flesh and wine from these proselytes are regarded suspect in the faith and, as such, should come to be punished.

10. The judges of the Holy Areopagus should have summoned this case of known superstition to itself, which awaits that holy tribunal.

11. He who does not eat pig flesh not on account of the tradition of his ancestors or by reason of a superstitious law is made aware of no fault.

12. There is provision by law that the proselytes from this sect not execute the profession of butcher so that they might not fall into the Muhammadan rites.

13. It is necessary that these proselytes are sober in the faith, both in food and in drink, so that they might worthily approach the table of Christ.
A reading from the words of Paul to the Galatians, 1[6-7], is brought to bear: “I am amazed that you are so quickly forsaking the one who called you to the grace of Christ for a different gospel because there is no other, but there are some who are disturbing you and wish to pervert the gospel of Christ.”

While the apostle having spoken with the Corinthians considers the perils caused to himself, he examines that one coming forth from false brothers who, moved by their spirit, may I say diabolic, believe themselves to be offering obedience to God while they harm their brothers, while they lay traps for animals, while they inflict a thousand injuries on their bodies. They are like treacherous children, workers of iniquity, nurtured under darkness; they either envy or disparage or gnaw their teeth more than Theon against those coming to the light; unaware of the plan of God thundering, which no one knows but he himself, wishing to pervert the judgment of God and establish their own. Without a doubt, let these hear God thundering, haven spoken to Job: “Who can resist my face? Who has given to me before and it will be paid back? All things under heaven, they are mine; I will not pardon him and his words, powerful and composed for entreating.” Having heard these things, these false brothers could have, if
if they wished, spoken meekly with their brothers; indeed, further, changed council with them, if God had granted, which is the duty of the wise man. I will beseech them assiduously that they change their wolf skin with their customs, that they come to their senses, that they draw near to the light, and that they stop cursing their own [brothers] so that they might not claim their own curses. But in the meantime, while they discuss such a matter and consider changing their action, implicated in treachery against their brothers, I will retreat and I will say with Paul by way of refuting their foolishness, “I am amazed that you are so quickly forsaking the one who called you to the grace of Christ for a different gospel because there is no other, but there are some who are disturbing you and wish to pervert the gospel of Christ.” The fall of the Galatians could not be in secret, particularly among the faithful who have heard of it even a thousand times. And for and in fact, the Galatians were subverted by false apostles preaching the carnal observation of the law to them so that they might willingly give their assent by word and favor (not as yet with deeds) to their teachings and, at last, they might observe circumcision and the Sabbath, new moons and, likewise, other things of this kind: for the aforesaid seducers persuaded them by many means, saying that the faith of Christ did not suffice for complete justification and salvation, unless they kept these carnal observances from the old tradition. They were thus easily able to argue this.
because Peter and the other apostles who had been with the Lord permitted the primitive church to Judaize for a time so that they might not cause scandal to the Jews. And indeed they could not quickly destroy Judaism, but they slowly converted the Jews to the simplicity of the truth. Because if at first approach they had begun to destroy all their rites, they would rather have abhorred than accepted the faith. However, Paul, since he preached to the Gentiles who did not keep any rite of the Mosaic Law, did not allow his disciples to Judaize at all. And amazed he begins to refute his Galatians who were of the Gentiles and not of the circumcision, because they applied their heart to the falsehood of the pseudo-apostles without any reason. Indeed, obdurate minds, unless they were beaten with open rebuke, would not recognize as evil in any way what they had done. And so from that admiration, since it was great, the Apostle, about to speak, begins the preface: “I am amazed that you, previously established in faith and good works, are now so rashly and unexpectedly carried from new liberty to old slavery and in so short a time that it is marvelous to me and I judge it to be thought poorly of you. You are driven, and may I say even this, not from evil to good, but from good to evil, because you wish to be driven from God the Father who has called you to the Grace of Christ, which brings about the remission of sins and complete justification for all, to another gospel which is not good news but false and pernicious, alien from the very truth. I will
reveal it thus. Indeed, the gospel of Christ, which I have preached to you, is one alone: but [the gospel] of the pseudo-prophets is contrary to this; this [gospel] should therefore be condemned and mine never separated from you. Indeed Paul’s argument is good, but in some way it lacks the excellence which he had sent before while he called himself the apostle of Christ and even the slave of Christ and he immediately said about his gospel, “Now I wish to make known to you, brothers, that the gospel preached by me is not according to man, and indeed I did not receive it from man nor was I taught it, but through the revelation of Jesus Christ.”

What more clear or noble can now be said about Paul’s gospel than it consists of celestial revelation made by Christ for all the faithful whom the Eternal Father sent into the world not only as redeemer but also as legislator, just as he himself had promised to the faithful through Isaiah saying, “The Lord will no longer make your teacher vanish from you and your eyes will see your teacher and your ears will hear a word of warning behind your back: ‘This is the way, walk in it,’ lest you wander either to the right or to the left.” Moreover, the first evangelist of all, John, describes the penalty for those who wander, adding this sentence to the end of his revelation as a finishing touch: “If anyone adds to these, God will add to him the plagues described in this book, and if anyone takes away from the words in this book, God will take away his share in the book of life and from the holy city and these things described in

De auctoritate evangeli

VI, Arnaldus, q. 21
through many sections
in the beginning.

[Galatians 1:11-12]

Isaiah 30[20-21]
[84v]

Revelation 22[18-19]
this book. He speaks who gives testimony of these things.” Behold the perfidy of Muhammad, who, after he had heard many things concerning the Gospel of Christ from many [people], made a pseudo-prophet, called as much those who had believed as the rest not believing to his own gospel, indeed he call his sect such. Indeed, he says on account of self-love that the apostles of Christ and particularly Paul have corrupted the true gospel of Christ and have strayed from its true sense; however, he has achieved the true sense of the gospel. By these words he believes together with Paul that there is only one gospel, but Muhammad erred in his understanding by the whole sky, since the unlearned man and not in control of judgment was not yet able to perceive the etymology of the expression of “gospel,” how much more its sense. Farewell, this Muhammad who perturbs nearly the whole world wishing to subvert the gospel of Christ. Farewell, now in Hell with his lies. Let us firmly believe in the gospel of Christ which Paul preaches to the faithful. Peter teaches, the apostles preach, and their disciples retain it pure, and indeed they have not received the gospel from man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. Let no one called to the faith say, therefore, “‘I belong to Paul,’ and another ‘I belong to Apollos,’ are you not merely men? What, therefore, is Apollos, and what is Paul? Ministers of him in whom you have believed, just as the Lord has assigned each one. I planted, Apollos watered, but God caused the growth.

The error of Muhammad in the Qur’an, Sura 12.

Muhammad admits one gospel in the Qur’an, Sura 12.

1 Corinthians 3[4-8]

[85r]
Therefore, neither the one who plants nor the one who waters is anything, but only God, who causes the growth. The one who plants and the one who waters are equal, and each will receive wages in proportion to his labor.” But let us question Paul about the kind of gospel that he preaches, he will say to us, “You are one body, one spirit, just as you were called to the one hope of your call; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.” Perhaps the dogma of Muhammad is such? I will refer from it what kind it is, indeed, thus he has in his Qur’an changed into the Latin tongue, in which he introduces God speaking to his [followers]: “We sent Christ, son of Mary, to whom we joined the gospel, which is good and a confirmation and correction of the testament and a straight path for those fearing God and a complement to your law. Therefore, you like him do not plead among them, but embrace the truth alone. Each one with his [law] that has been given by us, and judgments. Indeed, God knowing, if it has pleased him, could have made all people one, but he wishes to know what from his commands each one might accomplish.” These things [are from] the demented Muhammad. And he immediately adds, “Therefore, let your intention always be to bless, since you will render all your arguments and controversies to be stricken down to God, who will judge you justly, the beloved judge of all.” Behold the false teaching of Muhammad, the gospel preached by him, which is a complement to all truth. Anyone follows anything (he says all are saved Ephesians 4[4-6] In the Qur’an, Sura 12. Muhammad’s error of approving variety of sects.
just the same, just as the rest under the various Protestant sects their religion), for anyone, by his judgment, is saved in his sect. Oh ridiculous mind, if he accepts the gospel, why does he admit sects? If he confesses the truth, why does he mix it with such great lies? If there is only one gospel, why does he not call all to its observance? The Muhammadan invention is of this kind, vain, futile, and to be utterly laughed at, for as he was completely occupied in carnal works, while he marched out to promulgate his lies, as if from the Sibylline cave, he did not even agree with himself, but in contrary zeal he would split himself through the middle (just as the Devil suggested) on appointed days. Indeed, the approbation of sects, what is it except the invention of demons and an open lie accepted by idolatrous and uncivilized men? Moreover, the Devil has been separated from God, thus on account of his innate envy he struggles to avert everyone from him and for this aversion he has not a few nor dull ministers. For all the Muhammadans equally lie in wait for the proselytes from their sect, just as the perfidious Jews their neophytes, all of which a grave penalty awaits if they attempt to remove a proselyte or a neophyte from their accepted faith, but it will be much graver in the underworld. And so I warn and I will repeatedly warn the authors of this crime that, fleeing the Syrian boulders, they restrain themselves from demonic suggestions and turn themselves according to the example of their brothers to the triune and [85v]

one God, who, as he is tender and merciful, knocks on
their hearts a thousand times in an hour so that they
might open to him so he might enter to them and eat
supper with them. If they do anything less, let them
hear the penalties awaiting them from the Toledan
council under this form of decree: “The Jews who have
converted to the faith may not communicate with those
remaining in the old rite. Let there be no communion
for the Hebrews who have been transferred to the
Christian faith with these who even now stand fast in
the old rite so that they might not be subverted by their
companionship. Whoever does not observe this, these
individuals must be presented to the Christians and
those with whom it has been prohibited to converse
must be assigned to the public jails.” But because it
could be turned towards doubt whether they should
forcefully be separated from the other spouse of the
infidel and his children, and the children handed over to
the believing parent, the council determines thus: that
the Jew must be separated from his believing wife
unless he is added to the faith; moreover, the children
must be handed over to the believing mother. It has the
decree thus: “Jews who have Christian women in
marriage must be warned by the bishop of that city that
if they wish to remain with them they must become
Christians. But if they do not wish to be admonished, let
them be separated. Moreover, the children who have
been born from such [parents], let them follow the faith
and condition of the mother. Similarly also, others who

Fourth Council of
Toledo, canon 62, with
which canon 19 of the
Fourth Aurelian Council
harmonizes.

Decree 61 of the Fourth
Council of Toledo in the
chapter from Literas
convers. coniuga. and
book 1, Cod. de iud. &
coelicolis, chapter Ne quis Christianam
have been born of infidel women and believing men, let them follow the Christian religion, not the Judaic superstition.” Moreover, at the time of this decree that dispensation of Saint Paul, necessary for that time and issued for the good of the Corinthians, had ceased, to whom he thus spoke: “If any brother has an infidel wife and she is willing to live with him, he should not divorce her; and if any woman has an infidel husband, and he is willing to live with her, she should not divorce her husband, because the infidel will be saved through the believer.” Indeed, at the beginning of the nascent church the infidels were gradually brought to the faith by the faithful, not forced, but voluntarily. But now in these recent and evil times “a little yeast corrupts the whole batch of dough,” and the example of one perfidious man, although that man be from the dregs of society and the common people, drags the many to the edge of Hell. But our common people will happily render this work already initiated with the Granadans recently transferred to the kingdoms of Castile (after the subdued civil rebellion, which the blind attempted against their own lives before the end of the sixty-eighth year). And they will not desist from it until, adding the finishing touch, they merit the crown of the eternal prize. Indeed I hear, or, more rightly, I see their good conduct in Christianity and well-begun familiarity with the Old Christians, by which they make more progress by divine will and they will daily (unless I am deceived)
make more progress, since the celestial spirit gives to nobody according to measure, but supports increase every day when the due disposition is there. And if perchance, with the Devil knocking at their hearts, it pleases them to turn away from God and give themselves to ruin, again I will make them more sure about the graver penalties to be undergone by them. Oh indeed there was zealousness in this region of the Hispanic kingdoms for the preservation of the Catholic faith so that they sharply threatened those hearing that from it would rush forth death, infamy, and a total fine of their goods, as contained in their laws. From where lord Juan, the first of this name, published in his Numancian law in the Spanish language, under this series of words, “Mandamos que ellos, y los que assi tornaren a su ley, sean nuestros captiuos para que mandemos hazer dellos lo que fuere nuestra merced” [We mandate that they and those that so return to their law are our captives so that we might command it be done to them whatever be our pleasure]. For those who subvert will be dragged off to a terrible death, but the subverted, unless they accept penance from their heart, will undergo the penalties of heretics. And this is understood under those words, “that it be done to them whatever be our pleasure,” just as it stands in the whole title De haereticis, book six, and in the Nueva recopilación of laws, book eight, title three, De haereticis, & reconciliatis. From there I shall bear witness to another matter for them so that our Ley del rey don Juan, en Soria, año 1418, y esta en la nueva recopilacion, libro 1, titulo 1, de la Santa Fe catolica. Y los reyes catholicos ponen pena de muerte y perdimiento de vienes a los tales: pragmatica en Granada, año de 1501 [Law of King Don Juan in Soria, the year 1418, and it is in the New Compilation, book 1, title 1, Of the Holy Catholic Faith. And the Catholic Kings establish the death penalty y the loss of good for such [people]: pragmatic in Granada, they year of 1501]. Book Nullus C. de sum. Trin. and de fid. cath. and other laws in the same § obstinatoris, and in the Nueva recopilación, book 19, title 26, De
proselytes may be safe, and not seek communion or familiarity with heretics or Moors newly converted to the faith, which they call *Gazi*, that is, foreigners to the faith, which is discerned by those many laws to be avoided so that they might not be subverted by their way of life. For as the Apostle has it, writing to the Corinthians, “Corrupt conversation corrupts good habits.” However, the law judges differently concerning the Jews than heretics, because they also have received the law from the Lord and are not heretics. Indeed all the Jews are hated among all the peoples on account of their known perfidy, and so there is no one who fears and should fear a proselyte being made by them. But on the contrary the word of heretics creeps like a cancer and infects everyone, even if it barely touches. The Apostle judges that these [heretics] will have to be avoided while he instructs his Titus, “Avoid the heretic after one and another warning, realizing that he is subversive who is like this.” Therefore, the trained and pious common people will pay attention so that schisms might not be heard in their subordinates, or pestilential people of this sect, or heretics springing forth, but that all might understand one Christ and be joined to his one bride the Catholic Church. Now for reason that they understand the same thing in Christ and confess the same thing that the rest of their co-citizens [understand and confess], they will be worthy of praise. So praised by their pastors in faith and confession, the extolled virtue will grow and will have an immense stimulus.
for glory. From where the pastors will say with the apostles, in order to give thanks to God, who by his mercy has called them to the glory and inheritance of Christ, “What thanksgiving, then, can we render to God for you in all the joy in which we rejoice on your account before our God, praying beyond measure night and day that we might remedy the deficiencies of your faith so as to strengthen your hearts, blameless in holiness before our God and Father at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his holy ones.” Moreover, those things that are lacking from their faith the common people will supply day by day by virtue of their capacity and just as if their fellow-citizens and neighbors, old disciples in the school of Christ and his apostles. For desiring the effort of all the brothers, we request this pious work from them so that the one faith of theirs also be a mutual way of life with Christ and his law. For on account of that, it is necessary that they dwell with good and pious men so that by their example they might return onto the path and guard against perverse works. They will be carried to perfection of life by their virtue and steadfastness in matters of faith, everyone understanding the same thing. But the Holy Scripture proves in many passages how greatly the most evil customs of the perfidious or the heretics are able to cause harm to these who are sick in the faith. “He who walks with the wise,” says Solomon, “will be wise; the friend of fools will become similar.” And again in another place under a certain similitude he confirms

Thessalonians 3[9-10, 13]

Concerning this, Father Castro, book 2, De iusta haereti. punit., c. 8.

Proverbs 13[20]

Sirach 13[1]
this, saying, “He who touches pitch will be blackened by it; and he who associates with an arrogant man will put on arrogance.” With this the celebrated saying of the royal profit harmonizes, “With the holy you will be holy, and with the perverse you will be perverse.” If indeed the companionship of the good customarily perfects the good and the bad, by how much more might mutual fellowship with corrupt men be harmful, since our nature infected and sick with sin is prone to evil. But truly what great prudence and reason it is necessary to use in correcting these proselytes and drawing them back from their vain rites and the ceremonies of their sect, foreshadowing absolutely nothing whatsoever. This is left to the prudence and discretion of their pastors who, since they should call the Old Christians as their fellow helpers to this ministry, will greatly render them all attentive to this work of highest praise and charity. And they will inform them about the rites polluting our religion to the hoof so that they learn to either correct or advise them to their aid, or, finally, accuse them before their pastors and the judges of the faith. For and in fact these fellow-citizens, after they have made their brothers the proselytes forget the perfidy and perverseness of Muhammad (which I hope the Lord will grant for the glory of his name), they will guide all of them by the hand with both deeds and words to Christ Jesus, who is our salvation and redemption and the consummation of the law. If it were granted to these [proselytes] to return for even one

Psalm 17[26, 27, Vulgate; 18:2, 27, NAB]

The Old Christians are ministers of this catechesis.

The question is examined whether it is expedient for the Granadan Moriscos to
hour to their desired homes and look from afar to the
Mediterranean Sea and even from the threshold to
greet their dear houses and pleasant gardens, they
might immediately desire the mutual fellowship of their
Africans with whom they will quickly recall to memory
every teaching of Muhammad which had been
committed to the hind knapsack by them. For as it is in
the proverb, those who greatly love each other, looking
from afar, give each other their regards. So then, if it
were permitted that our proselytes greet their brothers,
friends, and relatives from afar, who in the last civil
rebellion, falling from their faith, had glided to the
African shores, they would indeed receive their
greetings from them in the Muhammadan rite in the
space of one night. And it will be granted to all to freely
speak face to face and cast that kingdom now pacified
into new turmoil and concealed murders, thievery,
plunder, fires, sacrilege, and every evil, just as once it
was permitted to them without license in the civilian
sedition of the kingdom begun under the sixty-eighth
year. Those Moors recently set free from the Christian
religion will without a doubt attempt these things,
particularly with their brothers recalled from the fully
merited exile providing them aid, whom they will
receive in their secret homes, rather, their more secret
hearts, and they will favor as often as they turn to them.
And the small distance of place will not delay those who
already long know the paths of the entire kingdom and
the hidden paths as if the public streets of Algiers or
return to that kingdom.
The author responds
negatively.
[88r]
Fez, a thousand times trodden by them and stained with the spilled blood of Christians and recognize their tracks as if sniffing dogs. By certain prognostication all the Granadans believe together with us that this will happen and it is called into doubt by no one. But if the old Granadan citizens now reluctantly bear the ceasing profit and the emerging damage from their possessions, gardens, farms, and poorly cultivated lands, since with the Moriscos passing away the land has been given as if to solitude, and on this account they insistently procure that at this time they now be recalled from such an exile by our Philip, since that has been justly denied to them by a decree of the high royal senate (just as I believe it should always be denied), these things have been left to them as a solace, of which I will briefly make some mention to please them: not only that that kingdom has remained free from perfidious Moors and pernicious heretics; that it is permitted to the Granadan inhabitants to wander day and night and, without any danger to the life of the traveler, freely negotiate even with their brothers inhabiting the rugged Alpujarras and enter a contract of new fruit and of the silk trade; but also even that that vast and wide kingdom has been quickly restored to public peace and quiet by so great a Philip, who by his ancestral virtue has been capable, and will always be capable, as long this vital aura rules his body, of sparing the subjected and vanquishing the arrogant from among them. If however the Granadan [88v]

A response is given by the royal senate with great reason to the exiled Granadans.
citizens determine against us that I seem opposed to their private interests in this matter, we will give them an answer. We judge that the service of these natural citizens will be most useful: with their art and industry they till the soil with the hoe; they create irrigated gardens from uncultivated land; they secure three and four harvests a year from well cultivated land; and they hand over audacious yearly taxes to their lords.

However, these temporary benefits should not be placed before those spiritual goods enumerated in order by us, more rightly, not even equally provided for. If they long to pursue only their own advantage, they should be more attentive to the spiritual salvation of their neighbors on account of the law of Christ and fraternal love rather than their own corporal [well-being], so that we say this opinion on account of our theological duty in this matter. Having accepted this answer from us, so that they remove their heart from further discussing that question, I will bear this counsel: their request should not even be considered by them, lest, as they have begun, they now be poorly regarded among our Philip and every pious imitator of the Catholic faith. These matters [are] about the natural Granadan citizens, now I will take the trouble to glance over with a brief word those matters which remain to be discussed about the Valencians. Although everyone pledges their souls for their salvation, I will never pledge mine, provided that their spiritual doctors and those who exercise authority over them give the salubrious Thus in Saint Thomas, 2.2, q. 26, article 5 and 12, q. 73, article 5 and opus., c. 18, c. 16. [89r] Luke 3[8]
potion being noted by us, since Saint Luke extols the will and authority of God for the salvation of men, saying, “God can raise up children to Abraham from these stones” whoever would emulate the faith in so great a father. And so I would wish three matters be undertaken for them by the princes and authorities. The first I have already presented when I framed a suitable argument for banning Algarabia and Arabic dress. I shall say another, if it is enough to say it: that commerce and mutual conversation with the Saracens of Algiers and Fez, their neighbors, with whom they now freely and without penalty consort (as the entire population is on the coast), be altogether avoided, quickly plucked from the sea coasts of the kingdom of Valencia. Unless this is instantaneously done and mandated to be quickly executed by our Catholic Philip in the general councils of that kingdom, the viceroy of Algiers has already called all of them to himself, as recently the citizens of Játiva, and he will bring his laws and judgments in his sailing triremes. And then made co-citizens with their brothers in that or some other African kingdom, they will offer their first libations to their Muhammad, just as they are now accustomed to offer to him in more secret devotion, according to popular hearsay. At last, the third matter I wish to come about for them: that, quickly removed from the sea, with all their property and belongings completely safe (in regard to the anticipated wishes of the temporal lords of their estates or villages, who are so eager only to provide for their comfort),

The Algerian viceroy, in the passing of the year 1583, brought those of Játiva all the way to Algeria.

Old Christians will have to substitute the place of those [Moriscos], which will result in the greater good of the lords.

[89v]
they conduct their affairs with the Old Christians and they be received among them as guests and pilgrims, more rightly, I should better say, “As fellow citizens of the saints and members of the household of God” according to charity, and be fostered among their pious viscera. By their example they will be called back to all matters of perfect charity and the duties of brotherhood at this acceptable time of their salvation. Indeed, I exceedingly thirst for their spiritual salvation, just as Christ has provided me abundance for thirsting, and, solicitous, I seek it and I will not desist from daily knocking on the hearts of their princes and all other authorities until the Lord God, according to his will, grants that I find it. Whereby I will not be reluctant to approach them with due reverence and civil respect, just as I have begun and I should speak to the lord my king Philip, separating [the proselytes] among them so that he might provide for their singular salvation and command that the provisions be executed. On his behalf, cast into a thousand dangers and labors, turned to the Lord of heaven and earth, I shall rather pray for the salvation of his subjects than for their provision. And I will beg all good things in this life and the weight of eternal glory for so Catholic a Philip a thousand times an hour, which Christ might grant to him and us from heaven.
SUMMARY OF THE EIGHTH CATECHISM

1. Saint Paul received the Gospel which he preached from Christ, but Muhammad received his sect, which he calls the gospel, from the Devil himself.

2. The error of Muhammad is described which affirms that the Gospel of Christ was corrupted by the apostles, rendered in its true sense by him.

3. The error of Muhammad is noted saying that God wished for a variety of sects so whoever lived well might be saved in each one.

4. It is a grave offence to bring someone from Christianity either to the Law of Moses or the Sect of Muhammad, which is worthy of punishment.

5. He who is found to be a transgressor from Christ after baptism loses his freedom. However, he who makes him transgress, let him be assigned to the public jails according to the decree of the Fourth Council of Toledo.

6. A Christian man or woman should be separated from another infidel spouse so that he or she might not be subverted. The children should be handed over to the Christian parent, since the dispensation of Saint Paul has altogether ceased in this respect.

7. Whoever has fallen away from Christ, unless he should come to his senses, is punished as a heretic. And similarly, the Christian who, faltering from the faith, has made him transgress, is punished with a greater penalty.
8. Communion with Christian heretics is altogether forbidden, but not so with the Jews, unless the danger of subversion is feared.

9. There will be great concern on the part of the common people for their proselytes so that they might beware of heretics so that they might not falter from the faith, seduced by them.

10. The Old Christians among the common people are co-participants for confirming our proselytes in the faith through their speech and example.

11. The question is examined whether it is expedient for the Granadan exiles to return to their dwellings for cultivation of the fields, and the negative is proven, since the spiritual good should be placed before the temporal.

12. The Valencian proselytes, after they have put off Algarabia and the Arab dress, should come to be exiled from the sea shores and Christians substituted in their place. Certainly, received among the Christians, they will temper themselves to their good character.
A reading is proposed from Saint Paul, 2, to the Corinthians, 6[14-16]: “Do not be yoked with infidels. For what partnership does justice have with iniquity? Or what fellowship does light have with darkness? Or what accord does Christ have with Beliar? Or what does a believer have in common with an infidel? Moreover, what agreement does the temple of God have with idols?”

We have now come to the catechesis which is for the calling and conversion of the Moors remaining in their folly. Therefore, let our proselytes patiently bear it if we negotiate the salvation of their brothers just as theirs, guided by the breath and favor of the Divine Spirit, “Without which we are not capable of considering anything from ourselves as if from ourselves, for our ability is from God.” But if the work happily comes to pass for us, we will render everything back to this Divine Spirit, bestowing thanksgiving to him. But it is right that these sectarians seduced by Muhammad be violently pursued with outstretched swords by us and our most pious and true teachings, as their parents, the first of whom is Muhammad, had imposed doing. Thinking such things, my spirit and the common desire for battle, not to speak of war, has increased, so that wherever the enemy might move, with his sword girded
as he has according to custom, unless he gives glory to God, he will bear the disadvantage, he will be captured by our speech and entangled by the divine words. I am certain of this, but I should desire even more that he be turned to Christ than doubtful or tottering concerning his sect. Therefore, I have been able to safely go down to this battle line. If someone perceives me with their ears, I will brand an eternal blemish on their master magician and, in the same manner, his vain sect, whether he refuses the battle or, provoked, demands it. For in the one he will flee, and, truly, in the other he will be left strangled. But I fear that, with hardened heart, closed ear, impeded sense, so that he does not retain the mysteries of our faith referred by us, he might come to us and proclaim that the battle will have to be undertaken with his sword extended on behalf of his religion, subsequently, he might refuse it should be proven. But it happened that the office demanded of Christ Jesus by his eternal father was to open the ears of the deaf, rouse minds, take the fog away from eyes, enlighten blind hearts. He, on account of his ineffable mercy, if the eternal plan of his gracious purpose demands it, will execute his work at the proper time, and, tender, powerful, and merciful, will grant them ears and new hearts for hearing the word of God; however, [he will grant] us to bear a mouth, a tongue, and words, not ours, but his alone. Moreover, mindful of my brevity, girded to such a great work, I will speak together with the Apostle opportunely and

[91v]

Isaiah 61[1-2]
Luke 4[18-21]
inopportune to these peoples detained in their
Saracenism, “Do not take on the yoke with infidels.”
That is, do not be joined or equated to them, because
your inheritance is God, not the vanity of the sectarians
opposing you and your salvation. And so do not be
associated to those pseudo-apostles who perturb you
and sinisterly interpret the gospel of Christ, nor either to
others lying in idolatry. “For what partnership does
justice have with iniquity? Or what fellowship does light
have with darkness?” The Apostle wrenches out the
negation, as if he says there is none, or any method for
obtaining their equity. Indeed, nobody can at the same
time be just and unjust, light and dark, because placing
one of two contraries, he excludes the other, according
to the Philosopher, asserting that the discipline itself is
of contraries. “Or what accord does Christ have with
Beliar? Or what does a believer have in common with an
infidel?” They are not able to completely come together
since, under a name Paul has named Beliar, or Satan, or
an idol, or, at last, the Antichrist, under the name of that
idol. These three wage battle and they persist to
exercise their war against Christ, although frequently
defeated, attempting to assail as much Christ the prince
of light as his shining soldiers in a thousand ways. But
they succumb defeated, and succumbing they raise their
heads, if they might do further harm. “Moreover, what
agreement does the temple of God have with idols?” He
calls idols these very idolaters worshiping false idols for
gods; they are the temples of Satan, just as on the

The Pauline passage is balanced in its sense, according to Saint Jerome.

The Devil persecutes Christ in his members.

Sin effectively casts out grace. Thus in Saint
contrary the just are called the homes or seats of God, in which he lives sevenfold by his gifts, and his abode is never leased unless he withdraws excluded with disgrace. If only this spirit would be near to us, not only for a time, while we compile this treatise on the conversion of the Moors, but while we put our hands to their opportune catechesis, which would offer itself to us every day, if we were on fire with the fervor and flame of so great a spirit. Indeed, this is not the work of men, of one wishing and another running, but it is of God alone. And, indeed, its calling is not in our power, or its will consistent to our inner calling, or, at last, its receiving to our internal inspiration: these things are all from God, “Who will grant to both desire and perfect by his own good will.” The duty of man is to not resist this, not to contradict the inner movement, just as Isaiah had said: “The Lord arouses my ear morning after morning so that I hear as if a teacher; the lord God has opened my ear, and I have not rebelled, I have not turned back.” Therefore, the Lord will give this ear for hearing as much his inner as his outer words to all peoples drawing near to him, and to us his armor, namely, “the shield of faith and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.” Safeguarded by these for descending to the outpost of the Saracens, we will happily wage battle against them and disputation for refuting their sect. Let the Gentile, the Scythian, the Arab, the Moor, the African, led and seduced by the religion of Muhammad, now approach, from whom we must first learn if he wishes to hear or

Romans 9[16].

[Philippians 2:13]

Isaiah 50[4-5]

[92v]

Ephesians 6[16, 17]

It is not permitted to dispute with the foolish concerning our faith, which Arnaldus proves, q. 13, § 17, and Saint Thomas, 2.2, q. 10,
not. But if he refuses to hear on account of his religion, it will not be necessary to argue with him, but to pursue prayer so that God might open his ear. If, however, (as we trust in that divine pity) he does accommodate his ear to the celestial word, he should in the first place come to be questioned about the rational condition of his human nature; if as it befits a man making use of reason and judgment and gifted with free will he might use it. If he completely refuses, it will not be necessary to argue further against those who negate such a foundation. But if on the contrary he makes use of his reason and wandering, roused by this great hope and as if promising us victory we will rush for preparing proofs as to the vanity and falsehood of his sect. Now in preparing, it is necessary to be kept mindful of the Pauline council to Timothy, who says thus: “Be eager to present yourself as acceptable to God, a workman who causes no disgrace, imparting the word of truth rightly.” And a little below, “Moreover, it is not right for a slave of the Lord to quarrel, but to be gentle with everyone, teachable, patient, correcting those who resist the truth with modesty; yes, since it may be that God will grant them repentance leading to knowledge of the truth, and that they may return to their senses out of the diabolic snare, where they are entrapped by him for his will.” Behold both the means and the way for laying the foundation for debate described by Saint Paul: for the word of God should be rightly treated with modesty and the due correction of those who resist the truth, just as article 7. To be willing to hear is a gift from God, as Saint Augustine has in his book *De catechizandis rudibus*, chapter 5. “God gives the heart for listening,” Deuteronomy 29, Joel 3, and Proverbs, chapter 21.

2 Timothy 2[15, 24-26]
it is exceedingly proper for the slave of God laboring for the truth and thirsting for eternal life in Christ for their brothers. Moreover, this will be uprightness in preaching the word of truth: that the discussion advances for the captivation of those who are listening and the infidel be refuted as if from concessions concerning those things that he knows, each of which someone professes. In the first place, Muhammad accepts the gospel of Christ, which his follower also appears to confess. Yet he might say, “I embrace the exposition of the gospel made by Muhammad, therefore I accept his law, the composed Qur’an, for the gospel, not the other corrupted by the Apostles and the disciples of Christ and falsely related.” We will easily refute this position of Muhammad, for he imposes the name and authority of the gospel on his sect so that it might be held in great value by his followers. But what kind of gospel will this be, full of every falseness, foulness, immodesty, and impurity? What will this Muhammadan invention be like, alien to all truth, and poorly smelling of every carnal stench? What condition is the Qur’an thought [to be], in which a variety of sects is found and the eternal Trinity is completely denied? What kind of merit for the Muhammadan faith is there, which is held concerning visible things and comprehended by natural reason? The purity of the gospel has proceeded from its first source, namely, from God revealing and the Church relating, as Saint Augustine wonderfully proposes, “I would not

Thus Arnaldus, bishop of Patti [Sicily], q. 13, § 32.

Saint Augustine, To. 4 in his exposition of the Letter to the Galatians, proves that the gospel according to man is a lie.

Saint Augustine, Contra
believe in the gospel unless the authority of the Church would impress it upon me.” Indeed, who has told Augustine and the rest of the Christians that this gospel should be received and any other rejected, unless the Church? Since it is guided by the spirit of God, it cannot err; however, a particular man, an idiot, stupid, and carnal, errs by the whole path and the whole sky. And he mixes one truth, namely, the one gospel there is to be admitted, with a thousand lies and false things. However, even the mystery of the most holy Trinity is deduced from his Qur’an by this prepared argumentation: for as often as he introduces God referring some mystery to his followers, he bears witness that he has spoken under a plural number, as is custom in the sacred pages and particularly the Old Testament: but if the god of Muhammad is one, why does he not speak as one? Therefore, he who uses the plural insinuates the ternary number of persons, existing in one essence, as he had heard a thousand times from the Christians. But, as he assented to Sergius the Arian concerning the minority of the eternal word with the eternal father (which this Sergius sustained with Arius), Muhammad thus flees the name of the eternal Trinity in persons and confesses the unity of the divinity, and he was pleased to insinuate it, because he delivered discourse to barbarians. Thereafter he professes the birth of Christ Jesus begotten from Mary and Joseph, pure and strange to sin, whom as a holy prophet and messenger of God he also greatly
venerates, and he orders that the Christians, bearing Muhammad wished that their name from him, be regarded brothers and friends the Jews first become of his Arabs, with whom he concedes mutual familiarity; Christians through he even strictly instructs [it] a thousand times: for while baptism and afterwards he regards the Jews with hate, he loves the Christians. Moors.

But should he say to us, he who knows Muhammad, that Christ is not the word of God and he was not conceived by Mary by the power of the Holy Spirit? If he cannot explain or show this, then he does not know what he says. And so let the man ignorant of such a great mystery confess his ignorance. But if he wishes to learn, why does he not read this in John, the true evangelist, saying thus, “The Word was with God from eternity, and God was the Word, which became flesh in time.” But if this word means pure man and less than the father with Sergius, he has frequently heard the marvelous distinction in this matter from other Christians, “Although he is God and man, still Christ is not two, but one: truly equal to the Father according to his divinity, less than the Father according to his humanity,” according to which he was also able to suffer [and] die for us, sinners, by whose wounds we have been healed (not that elemental water which Muhammad conveyed for the remission of sins).

Hanging from the cross, from his side flowed the sacraments and poured forth their virtue for the erasing of our faults, [as] Saint Augustine has. All of these things have been granted to us by divine gift to both know and believe, captivating our understanding unto faith, for
they are not proven by human reason, but are very much shown credible, with the royal prophet saying, “Your testimonies, Lord, have become exceedingly credible.” The doctors of our time advance with these arguments against Muhammad and the followers of his invented sect, with which they have filled their writings and have handed on to us to be read. But let us come by slow step to the condition of the person and the office of legislator and the account of his doctrine and the publishing of his miracles for supporting that sect among his followers, all of which will be easily attacked by anyone reviewing that sect. For according to the celebrated maxim of Saint Gregory, “Indeed his doctrine is rightly disdained whose life is condemned.” Now Muhammad consumed his [life] in a thousand carnal perversities and indecencies, which on account of shame I do not even dare to name, and on account of difficulty I do not know how to name. Thus the carnal man gave a law such as was befitting so obscene a man who blindly gave license for every carnal work (as we have seen). Now he was the rival of many other men, committing more than enough adulteries, having suffered that same offense by his wife A‘isha, which he was not able to hide, and he always bore her with a grieved heart. But he was not able to gain [it] back, since he had first broken the faith of the other spouse with two of his wives seeing [it]. From there, in bearing out this sect according to his vanity and fickleness, three matters worthy of note are discerned:

Psalm 92[5, Vulgate; 93:5, NAB]
Saint Thomas, 2.2, q. 2, article 10 to argument 2. The condition of the person of Muhammad is described.

The celebrated maxim of Saint Gregory.
namely, his lies, the contradiction of his teachings, and his false promises. First, this sect springs forth with lies, as if worms, which are borne by Muhammad in the name of God, from where we shall rightly declare the god of Muhammad a liar, if you pretend him a god, or a devil. For the Devil is regarded the father of falsehood in the gospel, “because he is a liar and the father of lies,” who has carried back falsehood as his portion, as if its heir by law. Moreover, concerning the god of Muhammad, who granted himself an abundance for stealing from his slave and joining to himself in perpetuity a beautiful wife, and abusing his purchased slaves, and even keeping more, if he could support them, truly we shall justly call [his god] a liar with the Devil, more rightly, to be considered the Devil himself. Indeed, he who does such things is not God, unless Baal, Astaroth, or another God of Accaron similar to these.

And also, of the contradictions contained in that sect, Muhammad left these attested ones: he does not have and, afterwards, does have, the authority for bringing forth miracles; he has come in the sword for devouring nations and he does not wish to commit an offense against anyone; Christian men should both be killed and loved by his followers; anyone is saved in his sect alone, and everyone, if they do good, will be saved in their various sects; adultery is a grave sin and sometimes is not regarded a sin; it is permitted to wage war against Christians by plunder and theft and to commit harm

That sect springs forth with lies, which Luis Vives proves in his book *De vera religione*.

On the contradictions of Muhammad. See Riccoldo in his *Antialchoranus* [chapter 6]
against no one; it is licit to compel everyone to embrace his sect and, again, no one should be compelled to it, but left in his own sect. He alleged all of these and many more contradictory propositions, which the reader will stumble upon everywhere in his Qur’an. What is more, he spoke about promises; he was more generous than reasonable, for he promised his followers a most spacious land with an abundance of every good, and spacious regions (which we have overlooked on account of our sins), which the Lord was going to give good men, worshipers of his law, if they would be men and the men would draw on their mighty resources for his law and the legislator of the same. These things in this life, for in the other he freely offers and invents for his Arabs a paradise of delights consisting only in carnal acts, food, and drink, just as that beatitude replete with such delights responded to the actions of his followers, and a carnal prize for sexual desires, as if Muhammad considers (as I gather by conjecture) the rational soul, which he himself recognizes immortal, either without eternal beatitude consisting in the vision and love of God, or not spiritual, but carnal. Therefore, wrongly understanding concerning the soul created by God the spirit, this completely ignorant man denied its essence and its natural desire enticed to eternal beatitude, towards which purpose or knowledge our appetite of soul is naturally carried, if indeed he reduced it in his own appetite and threw it down by his own authority. On account of this foremost reason, Muhammad has

The promises by Muhammad to his followers.

[95r]

Saint Augustine.
become ridiculous for his educated Arabs swearing with
the words of his sect, as may be seen in Avicenna alone,
prince of all the Arab doctors, whom they always regard
as Gentile with regards to religion, Arab with regards to
birth, Moor with regards to trade, an idolater with
regards to worship, since he received many things from
Aristotle; but he lacked supernatural faith, which is
altogether necessary for eternal life, and human
knowledge could not keep or free them from the
infernal pit. Now, regarding his miracles, after he had
openly denied the power for bringing them forth, there
is one word to add: in what way his defecating demon
exalted him into sudden exaltation and advised [him]
how to work miracles by his art and malice for leading
men to the pit and mousetrap and spirit of error, as
there is that one about the dove, released from the
spacious pit by Sergius and flying to the ears of its lord
Muhammad and plucking the middle of the ear with its
beak in searching for food in that same place, as it had
been taught to wisely do by him. And [there is] the
other about the flowing milk, with a skin struck with the
point of a lance that had been hidden in the ground;
and it was done to great stupefaction and astonishment,
the milk enclosed in the skin flowing through the earth
and bubbling over as if water from the ground. And
[there is] another concerning the she-camel prepared in
the silence of midnight for its ascent to the heavens,
which, as it was a dark animal, roused by the lower
regions, led Muhammad to that very pit and, sitting
upon her, brought [him] back, so that he might learn
from his demons what new things to discuss or, if you
will, what would be appropriate to relate for firmly
establishing his barbarians in his sect. These are the
miracles of Muhammad. And it is not by a miracle that
he published such, which, worthy of his brain and mind,
as are handed down, plowed up by his worshipers. It is
known that a one-eyed man can rule among the blind,
and Muhammad among his. His invented law is of no
weight or authority whatsoever among the doctors of
this age, which the school of the philosophers and of the
Christians condemns and hisses off the stage. Our
adversary Muhammad commits many sins in this office
of legislator, but his is easily defeated and sealed up by
the three related rules to be argued, which I should
prefer to lay bare before their academics than here in
the gutter so that the vanity of his law would be made
known to all, namely, the deaf and the mute, and the
opposing law of Christ would shine forth all the more
and the Moors, called by Christ, would pursue it,
“Because it enlightens every man coming into this
world.” It gives true testimony of itself, “No one,” it
says, “comes to the Father except through me.” But I
will not omit that for the colophon so that I might
completely fill the sectarians of Muhammad with
confusion and shame: namely, there is nothing
prophetic held concerning this sect in the canonical
scriptures, in which it might have been foretold as a law
of God and even at that time foreseen by his prophets,
by his prophets, save that which is conveyed by Daniel, as some understand concerning Muhammad and his falsehood. Concerning him, Daniel says, “He shall speak against the Most High and oppress the holy ones of the Most High, and he will think that he can change feast days and the laws.” Whether we understand this passage with Saint Jerome [to be] about the Antichrist, or, according to others, Muhammad, we will strike the same conclusion, for each one is most validly called Antichrist who with such open war attacks his law and holy ones, relying on his falsehood and pride, and his steps tread on all truth and holiness with his spirit of error. But let the pastors approach the storehouses of the Church and the holy places of its armory so that they might prepare weapons and implements against these Moors now hearing the word of God, and brandish spears with which they might transfix their hearts. For he who has given them the gift of hearing the word of God alone will quickly add another, by which the fictions of their hearts might be removed and they might fasten onto God by baptismal grace. Saint Augustine both desires and hopes for this, handing on the form for enticing and drawing any infidel to the faith, whose assiduous reading let the pastors keep for this matter so that their labor might happily advance for them together with these infidels. The promised Spirit will instill in them everything necessary for making these proselytes. And indeed their correction should

Daniel 7[25] and Saint Jerome on the same.

Saint Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, chapters 5 and 6.
only be despaired of against whom we hold a hidden 
pity, not of these men who are ordered by their prophet 
to honor both Christ and his servants. But I long that our 
pastors, inflamed not in pharisaic arrogance but in 
Christian piety and love, step into the gap for making a 
proselyte from these peoples. For and in fact, the 
perfidious and avaricious Pharisees (as Christ imputed 
[them] with vice and disgrace) traveled through sea and 
land so they might make only one proselyte, who, after 
seeing their vices and robberies, would quickly turn back 
to the vomit of the Pagans, from where he would 
become, as if a traitor, worthy of greater punishment. 
We do not expect this from our very faithful and pious 
common people, nor from the rest of the priests, in 
whose interest it is to likewise attempt and execute the 
catechesis of all the perfidious and the heretics, not of 
the laity nor men from the common people. And when 
they greatly surpass those priests of the Old Law in both 
dignity and knowledge, they will then, too, even more 
greatly overcome in this work and the prize 
corresponding to it, whom I still wish to warn another 
thing: that they not dread the threats of impious men, 
and neither the Christian masters of the Gentiles or the 
Moors not piously moved to the conversion of such 
servants but opposing themselves as if diametrically to 
it, led by a certain false piety; for they say they greatly 
fear that they might quickly return to the vomit of their 
sect, seeing our evil works and vices by which we are 
easily dragged and seduced. But this kind of rash
judgment should be exploded from their minds, for he who will deem worthy that they be called to the faith by his mercy will also justify and give [them] unto perseverance in such justification, just as Saint Paul is the witness of this truth. However, they hold this excuse for their Pagan slaves so that they might have cheaper service from them, not, still, pious and modest [service] from the same having become Christians. The Apostle presents this [matter] through his letter to his Philemon concerning his slave Onesimus, already baptized by him, thus: “Indeed, perhaps this is why he was away from you for a time, that you might have him back forever, no longer as a slave but in place of a slave, a most beloved brother.” But in passing we truly meet another difficult question: what must be done with the children born from a believing parent, whether they should be persuaded as the rest, or rather compelled to the faith? This question had been considered in the time of the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabel, whom I name on account of honor and reverence, for the children of the Helches, that is, the apostates from the faith, begotten from one believing parent. For so great a cause for the Catholic faith, as was fitting for kings so Catholic, pulsated their minds, so that they restored the law of the Roman Church which it had for such children by reason of that paternal promise made in baptism by which they had dedicated him and his children and all his things to Christ and his Church, and they called the children of the Granadan Helches back to the faith.

In his letter to Philemon [15-16]

The grave question concerning the children of the Helches, or of the apostates from the faith, is examined.
For executing so great a duty, by mature council, they elect the most holy and most vigilant bishops of that time, namely, Cardinal Francisco Ximénez and Fernando of Talavera, who execute the matter with their piety and prudence, preserved in everything by the form of law, receiving only those to baptism whom they knew [were] born from one believing parent by the trustworthy testimony of witnesses, just as all the laws proclaim should be done in such a case, as one may see in the Fourth Council of Toledo, c. 61, which is referred.

28, questio 1, c. Iudaei; and in the Fourth Aurelian Council, c. 19 to the end, and the c. from the letters De conversione infidelium, and the c. according to Iudaei, De Iudaéis, & Sarracenis. And in the decrees of Innocence I against Pelagius and Coelestinus, decree 1 and l. Nullus, C. De summa Trinitate, and Fide catholica, and other laws in that place, § Obstinationis, and the Nueva recopilación de leyes, title 26, De poenis. But it will be right to carefully assess the strength of the precept from the manner of speaking of the fathers in that decree of the Council of Toledo, for they say thus: “Moreover, the children who are born of such [parents] must follow the faith or the condition of the believing mother, not the Judaic superstition of the infidel father.” But from supposition another difficulty arises: Of what law will he be if such a child is rebellious against the Church and he refuses to fulfill the command of the fathers, whether he should be punished as a heretic or a schismatic? Concerning this question I find nothing thus
far defined; therefore, I have decided to question the theological school of the Complutense and my contemporaries in their studies, and to relate their opinion in this matter inserted in this work: all of them have thus subscribed that such [a child] should be punished and relaxed to the secular arm as a schismatic, not as a heretic so that it might pronounce the capital sentence against him and order that he endure a terrible death of anguish and judgment, because such a schismatic was willingly attempting to remove himself from the Church which has a law against him. I am drawn to this matter desiring and wanting a true and suitable agreement, to which it seems right to add another concerning the grandchild bearing the ancestry of one believing grandparent. Like judgment should be made against him, since the condition of faith is of stricter law than the law for securing ancestral inheritance. If, therefore, according to all law, canon and civil, the grandchild should be admitted to the inheritance of their grandparents, then he will also be held, willingly or unwillingly, to follow the faith of the one grandparent, as if a hereditary share, and the better condition in favor of the faith, or, finally, pay the penalty. But if this our opinion seems harsh to anyone, provided that he judges the increased burden of faith too great, it indeed seems verisimilar to me, more rightly, also to many professors of theology, that they judge that judgment should be carried in his favor and the increase of the Catholic Church. And also in the

The opinion of the Complutense theologians on the decisive question and it has been gathered from the sayings of Saint Jerome in epistle 7, *Ad Laetam*, To. 1.

The judgment is the same concerning a child and a grandchild of an infidel parent or grandparent.

[98r]
same manner he judges that it will be in favor of the faith that the children of infidels bound to perpetual slavery should be baptized, since they are not under the paternal care, but of their believing lords, and they should be taken from their parents so that they are not perverted by them in faith, whom I long to be delivered, wrenched from the maternal milk, to Christian nurses (if it may be agreeably done) so that they might suck in with the milk the profession of faith and good character. If indeed this duty was once of the philosophers and rhetoricians for shaping a speaker, indeed it should more greatly be ours for nurturing a Christian man in faith and good character. However, concerning others handed over to paternal authority, however much subject to the king or the Catholic prince, there will not be the same judgment: for since it is not permitted to remove children from their parents or deprive [them] from their lord, neither will it be lawful to baptize them at any time. On the other hand, the evident danger of the subversion of children warns so that they might be removed from their infidel parents. Indeed, the Church has never handed its children over to infidels or Pagans to be nourished. And, moreover, this rule of great weight has flown forth from the most holy and most keen judgment of the angelic doctor and has been published into public in his *Summa*. But if someone wishes to uphold and imitate the judgment of other doctors and, particularly, of the subtle Scotus, I shall leave him to his own judgment, for it will not be

The children of infidel slaves should be baptized against their parents’ will.

Quintilianus, book 1 of his *Oratoria*, chapter 1.

Thus in the Fourth Council of Toledo, canon 61 and in the Seventeenth Council of Toledo, canon 8, and in the Fourth Aurelian Council, canon 19..

Saint Thomas, 2.2, q. 10, argument 12.
satisfactory according to my [judgment], since evil things should not be done so that, from there, good things come forth. Whereby, that I might put an end to talking, I shall compose the epilogue of this catechesis for the pastors of these proselytes so that after they have thoroughly read our teachings, they might proclaim the gospel of Christ to the Pagans and the Gentiles and weigh the passage of the theme: “Do not be yoked with infidels. For what partnership does justice have with iniquity? Or what fellowship does light have with darkness? Or what accord does Christ have with Beliar? Or what does a believer have in common with an infidel? Moreover, what agreement does the temple of God have with idols?” For he who has made their ears hear outwardly will make [them] hear Christ inwardly and resound in them so that they might turn to him and he might heal them, who has thought fit to bring about the salvation of the world, offered on the cross for all.

SUMMARY OF THE NINTH CATECHISM

1. It is a great burden to bear the yoke with the infidels, for only the yoke of Christ is light and gentle.
2. The Devil makes war against the faithful and, allowed provisions, pursues Christ in them. The just are able to conquer him, helped by Christ’s favor.
3. To be willing to hear the infidel speech about

Scotus in 4, dis. 4, the last q.
2 Corinthians 6[14-16]
[98v]
God is a gift from God, according to Saint Augustine, from whom God easily removed the fiction of his heart so that he might convert to Christ.

4. He who goes out in order to make proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect, let him first take up the armor of God, and he will come out the victor.

5. By what sort of method the fight against this sect should happen is described and, in the first place, arguments are sought at according to the concessions by Muhammad.

6. The Sect of Muhammad is easy to fight, not only because of the reprobation of the life of its author, but also because of the lies, contradictions, and false promises contained in it.

7. The testimonies or mysteries of our faith are not demonstrated by reason, but still they are readily proven to be highly credible.

8. The mysteries of our faith were foreshadowed in the figures of the Old Law and prophets, but the Sect of Muhammad was not announced beforehand either in the Holy Scriptures or the prophecies.

9. According to some doctors, the great lies and words of Muhammad are announced beforehand by Daniel in the figure of the four beasts.

10. The masters of infidels and the owners of slaves should endure patiently so that the infidel slaves might be instructed in the faith. For the servitude of the slaves of Christians is better and more humane than of infidels.

11. Children born from one faithful parent are
obliged to follow his or her better condition, which if they do not wish to, let them be esteemed schismatics and thieves for the public jails.

12. The grandchildren descended from even one believer of two grandparents should come to be compelled to the faith. Namely, if they secure the inheritance of the grandparent, they are also obliged to follow his faith, according to our opinion.

13. Children of infidels cared for under their parents, themselves reluctant, should not be baptized. However, others handed over to the care of masters should come to be both baptized and taken from their parents.

14. Let pastors and other pious priests perspire greatly for making a proselyte from the Muhammadan Sect so that their eternal reward might be conferred by God for their labor.
Saint Paul teaches us the instruction of children
by an parable, writing to the Corinthians in the first
letter, chapter 3[1-2], “As infants in Christ I fed you milk,
not solid food. Indeed, you are still not able, even now,
for you are still of the flesh.”

I keep in mind to say to the many who are losing hope
coming the salvation of these New Christians, “The
hand of the Lord is not too short to save all people,” as
Isaiah preaches, “if they give assent to the evangelical
truth.” But if they refuse to receive it, at least the
pastors laboring for them will be saved, and they will
say, “God has left us seven thousand children from
among them who have not bent their knee before Baal,”
concerning whom I have taken up a certain hope,
because after they have enlisted into the Christian
militia, new wealth will be increased unto the Church of
Christ from them. And planted alongside running water
able to sanctify, as if young plants, they will give their
fruit at their proper time. And concerning them the
pastor will also add, “I planted, my minister watered,
God, however, has made it grow.” What more, if the dry

3 Kings 19[18, Vulgate; 1 Kings 19:18, NAB]

Ezekiel 15[2-4]

wood of the branch is not suitable so that something
useful might be produced from it, it is either made into
a wooden peg so that some vessel might hang from it,
[or] behold, it has been given as fuel for the flame, both
of its ends have been consumed by the flames and its
middle has been reduced to ashes. But a young and
good tree will produce new and excellent fruits,
especially planted alongside running water, which will
give its fruit at the proper time. Therefore, those who,
attentive to the Apostolic words and parable, master
their speech, let them hear Paul, solicitous for the
Corinthians: “As infants in Christ I fed you milk, not solid
food, for I could not speak to you as spiritual men, but
as carnal.” It is not so because (the Apostle says) the
power of the Holy Spirit is lacking in me, but rather
[because] the power for hearing [is lacking] in you, from
where you are worthy of a certain harsh rebuke, who do
not want to live according to the faith preached to you,
but rather you conduct yourselves with this schism
between you, namely, by whom someone has been
baptized. “What, therefore, is Apollos, and what is Paul?
Ministers of him in whom you have believed, just as the
Lord has assigned each one. Thus I have given you milk
to drink, not food.” Negotiating concerning your
baptism I laid the foundation, the Christ Jesus of
baptism and the author of the other sacraments: “For
no one can lay another foundation other than that
which has been laid.” Behold the most sweet and most
prudent milk that Paul has given to the Corinthians, and
he has now suggested the same for our proselytes, as if
little children in Christ. The prince of the apostles
entices with that same milk saying, “Putting aside all
malice and all deceit, like newborn infants, reasonable
and without treachery, long for pure spiritual milk so

[100r]

The thematic passage is explained according to
Saint Jerome.

1 Peter 2[1-2]
that through it you may grow unto salvation.” If therefore they are little children who have cast aside all malice and are not yet perfect in virtue, what should be believed concerning those whom every malice rules? Therefore, it will not be expedient to give food to both the parents and children, as if milk for drink and food for little children in Christ, since they are not able to consume or learn food, because they are even now greatly carnal. Let the first concern, then, of their spiritual parents be of conferring baptism on the little children, the firm foundation of every spiritual building, by which they are reborn for salvation and the remission of all their sins. Indeed, I greatly fear from these parents that they take their children away from the sacred font, substituting seven times, one for seven (as some hold according to custom), and so carried off by their rite of circumcision, now thriving among them just as true worshipers of the Muhammadan Sect, they poorly recognize them and make a debtor of that sect, who, older and observing such a sign, dashes into that false religion taught by their parents as much as disposed by nature and they incline to it as a carnal sect, they themselves carnal. Saint Jerome condemns that sin as a grave offense, first in their perfidious parents, afterwards in their children, if they are found capable of treachery. If however [they are] innocent, as children recently born, they are condemned by original sin alone. Moreover, the holy doctor made mention of this crime because (as I am led by conjecture, and not groundless
[conjecture]) this vice of taking away their children from the sacred font thrived among the perfidious and apostate men in his time. He reproves them and foretells the future penalty. Now, too, our common people will make known their piety in others with the sons of these proselytes, for it will be necessary for them to report them to the midwives so that immediately after the birth of the boys they hurry to them and make sure that that man has been born into the world, upon whom they will call with the mother and know the boy by face, noting some signs in the childlike aspect so that they might recognize him in the sacred font and thus avoid the substitution of little children. To be sure, when the small child is raised up from that font, the diligent pastors cast their eyes at the foreskin so that by this thorough inspection that rite of circumcision might be avoided. And by the penalty of law imposed on those who circumcise, let them learn to give this pernicious and bloody rite over to oblivion. Truly, so that they might examine that secret, whether it should be ascribed to the fault of nature or the antiquated superstition of their parents, the pastors will insist that the child be initiated with the holy chrism. And they will await not the eighth day, under which lies this superstitious rite of circumcision, lest on that same day he be made the child of God by baptismal grace and be left to be enlisted a future follower of Muhammad by the received pledge, by which sign he is promised to his Muhammad by his own parents. The eighth day having
passed, they will take care to cautiously inspect these boys recently raised from the sacred font so that their parents, if perchance they are followers of Muhammad, might not be regarded blood-stained butchers of their sons. However, the child nurtured by maternal milk, lest he drinks in her most terrible character with so much sucking, will be under the care of a common person from the seventh until the twelfth year so that he might be formed as a vigorous athlete of Christ, about to fight against his carnal and spiritual enemies with manly vigor. And I do not exceed the goal or the prescribed limits with the protectors of the sheepfold of Jesus Christ, for this care had been demanded of the pious common people by the fathers in the holy Tridentine synod: that with their voice they undertake the initial instruction of their charges and, particularly, of the children of the proselytes, and forming [them] in Christian discipline; that they be mindful of their pastoral office; and that they await the award promised for such a labor. Therefore it will be necessary that they set aside a time for this catechesis to be carried out at the peak of morning. Having been accomplished and the lesson repeated to the boys by the sacristan, they will go back home to eat breakfast. For and in fact I wish these boys to be educated within the church so that they might accommodate themselves to the ecclesiastical ceremonies and rites from their very childhood and, in addition, piously and reverently serve to the aid of the holy alter and the

After baptism, those boys should be visited so that their parents do not circumcise them.

This is mandated in session 24, c. 4, and in session 5, c. 2. Truly the bishops should give indulgences to the pastors for this catechetical labor. So it is held in constitution 32 of the Toledan synod.

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administration of the sacraments, about all of which they should come to be informed according to their capacity at that age. The pastor must keep an account of his children on a written record, which must be read before and after catechesis. And the children who are absent must be called by name and, summoned at once, they must be reproved concerning their idleness and negligence, by which those who are present and, even more so, those absent might learn to fear the teacher. Thereafter, the pastors, even if they cast only chastising words against them or if a small number of lashings, they must be with control, as that age requires, which matters are left to the judgment of the pastor for the variety of offenses. However, in what manner the children should be instructed with recompense at hand Saint Jerome relates writing to Laeta on the instruction of her daughter, whose lessons I would insert here, if I did not know they are all kept at hand by the learned pastors. But I shall relate that of Saint Ambrose to please them: “In the first place, the nobility of a teacher is his love of learning,” which, if it is bound to the one virtue of prudence, exults the teacher before God, “and he will be glorified by it, when he has embraced it,” as the philosopher attests. However, since the aforesaid virtues demand the whip for lightly punishing the children, let them so proceed with them so that while they are whipped with only the whip in their hands, they might not begin to hate letters before they learn [them]. From there, the parents

A record in writing, by which the children are called for catechesis.

Letter 7, Saint Jerome


Saint Jerome in the cited letter.
should be warned that either they lead their children by
the hand or they send [them] to the church at the peak
of morning, and that everywhere they remove them
from reproaches, curses, oaths, and, mostly, all idleness
of heart so that in their home they might have other
teachers who recall and confirm those things received
by the pastors. For in everything these well instructed
children will in the meanwhile render a like benefit for
its equal for their parents. And if they see them, they
will reprove the greater crimes in public and report
them to their teachers so that either, corrected by their
pastors, they secretly come to their senses, or, twice warned, they are denounced to the prelate of the
church. Among these crimes I asses that greatly serious
and I do not judge it should be tolerated that, namely,
parents be those who subvert their children, un-
teaching them, when they have come to an older age,
each thing that the pastors had taught not without great
labor. Indeed, there is the custom among some of
handing on a different, secret education of the
Muhammadan Sect after the true doctrine has been
handed on by the pastors or the sacristans to their
children in possession of free will, and un-teaching each
and every rudiment of the Christian faith that they had
firmly assimilated and retained in that tender age. For
since they would exhibit greater faith towards their
parents than to their very pastors, it has happened from
here that the miserable boys, as well as the girls to be
greatly mourned, were dragged into that sect and

The crime of the
parents that subvert
their children from
healthy doctrine and
the Catholic faith.

Capital punishment is
exacted for this crime,

law 3, of the
Ordenamenti. regalis,
thereupon into the infernal pit. What crime, and not to be expiated by death, that their parents should give poison to their children to drink for their eternal destruction! Therefore, their pastors will attentively watch over as much their parents as the older children so that they might know this corruption as if smelling dogs, which they will be able to confirm with this certain evidence: if indeed the children flee their pastor or sacristan coming from afar and escape into the paternal home with the bolt locked, that is the first indication of subversion. Indeed, the parents teach their children to flee past any teacher of the faith, as if having hay on his horns, by which they bear witness that they regard both catholic doctrine together with its precepts with hate, more rightly, even that they have already rejected it. But if the children [are] called by the pastors or sacristans to enter the church, devotedly take part in the religious rites, and await the discharge of the ecclesiastical office with due observance, they delay a little by the example of their parents until they see the rod keeping vigilance over them; this delay brings confirmation of the first indication. Indeed, the Muhammadans consider this rite in their possession most certain: that after having received baptism they are not regarded unjust to their Muhammad if they profess Christ on the outside by force, but they favor their Muhammad on the inside and discharge their sect by more secret worship, which was a certain counsel of their Alfaquíes. Seduced by this, if these things are book 1, and in the royal pragmatic of the Catholic Kings in Granada, the year 1501. The culprits should be consumed in the flame.

Horace in *Ars poetica*.

The rites of these infidels.

[102v]
imposed to be carried out by them by their pastors in the church, unless they see the rod, they sit like logs and pretend bad health, or they answer one thing with something else sinister. Whereby the pastors, certain of so great perfidy, will both take the children from their parents and afflict their parents with the due penalty, and they will more attentively manage their vigilance over them, and also with additional spies so that they might be made more certain concerning their false religion. That they should certainly be taken from their parents is deduced from a certain decree of the Fourth Council of Toledo, which has it thus for the children of infidels: “We discern that the baptized sons or daughters of the Jews, so that they are not wrapped up by the errors of their parents, should be separated from their association, being assigned, to be sure, to the monasteries or Christian men or women fearing God so that they might advance in character and life.” To this decree is also added another in favor of the children so that the perfidy of their parents might not harm them, under this series of words: “If baptized Jews, after sinning against Christ, have been sentenced to whatever penalty, it will not be necessary that their believing children be excluded from their goods, because the son, as it is written, will not bear the iniquity of his father.” But since these canons have been published in favor of the innocent children whose catechesis we begin, they should be explained by us in their true sense. For although the fathers rightly punish the perfidious

Decrees 58 and 89 are declared in favor of the children [born] from infidel parents.

That chapter is referred, 1. q. 4. c. Iudaei baptizati.

Ezekiel 18[20].
parents in that council with penalties established by the
council, they still greatly favor the children as much in
spiritual matters as temporal. And indeed they first wish
that they be separated from their parents, whether
infidels or apostates, so that they are not enveloped by
their errors. This reasoning serves much more in the
case of the children of heretics than of infidels who have
not received the faith: for they will more assiduously
make their children more liable to the sin of heresy and
induce [them] into their false election, since their word
creeps like a cancer. But am I prepared to extend this
separation of children not only from their heretical
parents, but also from those who either are suspect in
the faith or too little solicitous concerning their
salvation and catechesis? For concerning heretics it is
clear from the decrees brought forth and other
sanctions of either law. However, a decree has gone out
from the royal senate of our Catholic Philip concerning
the others in the past year 1577 in which the Cordoban
prefect, García Suárez Carvajal, greatly solicitous for the
salvation of these children and his republic, advised so
great a senate on behalf of the children of the exiled
Moriscos freely wandering through the city. It was
granted to him in a royal schedule that he separate such
children from their parents and give them over to the
mechanical arts or the liberal arts to be instructed by
pious craftsmen and at public expense, who, according
to the royal orders, then made the father of many
children, led by paternal charity, conferred this

Final L., C. De
sententiabus passis,
and in § 1 of the same
law, where it is
discussed concerning
the children of the
banished.

The royal schedule was
given to the Cordoban
 prefect for taking
vagabond children from
their parents.

Concerning this,
Simancas, book 8, De re
publica, chapter 27, De
otiosis & vagis.
benefit to them and left such an example for the
bishops of the other cities. But a doubt remains to be
resolved concerning securing an inheritance from
heretical parents, if the children are believers: for there
are those who recommend that that canon should be
renewed in favor of believing children, as I hear it is
observed with the children of heretics in the Italian
country. But since the crime of heresy is judged worthy
of all punition, I think it should be done with a certain
understanding: that a heretical parent, after other
inflicted penalties, also be punished even in his own
children, who are his flesh, by the confiscation of their
paternal inheritance and the shame inflicted on them
according to the law. But I long that that canon be
renewed on behalf of the children accusing their
parents as a prize for such great virtue and zealou
ness for the Christian religion. Indeed, granted that there are
doctors of this opinion of an authority not to be
despised (whom Simancas, Pacense bishop, cites), that a
child not be obliged to the accusation of his heretical
parent, I draw an opinion in opposition together with
others of no less note, provided that a double warning
has gone before. For and in fact the arguments of those
doctors approve of this: that a child should correct him
two times without witnesses on behalf of paternal
reverence, but if he does not wish to desist from such a
crime, that he proceed to the accusation, because he
owes more to God the Father and the Christian Republic
than to his carnal father, particularly [if] he strains

Miranda, the Toledan
prelate, in his *Summa
conciliorum*, and others.

And Pius V, High Pontiff,
wished to determine
this.

Arnaldus, q. 18, nu. 11
and 12. Castro, book 2,
*De ius. haer. puni.*

through many chapters,
and

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Simancas, book *De
partre haeretico. de filiis
hareticorum*, amply
prove it.

Simancas thus has it in
the book *De patre haer.*

§ 41.
only to negotiate paternal salvation with the accusation and thus testifies in the tribunal. But if the hereditary portion that would fall to such a child is meager, in my judgment, it should be augmented either from paternal goods or from the public treasury so that an increased prize, not, still decreased, might respond to such virtue, as law and justice demand. That good father Castro, glory of the Franciscan family, while he fights in this arena against the heretics, conveyed this opinion in the right moment. And he tenaciously holds that it is in harmony with natural law and equity, nevertheless, not expressed in law, as it is proven in c. Cum secundum leges, De haereticis, book 6. But we will try to show in favor of the faith and these children who denounce their parents that this opinion is not contrary to civil or canon law, or, more rightly, well deduced from either, as the famous lawyers prove. Calderón, in the title De haereticis, consil. 3, and Palacios Rubios, in repetit. c. Per vestras, De donati. inter virum, & uxorem, and others following these. The first drawn from that canon adduced from the Fourth Council of Toledo, in which it is decided that it is not necessary that believing children be excluded from the wealth of their condemned parents; but if they have already been excluded on account of the recent decision, c. Cum secundum leges, nothing is yet openly defined concerning the children who are traitors of their heretical parents, particularly as long as they are free from fault and not liable to any presumption. This, as I have heard it is observed by Calderón and Palacios Rubios are regarded on behalf of this opinion. Argument 1.
many in the Italian country, should also be observed in ours, as formerly in the time of that council. From there, let us judge from that constitution of Boniface, 8, last chapter, *De haereticis*, book 6, that it is demonstrated in good sense and by conclusion. Indeed, the High Pontiff greatly favors the children of heretics not infected by the paternal crime there, and he says, “Let the judge see to it that no harm come to the child from it, because he has declared testimony against his heretical parent.” Therefore, the judge will be required to restore loss to such a child, which he could have suffer from that decision in the confiscation of his legitimate portion. And indeed in these words it is agreeable to understand not only damage to reputation, but also harm to goods, since, by the force of the word, damage involves both penalties. In addition, it is confirmed from the teaching of Saint Gregory, which Gratian relates, c. *Charitatem*, dis. 12, q. 2, for he says, “It is harmonious with justice that a prize be given to he who zealously conducts [his affairs], particularly if by such work he serves his prince or republic.” Frederick confirmed this in his imperial constitution as recompense to those who protect the republic, and the aforementioned doctor urges it in that famous *repetitio*. And our opinion is thus supported as conforming to canon law with our last proof: for he who reveals a plot against the Roman Pontiff, even if he is a participant in the crime, is not only excused from fault, but is also rewarded, as it is held in c. *Si quis Papa*, dist. 77.
Therefore it will be even more justified that he who fights for the faith receives a greater recompense than he who desires the unimpeded safety of one person. However, that the heretics of our time should pay the penalty and that their children, free from the fear of losing their hereditary portion, should give up their heretical parents, the High Pontiff would have declared it, as much in favor of the faith as also in reward for good children. And I do not recommend they act against paternal loyalty or the reverence due to parents, since they deliver their heretical parents to the judges of the faith for negotiating their salvation, because they are determined free from that reverence after they have corrected their parents two times and have realized they [are] obstinate in their crime. And there is nobody who might say the opposite, as the Pacense bishop amply proves in his book De patre haeretico, § 41, after he had referred the opinions of all the doctors. And, moreover, this is true piety of children toward their parents joined with the greatest piety: that they first look after the salvation of their souls and bodies, delivering them to the spiritual doctors. But if their parents come to their senses and recognize the pious work embellished by the divine light, they will give thanks to their children. But the children will abhor the like penalty in their parent who has fallen and been made a public example, and as with a brake they will learn to restrain and correct their carnal affections, which customarily incline children to the carnal

Pius V was preparing to do this when he was seized by death.

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The Pacense bishop in accordance with our opinion.


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heresy of their parents. Indeed, sometimes children of such heretics are born somewhat disposed by nature to the paternal vices, if they are carnal, nonetheless, not so to the spiritual [vices], because the flesh of the parent is in the child and it is customarily at the mercy of their very affections. But this is the greatest danger to these children whose care we have managed, whose parents, if they are proven heretics, are found to have fallen into these carnal heresies. Therefore, greater care by their pastors in their catechesis and correction is desired by us so that they might make them flee the example of their parents in their false election and bad character. Indeed, that foundation of a seminary by the fathers of the holy Tridentine synod for instructing children to the highest degree in faith and good morals and good letters, according to the measure of resources and the extent of the diocese, tends to this. For the metropolitan churches and others greater are required by this decree to support and religiously educate and instruct in the ecclesiastical disciplines a number of children from the revenues of such a church or the benefices without supervision joined to the seminary according to the judgment of the bishop so that the children might give fruit to their churches at their proper times. The great churches of Spain now prepare to execute this on account of the opportune sanction of the Toledan provincial council and with the command of our Catholic king Philip drawing near, who, after he settled a dispute arising in the holy Toledan church Concerning founding seminaries, as it is mandated in session 23, c. 28, of the Tridentine Council. [105r] A decree of the Toledan Council, act 1, celebrated in the year 1583.
about the execution of that sanction, he also devoutly
and piously commanded that the seminary be quickly
erected according to the judgment of the bishops. But
there remains a question concerning the children who
should be received there: whether or not the number
should be filled from the children of the proselytes. For I
hear from the fathers who were present at the holy
Tridentine synod that the seminaries should first be
erected for children of heretics fleeing from their
parents, and afterwards for others, which the prelate of
Rome, that most saintly Gregory XIII (whose sudden
death we all greatly mourn) piously, adequately, and
splendidly had explained with the most distinguished
seminary erected in Rome by him and supplemented by
ecclesiastical revenues, where children of heretics from
every nation are benevolently received and more than
five-hundred are provided for, formed in faith and
character, and instructed in letters and good morals.
What more? This is a good explanation of that decree,
made not with words but pious works. Moreover, the
council wishes that the children of the poor be chosen,
and it still does not exclude [children] of the wealthy, as
long as they are provided for at their expense and they
display enthusiasm for serving in the interest of God and
his Church. Moreover, in that word “children of the
poor,” I also understand the children of heretics, fleeing
away from their parents and their heresies and from
various regions to the Roman Church, as a secure
asylum of the faith, whom one may see hurrying to

The grumble about the
founding of the
seminary in the holy
Toledan church coming
about under the year
1584, which our king
Philip settled, moved by
don Bernardino de
Mendoza’s reasoning
conveyed in writing.

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many times in a day. But although Spain might now be entirely free from heretics by divine favor, it is not empty of the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect and neophytes and their children, who, if they are provided for in this seminary, will rush forth as trained dogs, able to bark and teach their parents and descendants in the faith, just as many soldiers of Christ go out from the Roman seminary as though the Trojan horse armed with the shield of faith and the helmet of the salvation they have received. And such [soldiers] might so strive in the midst of battle that, although they succumb, outlasted by carnal might, nevertheless, victors, they might ascend the heavens with their victories. Truly, since there are rich benefices in Spain and great revenues falling to the bishops, I all the more wish that these seminaries might be founded from the large holdings of the bishops, what is left to them not diminished, if indeed the goods of the bishops and clerics that are in excess are of the poor, so that the benefices and inheritances pertaining to praestimonia might be left to lettered men who will be useful to their churches in doctrine and the example of good works. Moreover, the children admitted to such a school will learn all things that look to the priestly office: for little by little they will be moved forward to such an office, preserving the pattern of law. And their birth will not do them harm, since such should be selected by the judgment of the bishop who might particularly be capable of completing their catechesis and

Many martyrs will be added to heaven from this seminary by the impiety of the queen of England, deviated from the faith.

C. statute De haeret. book 6, and in the
consecrate themselves to perpetual service to God and their brothers. Truly, while they are detained in their studies in childhood, let them take up the body of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the judgment of their assessor just as the council discerns, which is fit for our purpose: that the children of these proselytes, properly disposed, should be admitted to all the sacraments. For the prohibition of the bishops, either by word or synodal writings, is only understood concerning those whom we call Moriscos, retaining their dress and language and using them after a prohibitive law. Indeed, these, by the command of the diocesan bishop and the judgment of their pastor, should either approach Holy Communion or abstain from it for a little while until they advance more in faith and the virtue of the sacraments. For having been admitted to the sacrament of baptism, they also receive the other sacraments in promise, but concerning these things in the following catechism. Whereby we hope for this pious work from the common people in regenerating these children of the proselytes in the baptismal water, supporting [them], [and] forming [them] in faith and good morals, and also joining [them] to the seminary with the rest of the children and sending the rest to the mechanical trades and other arts. And it is right that the prefects of the cities give common attention in strenuously attending to these duties (just as they are obliged), but we rely on the piety and care of the pastors even more. And so let our pastors be greatly solicitous in

Toledan Council of our times, canon 44.

Thus in the Toledan Council, the year 1583, canon 58, and in the synodal ti. De los Christianos nuevos y gitanos.

Just as they are held in law 2, Ordinam. regalis., book 3, title 7, De la
baptizing the children, pledging godparents for them, namely, Old Christians, not proselytes or neophytes, who, after their parents, might bear a particular care for the spiritual salvation of these children. Let the sacrament of confirmation quickly approach, in all events at the time of their full judgment, so that the children might know how to receive the sacrament and dispose themselves, to the degree that they can, for sacramental grace. Let catechesis advance until the twelfth year, in which the children might be chosen to be prepared for that seminary or sent to the public trades, which will be done according to the judgment of the pastor, unless the bishop wishes to do it for him. At last, our pastors will exercise their piety with these children, and thus they will honor Christian charity so that they might be able to say, “You are our glory, whom as if little children we gave you milk to drink in Christ, not food; and also are about to give you, grown-up, another food, salubrious, now at this time to be drawn out from the storerooms of the Church.”

SUMMARY OF THE TENTH CATECHISM

1. There is hope held by the author for the children of the proselytes, because they will taste Christ and will turn out to be teachers for their parents.

Let the Old Christians become godparents in baptism and confirmation for the children of the proselytes.

guarda de los huérfanos y de sus bienes.

[106v]
2. Saint Paul places baptism as the foundation of our salvation, in which Christ testifies is the foundation of our faith, and nobody is able to lay another.

3. Let the first concern of the pastors be this: conferring baptism on the infants of the proselytes and avoiding the fraudulent substitution of a child in baptism.

4. Saint Jerome condemns the sin of taking children away from the sacred font as most grave and worthy of rebuke.

5. In order to avoid that fraudulence in baptism and the circumcision of boys, it will be necessary for the pastors to know the recently-born boys and command the midwives to report to them the birth of each one on that very day.

6. Baptism should be conferred on the boys of the proselytes before the eighth day so that the parents might not perform their rights on them on such a day.

7. The boys led to the sacred font will need to be inspected, whether they have the prepuce or not, so that that crime might be ascribed either to nature’s failure or the boys’ parents.

8. The care for instructing every child in faith and customs is demanded from the parish pastors by the fathers of the Tridentine synod, and the model for instructing the children of the proselytes is prescribed by the author.

9. Saint Jerome, writing to Laeta, hands on the pattern for instructing every child in the faith and good customs.
This manner should be observed by the priests to the letter.

10. A number of treacherous parents customarily un-teach their children all those things that they have learned from their pastors, for whom capital punishment awaits.

11. The signs of this perversion are described by the author so that if the pastors see them they might keep watch over their flock more closely in order to test the truth of this matter.

12. Children subverted by their parents should come to be taken from them and given to Christian men so that they might advance in character and life.

13. It is recommended that the decree of the Fourth Council of Toledo in favor of children forsaking their heretical parents should be renewed so that such children might not be deprived of their paternal inheritance.

14. Children should be taken not only from heretical parents, but from others not taking enough concern for the salvation and instruction of their children according to the decree of the highest royal senate.

15. Many teachings concerning heretical parents and their children looking to their correction and penance are brought up by the author, which will need to be noted by the author, which will need to be noted by the pastors.

16. The declaration of that decree is expected from the Apostolic See that the children who betray their
heretical parents might not be deprived of their paternal inheritance. Indeed, if it is meager, let it be increased, whether from the goods of the parents or from the imperial treasury.

17. Heretical parents in carnal vices usually beget their children disposed towards the like. From there, they should be cautiously diverted from those errors by their pastors.

18. Seminaries are established by the fathers of the holy Tridentine Council especially for the children of heretics, proselytes, and neophytes so that they might be instructed in faith and customs.

19. Some things concerning the foundation of this seminary are noted, which should be quickly executed by the bishops, just as our Catholic King Philip has commanded them to be completed.

20. Gregory XIII, High Pontiff, inserted an explanation of this decree concerning the foundation of the seminary, not with words, but with the erection of the great seminary in Rome made for the sons of heretics and others fleeing to the Church.

21. Let the children of the heretics educated in the seminary receive communion at the judgment of their confessor, so too should this decree be extended to the children of those proselytes already taken from their parents.

22. Let the Moriscos who have relegated neither the Arabic dress nor language from themselves by the command of the bishop or the decision of the pastor
either take communion or be kept back from communion until they are rightly instructed in the faith and the virtue of the sacraments.

23. Many other things for the salvation and catechism of these children are introduced by the author, which the pastors will read over and accomplish.
The admonition of the Apostle to his Timothy is called to mind for the pastors of these proselytes, which reads, 2 Timothy 4[2-4]: “Proclaim the word; be persistent whether opportune or inopportune; argue, entreat, rebuke in all patience and teaching. For the time will come when people will not tolerate sound doctrine but, following their own desires, will accumulate teachers tingling their ears, and will stop listening to the truth and will be diverted to myths.”

That praise of the spouse concerning her breasts holds a great mystery for the preachers of the word of God, who call others forth to the culmination of the virtues, sometimes by word, sometimes by example. Moreover, these breasts are “like twin fawns that pasture in the lilies,” and are marked before in figure of preachers.

For, not occupied by earthly worries, they are devoted to the spiritual salvation of their neighbors and to good works; they say he who is trained concerning the instruction of the unlearned have leisure for this virtue.

Now, too, these spend some time at appointed hours in prayer for their subjects, at other [times], however, they impart instruction for the same so that they might pursue the perfect virtue of mutual charity, which they will obtain as an inheritance, if they stand firm in such a work, un-weary, and they do not ever desist from it.
So then, they have two breasts so that, fuller with milk, they might nourish and instruct them in faith and morals at every age up to the point of life until, stable in the faith, they believe they are able to eat another food. Moreover, these breasts are like two twin fawns, for the preachers of the Church are called twins because they preach a harmonious faith and common charity to all, and they hand on similar teachings. And preachers pasture in the lilies because they pursue complete purity of soul and body, which they teach others to cherish so that they might accept the merited rewards on the day of judgment. I say these things to the pastors who sew the word of God and pasture their flock with such a great word so that, according to the Apostolic precept, they might provide for their flock from the salubrious abundance of either milk or food, “Not by constraint but willingly, according to God, not for shameful profit but eagerly, and not as those ruling over their servants, but made a model for the flock from your heart.” Now the model of the flock to be made is this: that the things they teach by word they confirm by example, and by either means are beneficial to others. Moreover, concerning the place and time for catechizing the unlearned, whoever it may be, Saint Paul thus resounds, instructing his Timothy under these words: “Proclaim the word; be persistent whether opportunely or inopportunistly; argue, entreat, rebuke in all patience and teaching,” and do not let that of those hearing an evil omen: that they have averted their ears from

1 Peter 5[2-4]

The passage of the theme is introduced to be explained.

Saint Augustine,
the truth and turned to some of the fables of Muhammad. For if these [proselytes] hear on the outside, before too long, God moving on the inside and taking that harmful fiction from their hearts, they will understand by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, from this teaching of the Apostle, let the pastors hold it stored up in their hearts; it will be necessary not to lose hope concerning the salvation of no man, more rightly, rather, let them strain more and more for their conversion to Christ with the hope conceived from his catechesis so that they might make all those straying from Christ now firm proselytes. “For and in fact by this faith,” replete and furnished by such a faith, “the saints conquered kingdoms,” says Paul, “worked justice, obtained the promises, stopped up the mouths of lions,” and bravely underwent the rest of the dangers found along the path of their preaching. And, at last, characteristic of such a great victory, they nourished a thousand troops by their milk of wisdom and the salubrious food of the gospel, and, as vigorous pastors, reduced [them] to the folds of the Catholic Church, about to restore [them] daily to the new pasture and streams of the Church. Therefore, good bye to those who so dispose their hearts so that, although obliged by reason of their enjoined duty, they still choose to carry on in leisure and allow their sheep to wander through a thousand errors and cliff edges without any sorrow to their heart, who will quickly experience their and their sheep’s destruction into the infernal pit. But

his book De catechizandis rudibus, chapter 5.

[109r] Hebrews 11[33]
leaving these in their leisure and sure damnation, I turn my word to other pastors keeping an account of their sheep with great care (because they await the prince of pastors to render them the reward for so great a labor), with whom I wish very much to discuss about the salvation of their proselytes to some extent, if perchance the Lord grants that they restore both theirs and their [proselytes’] eternal salvation. In the first place I will knock at and remind their hearts as occasion offers that they turn their eyes, more rightly, even their heart, to the reading of the holy fathers, from whom they might receive this art of treating souls, as if from trained doctors. Moreover, let them read first the golden book of Saint Augustine, from which the title of this catechism had been well-chosen, and, bound in a little book for instructing the unlearned in the faith and those alien from it, it may be quickly read through, more rightly, even committed to memory by them. Let them add to this reading another of those catechisms which Saint Gregory Nyssenus and Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, and others of their time, published, from which reading they will draw out as if from a pure font pure and most clear water for the restoration of these proselytes, for they will furnish milk for the children and food for the mature from the breasts of the bride, that is, the Roman Church. And I do not doubt concerning the children being formed in the faith by them (from whom this our catechetical labor takes up its beginning) that they will make progress daily for the better, if the labor begun for

This book of Saint Augustine is contained in to. 4, rendered in 27 chapters. Many holy doctors, Greek and Latin, published catechisms, thus to be read by the pastors.

[109v]
them is not lacking in the pastors. However, I shall begin to discuss concerning the mature, who have grown old with age in many Muhammadan rites so that all of them need to be plucked from them at the root. In the first place, almost all of these (for and in fact few may be excepted from those retaining their dress and Algarabia) are divided in their heart, even after having received baptism: for on the outside they wish to be supposed Christians, but on the inside, Moors, and they shamelessly give their names of the true and the false religion to those who ask. For if you say, “Oh, if you do not mind, do tell, Valencian Morisco, by what name are you called in church, and, to be sure, by what name in your home by your parents?” He will immediately say with shameless face and lying tongue, “In the church I am called Juan, but at home, Hammed.” And indeed, on account of reverence for their prophet, they do not dare use his whole name, except by the dropping of a letter taken from the initial syllable: for only princes and heroes who boast of tracing their descent from the family of Muhammad name him in their titles as if their kinsman, bear his entire name, citing it in their writings. What, therefore, shall we say concerning his religion, since these Moriscos of the Muhammadan militia openly give their names? I greatly grieve the lot of these infidels, as much because they have been separated from Christ as that they will also be handed over to the fire as arid branches as a penalty of so public a crime. And I do not see why they, so notoriously suspect in the

The Moriscos give their church name and their home name.

Thus in the C. ad abelendam, Extra, De haereticis, book 6.
faith, are so gently treated that they bear their crime unpunished: for they refer it in order to anyone asking about their names. Therefore, it will be necessary for the censoring rod of the censors of the faith to draw near so that they might be duly punished for this offence alone, at least as suspect in their accepted faith so that they might not dare violate their baptism any more. But if this is a common sin of the entire people, why should there not be a penalty? Or should the multitude be pardoned in this case? Not at all: for in fact Elijah, on account of his zeal, kills all the prophets of Baal and removes all the idolaters from his midst. Let the idolatry of Muhammad cease, and let the pure cult of God be preserved in all those regenerated through baptism, just as all those converted from Saracenism were initiated by both the one water of salvation and the word of the sacrament. And, taught by their pastors about the observation of their baptism, let them honor [it] inside and out, having abjured their Muhammad and banished him from their hearts. They poorly believe that they do him no harm if the teachings of the Catholic faith are exhorted from them but they also accomplish their holy offerings to Muhammad from their heart five times a day. Therefore, that they might be able to tear such a pestilential error from their hearts, their pastors will impose on them the observance of baptism to which they are obliged from the day of their betrothal made in such a sacrament, in which they renounced their old friend Muhammad not for a time, but
but for the remaining course of their life. Indeed, it is the duty of a holy doctor (as Saint Augustine has it, book 4, *De doctrina christiana*, in the beginning) to teach good things and un-teach bad, and thus, in this work, to reconcile opponents with words, rouse those who are remiss, tell those not knowing what might happen, what they should expect. If those who hear should be taught, it should be done with story; if yet [it is] a matter concerning which they debate, it needs to be made known to them. If, however, they hear, they should be admonished rather than taught so that they do not grow lethargic in doing that which they already know, and it is necessary that they be spoken to with greater force so that they give assent to the matters which they confess to be true. There let him make use of supplications and rebukes and coercion and whatever other things necessary for moving their hearts. Thus, let the pious pastor employ all these things, well-girded for the catechesis of their charges. Therefore, meeting at the vespertine hour of holy days, having completed the holy office, he must have a word prepared for his proselytes and teach them each and every thing that his subjects are required to know for salvation, concerning which the theological school amply discusses, and, according to the judgment of the theologians, these proselytes are required to know and believe all the articles of the Catholic faith, both explicitly and implicitly proposed by the Church, and the remaining things necessary for their salvation. But if

Concerning the observation of baptism, Saint Ambrose, *De iis qui mysteriis initiantur*, to. 4, chapter 4, and Saint Augustine, his book *De baptis. paruulirum*, and book 4 *De doctrina christiana*, through its entirety.

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Saint Thomas, 2.2, q. 2 through the tenth article proves that.
they should know and profess these things at the proper time, they should come to be instructed by some teacher, as the apostle shows, thundering to the Romans, “How will they believe in him whom they have not heard? And how will they hear without someone to preach? And how will they preach unless they are sent?” Therefore, when there are those who hear, they are sent to these who will preach the word of God without intermission. But it will be necessary for the ministers of Christ and the sewers of the word of God to sew the evangelical seed in well-cultivated ground so that according to the parable of Christ, while they scatter few seeds, they might take up the fruits of many harvests according to the faith of those who hear, and they might put them in the celestial storehouse. There will be few grains of this seed according to the capacity of the hearer and the cultivation of the fertile land, which will have need of irrigated waters, the weeding of unfruitful plants, the rays of the sun shining on the seeds, so that they might bear fruit at their proper times. This parable will be beneficial for our pastors so that they thus painstakingly endure in the Lord’s field in which the seed of the word of God is until they reap the seed multiplied and fully enjoy the harvest. In this field about which we have discussed the spouting weeds are the lies of Muhammad. However, these should be so cautiously removed so that, while the Catholic truth already sewn has sent its roots down together with this lie, both the truth might be rooted more and more by

Romans 10[14-15]

Saint Gregory in homily 29, De festo ascensionis.
divine benefit and the sprouting lie might be uprooted from its midst. This will be easy to do, for in the solar rays of the truth the lies appear raised up, “since the liar follows the flying birds,” according to the saying of the Philosopher. Moreover, those who weed recognize these weeds by their name alone, for, since they contain deadly juice in them, it will not be proper not to threaten or press them out so that they might not send even the smallest root into those hearts in which they had been born so that they might begin to produce and germinate. Therefore, all these things looking to spiritual farming are left to the judgment of the pastors for completing, for, sent by God for seeking the salvation of souls, illuminated by him, they will also be taught to sew the seed in its season and onto land well-cultivated and, as they see fit, maintain it with irrigated water. Moreover, they will take care that what teachings of the Christian religion the proselytes have received they commit to memory and by the following repeated lesson they will firmly make it adhere to their mind. For, being interrogated about the mysteries they have received, they will certainly patiently accommodate their ears to such a great cultivation. And interrogated about the enjoined duty, they will give the best answer. And with their virtue thoroughly praised, it will increase to a marvelous measure and will have the immense stimulus of glory. For and in fact it has already penetrated our heart, conferred from the will of those [11r]

Proverbs 10.

In this catechesis, while the Catholic truth is proposed, the error that is its contrary should not be mentioned.
who hear and the approaching piety of the pastors wishing to teach in this school of Christ such disciples about to go out who will both be able to preach Christ anywhere and decisively defeat and overcome any Muhammadans hostile to them. Moreover, the things they have received from their teachers by certain pronunciation they will also bring forth through abundant measure, and they will reverently and clearly express the names of the saints assigned to them so that, while they name any soldier of Christ by his own name, they might not seem unjust to their divine patrons by the expression yet unformed. For and in fact anyone appears to be held in contempt while his name is either cut short or is wrongly expressed with a corrupt voice. This is attributed to some as a vice and insult who, able to overcome their impediment of tongue in other things, had nonetheless neglected this in irreverence, may I not say contempt, of the holy Patrons. After instruction in the faith follows the explanation of the ecclesiastical ceremonies according to the Apostolic traditions so that, present to them in heart and body, not, moreover, absent in heart, they might rejoice to be present and take up abundant fruit from everything, but most abundant from the perennial Mass and the sacrifice of boundless value according to either part. From here they will give account and instruction of even the minute [details] of the Church’s rite to their proselytes, now advanced in doctrine, demanded according to that excellent catechetical

They should proclaim the names of the saints with unbroken voice.

[111v]

Their pastors must teach the proselytes the reason for the ecclesiastical ceremonies.

That the value of the mass is infinite is explained, Cajetan, 3 p., q. 79, article 5, and Sylvester in *Suma verbo Missa*, and other Thomist passages.
work published for those very pastors by order of Pius V, the High Pontiff, in which all the matters are plainly presented that have been instituted by the apostles and the Roman Church in the sacraments and the sacramentals and the other rites of the Church. Therefore, let this book be read over in hand night and day by the pastors for whom it had been chiefly written, and those things read somewhat scattered there will be reduced to a certain brief summary for the good of these proselytes, which will be to the advantage of those who are listening, as it has been said by us. The pastors will direct their attention to certain matters concerning attendance to the divine office of the Mass, to be noted by the proselytes and carried out with attention, all of which the disciples will retain by memory, particularly if they are frequently repeated by the pastors. In the first place, with what purpose they should approach the sacramental holy water and protect themselves with it by the sign of the cross with these words: “May this holy water be unto salvation and life for us.” Next, they should reverently offer the worship of latria to the one and triune God with their knees bent and their hands together, bowing before the altars, and they will thereupon render the same to Christ Jesus hidden under the sacramental species; these things accomplished before the alter with the confession of sinners and the prayer of our Lord repeated there. After all those things which are sung to the people and which they receive from their

The catechism published by the mandate of Pius V should be read over by the pastors.

In what way the proselytes should be present at the office of the Mass.

The ceremonies of the Mass to be completed by the proselytes.
pastors for their catechesis, they will privately conclude together with the priest performing the holy office and, at the elevation of the body and blood of Christ our Lord, contained under the sacramental species, they will devotedly dedicate distinct prayers with repeated adoration, alive with faith and fervent with charity, with their hearts together with their actions, given unto God from a pure heart to so great a Savior, and thus let it be done so that the devote and pious petition might cast its effect. But so that they might be devotedly present for the holy sacrifice, in a previously held lesson they will first be instructed about its virtue coming from the body contained in the sacrament, namely, Christ hidden under the species according to the force of the consecration (as it falls upon the pastors to say according to their office), immediately standing with the priest offering that host, first offered on the salvific cross for the salvation of the whole world by Christ our redeemer (for the minister of Christ now offers the same in a bloodless manner, taking on the role of the person of Christ and possessing the instrumental power from him by the priestly order). And, while they affectionately kiss the hands of the one offering [the Mass], they will bring their offerings, whether from the fruits of the earth or from their own savings, to him for the nourishment of the priest. For the Church keeps this practice of offering tithes, first fruits, and whatever offerings to the pastors from the time of the apostles, and it will always keep [it], just as it has been taught by

Let an offering be made by the proselytes to their celebrating pastor.

Let the explanation of the gospel be made during the solemnities.
the Holy Spirit, for the nourishment of the priests serving at the holy altar so that from there they might receive their provisions to whose service they have been consecrated by ecclesiastical rite, for “he who serves at the altar should live from the altar.” During the ritual offerings of the Masses the pastor will recite in a loud voice with serious and ordered oration the prayers of the Church, the explicit articles of faith, and the divine commands contained in the Decalogue, and the other five enjoined from the precept of the Church, while the proselytes receiving all those things will again form [them] with a spoken voice, prostrated and with their heads uncovered on account of the greater reverence due to God and his minister. Now when they have sat down, they will hear his brief exposition of the gospel, which had been sung in Mass, so that they might retain something for their vespertine lesson, whose better and exact account they must render. For catechesis should be held in the evening just as the exposition will be of the morning’s exhortation to be conferred between the teacher and his disciples by way of questioning, such that one might respond to the questioning teacher, the others keeping quiet for a time, until by turn they are questioned concerning some catechetical matter. By this it might happen that, to be immediately examined concerning the prior mysteries already related in the Mass, greatly attentive, they will apply their hearts to such cultivation. But if so holy and pious an exercise should be enjoined, at least

Catechesis should happen in the evening ours.

A fine is exacted from those removing themselves from the office of the Mass
on Sundays, for our proselytes, it will be necessary to compel them, even by a pecuniary penalty, which is regarded more serious by them, as much for the observation of holy days as for hearing the [divine] office, together with Christian doctrine. And the pastors will not dissimulate in the relaxation of that penalty, on whom the penalty of excommunication will be enjoined by their prelates by *latae sententiae* if they try to either lessen or relax the penalty in practice. That same sentence of excommunication will be brought against those receiving bribes or gifts or provisions from their subjects who bring them to their pastors with this disposition: that they might dissimulate with them if they remove themselves from the sacrifice or catechesis through some false excuse. Now still, it will be right for the pastors to collect from them those things which are necessary for daily sustenance at a just price, as long as fraud and deceit are by no means favored through them. If some are absent from their parish on a holy day, they must bring a document requested from another pastor to their own; if otherwise, let them pay the fine. Moreover, when public litanies or general prayers are made by the entire church, their purpose having been explained, they will even be present at the hours, since Christian piety requires it that for each and every Christian found in necessity we establish public prayers, if we desire a safe Christian republic. Now if anyone from the proselytes evades the fellowship of their brothers in such activities, and the observation of holy days and catechesis.

The sentence of excommunication is brought against the pastors who accept bribes from the proselytes so that they dissimulate with them in the aforesaid matters.

Those who are absent must bring a document from another pastor, if they have attended the sacred ceremony.

Under the same penalty those proselytes should attend public litanies.
he will remain liable to that same penalty to which he
who is not present at the sacred event by his own fault
and idleness is subjected. Moreover, if it pleases the
bishop, they might even be reduced, provided that they
are adapted to the custom of his own church, so that no
occasion whatsoever might be given to the proselytes
little firm in the faith for growling or saying that the
priests extort their wealth from them so that they
slowly become richer by other people’s wealth, as if
acquired by plunder. By these things the now well-
 instructed proselytes will dispose themselves as if by a
certain pious and appropriate preparation of their souls
for the reception of the sacraments of penance and
Holy Communion. And I do not doubt, if Christ is fully
formed in their hearts, that they will be admitted to all
the sacraments by them and they will not deny them to
them, since what they have freely received they are
held to freely give according to the precept of the
legislator himself. Therefore, let the pastor so carry
himself as if with Old Christians with all those who are
advanced in faith and Christian doctrine and prepared
for receiving the sacraments according to their
measure; all who, renewing the material act of
sacramental penance, namely, keeping, by judgment of
their pastor, oral confession, contrition of heart,
satisfaction of deed, are judged worthy of the bath of
Christ and the table of salvation. But if they are left
wanting in these acts, let them be held back for a little
while until they are duly disposed by delivered
Catechesis disposes the
proselytes for the
reception of the
sacraments.

Thus in the catechism to
the pastors, title De
confessione, in the
beginning.

[113v]
A proselyte not well-
disposed will be
assistance, divine and human, and they worthily approach either sacrament. But if this disposition is not such as the pastor procures, let it soon come to pass that approaching it he outwardly satisfy the precept of the Church concerning confession, and he will receive deprecatory absolution from his pastor for a time while he endeavors for sacramental [absolution] through the better preparation of his soul. For those who have still not put aside their Algarabia and do not yet advance in the catechesis of their pastors for the profession of faith, as if unlearned in their ignorance and stupidity of heart, remain blind and miserable. However, when these are equally disposed with the others and are made clean by the second washing after baptism and adorned, elegant, and shining, let them also come to the royal wedding celebration of the celestial groom and the holy table of the feast. If, however, anyone happens to enter into this wedding celebration without the nuptial garment, quickly thrown out with disgrace, he will hear these reproving words: “Friend, why have you entered here without a wedding garment?” Therefore, he will have to be sent into the outer darkness. Indeed, it is not right to give what is holy to dogs or to set pearls before swine. Indeed, something should be feared from the dogs for a reason: namely, that they tear their pastors to pieces with their teeth more than the teeth of Theon, and they tread the pearls of the word of God and of the sacraments of the Church with their muddy feet. But the deprecatory absolved until he is better disposed.

The Moriscos previously not [admitted] will be admitted to Holy Communion according to the mandate of the bishop, by the judgment of the pastor, which is a mandate of justice.

Matthew 22[12]

The prayer of the pastors for their proselytes, that they
pastor fearing these things will flee to God to pour out prayers for them, who unexpectedly makes lambs from the evening wolves and orders their hearts, once ferocious, to all gentleness and obedience. The pastor will insist thus far in his prayer and he will turn to some saint until he piously believes that true sorrow of heart and worthy preparation has been given to their parishioners for receiving the sacraments, although he cannot know for sure. Moreover, I expect very powerful prayer from the just pastor before God, if the spirit of God has ever illuminated the pastors: helped by which they will be capable of transferring a great acquired glory to themselves on account of the wandering sheep reduced to the sheepfold of Christ. But the greater pastors of the Lord’s flock and the princes of the Church will pause at least yearly for seeking their flock from the hands of the lower pastors and by strict examination they will demand an account of their proselytes from the pastors, and they will see with their own eyes what they have accomplished in that catechesis. Moreover, if the pastor watching over his flock realizes that he has behaved as a mercenary and not a pastor, who has not protected the sheep but only joined [them] with the wolf, he will demand from him the loss of his sheep and a new pastor, not a mercenary, will be substituted in his place. This one will go off to the fold of Christ with the prescribed model, received from the first pastor to whom the sheep were first brought together for guarding, pasturing, and leading back the sheep.

James 5[16] [114r] The bishops or their visitors must examine the proselytes in Christian doctrine. The model for watching over the sheep will be given by the bishops to their pastors. Visitation by the bishops and their officials over
trusting in the Lord to give him the ability of keeping
watch over his flock and driving off any wolves from the
sheepfold of Christ. Whereby the greater pastors and
the officials managing their succession will learn to thus
watch over their sheep and investigate the lower
pastors together with their sheep every year so that
they might confer rewards and the due honors on the
good, but the due penalties on the mercenaries as
recompense.

SUMMARY OF THE ELEVENTH CATECHISM

1. The Church, the bride of Christ, has two breasts full
with milk in which the preachers are understood by the
holy doctors who pasture their fawns, that is, their little
ones, by word and example.

2. The preachers of the word of God pasture the adults
advanced in the faith not only with milk, but other
foods, that is, various teachings, just as the pattern of a
flock fashioned from the heart.

3. The preaching of the word should be done by three
means according to the command of the Apostle,
whether by arguments, supplications, or reproofs, just
as the necessity of the hearer demands.

4. He who wishes to hear fiction, it is close by, so may
he be freed from God of such fiction, from which the
pastor should despair of the salvation of no proselyte.

5. The pastor despairing of the salvation of his charges,
who does not work in catechizing the uneducated, will
be dragged to Hell with them. But the laboring one will be adorned with the eternal prize from God.

6. Let the pastor lean on the reading of the saints and study the named books of the doctors for instructing his subjects in the faith.

7. The catechetical labor begun here by the children will prosper by the Lord, for first this milk, from there, food, will advance them greatly in faith and good character.

8. The catechesis of adults is more laborious, especially in those retaining their dress and Algarabia, with whom the pastors will begin to work and perform this catechesis at the vespertine hour of feast days, God granting.

9. In the first place, let the pastors dedicated to such religious instruction make provisions that these proselytes not bear two names. And whoever among them boasts concerning the name of the false religion, let him be brought to the judges of the faith to be judged.

10. The pastors will often propose the observance of their baptism, to which they are always obliged, to their uneducated being instructed so that they might abjure their false names together with the imposing Muhammad.

11. Let the pastors teach these proselytes each and every article of the Catholic faith, which they are held to know after having received baptism.

12. Let the pastors press on diligently to this catechesis as sewers of the word of God. They will harvest many
amassed crops from a few grains in the storehouses of the Lord, for which they will receive the packed-down reward.

13. The pastors will tear out the bad plants, that is, the perverse dogmas of the Muhammadan Sect, by the roots from their proselytes so that their seed might grow and bear fruit. They will do this without the loss of the good seed, in so far as God may bestow.

14. The parish priests will pay attention so that the things they have given in instruction to the proselytes they commit to memory, so that they might give an account of them in the following lesson.

15. Let the pastors take up the hope that after this appointed religious instruction the disciples setting out might be such who have the strength to teach others and attack that sect.

16. Let the first thing that the pastors instruct the proselytes be that they profess the mysteries of our faith and the prayers of the Church and the untainted names of the saints so that they might not be believed to hold them in contempt.

17. Let the pastor duly inform their proselytes concerning the ecclesiastical ceremonies and the infinite value of the Mass, so that they might also be capable of taking part in them and grasp their fruit.

18. After the Mass offertory, which the parishioners make, the pastor will instruct them in the Christian doctrine, which he will propose with a loud voice in order together with a brief explanation of the Gospel.
19. The proselytes will give an account at vespers of those matters which they will have heard in explaining the Gospel, by which they will have been more attentive to the word of God.

20. A penalty will be taxed by the bishop to these who have been absent from the office of the Mass, religious instruction, the observance of the feast day, or the public litanies, which should be applied to their own churches, not their pastors.

21. Let the pastors not dissimulate for their proselytes the penalties taxed by the bishop, nor accept bribes from them on this account. For the sentence of excommunication will be brought against them if they make an attempt to do otherwise.

22. The proselytes absent from their parish on any feast day will bring a note from another priest in whose Mass they took part. If not, let them be sentenced to pay the ordinary penalty.

23. Let the proselytes well instructed be admitted by their pastors to the sacraments of penance and sacred communion, if they are well animated and disposed to them and bear the duties related to penance.

24. While he has not been justly disposed for the sacraments as the Old Christians, he should not come to be admitted to them until he has advanced more through the means of catechesis.

25. Any proselyte coming to penance at the time of Lent, if he lacks the due disposition, will be discharged through deprecatory absolution. And the pastor will
admonish him so that he endeavor for sacramental penance.

26. The proselytes, or Moriscos, will not be admitted to the sacrament of communion by reason of the command of the bishop until the bishop concedes the indulgence for reception by the testimony of the pastor.

27. Prayer will be offered by the pastors for their proselytes, that they might be properly disposed by the divine light for receiving the sacraments, which God, merciful, will hear.

28. The bishops or his ministers will inquire from their pastors during their visits whether they have completed that catechesis, since they will know or discern it for sure by examination of the proselytes.

29. The form for saving and catechizing the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect will be given in writing by the bishops to their beloved pastors, which they will assemble from these catechisms as they may wish.

30. The bishops will exterminate mercenary pastors from their flock and they quickly commit their sheep to pastors selected by them who desire to save the sheep and keep away the wolves.

31. At least every year the bishops or his ministers will visit their pastors and proselytes in order to weigh out in return rewards for the good, the deserved recompense for the bad.
A passage from Saint Paul is declared, 1 Corinthians 15[1-2], “Now I make known to you, brothers, the gospel which I preached to you and which you accepted and in which you also stand. Through it you are also being saved, by which reasoning I have preached to you, if you keep it, unless you believed in vain.”

I have always considered it to be especially feared, as I see it in regard to these proselytes that, nurtured and grown old in their Muhammadan perfidy, they might run with their Muhammad to the chasm of Gehenna when they have poorly left this life. I hope to be about to make a worthwhile effort against such an evil for someone, if opposing my very self to their faithlessness, still not disparaging of their salvation, I should come by foot in order to win them in Christ Jesus in the favorable and fertile time of their life. In fact, I have very often heard many things happen between the cup and the lip, and so I have become accustomed to praying for them to the highest God that he will not suffer these proselytes to depart from the evangelical doctrine at the point of death, that, merciful towards them, he might make them stand in the faith. Now it will be the pastor’s duty to comfort those staggering in the faith at this hour, not only by administering the sacraments, but also by exhorting them to the true faith. The priest will bear the gospel of Christ to those greatly anxious for
their own salvation, saying with the Apostle, “Brothers, I make known to you the gospel which I preached to you and which you accepted and in which you also stand. Through it you are also being saved, by which reasoning I have preached to you, if you keep it, unless you believed in vain.” In these words Paul steps out to reprimand the Corinthians, who, misguided by false apostles, doubted the general salvation of all, supposing that no one was going to rise, since they saw the corpses of the dead being buried and decaying in the earth. Accordingly, the Apostle condemns this error, proving that the dead, without a doubt, are going to rise from their graves by the divine power and the resurrection of Christ. So that he might show this, he begins the matter thus: “I make known to you, brothers, this good news, by which all the just are brought word beforehand that they are going to rise in eternal glory. This gospel is not new, but has already once been preached to you by me and accepted by you with the greatest joy, in which you stand firm in the faith of the common resurrection.” Moreover, Paul speaks to everyone in general so that both these who are in the faith might rejoice and those who waver might grieve to be chastised and set right. “You stand,” he says, “in the gospel of the resurrection, you who are constant in the faith, by which you are also being saved. For by this living faith you obtain to eternal life when you depart from this life firmly believing the resurrection of Christ as the first fruits of those sleeping and our future
resurrection according to his example. You hold this faith even until now, unless you believed in vain. Surely your faith will perish unless it is founded on the resurrection of Christ, which, founded on that truth, is preached by all those who wisely understand it.” In truth, he who does not await this resurrection with certain faith, surely he professes an empty faith, since the true and living faith, inflamed with charity, is delightfully beseeched by love, is lifted up by certain hope, and leads us to the clear vision, and this same guide remains outside. Since, to be sure, a two-fold resurrection is found, that is to say, of the soul and of the body, the Apostle writes about each of them to the Romans under these words, “Now if Christ is in you, although the body is dead because of sin, the spirit lives because of justification. Because if his spirit who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Jesus Christ from the dead will also raise the mortal body on account of his spirit dwelling in you.” Behold in what way our future resurrection, on the last day, according to the example of Christ in one spirit, bringing our bodies back to life, will be accomplished by God. For just as Christ’s humanity, which was never abandoned by the eternal Word in that triduum of the death of Christ, although that soul was separated from his body by true and real death, he rose from the dead by the power of the Holy Spirit and walked in newness of life. Likewise, we will also rise in our own bodies by this power to walk with Christ in that same newness of life. But alas,
the miserable Muhammadans, deceived by Muhammad by his vane promises and driven into a thousand errors. For and in fact, when these are about to quickly flock to Muhammad’s paradise (or rather, more truly, I should say hell), the dead who die in Muhammad are esteemed blessed by them whose works follow them. Moreover, the Seducer devotes attention to humankind so that he might drive the Saracens one by one, as well as their posterity, to their Muhammad, to never again lead them back, so that those who have been Muhammad’s imitators in the delights of the flesh, they might also be participants of his passion and his companions in torments in the inner lake of Hell. And thus the Devil will turn any stone so that these proselytes might die without the sacraments, and he delays them hour by hour until their mind fails, the light flees from their eyes, their hands loosen, and the body separates from the soul. When this is sold into the eternal prison, it discovers and understands that what Muhammad embellished with his schemes and promised to his Moors was a lie. For at that time the paradise of delights is beheld changed into the bitterness of torments; the sweet embrace of the virgins into various kinds of tortures; the lake and fruit trees for food and drink into a pit and brimstone; the luxury of place and security of life into a lake foul-smelling, dark, and horrid; the milky rivers and fountains of honey, more pleasant than nectar and ambrosia, into a black flame and a great smoke and a woods thick with terror.
and darkness; the gardens watered and full of various fruit trees and the purest streams into a putrid stench and inextricable chaos. Finally, all the kinds of delights have been turned into inexplicable torment for them, so that those who have assented to lies in this life are not able to deny or desert them, since all their time has escaped them. Accordingly, so that these proselytes might escape the fate of such punishments and a share with Muhammad at this time and die in Christ on that day in which they fall upon illness, before the bodily doctor attends to it, they will request that the spiritual doctor be brought to them. From him they will ask for salvific confession and the rest of the sacraments, not only by mouth, but with a repentant heart. And they will both stand in awe and reverently receive the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, of extreme unction, with wondrous faith and church-like devotion, administered at their proper times, so that no place is given to the Devil for suggesting any lie and delaying the spiritual remedy from those weakening in soul and body. There exists a law by the most pious king of Castile Alphonse XI against those who maliciously, when they are able to hinder it, have decided to leave this life without the sacraments. It has it as follows in our Spanish tongue: “Qualquier que muriere sin confession, e sin comunion pudiendo fazer, e no lo fizo, pierda la meytad de sus bienes para nuestra camara” [Whoever dies without confession and without communion, being capable of receiving them but did not, loses half of his
possessions to our chamber]. This agrees with this law, l. 8, title 1 De fide catholica, which is from Henry III, as well as with another, which is Book 5, 1, Recap., title 1. If he has not yet confessed that year, nor come to holy communion, then he is presumed to be a heretic according to Antonius and Felinus in Rubrica de haereticis in auth. de praefigijs dotis mulierum non praestandis, col. 8, § 1. For those are justly called heretics who do not receive sacred communion in the Catholic Church, as is held, c. Saeculares, together with the following chapter De cons. dis. 2, and Cardinal Torquemada in the last C., number five, dis. 30, and Martinus Navarro in the Manuali confes., c. 26, number 32. And this kind should not be handed over for church burial, because he died in excommunication, according to c. Omnis utriusque sexus. The most learned Didacus Peresius proves all these things extensively in his Commentariis ad leges regalis ordinamenti. However, so I do not appear to delay the avid reader any longer, I shall briefly declare which sacraments are to be administered to these proselytes at the end of their life, along with their order, for a sacrilegious crime is impartially admitted as much in denying them to the worthy as administering them to the unworthy.

However, those things which the ministers of Christ have received freely, they should administer freely to others, according to his command extending to all priests. If therefore a proselyte from this sect is duly expunged by wholly confessing his sins by his
pastor’s opportune ministry, and even, at least, judged contrite by his priest for fear of the punishments of Hell and accepts the enjoined penance with a willing spirit, then he should be admitted to the three sacraments of penance, communion, extreme unction. Otherwise, the priest will be injurious against himself and his parishioner by manifest judgment. For one without the other should not be administered to such a sick person, truly laboring in the last moments. But if this sick one will not accept sacred communion at the moment before the passing of this life, if in some way he seems well disposed, he should not be driven away from such a sacrament, since God is accustomed to softening the heart of man, otherwise hard and stony, in a moment, even in the blink of an eye. This should be done with the consultation of the bishop, if there is time. If there is not time, he has license by right for administering the sacraments to those subject to him however he sees fit. Moreover, the pastor will be commended for this by the bishop, conscious of such a great matter, rather than reproached, as a capable person who has procured spiritual salvation for his faithful by all means, who has saved both his and his subject’s (as he was able) soul.

Now if the one who is sick does not appear to be sufficiently contrite to his pastor, even now, after great care has been applied, he will absolve him by some form of prayer, and he will not administer the sacred oil to him. Rather, the whole secret of this matter and the remedy of the eternal salvation of his soul will
be commended to God alone. Moreover, his own priest will take particular care so that before the reception of the sacred oil, a serious and sure profession of faith might be made by the patient and, with that, also an abjuration of Muhammad and his invented religion without any faulty language so that while he is ordered to profess these words, “I deny Muhammad, I choose...,” the proselyte does not substitute any word and honor that which he has learned to foster in his mind and heart. Now since I have witnessed this, I commit it to writing, so to make these proselytes’ pastors more informed about so great an evil, as if a snake lying under the brush, for the maliciousness of some New Christians reaches this far. However, still before or a little after penance has been received, this one in better condition should establish a pious cause for his soul and an heir of good things from his testament so that he might leave behind an example of his faith in the mist of all the others. By this it might happen that he be judged Catholic by everyone as well as rightly numbered among the Old Christians. And he should not choose a grave in an open field, although it be hollowed, that is illumined by the rays of the sun and has not received any other for burial. For the Arabs establish this virgin grave, bathed from every direction by the sun, for burying bodies. And by no means let him not commit a half mass in writing in his will as a sacrifice for liberating his soul from the flame of Purgatory. Let him settle his accrued wealth and collected goods

The proselyte at the end of his life should abjure Muhammad.

The sick proselyte should institute a pious cause for his soul and an heir from his testament.

What kind of grave is to be chosen by the proselyte.

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with his children. Moreover, let him choose a burial place in a spot closer to the sacrament of the altar and order that sacrifice and offerings be made for his soul according to his little means and piety so that as quickly as possible he might escape free from the pain of Purgatory. If he has done otherwise, let a large stone be placed by the sacristan by which, with the place of the indication of the grave infixed, the cadaver might be recognized, if ever the penalty of a convicted heretic is declared against it. However, as yet, while death is pressing, let the pastor not depart from the sick person’s bed until he establishes his children in his Catholic faith and pours out a long blessing (with these themselves requesting it) as a hereditary share, yet not secretly the Muhammadan perfidy, as others have customarily done. Moreover, let the other doctor order that the invalid lie in the bed face up and raise his eyes as about to pray to God towards heaven and, as about to suddenly make for heaven, heave a sigh by Christian faith so that he might not be considered some worshiper of Muhammad if he lies on his face. For the Moors customarily rest on their faces when they are at last breathing out their souls in order to call Muhammad and his demon with heart and voice so that he might guide them to Muhammad, never to guide to the regions above. Indeed, these certain signs of the eternal death of these proselytes devoted to the Muhammadan Sect are sometimes carried about. They should come to be banished by the pastors so that

What kind of grave should be chosen by the proselyte.

The proselyte should hand on his catholic faith and a blessing to his children.
the proselytes die in the Lord, not in Muhammad. If they discharge all things according to the counsel of the pastors (exactly as they are represented), they will leave no suspicion of the mark of heresy after themselves, but rather a good name, which, as Salomon testifies, is better than many riches. To be sure, if it happens that after the sacraments of the Church are requested by the sick person he is deprived of the use of speech and acumen of judgment so that he is not strong enough to confess either with words or signs, if those standing by have given testimony of his petition and sorrow for his sins on behalf of the incapacitated, and he is believed to be about to die immediately, let him be reconciled by the imposition of hands and the Eucharist poured out to him, as has been decreed in many councils. For granted that various doctors decree various things concerning this matter, those things that are in the favor of the penitents should not be restricted by us, but rather extended with prudence so that that sick person who was incapacitated for receiving the sacraments, which he had requested, might be aided by the power of the sacraments. He would even now again request the sacred Eucharist to be received as viaticum, since he was well inclined and thoroughly instructed for the sacraments, if he could speak. Now too, at this time, let him be anointed with the holy oil, which the priest is obliged to give to all those who ask and particularly to those who keep the custom of receiving so great a sacrament. Moreover, in worthily and devotedly
receiving this effected sacrament, that viaticum, he consumes something wonderful, which makes him free from any penalty of purgatory, if that invalid did not commit any grave sin in that time between the holy anointing and the second communion and has validly confessed. Now let no one say this claim is for nothing or dare prate, since in reception of these four sacraments by that invalid, he is aided more and more until he remains free from all the punishment of Purgatory, just as their bishop lord Pedro Guerrero is piously believed by the inhabitants of Granada to be free, first author of this opinion and three times a blessed bishop, by learning, holiness, and piety, who so lived in the Lord as he breathed out his spirit in the same, saying he so believed the heavenly things for which he hoped even as if he had seen them with his own eyes. That father of ours died in this faith and, acclaimed a most holy prelate by everyone, he soon received the promise, and he left the end of his life for acquiring it, as if a norm for our life for his children, or, more correctly, for all Catholics. But let us come to preparing the funeral rites of the Catholic proselytes dying in Christ, according to the faith of the holy fathers, lest by chance those attending, if there are followers of Muhammad in the presence of the one devoutly dying, they attempt something of Muhammadan superstition on his body to be resurrected on the last day or in the selection of the grave. Namely, the Saracens hold as a custom to both wash and anoint the body to be

How someone is freed by the sacraments from any penalty of purgatory. The author of this opinion was lord Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada. The death of lord Pedro Guerrero, prelate of Granada, in Christ.

Saint Augustine, book De cura pro mortuis, chapter 2, says the care for the funeral, the condition of burial, the pomp of the funeral rites are more consolations of the
committed to the earth and dress it in precious
garments. Unless they have first washed the body, as
they are frequently given to bathing (as formerly were
the Jews), they do not believe the body will be proper
for the resurrection. Likewise, just as Muhammad
asserted this fear, so these same ones readily accept
that simple water takes away venial sins and they are
pardoned by God. Thus the brandished opinion of
Wisdom truly happens concerning them, “He who
quickly believes is slight at heart.” Thus it will be most
expedient for the pastor to be present with those who
care for burying the dead body so that, as if thoroughly
sealed with the chrism oil, it might be hidden and
protected for the last day in which the flesh will be
awakened by God, who, as he is the Creator of all
things, is also their redeemer, as he alone also has the
knowledge for forming man again from that very dust
reduced to ashes and of entirely creating that same one
as if anew. However, this divine knowledge replete with
the all-powerful lies hidden to those who, seeing the
bodies of the dead committed to the earth and reduced
to dust and, led by their wrong belief, do not grasp the
future resurrection of all mankind to the universal
judgment, nor do they perceive the immortal spirit of
man. But Muhammad spoke wrongly about the final
judgment and the raising of the dead by God, for here
and there beyond the limits of the choir and lyre he has
a teaching about these two mysteries, as if terrifying his
Moors and barbarous Saracens. But still, although he

Saint Augustine, book
*De cura pro mortuis*
*Gerenda*, chapters 4 and
5, and Saint Gregory of
Nyssa, book *De
formatione hominis.*
wished to play the Christian man in these mysteries, he still had not grasp the truth of such great mysteries. For Muhammad acknowledges the particular judgment for each one standing at judgment, having left the universal for those who will die on the last day. On this day the rewards will be conferred to the good by God and his angels, but eternal sufferings to the evil. He also issued a false teaching on the universal resurrection: that it was going to quickly take place, that God was not going to differ it for a long time, but to anticipate it in a little while, until the soul, free from the penalty of sin, is united to its body and, with drink and food hidden in the grave, that whenever it is restored it might ascend to the heavens. Because truly it is a long journey for the person rising to tread from the lower regions, they place coins hidden at the head of the deceased for paying the expenses on the way so he neither falters along the way nor is forced to beg. Oh ridiculous mind of Muhammad! Oh decree worthy of such a man! Oh teachings sprouted from his empty brain! If rising from the dead he ascends to the heavens or descends to the lower regions, what need does he have of food or drink, coins for the necessary expenses along the way? He speaks senselessly in everything. He was diverted here and there, propped up by his falseness alone, his spirit and mind alone. And roving in his own thought, he daily issued forth a thousand senseless words and contradicting lies to his ignorant and stupid Moors. The pastor will shackle these vain and irrational

This penalty is inflicted in the grave, not in another purgatory.

The proselytes hold a thousand superstitions in burying their dead.
teachings of Muhammad, more invented on-hand than composed in time with grave eloquence, at this hour for handing the dead body over to the grave. He will strike down all of these inventions, as if by a lone unknown author, and will demonstrate them to be alien from the Catholic faith by many arguments, if the necessity of the converts seems to demand it. Likewise, the Muhammadans flounder in another mud pit, about which I am not prepared to say whether they have received it from their soothsayer or rather by their Muslim doctors, so that I might not seem tiresome to them. For and in fact these very ones believe that the resurrection of their dead will be speedy, particularly for good men who have very much lived religiously in their law. By this prognostication the Moors discern that they have happily arrived to their Muhammad: they lead a horse or a mule through a field full of bones in which the Moors lie separately and orderly to pasture, free from the harness. It wanders through the places of the grave and feeds on the green grass. If it does not shudder at the newly buried cadaver, then they infer by this sign alone that it already carries on with Muhammad in soul and body. They do not dig out the grave so that they might not be accused of their lie by these very same dried-out bones. This testimony of the beasts is abundantly sufficient for bestial men, because just as they are expert judges in many things, so they consider things they have been accustomed to portend from animals indulging only their belly for certain
matters. This is indeed the religion of many Arabs, as we have faithfully learned it by these who have renounced that sect from their heart. The wise among them hold this in contempt as a vane delusion together with that paradise invented by Muhammad, and esteem it alien from the very truth. However, some so easily believe that the resurrection of the dead has already taken place that they thoroughly enjoy their carnal delights with their Muhammad; now too they proclaim many things about their appearance to the living made in their own persons, who curiously pursue vain dreams and uncertain omens. In addition, they convey a long and extremely ridiculous interpretation for their dreams, as much the men as the women, but I consider the women more superstitious in view of the men, and more given to incantations, dreams, and omens. I have purposely omitted declaring in these writings the superstition of so many Arab women concerning these things, as if impaired by such great disgust and overwhelmed by their multitude. Therefore, the pastors will read over these our writings on the errors of the Saracens concerning the resurrection of the dead, which we have been permitted to bring together by the chapter summary. Still, by those who have brandished their weapons against the heretics they are of late run-through with their spears together with their protectors. For both the Greek and Latin holy doctors happily labored in this arena, and their more recent disciples who have pursued such

Avicenna says this plebian paradise in Sura 64 had been held in contempt by the wise.

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The writers against heresies should be read for refuting these errors, Father Castro and Father Feuardentius together with others.
teachers have published many books concerning the refutation of the heretics and their heresy. All the pious pastors will review them from the greatest to the smallest letter, thirsting for the salvation of their subjects, so that they might complete this catechesis for the profit of souls. And they will say to their proselytes together with Paul, indeed admonishing them to the true faith, “Now if Christ has not risen from the dead, then empty is our preaching, and empty, too, your faith. We are also found false witnesses to God.” But let the theological conclusion of such a great doctor be added, “But now Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For since death came through a human being, the resurrection of the dead came also through a human being. For just as in Adam all die, so too in Christ will all be brought to life.” Behold the great gap between Christ, God and man, and Adam, pure creature. From one, the prior Adam, death ensued, from the other life for the souls and bodies of all of those who are moral so that the Apostle dares to say this very thing, “From now on we know no one according to the flesh, even if we knew Christ according to the flesh, yet now we know him so no longer.” He declares immortality in the flesh, delivered by the victory of the cross, which he openly contends to be joined with us, since we do not wish to be despoiled, but rather clothed in glory so that what is mortal might be absorbed by life. Indeed it is permitted that the separation of the soul from the body occurs.

1 Corinthians 15[14-15, 20]

2 Corinthians 5[16]

See Saint Theodoretus on this passage. Saint Epiphanius, book three, to. 2, towards the end. And Saint Ambrose, to. 3, in Oratione de fide resurrectionis. And Saint
This came from sin. But immortality is certain for both for those who have died in Christ. Let the proselytes firmly hold these things so that they might not have believed in vain, to whom the pastors will propose the effect of death and of new life in Christ and in us at their time, so that, at last dead to sin, they might live in Christ and rise to eternal glory with him, no longer to see the second death.

SUMMARY OF THE TWELFTH CATECHISM

1. They vainly believe who do not hold with firm faith the resurrection of Christ, upon which our resurrection of soul and body depend.
2. The Devil, the seducer of the human species, has driven the Muhammadans and their posterity to a thousand errors concerning the resurrection of the dead.
3. Those who depart at the moment of death without penance by their own fault are fined the half-part of their goods, according to the Most Pious king of Castile Alfonso XI.
4. The proselyte disposed for the sacrament of penance at the moment of death will also be admitted to the others. If not, absolved by prayer he will be left to divine judgment.
5. The proselyte will be incited at that last hour by the pastor to having attrition of sins so, thus, he might come to all the sacraments. This will be done with the

[123r]  

Gregory of Nyssa, book  
_De formatione himinis._  
And Saint Augustine,  
to., _Contra Faustum Manichaeum_, book 11,  
c. 1, 4, 6, and 7.
prelate’s consultation, if sufficient time is available.
6. Before the proselytes are anointed with the holy oil, let them make a public profession of faith and abjuration of Muhammad before witnesses so that they might be judged as dying in Christ and not in Muhammad.
7. When he has received penance, let the proselyte establish a pious cause for his soul before he approaches sacred communion. And let him select a burial within the church. If he does otherwise, let him be buried in a marked place, if perchance there should be a penalty to declare against him.
8. Let the proselyte dying in Christ leave, as if a part of the inheritance, his Catholic faith, which he had confessed, and his paternal blessing for his children.
9. Let not the proselyte now about to migrate to God lie on his face according to the command of the other doctor, as if a worshiper of Muhammad. The pastor will attend to him to the death so that he might not be subverted by anyone.
10. If it happens to such a sick one that while he asks for the sacraments of the Church he is deprived of the use of speech, he can receive both penance and holy communion, if those attending give testimony of his petition, and he held it in custom.
11. He can be freed from any penalty of Purgatory through the virtue of the sacraments, particularly if he consumes viaticum after extreme unction without mortal sin and validly repents.
12. Let the pastor also give his pious attention to preserving the cadaver and preparing the funeral so that someone might not attempt some superstition on it.

13. The body of the deceased, since it has been anointed with holy oil and chrism, should be buried in holy ground and preserved to be resurrected on the last day in Christ in that very place.

14. The treatment of the burial, the condition of the grave, the pomp of the funeral rites are more for the solace of the living than the relief of the dead, since indeed the Lord guards the bones of the saints even before they are buried, father Augustine says, although these things should not be condemned by Christians.

15. Muhammad confesses a particular judgment of the dead, not general on the last day, by which instilled fear he often deters his Arabs from sins.

16. Muhammad contends that the resurrection of the dead is going to happen shortly. The Muhammadans customarily judge that it has already happened by certain vain omens, which are ridiculous.

17. The Muhammadans, not yet bathed by the supernatural light of faith, observe vain rites in burying their dead, as if alien to the faith in the resurrection. And they deny Purgatory.

18. The errors concerning the resurrection of the dead are attacked in succession by the holy fathers and the modern doctors. This reading is demanded of the pious pastors for refuting them.
19. How the resurrection of Christ operates its power for those who have died in him is extensively explained, which the pastors will propose to their disciples while instructing them.

20. Both resurrections for the dead in Christ come forth from him, whose faith is thus necessary for everyone, so that without it faith is vain, and vain the preaching of the Gospel.

21. The priests will preach these matters so that the proselytes might know that death, once and for all conquered by Christ, will not take place in them, if they are sustained by the grace of Christ. In them there will not be a second death, but, living, they will reign with Christ.

22. Detailed instructions aim at the catechism of the proselytes, not only of the children but of the adults, which the pastors will diligently observe if they desire their own or the life of their subjects.
The Apostle is heard loudly thundering to these words, 1 Timothy 1[8-9], “Now we know that the law is good, if someone legitimately uses it, knowing this, that the law has been imposed not for the righteous, but for the unjust and unruly, the impious and sinners.”

About to say something concerning the observation of laws made and to be made for the salvation and government of these proselytes from the Muhammadan sect, we have begun from that place from which Saint Paul had happily pursued the instruction and education of his Timothy, whom the pseudo-apostles falsely accused in many arguments of the law. For and in fact these false apostles brandished their spears and arguments against Timothy because he violently rushed against the law of circumcision, although he himself had been circumcised by his teacher a little while before. Now the Apostle did this timely so that, having sent Timothy to the Jews, they would not listen too little attentively and despise the chosen bishop and doctor of the Jews as from a Gentile father, though Jewish mother, if they saw him uncircumcised. Paul instructs him in all the questions of the Old Law as much as the New so that he might sharply drive against those pseudo-apostles, teaching them that circumcision as much as all the written law, with the law of grace
coming, has been outdated, and thereafter no longer
obliges anyone whatsoever. To be sure, while the
Apostle pauses in the instruction of his disciple in this
very exhortation of the first letter, he comes to the
instruction of the obligations of the New Law and the
abolition of the old, which two he encompasses with a
single proverb, saying, “Now we know that the law is
good, if someone legitimately uses it,” as if he wished to
say: that law of the ancients, which you superstitious
Jews wish to honor up to now, is good and useful, if
someone among you uses it legitimately: for it will lead
you by the hand to a good end and evangelical law, just
as it itself intends: that he who flees those terrors
quickly flees to the law of grace, in which, through
Christ, any deserter whatever to the one is freed from
all the evil of the other law. For that law of fear has not
been imposed on the just, although it is good, if
someone legitimately uses it, just as it itself intends.
Indeed, the righteous man is moved to fulfilling that law
by no fear or very little, but seizing the end of the law he
stretches towards perfection and the summit of the
evangelical law, and he is justified by none of his
surpassing merits, but freely through Christ, the
consumer of the law. Indeed, the just person uses his
written law legitimately at this time (says the Apostle),
which was a figure for those things to come, if he
deserts to the law of grace and hopes for his
righteousness from it through the Holy Spirit granting.
Indeed, everyone should know this: that the law has not
been imposed on the just, because the just fulfills the law without fear of the penalty to be inflicted. Rather, [it has been imposed] on the unjust and unruly, the impious and sinners, whom the coercive power of the law diverts from evil and makes just men from unjust, subjects from the unruly, pious from the impious, saints, at last, from sinners. Indeed, when any law directs its subjects to a good end it is called holy, good, and useful, but, that end ceasing, the strength of the law passes away and thereafter obliges no one to its observance. And such is temporal law, about which the discussion to now be established by us is, and it possesses both virtues, namely, directive and coercive; the former makes men good and just, the latter, bringing back the unjust, draws [them] to the observance of the law and frees [them] from the penalty of the law at the proper time. Moreover, God the supreme legislator concedes to the kings and authorities of this age the ability of making laws and precepts and abrogating the same according to the need of the time, which, after they have been laid down obligate both lawmakers and subjects by a diverse means. For a legislator is held by his law so far as it is directive for good; the rest to whom it regards [it holds] as directive and coercive, in as much as it has authority from God and not from men, and it carries the force of obliging, as God himself, the first author of laws, openly testifies to men, saying, “By me kings reign, and lawgivers establish justice; by me princes govern, and the mighty discern justice.” And in Proverbs 8[15-16, 17]
that very place, “Those who love me I love, and those who keep vigil for me early in the morning will find me.” I understand this word to have been said to the legislators who should acquire wisdom for making laws through the love of God, as those who love God will be loved by him and will be bathed with celestial light when they execute well their office of legislator. Thus the kings of Castile, just and pious, have customarily searched out this wisdom through divine love for making their laws, and, before others, those called Catholic, whom I name on account of reverence and honor, Ferdinand and Isabel the Catholic queen of Spain. While they maintain their surrendered Granadan Moriscos made New Christians in public peace and order them to serve under the law of Christ. Indeed, they considered opportune laws for them, which, if they pleased their adversaries in their common faith at that time, afterwards, with the evil matters of the civil rebellion having arisen, springing forth in these days, would not yet have been published. But if the Catholic Monarchs had publicly declared the penalty of death to that people then at that time, if they would not accept their holy laws, since they judged the rest of the conditions which they had stipulated with it should not yet be violated, they would not have deprived all the vigor of their royal document, and they would not have left it unfinished in their Granadan shrine. But if their faith was not feigned, it would not have dared to stoop to its lowly requests, never to be admitted by kings so
Catholic. Having followed the example of these so great princes, Philip I, Archduke of Austria and King of Spain, holding the royal scepter with Queen Juana, decreed that that royal document published for the Granadan Moriscos should be renewed: that all the Christians from the Moors should come forth in public on one day girded with our dress, who afterwards would slowly fashion their voices to the Hispanic language and, at last, shatter the friendship of their Muhammad, their names then given to Christ Jesus our savior. But, though these very ones accomplished nothing with their prayers to so great a Philip, envious death immediately approaches him, which, while it snatches such a Philip from our midst, about to migrate to heaven, it then leaves this very matter unfinished. But the certain offspring of so great a Philip, Charles, while with his most precious wife, digressed a little for guiding the Granadan kingdom in peace, seeing this matter unfinished by his Catholic grandparents, which remote matter he considered with his noble mind; and he discusses it to and fro with the nobles of his royal senate and lettered men, and at that time prepares his ordinance to be published according to the example of the other antiquated one. But fraternal love suddenly calls all the way to Vienna from Granada for overcoming the Turks and, while only with the news of his coming he puts the fearful and terrible Turks to flight, the Granadan Moors are left in their dress and language and false religion, before whom he made the taken action.
bursting with many mandates, be related by the bishops and nobles, with only the one mandate about the reformation of dress and language removed, which seemed to demand royal presence, more correctly, the power of such a Cesar for its instantaneous publication. Certainly, since the commands of this action are of great weight for the salvation of the exiles of the Moriscos, I have thought they should be inserted in this place in their order, to be observed by the secular judges, just as it has been enjoined on them by our Catholic Philip in the *Nueva recopilación de leyes*.

1. That the Granadan Moriscos and their children do not bear their medals made of metal and engraved with some hand or superstitious Arabic letters.

2. That the converted Moors, called *Gazi* in their Arabic language, withdraw ten leagues from the maritime coast on account of the danger of subversion and avoiding fellowship with the African Moors.

3. That no surgeon circumcises the foreskin of a Morisco. However, if it should be done on account of infirmity, let it be done by license of the prefect of the city or the prelate. Moreover, if a proselyte from the Muhammadan Sect circumcises himself, let him be fined in all his goods and be made an exile from the kingdom for perpetuity.

4. That no proselyte redeems a Moor unless he has become a Christian: let him be obliged to be given in service to a man Christian and veteran, by whom

Book 8, title 2, *De los Judíos y Moros*
he might be instructed in the Catholic faith.

5. That the promises of dowry not be recorded in the Arabic records according to paternal custom, but let the proselytes celebrate their marriages and matrimonial contracts before a notary and old Christian witnesses so that all superstition might be removed from their midst.

6. That these proselytes do not bear arms, although licensed for them, until they furnish such licenses to the prefect of the city, and it is ordered to temporal lords that they do not concede such licenses by their authority. And it is commanded to the secular judges that they do not permit these proselytes to bear arms, lest they fall from their offices in penalty of unjust and wrongful permission.

7. That the temporal lords not exact the farda or another tax, and let them not dissimulate with them in their rites and Muhammadan ceremonies. If they do otherwise, they will be free from the lord of the vassals and outstanding homage. And it is commanded to the same that they not receive murderers in their dominions.

8. That the prefect of a parish of Moriscos, according to the decree of the public Granadan senate, lives there for their custody so that they might have both a beloved custodian and pedagogue in good customs and the profession of the Catholic faith whom they might imitate.

9. That a proselyte not become a public butcher, but
that there be a Christian co-citizen to butcher the
comestible animals according to the precept of the
pastor. If, however, there is no Christian, let another
person designated by the pastor take up the office of
butcher.

10. That the Moriscos of that kingdom not bear the
names or surnames of the Moors, or even of their
parents, but of the Christians, since they are now
obligated by the Christian religion. And also, against
those who call the Granadan proselytes dogs, let the
penalty of six days of jail be exacted, because by this
word a grave injustice is inflicted upon them, because [it
means] they have returned to the vomit of their abjured
sect as if dogs.

These things came forth by mature council for the
salvation of the proselytes, mandated by so great a
Charles V and his royal senate. Oh if only the pastors as
much as the proselytes turned their hearts to observing
them, if they wish to please God and Philip. By these
acts, which had remained hidden in the paternal and
August heart and had rooted into the paternal tradition,
Philip II, magnified king of the Spanish kingdoms and
acclaimed Catholic by the same right by all, prepares to
dig up the mandates, as if hidden, for the public good of
that kingdom, by the pious and opportune petition of
his ancestors standing in their Granadan council to be
restored. So that anybody might read through them in
this place, I have thought they should be dug up in their
order.

[127v]
In the Nueva recopilación, title De Iudios y Moros, these
decrees are ordered to be observed. King Philip
has considered the laws at that time for the
Valencians, it is accessible in the
Valencian action of the
year 1566.
1. Philip II, Catholic king of the Spanish kingdoms, before the end of the sixty-sixth year, having counted the thousandth and five-hundredth, having followed the example of his grandparents and great grandparents, forbids the dress of the Moors and Arabic language without any distinction whatsoever to the Granadan Moriscos, that having banished these within two years, they might temper themselves to the Christians in faith and customs and thereafter be considered good and not feigned Christians by everyone.

2. In addition, he mandated that the use of the baths performed among the Arabs completely cease, which, as they were artificial, they thus served a thousand evils and indecencies. However, the natural baths would remain for the sick proselytes, not for voluntary delights.

3. He also mandated that all the nuptial ceremonies be removed from their midst together with their Muhammadan rites. They would celebrate their weddings as Old Christians, these having been invited as godparents and witnesses to announced weddings.

4. He mandated concerning the redeemed Gazi that they left the kingdom so that they might not return to their sect by the fellowship and example of the Africans coming to them and appeal to their brothers to visit from the African coasts.

5. He mandated concerning murderers and public Monfies that they remain safe nowhere and that they are not received in the dominions of particular lords for
even an hour, but, captured, they must be dragged off to a terrible death right there so that they might not make commotions or public disturbances in the kingdom.

6. He mandated that there be appointed certain elite men or a military company for insuring the roads and dragging the Monfíes to punishment, who might be repaid at the expenses of the Moriscos so that they might favor their common safety and the capturing of murderers.

7. And he also specified a coercive authority for the African Moors and Moriscos roaming in the kingdom so that the general captain might rage against the Moors and seize them all with the constant incursions of his soldiers and cavalry. And truly, the prefect of the royal Granadan forum would tear the Monfíes, public murderers, and impious, captured by cunning through the new military troops, into scraps and bound [them] in the crossroads on stakes in an example for others, having preserved the model of the law.

These and others were the mandates of our Philip as much for the salvation of the Moriscos as the public peace of the entire kingdom. Indeed, the Moriscos were so opulent with their wealth and unbridled with their lust that they daily ventured to act violently against their Christian co-citizens, whether day or night. But the lust among them grew up to the point of killing, destroying, and slaughtering any Christian man at hand
so that in the two years of the pragmatics two thousand Christians were required and the Granadan Moriscos devoted the entire two years in preparing that more than civil rebellion, which they attempted under a certain day of the elapsed sixty-eighth year. But, with divine mercy protecting the Granadan Christians, they did not accomplish their attempt. Indeed, fury supplied them arms, but counsel fled from their eyes and snow falling from the timely sky agitated and wrenched the hearts and bodies of those approaching from the dominion of the Alpujarras so that, delayed, the newcomers, few and delayed, heard from the conspirators of the Albaicín: “We wish to differ so great a matter to another more suitable time so that we might both be safe and all our Christian co-citizens might at last perish by our sword without our loss. But the conspired Moriscos did not inflict their rebellion unpunished: for almost all the rebels fell by sword and spear and leaden bullets; the rest of the conspirators, driven from their kingdom and homes; a few survive among Castile, captured in war, undergoing cruel slavery; together with others who have surrendered, they are pardoned with their lives according to the mercy of our Catholic and merciful Philip. But those of them who justly suffer the penalty, let them restrain their lips with a finger placed over [them] and not procure to return to that kingdom for committing new crimes: indeed, it will never be granted by such a Philip, if he considers our wishes and [those] of the pious men
negotiating the salvation of these proselytes in every way. Truly, those who have undergone cruel, it appears to them, nevertheless, mild slavery among the Old Christians, let them freely receive the enjoined penance for their crimes and not shake off from their shoulders that which the most just legislator was able to pronounce against them by the greatest right. And let them certainly not cry out [that it is] unjust because they were not born under it; let them hear the rules and decrees for pronouncing slavery and loss of the greatest rights of citizenship contained in the law, C., under the title *De capitis diminutione*:

In the first place, those who make war against Christians are ordered to be reduced to slavery and even their goods to be confiscated after they have been caught by Christians in the actual act of rebelling, as many laws prove it: *Instituta de patria potestate*, § 2 and ff. *De statu homini*, l. *libertas.*, and C. *De patribus, qui filios suos distraxerunt*, l 2 and book 12 of the *Fuero iuzgo*, title 3 *De seruitute Iudaeorum*, and in the new law, Part 3, title 28, l. 19, in the Spanish language it has it thus:

“Otrosi dezimos, que quien quier que prenda hombre en tiempo de guerra, que este en tierra de los enemigos, y faga guerra a los Christianos, que sea su captiuo de aquel que lo princese, quier sea Cristiano, quier Moro” [We also say that whoever captures a man in wartime that is in the land of the enemies and he makes war against the Christians, let him be the captive

[129r]
of the that one who has taken him, whether he is Christian or Moor]. Moreover, this law, with this term “quien quier que prenda hombre” [whoever captures a man], wishes that either sex be understood, particularly since, in our case of this civil rebellion, men as much as women, adults as much as children have been found in the actual act of rebellion and the entire common affair of conspiracy. For and in fact, the Morisco women faltering from the faith conducted themselves more bravely in battle before their men and, to those whom arms were wanting, at least there were long pins and longer Spartan needles for them in place of swords and axes, not only for consuming the passion of many martyrs, but also for secretly wounding Christians with wounds of the longer pins, who, exhausted in killing Christians men, still not satisfied in the dominion of the Alpujarras, both left their own homes and were sold into slavery. But if the rebellion attempted by the perfidious Moriscos had been attempted for this reason alone: that they had been disobedient to those holy laws on abandoning their dress and Arabic language, as if greatly officious of their exterior cult and dress, on account of this crime they would fall into other penalties of the law, not still into civil slavery. That zealous bishop, lord Pedro Guerrero, defended this opinion for his subjects at the very time of the threatening rebellion, which most openly inflicted both emerging damage to the rebels and ceasing gain to the soldiers and others advancing defenseless [129v] The two distinctive opinions of the Granadan bishop are shown true.
unto battle. But afterwards, the bishop, most saintly and equally learned, well-informed about the audacity and known perfidy of the Moriscos rebelling against the Christians (since just as dogs to their own vomit, thus almost all of these returned according to their heart to the Muhammadan Sect that had been abjured by them in baptism), he gave another opinion in another plight, not corrective of the former, but separate from it by many parasangs, because he proves his opinion in a certain particular decree of the Seventeenth Toledan Council, in the eighth canon, in a similar plight about the perfidy of the Jews, which I will refer as if a matter newly discovered in order to please the reader. Indeed, it has it thus: “Because the perfidy of the Jews has stained not the garment of holy Christian baptism alone, which it had accepted, but they have also dared to conspire against the king and queen. Stripped of all their things, let the persons of those infidels as much as their women and children and the rest of their posterity through all of the provinces of the kingdoms of Spain undergo perpetual slavery and remain wholly dispersed. And those who receive those Jews into slavery must permit them to celebrate or keep the ceremonies of their rites in nothing whatsoever. And that they permit their children to have no residence or lodging at all with their parents from the seventh year, but let them join in matrimony to the most faithful Christians so that they might not be able to repeat the paths of their infidel parents by any occasion whatever.”

Another law for assigning slavery is shown, canon 8 according to a decree of the Toledan Council, 17, is referred to the letter. The same is discerned in c. \textit{Ita quorundam ext. de haereticis}.\footnote{\textit{Quae auctoritatibus sanctis quondam illuc perhibetur.\footnote{\textit{De exilia et in Mora auscultatione et in circumcisione judaeorum.}}}}
All these things are read in that canon, whose reasonably quick execution according to the definition of the Fourth Toledan Council, canon 58, was made by the fathers. For and in fact, the fathers of this council, as if looking from afar what the future would be concerning the Jews, published this canon under this form of words: “Jews lifted to the Christian faith who practice detestable circumcisions and other Judaic customs must be quickly corrected by pontifical authority and recalled to the cult of Christian dogma. Moreover, those whom they have circumcised, if they are their sons, let them be separated from the fellowship of their parents; if slaves, let them be given to their freedom on account of the disgrace against their body.” According to the law contained in Exodus, the twenty-first chapter, and again in that same council, the sixtieth canon, the manner of this correction is thus prescribed: “Let there be no communion for the Hebrews translated to the Christian faith with these who up to now stand fast in the Old Rite so that they might not be subverted by their company. Whoever does not keep this, let these be given to the Christians and let they with whom it was prohibited to converse be esteemed for the public jails.” Moreover, this donation to perpetual slavery is understood by the doctors learned in canon law when every donation according to its nature transfers the ownership of the thing or person to another. And thus “donation” in this passage should be taken “to perpetual slavery,” since

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The decree of the Toledan Council, 4, in canon 50, also is referred, De cons. dis. 4, chapter Plerique ex Iudaies, and it was confirmed in the Toledan Council, 8, last canon, canon 60 of the same Toledan Council, 4.
civil servitude is included by the doctors under the term "donation." But it is right to add to these most holy decrees another from the Fourth Aurelian Council, in the nineteenth canon, so that this truth might be more well known: “And we discern this should be observed, that any Jew who dares to make a proselyte, who is called a newcomer, a Jew, or induce a person who has become Christian to the Judaic superstition, or if, under a promise [of freedom], he makes a Jew from the child of Christian parents, let him be fined by the loss of his slaves.” See in what way the Jew is punished in his slaves if he makes them either return or convert newly to Judaism. And after this salubrious decree was made in the forum of the judges, which the ancients declared, the Fuero juzgo, book 12, title 3, law 14, [declares] that the slaves of Jews not yet converted to the faith who flock to the grace of Christ must be given to liberty. The most powerful reasons for this matter are presented in the same law, of which the particular [reason] is established on the recognized danger of subversion in the faith. Therefore, the truth of our assertion is gathered from these decrees and regal sanctions, in like manner, with the argument applied from the perfidious Jews to the Saracens, falling from their faith and fighting with open war against their king and kingdom. But to this point it is right to add a third reason for the imposed slavery: on account of the violated faith, which the native Granadans had given confirmation in their oath of surrender. For in the documents of their

The decree in the Aurelian Council, 4, canon 19.

Under the promise of conceding liberty is understood.

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The third reason for the imposed slavery. The agreements of the Granadan Moors are dug up in the public
surrender (which are kept in the public treasury of Granada), this pact is read confirmed with an oath of allegiance: that if ever they would war against their Catholic Monarchs and the rest of their successors in their line and rule, they would be guilty of the crime and law of treason, which does not appoint civil slavery but threatens capital punishment. Therefore, they were obliged to undergo the enjoined penalty of death, not to speak of civil slavery, on account of not only the admitted crime, but the violated faith of the agreements, which awaits whoever is ungrateful. And I might not have said this by way of insult of these criminal men, since this is the sole and shared opinion of the counselors of the law, founded on the holy sanctions, namely, that whoever is ungrateful, as not mindful of the received benefit of freedom, should both lose their freedom and be restored to their former slavery. Indeed, all the royal laws and decrees of the emperors abundantly testify the same thing: l. 2, C, De libertinis, & eorum libertatis, and in authenticis, authentico ut liberti de caetero, § 1, and in the eighth chapter, discussion 12, quest. 2, and in the chapter De famulis, title De seruis non ordinandis, and in l. Regali, partida 4, title 22. Moreover, that the ungrateful freed person should be reduced to his old slavery and again submitted to its terrible yoke, from there (as I suppose) the law becomes known, which once some wise philosopher who had manumitted his slave being made ungrateful, declared against him such a

The saying of the Philosopher about a slave ungrateful to him.
sentence: “Be a slave, because you do not know how to be free.” Which sentence is thus approved by every lawyer so that it has maintained the strength of a firm decree since that time, as it was related by Suetonius Tranquillus in the *Vita Claudii Caesaris Imperatoris*, and Baldus the famous lawyer, in l. 1. C. *De Libertinis*, by the modern Tiraquellus in l. *Si umquam, verse libertis*, number 24, C. *De reuocandis donationibus*, whom the rest of the lawyers follow in steps of faith. But the Philosopher also condemns that very ingratitude here, and he indeed wisely notes that all reproaches will necessarily be cast against an ungrateful man. We are able to turn and cast these things against the native Granadans as ungrateful for the received benefit and call the same back to their first slavery, according to canon 2 of the Hispalensis Council, published on account of the freed Heliseus of the Aegabrensis church, refusing to serve his church from which he had been manumitted. It thus has it: “We establish that those who have been given to their liberty by a bishop, if they are unmindful of the received benefit, they become ungrateful to him on account of their pride, let them be recalled to slavery. As their freedom is pernicious, let there be salvific slavery.” And to this decree also harmonizes another of the Fourth Aurelian Council under these words: “If a bishop makes free men from slaves of his church, let them remain in the status of freemen in a suitable number so that they might not withdraw from the office of the church.” But if they do
withdraw, undergoing the penalty of ingratitude with
the freed Helifeus of the judges, they will lose their
sweet liberty on account of the strength of this decree.
Whereby for the presented reasons Philip our just and
Catholic king was able to both confiscate the goods of
those who were rebelling and declare the law of slavery
against them, although at another time the rebelling
Granadan proselytes, violators of the faith and having
become ungrateful, might not have been saved, but
dragged to a terrible death. Philip was greatly merciful
and clement with them, who had learned from his
father Charles V the Invincible Emperor to both pardon
the subjected and war against the arrogant. Moreover,
since our prince has conveyed so great a benefit to
them so that he who was able also saved [them] and
made [them] dwell among the Old Christians in peace
and tranquility, he will exact the common tributes and
taxes from them that should be rightfully required and
taken from the other citizens. Indeed, this is the right of
the kings most well-known to all of his subjects,
according to the act of Christ our savior, rendering the
just tribute for himself and Peter and commanding all
subjects, “Give those things that belong to Cesar to
Cesar, and what belong to God to God.” Moreover, from
this double drachma, consisting in two drachmas, for
having released the Lord and Peter [from the tax], the
decrees of canon law have flowed about rendering taxes
and tributes, which are together well known to the one
reading. In the first place, c. Super

[131v]

New taxes should not
be demanded from the
proselytes.

[Matthew 22:21]

Matthew 17
quibusdam de verborum significatione, which is of Pope Innocent, c. Innouamus. ext. De censibus, and every c. under that same title, which is of Saint Augustine on the epistle to the Romans, c. Paternarum, 24, q. 2, in which decrees it is held that new taxes may not be established except by princes having the authority and for just causes. If, moreover, any do otherwise, they are afflicted by the sword of excommunication according to the decree of Pius V, High Pontiff, contained in his bull Caenae domini, published in the sixty-ninth year, to be sure on the twelfth day of April. But on the other hand this truth has been defined in civil law, law Ager, De verborum & rerum significatione, and in the title Nova vectigalia institui non posse, C. l. 3, and l. Si ex toto de legat. 1, and l. Peculium. ff. De legibus, and the doctors assert in these places that by new taxes is understood increases of the old, which may not be justly increased, unless by a prince possessing the authority and with a reasonable cause intervening. Indeed these are the pointed words of the bull in the aforementioned canon: "We excommunicate all those who impose new taxes or debts not possessing authority for it, or demand prohibited things." Now since our king Philip exerts his power with authority for making new laws (concerning which there is no one who disputes), as the necessity presents itself, he will make new laws in favor of these proselytes, which, moreover, might be opportunely considered; concerning these I shall begin to speak.
ON LAWS TO BE MADE

And indeed I have already long disclosed the desire of
our heart for the children of the heretics, who, when
they detest the paternal election and reverently thirst
for their salvation, after they had used the remedy of
paternal correction once and again, they brought the
whole matter to the judges of the faith so that their
heretical parent might come to his senses by more
gravely employed correction and return safe and
Catholic to a good mind and the education of their
children and not wavering or doubtful in the faith. For
and in fact these [children] fervent with the zeal of faith
and the desire of paternal salvation are worthy of
reward and honor, just as their singular virtue demands.
An argument is taken up for this cause from the original,
as when it is recognized De appellatione, § caussas. ibi.
8, and from the glo. exhaeredare, in c. Quintaquallis de
iureiurando. There it is discerned that a child who brings
the crime of his parent against the prince or the republic
to the tribunal cannot be disinherit ed by his parents,
therefore, neither can a child accusing his heretical
parent in order to negotiate the spiritual salvation of the
same before the doctors of souls and judges, learned in
the causes of the faith, before the sickness grows worse.
For the judiciary presumption of this kind of child is
trusted, because with this heart he has chosen to
become the accuser of the paternal crime. But if such a
child has come for denunciation on account of hate of
his parent, not of the crime of heresy (seeing that every
sin should be detested, even in parents, but nature
should not be regarded with hate, according to the
opinion of him who said, “Become angry” against sin,
“And do not sin” against people or nature), I
recommend that as one lacking paternal goods he will
need to be made known and given initial instruction in
paternal reverence by his parents. But he should be
honored by a temporal reward and even by a laurel
crown girded with ribbons through the public streets so
that he might be a sure example of virtue for others; he
should come to be adorned and declared, with a crier
shouting, as fit for his paternal inheritance, either
according to the mandate of the high pontiff bearing
such a law or according to the decree of the secular
prince, to whom the confiscated goods fall. For and in
fact this prince, enkindled with the jealousy of
augmenting the Catholic faith, would restore the due
reward for the virtue from their goods to the Catholic
child, by which he would also inflame jealous men to
greater acts of virtue and zeal for the faith and would
ascribe the eternal glory of his name before God and all
mortals. Our desire seeks that this happen very soon in
all the Christian kingdoms, and not only in ours but of
others, fervent with zeal for protecting and increasing
the faith. Thereupon it is in the interest of the entire
Christian republic to make another law for the same
proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect in favor of
those who strive to associate Christian women

Psalm 4[5]

Father Castro, book 2,
De iust. hareticorum
punitione, last chapter.

[133r]
from a long, repeated progeny to themselves in matrimonial union so that they themselves might be seen repudiating that sect honored by their parents from their heart and repel [it] to the far side of the Africas and Indies. For and in fact these should also delight in the honor of their wife with privileges and immunities and be rendered immune from the subsidies and taxes of the Moriscos and freed from all the infamy of New Christians, more rightly, treated with new honors and liberties to be made by the law, which justice and equity demands. The singular deed of king Egica, born of a most noble Gothic family, stands out for an example for Christians, generous and liberal to the Jews coming to the faith, adorning them with status and nobility, if they were found faithful in their excepted faith and compliant to him. That deed, worthy of such a prince, resulted in both an increase for the Christian faith and a reward for true virtue. And thus it was received and affirmed by the fathers in the Sixteenth Toledan Council, devoting their attention with the thanksgiving owed to such a prince. But if the fathers thus favored that the Jews converted to the faith: should be regarded well-born and noble, and they confirmed the proposed law with their white pebbles, they would recommend that this law should be renewed in part and be published somewhat tempered for the converts from the Muhammadan faith wishing to marry women born from Christianity. And indeed, not after long study and mature deliberation Thus it is held in the volume Regis patribus, presented in the Toledan Council, 16, and in the first decree of the council.
will you find another drink, a more salubrious antidote for the aforementioned sickness, by which they might both be reduced in faith to good health, influenced by such great pleasure of the law and the honorific reward won, and receive the befitting recompense for both their pure religion and their sincere piety. Those who are born from these will follow the faith and condition of the better parent, particularly drunken in with the sucked milk and as if inborn, because children smell of the maternal womb and generally taste of her character, as the witness experience teachers it to us. From where it might happen that our Spain, infected with these people to our great misfortune, might remain free as if from domestic and personal enemies, and now, too, abound with pious and true Christians in this our age. However, so that the Christian and Catholic princes of our time, to whom our prayer and supplication will quickly arrive, might not be driven by the example of one jealous king for proposing this law, I will place another recent one of the Catholic monarchs and Charles the V, the excellent emperor, before their eyes: that which was conceived by the Catholic kings was published by the command of their sure offspring Charles V in a royal edict in Granada in that year in which the holy tribunal of the Inquisition, by order of the same highest emperor, was established, and it was related by the loud voice of a public crier for those coming from the Muhammadan Sect marrying Christian women, not Morisco women, in sweet matrimony in the

The year was the one-thousand five-hundred twenty-sixth.
presence of the Church. This edict, worthy of the great piety and jealousy of the invincible emperor Charles, was embellished by his presence, fortified by his power, and magnified by his favor, and confirmed by the pebbles of the bishops so that, having become liberal, greatly beloved, and amiable towards his Granadan proselytes at his and his most sweet wife’s coming, they might be restored to them. But however much those proselytes, ignorant of so great a benefit and too little detained in their old religion, wished to stop up their ears to so honorific a decree, at least now a few of them, rather, many of their descendents abiding among either Castile, if it would happily come to pass with them humbly begging that so liberal a decree would be renewed by our Philip, having become more attentive to the new benefit conferred upon them, would both devote their hearts to the Catholic faith and become more eager for celebrating their weddings with the aforesaid women so that they might repel the infamy of New Christians from themselves and enjoy the aforementioned immunities and privileges of the granted status and liberty. Oh, if only that matter of our prayers might come about and, having our prayers answered, we might immediately rest in peace. And according to the divine mercy, made safe in the place where I might have a mansion, I might be made certain, with God granting, about the salvation of these proselytes living on in the matrimonial state under that condition and of their children.
But now wishing to add here the colophon to this protracted catechism, I shall now at this time add one word for another law favorable to the proselytes, to be proposed either by the High Pontiff, the vicar of Christ on earth, with supreme and wide power, or by the governors of the Christian Republic. Namely, justice and equity have entreated that these New Christians found faithful imitators of Christ and reduced to the cult of the Old Christians in faith, dress, and pious conduct, now at last, as if Old Christians, be declared free from those tributes and taxes, which, then detained in the rituals and patristic laws, they use to render, and, first, from that by which they are held to render every year, the expenses of the holy forum, not only of Valencia, but also of Valladolid, according to the contract already long ago entered upon with their ancestors, although they are found free from any sin and known heresy before God and men. These who trace their lineage from those first authors of this contract procure that this contract be rescinded by this reason revealed for to the public: because if their great-great-great grandfathers or great-grandfathers, conscious of some crime, confirmed the succession of this public document with the ministers and judges of that holy forum (with the Catholic Monarchs approving) for the sake of protecting their property, they could commit to writing or call to witness nothing certain, nothing firm against their remarkable nuisance and well known mischief and the certain harm or prejudice of their posterity.
their posterity in those documents. Indeed, a penalty only follows the culprits, not, still, those free from sin, as all laws, divine and regal, proclaim. But if this is derived in children from their parents and will take place in their grandchildren, not, still, in the rest of their posterity. Therefore, let the Catholic authorities as much as the judges selected for the causes of the faith reflect among themselves about rescinding such a contract, and, if they recognize the customary contract with apostolic authority, the faculty for rescinding having been received by it, they might procure that it be quickly annulled in favor of these proselytes. For just as the Catholic Monarchs once mandated contributions be made in all of Spain for a time for the expenses of the holy brotherhood, which in those days they appointed ministers and judges of the same in the capture of murderers and infamous men and those guilty of either treason for restoring the peace of the republic, very soon afterwards, with the peace restored by reason of them having been raised to a terrible death and run through with arrows, they ordered that the aforementioned contributions be removed from their midst. Thus, the Catholic king Philip should now introduce a law concerning these tributes to be rendered to the ministers of the holy forum and the royal purse, that thereafter they may not be demanded for each head of these proselytes, since the son should not bear the iniquity of his parent in such a penalty, Guilt does not transfer to others; sometimes a penalty is extended to their children or grandchildren, so far as they are the flesh of such a parent. In his pragmatic of the year 1598 [sic, 1568].
and, in the same way, their posterity so distant is even less held by the contract celebrated by their ancestors. Certainly, since the cause of protecting the faith requires it according to the circumstances, all Christians are held to rendering taxes, more rightly, to taking up arms against every enemy for protecting the faith, the king, and the republic, after they have enlisted their names in the Christian militia in baptism for Christ and their accepted religion. But because we have introduced our opinion about the rescission of that contract, let us extend the same in this place for another once entered upon by the Catholic king João of the Lusitanians, the second of this name, now, however, to be rescinded by our Catholic Philip. For and in fact, the Lusitanians obtained from the Apostolic See that in the forum of the holy tribunal and secret court they undergo the penalties received by the judge in their person and not in external goods, with the aforementioned king lord João, most beloved by his Lusitanians, attending to their cause. Now, however, because this penalty does not justly respond to the great guilt of this crime committed against divine majesty, so that the Judaic perfidy might cease among certain Lusitanians, this penalty will need to be increased, and the form of the law preserved, which has now been fully written by the High Pontiffs against any heretic in every title on heretics of the six books of decretals; hereafter these opinions might be carried to our Sixtus the fifth, High Pontiff, agreeing to the petitions of our king Philip. For just as once when

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our Philip was assaulting the people of the Franks of Saint-Quintin with his own army, he refused to enter upon that pact with the Granadan proselytes that, with the anticipated rendering of the five-hundred thousand ducats, they might thereafter be punished in that forum of the Holy Inquisition only in person, not, still, in external goods, thus now he should not patiently bear that the Portuguese convicted of the crime of heresy undergo the simple penalty of their person. These things have been conveyed for the good of the proselytes; may those who are in charge of them [the proselytes] insistently procure them [these things].

SUMMARY OF THE THIRTEENTH CATECHISM

1. The law is not established for the just, since without fear the just person fulfills it. Rather, it is established for the impious and the wicked.

2. The law has a twofold authority, directive, of course, and coercive. The former renders the just as supporters of the law. The latter orders the unjust to the norm of justice.

3. The law binds the legislator and his subjects in a distinct way. For it obliges the former to its observation as though to an act of virtue, now too, however, the latter to penalty.

4. The passage of Proverbs, chapter eight, for law makers is conveniently explained. They should issue their laws by way of their love of God.
5. The Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabel, enkindled by divine live, composed holy laws for the Granadans subjugated by them, which they left unfinished to the great detriment of these proselytes.

6. Philip I, whose titles were King of Spain and Archduke of Austria, prepared to execute the laws made by the Catholic Kings, inflamed by the same flame, but, prevented by death, he was unable to carry them through.

7. Charles V, Emperor, always Augustus, brought forth some laws for the natural Granadan citizens. He left the rest to be decreed by his beloved Philip.

8. Philip II, bearing the title Catholic, issued these laws for the Granadans and the Valencians at that once for the salvation of his proselytes and the good of the republic.

9. Philip, a merciful king towards the Granadan Moriscos rebelling and falling from the faith, was right to pronounce the law of perpetual servitude, since many matters have already been drawn together concerning its causes.

10. The two-fold opinion of the bishop of Granada, the lord Pedro Guerrero, is disclosed concerning the perpetual servitude of the Granadans who rebelled, the earlier is not contrary to the other, but rather different and true.

11. New taxes should not be demanded from these New Christians, but those which are rendered by others for their king.
12. Philip our king will issue a law for the children submitting their parents to the judges of the faith so that they might not be defrauded of their paternal share nor that they undergo infamy.

13. Philip our king will issue another law for these who marry Morisco women, whom could be fairly decorated with graces and privileges by the prince.

14. A third law should be conceded by such a Prince in favor of those who annually render their taxes to the ministers of the holy forum, since they are regarded innocent from any fault.

15. Philip our king should press hard before the high pontiff for decreeing a decree against all heretics so that both in body and goods they might be penalized so that such a great crime might not remain in any way unpunished.

16. The judges will observe the aforementioned laws strictly so that the proselytes might learn to fear authority and they themselves might satisfy their duty.
Saint Paul’s invective against heretics is explained, who writes to Titus, chapter 3[10-11]: “After a first and second warning, avoid the heretic, knowing that such a person has been perverted and sins, since he has been condemned by his own judgment.”

This argument taken up by us, just as it lies open in the catechetical title, has been laid out for a long while and fanned here and there by the modern doctors who have happily struggled in this arena. Thus, that which comes forth by necessity for the matter of these proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect will necessarily be presented by us on account of our assumed duty so that the pastor might have full knowledge of the errors in which these New Christians hesitate, either suspect in the faith or alien from it. These things fully known, it will be his duty to correct them, but to quickly report the rest to the judges of the faith. Indeed, those who are sick in the faith easily fall from it, and, unless they have someone lifting [them] up, they will thoroughly perish, and it will be said concerning them, “Woe to him who is alone, because when he falls, he will not have someone who lifts him up.” Now here the one who lifts up those who fall will be the pious plebeians, in whose interest it is to reduce to the sheepfold of Christ as much those sheep who are falling as those who are wandering and confirm [them] in the accepted faith, since they know...
that the fellowship of heretics is greatly viscous and pernicious to all those who deal with them, “Whose word crawls like a cancer, since they have been condemned by divine judgment.” Therefore, unless there is somebody near to help, someone from the Moors will quickly arrive who retains the one who has fallen into error and confirms [him] in it. But perhaps by the fault of his pastor a brother for whom Christ has died will perish in his conscience. And thus, I wish, the common people more solicitous and attentive for them in all things, but chiefly in this matter of recognizing heretics and those suspect in the faith, that they might either report them to the spiritual doctors or separate [them] from the rest as if scabby sheep so that they might not infect them with the great sickness of heretical depravity, just as it has been sanctioned in law. Moreover, in what way the learned pastor should associate with his subjects Saint Paul explains, thus having spoken with his Titus, “After a first and second warning, avoid the heretic.” The apostle has spoken in the passage of the heretics of his time who, not yet fully instructed in the faith of Christ, were easily seduced by the pseudo-apostles and were moved here and there even by slight wind of false doctrine into various errors, as if limp leaves of a tree. And moreover, the Apostle himself refutes them in his epistles in which, of the many difficulties contained there, this one is not inferior to the others: in what sense this passage should be received, since it has been variously explained by the
theologians. But I, having followed the truer path, have thus thought that the mind of Paul should be explained and accepted by everyone. With the heretics roaming about at the time of the apostle, one should employ a first and a second warning, just as he indicates should be done to his Titus; but with others of our time, the Pauline warnings have no place whatsoever, “Because such people have been perverted in their own hardness [of heart]” and their greatly known pertinacity, which is in the heretic as the soul is in the body. For and in fact, the pertinacious person is superfluously warned two times, or once, or a thousand times; although abounding in his sense, by his own choice, he still does not refuse to undergo death, as if a martyr of the Devil (for the Devil has many). Certainly, so that he does not either infect so great a republic or at least ruin anyone from it, dragging them to the edge of Hell, he is justly and piously made to stand before the judges of the faith, either to be judiciarily corrected by them or relaxed to the secular judges as pertinacious so that they might pronounce the penalty of the flame against him. Moreover, it seems to me a metaphysical event and rarely happening that a heretic of our time come to his senses by one or another correction of some pious man knowing that crime, and that he duly abjure the heresy. But if by such a correction he should be recalled without any doubt whatsoever to better judgment, I inquire from the one who warns, what will be more serious or more opportune, this correction of the pious

The warnings in the time of Paul were done for the better instruction of those who believed, but now this end has ceased in these heretics, as well as their correction.

Simancas proves this in his Inquiridion, title 23, De denunciatione, and he selects the doctors of this opinion.
man, or that of the censors of the faith, to be done judiciarily and maturely? He will not rightly find comparison between them, from where he will say that the latter, not the former, should be used with such a heretic, if he is sound and disposed to the defense of the faith. Moreover, I know there are some of an authority not to be despised leaning towards the opposite opinion, whom I wish would distinguish between the times of the Apostle and our greatly calamitous [times], so that they might sing a recantation. Indeed, we have come to bad times, by all means worse than those, concerning which matter this is evident testimony: if indeed we now see more heresies creeping about, which Paul, a most vigorous defender against those and an outstretched sword against heretics, saw in his time. But now at this time correction of these heretics daily dashing against the Muhammadan Sect should be despained of by every pious man, at least if their perfidy indeed extends a long while, and particularly of those who retain their dress and Algarabia and also the customs of the Moabites and the Saracens after they have received baptism. If however some people from these, looking to the juridical warnings, assert that they wish to turn to God, many of these, relapsed, quickly go back to their vomit; still, few dwell among us without any pretense, who, after they bear the well-trodden and ragged San Benito of penance, ask not that it be taken from their shoulders as if a grave weight of infamy but rather that it be

Thus believes Arnaldus, q. 30, § 2, and Father Castro, book 1, De punitione, haereti., ca. 9, and all the Neoterici.
be renewed by the elected inquisitors of the faith by humble petitions. Now this is a notable indication of their interior perfidy, because, as I hear, this Benedictine garment among those New Christians from the Muhammadan Sect is supposed honorific, and the one who wears it becomes greater among his proselytes, and, as if noble, as among us the knight designated with the red broad-sword of Saint James, or the red, green, white cross, he is well known as a superstitious follower according to his false religion. Whereby, since this is the false and superstitious religion of these proselytes or Moriscos in all of Spain, whoever sees them apostatize from the faith must bring the case to the judges of the holy forum so that they might first take action with regard to the heretic’s correction and coming to the senses, which, if he disregards it, they might then proceed to pronouncing the penalties of the law against him. Let these things suffice for the heretics of the Muhammadan Sect, choosing heresy by their own fault. There remains to be said something concerning others who have been made heretics by another’s crime. There is the common fall concerning the child, son of Christians, driven into captivity and their false religion by the Moors, whether, returning to the Christians, he should be punished as a heretic or recalled to the faith. Concerning this child the most learned father Castro introduced such an opinion: that he should be warned and taught about the true faith, not, however, be punished as a heretic. But this

The San Benito is regarded honorific among those proselytes.

Father Castro, Book 1, c. 8, *De iusta haeret.*

*puniti.*
opinion is not approved of by master Mantius, light of the theological school of the Complutense. For in his lessons he determined that this child should be appropriately called a heretic as much as he is falling from his accepted faith, nevertheless, to be mildly corrected and recalled to the faith. But if he is not a heretic or apostate, he could therefore have freely left his accepted faith when he came to the years of discretion, and he will not be obliged to the pledge made in baptism which his godparents make for him. The Church will have the duty to compel him to the acceptance of the faith, as of Christian parents for their child, after his parents have dedicated him to God in his baptism and all his things; and he should not, even now, be left to his free will (as Erasmus of Rotterdam wrongly felt), should he not wish to profess his received faith or, to be sure, un-sew it. Indeed, this is a perverse teaching and blindly against the custom and practice of all the Catholic Church anywhere it has been accepted. It [the Church] has customarily confirmed the promises of the infants being reborn, made in their name by Catholic godparents, and, likewise, has declared that they be regarded as its professors. Therefore, such a child will be recalled to the faith and properly instructed in it by his pastor. However, if he does not wish to profess his accepted faith (may God not let that happen), but to live still longer in false religion, examples will justly take place against him, just as against another born of a Catholic parent not wishing to follow the Christian
religion of the parent of the better condition, just as it has been shown in the above catechism. When he has been called to the tribunal, he should be questioned whether he has heard anything about his baptism or the Christian religion of his parents, which he should emulate, from Christians placed in that captivity: for if he had become certain of one or the other, he would be liable of a doubly great judgment. With these things considered for those suspect in the faith, who should also come to be corrected and punished, let us add a word: I sufficiently and well desire that their opportune correction be enjoined by their pastors rather than the judiciary censure of the inquisitors, and I thirst from my heart for their remedy. But it will first be necessary to explain what this name “suspect in the faith” conveys in its signification, according to the opinion of theologians and lawyers. And thus, he is considered suspect in the faith who withdraws from the common life of the faithful in his customs and manner of living, as it is well known from c. Excommunicamus, § Adiicimus, de haeretics, and it is well known that the text proceeds against those departing from common intercourse in matters pertaining to the faith, and against anyone leading a life apart, unless it can be determined that it consists of his perfection. And if there would be vehement suspicion against anyone, canonical purification might be appointed for him, as in c. Inter de purgatione canonica. Or if it should only be probable, as in c. Excommunicamus, in the beginning De haereticis,
as yet he would be obliged to likewise abjure all heresy, as in c. *Accusatus, De haereticis*, in the beginning of book 6. For as much those who are suspect as those who are heretics returning to the faith are required to abjure, as it is well known in *dict. c. Accusatus*, in the beginning. And the inquisitors proceed with the bishops or their vicars, not only against heretics, but against those suspect of heresy, as it has been composed in c. *Ut officium Inquisitionis*, in the beginning there, or suspects *De haeresi*, book 6, and in the *Clementae, Multorum*, §, to be sure, there against suspects of heresy, and in the *Clementae, Vnica* §, however, there, against those defamed or suspect of usury. And in c. *Cum contumacia, De hareticis*, book 6. At last, in the *Clementae, 1, De religio. domi*, it says that one suspect in the faith, in the same way as a heretic, should be expelled and removed from the Church. Moreover, sentence should be handed down by both judges, bishops, or their vicars, and the inquisitors, as it has been recently made explicit in the *dicta Clementae, Multarum quaerela*, in the beginning, although any of them, whether bishop or inquisitor, may proceed according to the old law separately (at least against suspects), as it is well known in the *Extravagantia* of Benedict XI, in the beginning, ever since that certain new constitution. But it has been corrected as far as this, that any of them proceed by means of the added *Clementae, Multorum querela*. But the same lawyers know to distinguish suspicions into light, vehement, and [139v] Simancas in his *Enchiridion*, title 31, *De suspicione*, thus defines
violent. Indeed light suspicion comes from exterior signs of deeds or words, from which an inference is taken that the one saying or doing such things is a heretic. This inference does not frequently conclude [in a case of heresy], but rarely or by chance. Vehement suspicion is taken from exterior signs of deed and words from which proof is taken up frequently concluding that the one saying or doing such things is a heretic, as when someone refuses the propositions of the faith which he is held to know, although it happens that he advances such things by ignorance or levity of heart. Violent suspicion is that which comes from exterior signs from which it is effectually always and almost always concluded that the one saying or doing such things is a heretic, as when someone publicly proposes heretical propositions or practices the ceremonies of the impious: for although it is possible that all these things are done without known maliciousness or determination, the Church nevertheless, judging exterior things, presumes such men as heretics. From where it is of interest to us to provide examples according to the aforesaid distinctions in which matters and ceremonies of the Muhammadan Sect these proselytes being discovered should be regarded as suspect of the offense of heresy so that their pastor might know how to distinguish both their offenses and the aforementioned suspicions and bring those committing them to the judges of the holy tribunal. Truly, when suspicion involves the bad suspicion of another (with Saint Thomas, 2.2,
testifying in his *Summa*, if this is replete with sufficient reason, it will bring about a fair judgment, at another time without such reason reckless. The condition of the person and the rest of the circumstance do much for rightly advancing it. Therefore, without any fault, we will put in the first degree of men suspect of heresy those proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect who, retaining their dress and Arabic language, rejoice in differing from their Christian co-citizens in many things in their common life and pious customs. Think, because he withdraws from hearing the sacred and the use of the sacraments, and he does not fully observe the celebration of the holy days, and, at last, not tempered to the Christian rites, he celebrates marriages and commerce with his line of New Christians. For in these things he bears light suspicion regarding himself, because he falls from the Catholic faith, not, however, reckless, since the reason for judging is taken up according to the condition of the person and exterior deed. For both a heretic and, perhaps, a Catholic, may be apprehended by reason of such commerce. A similar conclusion is sometimes taken by reason of food, which the proselytes, led by the false religion of the Moors, do not eat: for because they do not eat pork flesh, they are regarded as suspect and brandished in the crime of heresy, although they may offer the excuse that they do not eat it on account of daily habit, not, still, led by the rite of their sect. But they may be questioned about all these things by the inquisitors and will give an

This is said against Simancas, title 41, q. 60, article 3 to 2 [sic].
account of their faith, since this suspicion, although called light, has been taken up concerning the rites of the Muhammadan Sect abjured by them. It is necessary that they relegate them after the abjuration in baptism, lest, if they grow old in them, the descent into Hell be easy for them, and easy their fall into their abjured errors. But if the Inquisitors do not demand this account from those proselytes at this time, they do not therefore suppose it should be overlooked because they are not suspect, but, rather, because there is not enough time for giving and rendering this account of faith by these proselytes, since all those who retain their dress together with Algarabia and some of the Muhammadan rites are thus regarded as at least lightly suspect. But the decree of our Catholic prince will come to them before too long for removing all these things from our midst; indeed, it does not keep awaiting for another time, but briefly awaits the right time and occasion for this banishment. This has been made abundantly well known to us according to that Valentine act and the votes of the pious prelates and the great piety and zeal for increasing the Catholic faith of our Philip. Any who are present on earth for such a time will quickly see our prayers fulfilled and the kingdoms of Spain then enjoy the public peace and tranquility long desired. In the other kind of vehement suspicion have been included those who practice circumcision, not yet knowing that through baptism that was emptied of, destitute of, and without any strength and meaning.

Allegato, § 7, where he cites doctors of our opinion from which he dissents.

[140v] The Valentine act held in the year 1566 seeks that it should be quickly executed by its Philip. Those who now use circumcision are vehemently suspected.
For if they did know it and regarded that it should be substituted in place of baptism, they will fall by miserable ruin into violent suspicion of heresy, may I not say heresy. Now we considered many things concerning avoiding circumcision above, which I leave to the pastors for religiously and wholly fulfilling. After those who circumcise children, those who place fate in all matters (which they call Chizmia) follow in right order. There are some converts from the Arabs who, looking back at their auguries and superstitions, as once [they did] before their conversion, ascribe all their successes, whether of good or bad fortune, to inevitable fate, and accordingly they remove the free will of man from their midst and steadfastly contend and tenaciously hold that all things necessarily come about. These do not attend to the words replete with piety and truth about the wise man exercising sovereignty over the stars, and, not looking after mutual gratitude, they remove it from men so that, having become ungrateful, they embrace all the vices in themselves. For they suppose that a benefit conferred upon them, great or small, should be attributed to their good fortune, still, for that reason, thanksgiving should be had or rendered for nothing. Therefore, those who freely admit Chizmia, that is, good or bad fortune, according to the tradition of their ancestors, not yet fully realizing the expression or thing signified by it, are placed in this number of suspects. If some even now should maintain their heresy concealed under Chizmia in thought and
word, they would meet with both the stain of heresy and the penalty responding to the same as known heretics and alien from the right faith to God. It has been agreeable to join to these heretics those remaining who do not drink wine and all that can inebriate, well mindful of their sect after having received baptism, and spit out and do not dare eat foods prohibited by Muhammad so that they might not be convicted as violators of his superstitious sect before their Muhammad. Yet these, too, should come to be distinguished by us: for what reason they profess this false religion, whether they are following the custom of their parents or their sect consisting of superstitions, so that a stricter penalty to be delivered by the Inquisitors might await those convicted of such a crime. After those who are superstitious in foods follow those of two names who, at once Moor and Christian, wish to be distinguished by their names, surnames, and nicknames, poorly instructed by their parents. They use one name in the home, another in the church, and called by any calling whatever of their name, they openly respond, “I am called Peter and Hammed. For it is permitted that names do not agree; distinct for various places, they are considered common and useful for those who carry on their ancestral customs and do not have any other reason for this thing.” As if they, the supporters of their ancestral traditions, escape the penalties established in law and are justified by nefarious precedent. Oh what wickedness! He who professes Muhammad
in his name is near to favoring the same in his mind and heart and honoring his intimately preserved sect. But I cannot marvel enough nor conjecture how examples are not made against these people with two names by the inquisitors in the Valencian kingdom, in which almost all the New Christians rejoice with these two names and do not fear to manifest them. Since they are so vehemently suspected of the crime of heresy, having given one admonition for relegateing the names of the Muhammadans, unless they immediately submit to the Church, with a process formed against each one, they should be declared true apostates from the faith and afflicted with the due penalties. Others credulous of dreams imitate those of two names, who both believe and preach vain dreams as if firm prophesies coming from heaven, not fearing to be ridiculed by others or regarded as suspect in the faith on account of so notorious a superstition and the vanity of dreams. But it is appropriate that I observe the interpretations of dreams reported by those Neoterici Christians, so that I might make the inquisitors certain of them and they might know to turn their attention to them at this time as vain dreamers and false diviners. Indeed, if the sight of gold or silver has appeared in their dreams, they conclude they will be rich; if frightened away by the likeness of ferocious animals or by a ghost, they think for certain that they are going to be run through with spears or arms; if eggs are represented to the dreamers

Those who believe in dreams are regarded as suspected in the faith.
in that quiet, these prefigure seditions and verbal quarrels, as if hiding under eggs. Also, if someone sees himself dead or his neighbor in death in dreams, now risen from his sleep, he freely promises and imagines for himself a long life. If in the midst of those spectacles not very coherent among themselves someone sees some uncovered woman, early that very morning the dreamer foretells that the death of her husband threatens, and by revealing the dream by all means credible, she herself flees any light occasion whatever of death as if from the face of a serpent. At last, if the person corrupted by a dream observes flowing brooks of water flowing through meadows and stones, green fields blossoming, small fish swimming through the waters in their fantasy, certainly happy with such a vision conveying something good, he divines that riches of goods are going to quickly come to him. However, on the contrary, if flesh or food supplies flavored with flesh appear in his dreams, seduced by vain augury, he concludes that bad fortune in external goods is going to happen to him. And thus they sinisterly interpret their vain dreams and pronounce certain things. Therefore, those who long to appear so superstitious in all the aforementioned rites and auguries, these are obliged to undergo the censure of the inquisitors as vehemently suspect of heresy in many things. Moreover, if, called to the tribunal, they come to their senses and abjure their old traditions together with all their heresies, having received the salubrious penance, let them better

Violent presumption is taken from some things.
order their life; otherwise, let them undergo the penalties of the heretics. At last, violent presumption is taken concerning them as often as they knowingly dash into the Muhammadan rites. Whereby all those who see such proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect making first offerings to their Muhammad, let them immediately report the whole matter to the fathers of the holy Areopagus so that they might carry back the fully merited praises of their virtue or receive the due penalties of the culprit of such depravity. But if only one eye witness is present, let him cautiously consult others so that, the suspect convicted by a greater number of witnesses, he might either come to his senses or be handed over to be punished by the secular authority. Moreover, denunciation of this kind results to the glory of God, who, powerful and munificent, will give to each one according to his deeds, just as he himself has duly promised.

SUMMARY OF THE FOURTEENTH CATECHISM

1. The pastor should have knowledge of all the errors of the Muhammadan Sect so that they might be well capable of recognizing heretics and those suspected in the faith and negotiate their salvation before the elected judges.

2. The pastor should be a supporter of their proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect and their confirmer in the
faith if they should fall into heresy or the error of that sect.

3. That passage of Saint Paul, “Avoid the heretic after one and another warning,” is rightly explained concerning only the heretics of that time and not concerning others.

4. The San Benito is regarded honorific by these New Christians, which they request be renewed by the inquisitors.

5. Let the pastor warn his charges that if they see someone apostatize in the faith, they might immediately deliver him to the Inquisitors.

6. A child baptized and raised in the Muhammadan Sect is supposed a heretic, but he should come to be mildly punished.

7. That child not willing to return to the faith should be punished as a heretic.

8. The error of Erasmus is condemned, saying that a child coming to the use of reason should be left to his liberty whether he desires to preserve his baptism or not.

9. He is said suspect in the faith in three ways, whether light, vehement, or violent: which are illustrated by examples.

10. The one lightly suspect is he who rejoices at the dress of the Moors and Algarabia after having received baptism, at dissenting from his Christian co-citizens in many matters.
11. The one lightly suspect is he who does not hear the sacrifice, observe the feast days, accommodate himself to the Christian rites, eat pork flesh, nor celebrate marriage and trade with the Old Christians.

12. This proselyte lightly suspect in the aforesaid things can be interrogated in the tribunal on account of the condition of his person.

13. The one suspect with vehement suspicion is he who circumcises himself and his sons only on account of paternal tradition.

14. The one vehemently suspect is he who admits fate or fortune, taught by his parents.

15. Those believing in two names and in dreams are vehemently suspect in the faith, from where they should be interrogated concerning it.

16. The interpretation of dreams entreated by the Moors is presented so that the pastors, reading it, might be able to refute their subjects on time concerning such a great vanity.

17. Violent presumption is taken against the proselytes, likewise, by reason of the aforesaid rites knowingly enacted by them, from where they should come to be well examined by the Inquisitors.

18. Violent presumption is taken in general against these New Christians as often as they are caught in their abjured rites, from which they should both come to be drawn back [to the Church] and duly punished.
Saint Paul says to the pastor, as if when he speaks to his Titus, chapter 3[1-2], “Admonish them to be subject to the princes and authorities, to be obedient to their words, to be prepared for ever good work, to curse no one, to not be litigious, but peaceable, showing all gentleness to all men.”

Until now, [we have spoken] about the catechesis of the proselytes, now it is necessary to address something useful concerning their government, as much spiritual as temporal, either from laws which have been made or by the experience acquired in administering them so that I might not seem brief in our catechetical work. Indeed, the Lord will give all things which are left to be said, who gives to all abundantly and does not begrudge. Now there are many things necessary for properly administering the republic of the New Christians from the Muhammadan Sect in public peace and tranquility, all of which it will be necessary to relate separately first to the common people, then to the authorities or the prefects of the cities, “who bear the sword not without purpose for the punishment of the evil and the praise of the good,” so that now at last it might be permitted us to reach the desired goal. However, so that those things already said might not be repeated by us, which perhaps might provoke nausea
for the reader, we will only briefly graze those things, as
if the tallest grass, which seem more concerned with the
aforementioned government of these proselytes. And
certainly, since those two swords placed at the table of
Christ Jesus signify two authorities, namely, the spiritual
and the temporal (which are from God according to the
testimony of the Apostle), it will thus be expedient that
they be in agreement and directed to a good end, just as
those swords placed into one sheath, as if united by a
certain glue and strap, and at the same time rest and
are guarded for their use. And these two authorities
abundantly suffice for governing the Christian republic,
just as once two swords were sufficient for preparing his
celestial banquet, prepared by the Lord in that sacred
upper room for him and his Apostles in the last supper,
and, for us, reserved in the holy pyx for our spiritual
refreshment. Therefore, let those who have been
distinguished by the spiritual office and authority hear
the Apostle marvelously conversing and speaking about
the government of souls with his Titus and all the
pastors and ecclesiastical rectors: “Admonish them to
be subject to the princes and authorities.” Because the
Apostle had made mention concerning slaves, enjoining
them that they serve their masters with faithful service,
showing good faith in all things and honoring the
doctrine of the Savior of our God, he now at this time
appropriately adds underneath with regard to others,
although free, but yet subjected to the secular princes,
and thus commands his Titus and in him the

Luke 22
Romans 13

The passage of the
catechism is laid out.
pastors of every church, “Admonish them to be subject to the princes and authorities.” This salubrious submission was first introduced by the very law of the Gentiles, conformed to natural law: for although all are born free, afterwards they at least become subjects with regard to their many princes and the authorities of the Christian republic from which they have been born; in truth, God grants his authority to those lawfully appointed and substitutes [them] on earth in his place, and in the same way they are called gods by the royal prophet who take on his person, thus he announces to them: “I have said: ‘you are gods and are all children of the Most High.’” But God himself raising those whom he has made kings and authorities testifies thus: “By me kings reign, and lawgivers discern what is right.” From where, having received such authority from God (“Because all authority is from God”), they make laws and codes as much for the just as the unjust; now for the just fulfilling the law they give back certain rewards, but, on the contrary, “They are detestable to kings who act wickedly, for by righteousness the throne of kings endures. The desire of kings [is] honest lips, he who speaks rightly will not only be guided by him, but also loved.” Therefore, so that each excellent person might be both guided and loved by the king, they are obliged to be subject to the same in all things so that they might not be emptied of such an honor and be cheated of the prize of mutual love. The obedience of subordinates is recognized in this: that, according to the

Psalm 81[6, Vulgate; 82:6, NAB]
[144v]
[Proverbs 8:15]
Proverbs 16[13-14], c.
where Jansenius reads “diligetur.”
apostolic mandate, they obey the words of the prince,
are obedient to his purpose, submit to the law he has
given, fulfill his particular commands, and, at last,
present themselves prepared for every good work in
obedience of their king. Then sensibly it will truthfully
be said about them, “the law has been imposed not for
the righteous, but for the unjust and unruly, the impious
and sinners.” But they themselves will learn not only to
obey the princes with the continual admonitions of their
common people, but also enter in upon and firmly
procure peace with their co-citizens, cursing no one, not
litigating with their brothers, but peaceful, showing all
gentleness to all men. Indeed, all laws tend to this: that
they be obedient to the princes established by God and
that public peace between the Christian citizens and the
proselytes be bound by the bond of mutual charity. For
all discord is from the Devil, as it were, the enemy of the
human race, and he does not cease from broadcasting
this a thousand times in an hour, as though weeds in the
midst of wheat, according to his office, so that by his
fault great things go to ruin, just as, on the contrary,
small [things] attain with remarkable harmony. But the
inborn hatred conceived in the hearts of the
Muhammadans, conveyed into the light against all the
professors of the Christian religion, comes from there,
according to our judgment: that their religion, at least
the interior [religion] (for concerning the feigned
exterior [religion] I do not speak), is greatly opposed to
our Catholic faith and Christian purity.

1 Timothy 1[9]
Nevertheless, disputes, contentions, enmities should not have sprung forth from this enrooted hate between Moors or converts from them and Christian men, since Muhammad first enjoined on them that they bear friendships, not enmities, with the Christians, that is to say, good men and followers of Christ the chosen prophet. However, afterwards he departed from this opinion, as if haughty by his victories and triumphant by his royal title. Truly, by this Muhammad clearly expressed his benevolence conceived towards the Christians: he wished the Jews to be received to his sect by this law and sign: that they first be soaked with the baptismal waters, the pious rite of the Christians, and, as it were, besmeared with holy oils, so they might be regarded as supported by the Moorish religion, not the Judaic superstition. Accordingly, though from this aforementioned root the works of the flesh and secret and public murders replete with sacrileges, thefts, and robberies are born and the opportunity for raging against the Christian peoples and nations spread through the world is taken up by those freed from the true religion, if they are piously indoctrinated by their pastors to profess Christ from their heart, just as they themselves promise in their baptism, they will surely cease from impious and sacrilegious crimes with the pious and true religion then coming to be received in their hearts. Moreover, on account of his mercy, the Lord will lavishly grant this to all those coming to him
without pretense. More correctly, he will suddenly remove the pretense from those who have feigned and he himself will bountifully pour out the gift of repentance. Therefore, the cause of the entire Christian republic, not to mention of the pastors chosen for the New Christians, is managed when action is taken with regard to taking them up in the faith and all the care and work of the rectors is expended in calling them back to their received faith. Finally, their own pastors will prepare a speech for those well-composed to the Christian norm and the rule of the Catholic faith as much before the platform as beyond it so that these proselytes temper themselves to Christian customs, agreeably and peaceably accommodate themselves with their co-citizens, visit the churches, daily take part in listening to the holy office, keep the holy days, attentively be present for the evening catechism and the canonic hours, greatly desire their own spiritual health, and spend all their days in good works so that thus they might glory in the Lord of the gift of faith conferred upon them by God for which they might be well occupied in perpetual thanksgiving, because concerning this the Apostle has spoken, saying, “It is necessary to always pray and never cease.” Moreover, he who is a faithful father should gather up a treasure of an eternal inheritance for his children in the heavens and beget him such that he might remember his father in faith and customs. And thus let him be glad that his son is educated with the rest of the Christians within the

church, often hastens to the altar, takes part in the sacred offices and ceremonies, thoroughly learns Catholic doctrine, drinks up Christian piety, so that he grows rich in the land with such a great faith and prepared treasure of good customs and fully enjoys the same in the heavens. However, if any are discovered perfidious parents, taking their children from instruction and the catechesis of their pastors, let these be beaten with many blows according to the measure of their offense. But I hope it will come about from their piety that the children will be sure imitators of their parents in faith and good customs. However, since the children will remain vigilant from the seventh to the twelfth year, or more than that, awake for learning their catechesis at the peak of morning of each day, they should come to weaned from the maternal milk at the suitable time so that they might not suck both milks on the same day: for the spiritual one will suffice at that time, and the daily bread, so that they might be nourished in both soul and body. And indeed, I am not able to approve of the maternal zeal for their children in this matter: that they nourish them with their milk up to seven years, by which they are more greatly assimilated by their maternal customs and their children always become effeminate and unmanly. The two years having passed (with the pastor mandating it), the children must be driven away from her milk and breasts, not only so that they do not suck the perfidious customs of their mothers with the milk, but also so that the milk is not ...

The children should be weaned from the milk after two years.
stolen from their tender infants born from another birth. But if it happens that some children roam through quarters and streets because of the idleness of either parent, as if only given to leisure and profit from almsgiving (which is customarily great for some), the public lictor must take these away from their leisure and profit by order of the pastor and, instructed in catechesis, handed over by the pastor to the prefect of the city, then to be instructed by some artisan in his art or public office so that from there, receiving their work, they might seek their sustenance by their sweat and industry: for, with the child delivered to a pious man and artisan trained in his art, the disciple will turn out to be such that he might be capable of imitating his master in Christian piety and his art. Moreover, such ministers of the children will need to be selected by the pastors, as the sacristan, the teacher of the students, and the artisan of mechanical art, that they drink up every good custom and pious instruction for living from them and grow old in it, now having forgotten their paternal traditions and the rites of the Muhammadan Sect, in which, perhaps, they were to be nourished if they were not handed over to their care from infancy. However, if such are not found, in all events, let the better ones be selected. These things to be provided for must be read over by the pastors for the salvific catechesis of the children, as though the particular goal of our heart. Moreover, it will be worthwhile to explain what the teachers of the school and the sacristans of the children must be handed over by the pastor to the prefects of the cities to be instructed in some art by workmen.
the church to be selected must be like, because as though half of our catechism depends on these. And it is not unknown to me that those to be selected by the pastors will be honest men and supporters of all virtue and should be substituted as if in their place in this ministry of the children. But I will demand other gifts of virtues and talents in them for leading the little children on in faith and good customs and well educating them in every kind of virtue. The pastor must keep a book in which he enrolls the children assigned to his instruction and the sacristan must read through this from the first letter down to the last in the presence of the pastor so that the children present might be publicly commended according to their virtue, where their praised virtue might increase and have the immense stimulus of glory, but those absent might be called and publicly rebuked according to their idleness before the others. Moreover, the pastor must diligently inquire whether the child to be instructed was absent by his own fault or that of his parents so that he might know against whom he should be angry and transfer that offense. Moreover, it will be necessary for him to distinguish this with the greatest zeal into light and grave so that the penalty of the offense might correspond to its like: for from some of the parents vehemently suspect in the faith I fear the bewitching of their children and, in addition, their sure perdition, who teach their children to follow the tracks of their parents in their steps of faith from their very infancy. But the children taught and nourished in their
Muhammadan perfidy relate nothing of their opinion or the occasion of their election, except that they firmly hold onto it by paternal tradition or instruction, and, having become adults, they are rarely or never able to be torn from it. And thus, the parents convicted of such a crime, either their children must be taken from them or they must suffer the consequence, insofar as such [parents] have taken their children from catechesis once or twice, as if stolen. Now while the sacristan and school master press on according to their office with the discipline of these children, I exceedingly desire that they again become friendly to their disciples, by which the children might be made more teachable. Indeed, the first and most bountiful fruit will be gathered from the nobility of the teacher, according to the opinion of he who saintly and wisely said, “In the first place, the love of learning is the nobility of the teacher.” Consequently, let liberality or munificence approach, by which they might gently draw all children, even the uncultured, to themselves. Indeed, the defiant will be placated with small gifts, and the gentle will be made gentler by others. And indeed it will not be expedient, according to the plea of the bearded teacher, that the children run through their lesson without a reward, nor sing the psalms without a reward, even small. Let the children eat in the church from its offerings, and be adorned with a pecuniary prize on a certain day, not only because they have devotedly served at the altar, but also because they have retained the lesson and

Saint Ambrose, book De virginibus.

Thus teaches Saint Jerome in his letter Ad Laetam, 7, to. 1.
catechesis in their memory. But if they are nourished outside of the church and reside in a secular school to be taught and formed in all things, at appointed hours selected children will go to the church to serve at the holy altars and the office of the Mass and, laden with their gifts, they will return to their teacher. The solicitude of the pastors will extend to greater things towards the teachers of the children, for whom they will provide with a suitable salary for their labor and diligence in forming the children, either from the revenues of the church or the public treasury so that the recompense of a salary might be conceded. If, however, the teachers of the students are found by the pastors either sluggish in administering their office or greatly violent against the children, let them quickly be removed from the enjoined office so that they do not enjoy the reward without the labor, and they do not inflict great injury on the children given to their care with the result that they begin to hate letters before they learn [them]. Indeed, there are sometimes teachers of children who talk nonsense and are stirred to anger: they do not flare up against the little and tender children, but they rise up with the rod and whip taken up against them as if made of stones and flint and rest two and three times so that they might torment the poor children anew. Now the pastors must remove these from their ministry and hand them over to the prefects just as mad people to be transferred to the public prison of those who are raging so that they This is conceded to the prefects according to the law.

Concerning the prudence of teachers towards the little children, Saint Augustine in book 1, *Confessionum*, chapter 9. [147v]
might be beaten with many blows for those blows. These things should be completed in regard to the children with the greatest zeal, as much by the pastors as by the prefects, so that it might happen that their souls and bodies are won to the pious ministers of Christ and the merited reward might respond to both for their labor. But since, according to the words of Paul, it is clearly evident to us that perverse fellowships corrupt good customs, I will consider it worthwhile to confirm these proselytes in this truth and best method of living: that they both avoid mutual fellowship with the Africans and curse their perfidy together with their miserable blindness. Therefore, those from these proselytes who spend their lives near the coasts of our Mediterranean sea or even the boundaries of the same must maintain familiarity and mutual friendship with the more neighboring regions filled with their Christian co-citizens; however, let them wage discord and open war with the more distant Africans. Thus, let them not either present them with a greeting or say to them “Hail!” from afar: “Indeed, he who has greeted them takes part in their evil works,” with the Apostle proclaiming and drawing us away from the fellowship of heretics and infidels. Moreover, this will be the care of the pastors: that they forcefully restrain all those who have been brought together to their care from the fellowship of those who will make or might dare to attempt [to make] their proselytes deviate from the faith so that they do not lose at the same time their oil
and their efforts. For I do not want the proselytes to have any secret business or make their assembly with those who have recently converted to the faith, redeemed for a price (whom they themselves call Gazis, that is, freedmen), because they are not fully rooted in the faith and the danger of subversion in their brothers is not feared from them without cause. With regard to this cause these freedmen are kept far away from the maritime regions by the related law so that with the Devil instigating they do not devote cast eyes and heart to the vomit of their sect rather than to Christian piety. And also thereupon it has been prohibited to these proselytes by common law that they acquire for themselves people born or descended from Guinea for perpetual or temporal slavery so that they might not become allies of the princes of demons and the infidel Moors by their acquaintance (if perchance they have been detained in the Muhammadan Sect), and a brother perish in the evil conscience of his neighbor for whom Christ died. Therefore, so that such evil things might be prevented and all those unlearned in faith and customs might be rightly warned and formed, they should be detained from all the evil acquaintance and fellowship of the infidels by their pastors and, on the contrary, associated with pious, holy Christians grounded in faith and charity so that they might learn the fear and love of God from them, not, still, the forsaking of their accepted faith from others. Indeed, to this point tends that form of living and keeping company handed on for these
proselytes by the royal senate according to the mandate
of our Catholic king Philip in the royal pragmatic newly
edited: that the proselytes select the residence of their
home among the Old Christians where they might be
lead by their example and instruction of life in all
matters of piety and the obligations of the Christian
religion, and they might sincerely walk as if their
disciples in sanctity and justice before God and run the
path of the commands of God, keeping their hearts in
the grace of Christ and magnified by celestial favor. But
the pastors must advice the Christians now living among
these proselytes every day, not only so that they offer a
good example of life for those new in the faith and
gently draw the same to themselves for fulfilling every
good work in the law of God and make them sharers of
their good works, but also so that they might attentively
and cautiously observe them, then at last, through the
cracks of their homes: what they are doing, what kind of
counsel they take with their Muhammad, what kind of
theft or murder they secretly perpetrate, what kind of
gathering they celebrate with their brothers devoted to
Muhammad, as much for rendering the rites of their
sect as for quickly consummating their thefts, robberies,
sacrileges, and murders without other witnesses save
the accomplices of the crimes to be raised against their
Christian co-citizens in their perfidy and innate passion.
Truly, since those who live wickedly regard the light with
hate according to custom, they will keep night watch
over them; if perchance they see their

In the pragmatic edited
in the year 1572 for the
translation of the
proselytes.

[148v]
The Christians must
observe the proselytes
if they attempt some
kind of evil against their
co-citizens.
hands full of blood or homes replete with thefts or robberies, having delivered the case to the secular judges, they might duly punish them. For as they are many who compose their souls to all piety, so, on the contrary, some go out from the same sheepfold as voracious wolves for slaughtering and, finally, destroying the gentle sheep. However, I certainly equally desire the life and salvation of both, and I more greatly pity the perfidious than others, who need not ours but divine mercy alone to cover them with blessings, on which they depend in everything. Moreover, this pious fellowship with the Christians will be of so great value among these proselytes, according to the judgment of many men as pious as they are learned, not to speak of ours, that, if they do not squander the same, all their hardened customs might change for the better, they might pull of their skin, abjure Muhammad with his lies, and, with their renewed life, as the young of the eagle, they might covet and stretch forth towards the booties of celestial goods. Thus well inclined towards celestial things, they will consider by experience what a difference there is between men, for, “with the holy they will be holy, and with the perverse they will be perverted.” Truly by this these proselytes might wish to both work with their pastors and discuss something with them concerning the previously held instruction of the faith, having thoroughly forgotten their antiquated sect, they will use
familiar and friendly words with them. And if it is necessary, they will influence them at some time or another with temporal gifts so that they might piously and rightly have good familiarity with the pastors and all domestic members of the faith. However, so that they do not waste time, they will quickly raise them from temporal things to spiritual, advising them that they live their life in piety and giving obedience to their princes so that, while they fulfill the divine and human laws, they might not fear the authorities who bear the sword for malefactors, but rather, at one time their hearts learned in the confidence of hope, at another in the humility of fear, they might not be fearfully oppressed or despair because of the fear of the oppressed, since they are gently drawn to and strengthened for the observation of the law by the example of others and the prize of virtue. Whereby they will devote all their strength in moving this stone, namely, the preservation of divine and human laws so that, at last, the hard breasts of the Muhammadans and of others of their posterity, touched by the sweetness of the divine law and stricken with the clemency of such a legislator and the justice and equity of the conveyed laws, (with God ordaining their eternal salvation for them) they might be turned to God and perpetually give thanks to him and find retribution with their common people. Let the pastors quickly read through these things and turn through the laws in hand night and day made for the government of these New
Christians: for we rush by slow foot for completing our course.

SUMMARY OF THE FIFTEENTH CATECHISM

1. Two swords are taken up for two authorities. Moreover, both are necessary for the government of those proselytes.
2. Submission offered to the princes greatly leads to the spiritual salvation of the New Christians, from where they should be frequently admonished to it.
3. The princes establish laws by the authority they have received by God, obliging them and their subjects by reason of nature and their condition.
4. Subjects subjected to holy laws easily achieve peace with their co-citizens and, ready, render every good work.
5. The Moors or those converts from them wrongly bear hostilities against the Christians, since Muhammad first enjoined it according to his precept that the Moors associate on friendly and familiar terms with the Christians.
6. If the Jews elect to become Moors by religion, they cross over to his false religion having received baptism by reason of Muhammad’s command.
7. The proselytes, thoroughly informed the account of their baptism, will refrain from impious deeds and will learn to imitate their fellow Christian citizens in holy works.
8. The proselytes, as an offering of faith gathered to themselves, according to the apostolic command, are held both to offer thanks and always pray.
9. Let the proselytes wishing to store an eternal inheritance in heaven for their children rejoice at them being among both the sacred altars and the holy offices.
10. Let these proselytes, if at some time they take their little ones away from instruction and catechism, be beaten according to the measure of the offense of their injury.
11. The children of the New Christians should be removed from the milk at two years so that they do not suck in maternal customs with the milk.
12. The ministers of the children, one may know, the high master of the school, the mechanic official, such should be selected by the pastors who are well inclined towards the children and wish to undertake the work of forming them abundantly in faith and good character.
13. Let the pastor have a book for enrolling the children for catechesis so that those attending might be highly commended concerning their virtue, and those absent might be corrected.
14. Let the pastor inquire diligently whether the child has been taken away from catechesis by fault of his parents so that they might suffer the consequences.
15. The pastor does not blindly fear the subversion of their children by any proselytes suspect in the faith. Therefore, let him procure that they be separated from
their treacherous parents and that they be taught by others in the faith.

16. Let the teachers of the children be proven friendly to them, by which they might become more docile, since in the first place the love of learning is the fame of the teacher.

17. Let the aforesaid teachers be made dutiful and liberal towards their disciples so that they might be brought by reward, as if by delight, to the lesson and the catechesis.

18. If the teachers instruct the children outside of the church, let them send their students at appointed hours to the divine offices and the services of the altar so that they might be formed not only with letters, but at the same time also with piety.

19. Let the public salaries for the teachers be paid by the pastors or the prefects of the towns or from ecclesiastical incomes or from the public treasury, just as it has been permitted to the prefects in the royal law.

20. Let the school masters fall from their office if they are sluggish in administering their duty or acting exceedingly violent towards the children.

21. Let their fellow Christian citizens be advised by the pastors on time so that they might cautiously observe these proselytes, whether they are performing the rites of their sect or occult murders and they might bring them to their judges.

22. The pious fellowship of the Christians with the proselytes will altogether suffice for withdrawing them
from their crimes and ordering them to all piety.

23. The parishioners will be informed by the pastors about some of the rites of the Muhammadan Sect so that they might recognize them in the proselytes and call them back to the norm of the right faith by their correction.

24. Let the pastors exhibit themselves benevolent to all, but especially to the proselytes, and teach them to obey the princes and the laws issued by them so that, by their industry, they might come by a straight path to the celestial kingdoms.
The theorem is selected from Saint Paul writing to the Romans, chapter 13[3-4]: “Do you wish not to fear authority? Then do good and you will receive praise from it. Indeed it is a servant of God, the punisher to inflict wrath on the one who does evil.”

Up until now our word is with the common people of the proselytes who are obliged to have a word for everyone, while particularly for the prefects of the cities, also generally for all those who are in charge of those coming from the Muhammadan Sect so that the good of peace might increase for the Christian Republic more and more every day. For and in fact, according to our opinion, we trust that it will happen that, out of divine pity, just as we who see our Spain free as much from perfidious Jews as the heretics roaming through foreign kingdoms, we are about to quickly see [Spain] purged and, just as if by divine indulgence, delivered also from these who are remaining of the Muhammadans, as if from gravely smelling feces; especially if all those in whose interest it is are rendered equal of soul for the catechesis and correction of these proselytes. For and in fact I am eager to behold even from afar no one either sluggish or sleeping soundly in generously and freely administering their office, but, on the contrary, watching vigilantly over their flock, where
they gain not fleece or cheese or extracted milk (as hired pastors), but the recompense of eternal life in the Lord, who gives abundantly to all those who ask. Therefore, they should come to be admonished by the pastors, as much the royal praetors and secular judges as their subordinates: the former, that hearing from their heart again and again the Pauline theorem watch over their people; the latter, that they be subordinate to their authorities and rectors in all temporal matters, and that they restrain their hearts from preconceived penal fear: for these who do good, by no means let them conceive that fear from the authority bearing the sword. Indeed, what will more clearly shine forth than the apostolic paradigm proposed to each of those who are conscious of their own offense? “Do you wish,” he says, “not to fear authority? Then do good and you will receive praise from it.” Truly, so that the pastors, as if overwhelmed by an added burden, might not be annoyed and bothered at daily pleading concerning the salvation of their proselytes with these who are in charge and obtaining something good for their subjects by disturbing them, let them surely know that they should entirely, even at the cost of their corporal life, labor for the Lord’s flock which they pasture and refresh, until the last day, in which at last they will bear the payment of their previously engaged labor, the recompense packed down and shaken into their laps. But I exhort in the Lord the princes and authorities and the judges elected by them: that those things that they
have received from the common people of the Muhammadans necessary for the salvation of their subjects they mandate be quickly executed so that the delayed salubrious pharmaceutical drink might not be the reason that the sickness grows worse and brings death to the one sick in faith. And while the pastors piously and reverently approach each of the authorities one by one, let them procure to persuade them that they provide true justice, piety, equity, gentleness for all. Truly, these things with the rest that I pass over in silence, as if connected by the strong bond of the peace of charity, very much agree and dwell in one seat. And indeed the Christian authorities are pleased to be admonished at the right time, with reverence preserved in all things, concerning each of those things that look to their office. All these things should be scrutinized by them, as if by lynx eyes, one by one and executed in their order, concerning which things I shall refer a few. In the first place, the Catholic prince, or the first minister elected by him in law and administering justice, must procure that he piously and saintly observes the faith of the Christian religion pure and undiminished in every respect; bravely proclaim its observance; manfully defend its proclamation; and even protect its defense to the point of spilling blood and life by open battle. For attending to these duties, it is necessary for the imperial majesty to be not only adorned with arms, but also armed with laws and their legitimate executors: for since the princes in the land reign by divine decree and
permission, who afterwards will reign according to
divine service in heaven, it is necessary that they discern
just things, take on the role of God thundering, submit
to the law of God in all things, and offer due cult to God.
Since Philip our king, most bitter defender of the
Catholic faith before other kings, from his earliest years
has solemnly executed all of these things, I had now
long conceived it from his emulation in matters of faith
that by all means he will leave no rock unturned for
procuring the salvation of these Muhammadans such
that he might well look after these proselytes scattered
to different places everywhere in our days and
insistently procure that instructions for life be given by
their bishops and chosen pastors, which, as I hoped, has
come about for me as if by a certain prodigy. Indeed,
now he arouses the prelates of the Church and the
rectors of souls by his letters and excites his royal
senates and the judges sub-delegated by them to
defending the matters of the faith; the former, that they
enjoin the care of making proselytes upon their priests
and appointed pastors; and the latter, that they keep a
particular account in their dominions of these New
Christians, concerning whom let them take up hope,
because through theirs and the care of the pastors they
will quickly come to their senses and produce good
fruits. Indeed the strength of the ministers will be in this
hope, if silence is imposed on the Muhammadan Sect by
them from the day of received baptism. Therefore,
those who so use silence and, having turned to God,

Philip, Catholic king,
daily knocks on the
hearts of the prelates so
that they press on in the
catechism of the
Muhammadans, as well
as the judges elected by
them.

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regularly enjoy conversations with him and his pious ministers, let them be roused to the sublime works of their received faith and, with fear of the public authority pushed aside, do good and bear praise from it, and, by their example, push the rest of the Muhammadans and their posterity to like honors, more rightly, to both glories, namely, temporal and eternal, only due to the good. For and in fact it is very helpful to influence every good person with the merited rewards so that they might also remain in good, and the unjust people who fear authority might cease from their conceived perfidy and be drawn to others by conferred honor, as if by their own passion. There is some innate virtue in our hearts driving towards good and searching for traces of virtue in all things, which, as it proceeds from the very governor of nature, thus incessantly tends to him. And our heart does not rest in these lower goods, but rebounds restless until it comes to him. But nature, although it remained blind according to the sin of our first parents, if it is guided by some pedagogy, strives towards the light and enjoys what it has received by divine gift and is slowly set straight and confirmed in all good. As all future ministers of this catechesis know, let them thus complete this in deed and strongly coerce others by adorning every good person with honors; and if they do not wish to come to their senses, let them be afflicted with the fully merited penalties. Indeed, there are many from these proselytes or Muhammadans who violate their received baptism everywhere, break the
loyalty offered to their prince, interrupt the peace of the Christian republic, secretly rise up against their co-
citizens, and, at last, completely fill nearly every place with rivalries, dissensions, murders, and sacrileges. But however well known these crimes are, I still do not wish that the ministers of justice, or others whose matter this is, lose heart, namely, despairing of the salvation of these proselytes, but rather let them act for their public and private correction and be justly enraged against those guilty of transgressions. But I desire that crimes be impeded more than they be punished with the due penalties, which will be easy for the elected judges in the various regions and kingdoms by their incredible diligence. For and in fact they should have an account in writing of each of the proselytes so that, if some wicked [proselytes] are absent from the flock, they might be quickly sought out and reduced to the sheepfold of the flock and the prescribed places of their home, interrogated by the judge concerning their absence and violated faith, and, at last, undergo the penalty of this violent suspicion. Indeed, he who does not diligently observe his lodging in the designated home is rightfully regarded suspect of whatever crime has been committed in that dominion. Therefore, since it has been adequately and well provided for concerning this matter by our Catholic Philip, it will be necessary for the judges elected by him to fulfill the orders of so great a Philip and render the region given to them for protection free from all the aforementioned crimes...
which proceed from the perfidious Muhammadans. Let
these proselytes stay in their homes and dwellings
together with Christians; reside peaceful in their dear
homes without the hindrance and harm of their
neighbors; abandon their old customs; temper
themselves, now fresh, to their Christian neighbors;
cultivate familiarity and friendship; turn their hearts
attentive to the words of the princes and pastors, so
that they might be free not only from all suspicion of
offense, but also from juridical presumption, by which
these Muhammadans converted to Christ might labor
among all the Christian peoples. If they ignore these
mandates of their prince, let them know they are about
to utterly undergo the determined penalties contained
in the royal sanctions and expressed in law. However, so
that the judges and the prefects of the cities hold these
examples against the malefactors and wicked men, they
should diligently investigate them and observe them. As
it is held in the law Congruit., ff. De officio praesidis, and
l. 3 before the end of the same title; it agrees with
these: l. 16, title 4, part. 3, and l. 5, title 13, book 2
Ordinament., and l. 13, title 4, book 3 of the Nueva
copilación. And the same is expressly contained in the
decrees, chapter Iudicantem, 30, quest. 5, and the
chapter Quaerendum, 2, quest. 7, and in many other
places. Now I shall begin to briefly describe the manner
of judiciarily making an investigation for the sake of all
the judges so that I might render them more attentive
to their duties and offices and more vigilant.
While wherever these wicked men make a journey, they immediately make use of any occasion offered for slaughtering a Christian man, whose hairy brow they hold tightly, so that it might not flee from them because it is bald. The first of them (the others hiding), dissemblingly approaching with a club full of knots, strikes the side and crown of the head and easily kills the wretched man deprived of his senses with a sword or longer pin, and, according to the custom of the land, inflicts only five wounds and does not add a sixth. They call the method of this violent death Hanze, because it consists of five wounds, as if a sacred number among the Arabs. Other murderers rush up faster than eagles and glory in exercising Ganzua against the man ridden of life, that is, vengeance by the act Hanze, such that the ancient proverb now in times past might go forth from them, “He is not considered a good Moor who does not inflict a wound onto the cadaver of a Christian man.” But the cadaver found at first light, slaughtered by so many and such great punctures and strikes, testifies against the Muhammadans as if burning with rage against the number of the wicked men, if the inflicted wounds are counted and they respond to five separate [wounds]. Using this indication, the judges elected for the government of the Muhammadans will easily find the assassins and will cut those found to pieces and fetter [them] to stakes so that from them others might make an example which may be useful to them. Indeed, led by this account, the most
excellent judge of the Muhammadans, doctor Lievana, designated by the royal senate, more correctly, by the divine will itself, justly began to proceed against Techrus and Valenzuela and the rest of the allies of this crime (who had fiercely attacked and inflicted sudden death on two men of Mondejar coming to the markets of Tendilla in the seventy-ninth year over the thousandth and five-hundredth for selling and buying merchandise) and captured through marvelous diligence and cunning; and convicted of this crime, more correctly, of many others, he exacted the fully merited penalties. On account of which proved virtue and incredible diligence worthy of so great a man he was made the public inquisitor of Muhammadan assassins and murderers, with great authority gathered to him for this matter, and from that day he raised nearly all the vagrant proselytes to terrible deaths of anguish and judgment, offering obedience to God almighty and the Christian republic. Whereby the judges should take care to prevent these crimes so that the republic might not be filled with the intoxications, lusts, and carousing of these Muhammadans, which enkindle frenzy or fervor for evil desires. For and in fact, these wicked men, called in their voice Monfi, everywhere indulge in Bacchus and Venus, guarded in a thousand inns and private homes, from which they go forth raging, armed with wine from the sole of the foot up to the top of the head, and roused by the preconceived fury of their heart and the ardor of the wine they commit such deeds that are penalties from them.
worthy of corporal death, not to speak of civil.
Accordingly, let the prefects of the cities and the praetors delegated by them take care that these proselytes do not make assemblies and meeting places in public inns and rented lodgings so that, admitted in them, they might not serve Bacchus and Venus and afterwards digress to their crimes and murders day and night (just as is the most well known custom of the perfidious): for as the Philosopher says, “Wine and women make men apostatize from God” and enter into a thousand errors. Truly, because it involves women, let each of the authorities make provision that they do not take up the office of prostituting in these days nor fill every place with their innate passion so that from this condition accepted by them they might not infect both the republic filled with the offspring from disgraceful Christian men and lead their Muhammadans to a thousand crimes. But if contrary to our hope it happens that the libidinous adolescents, too little eager for chastity, receive offspring from these unchaste women at half price, let them receive them into their paternal authority and piously rear them, as the provision is held in law, the chapter of the letters De conversione infidelium, in which it is discerned that such children remain with those persons concerning which there may be no suspicions that they lie in wait for their health or life, and that such children, after the third year, should be reared and abide with the non suspected father, lest if he should remain with the mother he might be drawn
by her to the error of infidelity. Gregory IV responds
with this in favor of the Christian faith to the
Argentinensis bishop. Moreover, what he says
concerning the suspicion of the other parent, this
should come to be understood of each as amply
discussed above when we drew out the catechesis
brought into light concerning the instruction of children:
for if the children are perverted by their parents in the
received faith, they should be separated from them and
given to pious men so that they might be conveniently
and piously instructed by them in true learning and
some art or trade at this acceptable time of their
salvation. Indeed, the prefects of the cities succeed in
the place of the parents, to whom it greatly matters to
take up the pious care of these pupils in the
aforementioned things, by which the children might
prove to be true Christians by the example of their
masters and trained artisans and workmen in each of
the arts and mechanical trades. Moreover, the laws in
either forum, as much civil as canonic, are preserved, L.
De curatore, and the glosses there, ff. De curat. bon.
dand., and partida 6, title 189, third l., with similar
things in the Nueva recopilación de leyes, title De pupil,
& minorib., because the judge has administration as
much of people as of goods. And this same thing has
been decreed by the royal senate of our Philip
concerning the vagrant children who are permitted by
their parents to roam, compelled by destitution and
depravity rather than by any perfidy. But the royal
mandate went forth from such a senate under the seventy-seventh year for the children of those New Christians living in Cordoba, while lord García Suárez de Carvajal of Talavera was prefect of that city, a man not only noble but also well experienced in making judgments and in the administration of the republic. Moreover, from these children, those who seem the most gifted to their pastors should come to be joined to the seminaries to be newly constructed by the mandate of our Philip from ecclesiastical revenues (just as he openly has and generously promises in the meetings of Madrid of the eighty-second over the thousandth and five-hundredth year in a solemn promise by his petition of the entire kingdom for the ninety-third [year]), not only so that they advance in faith and customs, but also so that they might prove to be teachers of their parents and, as hired pastors chosen by their bishops, lead and conduct those erring sheep on their shoulders to the celestial pastures. And indeed, one may not now call to doubt whether these seminaries should be erected for the children of the proselytes and New Christians and properly supported by their dowries, since the High Pontiff Gregory XIII has left that testament by his example, having erected a most ample seminary in Rome for the children of heretics fleeing to the apostolic see and to be sustained and piously and rightly formed in the sound doctrine of the Catholic Church. However, where it comes to pass that the seminaries are needed, at least in cities and other places however narrow, if
there is an abundance of these children, such school teachers must be chosen by the prefects themselves or those holding their place who are well inclined towards this catechesis of the children, and who, with the recompense offered by the public praetors, which they may justly bestow, wish to piously and saintly devote their time in this pious work and equally strive for the perfection of the children. These things concerning the little children of the proselytes have been related by us in this place in passing; the secular judges may run through the rest in the previously held catechism on the children, if they wish. Now let us return to the point from which we have digressed, and let us bring to the open the judiciary prohibitions concerning the license of arms for defending, which by their own authority the perfidious Monfíes take up for destroying Christians against their own heads. There exists a general prohibition by all the kings of Spain, and especially by the Catholic Ferdinand and Isabel, and from there by their posterity, up to our Philip, the most just legislator, that the Muhammadans and their children and all posterity may neither bear arms or wear equipment, but use swords and cutlery without forged tips for food use and property, so that, given the occasion, as they are eager for the forbidden arms, if they are girded with arms, they might not rush against their co-citizens and slaughter, destroy, and kill them. Truly, so that they do not dare to secretly bear arms, their homes and underground dens together with their wine cellars

In the Nueva recopilación of laws, the title De Judíos y Moros.

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should be frequently visited by the praetors so that, caught in this crime, namely, of having violated this holy law, they might be confined as if traitors of the republic and curbed by the penalties established by law. Certainly, if these converted Muhammadans carry away arms to the Turks and whatever other infidels, they run into the canon of the Bull *Coenae domini*, and into the rest of the penalties expressed in royal pragmatics. And nothing is left except that they suppose them as in their soul so in their body, harmful and injurious. Moreover, since the legislator is not the executor of the penalty contained in his law, it will be right for the royal ministers to impose these penalties and rigidly punish the delinquents so that crimes may neither remain unpunished or the overlooked laws beget laughter and contempt. Let their co-citizens be forewarned by their prefect or the one holding his place of all these things, so far as if the neighboring proselytes are regarded as suspect of some crime they might wait and watch for their life day and night so that they might both make the public affair their own and their own heads safe. At the same time, the stone of the wall will declare and make known their crimes together with their accomplices so that these Muhammadans, greatly alien from the religion of Christ, do not bear their crimes unpunished with so great and so valid evidence. Also, let a similar, secret forewarning be made as much by the pastors as by the secular judges about matters of faith so that their co-citizens, led by zeal for divine love

The bull *Coenae Domini* that was published in the year 1569, number 7, which Nauaurus explains in *Sum. verbo excommunicatio*, number 8.
alone, might carefully observe these things with lynx eyes, because these things are of greater moment and are responsible for the greater loss for all the Christian republic. Moreover, it is very much permitted to gradually and orderly instruct the Christian neighbors of the proselytes, if perchance they are proven ignorant, in the daily errors into which these Muhammadans dash so that they might attentively and cautiously observe these perfidious men and present their errors with those who err to the appointed holy tribunal. Moreover, I submit this to the judgment and discretion of the ministers of this catechesis so that, having taken into account place, time, and persons, they might discuss concerning these errors with their Christians without witnesses and conclude their business with a seal of secrecy. But if the Christians have lived among the Muhammadans over the course of many years, any notice whatever will be useless, since they themselves know them inside and out better than he [the pastor] from the mutual intercourse they have had with the proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect. But indeed, if the translation of some of the New Christians has recently taken place, I should consider it worthwhile that not only one but many warnings concerning these errors of the vain and false sect precede [them] to this point, to the extent where they might be convicted in trial by their faithful testimony with regard to those crimes which they perpetrate in hidden places and those who are guilty might come to penance or pay the
penalties. But I hope for it to come about according to our prayers from divine mercy that our Christians will press on for augmenting the Christian religion and the piety of the Muhammadans rather than making denunciations of their co-citizens. I shall generously say to their ear, why has this pious thought entered your mind, or who has led me either unwilling or reluctant to it? Such is the zeal of our Philip (which grew with him from infancy and came out with him from his mother’s womb) towards the Catholic faith, that, already aflame with it, he incessantly knocks on the hearts of the prelates of all the churches and governors selected by him in their cases so that they might learn to push their pastors and each of their secular judges by such an example and they might spare neither labor or continual vigils in catechizing these proselytes and restraining them from their vices. He promised these things as it were with words in a series of laws made under the seventy-second year, thus Philip our Catholic king will prove with regard to this matter that he is by no means unmindful of his pledged faith. But let us move our foot to other things which are believed, by my judgment, worthy of being noted by the prefects of the cities and others holding the sword of God in their hands, which look to the goods and contracts of purchasing and selling. For and in fact these children of Hagar and merchants of the land of Teman do not buy things of gold and silver, but food and provisions for their daily sustenance, which carrying from afar they not
only expensively retail, but also prepare alone so that a greater profit might then increase for them. What profit? More rightly, the loss of their souls and bodies, if they rise up against traveling Christians in their passion for doing harm and, with the dissimulation of their anger and senses, strike their remarkable and patterned executions with a knotty club and kill those off-guard. Let the secular authorities avoid the evil and known damages of this kind for the whole republic (just as has been stipulated by law), and, rather, let them patiently adjust themselves to the cultivation of the land and selling the produce gained from it according to their office. And may it not be more expensive than the year’s crop so that, while they desire temporal wealth, they might not also then fall into the pit of sin. Moreover, that no vender from among them should become richer with foods or other things which they acquire for a price it was now long ago prohibited by an old law and now has also been well provided for by two royal mandates: that these newcomers to the faith and citizenship of the kingdoms of Castile, which they have acquired without a price, may not dare disembark from their prescribed quarters or go beyond their prefixed limits, but that they safely remain in them and no longer exercise the work of a driver or the contracts of renting or selling. Now it will not be expedient for our most just legislator to dispense in these laws until the present generation of the Moriscos who have emigrated pass away and another [generation] more devoted to public
peace and very well advanced in matters of the faith succeeds. Moreover, those who now exercise the office and services of a driver within the limits of law, so that they do not try to attack Christians, as some yet have blood-stained hands, let them carry out their journey branded with a blue felt cap, as if hay on their horns (as once ferocious bulls), which will be certain safety for them and others making the journey. I bear this opinion only concerning these drivers and merchants, for it will be necessary for me, as truthful and not, still, a liar in this matter, to be mindful concerning others of which I had said that each of the proselytes already well ordered to the norm and religion of their Christian co-citizens should be admitted to all citizenship and common honor with the Christians as a prize for their proven virtue, by which both that false religion of Muhammad and, more rightly, its memory might perish in them, and whatever kind of infamy might be erased. Indeed, this is a sure way of extinguishing this Muhammadan Sect in the Hispanic regions, which after eight hundred or more years introduced from Africa to Spain has not yet been dispelled or extinguished. Truly, in those who until now are judged Moors in exterior cult and Algarabia and have not pulled off their wolf skins, that is, their Muhammadan customs, I approve the counsel of those who judge they will need to be distinguished by some exterior sign on their garment so that, thus branded with that sign, while they travel outside of their town, they might be distinguished by The proselytes, if perchance they become drivers, let them make their journey designated by a felt cap.

The Jews enduring in Rome are designated by a certain sign.
travelers and they themselves might renounce all the Muhammadan rites together with its dress and _Algarabia_ from their hearts and wish to be regarded and judged true Christians by everyone, just as it is fitting for men enrolled into the Christian religion so many centuries back. And indeed, I have not perceived any other remedy to be carried out more salubrious than this one: that having banished the Numidian dress and routed the Arabic language to the other side of Africa, these proselytes from the Muhammadan Sect abjure Muhammad and profess Christ Jesus with all their heart. But if they convince themselves, all the inferior authorities subject to their Philip, the supreme legislator, will immediately give their pious attention in this cause of the faith and compel their subjects (whether they wish or do not wish) to the observation of the law with the due coercion so that they might not cry out that the laws had been wrongly made. Moreover, if these proselytes should be quickly stripped of their dress and _Algarabia_ and the rest of the Muhammadan rites (as all the laws and decrees of their prelates brought forth equally demand), it will not be necessary that, branded by some sign, they be distinguished from others, unless it otherwise pleases our king. For if this renunciation takes place violently and by compulsion, it will be very expedient for theirs and their co-citizens’ safety and the tranquility and public peace of that kingdom in which they live that these proselytes be branded and distinguished by a
sign. “Indeed, the princes should oppose...” as the Poet sings, is the counsel of the wise, for if the sickness gets worse, the medicine will be prepared too late, and the sick person will perish in his morbid perfidy, namely, of the Muhammadan Sect. More correctly, even the prefect will perish who bears the duty of the medic and rejects the remedy assessed by the law and turns away from curing the patient, although he has been justly admonished by us in time concerning his duty. Indeed, for what purpose are holy laws made, if someone who might uphold the laws is altogether wanting? For what purpose are they printed on white papyrus, if they are never written in the heart? Also, for what purpose are they related to each of those to whom they look, if their legal executor is lacking? Finally, for what purpose are they edited with mature counsel by the provident legislator, if the judge changes his office and, having been made legislator from its executor, begins to dispense as if in newly edited [laws] by his dissimulation? Oh unheard of audacity! Oh offence not to be sufficiently expiated by death! Oh crime of treachery human and divine, that the legal executor designated by the prince become by his own authority either the ignorant corrector of holy laws or their thoughtless dispenser! Indeed, this practice is most well known, on account of which I should be very enraged against all those inferior judges unconcerned about the execution of the royal pragmatics and sanctions; and I will not cease being angry until they duly perform their
duty and authority with their proselytes, committed to their care, their vigilance, by their prince. Since they know an exact account as much of the laws as of those subject to the laws will be exacted from them in strict judgment and, from there, the penalty or praise will be judiciarily conferred by the supreme [judge]. Truly, so that the elected judges escape so rigid a judgment, I shall now request a few things from them, which should be added to the colophon of this work. In the first place, let them recall to mind that they have not been appointed by the supreme authority in the land as dispensers of laws, but as the executors of the same. So that they introduce that into their hearts, an account of the enjoined duty should be demanded from them in the royal and supreme tribunal and at the same time the penalty which makes the lazy and idle come to their senses will be of great weight for exciting their memory and making them strenuously attend to their duty. And I also should desire them to be in great agreement with the pastors of the proselytes in discharging this catechetical work according to their part so that everyone considers it worth their trouble to please the one God and press on for the salvation of their neighbors. For if they are in charge of the Valencians, they have opportunely issued laws for maintaining them in peace and justice, certainly if they are well instructed concerning the Granadan exiles or other citizens of either Castile tracing their origin and line from the Moors by a long repeated progeny, and also the royal

The Kingdom of Aragon abounds in laws for the government of their
pragmatics concerning their government. But before others things, I long that each of the judges of these proselytes always have that royal sanction in the seventy-second year, having passed the thousandth and five-hundredth, before their eyes, whose last chapters looking to their government and the instruction of the children I shall faithfully relate in this place so that, as they turn this page, they might hear Philip, king and just legislator, as if the wolf in the fable, speaking with them and bearing warnings of penalties.

PRAGMATIC OF THE YEAR 1572 for the Moriscos going into exile from Granada, so that they strictly observe their stations and the royal commands.

1. It is commanded to the secular judges that they disperse the emigrated Moriscos to various places, namely, the parents with their children and servants: who must be noted in a written catalog with their age, quality, and exterior characteristics, and the catalog must be preserved in public acts.

2. That a license be granted in writing by a judge to the Moriscos who wish to go out from their borders for only a few days, with the places from which and to where they are going named. But if they do not return within these days, let them be punished by the judgment of the judge. However, let this license be conceded to honest men and not suspected of the guilt of any crime; let it be altogether denied to others.
3. That the judge not permit them to transfer from parish to parish, having admonished the pastor, so that he might compel those newly enrolled in his catalog to catechesis and the ecclesiastical offices; and that they do not migrate from place to place, and they do not take possession of new residences outside of their station unless from the license of the supreme royal senate. If they attempt otherwise, let them undergo a grave penalty.

4. That the judges insistently take care that the recently arrived Moriscos do not dwell alone in the suburbs, but gathered among Old Christians so that they might imitate their good life and customs. For hope has been conceived by all that by this familiarity alone they will quickly be composed to the norm of the Christian life.

5. That the judges elected for ordering these pilgrims to the faith and good customs pay attention so that the boys be handed over to ecclesiastical persons and good men fearing God, and the tender girls to honorable matrons for temporal servitude so that they might better advance daily in the Christian religion and good customs. Indeed, this is the duty of the secular authority, which holds the office of the parents towards the wards and orphans.

6. That the judges observe to the letter that royal pragmatic, published for the same in Madrid on the twentieth day of the month of July, of the year 1572, concerning the boys and girls not yet attaining their twelfth year, captured with their parents or without
them in war, that they remain unharmed for temporal servitude, and that they be free having completed their twentieth year, provided that they on no occasion return to the guardianship or administration of their parents. I desire this to be observed by everyone, since such a decree has been brought to the light in favor as much of the boys as of the girls.

7. That the judges greatly maintain this for them: that the boys and girls of the Morisco exiles are instructed in the schools in sound doctrine and nobly learn to read and write, with the teachers learned in their art and intensely revering God elected for this matter, who are found suitable for strenuously attending to their office.

In this place the Catholic majesty, namely Philip our king, bearing special care for all of his subjects, promised that he was going to see to it that the prelates and the pastors of these proselytes take up this responsibility for saving, teaching, advancing every child of the Morisco exiles in faith, not only so that they might attentively attend to their spiritual salvation, but also so that the children might be saved in Christ Jesus by the work of their prelates.

8. Finally, this task is enjoined by so great a prince and most just legislator on the judges, as much the superior as the inferior, so that they strive with all their strength to banish and exterminate Algarabia, that is, the native language of the Arabs, from all the borders of Spain, as much by pursuing Algarabia with curses as afflicting those who use it with the due penalties. And the penalty

[160r]

This promise moved the author to complete this work for the sake of the pastors.
for the transgressor of the law will be inscribed for the first offense by imprisonments for eight entire days; for another offence the aforesaid penalty is assessed double; for another thirdly repeated [offense], the just penalty for the offender is discerned a hundred lashes and servitude for four years in the triremes. Certainly, the penalty will quickly make the insane come to their senses (as it is in the proverb), and [make] them completely forget the Muhammedan Sect. Moreover, the observance of this law and mutual familiarity with the Christians will suffice, in my judgment, for converting these pilgrims to Christ at this time.

9. Whereby I shall exhort all the ministers of this catechesis in the Lord that after they have set their hand to the plow they neither look back or grow lethargic so that they might not hear the penalty enjoined in the gospel: “They will not be fit for the kingdom of God.” And thus, since these who bear the sword for punishment of the evil and the protection of the good have given themselves to so great a catechetical work, if they now remove some of those who err from their Muhammedan errors, they will say with the Apostles: “We are useless servants; we have done what we were obliged to do.” And although they are unmindful of the divine retribution for so great a labor devoted to their subjects, renouncing Muhammad and his carnal works, and joining them to Christ and the Church, he will nonetheless grant it who said, “Your reward is great in heaven,” to whom is glory forever.

Let the judges observe this law in its integrity, otherwise they will pay the penalty to God and our Philip.
SUMMARY OF THE LAST CATECHISM

1. Let the pastors plead for the salvation of their proselytes with the authorities and the lower judges, for whom they should labor even with the loss of their own life.

2. Philip our king often jolts the hearts of the prelates so that they, disengaged from other concerns, might press on for the religious instruction of these proselytes.

3. Faithful proselytes will bring back praise and honor from their prince, by whose example the rest will be incited to acquiring virtue and honors.

4. On the contrary, the proselytes returning to the vomit of their sect are drawn to perpetuating a thousand crimes by their inborn savagery. It will be necessary that the secular judges correct them.

5. Let those in charge of the Muhammadans and the judges delegated by them have an account of all of them in writing so that, if ever it happens that they are lacking from their proper behavior, they might be both sought out and punished with the due penalties.

6. Let the laws issued about the citizenship of the wandering proselytes be fully observed by their prefects or praetors. Moreover, he who tries to transgress the law because of them should come to be punished according the order contained in the said laws.
7. The duty of the secular judge is this: to seek out every wrongdoer and wicked man and punish them with the due penalties.

8. The mode contrived for insurrection against the Christians by these Muhammadans is extensively described so that, if the verdict of death is imposed, the judge might make the judiciary Inquisition and afflict those found murderers with befitting penalties.

9. Doctor Lievana, selected judge against the Moriscos by the royal senate, when he had been properly instructed concerning these indications in Tendilla, he sought out certain malefactors from those Muhammadans and condemned them to death.

10. The judges of the proselytes should hold them back from their intoxications and indecencies, held publicly, so that, after they have indulged in Bacchus and Venus, they might not be diverted to occult murders.

11. Let the secular judges make sure that the unchaste Morisco women do not receive the condition of prostitution, so that they might not fill every place with their lusts by force.

12. The children born from these prostitutes should be returned to the paternal authority after three years, for if they were to remain in the maternal, it might easily be that they be drawn to their errors.

13. Let the secular judges thoroughly read that catechism written on the instruction of the children so that, from there, they might understand in which cases
the children should be taken from their parents. By having read it they might perfect that pious work for the love of Christ.

14. These children now removed from their parents, part should be joined to the seminaries to be erected according to the command of the council. The rest should be devoted to the crafts and mechanical trades with pious and good tradesmen so that they might singularly strive in them.

15. Let the Muhammadan converts not be permitted to bear arms in any case, but let it be permitted them to freely use small knives and dull swords for their uses, as it has been provided for by the old and new laws.

16. Let their fellow Christians be commanded to observe the malefactors from these proselytes day and night so that if they see their misdeeds they might bring testimony concerning them and they might be corrected by judiciary penalties.

17. Let those same fellow citizens be secretly taught by a certain warning regarding the common errors in which these Muhammadans sometimes fall so that they might now be able to bring those who error with their errors to the judges, lest their offenses remain unpunished.

18. Let the judges and praetors restrain the proselytes-made-dealers entrusted to their care from illicit contracts of purchase and sale. And let them not become resellers of foodstuff, which strikes great damage for the republic.
19. Let the secular judges make provisions that these Muhammadans not become public drivers so that they do not permit with impunity their crimes and murders in the crossroads.

20. Let the judges of the Muhammadans and others who have come from the kingdom of Granada faultlessly observe the pragmatic issued in the year 1572, holy and piously decreed for the lodgings of the same, which I have considered worthwhile to insert, in part, in this catechism.

21. Let the elected judges remember they have been appointed for the judicial execution of the law, not its relaxation. And let them not dare to dissimulate in them, because they will undergo certain penalties by God, the supreme judge, and by the authority reigning in the land.

22. The ministers of this catechism will pay attention that these proselytes abjure Muhammad in everything, so that they might be united to Christ Jesus forever, who bears both the prize to the good and sufferings to the bad and grants an eternal reward to those laboring for him.

Everything is subjected to the judgment of the Church

PRAISE BE TO GOD
MADRID
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THE YEAR M. D. LXXXVI
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*The End*